EDUCATION, PRINT CULTURE, SOCIAL LITERACY, AND RELIGIOSITY:

A MULTI-GROUNDED THEORY OF TEXTUAL MEDIATION FOUND IN EARLY

AND CONTEMPORARY MORMONISM

by

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A dissertation

submitted in partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Education in Curriculum and Instruction

Boise State University

December 2013

BOISE STATE UNIVERSITY GRADUATE COLLEGE

DEFENSE COMMITTEE AND FINAL READING APPROVALS

of the dissertation submitted by

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Dissertation Title: Print Culture, Social Literacy and Religiosity: A Multi-Grounded Theory of Textual Mediation Found in Early and Contemporary Mormonism

Date of Final Oral Examination: 16 October 2013

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DEDICATION

To Lindsey, my biggest supporter, thank you for so many sacrifices. To Bryn, Brock, Elise and Cal, Daddy is all done with school now! And to Mom and Dad, thanks for teaching me how to work and value learning.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

This study is a multi-grounded theory (Goldkuhl & Cronholm, 2010) approach to identify potential relationships between print culture, uses of social literacy, and education found in historical Mormonism (1830-1844) and the contemporary church, which has a reported parity between education and religiosity (Cooperman, 2012). Through the theoretical model of multi-grounded theory, scholars of Mormon history were identified and interviewed to help establish what relationship may have existed and if there is relevance between the past and present church in the context of print, literacy, religiosity and education. Two literacy theories, Venezky's (1996) theory of literacy expansion and Barton and Hamilton's (2000) social literacy theory provided a theoretical lens through which to analyze and interpret data. Through these methodological approaches, a theory emerged grounded in the data that attempts to encapsulate these findings called textual mediation theory.

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A NOTE ON REFERENTS AND CITATIONS CONCERNING THE CHURCH OF
JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS

Within this research document, many referents are used by the author and respondents in referencing The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The terms: Mormon(s), Saint(s), and LDS all refer to the official Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. At times, the author and respondents refer to Joseph Smith using only first or last names. Because of the nature of the research, the author has chosen to almost always refer to Joseph Smith simply as "Smith" to follow APA guidelines. It is not uncommon for Mormon researchers and scholars to refer to Joseph Smith under titles such as "the prophet" or "Joseph" or "Brother Joseph"; any reference with these titles all refer to Joseph Smith.

The LDS Church has official scriptures used by and within the church, these canonized scriptures are frequently called "The Standard Works." These refer to the following four books of scripture: *The Holy Bible* (King James Version), *The Book of Mormon*, *The Doctrine and Covenants*, and *The Pearl of Great Price.* In this document, LDS scriptures are cited according to scriptural citation methods used in APA. Scriptures fall under classic works and because the numerical system is uniform, page numbers are not used as references but the scriptural citations are. Citations from the Bible first include the name of the scriptural book, followed by chapter and verse (John 3:16). Citations from *The Book of Mormon* follow the same pattern (Mornoni 10:3-5). *The*

Doctrine and Covenants contain numerical sections (1-138) rather than book names; therefore, citations include the abbreviated D&C followed by the numerical section and verse (D&C 122:3). The only portion from *The Pearl of Great Price* used is the canonized "Joseph Smith History." References follow the above pattern of abbreviating plus chapter and verse (JSH 1:8).

Citations taken from these scriptures are minimal as I attempted to find the primary, handwritten, original copy of the scriptures used. If a satisfactory original could not be found, or could not be located in time for this research to be completed, the scriptural source is included.

A NOTE ON ELECTRONIC PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENTS

Much of this research was conducted in the field doing interviews; however, many digitized documents were located using historical records found online. If the electronic source did not contain a replicated original, attempts to find an exact replication or access to see the original document through the LDS church history library were made. The reference provided is the most reliable electronic source I found. Most documents used in this study are a replicated photograph or photocopy of the primary source rather than a typed transcript from an original document. This research has prompted me to embrace digital technology that can increase effectiveness while balancing the traditional forms of historical research viewing the real thing (Holland, 2011). When using primary source documents, original spelling, italics, format, and punctuation are as found in the original document unless otherwise stated.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

On August 3, 1831, Joseph Smith, the founder and prophet of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS or Mormon), initiated the dedication of a land parcel for a temple to God. It was a building that in "its subsequent incarnations would be the most holy edifice in the new faith, a locus of spiritual manifestations, covenant making, and the most sacred rituals" (Givens, 2007, p. 72). Notwithstanding the significance of the temple in Mormon theology, it was one day prior to the temple dedication that twelve men, acting under the direction of Smith, ceremoniously put in place the first log of what would become a schoolhouse. After the log was placed, Sidney Rigdon then consecrated the land of "Zion"—a place for church members to gather and a place from which they believed God's work would flourish and spread into all the world—"a school, not a temple, launched the millennial enterprise" (Givens, 2007, p. 72).

As exemplified in the historical setting of dedicating this "land of Zion," early Mormon thought was rooted in a mix of religion and education. Joseph Smith, though unlearned (Bushman, 2007), introduced a scriptural, canonical text (i.e., *The Book of Mormon)* to initiate the birth of a new religion. This text was the instrument of preaching, conversion, and a culture; a text that has now surpassed 100 million copies and has been translated into 109 languages (Gutjahr, 2012). From the unlikely roots of a New York farm came a "mixed" orator, an "indifferent" writer, but an "authentic" prophet and religious genius (Bloom, 1992, p. 82). This "authentic" prophet would develop a system

of theology that would consider learning a sacred experience (Givens, 2007). Furthermore, this new American religion would need dissemination, which, for Smith, would require literacy and print (Bushman, 2007; Givens & Neilson, 2009).

Mormonism, through *The Book of Mormon,* was born in antebellum America and has grown into an anomalistic culture of literacy, education, and religiosity within the contemporary church. In 2012, the Pew Forum published findings that indicated a unique relationship between religiosity and education for members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The survey titled "Mormon's in America: Certain in their Beliefs, Uncertain of their Place in Society" found:

> Mormons who have graduated from college display the highest levels of religious commitment (84%) followed by those with some college education (75%). Mormons with a high school education or less exhibit substantially lower levels of religious commitment (50% score high on the scale) than their more highly educated counterparts. (Cooperman, 2012, p. 37)

Furthermore, coupling these findings with previous research investigating Mormonism and education (Chadwick, Top, & McClendon, 2010; Albrecht, 1998) suggests that Mormons who have a higher level of education also display higher levels of religiosity. This is a characteristic that is not seen in other religious populations (Cooperman, 2012). Specifically, the Pew Forum reported:

> Religious commitment gaps across levels of educational attainment are fairly muted among white mainline Protestants, black Protestants and white Catholics. Among white evangelical Protestants, however, there is an 18-point gap in

religious commitment between those with the highest and lowest levels of

educational attainment. (Cooperman, 2012, p. 38)

From its antebellum beginnings to its worldwide footprint, Mormon culture continues to

carry education and religious behavior into and throughout contemporary society. This

relationship between Mormonism's historical milieu of education and religiosity has led

me to ask how print, literacy, and educational cultures from Mormonism's past may help

explain the contemporary parity found in recent studies.

Research Questions

Bushman (2004) states that "A large part of creativity in the writing of history is

the capacity to ask new questions that draw out arrays of facts previously neglected" (p.

7). This study will examine the historical roots of Mormonism and its connection with

literacy to begin to understand these relationships in the present day. Again, Bushman

(2004) explains, "We need new histories that appeal to our views of causation, our sense

of significance and our moral concerns" (p. 7). This study arose from views of causation,

significance, and moral concerns, namely the findings of the 2012 Pew Forum Study:

"Mormon's in America: Certain in their Beliefs, Uncertain of their Place in Society." A

study that found significance in determinates of parity in education and religiosity within

contemporary Mormon people as compared to individuals in other Christian

denominations.

This research is an attempt to discover or uncover relationships regarding how

and/or if the roots of Mormonism inform or explain the connections between religiosity

and education in contemporary Mormon culture. A multi-grounded theory methodology

(Goldkuhl & Cronholm, 2010) was used to explore the following questions:

1. In what ways, if any, does Venezky's (1996) theory of literacy expansion inform the use of print culture and publishing used in early Mormonism?

2. How did early Mormonism utilize aspects of social literacy, literacy events, and print culture, as instruments of social creation?

3. In what ways, if any, does early Mormon print and literacy culture inform the relationship that exists between education and religiosity in contemporary Mormon culture?

In an effort to contextualize the research questions, the remainder of this chapter provides a general, and somewhat brief history of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, highlighting literacy events and the print culture used within the cultural and historical context of its origination; secondly, a discussion follows that attempts to connect this historical context with that theoretical content that was used to examine the relationship between history and literacy; finally, two items are provided that discuss the state and study of Mormonism's potential problems with authorial subjectivity concerning this topic. Though these subjects are developed in ensuing chapters, they are provided here as introductory material that serves to establish the foundation for this study.

A Brief History of Mormonism

Literary scholar Bloom (1992) explained that Mormon history is Joseph Smith. He also suggested that "he (Smith) remains the least-studied personage of an undiminished vitality, in our entire national saga" (p. 95). A study of the rise of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is therefore a study of Joseph Smith. Born

December 23, 1805 in Sharon, Windsor County, Vermont, Joseph was the fifth of eleven children in the Joseph Smith Sr. and Lucy Mack Smith family (Bushman, 2007).

In 1816, after crop failures on the family's farm in Norwich, Vermont, the Smith's moved to Palmyra, New York. Palmyra was a growing town and would be home to a stop on the Erie Canal that was constructed during the time that the Smith's inhabited a farm just outside of town (Cannon, 1964). Recalling his youth, Smith reported,

> I was born in the town of Charon in the State of Vermont North America on the twenty third day of December AD 1805 of goodly Parents who spared no pains to instructing me in the christian religion. . . . and being in indigent circumstances were obliged to labour hard for the support of a large Family having nine chilldren and as it required their exertions of all that were able to render any assistance for the support of the Family therefore we were deprived of the bennifit of an education suffice it to say I was mearly instructtid in reading and writing and the ground rules of Arithmatic which constuted my whole literary acquirements. (Smith, 1832, p. 7)

Bushman and Jessee (2008) described the realities of Smith's schooling, "Because of the family's financial situation, Joseph Jr. acquired no more than a few years of schooling during the rare periods when his family could spare him from work" (p. xviii).

During this time, religious fervor flooded much of the United States and swept across Western New York so rapidly and intensely it became known as the "burned over district" (Holland, 2011). Cannon (1964) explained the scene:

> The first quarter of the nineteenth century was a time of intense religious excitement, and New York and surrounding states were the scene of many

revivals and much strife. Not only among preachers and exhorters was the

enthusiasm manifested, but the people themselves became much exercised over

their sinful condition, and ran here and there in a wild search for the salvation for

which their souls seemed to yearn. The movement originated with the Methodists;

but soon spread to other sects in the neighborhood, until the whole region was

infected by it, and the greatest excitements was created, in which all the good

effects of a revival were swallowed up in bitter contests of opinions and strife of

words between the adherents of the various creeds. (p. 29)

During this time of upheaval, Smith reported that his "mind was called up to

serious reflection and great uneasiness" (Smith, 1838-1856, p.2) of things religious. He

frequently attended varying denominations and discussed his thoughts with ministers and

others (Holland, 2011), however, conversing about the matter failed to provide any

answers. Smith reported:

During this time of great excitement my mind was called up to serious

reflection and great uneasiness, but though my feelings were deep and often

pungent, still I kept myself aloof from all these parties though I attended their

several meetings as often as occasion would permit. But in process of time my

mind became somewhat partial to the Methodist sect, and I felt some desire to be

united with them, but so great was the confusion and strife amongst the different

denominations that it was impossible for a person young as I was and so

unacquainted with men and things to come to any certain conclusion who was

right and who was wrong. My mind at different times was greatly excited for the

cry and tumult were so great and incessant. The Presbyterians were most decided

against the Baptists and Methodists, and used all their powers of either reason or

sophistry to prove their errors, or at least to make the people think they were in

error. On the other hand the Baptists and Methodists in their turn were equally

Zealous in endeavoring to establish their own tenets and disprove all others.

In the midst of this war of words, and tumult of opinions, I often said to myself,

what is to be done? Who of all these parties are right? Or are they all wrong

together? and if any one of them be right which is it? And how shall I know it?

(Smith, 1838–1856, p. 2)

As seen in these writings, Smith's captivation with religion and rightness led him

to question the beliefs and practices of many religions. Ultimately, neither conversation

nor grandiloquence could convert Joseph Smith. Inexplicably, it was not orality that

resolved Smith's plight for truth, but text—the written word—that served as the

intermediary between Deity and man in an effort to establish truth. Smith explained this

occurrence in the following,

While in this state of perplexity, I was one day reading the Epistle of St James,

1st Chapter, and fifth verse, where I found the following words— "If any of you

lack wisdom, ask let him ask of God that giveth to all men liberally, and

upbraideth not, and it shall be given him.

Never did any passage of scripture make a deeper impression on the heart of

man, than was made on mine by this. Knowing I as I did that I needed a wisdom

from God, and unless I obtained it, I could not determine which were right.

> And the teachers of the different sects, interpreted this passage so as to destroy in all confidence in settling the question by an appeal to the bible; thus compelling me to conclude, that I must remain in darkness, or do as James directs; which is to "ask of God" . . . At length I came to the conclusion to "ask of God him for wisdom, believing that he that giveth to all men liberally and upbraideth not," would not refuse to verify his promise to me. (Smith, circa 1841, p. 2)

Through a textual encounter, the solution began to emerge for Smith. He determined to ask God as the biblical text implored.

On a spring morning in 1820, Smith entered a nearby grove of trees and applied the admonition he read in James. About this first attempt to pray vocally Smith wrote:

> I saw a pillar of light exactly over my head above the brightness of the sun, which descended gracefully gradually untill it fell upon me. . . . When the light rested upon me I saw two personages (whose brightness and glory defy all description) standing above me in the air. One of them spake unto me calling me by name and said (pointing to the other) "This is my beloved Son, Hear him." (Smith, 1838–1856, p. 3)

In answer to his prayer, Joseph experienced a vision of God and Jesus Christ. They instructed him to avoid joining any current formalized religious group, but that through him a restoration of the primitive church would eventually come to him

Smith's initial experiences sharing the story of his vision were met with some contempt and ridicule, obliging Smith to become reluctant to share it openly. For three

and a half years after his initial experience, Smith seemed uncertain what to do other than refrain from joining any denomination (Bushman, 2007). On September 21, 1823 while praying for forgiveness and further direction from God, he was visited by an angelic being who identified himself as Moroni. Moroni quoted several biblical passages that prophesied of a future era when angels, revelations, and dreams would come to pass. Additionally, Moroni explained to Joseph that a scriptural record, written on metal plates was shallowly buried on a hillside near his home. This record contained the dealings of God with a small group of Israelites who fled Jerusalem around 600 BC near the time of the Old Testament prophet Jeremiah. They had sailed to the Western Hemisphere where they established a society that kept this sacred record for approximately 1000 years (Roberts, 1965).

The next day, after the visitation, Smith went to the designated hill as instructed and found the buried record. He was instructed not to touch the buried contents at that time but was promised that he would ultimately be given the opportunity to translate what was written. Smith returned annually to the hill and received divine communication from Moroni from 1823 to 1827, the year he was presented with the scriptural text (JSH 1:27-54). During the intervening years, Smith matured a great deal, obtained work in neighboring states, and married Emma Hale (Roberts, 1965).

For the next two years, Smith was employed attempting to provide necessary means for his family and failed to translate much of the sacred record later to be called *The Book of Mormon*. Emma Smith, Joseph's wife, along with others scribed for Joseph Smith as he dictated the "complex work" (Gutjahr, 2012). But when Oliver Cowdery, a traveling teacher, began his scribal service for Smith in April 1829, Smith was able to

translate about 3,500 words a day, finishing the bulk of translation in 65 days. A copyright was secured and a prominent Palmyra resident, Martin Harris mortgaged his farm to pay the E.B. Grandin Press of Palmyra to publish the first 5000 copies of *The Book of Mormon* (Roberts, 1965). With the publication of *The Book of Mormon*, Gutjahr (2012) states:

> The presence of a new sacred text testified to the special status and powers of Joseph, who had translated it, and in turn Joseph testified to the truth of the book through his continuing revelations from God. Neither the Prophet nor the book would, without the other, wield the oracular power each enjoyed. (p. 61)

The Book of Mormon became the "brand" of Mormonism and its assurance. Unlike other churches, which also broke the canonical Christian norms, "Mormonism, was born with it" (Holland, 2011, p. 146).

In May 1829, a little more than a month after commencing the translation of *The Book of Mormon,* Smith and Cowdery wondered about the necessity of priestly authority to baptize. Consequently, near the banks of the Susquehanna River, they prayed to God in an effort to receive knowledge and were visited by John the Baptist who conferred what he called the "Aaronic Priesthood," which restored the ability to perform certain ordinances as an authorized representative of God. Later, Jesus' Apostles, Peter, James, and John, would appear to these two men and restore the higher, or Melchizedek, priesthood, which granted authority to perform all other church ordinances (Roberts, 1965). After receiving these priesthoods and publishing *The Book of Mormon,* Joseph officially and lawfully organized "The Church of Christ" on April 6, 1830 (Roberts, 1965).

After the organization of the church, Smith again turned to writing and the development of text as a means of restoring the fullness of God's gospel. During the translation of *The Book of Mormon*, Joseph became disenchanted with the belief common for the time of an infallible biblical text (Holland, 2011; Gutjahr, 1999; Zboray, 1993). Beginning in 1830, and continuing for many years, Smith attempted a retranslation of the King James Version of the Bible. The translation was not a literal or traditional translation from one language to another; rather, it was a translation of lost, marred, or distorted biblical verses and meanings that had been altered through multiple translators and translations of the Bible through centuries of its existence. Smith's biblical revisions would be one attempt of some 2,000 English versions of the Bible available by 1880 (Gutjahr, 1999). Though the Bible remained the crucial component of Christianity, its text was not without discussion and debate, nor the detractors from a traditional reading and interpretation of holy writ. As evidenced by Smith's experience in following James' admonition to "ask God" (James 1:5), to question the notion of biblical infallibility was not to question its truth, power, or obligation to follow its directions (Holland, 2011).

A "New Bible" (i.e., *The Book of Mormon)* coupled with Smith's effort to retranslate the King James Version of the Bible, as well as reports of angels and visions, led to mounting religious bigotry and persecution. Consequently, Smith received a revelation from God to move the church to Kirtland, Ohio (Roberts, 1965). During the Kirtland period, the Saints enjoyed relative peace and enjoyment for a time. Joseph Smith, with help from a carpenter convert, Brigham Young, oversaw the completion of the Church's first temple, which provided an outpouring of revelation and pentecostal experiences (Roberts, 1965). The temple was, by revelation, to become "a house of

prayer, a house of fasting, a house of faith, a house of learning, a house of glory, a house of order, a house of God" (Jessee et al., 2009, p. 307). In Kirtland, Smith worked on the translation of the Bible and at a conference of the Church on November 1, 1831, it was agreed that they would publish the extant and ongoing revelations received by Smith into what would be called, "The Book of Commandments." The preface to the book included the Lord explaining that the received revelations were given to publish to the inhabitants of the earth (Smith, 1838–1856, p. 164). Thus, within the first years of Smith's prophetic life, text and print would continue to establish divine authority, divine authenticity, and divine mandates to those who believed. This was a living God who worked through Joseph Smith to create a living church (Smith, 1838-1856, p. 164) with a living, expanding textual canon.

The new temple in Kirtland helped regularize education for leaders of the Church. One of the most prominent activities associated with this temple was the instituting of the "School of the Prophets" wherein members of the Melchizedek Priesthood were instructed in many subjects including the "Word of Wisdom," which instructs Mormon adherents to avoid coffee, tea, alcohol, and tobacco (Cannon, 1964). Participants were also taught courses in science, history, literature, arithmetic, geography, and many languages (Satterfield, 2002), which helped prepare them for future missionary service (Wightman, 2008).

After some time, troubles came to the Kirtland Saints, which culminated in violence and mobocracy. By July, 1831, Smith received revelations indicating that a geographical respite called "Zion" would be built in Jackson County, Missouri (Jessee et al., 2009, p. 259) and would necessitate the removal of the Saints once again. Though the

revelations received by Smith cautioned the Saints to gather slowly and in an organized fashion, it was largely ignored. As early as the spring of 1832, less than a year later, trouble began to loom between the old settlers and new Mormon immigrants. Though the Saints struggled to gain acceptance from local Missourian citizens and politicians, plans were made for a city, temple, school, and printing press. Misunderstanding grew to an apex, which resulted in a plan for the immediate removal of the Mormons from Jackson County (Roberts, 1965). Between October 31st and November 7th 1833, the exiled Saints relocated in Clay, and eventually Caldwell and Davies counties, Missouri. Resultant pleas to state and federal governments failed to restore lands and property to the Saints, and as Missourians became more uneasy, violence erupted with skirmishes and battles at Dewitt, Crooked River and Haun's Mill. Ultimately, it was determined by Governor of Missouri, Librun W. Boggs, that all Mormons "be treated as enemies, and must be exterminated or driven from the state . . ." (Roberts, 1965, p. 479). In reticent obedience, the Saints moved to a new home to rebuild once again.

During the exile of the Saints from Missouri, Joseph Smith and other leading members of the church were imprisoned. For five months, the prisoners were subjected to physical, mental, and emotional suffering. During the incarceration, Smith sunk into despair; his wife and children were crossing a frozen prairie to an unknown destination, his beloved Saints were subjected to malicious treatment, and there was no respite in sight (Roberts, 1965). Finally on March, 20, 1839, Joseph asked, "O God, where art thou?" (Smith, 20 March 1839, p. 3).

During this experience, Smith received and wrote, much like Saint Paul, letters and revelations to the Saints from prison (Black, 2009). In April 1839, Smith and the

other prisoners were taken to Davies county for trial and were allowed to escape en route

by a sympathetic sheriff (Roberts, 1965). Ten days later, Joseph was reunited with his

family and friends in the malaria infested swamplands of Nauvoo, Illinois. Here, Joseph

Smith and the Mormons would create a city that was ultimately crowned by the spire of

another temple.

The Nauvoo city charter was granted by the Illinois State Legislature giving

Smith authority, among other things, to have a standing militia for protection, to establish

a university, and to be largely autonomous as people (Black, 2009; Cannon 1964).

Nauvoo was a peaceful city, but as the walls of the temple began to rise, so too, did

animosity towards the Mormons once again. Stark (1998) explains,

> That it was in Nauvoo that the Mormons fully demonstrated their capacity to
>
> build a civilization in the wilderness and to create a rich and distinctive culture.
>
> Indeed, it was in Nauvoo that Smith revealed the full scope of his revelations thus
>
> giving final form to a Mormon theology that clearly made it a *new* religion. (p.
>
> 11)

Nauvoo became the locus of culture, revelation, and teaching for Smith and his followers.

Learning, culture, libraries, and schools were created to keep secular pace with doctrinal

teachings.

However, old enemies from Missouri would resurface with new enemies in

Illinois. Though political, social, and economical differences again fueled the flames of

discontent, additional doctrine added to the animosity. In 1842, the practice of plural

marriage was instituted by Joseph Smith, which would come in written revelatory form in

1843 (Bushman, 2007). The establishment of polygamy was staggering to those within

and without the church, many Mormons expressed disbelief, horror, and turmoil (Holland, 2011). If such social upheaval could come at the hands of a prophet through revelation, what other revelatory crisis may erupt? Once again the aggression of prior times resulted in violence.

By June 1844, men were being summoned in anticipation of violence between Mormons and citizens (Roberts, 1965). Ultimately, on June 25, 1844, a tempered group of Mormon men, including Joseph and Hyrum Smith, voluntarily presented themselves to the constable and were imprisoned at Carthage, Illinois. Despite assurances by Illinois Governor Ford that they would be kept safe while facing trial for treason against the state, Joseph turned to his brother Hyrum and prophesied, "We shall be butchered" (as cited in Remini, 2002, p. 268).

On June 27th, 1844 between five and six o'clock in the evening, the jail was stormed by 150-200 men with faces painted black. The prisoners (i.e., Joseph and Hyrum Smith, John Taylor, and Willard Richards) rushed to the door attempting to hold the assassins back. Hyrum Smith was shot through the door below his eye and exclaimed, "I am a dead man!" Upon noticing his fallen brother, Joseph rushed to Hyrum and cried, "Oh, my dear brother Hyrum." Embracing the brutality of the situation, Joseph went to the sole window on the second floor of the room in which they were housed as Hyrum was shot three more times and bullets passed into the jail. In an attempt to leap out of the window, Joseph was shot in his left thigh and chest and fell forward out the window exclaiming, "Oh, Lord, my God!" He was shot two more times while on the ground (Cannon, 1964). The Mormon prophet was dead.

After the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, Brigham Young came to direct the church and would later become the second president or prophet. Under his direction, the Mormons traveled across the frontier of America and made a permanent home in the Salt Lake Valley in 1847.

Mormon Historicity and Literacy

As is evident in this brief history of Mormonism, the genesis of the LDS faith was generated through text. While Joseph Smith read the Bible and published *The Book of Mormon*, reading, literacy, and learning quickly became a part of the essence of the Mormon experience. A reading of the Bible had created a "fresh breaking of the vessels" (Bloom, 1992, p. 106). Though Smith had little schooling, the new theology incorporated literacy into many facets of religion birthed from a book (Holland, 2011). Bushman and Jessee (2008) explain,

> For one who had little schooling, Joseph Smith left an unusually extensive literary record. From 1828, when he began work on *the Book of Mormon* at age twenty-two, to 1844, when he was killed at age thirty-eight, Smith produced thousands of pages of revelations, translations, correspondence, declarations, discourses, journals, and histories. (xv)

Smith's literary exploits were unlike many of his religious-making contemporary's especially in terms of social standing and education (Bloom, 1992). Nevertheless, at an early age Smith began his literary and publishing ventures starting with *The Book of Mormon* at age twenty-two, when other religionists were still finding their voice (Bloom, 1992). Additionally, Smith's writing came in a fury without practice or previous writing experience, "No other religious career in Smith's time began this

way. Others of his generation claimed visions, but none published a 'translation' or wrote a parallel Bible" (Bushman & Jessee, 2008). In 1843, Smith would write to James Arlington:

> The fact is that by the power of God I translated the book of Mormon from hierogliphics; the knowledge of which was lost to the world. In which wonderful event, I stood alone, an unlearned youth, to combat the worldly wisdom and multiplied ignorance of eighteen centuries. (Smith, 1844a, pp. 12–13)

Though Smith was confident in his translating ability, it was not without literary flaw or criticism. In November 1831, Smith received a revelation at a conference of the church where a decision to publish the revelations was under vote. In revelation to those present, the Lord spoke in first person through Smith explaining, "your eyes have been upon my Servent Joseph & his language you have known & his imperfections you have known & you have sought in your hearts knowlege that you might express beyond his language this you also know" (Smith, Revelation Book 1, p. 101). Although he felt he communicated in a "crooked broken scattered and imperfect language" (Smith, 1838–1856, p. 249), for the early Mormons, language, text, and literacy were requisites to understand the voice of God.

 Regardless of the difficulties inherent in the redemptive task of writing scripture in the name of God, then teaching it as His emissary in Kirtland, Independence, and Nauvoo, Smith provided a prototype for what was at the core of Mormonism. Irrespective of resources, the pattern of building always began with education and literacy. Smith's revelations called for schools, temples (which revelation deemed as spiritual houses for learning, D&C 88:119), and publishing houses as the first ventures in Kirtland,

Independence, Nauvoo, and Salt Lake City. These buildings preceded the construction of churches, chapels, or other centers of worship in early Mormon settlements. Thus, learning became intertwined with theology, or perhaps better said, learning was theological—a redemptive experience—for Joseph Smith and his early followers.

Historical Context—Literacy Content

As Mormon doctrine evolved, it emphasized the relationship of the immortal nature of the soul and the traditional Christian norms of salvation, resurrection, and judgment; however, Smith and Mormonism emphasized the eternal importance of knowledge and learning in addition to typical Christian denominational teachings (Givens, 2007). This approach to learning was mediated through print and elements of social literacy. To aptly interpret the interrogation of history surrounding these influences, theory provides a foundation that serves to make sense of interrelated propositions of reality and the prosopography of an identified group (Schutt, 2004). In the development of meaning making that comes through literacy and print, the historical antecedents of Mormonism were examined through theories of literacy expansion (Venezky, 1996) and social literacy (Barton and Hamilton, 2000; Gee, 1996; Heath, 1988; Purcell-Gates, Jacobson & Degener, 2004; Scribner, 1988).

Venezky (1996) suggests that the introduction of a text within a population will create enhanced literacy and a proliferation of print material. As print and literacy expand, they become media of social creation. The events of publishing, writing, translating, and reading by members and leaders of the church highlight literary events and culture that was an integral piece of culture within early Mormonism. As knowledge, learning, and religion emerged as methods to achieve salvation, Venezky's theory helps

illuminate the relationship between Mormon salvation, the historical context, and the expansion of a print culture.

Social literacy helps define individuals within a culture by what they are and what they are not. Looking at literacy through social practices, what many researches call literacy communities (Barton & Hamilton, 2000; Florio-Ruane & McVee, 2000; Gee, 1996; Guthrie & Greaney, 1996), provides a framework to analyze the literacy practices of individuals, and individuals within a group. Smith and the early Mormons created a specific discourse community and formed social relationships based on power, education, and other media of social creation, examining these relationships helps to clarify and explain the converging nature of theology, literacy, and culture for this group. Social literacy develops the implications of cultural influences and its impact on literacy practices (Barton & Hamilton, 2000). Thus, the study of theoretical and actual relationships between Mormonism and education is historically contextualized by the events within the theological enterprise; coupled with pervading and emerging culturual norms that encompass literacy and print culture as media through which cultural referents and objects create a climate of print and literacy linked theologically and culturally.

On Studying Mormonism

The field of Mormon studies can be controversial. Givens (2007) has called history the "fiery furnace" of Mormonism in its "most recent generations" (p. 211), implying that historical study of the church has been a trial. Because the strength of the church is based upon the veracity of Smith's claims, Givens (2007) determines,

> Mormonism's self-conceiving is utterly dependent on the veracity of those
> accounts, since the historical reality of ancient Nephites and gold plates constitute

the evidence of Joseph's prophetic calling, and the actual visitations of resurrected

beings are the foundation of his priesthood authority. History, not theological

plausibility, spiritual appeal, or even fruits of godliness, is the foundation of

Mormonism. (p. 223)

History, for Mormons, portends truth.

Some past scholarly and historical representations of Mormonism have signaled

inadequacies in historical research undertaken by Mormons and non-Mormons alike

(Givens, 2007; Bushman, 2004). Anderson (1996) claims, "Honesty demands relevant

facts, but broad honesty is also sensitive to the problems and patterns of another era . . ."

(p. 159). In other words, history, interpreted through deconstructed facts ignorant of

historical context is problematic.

Givens and Neilson (2009) explain traditional historical approaches have been

enhanced by sociologists, anthropologists, literary scholars, philosophers, and theologians

who have joined the field of history, and as Albanese (2009) claims that the "result, past

historians have written about Joseph Smith and Mormonism in predictable ways when

making general surveys of the American religious landscape, but that is beginning to

change" (as cited in Givens & Neilson, 2009, pp. 4-5). "In other words, the history of

early Mormonism doesn't have to be told in the way it usually is" (Maffly-Kipp, 2009, p.

177). Though attempts at objectivity by some scholars have been laudable, it is only since

the mid-twentieth century that a new middle ground has increasingly emerged (Givens,

2007). This middle ground sustains and supports research, while understanding pure

objectivity lacks plausibility and pleaseability (Bushman, 1996).

History, scholarship, and understanding have combined in Mormon studies to create opportunity and demand for Mormon scholarship. As Joseph Smith's biographer Remini (2002) asserts, "The founder of this Church, the Prophet, Joseph Smith Jr., is unquestionably the most important reformer and innovator in American religious history, and he needs to be understood . . ." (p. 11). Therefore, Joseph Smith and the history of the church that started with him has gained acceptance as legitimate scholarly work. Additionally, employing a liberality by examining history from multiple views, rather than using an antagonistic or apologetic stance, importunes quality research. Simply put, Mormon scholarship is changing undeterred by religious affiliation. The past dichotomy of defender or detractor is transforming into the intellectual air of disciplinary studies rather than declinational discipleship. As non-Mormon biographer, Remini (2002) confirms:

> I have a long thought that the importance and role of Joseph Smith in the history of religion in America has been muted more than necessary by the Latter-day Saint church. As his biographer, I was and remain very anxious that his contribution to American culture and religion in general be recognized and appreciated, both by Mormons and by non-Mormons. (p. 27)

Authoring Objectivity

As alluded to earlier, much of Mormon scholarship has been written by opposing forces attempting to praise or paralyze Mormonism. This issue results in one questioning how an active Mormon might be able to objectively write and research his own religion? By writing about myself in this study, it can be seen as a separation from my own biases and as a confession that I am aware of my own subjectivity (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007).

There are obvious, inherent, issues with a researcher being part of the group that is being studied. Bogdan and Biklen (2007) describe a teacher studying other teachers as a negative example of this almost nepotistic research, yet add "In some qualitative circles, the confession is used as a new device to gain authority with the reader" (pp. 201-202). Such is my intention here. Still, it is not that simple. I am not a state employed school teacher, and religious views can determine content and contexts of study; therefore, balancing my own acknowledged bias is troublesome when constructing and implementing research that is ideally as objective as possible.

The crux of the matter lies in the fact that I concede, as a researcher and a practicing Mormon, that I care about the findings and conclusions of this study. My beliefs have placed me in a pew and in the priesthood of the Church; additionally, it also serves as my employment. I am a Seminary teacher employed by the LDS church whose objective is for me to, "Teach students the doctrines and principles of the gospel as found in the scriptures and the words of the prophets" (The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2012, p. 5). My beliefs, employment, and passions seek to put Joseph Smith and Mormonism in the most positive light possible. As Bushman (2007) aptly states,

> A believing historian like myself cannot hope to rise above these battles or
> pretend nothing personal is at stake. For a character as controversial as Smith,
> pure objectivity is impossible. (ix)

Though belief in the topic under study fails to produce pure objectivity, especially for controversial or polarizing systems of belief and morality, Bushman (2007) continues,

> What I can do is to look frankly at all sides of Joseph Smith, facing up to his
> mistakes and flaws. Covering up errors makes no sense in any case. Most readers

do not believe in, nor are interested in, perfection. Flawless characters are neither

attractive nor useful. We want to meet a real person. (p. ix)

This quote may be misleading because this research is not interested in looking at all the

many sides of Joseph Smith, and cares little for his mistakes or flaws; however, the above

quote illustrates the necessary objectivity of studying a potentially controversial person or

topic. Essentially, objectivity must be matched with authenticity in the actors of the study

and the researcher. Consequently, I welcome the fact that more than a decade of believing

in Mormonism unequivocally influences my thinking and philosophies in life as do a

thousand other associations that are no more easily "checked at the door" as my religious

belief is. Combining pervading social norms, moral beliefs, epistemology, ontology, and

all other facets and factors at work in my life and mind, I contend that my religious faith

represents my best self and demands intellectual and moral courage; therefore, leaving

me with a responsibility to claim history from the pages of itself.

Conclusion

As demonstrated here, there is evidence suggesting a relationship between

education and religiosity within The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The

beginnings of the church, and its development centered on print and literacy; from Joseph

Smith's appeal to Deity that emerged from the pages of the New Testament to the

creation of "Another Testament" (i.e., *The Book of Mormon*), Mormon history is a history

of text. This is seen in the initial buildings and projects of the early church that centered

on knowledge making and creation through reading, revelation, schools, and temples.

One cannot separate Mormon theology from Mormon epistemology. Though the

objective study of Mormonism remains in question, this study aims to determine what, if

any, relationships can be drawn from the roots of Mormonism to the fruits of education

and religiosity found in the church today.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Antecedents and Precedents

Two elements of literacy and history greatly inform this dissertation: antebellum American print culture, literacy (i.e., the specific theoretical frameworks focused on social and print literacy are discussed), and a description of Mormon philosophy of education. These elements serve as the foundation for this study, and provide the precedence and qualifying theoretical and historical antecedents necessary to provide the background for this study.

Antebellum American Print Culture

Bushman (2007) provides the foundation of American, Mormon history, and its relationship with literacy and text culture when he stated that Joseph Smith "knew that the mission to spread the Gospel required publications" (p. 181). Additionally, Givens and Neilson (2009) suggest that Smith "quickly developed a Mormon print culture to spread his message and invite examination of his claims" (p. 4). Though the exact nature of the development, influence, and scope of Mormon and its bibliocentric print culture remains unstudied (Gutjahr, 1999), it is important to demarcate elements of print and literacy culture that existed within the Mormon culture.

<ins>Defining Print Culture</ins>

Print culture did not begin with print but an epistemology surrounding knowledge. Early philosophers, such as Plato, believed the only way to truth was through dialogue.

Thus, print culture started with orality (Poe, 2011). The quest for truth evolved through orality and expanded to writing, which was functionalized by the Chinese in the fifth century and regularized by Europeans in the fourteenth century where religious texts dominated this era of print (Poe, 2011). Poe (2011) states:

> The simultaneous rise of mercantile capitalism, the bureaucratic state, and reading religion in early modern Europe provided the historical context within which print culture could evolve, for each of these new developments stimulated the learning of letters and the adoption of print. (p. 109)

The modern era of print began with the Reformation which embraced technological advancements. Davidson (1989) explains, "As has been often argued, the Reformation was as responsible for inventing the printed books as was Gutenberg, even though the Reformation was also, in one sense, invented by Gutenberg's printed book" (p. 18). The book was a process, product, and genesis of the Reformation.

Poe (2011) further explains, "reading religion naturally needs literacy to do its godly work" (p. 110). In this way, it was the faithful who began to learn to read and literacy for the masses began to increase through religious media (Poe, 2011). Print culture, therefore, provides the pervading print norms within a cultural context of people, space, time, and printed material. Print culture, as used within the parameters of this study, emphasizes the use of print on paper (i.e., the use of books, pamphlets, newspapers, etc.) as these media were the most produced and consumed media using print in antebellum America. Davidson (1989) offers credence to this definition and perspective from which to view the development of print culture as "book history" stating,

Some book historians, for example, trace out the distribution of books, among

various subgroups (regional, racial, religious, sexual, or economic); some search

for evidence of the ways in which readers responded to the books they read; some

juxtapose such past readings with the historians' own interpretation or valuation

of the text; some chart the rise and fall of particular types of literature. (p. 3)

In this way, print culture attempts to illustrate how groups interact with print and expand

those interactions within a cultural context. The ties between literacy and culture can be

explored through the following questions:

Who could read? Who could write? What was the personal and social meaning of

literacy? What was the relationship between mass education and book culture? At

what point does a nation consider itself to be sufficiently literate or well

educated? How does one define levels of literacy, and how does the concept of

literacy, in the fullest sense of the term, bear on a nation's estimation of itself?

(Davidson, 1989, p. 9)

Print culture may be understood by developing social meanings, definitions,

perceptions, and the influence of individuals within the culture; by delving into the

literacy events and people of the time provides insight into the daily influences and global

forces that promote a print and literate culture.

Colonial and Revolutionary Print Influences

As culture builds upon the past and history begets more history, antecedents of

antebellum print culture evolved and emerged from historical precedents within

American history. It is a path of print from "scarcity to abundance, from one world of

print to another" (Davidson, 1989, p. 37). From the early 1770s through the mid-nineteenth, a print revolution was evolving in America (Davidson, 1989). These transformations were introduced through several factors, including "new printing and paper-making technologies that reduced the price of books, improvements in how books were marketed, a rapid increase in the rate of literacy and a general speeding up of communication" (Davidson, 1989, p. 37). These changes coalesced to create a new world for literates and a changing word for the illiterate.

During early American colonial times there was not an epicenter of print or print culture for the new republic (Gross, 2010). While London was the hub of elite publishers, the production and dissemination of books occurred in sites throughout the United States, targeting early republicans to inspire nationalism and a national identity (Gross, 2010). Gundaker (2010) explains that the decades between 1790 and 1820 were characterized as "times of emerging national consciousness when former colonists and European immigrants redefined America and themselves as Americans" (p. 483). For all Americans, greater educational opportunities and the precipitous expansion of print created rising literacy rates and a national print culture (Gundaker, 2010).

As American print was finding its permanent roots, Americans depended on imported books and literature from Europe (Hall, 1996). Therefore, many early Americans "learned to read by listening to the Bible or some other book as it was read aloud" (Hall, 1996, p. 31). Though the primacy of the Bible as the main source of literacy and literacy learning remained until the mid-nineteenth century (Gutjahr, 1999), other print would quickly rival the bibliocentric print dominance:

> Visions of the 'rising glory' of American literature burst like bubbles on the
>
> financial markets of the early national economy. Yet print continued to expand
>
> along a course no one had foreseen. In the generation after independence
>
> Americans sought out books and periodicals from abroad as avidly as ever, but
>
> they supplied their needs in new ways, thanks to the spread of printing offices and
>
> bookstores beyond the seaports and capitals where they had long been
>
> concentrated. (Gross, 2010, p. 17)

An American literary movement rapidly expanded across America as the "ideology of the Revolution not only sanctioned but also directly promoted the dramatic multiplication in the number of printing offices and booksellers in the decades after 1783" (Brown, 2010, p. 58). Patriotism and literacy became linked as a protection against tyranny (Green, 2010; Brown, 2010); however, early colonial and revolutionary works "were but a taste of the print explosion that would rock antebellum culture" (Gutjahr, 1999, p. 11).

Antebellum Print Culture

Antebellum print culture was built upon the foundations of previous generations; changes that would take place were "practical and concrete as well as abstract and ideological" (Brown, 2010, p. 60). During the Revolutionary War, book trade was displaced and shipments from Europe virtually discontinued (Brown, 2010). This coupled with the limited availability of paper and type caused the output of American books to plunge. The seizure of port print-rich capitals such as Boston and New York forced major printing operations to be abandoned, seized, or relocated to the countryside (Brown, 2010). A relocation that would further help spread the national print culture in future years.

When peace and independence came, the printing presses roared. These presses were now more decentralized than in previous times enabling print to spread south from New England to Georgia and west to Ohio and Tennessee. No place was too far removed not to be touched by the new print market pedaled by booksellers, publishers, and newspapers (Brown, 2010). In fact, "by 1840 after half a century of growth, two-thirds of the nation's printing offices and three-fourths of all weekly newspapers were located in rural villages" (Gross, 2010, p. 18).

This print revival was not only for the wealthy or just the men—it was for everyone. Brown (2010) explains,

> Rising social aspirations gave impetus to the practice of extensive reading. In the pursuit of ideological, evangelical, and commercial objectives, ambitious men sought out secular books and magazines as markers of respectability, not just as requirements for responsible voting. Women and girls read extensively to become fit wives and mothers to citizens. Many heeded the evangelical call to read the Bible and other religious works for the sake of their souls and the well-being of the nation. (p. 71)

Print culture exploded in forms of independence, new social strata, freedom, and a protective national persona. The print culture coming to fruition was one possessed with the ferocity and remembrance of war, coupled with emerging opportunities for an educated citizenry.

As these elements were met with technological advancements (Gross, 2010), near-universal literacy among white Americans was heralded (Gutjahr, 1999). Printing

presses and their products proliferated as one of the fruits of independence (Green, 2010).

Larkin (2010) explains this radical expansion:

> Geographically between 1790 and 1840 the area of the United States doubled, its
> population quadrupled, cities multiplied, and the output of American presses
> expanded even more dramatically. But the book trades, rural and urban alike, kept
> ahead of democratic trends. Decade by decade, the number of recorded imprints
> outpaced the increase of population, while the size of editions and print runs
> grew. The census of 1840 counted 1,572 printing offices employing 1,622
> workers and issuing 1,303 newspapers. Two-thirds of all those printing offices,
> three-fourths of all weekly newspapers, and half of all printers were located in
> places smaller than America's fifty most populous counties—that is in rural
> villages. City-dwelling Americans surely had easier access to print and on average
> probably read more. But most book purchasers and readers and most newspaper
> subscribers lived in villages and on farms. (p. 146)

The pace of growth in print culture was so pervasive that near the middle of the
nineteenth century New England states had a printing office for every seven thousand
people (Larkin, 2010). Though the newspaper was not a new technology, its proliferation
in early antebellum was unmatched, Gross (2010) explains,

> No medium of print was more local in its ownership and operation than the
> newspaper, which continued to proliferate across the republic. The press grew at
> an astounding rate, nearly doubling its ranks every decade and a half, faster even
> than the surging population: 365 newspapers in 1820, 861 in 1828, 1,403, in 1840.
> (p. 37)

Multiple newspapers provided access to print for all people regardless of socioeconomic circumstances (Brown, 2010). These newspapers quickly covered large cities and small towns making print a source of nationalistic identity through print culture.

The local, rural printing office often became the epicenter of the town or village social and economic activity. Larkin (2010) provides the following details:

> The setting of the rural printing office was the commercial village, a small outpost of urban life. Even in the far-flung American countryside, printers were almost never found out among the scattered farms and rarely in tiny hamlets with only a store, tavern, and blacksmith stand. Like other more specialized craftsmen and merchants, they worked in central places devoted to commerce and the professions villages that dominated local trade and communications, structured rural social and religious life, and most often served as seats of local government, with courthouse and jail. (p. 148)

Print culture took hold of an evolving nation and its emerging nationalistic identity by becoming and producing the new polity of American character. Zboray (1993) summarizes this stating, "As industrialism speared in antebellum America, the printed word became the primary avenue of national enculturation" (p. xvi).

Furthermore, the pace of change in print culture was fostered through technological advancements. Oil lamps became more popular for those who could afford whale or other forms of oil, additionally spectacles were becoming more available to the poor, which also enhanced reading in the night especially during long northern winters (Zboray, 1989). Technological advancements in methods of communication and

transportation furthered literacy and the print culture (Gross, 2010); the changes that took place didn't eliminate the need for oratory—it continued to hold its customary place in American society—however, through print culture it became enhanced.

> Speech communication, whether on the political platform, Protestant pulpit, or minstrel stage, retained its importance, but in a time before mechanical reproduction of sound such orality emphasized the local present. By contrast, type was well suited to the work of constructing a national identity; imprints simply endured unmodified beyond the exigencies of time and space. The same text could go everywhere and at any time and encourage (but not decree) a common reading experience. (Zboray, 1993, p. xvi)

Essentially, the evolving culture of print fashioned the capacity for sage oratory to confound the parameters of time and space creating an almost immortal message no longer defined by conscious borders that were dictated by the past.

While road and water shipment increased the availability of books and placed print in some rhythm of circulation that followed the agrarian lifestyle, "the second stage of internal improvements, dominated by rail, achieved an unprecedented constancy of communications throughout the country. Railroads would particularly encourage the emergence of a modern commission relationship between central publisher and local bookseller" (Zboray, 1993, p. 55). Not all changes disseminated from distribution of print material; further developments of schooling and societal class shifts increased the popularity of print. The private tutoring and female academy promoted a core of literate women who could teach other women who were previously denied formal educative opportunities (Zboray, 1993). Furthermore, "The private scenes of literacy instruction—

the family, the church, and the academy, and its predecessors—simply could not address the need to create ever high levels of literacy across social classes" (Zboray, 1993, p. 95). As work and society increased in technicality and specialization, so too did the literacy instruction and production of manuals, texts, and books. Professions necessitating high levels of literacy quickly became more lucrative and appealing to an emerging middle-class (Gutjahr, 1999).

The early influences of antebellum print culture swelled by the middle of the nineteenth century, producing a flurry of print enhancements and popularity:

> By 1840, books, newspapers, and periodicals were pouring from the press under the aegis of publishers and editors concentrated in the Northeast and reaching readers throughout the republic . . . a national print culture was taking shape amid a communications revolution driven by the steamship, the railroad and the telegraph. Through this medium Americans conducted the dynamic affairs of a democratic people and fashioned a distinctive literature and culture. (Gross, 2010, p. 4)

The culture produced by print could not exist without growing pains. Though many of the developments lead to a stronger literate citizenry, print proved to be a catalyst in white, male suffrage and fueled by rivalry between political parties. Additionally, it spawned religious denominationalism and revivalism, the introduction of schooling and high learning for elites (Gross, 2010). But print culture failed to achieve this without injury. While print culture

> heightened both national attachments and sectional resentments. It undercut local economies and facilitated interregional exchange. It pursued inclusive audiences

across social divides and carved them up into segments according to class, region,

religions, occupation, ethnicity, gender, and race. It defined lines between the

sexes, then challenged and transgressed them. It fostered rationality and faith,

instruction and entertainment, virtue and vice. It contained the multitudes and

contradictions of the sprawling nation it served. (Gross, 2010, p. 4)

Print culture simultaneously built friendships and rivals, nationalism and ethnocentrism;

it fought for freedom while condoning slavery. Print culture became the human medium

of divisions and disparities.

The product of the establishment of print culture in antebellum America

produced, prior to the Civil War, "worldwide recognition for the near-universal literacy

of its people" (Zboray, 1993, p. 83). While Britain's adult literacy rate was near 60

percent in 1851, America's literacy rate in the adult, white population was 90 percent by

1850 (Zboray, 1993). Gutjahr (1999) explained the sweeping increase in literacy stating,

The factors that account for such astoundingly high literacy rates were complex,

dating back to the American Puritans who passionately believed that the ability to

read God's word taught people both the way to heaven and the way to live

harmoniously on earth. (p. 15)

Religion appeared to be the predecessor of print culture and widespread literacy from

colonial to antebellum America. However,

In the nineteenth century, the religious fervor of the Second Great Awakening

added significant fuel to the fire of American Protestantism's voracious appetite

for print. As people converted to Christianity, many denominations felt it

necessary to teach new converts the rudiments of Bible reading. Added to the

efforts of individual denominations, the American Sunday School Union emerged

in the 1820s. Its curriculum concentrated on reading the Bible and other religious

material. (Gutjahr, 1999, p. 16)

Religion with its emphasis on Bible reading provided the slow buildup from which the

nationalistic print culture was born.

Religious Influence

The Bible played a pivotal role in the evolution of and to print culture. By 1777,

Bibles for sale were difficult to find as the war with Britain halted or disrupted the

colonies' ability to trade internationally. Additionally, Americans never attempted to

print their own English version. (Gutjahr, 1999).

After independence was secured, religionists were among the first groups to

quickly take advantage of unprecedented availability of print and the use of presses in the

late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Gross (2010) states that, "The forces for

change in the nonprofit sphere of religion and philanthropy, where evangelicals and

reformers were quick to seize upon the new means of disseminating their message and

flooded the nation with print during the 1820s and 1830s . . ." (p. 9). The products from

Christian evangelicals ranged from Bibles, tracts, periodicals, books, and pamphlets

covering diverse subjects and targeted a wide range of readers (Paulus, 2011). Though

these texts were not popular with every American, these individuals felt "so much greater

the need to propagate it. Like Saint Paul, they would labor alone if necessary and they

would convert an unwilling world with words" (Nord, 2010, p. 222). The press allowed

the preacher to print books, sermons, and tracts and thereby gave him the ability to

convey the saving truths of the gospel to thousands of individuals rather than the few in the pews (Paulus, 2011; Lehuu, 2000).

Three organizations impacted the dissemination of holy writ and the ability to read in antebellum America: The American Bible Society, The American Tract Society, and the American Sunday School Union. Gutjahr (1999) explains the modus operandi for the societies:

> For the society, the solution to print competition was simple: Make the Bible the most accessible written text in the United Sates, and you would make it the most important. With this philosophy firmly planted in their minds, the Board of Managers of the American Bible Society announced in the spring of 1829 that the Society intended to provide a Bible to every household in the United Sates within two years. (p. 19)

By 1830, the Sunday-School Union had published six million low-cost books that were disseminated from the east coast to the Rocky Mountains (Zboray, 1993). Similarly, by 1831, the American Bible Society printed more than one million Bibles for a nation with nearly three million households (Paulus, 2011).

As antebellum print culture flourished, the preeminence of print pushed the popularity of the Bible aside. Gutjahr (1999) explains, "The explosive growth of antebellum American print culture held great promise and great peril" (p. 18). The promise existed in the printing technology that would allow for more Bibles to be produced and disseminated; however, the peril of the press, in biblical terms, created greater diversity in printed material. This proliferation in print choice removed certain

privileged texts, including the Bible, from their privileged pedestal (Gutjahr, 1999). By some accounts, the Bible receded from its role as early as 1820 (Gutjahr, 1999).

The diversity created by the proliferation of printing presses and materials in so many places in the United States began the slow erosion of the bibliocentric print culture. Coupled with diversity, the nature of the Bible itself came under attack; its purity and textual infallibility was questioned, along with its doctrine, and history. All of this was played out in print and gave rise to an enigmatic plough-boy prophet and his bold American, "golden Bible" (Gutjahr, 1999).

The Place and Rise of Mormonism in Antebellum Print Culture

Joseph Smith, *The Book of Mormon*, and Mormonism were products of these cultural influences and the historical shaping of a dynamic American print culture that influenced the success of Smith's enterprise. Specifically, during Smith's early life, reading the Bible maintained its primacy in religion and literacy learning, but later emotionalism escalated while rationalism decreased (Zboray, 1993). The emphasis on emotionalism through revivals, camp meetings, and other antebellum evangelical outreaches led to a differing emphasis by the preacher:

> The authority of the preacher, which had in earlier times pulled upward the comprehension of the congregation, now gave way to the drama of the revivalist, which descended to the level of the audience. The evangelical performance might be discussed after the revival, along with feelings let loose within the community, not to the meaning of words, sentences, and paragraphs in a prepared written sermon. From the perspective of the pulpit, the orality became, in evangelical sects, more important than literacy. (Zboray, 1993, p. 90)

Reading the words "In such a war of words and the tumult of opinion" (Smith, 1838–1856, p. 2), it becomes easy to see how Smith found it was impossible to draw conclusions about who was right and wrong. Interestingly, the shift from literacy and learning were downplayed in antebellum Christianity, and Smith found answers "the old fashioned way" that is, the meanings of "words, sentences, and paragraphs" (Zboray, 1993, p. 90).

The shift away from biblical literacy was the very thing that turned Smith to the Bible and its applicable lessons. The lack of dependence on the written biblical text would, ten years later, be an instrument to herald Christianity back to the Bible and to new sacred writ produced under the direction of Joseph Smith. Further, it was from the close study of the Bible that antebellum religionists began to question the veracity of biblical infallibility and to seek and retranslations directed at the making of a purer, authentic text (Gutjahr, 1999).

While the American Bible Society and American Tract Society created a printing storm of Bibles and tracts, "The absolute dominance of the Bible in American print culture began to slip in the opening decades of the nineteenth century" (Gutjahr, 1999, p. 2). Even as the balance of exclusive reading of the Bible began to slip, it continued to hold on to its cultural, societal, and familial importance; however, Americans began to scrutinize more closely the textual intricacies within the text. Dissatisfaction, democracy, scholarship, and culture pinnacled by 1880 where nearly 2,000 differing English editions of the Bible were available; the "myriad of mutations played an enormous" role in the Bible's place in the hearts and minds of Americans (Gutjahr, 1999, p. 3).

Within this cultural context (i.e., a print culture), multiplication of presses and the availability of the press in rural farmlands in the United States, technological advances, population explosion, geographic progress, democratic independence, newspaper and print domination, in conjunction with the rise and slow fall of bibliocentric text production, piety, and popularity, Joseph Smith set out to establish the Kingdom of God and a Mormon print culture emerged (Bushman, 2007; Givens & Neilson, 2009). It was in these conditions that Smith published *The Book of Mormon* as "an answer to a mutilated Gospel record" (Gutjahr, 1999, p. 154) and "one of the most important texts ever to emerge in the United States . . . to which Literary and cultural historians have paid this best-seller little heed" (Gutjahr, 1998, p. 276).

> When *The Book of Mormon* first appeared, it did so as a book in the midst of a plethora of printed material debating the Bible's original meaning and original text. Much of *The Book of Mormon's* attractiveness to its earliest readers was how it so boldly engaged these concerns with biblical purity and reliable, divine revelation by invoking the trustworthy genres of biblical and historical writing. Assassinated in 1844, Smith would not see the migration and growth of his church in the years to follow, yet he was able to witness the initial effectiveness of his book, which rewrote American history for its readers and offered them unparalleled claims of textual purity, authenticity and trustworthiness. (Gutjahr, 1998, p. 290)

Literacy

<u>Defining Literacy</u>

Kelder (1996) cautioned scholars attempting to define literacy to not speak too knowingly or confidently about what literacy is. Literacy has a complicated definition that has evolved and continues to evolve historically; therefore, a definition that is flexible is one that should be used. Typically, literacy is described as an ephemeral set of reading and writing skills that exist independently (Kelder, 1996). Since the mid-nineteenth century, most Western industrialized nations, especially and including the United States, have funded public education with literacy as the main goal of that education (Venezky, 1990). Literacy is:

> one of that class of autopositive terms, like *liberty, justice,* and *happiness*, that we assume contain simple, primal qualities—necessary and desirable attributes of our culture—but that under scrutiny become vastly more complex and often elusive, yielding to no certain definition. (Venezky, 1990, p. 2)

Though difficult to define, some scholars categorize it as procedural knowledge (i.e., the ability to do something) instead of declarative knowledge (i.e., knowing something) (Venezky, 1990). Contradictory to these concrete terms, Venezky (1990) suggests that literacy is aspirational, suggesting that literacy is an idea or a goal that can occur through socially mediated constructs.

In 2008, The National Institute for Literacy placed more concrete terms to solidify the definition of literacy:

There are three types of literacy. Prose literacy is the ability to read and

comprehend documents with continuous text, such as newspaper articles and

instructions. Document literacy is the ability to read and understand documents

with non-continuous text, such as job applications, maps, and transportation

schedules. Quantitative literacy is the ability to perform computations, such as

reviewing a bill or balancing a checkbook. These three types of literacy cover the

types of reading that people need to do to be functional on a daily basis. (para. 2)

These three forms of literacy are a conservative attempt to define what literacy and being

literate entails. Further, the National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE, 2013)

defines literacy as a multi-modal interaction between self and stimulus:

Literacy has always been a collection of cultural and communicative practices

shared among members of particular groups. As society and technology change,

so does literacy. Because technology has increased the intensity and complexity

of literate environments, the 21st century demands that a literate person possess a

wide range of abilities and competencies, and many literacies. These literacies are

multiple, dynamic, and malleable. As in the past, they are inextricably linked with

particular histories, life possibilities, and social trajectories of individuals and

groups. Active, successful participants in this 21st century global society must be

able to:

- Develop proficiency and fluency with the tools of technology;

- Build intentional cross-cultural connections and relationships with

    others so to pose and solve problems collaboratively and strengthen

    independent thought;

- Design and share information for global communities to meet a variety of purposes;

- Manage, analyze, and synthesize multiple streams of simultaneous information;

- Create, critique, analyze, and evaluate multimedia texts;

- Attend to the ethical responsibilities required by these complex environments. (The NCTE Definition of 21st Century Literacies, para. 1)

This study follows the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization's (UNESCO, 2006) suggestion that, "[literacy] also come to refer to the abilities to read and write text, while maintaining its broader meaning of being knowledgeable or educated in a particular field or fields" (p. 148). As this study is centered in the examination of texts, materials, and individuals from the early nineteenth century a combination of historical, cultural, and functional literacies is needed; literacy will therefore be defined as the collection of cultural communicative practices shared among individuals in a group (i.e., the cultural aspects of early Mormons) and a group's capacity to engage with prose literacy (i.e., the capacity for individuals to engage in usual literacy practices of the group such as reading printed materials, especially that literature which was produced by the church). This is similar to Kaestle's (1988) definition where literacy is viewed as "the ability to decode and comprehend written language at a rudimentary level, that is, the ability to look at written words corresponding to ordinary oral discourse, to say them, and to understand them" (p. 96). This definition magnifies the

skills of reading and writing without ignoring social and cultural influences that aid in determining the functionality of individuals within a definitive space and time.

Colonial and Revolutionary Influences of Literacy

Literacy during antebellum America, like print culture, was a product of colonial and revolutionary antecedents that provided the foundation upon which literacy evolved. Questions surrounding the literacy history leading to the Antebellum period were,

> Who could read? Who could write? What was the personal and social meaning of literacy? What was the relationship between mass education and book culture? At what point does a nation consider itself to be sufficiently literate or well education? How does one define levels of literacy, and who does the concept of literacy, in the fullest sense of the term, bear on a nation's estimation of itself? (Davidson, 1989, p. 9)

Thus, like its definition, literacy becomes a conglomerate of societal, social, emotional, mental, political, and a host of other historical determinates.

Ultimately, the most profound precursor to Antebellum literacy was the nationalistic, moralistic, and bibliocentric era that immediately preceded it: "Literacy, it was held, carried benefits to individuals as well as to societies, nations, and states" (Graff, 1979, p. xiv). The element leading the infant nation toward literacy was the inculcation of morality within its citizenry. Literacy became a medium through which morality was produced, and morality, it was judged, functioned to limit immoral uses of literacy (Graff, 1979). The emergence from Puritan to reformed Protestantism within the history of America brought about

religious groups who agreed on the need to morally uplift the poor and working

classes and competed for their souls. Religion, and in particular a reforming

Protestantism, was the dynamic force in those few societies that achieved near-

universal adult literacy before the nineteenth century. (Graff, 1979, p 24)

The advancing moralistic stance of polity, parenting, and Protestantism promoted literacy

as an agent of character inculcation, societal advancement, and development.

Antebellum Literacy

Davidson (1989) contends that traditional literacy prevailed within European and

American citizens. Eventually America would be applauded on the near universal literacy

achievements of its citizenry (Gutjahr, 1999, Zboray, 1993). Widespread literacy in

antebellum America was predominately based on the family. The family, more than any

other public or private institution, encouraged literacy within the walls of the home to a

greater degree than any other. Both males and females took an active role in teaching and

learning to read and write (Zboray, 1993). Society needed literates; this meant that if

children, especially males, were to one day become successful, literacy was a prerequisite

to that achievement. Zboray (1993) explains:

The family context of literacy largely accounts for the higher literacy rates of

men. Reading and writing, in addition to conferring the all-important ability to

master scripture, provided a link between the family and the larger society.

Published laws, religious writings, and even account books brought society into

the home. Legally, religiously, and economically, the male household head

represented the family in the outside world. Parents, naturally assuming that their

sons would someday have their own households, took pains to equip them with basic literacy, while being much more lax in teaching daughters to read. (p. 85).

The end of the nineteenth century expanded the literate horizons of females,

By the second quarter of the nineteenth century, the family's role in promoting literacy had changed dramatically. The household remained important, but less as a scene where the rudiments of literacy were taught than as a reinforcing environment for instruction received elsewhere, in church and school. This extrafamilial encouragement now devolved not upon the father but mostly upon the mother. With men's participation in the market economy removing them more and more from the home, and with women's production there supplanted by industrial goods, the education of children fell into the 'women's sphere.' Since motherhood now connoted nurture and education, little wonder that the first half of the nineteenth century saw women's literacy rates begin to approach men's; in New England they became roughly equal. (Zboray, 1993, p. 85)

Women and men coexisted as partners and teachers of literacy to their children. What was learned in the home promoted success outside of it; therefore, literacy became a fundamental element within the bounds of a family and the boundaries of an expanding country.

When common schooling became available in many parts of the country, it quickly became an essential player in producing literacy. Zboray (1993) postulated, "Of all the literacy-promoting institutions of the first half of the nineteenth century, perhaps none so likely explains the expansion of the reading public as the common school" (p. 96).

<u>Literacy and Mormonism</u>

For Joseph Smith, the founder of Mormonism, literacy instruction would have come initially from his father who taught school for a time in Sharon, Vermont (Remini, 2002; Bushman, 2007). Smith received a fairly common, although haphazard, education reflective of his family's socioeconomic status as indigent tenant farmers. He learned to read the Bible from his parents and had the ability to think deeply about it (Remini, 2002). Interestingly, Smith spent most of his developmental years residing in New York that boasted the highest literacy rate of one non-reader to every fifty-six readers. After leaving New York, Joseph and most Latter-day Saints relocated to Ohio—another center of high literacy rates for the time with a reported literacy of one non-reader to every forty-three readers (Zboray, 1993). In this way, the founding of Mormonism was placed firmly on the shaky tradition of what education was available and afforded to the poor in rural New York; the pervading literacy norms of the time created, within Smith, an individual who could read, though reportedly struggled with writing coherently (Bloom, 1992; Bushman, 2007).

The degree of literacy as well as the influences of events and individuals is central to the questions posed in this dissertation. The first Mormons were associates of the Smith family and those with whom they came into contact. Nevertheless, many of the early converts were fairly well educated and required some literacy skills because early converts needed the literacy skills to read *The Book of Mormon* and gain necessary converting experiences along the way. It is not a stretch to surmise that a good member or early convert had obtained literacy levels that were equal to or above that of others of

their time and that they had, at least, some basic literacy that would enable them to read and communicate within an emerging cultural, religious, and societal entity.

Theoretical Literacy Frameworks for This Study

As the historical context surrounding the definition and uses of literacy continuously evolve, literacy expectations have climbed with the sophistication of society (Mikuleky, 1990). Because both literacy and society are not static, and "since literacy is so inextricably intertwined with social contexts, literacy decisions almost inevitably become political and social decisions" (Mikulecky, 1990, p. 31). Theory provides an appropriate lens to depoliticize literacy decisions and delve into the surrounding social issues somewhat objectively. In this way, theoretical frameworks become the medium or vehicle for analyzing literacy—especially historical literacy—by allowing a modern researcher use of modern tools to understand a socio-historical context. Theory allows an analysis of a socio-cultural group within its community of practice (Gee, 1996).

This study is informed by two main theories of literacy: Venezky's (1996) theory of literacy expansion and Barton and Hamilton's (2000) theory of social literacy. Underpinning these two theoretical frameworks is an understanding between religion and literacy. Guthrie and Greaney (1996) provide a framework for literacy that will be helpful in this analysis. They posit that literacy is achieved in order to obtain one or all of three goals:

- First, "to gain knowledge" (p. 72);

- Second to achieve personal empowerment, referring to "an individual's sense of being capable of participating, contributing, or accomplishing a desired goal (p. 73); and

- Finally, an individual seeks literacy attainment to participate in society defined as an "amalgam of groups, many of which have civic, religious, recreational, and political agendas, shared ideas, beliefs, causes, and personal needs provide the drawing power of these groups" (p. 74).

The use of the goals outlined in this framework provided the starting-point for examining early Mormon literacy as this study sought to determine the relationships found in the goals posited by Guthrie and Greaney (1996). Scholars explain that Joseph Smith relied heavily on "a Mormon print culture to spread his message and invite examination of his claims" (Givens & Neilson, 2009, p. 4, see also p. 96). Therefore literacy was needed and used to establish knowledge of the religion, gain access, establish power and relationships within it, and for the sharing of ideas underpinning the institution.

Arnold (1996) explains there is a seemingly inseparable bond between literary studies and religious faith. This connection may seem obvious considering the emphasis of western religions on scriptural texts. A central element of the reformation and enlightenment periods was that of making the Bible accessible to the common people (Givens, 2007). Religious fervor, and religious history aside, literacy theory assists the religious reader and religious scholar in understanding the complexities of literacy and the literacy of adherents. Pavia (2009) states:

> Religion has long influenced the rewards and costs of people's literacy practices, perhaps more so than any other institution throughout U.S. history. Religion affects how people use literacy in their personal and everyday lives to find and live with meaning and personal power. (p. 73)

Historical research allows the researcher to evaluate the past, unlock possibilities of understanding and determine how to make best use of them (Monaghan & Hartman, 2000). These "lessons" readily come in the form of ideology, culture, and traditions. Of these, Barton and Hamilton (2000) suggest we "need a historical approach for an understanding" (p.13). Therefore, an analysis of literacy and the use of print in early Mormonism pairs the rewards and costs of literacy practices with an examination of how that past may help evaluate the present or future.

Mormonism began with textual experiences and literacy as Joseph Smith's reading of the Bible lead to his vision with Deity. Similarly it was, for many, the literacy experience in reading *The Book of Mormon* that led to conversion. As Mormon history is a literacy history that was mediated through the culture and context of its time, Mormon literacy history is a social literacy—its effects were not limited to one person or family, but would eventually be felt globally. Because of the social and cultural expansiveness of Mormon literacy, two frameworks are used to provide a theoretical lens through which to view the legacy of Mormon literacy in a social context.

Theory of Literacy Expansion

Venezky's (1996) theory of literacy expansion states that "social changes which enlarge individual space offer the greatest opportunity for the spread of print culture and that where print culture expands, literacy expands" (p. 48). This framework provides a

plausible starting point for developing an understanding of the publishing ventures of the early church. Like so many other scholars (Brown, 2010; Davidson, 1989; Graff, 1979; Gundaker, 2010; Gutjahr, 1999; Green, 2010, Gross, 2010) Venezky (1996) places literacy within a nationalist context:

> Literacy represents both a national aspiration and set of human practices anchored in space and time. From this dual existence literacy has acquired both a sociopolitical dimension, associated with its role within society and the ways in which it is deployed for political, cultural, and economic ends, and a psychological dimension associated with cognitive and affective properties that lead to greater or lesser individual motivation for and competence with writing and print. (p. 46)

Combining human practices, national identity, and cultural factors with literacy activated a social construct for Mormon literacy.

Expanding literacy would never be needed as long as "individuals saw their lives as permanently rooted to an ancestral farm or village, their occupations and social statuses determined inexorably by heredity, and their relationships to scripture and the supernatural mediated by others, there was little need for literacy" (Venezky, 1996, p. 47). Joseph Smith influenced the necessity of scripture mediation by placing the newly published *Book of Mormon* in the hands of learned men, farmers, women, and the poor while beginning the creation of a culture that needed literacy by creating a literacy need. A need so profound that text and literacy could lead one to God—just as it had done for him—only scripture could elevate a farmer (i.e., himself and the vast majority of Americans of the time) to be exalted not from but in their agrarian labor to reach God. No

priestly injunction or penance could interrupt the individual sanctified by the word; thus, the need for literacy was socially created. Venezky (1996) states further:

> The change in relationship between individual and scripture that resulted from the Reformation expanded the mental world of the devout. Where once the village priest provided verse and interpretation, now each individual, at least within the new Protestant faiths, was directly responsible for these. These and other changes expanded continually the mental and physical space within which the ordinary person lived, making communication beyond the immediately observable world both necessary and desirable. (p. 48)

The changing relationship between priest and worshipper in America at this time may have created a necessary catalyst within Mormonism to create a literacy need. This need was filled as Smith emphasized and produced scripture. The core of literacy expansion theory determines that when individuals are given enlarged space through social changes, it provides an opportunity for the spread of print culture, and "where print culture expands, literacy expands" (Venezky, 1996, p. 48).

"For Americans, the fact that being able to read enables the individual to transcend time and space and to liberate the mind and spirit has been a critical component of literate life" (Heath, 1996, p. 4). Thus, through the expanding Mormon canon, the mind and spirit could be liberated. Venezky (1996) further postulates that "literacy is a response to the needs of collective society" and "therefore the most immediate social change that promotes wider literacy is the expansion of writing and print into areas of everyday life where previously it did not exist or where its role was more restricted" (p. 47). When Smith introduced *The Book of Mormon* as scriptural text to a population of

believers, it started a cultural group down the path of print towards a print-centric culture bringing people to God through print and literacy. Literacy expansion can be seen as a function of cultural need that produces greater literacy for the cultural group. In this way, written texts play a major role in creating a community and individual's social practices (Gee, 1996). Venezky's theory of literacy expansion provides a theoretical framework for interrogating the print culture that Smith established from 1830-1844, since Smith understood his mission would require publication (Bushman, 2007), and therefore the publication of *The Book of Mormon* was the start of a "Mormon print culture" (Givens & Neilson, 2009, p. 4).

Social Literacy Theory

Distinct social contexts create differing literacy activities (Guthrie & Greaney, 1996). The intertwining of society, culture, and purpose surround literacy activities and meaning-making becomes a socially mediated act. These acts may have texts serving as the foundational material used to create meaning (Gee, 1996) thus an attempt to illustrate the historical formation of facts as they are negotiated through social forces is an attempt to create connections between knowledge, power, and domination as well as to construct a more just society (Siegel & Fernandez, 2000).

Locating literacy within social contexts, rather than within individuals, allows for a determination how groups function in literary ways and evolving literacy from an individual to community resource. Doing so brings understanding to the social norms, rules, and power relationships in the consuming, creation, and proliferation of text and literacy (Barton & Hamilton, 2000). Culture heredity and the influence of literacy, therefore, cannot be separated; together the community of practice becomes cyclical

when individuals become products of the literature consumed combined with cultural influences. Goody and Watt (1988) explain further,

> The content of the cultural tradition grows continually, and in so far as it affects any particular individual he becomes a palimpsest composed of layers of beliefs and attitudes belonging to different stages in historical time. So too, eventually, does society at large, since there is a tendency for each social group to be particularly influenced by systems of ideas belonging to different periods in the nation's development; both to the individual, and to the groups constituting society, the past may mean very different things. (p. 21)

The individual and the historical contexts of the period combined form the literate make-up of that individual and the society that mediated the consumption of the literacy (Scribner, 1988). Prucell-Gates et al. (2004) reach this ultimatum:

> Any act of reading or writing, the use of words, cannot escape this sharing and struggle over words. For this reason, the meaning of what is written or read, and the meaning of the act of reading or writing, is necessarily contextual. It is social. (p. 30)

Barton and Hamilton (2000) provide further justification for studying groups of literates within their social context—rather than as individuals. They posit, "at the detailed micro level it can refer to the fact that in particular literacy events there are often several participants taking on different roles and creating something more than their individual practices. At a broader macro level it can mean the ways in which whole communities use literacy" (p. 13). As discussed in previous chapters, the history of the Latter-day Saints (LDS) church is a literacy history. It has occupied space and time in which

individuals promoted and even promulgated literacy; thus, this theory provides a lens that offers insights as for the implications of early Mormon literacy practices.

Looking at literacy through social practices, what many researches call literacy communities (Barton & Hamilton, 2000; Florio-Ruane & McVee, 2000; Gee, 1996; Guthrie & Greaney, 1996), provides a framework to analyze the literacy practices of individuals, and individuals within a group. Barton and Hamilton (2000) examine literacy through observable events mediated by texts that create discourse communities. The individuals in these communities adopt or adapt to literacy needs that produce a more literate society (Venezky, 1996). Guthrie and Greaney (1996) suggest that literacy is a personal choice that impacts self and society; yet, social contexts give rise to differing literacy activities, producing dialectical thought (Siegel & Fernandez, 2000) that attempts to "trace out the historical formation of facts and their mediation by social forces" (p. 145). In LDS history, as in most histories, literacy communities and literacy events were socially mediated to "connect knowledge, power, and domination to construct a more just society" (Siegel & Fernandez, 2000 p. 145). Therefore, it may be found that the Latter-day Saints journey toward a just society is a product and process of literacy; literacy is, therefore, the means and the end of Mormon ideals.

Barton and Hamilton's (2000) three-pronged approach for examining practices, events, and texts provides a good fit for historical literacy analysis. Essentially, Barton and Hamilton (2000) couple history, literacy, and culture explaining:

> This means that *literacy practices are patterned by social institutions and power relationships, and some literacies are more dominant, visible and influential than others. . . .* People are active in what they do and *literacy practices are*

purposeful and embedded in broader social goals and cultural practices. . . .

Any study of literacy practices must therefore situate reading and writing

activities in these broader contexts and motivations for use. (p. 12, emphasis

added)

Literacy practices are patterned after social institutions (Barton & Hamilton, 2000).

Therefore, Mormon literacy is a function of Mormon culture and serves to enhance the

goals and cultural practices of the group. Barton and Hamilton (2000) assert further that

particular literacy events are often participants taking on particular literacy roles

producing social rules of production for use in particular literacies.

This study rests most heavily on Barton and Hamilton's (2000) theory of "Social

Literacy." This theory, when considering other theories of social literacy theory, is best

known and most widely accepted in determining the key theoretical assumptions of

literacy as a social practice (Purcell-Gates, et al., 2004). These key assumptions are:

- Literacy is best understood as a set of social practices; these can be inferred
  from events that are mediated by written texts.

- There are different literacies associated with different domains of life.

- Literacy practices are patterned by social institutions and power relationships,
  and some literacies are more dominant, visible, and influential than others.

- Literacy practices are purposeful and embedded in broader social goals and
  cultural practices.

- Literacy is historically situated.

- Literacy practices change and new ones are frequently acquired through
  processes of informal learning and sense making. (pp. 7-8)

This theory creates literacy events, practices, and texts that govern, empower, change, and illuminate a culture, in the case of this study, Mormon literacy and print culture. Purcell-Gates et al., (2004) elucidate Barton & Hamilton's theory stating:

> Within this view, *literacy practices* are larger than acts of print-based reading and writing. Literacy practices are sociocultural related ways of using written language, and they involve values, attitudes, beliefs, feelings, and social relationships. In this sense, they are not observable per se but must be inferred by the literacy events and texts utilized as part of the literacy practice. (p. 32)

Barton and Hamilton (2000) position literacy in the lives of specific actors (i.e., early Mormons) and explain that literacy is a set of social practices that are used in social institutions and power relationships; that it is mediated through text that is historically situated. With this theory, Mormon history can be interrogated for the circumstances that illustrate how print and literacy were used as media to create the social culture of Mormonism.

Finally, literacy events (Heath, 1988; Purcell-Gates et al., 2004) are conceptual tools to aid the examination of differing communities and their literate practices and relationships. Heath (1988) defines a literacy event as "any occasion in which a piece of writing is integral to the nature of participant's interactions and their interpretive processes" (p. 350). Purcell-Gates, et al., (2004) state that,

> Literacy events *are* observable. They are generally defined as any instance of interaction with print, either writing or reading, or its interpretation. For this reason, analysis typically moves from literacy event to literacy practice, from

what is happening to the meaning that the event has for participants, or from

asking "what is happening?" to "why is this happening? (p. 32)

These definitions of literacy events both adhere to the primacy of textual experience as a

necessary element of an event; however, Heath's (1988) inclusion of participant

interactions (i.e., occurring individually or socially) adds an important component.

Prucell-Gates et al., (2004) determine to take literacy events one step further by moving it

from a strict event to an interpretation. Social literacy in context of this study, then

essentially becomes a study of socially mediated literacy events.

Therefore, the theories postulated by Barton and Hamilton (2000) and Venezky

(1996) combine to provide a functional framework for analyzing Mormon history. As

print and literacy cultures are created and expand, these theories help determine

relationships between the roles of texts, participants, the development of literacy within a

cultural group, the events and practices within the sociocultural group, and its cultural

context. These elements place Mormon print and literacy culture within its historical

context along with the complexities of its national epoch in antebellum America. As

individuals within a group, early Mormons participated in a sociocultural community of

literates mediated by texts, participants, power, and the invisible cargo of culture.

A Mormon Philosophy of Education

Given Mormonism's historical and literary context, this section delineates how

Mormons have applied the theological imperative to "seek learning by study and by

faith" (Smith, 1838–1856, p. 261). This section provides, first, a general overview of how

Joseph Smith and early Mormons received and directed their education through specific

time periods covering the early history of the church and its contemporary global

educational initiatives. Second, after the historical context is established, a delineation regarding the philosophical and doctrinal imperatives of education is discussed. In essence, the historical context provides the *what* and the *how* of Mormon education, while the second portion of this section explains *why*.

<u>Joseph Smith</u>

As Mormon history is Joseph Smith (Bloom, 1992) both religiously and educationally, it is necessary to discover his educational background and epistemology regarding such. Joseph Smith and many other early church leaders had only rudimentary educations at best (Bloom, 1992; Remini, 2002), which was not unusual for the era of education (Givens, 2007) in which they lived. Smith was part of a family and era that did not provide formal education to all children, but Joseph Smith Sr. was literate and for a time taught school during some winters in Sharon Vermont (Remini, 2002). As was tradition in American familial circumstances and education of the time, Smith was trained to read the Bible (Remini, 2002). There is record that he attended some school in 1828 (Bushman, 2007) but remained there for only a short time and attended while working. Therefore, it was not the education he received—but the lack thereof that produced insecurities and inadequacies in Smith that he knew could be eradicated through learning. Thus, as an adult he instituted education as a focal point of his ministry. His tenacity for learning has labeled Joseph as a religious genius who surpassed the likes of Emerson, Whitman, and Edwards (Bloom, 1992); as unquestionably the most important reformer and innovator in American religious history (Remini, 2002); and as a religious innovator whose genius is underestimated and unique in our history (Bloom, 1992).

After meeting Joseph Smith, Josiah Quincy, Jr. said,

It is by no means improbable that some future text-book, for the use of generations yet unborn, will contain a question something like this: What historical American of the nineteenth century has exerted the most powerful influence upon the destinies of his countrymen? And it is by no means impossible that the answer to the interrogatory may be thus written: Joseph Smith the Mormon Prophet. (Quincy, 1883, p. 376)

The products of Joseph's thoughts on learning and education may have spawned or directed from revelation. It may be said that the doctrines that surround Mormon ideals of education are under the umbrella of belief regarding eternal life and its relationship to learning as received by revelation from God to Smith (Givens, 2007). Regardless of the source of Smith's impulse toward education, it was relentless:

In the midst of the Saints' poor and arduous beginnings, he organized schools and universities and spent days and days in the classroom himself. Learning was given the best possible endorsement in the scriptures and in Joseph's life: it was made part of God's work. (Bushman, 2004, p. 31)

Education was emphasized throughout the emergence of the Mormon church and has continued to evolve globally, just as its membership has (Givens, 2007).

New York Period (1830-1831)

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was officially organized in New York on April 6, 1830 (Roberts, 1965). However, it wasn't long after that the church was driven out of New York. In the short time that the nucleus of Latter-day Saints resided

there, education was not a specified directive as it would be in just over a year. After Joseph Smith's initial interaction with Deity in the spring of 1820 to removal of the church in 1831, emphasis was placed on translating and publishing *The Book of Mormon*, missionary work, and organizing the gathering to take place in Kirtland, Ohio. Though schools and other houses of learning were not created by the church during the New York Period, converts and adherents would continue to send their children to school, read scriptures, and participate in other literacy events centered in the community and church.

Kirtland/Missouri Period (1831-1838)

Just over a year after the organization of the church, the first revelatory directive concerning learning and education was received in June 1831. The revelation dictated that W.W. Phelps, a prominent newspaper editor and recent convert in Kirtland, Ohio, was to assist Oliver Cowdery in the task of "selecting and writing books for schools in this church" (Jessee et al., 2009, p. 155). In response to this and other scriptural directives, Joseph encouraged the members of the church to establish private schools. The Saints responded by opening shops, barns, and homes for instruction (Black, 2009).

On December 27, 1832, Joseph Smith received what some scholars have called "the most detailed revelation on education of this dispensation" (Porter, 1996, p. 26). This revelation inspired Mormons to seek diligently and teach one another out of the "best books," to seek learning by "study and also by faith" (Jessee et al., 2009, p. 307), and to teach diligently with the promise in so doing God's grace would be attendant (Jessee et al., 2009, p. 301). They were encouraged to be instructed in theory, principle, doctrine, and laws of the gospel, and in *all* things "pertaining to the Kingdom of God"

(Jessee et al., 2009, p. 301). In addition to doctrinal learning, Smith revealed that all learning was encouraged and important explaining that it was,

> expedient for you to understand, of things both in heaven and in the earth, and under the earth, things which have been, things which are, and things which must shortly come to pass; things which are at home, things which are abroad; the wars and the perplexities of nations, and the judgments which are on the land; and a knowledge also of countries and of kingdoms— (Jessee et al., 2009, p. 301)

Thus, providing the philosophical and epistemological underpinnings to study all subjects and all things pertaining to the planet and to God; expansive learning, for Mormons, was now a commandment. This revelation, according to Mormons, came *through* Smith but *from* God.

Schools in the Kirtland vicinity were founded "to ensure intellectual development and literacy among the rising generations . . ." (Givens, 2007, p. 78). Historically, the most studied of these schools was the famous "School of the Prophets" (Bennion, 1939). Joseph Smith initiated this school in a response to a revelation (Jessee et al., 2009, p. 309) and was comprised mostly of church leaders and as a form of missionary preparation but would expand to teach many other subjects. Sessions of the School of the Prophets and School of the Elders were held in 1832, Summer 1833, and 1834 (Arrington, 1977). These schools taught doctrine, geography, literature, philosophy, politics, and grammar, government, current issues, liberal studies, Latin, Hebrew, and Greek. It was one of the first American schools to offer adult classes on the high school level similar to Josiah Hollbrook's adult education programs that inaugurated the lyceum movement (Arrington, 1977; Givens, 2007). Other divisions of the school comprised the Kirtland High School

and Elder's School where nearly 100 students enrolled and where Joshua Seixas was

hired from Oberlin College to teach Hebrew in 1836. The Mormon philosophy of

education quickly became a pedagogy of the primacy of knowledge; knowledge that was

to be "painstakingly acquired the old-fashioned way: slogging through textbooks,

learning languages, attending lectures, and culling the best of modern science" (Givens,

2007, p. 65).

Simultaneously, another church settlement in Missouri began by laying the

foundation of a school followed by a temple, beginning the enterprise of Zion and the

Zionist movement within Mormonism. In August 1831, migrants from Colesville, New

York laid the foundation of a school-church in Kaw Township, Missouri. The first school

erected in present boundaries of Kansas City (Arrington, 1977; Bennion, 1939).

Schooling and education was not as prevalent in Missouri where persecution quickly

became hostile and the Saints were impoverished. As in New York, the Saints would

again have to find a new home to build their schools and temples (Roberts, 1965).

Nauvoo Period (1839-1845)

December 17, 1840 provided a monumental day in the educative history of the

church. The state of Illinois signed a bill into law that inaugurated the first city university

in the state, it was in the Mormon settlement of Nauvoo (Black, 2009). It was a self-

governing institution aimed at educating citizens (both adults and children) of Nauvoo

headed by a chancellor, registrar and board of regents. Classes began in August of 1841

(Black, 2009). The founding philosophy and framework of the University of the City of

Nauvoo was the genesis of its Utah equivalent that would become Brigham Young

University. Of the Nauvoo University, Smith said, "We hope to make this institution one

of the great lights of the world, and by and through it, to diffuse that kind of knowledge which will be of practicality, utility, and for the public good, and also for private and individual happiness" (as cited in Black, 2009, p. 197).

In 1843, schools in Nauvoo began initially being held in homes, barns, and vacant offices. Schools were fully staffed and crowded with students. Basic subjects were taught, usually without the aid of common resources (Arrington, 1977; Black, 2009). By January 1844, at least seventy-four leading citizens in Nauvoo met to organize a library and literary institute (Godfrey, 1974). Initially over four hundred books were held in the library and Joseph Smith was a founding and active member of the institute. The historical account provides a list of books that Joseph contributed to the library (Godfrey, 1974).

Though education and building progressed, it was never fast enough for Joseph, who stated:

> In consequence of the impoverished condition of the Saints, the buildings which are in course of erection do not progress as fast as could be desired; but from the interest which is generally manifested by the Saints at large, we hope to accomplish much by a combination of effort, and a concentration of action, and erect the Temple and other public buildings, which we so much need for our mutual instruction and the education of our children. (Smith, 1976, p. 168)

This persistence for learning and advancement were a part of Joseph Smith throughout his entire life; to him and the Saints, visions and revelations were not only intellectual and immemorial, but pervasive and literal—they were actions to be taken (Bloom, 1992).

Utah (1847)

Following the death of Joseph Smith in June 1844, the Saints again moved west. They journeyed 1,300 miles, and entered the Salt Lake Valley after crossing the Rocky Mountains. Before leaving Nauvoo, the Saints were told by Brigham Young to include educational materials in their provisions. They were encouraged to take "every book, map, chart, or diagram that may contain interesting, useful, and attractive matter, to gain the attention of children, and cause them to love to learn to read; and all other variety of useful and interesting writings" (as cited in Arrington, 1977, p. 11).

Under the leadership of Brigham Young in 1847, the pattern of building temples and schools began anew. When the early Saints were struggling to produce enough food to live, they started schools, to lift their children to light and knowledge and greater usefulness (Eyring, 2001). Within three months of their arrival in the Salt Lake Valley, Mary Jane Dilworth opened the first school in a small round tent (Arrington, 1977). Schools began quickly as immigrants and converts entered the valley. With them they brought poverty, experience, and education. Soon converts from England, Europe, and Scandinavia would influence the Saints in culture, language, and education.

By 1850, the University of Deseret (now University of Utah) was founded and common schools were built. After the completion of the railroad, other religious denominations entered Utah and started free parochial schools in an effort to Christianize the Mormons (Iba, 2004).

The Global Church

Literacy plays a fundamental role in the life and participation within the religion for Latter-day Saints. To promote education and literacy through the worldwide church,

the women's organization (i.e., the Relief Society) was empowered to use a church produced literacy course that was created in 1993 to help individuals read and write in their own language (The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints 2013a).

The most recent application in Mormon philosophy of education is the perpetual education fund. Patterned after a fund that provided money for convert immigrants from European countries to the Salt Lake Valley in the early days of the church, the perpetual education fund provides low-interest loans to individuals in poor areas of the world to pay for technical or university training. The perpetual education fund operates from contributions made by members of the church throughout the world. The fund, established in 2001, has provided the means for over 50,000 participants in over 50 countries (53% of these are women) to attend post-secondary education. The perpetual education fund is a Mormon innovation to pull its people out of poverty and have them provide for their families, communities, and countries (The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2013b).

Even in destitution, education was, and is, a top priority of the Saints. The inception began in New York's fertile fields and traveled to the high deserts of the mountain west, these seeds have spread through the world. In the time of difficult colonization and poverty, Brigham Young asserted:

> Some say they are not able to send their children to school. In such a case, I think I would rise in the morning, wash myself, take a little composition (tea), and try, if possible to muster strength enough to send my children to school, and pay their tuition like a man. When you have done this, if you are still unable, apply some of your neighbors to assist you. . . . I know such persons are weak and feeble; but the

disease is in the brain and heart—not in the bones, flesh, and blood. Send your

children to school. (As cited in Arrington, 1977, p. 10)

Historical and Modern: The Mormon Philosophy of Education Defined

As the church has historically implemented methods of education, does this

generate a specific philosophy? Other groups in America have coupled religion and

education (Holland, 2011), are Mormons any different? According to Mormons, they are.

Oaks (2009), an Apostle in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints explains, "As

Latter-day Saints we believe in education, and we have a philosophy about how and why

we should pursue it" (p. 26). The Mormon philosophy of education presents itself

through revelation to Joseph Smith and the teachings of church leaders, which all stems

from doctrinal, sacred, imperatives for Mormons to progress to become as God and

Christ; if Deity is omnipotent, certainly man should attempt to become as educated and

knowledgeable as possible (Eyring, 2001). Therefore, to Mormons, "[Our] religion . . .

prompts [us] to search diligently after knowledge. . . . There is not another people in

existence more eager to see, hear, learn and understand truth" (Worthen, 2012, p. 61).

Worthen also states that, "LDS theology teaches that the acquisition of knowledge is an

essential component of God's eternal plan for his children. Our ability to achieve the full

measure of our divine potential—our very exaltation—is dependent on it" (p. 62). In this

way the acquisition of knowledge is not simply a good idea in Mormon theology, it is

salvific. This emphasis on education started with Joseph Smith and continues today. It is

essential in acquiring the divine nature of Jesus and God:

and a life like that of God is the patient, steadfast, laborious acquisition of all

knowledge. And this particular brand of perfectionism, which incorporates the

sacred and the worldly and which reconciles certainty with ceaseless searching, is

the pattern that Joseph initiated and emulated almost from the foundations of

Mormonism. (Givens, 2007, p. 72)

Thus, Joseph Smith established the pattern for education; he was the prototype of

Mormon learning. He taught that all things are spiritual and God never has given a

commandment that was strictly temporal, therefore whether the learning is spiritual or

other; it is of God (Jessee et al., 2009, p. 49).

The doctrinal underpinnings of education originated in revelations to Joseph

Smith. Since the earliest days of the church, leaders have consistently placed a high

premium on learning (Chadwick et al., 2010). In 1831, at Kirtland Ohio, Joseph Smith

received a revelation characterized as the Lord's established purpose and process for

education (Eyring, 2001). The revelation states "seek ye diligently and teach one another

words of wisdom; yea seek ye out of the best books words of wisdom; seek learning,

even by study and also faith" (Jessee et al., 2009, p. 307). In this revelation spiritual

learning was emphasized by commanding adherents to be instructed in principle,

doctrine, and the law of the gospel, but also,

Of things both in heaven and in the earth and under the earth; things which have

been, things which are, things which must shortly come to pass; things which are

at home, things which are abroad; the wars and the perplexities of the nations . . .

knowledge also of countries and of kingdoms. (Jessee et al., 2009, p. 301)

Later Smith would receive further revelation determining "it is impossible to be saved in

ignorance" (Jessee et al., 2009, p. 307), ". . . study and learn, and become acquainted with

all good books, and with languages, tongues and people" (Jessee et al., 2009, p. 519), "If

a person gains more knowledge and intelligence in this life through his diligence and obedience than another, he will have so much the advantage in the world to come" (Smith, 1843, p. 6), and finally, "the glory of God is intelligence" (Smith, Revelation Book 1, p. 167). These doctrinal roots continued to direct and justify the Saint's pursuit of education in each settlement.

Within this context, it should be noted that Mormon leaders have always taught that first priority should be given to spiritual learning followed by secular; putting God and his Kingdom first would provide blessings from heaven to provide spiritual assistance to those seeking education that would enhance natural abilities (Eyring, 2001).

Learning, for Mormons, is approached differently, because Mormons believe learning is eternal and is therefore an act of consecration and worship (Maxwell, 1995). Givens (2007) summarizes this philosophy stating:

it is to this two-pronged approach that we may trace the Mormon paradox of a culture of spiritual certainty—a group embrace of a rhetoric of absolute self-assurance about spiritual truths—coexisting with a conception of education as the endless and eternal acquisition of the knowledge that leads to godhood. (p. 74)

Because of the belief of Mormons in their doctrine, the educational philosophy that was taught was immediately applied through building schools and the School of the Prophets.

To seek learning by study and faith epitomizes the Mormon philosophy of education. Learning is salvific to be used for the betterment of man and society. It is a gift from God and a major element of the religion (Oaks, 2009). The philosophy is essentially dogmatic: it is to get all the education possible, use the education for the

betterment of self and life, and in so doing man may approach the attributes held within Deity. Poetically it is simply expressed by Orson Pratt:

"The *tool* requires a skilful hand—

That gem, no charm should bind;

That tools is education, and

that gem, the *human mind*" In times and seasons. (Snow, 1841)

Products of Philosophy

Oaks (2009) explains, "As Latter-day Saints we believe in education, and we have a philosophy about how and why we should pursue it" (p. 26). The Mormon philosophy and the pursuit of education has produced positive results for Mormons and education. Some of which may be attributed to a research compiled by Stark and Bainbridge (1984) who determine that new religious movements tend to appeal to individuals who are better educated and more successful; further research is necessary to determine how precisely this finding fits within early Mormonism. Nevertheless, "The Latter-day Saint emphasis on education has been translated into achievement" (Stark, 1998, p. 59), especially as it relates to this study in pairing religiosity and educational attainment.

Albrecht (1998) concludes, "poorly grounded religious beliefs have simply been unable to stand in the face of challenges generated by modern science and higher education" (p. 284). However, The Princeton Religion Research Center published alternative findings within the Mormon population sample (Albrecht, 1998) where, "The secularizing influence of higher education simply doesn't seem to hold for Latter-day Saint" (Albrecht, 1998, p. 286). Albrecht and Heaton (1998) also found that, "For Mormon males, 53.5 percent have some post-high school education compared to 36.5 for

the U.S. population. For females, the figures are 44.3 for Mormons and 27.7 for the U.S. population generally" (p. 302). Findings by these researchers also determined that Mormons who did not receive collegiate training at LDS Church-sponsored universities (i.e., BYU, BYU: Idaho, BYU: Hawaii, LDS Business College) showed a lower relationship between educational attainment and religiosity; however, the correlation for LDS students at non-LDS universities was still much higher than other national averages (Albrecht & Heaton, 1998).

Chadwick et al., (2010) found more LDS women had a higher educational level than Protestants, Pentecostals, Baptists, Lutherans, Catholics, Methodists, and women with no religion. The same researchers also discovered that senior LDS high school students reported significantly higher grades than non-LDS seniors. Mormons are more likely to have at least some college (61% for Mormons and 50% for population) but those who graduate from college (18% Mormons and 16% for population) or receive postgraduate training (10% Mormon and 11% population) is similar to the normal population in the United Sates (Cooperman, 2012).

The relationship between the philosophy of education held by members of the LDS church may have a positive correlation to educational attainment and success. Though these numbers provide some insight, as discussed in Chapter One, the main difference between Mormon and non-Mormon education comes from the lack of perceived secularization of Mormon students that may happen with students of other faiths.

Conclusion

Antebellum print and literacy cultures produced or at least enabled the beginnings of literary experiences and a Mormon print culture to develop. This culture may be better understood through the use of literacy frameworks and theories; specifically, those found in elements of Barton and Hamilton's (2000) theory of social literacy and Venezky's (1996) theory of literacy expansion. The LDS Church has a specific philosophy about learning and education, through doctrinal teachings, encouragement from leaders, and a culture that centers on education and learning. Furthermore, while Mormon students participate in higher education, they are more likely to retain their religious beliefs and behaviors, avoiding, perhaps, what might be viewed as secularization or apostasy from their religion through experience in higher education (Albrecht, 1998).

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

Introduction and Research Design

A methodology to match the message of research is an imperative marriage. Charmaz (2006) suggests, "Let your research problem shape the methods you choose" (p. 15) and Janesick (1998) determines, "Qualitative research design begins with a question" (p. 38). The research questions of this study suggest that a variation of grounded theory called multi-grounded theory method be used as it provides differing approaches for exploring previous research, literature, data collection, and analysis procedures than traditional grounded theory (Goldkuhl & Cronholm, 2010). Like grounded theory (GT), multi-grounded theory (MGT) allows for the postulation of a theory that is grounded within the data. Within the context of this study, data was collected from primary and secondary sources relating to the print and literacy culture in early Mormonism to theorize its relationship with education and religiosity found in contemporary Mormons.

This chapter includes justification for using qualitative methodology in a historical setting, the elements of multi-grounded theory methodology, including processes used within the methodology, the variances between traditional grounded theory and multi-grounded theory—and how these methods help to minimize some elements of researcher bias will be discussed. Charmaz (2006) encapsulates the methodology of GT, "Stated simply, grounded theory methods consist of systematic, yet flexible guidelines for collecting and analyzing qualitative data to construct theories

'grounded' in the data themselves. The guidelines offer a set of general principles and heuristic devices rather than formulaic rules" (p. 2). Although grounded theory has rigorous procedures, the procedures are not meant to be used as recipes or seen as a set of regulations; rather, they are flexible steps in a journey to an emerging theory (Charmaz, 2006).

Qualitative and Historical Research

A goal for qualitative researchers is to "better understand human behavior and experience. They seek to grasp the processes by which people construct meaning and to describe what those meanings are" (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007, p. 42). Through observation and the examination of incidents in human behavior, researchers can begin to think deeply and clearly about human culture and condition (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007).   As Denzin and Lincoln (1998) assert, "All qualitative researchers are philosophers" (p. 26); as such, this philosophical, qualitative research paradigm combines ontology (i.e., questioning the nature of reality), epistemology (i.e., the relationship of self and understanding of how truth is perceived), and methodology (i.e., how to gain knowledge of truth) (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). In light of this, it is determined that historical inquiry through the qualitative method is the best choice of methodologies for determining the relationships between education, literacy, and print that occurred historically within Mormonism.

Qualitative research in a historical sense is "the search for a story inferred from a range of written or printed evidence" (Monaghan & Hartman, 2000, p. 114) while the researcher thinks "historically, intellectually, and structurally" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998, p. xi) to find cultural and personal issues that define a group, person, or culture in a given

time period. Historical research presupposes that the "most time-honored rationale for knowing and doing history is that we can learn from the past" (Monaghan & Hartman, 2000, p. 109). Denzin and Lincoln (1998) assert that,

> social phenomena must be studied in their historical context. This involves the use of historical documents and written records from the past, including diaries, letters, newspapers, census tract data, novels and other popular literature, and popular culture documents. To understand historical documents one must have an interpretive point of view, and this point of view in turn shapes how one gathers, read, and analyzes historical materials. (p. xix)

Further, Schutt (2004) explains that unobtrusive methods can be used in historical research to investigate social processes, "when the actual participants in these processes are not available" (p. 338). The use of these unobtrusive methods for historical research allows for new insights into the phenomena being examined as it affords the researcher the ability to focus on aspects of the world beyond recent events. This is especially useful when experimental research cannot be conducted because participant observation or interview is impossible since the actors are in prior times and places (Schutt, 2004).

Combining qualitative and historical research, then, provides the necessary boundaries (i.e., time, setting, culture, etc.) and freedom (i.e., the absence of limitation in sources) to provide a profound analysis of early Mormon history that will help to inform the relationships between church history, print, and literacy culture.

Grounded Theory

Grounded Theory is defined as a theory that "is inductively derived from the study of the phenomenon it represents. That is, it is discovered, developed, and provisionally verified through systematic data collection and analysis of data pertaining to that phenomenon" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 23). It is a qualitative method that employs systematic procedures to develop a theory about a phenomenon and the realities emerging from the phenomena are traced through a methodology (Charmaz, 2006).

Grounded theory allows for the research question(s) to be developed from the review of literature, personal/professional experience, or a question that is provided to the researcher from another individual. Though a research problem generated by personal or professional experience may seem precarious, Strauss and Corbin (1998) explain that argument may not be true; "The touchstone of your own experience may be more valuable an indicator for you of a potentially successful research endeavor" (p. 36). Grounded theory allows for researcher influence because the processes found within grounded theory provide objective balance (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Grounded theory methodology is a useful research model for this study due to its relationship with and use of literature. Technical literature can be used to develop theoretical sensitivity as it advocates for the use of nontechnical literature found in historical documents such as letters, biographies, diaries, reports, newspapers, and other material as primary data especially in historical studies (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Multi-method grounded theory has a different emphasis on the use of literature. While GT promotes using literature in developing sensitivity, it relinquishes the capacity of literature to develop the actual theory. In other words, GT discourages the use of past

research to inform a new study for fear that it will pollute an emerging theory. MGT

posits that new research should be informed by the previous research otherwise

researchers may reinvent the wheel (Goldkuhl & Cronholm, 2010).

Combining past literature with researcher tendencies promotes theoretical

sensitivity. Theoretical sensitivity includes the personal qualities held by the researcher

that enable him to be cognizant of the subtleties of meaning in data. This ability of the

researcher requires a heightened sensitivity,

> to the attribute of having insight, the ability to give meaning to data, the capacity
>
> to understand, and capability to separate the pertinent from that which isn't. All
>
> this is done in conceptual rather than concrete terms. It is theoretical sensitivity
>
> that allows one to develop a theory that is grounded, conceptually dense, and well
>
> integrated—and to do this more quickly than if this sensitivity were lacking.
>
> (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, pp. 41-42)

A researcher can begin research with varying degrees of theoretical sensitivity.

Additionally, sensitivity may also be gained by the researcher through the study of

associated literature, professional experience, personal experience, and delving deeply

into analytic processes (Goldkuhl & Cronholm, 2010).

Multi-Grounded Theory

Although grounded theory is useful, it does not allow for a deductive analysis of

the literature. This inability to engage with the literature could obfuscate the emergence

of theory by the researcher (Goldkuhl & Cronholm, 2010). Because of this perceived

shortfall, Goldkuhl and Cronholm (2010) developed an alternate method to grounded

theory called multi-grounded theory. Differences between GT and MGT are discussed below and the data analysis section of this chapter. Additionally, a table representing the differences between traditional grounded theory and multi-grounded theory is provided in appendix A.

Multi-grounded theory, like grounded theory, uses the deep analysis of empirical data to postulate a theory arising from the grounding of data. The key differentiating feature between multi-grounded theory and grounded theory lies in the capacity of the researcher to use existing literature to inform the new theory rather than shy away from such exploration (Goldkuhl & Cronholm, 2010). Figure 1, adapted from Goldkuhl and Cronholm (2010), illustrates this relationship. Fundamentally, each of the three areas (i.e., empirical data, research interest, existing theories) interplay with the development of an emerging theory. Empirical data is collected (e.g., in this study through primary sources, secondary sources, and interview) and assists in the inception of theory. The theory also rebounds to the data ensuring actual grounding. Similarly, research interest and existing theories (i.e., a unique feature of MGT) also influence the creation and validation of an emerging theory. All three categories interplay simultaneously. These elements taken as a whole constitute multi-grounded theory.

Empirical Data   Research Interest   Existing Theories

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┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│               Theory Development                 │
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Multi-Grounded Theory
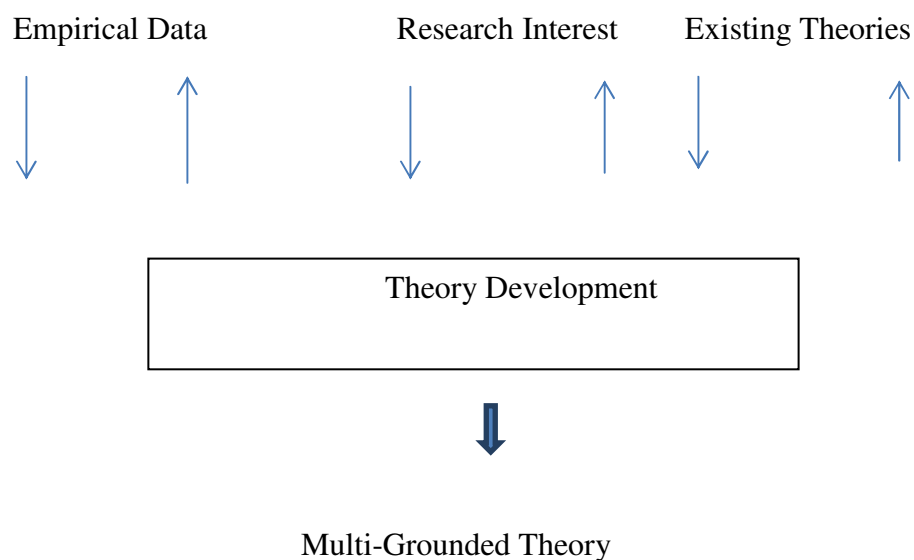
Figure 1.   Graphic representation of multi-grounded theory influences

Within this methodology, data collection, analysis, and theory form reciprocal

relationships (Goldkuhl & Cronholm, 2010). Essentially, "One does not begin with a

theory, then prove it. Rather, one begins with an area of study and what is relevant to that

area is allowed to emerge" (Goldkuhl & Cronholm, 2010 p. 23). Goldkuhl and Cronholm

(2010) claim,

> that the reluctance in GT to bring in established theories implies a loss of
>
> knowledge. In certain stages of the process of theory development, the use of
>
> preexisting theories might give inspiration and perhaps also challenge some of the
>
> abstractions made. (p. 188)

For the purposes of this study, MGT provides a more efficacious means for examining

the roots of early Mormon literacy, its connection with print and the development of a

print culture as MGT affords opportunities for utilizing existing theories and previous research.

> If one ignores existing theory, there is a risk of reinventing the wheel. As researchers we often build new knowledge on existing knowledge. An isolated theory development also means that there is a risk for noncumulative theory development. We believe that it is important to relate evolving theory to established research during the process of theorizing. Existing theory can be used as a building block that supports the empirical data forming the new emergent theory. (Goldkuhl & Cronholm, 2010, p. 191)

The study proposed here is an attempt to analytically determine the historical social literacy practices using social literacy and literacy expansion theory. Because existing theory is being used, a multi-grounded theory methodology becomes imperative.

Role of the Researcher in Multi-Grounded Theory Methodology

Charmaz (2006) explains that grounded research methods serve as guidelines in collecting, analyzing, and interpreting data. However, it is assumed, "*How* researchers use these guidelines is not neutral; nor are the assumptions they bring to their research and enact during the process" (p. 9). Prior to discussing methodological processes in MGT, a brief discussion of the assumptions that I bring to this research is necessary.

Passion in research is born from the biased mind of the researcher through the generative stages of developing research questions. Charmaz (2006) believes this genesis marks the beginning of quality research rather than an obstruction towards it. Religious scholar Bushman (1996) explains:

Every truth is socially conditioned and socially motivated. When we take an

intellectual position, we are announcing the society to which we wish to belong

and the kind of people we want to be. (p. 74)

Every question and every answer in research is subjective, politically driven, and

personally interpreted (Bushman, 1996).

These assumptions do not grant authorial liberty to research who, how, what, and

when I want. Grounded theory checks these assumptions, demanding the grounding of

theory from the data that is collected. Memos, audit trails, and feedback from committee

members will assist me in establishing a foundation for any conclusions, interpretations,

and theory grounded from the data available. The data collected will come primarily from

respected scholars in the field through interview. The Internal Review Board has

accepted these interviews as an appropriate means of data collection and interviewees

will have the option to review how I am using their comments as data if they wish, also

all interviewees were be solicited for member checks to ensure their comments are used

appropriately.

The following delineation of processes in MGT sheds additional light on the

notions of authorial objectivity and the summary following the methods section connects

the methods and assumptions addressed herein. As I attempt to remove and/or minimize

as much researcher biases as possible, it is important to note the historical nature of

sources.

Primary and secondary documents, with special emphasis on historical

documents, have been produced, maintained, preserved, and made available by biased

authors from the beginning. This study examines Mormon print and literacy culture from

1830 to 1844. These dates are used as 1830 marks the first publication of *The Book of Mormon* and ends in 1844 at the death of the first prophet/president of the church, Joseph Smith. After Smith's death, Brigham Young led the Saints to Utah and started a new epoch of LDS church history. From 1830-1844, the types, forms, and processes in which documents were created was extremely subjective. What was written—and what was not written—can no longer be traced. The existent documents as products of this time embody that subjectivity. In other words, individuals with varying reasons have produced, destroyed, emphasized, ignored, repeated, and replicated past documents and interpretations of history, compound these practices for almost two centuries, and what exists today in terms of sources that survive were subjectively chosen by biased individuals from the beginning and scholars who insist their historical importance and veracity—what exists today spawns from the intersubjectivity of the past. Therefore, as a researcher, I am collecting, analyzing, and interpreting data through the lens of multi-grounded theory that was born in subjectivity. Any conclusions reached in this research are born in a biased history, nurtured through methodological filters, and matured through the processes of questioning, methodology, and passions of the researcher. If the researcher reliability cannot be fully trusted, the following methodological processes can be. Charmaz (2006) aggregates these thoughts by explaining:

> *How* you collect data affects *which* phenomena you will see, *how, where,* and *when* you will view the, and *what* sense you will make of them. Just as the methods influence what we see, what we bring to the study also influences what we *can* see. Qualitative research of all sorts relies on those who conduct it. We are not passive receptacles into which data are poured. We are not scientific observers

who can dismiss scrutiny of our values by claiming scientific neutrality and authority. Neither observer nor observed come to a scene untouched by the world. Researchers and research participants make assumptions about what is real, possess stocks of knowledge, occupy social statuses, and purposes that influence their respective views and actions in the presence of each other. Nevertheless, researchers, not participants, are obligated to be reflexive about what we bring to the scene, what we see, and how we see it. (p. 15)

Reflexivity. Reflexivity refers to the ability of a researcher to adequately assess perceptions, interests, and background while conducting the study (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Ruby, 1980). Reflexivity is an integral aspect of this research because the researcher is not separate from the research being performed. Within multi-grounded theory, reflexivity is achieved through memos. Charmaz (2006) explains this process as

a crucial method in grounded theory because it prompts you to analyze your data and codes early in the research process. Writing successive memos throughout the research process keeps you involved in the analysis and helps you to increase the level of abstraction of your ideas. (p. 72)

Memos are free flowing informal products that are used by the researcher as an attempt to advance thinking on the research problem and to help organize the thoughts of what is happening in all the data for the researcher.

Data Sources and Collection

Before discussing the use of primary and secondary documents and interviews, it is assumed that not all of the information investigated may clarify or add to

understandings for the question proposed in this research; nor is it possible to investigate

every iota of information, as such an investigation would be too extensive and too

exhaustive for the space and time demands of this dissertation. As Strauss and Corbin

(1998) explain, "Perhaps not every actor's perspectives can be discovered, or need be, but

those of actors who sooner or later are judged to be significantly relevant must be

incorporated into the merging theory" (p. 172). Time, resources, nor space allow for

every page of Mormon, American, and personal histories to be turned; neither is it

practical to interview every scholar and examine each artifact. The current research

investigates those individuals who held power and authority within the early church

and/or were other important individuals within the early creation of the religion from

1830 to 1844. It does not include every actor in this complex dance. Individuals, events,

and products that were investigated emerge from interviews and were guided by the

literacy theories employed. As Charmaz (2006) explains, "Researchers generate strong

grounded theories with rich data. Grounded theories may be built with diverse kinds of

data—field notes, interviews, and information in records and reports. The kind of data the

researcher pursues depends on the topic and access" (p. 14). Therefore, this study

comprises data collected from primary sources, secondary sources, and interviews to

determine relationships between print and literacy culture in early Mormonism through

literacy theories.

<u>Primary Sources</u>

Though the emphasis of data collection for this research will come from

interviews, some primary resources were used. Primary sources are documents or

artifacts constructed by persons "actually involved in, or contemporary to, the events

under investigation" (Monaghan & Hartman, 2000, p. 113). Many primary source documents relating to this study are housed in the LDS Church History Library and its associated website (www.churchhistorylibrary.lds.org). Access to these historical documents is generally made available to the general public in the reading room of the library or a digitized replica. All primary documents used in this study were either seen in person or in replicated digitized records of the primary document.

Importantly, it should be noted that the LDS Church is currently digitizing and publishing every extant document written by Joseph Smith in the multi-volume collection entitled *The Joseph Smith Papers*. These volumes, as described by editors Bushman and Jensen (2008), will be extensive.

> For one who had little schooling, Joseph Smith left an unusually extensive literary record. From 1828, when he began work on the Book of Mormon at age twenty-two, to 1844, when he was killed at age thirty-eight, Smith produced thousands of pages of revelations, translations, correspondence, declarations, discourses, journals, and histories. His records will fill approximately thirty volumes when publication is complete. The goal of the Joseph Smith Papers Project is to publish every extant document written by Smith or by his scribes in his behalf, as well as other records that were created under his direction or that reflect his personal instruction or involvement. (xv)

The Joseph Smith Papers project will eventually publish each piece of writing exactly as it exists in its original form and is used frequently herein. Currently, there are several journal and revelatory compilations available. It should be noted that while the LDS Church is completing this work, the "verified transcripts meet or exceed the transcription

and verification requirements of the Modern Language Association's Committee on Scholarly Editions and the National Archives and Records Administration's National Historical Publications and Records Commission" (Bushman & Jessee, 2008, p. lx).

It should be noted again that primary sources used in data collection consist of works cited that pertain to, or are frequently referenced in secondary sources, documents suggested by scholars through interviews, and those documents that were widely read or used during the timeframe being investigated (i.e., newspapers, *The Book of Mormon*, pamphlets). These documents were analyzed in an effort to determine the relationships of print and literacy culture in early Mormonism has been outlined in Chapter 1 and 2 of this work. All documents will be within the historical parameters of 1830-1844; beginning with the year the LDS church was organized and concluding with the year that *The Book of Mormon* was published and that Joseph Smith died. Additionally, documents must have bearing or relevance to social literacy theories employed and print culture as it relates to literacy events and practices.

Secondary Sources

Secondary sources are defined as "products of those who try to make sense of the primary sources" (Monaghan & Hartman, 2000, p. 114). Though primary documents are used in this study, Monaghan and Hartman (2000) explain that an entire study could be accomplished by using only secondary sources state that "Historiographers generally use both primary and secondary sources. Although it is certainly possible to produce useful and important historical work based only on secondary sources." (p. 114). However, primary sources and interviews were also used to substantiate this study. All secondary sources were used in an effort to gain foundational knowledge of the subject matter (i.e.

literature review) and further examine the research questions through the literacy theories employed in this research.

It should be understood that in the scope of this study, it was anticipated that other secondary sources might be utilized as answers were sought for the questions being investigated. Grounded theory does not require a comprehensive outline of source material with the understanding that the researcher will use whatever sources necessary to the development of a cogent theory explaining the phenomena under study (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

These sources include seven and six volumes respectively and serve as the foundational histories, secondarily only to *The Joseph Smith Papers*, in the field of Mormon studies. Additionally, several biographies written about Joseph Smith were investigated as he may have served as the primary force behind Mormon literacy such as *Life of Joseph Smith the Prophet* by George Q. Cannon (1964) and *Joseph Smith* by non-Mormon biographer Remini (2002).

Additionally, Bushman (2007) has written several articles and books about Joseph Smith that were used in this study, such as *Joseph Smith, Rough Stone Rolling: A Cultural Biography of Mormonism's Founder*. Bushman's work provides valuable cultural implications, inferences, and influences upon the life of Joseph Smith.

Finally, Peter Crawley (1997) has written three volumes titled: *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Mormon Church*. These volumes are broken into historical periods beginning in 1830. This collection describes each of the published works that were produced by Mormons from the Church's inception in New York and its beginning

movements into Utah. It is anticipated that Crawley's work will be useful in attempting to validate Venezky's (1996) theory of literacy expansion.

<u>Interviews</u>

Interviewing is a research tool used to create data and make sense of historical events (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). Though participants of early Mormonism cannot be interviewed, scholars who have spent their professional lives studying such historical figures can provide valuable information toward this end.

Sampling. A main source of data for this study was gathered by interviewing scholars in the field. The snowball method (Goodman, 2011; Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981; Heckathorn, 1997; Noy, 2008) was used to identify individuals to interview. Snowball sampling is "a method that has been widely used in qualitative sociological research. The method yields a study sample through referrals made among people who share or know of others who possess some characteristics that are of research interest" (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981, p. 141). This type of sampling is analogous to respondent-driven sampling (Heckathorn, 1997). Because multi-grounded theory does not dictate interview-sampling methods, many of the tenets in respondent-driven sampling that best fit this study but fail to meet empirical randomness were used. These decisions were based on Bogdan and Biklen's (2007) suggestion regarding data collection and research design:

> Like most decisions qualitative researchers must make, those relating to choice of informants and allocation of time are always made in context of the study. These choices must make sense for your purposes in your particular situation. They logically flow both from the premises of the qualitative approach and from the contingencies of the study as these become apparent in the course of the work.

Often the researcher steps back to ask, 'If I do it this way, what am I missing? What am I gaining?' The more aware you are about the ramifications of these choices, the better chances you have to choose wisely. (p. 68)

The choices in respondent-driven sampling flow from the chosen methodology of MGT and the uniqueness of this study allows for the collection of rich data, data that makes sense, and data that are usable. The sampling and interviewing techniques below help establish these premises and seek to make clear the problems and reasons that underlie such decisions.

As with most snowball method interviews, a major problem lies in finding the right respondents rather than determining where to find them (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981). Individuals who are asked to respond to religious questions, professional queries, or private matters may be reticent to give permission to be interviewed (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981). In light of these concerns, I first selected Dan Bachman to interview to get the "snowball rolling." Bachman was chosen for two reasons; first, he is well-known expert on the history of the church and life of Joseph Smith. Secondly, Bachman was selected because I have a personal relationship with him, he has served as a mentor, teacher, and friend for many years, Bachman's friendship and reputation as a scholar provided a way for me (an outsider in terms of scholarship) to meet with those on the inside. Considering the potential for problems that could arise from the personal and religious nature of the interviews, Bachman provided a good fit to originate respondent referrals.

Having extensively read the literature, I was familiar with individuals who have written on the topic; however, Bachman along with other respondents provided additional

names that became invaluable. All individuals interviewed were chosen based upon their demonstrated excellence in Mormon studies as assessed by the previous respondent.

As Biernacki and Waldorf (1981) explain, "Depending on the particular focus of study, it might be extremely difficult to start referral chain that will yield certain types of respondents" (p. 155). This was true in this study as most Mormon scholars professional relationships tend to be with other Mormons. Therefore, finding non-Mormon and female respondents was problematic. Nevertheless, the individuals who were initially interviewed can be seen as a sample of key informants (Heckathorn, 1997). Bachman was interviewed May 29, 2013, all other informants were interviewed June 5-8, 2013 during the Mormon History Association Conference held in Layton, Utah. Focusing interviews in a short period of time at this conference was done to limit cost of travel expenses by the researcher along with providing an opportunity to meet many scholars face-to-face as suggested as the optimal format for interviews (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007).

As it may be understood, it is important to note that when "professionals are key informants, their professional orientation may bias their responses" (Heckathorn, 1997). Though this may be the case when interviewing professionals within some form of network it also provides specialized and rich data, meaning the individuals interviewed held similar professional positions but held differing views and views that validated other informants. Essentially, the network of informants within the confines, purposes, and goals of this study produced data necessary to successfully investigate the past followed by the application of literacy theories to provide a meaningful study of the print and literacy culture in early Mormonism.

Beginning with Bachman at the end of each interview, the initial respondent was asked for referrals. Not every referral was available for interview and time necessitated that interviews be completed by June 8, 2013. Bachman referred Bruce Satterfield, Kenneth Godfrey, and Dean Jessee. Bruce Satterfield was contacted and immediately referred his colleague John Thomas, who, due to scheduling was interviewed prior to Satterfield, and also Richard Cowan. Both Satterfield and Thomas were interviewed in Rexburg, Idaho on the campus of Brigham Young University-Idaho prior to the Mormon History Conference in an effort to secure more interview time with other respondents. John Thomas referred Matthew Grow, Robin Jensen, Mike McKay, and Ronal Barney all who were interviewed in conjunction with the conference in Layton, Utah or their offices at the church history library in Salt Lake City, Utah. John Thomas, and Matt Grow referred David Holland. Kenneth Godfrey was interviewed in his home at Logan, Utah while I traveled from Rexburg, ID to Salt Lake City, UT. While at the conference, Kenneth Godfrey introduced me to Richard Cowan who was interviewed in Layton, Utah. Dean Jessee was interviewed in his office at the church history library. Referrals from Jessee were not available for interview in the allotted timeframe and foreign professional assignments. The following graphic represents the snowball sample of those who were both referred and interviewed

Table 1.   **Graphic Representation of Snowball Sampling**
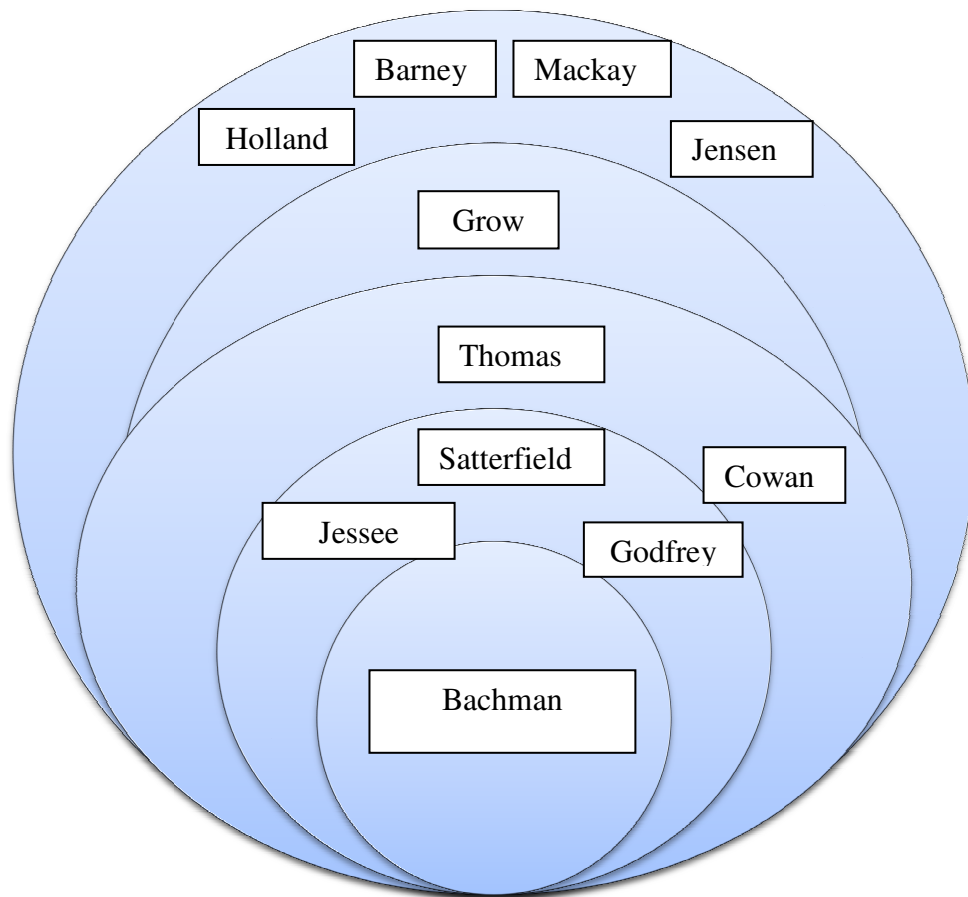
Not all individuals who were referred were available for comment, or for a variety of reasons were not able to be contacted or refused to be interviewed. The following chart is a representation of all individuals referred.

Table 2.   Representation of all referrals and interviews

	Bachman	
Satterfield	**Godfrey**	**Jessee**
Thomas	Nielson*	Wittaker++
Fluhman*	Haws++	Crawley**
Woodworth*	Dirkmaat*	Givens*

	Grow	**Cowan**
	Jensen	Bushman**
	Mackay	Holzapfel+
	Holland	
	Barney	

Anderson*

Williams++

Actual Snowball order: Bachman, Satterfield, Thomas, Godfrey, Grow, Jensen, Jessee Cowan Holland, Barney, Mackay,

*Did not contact due to time restrictions

**Contacted and willing but further contact was not successful

+Not available for interview, on international assignments

++Refused

Interviewing. The interviews conducted were the "dominant strategy for data collection" (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007, p. 103) for this study. Informants were contacted personally, through email or phone call. After permission was granted, a mutually agreed upon time was established to conduct the interview. Interviews typically lasted between 45 minutes to an hour and followed the guidelines posited by Bogdan and Biklen (2007). Each interview began with small talk and proceeded to a statement regarding the purpose of the interview, a statement on confidentiality and potential use of data, along with the granting of permission to digitally record. The interview script that was followed can be found in Appendix B. This is a semi-structured interview with open-ended questions that allowed for considerable latitude and the pursuit of intriguing topics and responses as well as the opportunity to dig deeper into questions that may have been answered too superficially. Using semi-structured interviews allowed for comparable data to be collected by each informant (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). Each interview was recorded and transcribed by the researcher using a digital recording device and computer. The specific interview questions can be found in Appendix C. Prior to its use, the interview protocol was reviewed by three teachers within the LDS Church Education System who hold doctorate degrees and three historians holding doctorate degrees to ensure that questions were appropriate, ethical, and aligned with the dissertation questions. Following feedback from these individuals, I modified the interview questions to reflect suggestions made (See Appendix D for revised questions).

Data Analysis

Bogdan and Biklen (2007) explain that data analysis "involves working with the data, organizing them, breaking them into manageable units, coding them, synthesizing

them, and searching for patterns" (p. 159). Further, Goldkuhl and Cronholm (2010) assert, "One important strength of GT is the systematic procedure of data analysis. This means that the method supports the ordering of data and this order offers traceability between the data and the categories" (p. 190). As an outgrowth of grounded theory, multi-grounded theory data are analyzed similarly; data are analyzed into categories that will lead to the development of theory. In this way, "Data analysis is not a routine-like process. It is a creative and iterative process including both categorization and validation" (Goldkuhl & Cronholm, 2010, p. 190). The goal behind the analysis of data is to produce traceability between data, categories, and theory that will lead to transparency in the study (Goldkuhl & Cronholm, 2010, p. 190).

Data are analyzed inductively and deductively within the multi-grounded methodology. Deductive analysis begins with a theory (e.g., social literacy) and a hypothesis is created between the data and the theory, followed by observation and confirmation of the theory. Inductive analysis works opposite of deductive analysis. It begins with observation (e.g., document analysis) and establishing patterns that form tentative hypotheses and culminating in theory (Trochim, 2008). This balance can be illustrated graphically as is seen in Figure 2.

Empirical Driven Analysis   Theory Driven Analysis
        Inductive   Deductive

Multi-Grounded Theory
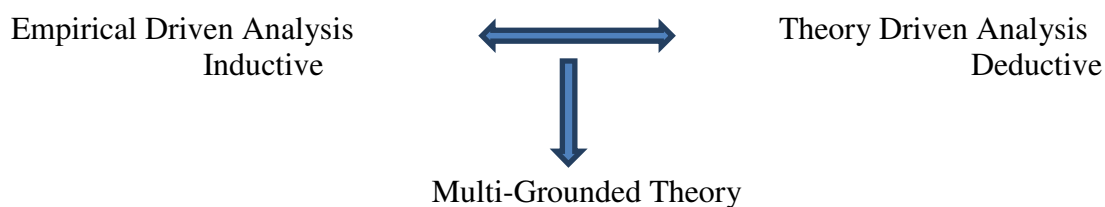
Figure 2.   **Balance of inductive and deductive analysis used in MGT**

Multi-Grounded Theory's inclusion of deductive analysis should not be seen as a limit to inductive analysis. Goldkuhl and Cronholm (2010) state,

> This should not be interpreted as a rejection of an empirically based inductive analysis as it is performed in the coding processes of GT. An open-minded attitude toward the empirical data is one of the main strengths of GT, and this is also incorporated in MGT. We have added a more systematic use of preexisting theories in our approach. (p. 92)

The balance of inductive and deductive analysis is not a didactic act, but an interplay of data and theory.

Theory Generation. The first process step in MGT is theory generation. It begins with inductive coding of the data (i.e., similar to open coding in grounded theory). Coding data is a process of analyzing and interpreting data, it includes

> the important procedures of constant comparison, theoretical questioning, theoretical sampling, concept development and their relationship—[to] help protect the researcher from accepting any of those voices on their own terms, and to some extent forces the researcher's own voice to be questioning, questioned and provisional. (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 173)

The data in their raw state need to be categorized in a manner to make them useful and establish theoretical or thematic claims. Coding data can be simple or complex, and may change during the analysis and interpretation of the data—coding is not static (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). For this study, codes were developed using the elements of Barton and Hamilton's (2000) theory of social literacy and Venezky's (1996) theory of literacy expansion. Each code had a color match for the literacy theory reference. Blue referred

to Venezky and Red Referred to Barton and Hamilton. Secondary marks and notes were made regarding which element of the theory a comment related to. For example, a respondent compared Mormon publications to the greater religious publication culture in Antebellum America; I therefore highlighted it in Red as it referred to Barton and Hamilton's social literacy theory that literacy is historically situated. After highlighting the transcription I wrote "6," which is the corresponding numerical element in the theory.

In this initial step, Goldkuhl and Cronholm (2010) implore that the first analysis of data "should be as free as possible from preconceptions of the researcher" (p. 94). They state further that, "It is harder to discover something if predefined categories are obtruded on the data. We argue here for an adherence to the basic principles of GT: the inductive way of working with data" (p. 94).

Theory generation is the process of breaking down, comparing, examining, conceptualizing, and categorizing data (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). These categories are based upon their properties and dimensions within the phenomena (Strauss & Corbin 1998). Essentially, "Open coding is the part of analysis that pertains specifically to the naming and categorizing of phenomena through close examination of data. Without this first basic analytical step, the rest of analysis and communication that follows could not take place" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 62). This analysis involves labeling phenomena, conceptualizing data, discovering categories, and naming categories in terms of properties and dimensions (Strauss & Corbin 1998).

Memos serve an important role in theory generation as they help the researcher think more abstractly about the data and the big ideas presented by data (Charmaz, 2006). Initial thoughts and beginning notions of theories can begin with informal memos written

by the researcher to him/herself (Charmaz, 2006). Thus, theory generation begins with initial coding and thinking concretely and abstractly about what the data present.

After initial data collection and theoretical generation have taken place, theoretical sampling occurs. This step allows the researcher to analyze the data and decides if further data need to be collected and where to find them to add greater depth and clarity to emerging theory. The next phase of data collection relies on the theoretical stance produced from theoretical generation and is pertinent to that area (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Charmaz, 2006). Additional data may or may not be needed to substantiate initial theoretical generation, and this process may be done many times throughout the entire research process.

Conceptual Refinement. The second step in data analysis is conceptual refinement. It diverges from traditional grounded theory as a means of working with categories critically and constructively. This process includes critical reflection on empirical statements; Goldkuhl and Cronholm (2010) describe this process:

> It is important not to take the formulations of the empirical statements for granted. Data can and should be challenged . . . What is said by interviewees is always the result of their interpretations. As researchers we should take a critical stance toward what has been expressed by different informants. We should be cautious concerning the linguistic formulations in the empirical statements. (p. 194)

All of this activity is designed to clarify concepts and categories. This is effectively done through the use of questions.

Goldkuhl and Cronholm (2010) provide steps for conceptual refinement through the following questions:

- What is it?: content determination

- Where does it exist?: determination of ontological position

- What is the context of it?: determination of context and related phenomena

- What is the function of it?: determination of functions and purposes

- What is the origin of it?: determination of origin and emergence

- How do we speak about it?: determination of language use. (p. 95)

These questions refine the concepts found during coding to determine the reality of the phenomena and will be used as such in this study. By examining the properties and dimensions of the phenomena and determining the ontological genesis of it begins to bring the data from raw codes to functional social determinates (Goldkuhl & Cronholm, 2010).

Data Interpretation. Bogdan and Biklen (2007) define data interpretation as "explaining and framing your ideas in relation to theory, other scholarship and action, as well as showing why your findings are important and making them understandable" (p. 159). Interpretation is essential to make sense of and tie data to the original question. Denzin and Lincoln (1998) state that, "Qualitative research is endlessly creative and interpretive. The researcher does not just leave the field with mountains of empirical materials and then easily write up his or her findings. Qualitative interpretations are constructed" (p. 29). Interpretations are both making sense of the findings and are intuitively "artful and political" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998, p. 30). In other words, it is

impossible to reach complete objectivity. Perhaps the greatest difficulty in grounded

theory is in the interpretation of the data. Strauss and Corbin (1998) assert that,

"interpretations *must* include the perspectives and voices of the people whom we study"

(p. 160). A grounded theory researcher must accept responsibility for the interpretive role

and "not believe it sufficient merely to report or give voice to the viewpoints of the

people, groups, or organizations studied. Researchers assume the further responsibility of

interpreting what is observed, heard, or read" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 160).

Grounded theory does not argue that creating theory supersedes other modes of

interpretation, instead it creates a valuable "interplay with data and developed through the

course of actual research" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 160). This theoretical

conceptualization means the researcher is interested in patterns of actions and interaction

between the people or cases under study (i.e., the actors). "They are also much concerned

with discovering *process*—not necessarily in the sense of stages or phases, but of

reciprocal changes in patterns of action, interaction and in relationship with changes of

condition either internal or external to the process itself" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p.

169). In MGT, data interpretation is completed in three phases: pattern coding, explicit

grounding, and theory condensation.

Pattern Coding. This step transitions data from categories to theoretical

statements. Goldkuhl and Cronholm (2010) explain,

> We use the term pattern coding, implying an interest toward conceptualizing
>
> action patterns. The kind of action that we as social scientists try to understand
>
> and explain is usually social action. This means that the action performed has
>
> social grounds and social purposes. (p. 196)

Pattern coding therefore, takes the categories made during theory generation and conceptual refinement and builds initial theoretical statements that categorically determine the relationships between what has been found inductively and deductively.

Explicit Grounding. Explicit grounding occurs through three steps. These steps provide the "grounding" in grounded theory. The first step is theoretical matching. This matching of theories means that the evolving theory is matched with other existing theories. This will be accomplished by searching the literature to determine if similar theories explain the phenomenon or help explain the phenomena. In this study, that means any emerging theory would be balanced with the theories used (i.e., social literacy and expansion literacy theories) along with others theories provided from research. The basis of theoretical matching can be done in an abstract manner looking for similarities or differences. The main purpose of this step is to provide the researcher an opportunity to further adapt the evolving theory and comment or criticize existing theories (Goldkuhl & Cronholm, 2010).

Secondly, explicit grounding calls for explicit empirical validation. Simply put this means, "Explicit empirical validation means that one changes this primary focus on generation towards control and test of validity" (Goldkuhl & Cronholm, 2010, p. 197). In other words, data are checked, verified, and triangulated for validity. To ensure explicit grounding takes place conclusions are traced back to their formation from the data and the support for substantive claims are checked.

Finally, during the theory condensation step, selective codes are brought together to reveal the emerging theory that is grounded from the data (Goldkuhl & Cronholm, 2010).

Theoretical Cohesion. "Evaluation of theoretical cohesion implies an explicit internal grounding. It is a systematic investigation of the conceptual structure of the evolving theory, where consistency and congruency are checked" (Goldkuhl & Cronholm, 2010, p. 198). The final step in interpreting data insures that the emerging theory is congruent with data and demanding consistency be a part of an evolving theory. Essentially, this step ensures the data are structured to reveal the postulated theory, a final check determining if the phenomena has been correctly coded, categorized, and interpreted, to produce a *grounded* theory—a final review ensuring that subjective influences have not erroneously interpreted data to create a false correlation between history, documentation, and theory.

The final product in MGT is a theory that represents the data, people, culture, and scholarship of the past and present. This theory is not typically generalized nor used to explain other phenomenon, although such generalizations could be possible in the future when further studies are conducted. Instead, the theory developed is used to make sense of and for the purposes of validating the phenomenon under study. An outline of MGT processes used in this study is located in Appendix D.

Conclusion

Grounded theory was developed as a qualitative methodology that can be used to inductively examine data and postulate an emerging theory that could be used explain it. Multi-Grounded Theory has emerged as a means for balancing inductive reasoning found within grounded theory with deductive reasoning. This pairing in MGT allows for existing theory to be included as part of the examination of data and in the postulation of an emerging theory. MGT, therefore, is a qualitative method that provides a framework

with which to analyze data found from primary and secondary sources, and interviews, such as those that were used in this study examining the history of literacy and use of print within the early Mormon history. The rigor and requirements contained the methodological processes in MGT aid the subversion of authorial subjectivity by appropriately grounding the postulated theory inductively and deductively from the collected data.

CHAPTER FOUR: ANALYSIS OF RESEARCH QUESTION, IN WHAT WAYS, IF
ANY, DOES VENEZKY'S THEORY OF LITERACY EXPANSION INFORM THE
USE OF PRINT CULTURE AND PUBLISHING USED IN EARLY MORMONISM?

Introduction

This chapter discusses how data are analyzed and interpreted in context of the
research questions. Specifically, this chapter explores the first research question: In what
ways, if any, does Venezky's (1996) theory of literacy expansion inform the use of print
culture and publishing used in early Mormonism? First to be discussed is how data
analysis took place within the confines of multi-grounded theory (MGT), followed by a
discussion of the data.

As explained in the methodology section, respondents were interviewed in a face-
to-face interview where each respondent was asked questions (questions can be found in
Appendix B). The process of data collection discussed in this chapter is the same for this
chapter and Chapters Five and Six.

Steps in analyzing data followed the suggested MGT protocol outlined by
Goldkuhl and Cronholm (2010). These steps will be discussed in detail here and can be
seen in outline form in Appendix D. Analysis follows the MGT steps while maintaining
the strength of original grounded theory (GT) as outlined by Goldkuhl and Cronholm
(2010) who assert, "One important strength of GT is the systematic procedure of data
analysis. This means that the method supports the ordering of data and this order offers

traceability between the data and the categories" (p. 190). Therefore, data are analyzed with the goal of creating categories that emerged from the data collected. This step was not didactic or routine but rather, "a creative and iterative process including both categorization and validation" (Goldkuhl & Cronholm, 2010, p. 190). The goal behind the analysis of data is to produce traceability between data, categories, and theory that will lead to transparency in the study (Goldkuhl & Cronholm, 2010, p. 190).

Literacy Expansion Theory

Venezky's (1996) theory of literacy expansion, suggests that the introduction of a text within a population will create a proliferation of other printed material. Consequently, as print expands, literacy will expand within the same population; specifically, Venezky (1996) explains that, "social changes which enlarge individual space offer the greatest opportunity for the spread of print culture and that where print culture expands, literacy expands" (p. 48). Historically, early leaders and members within Mormonism were products of cultural norms in print and literacy in their geographic space and time (Holland, 2011); however, the subtleties, methods, transmissions, and purposes in some instances are unique (Holland, 2011). Like other scholars (Brown, 2010; Davidson, 1989; Graff, 1979; Gundaker, 2010; Gutjahr, 1999; Green, 2010, Gross, 2010) Venezky (1996) places literacy within a nationalist context:

> Literacy represents both a national aspiration and set of human practices anchored
> in space and time. From this dual existence literacy has acquired both a
> sociopolitical dimension, associated with its role within society and the ways in
> which it is deployed for political, cultural, and economic ends, and a
> psychological dimension associated with cognitive and affective properties that

lead to greater or lesser individual motivation for and competence with writing and print. (p. 46)

Combining human practices, national identity, and cultural factors with literacy help to create a social construct for Mormon literacy and increased competence with print and literacy.

Expanding literacy would never be needed as long as "individuals saw their lives as permanently rooted to an ancestral farm or village, their occupations and social statuses determined inexorably by heredity, and their relationships to scripture and the supernatural mediated by others, there was little need for literacy" (Venezky, 1996, p. 47). Joseph Smith followed the changing protestant pattern by removing the tradition of scriptural mediation through clergy (Venezky, 1996) by placing *The Book of Mormon* in the hands of all people to read for themselves. Preaching and teaching were still necessary but the relationship of self and scripture was enhanced. No priestly injunction or penance could interrupt the individual sanctified by the word; thus, the socially created need for literacy. Venezky (1996), states further:

> The change in relationship between individual and scripture that resulted from the Reformation expanded the mental world of the devout. Where once the village priest provided verse and interpretation, now each individual, at least within the new Protestant faiths, was directly responsible for these. These and other changes expanded continually the mental and physical space within which the ordinary person lived, making communication beyond the immediately observable world both necessary and desirable. (Venezky, 1996, p. 48)

Changing the relationship between worshipper and priest mediated through the individual

and the scriptures provided the necessary catalyst within Mormonism to create a literacy

need, and Smith filled that need.

The core of literacy expansion theory determines that when individuals are given

enlarged space through social changes it provides an opportunity for the spread of print

culture, and "where print culture expands, literacy expands" (Venezky, 1996, p. 48).

Venezky (1996), therefore, postulates that "literacy is a response to the needs of

collective society" and "therefore the most immediate social change that promotes wider

literacy is the expansion of writing and print into areas of everyday life where previously

it did not exist or where its role was more restricted" (p. 47). As Smith introduced *The*

Book of Mormon as scriptural text to a population, it started a path of print and a print-

centric culture to bring people to God through print and literacy. Literacy expansion can

be seen as a function of cultural need, which produces greater literacy for the cultural

group. In this way, written texts play a major role in creating a community and

individual's social practices (Gee, 1996).

MGT Analysis and Theory Generation of Venezky's Theory of Literacy Expansion

Coding

The first step in theory generation was coding information that emerged by

analyzing data that came from interviews and other sources (primary and secondary

sources) in an attempt to explore how this theory informs the use of print culture in early

Mormonism. Theory generation and coding is the process of breaking down, comparing,

examining, conceptualizing, and categorizing data (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Each

interview was transcribed and codes were developed from the transcription of the interview that related to Venezky's (1996) theory. Comments that related to the theory were coded by highlighting them in blue. Additionally, support for, reasons that suggested, or that further elucidated the objectives and roots of the expansion under study were highlighted in blue. The main codes that emerged that inform the relationship between theory and history are:

1. Purposes and influences
2. Doctrine

Conceptual Refinement

Following the codification of data, I moved to the conceptual refinement process in MGT. Conceptual refinement means working with the categories critically and constructively. This refining reflective period provides an environment to examine the codes and make determinations based upon those codes. Goldkuhl and Cronholm (2010) describe this process:

> It is important not to take the formulations of the empirical statements for granted. Data can and should be challenged . . . What is said by interviewees is always the result of their interpretations. As researchers we should take a critical stance toward what has been expressed by different informants. We should be cautious concerning the linguistic formulations in the empirical statements. (p. 194)

Through the conceptual refinement process, additional sub-codes emerged that helped understand the relationship between theory and history more deeply. This occurred by reflecting on questions suggested by Goldkuhl and Cronholm (2010):

- What is it?: content determination

- Where does it exist?: determination of ontological position

- What is the context of it?: determination of context and related phenomena

- What is the function of it?: determination of functions and purposes

- What is the origin of it?: determination of origin and emergence

- How do we speak about it? determination of language use. (p. 95)

While reflecting on these questions, sub-codes emerged that helped determine and refine my initial conceptual codes. These sub-codes under purposes and influences that may inform were demographics (meaning the moving of the church westward, and expansion of members, etc.), persecution and recourse (how persecution formed a purpose for print), and rebuttals (doctrinal explanations and apologetics found in print). A second umbrella emerged with the key word "doctrine." Under doctrine, codes were developed to help explain how print was used in dissemination (missionary tracts, pamphlets, etc.), reflection (journaling), and elucidation (letters, books, etc. used to discuss and elaborate doctrine). The following diagram displays these codes in graph form.

Venezky's Theory	Purposes/Influences	Doctrine
Blue	Demographics	Dissemination
	Persecution/Recourse	Reflection
	Rebuttals	Elucidation

Figure 3.   **Graphic Representation of Codes**

Theoretical Sampling

Theoretical sampling is an optional step in MGT to ask additional questions to elaborate previous concepts to produce more data or more specific data. Because of the number, quality, and richness of the data received from initial interviews, I did not take the additional/optional step of theoretical sampling, which would necessitate contacting respondents to further investigate unanswered questions or claims.

Data Analysis Findings

This section discusses findings that came from careful analysis of the data based on the codes that emerged from the data. Respondent's comments that determine the research question were coded in two areas: purposes and influences and doctrine. My aim is to elaborate and substantiate the claims made by informants providing the foundation from which to build a grounded theory.

Literacy Expansion

When I first talked Mackay about Venezky's (1996) theory of expansion, he immediately said, "there is a definite expansion" (Mackay, interview transcript #11, June 8, 2013, p. 6). Bachman began similarly stating, "Written documents have been the mainstay of the church" (Bachman, interview transcript #1, May 26, 2013, p. 8). This documentation began with the publication of *The Book of Mormon* and was first initiated on April 6, 1830, the day the church was officially organized. On that day, according to revelation, the first church historian was called and began working in his position. From the very beginning, a text and an individual were to keep the history of the church

(Bachman, interview transcript #1, May 26, 2013, p. 9). Thomas explains and understands the history in a similar fashion:

It is a church that starts with a book. The book comes first. *The Book of Mormon* comes off the presses and a couple weeks later the church is organized; so you have a book even before the church is organized—that's intriguing. And then the day the church is organized you have a revelation that says there should be a record kept. So it starts with a bang in terms of print culture. (Thomas, interview transcript #2, June 4, 2013, p. 1)

Because of the print culture outset used by Smith and the church, Thomas explained how that would enhance the literacy of Mormon followers by explaining, "You start with a book and you have revelations that are being contested from the start, you would probably want to be able to read them" (Thomas, interview transcript #2, June 4, 2013, p. 5), in other words, reading became requisite for understanding. In speaking about an educational setting where skills could be taught to help individuals read and write, Satterfield explained, "There would be no proliferation if these people didn't want to learn and didn't want to come and there was a place to learn" (Satterfield, interview transcript #3, June 4, 2013, p. 8). From the beginning, the church provided a setting to train, lead, and teach. Holland puts all of these pieces in perspective stating,

The message of *The Book of Mormon* seems pretty pronounced, the idea that God involves himself in history through texts. *The Book of Mormon* isn't the end but the beginning of the restoration of sacred texts and there is imbedded in the book a theology of reading and a theology of writing and keeping records that I think is pretty overwhelming. And every time *The Doctrine and Covenants* reminds

people to come back to *The Book of Mormon* that message is reinforced. The idea

of creation by word that God speaks and it is done I think contributes to that

general importance of literacy and appreciation of the word. And a theology that

requires revelation and learning creates an implicit push for print culture and

literacy. (Holland, interview transcript #9, June 7, 2013, p. 6)

The textual emphasis on scripture places an emphasis on literacy to match the theological

implications. This emphasis on text influenced how individuals felt and their participation

with the text.

Many respondents pointed out Peter Crawley's (1997) book *A Descriptive*

Bibliography of the Mormon Church as a secondary source to validate the expansion.

Crawley (1997) tracks publications produced by Mormons starting with *The Book of*

Mormon in March 1830 and by 1844 (the time period of this study) Crawley chronicles

251 other printed sources of various kinds (Crawley, 1997). Additionally, Whittaker

(2003) traces the genesis of Mormon pamphleteering starting with Parley P. Pratt's

missionary pamphlets. Whittaker develops 11 categories that provide general themes for

subject matter (Whittaker, 2003). From Whittaker (2003) and Crawley (1997), it is easily

surmised that starting with the publication of *The Book of Mormon*, there was an

expansion of print produced and used by members of The Church of Jesus Christ of

Latter-day Saints.

Venezky's (1996) theory clearly matches the history of early Mormon publishing.

However, the theory is much deeper than simply desiring a chronicled list of print

expansion products, but seeks to understand how and why the expansion took place and

its ramifications on culture and populations. From Smith's textual emphasis and

production (i.e., *The Book of Mormon*) literacy became an avenue to truth and to God.

Venezky (1996) explains,

> Literacy represents both a national aspiration and set of human practices anchored
>
> in space and time. From this dual existence literacy has acquired both a
>
> sociopolitical dimension, associated with its role within society and the ways in
>
> which it is deployed for political, cultural, and economic ends, and a
>
> psychological dimension associated with cognitive and affective properties that
>
> lead to greater or lesser individual motivation for and competence with writing
>
> and print. (p. 46)

By attempting to understand the complexity of literacy, history, and religion, data was

collected and analyzed. From this effort, patterns emerged from the data to apprehend

and appreciate this complexity while attempting to create some foundational suppositions

to answer the cultural, historical, and religious underpinnings that verify and explain

Venezky's (1996) theory of literacy expansion. Simply put, a myriad of sources validate

literacy expansion theory, in terms of sheer volume. What will now be examined seeks to

understand the forces surrounding it. Print and literacy expanded in early Mormonism,

but why, and how, and by whom?

Purposes and Influences

In determining these questions, the data suggest reasons for the expansion of print

within early Mormonism; first, the demographics of the church; secondly, persecution

and recourse; third, rebuttals by members of the church using printed material as the

medium to defend themselves, their religion, etc.

Demographics. The first purpose or influence for literacy expansion that led to greater literacy among Mormons, according to respondents, had to do with demographics; in this context, demographics refer to the movement of the church, the number of members, etc., as described by informants. Godfrey suggested that the rapid growth of the church produced an immediate need for print,

> The growth of the church brought great numbers of converts. Many converts required education after they joined so that had a major impact. Also the fact that the beginning of the Kirtland period when the first missionaries went to Canada, you are expanding the church in areas other than Ohio and Missouri then you go to England and from England you go to Europe, so the growth was central to the expansion in print. (Godfrey, interview transcript #4, June 5, 2013, p. 11)

The number of converts influenced expansion of print because new converts needed reference material, revelations, and communication. From these needs, newspapers, letters, diaries and many other forms of printed materials were created (Godfrey, interview transcript #4, June 5, 2013, p. 11).

As stated previously, the number of publications that dealt with the expanding number of converts has been tracked by Crawley (1997) and Whittaker (2003). One of the most influential documents of the times was *A Voice of Warning (1837)* by Parley P. Pratt. Pratt wrote the book after many focal members of the church apostatized in Kirtland, Ohio.

> Fleeing the dissension that swept the Mormon community in Kirtland, Parley Pratt went to New York in July 1827 to preach the gospel and purify himself.

Few New York doors opened to him, and so impelled by his natural literary instincts, he retired to his room to write. In two months he produced the most important of all noncanonical Mormon books, the *Voice of Warning*. . . . *Voice of Warning* was not quite the first Mormon tract nor the first outline of the tenets of Mormonism, but it was the first to emphasize the differences between Mormonism and orthodox Christianity. It established a formula for describing the Church's basic doctrines, and it included biblical proof-texts, arguments, examples which would be used by others for the next hundred years. It was also an extremely effective missionary tract, and before the close of the century, *Voice of Warning* went through more than thirty editions in English and was translated into Danish, Dutch, French, German, Spanish, and Swedish. (Crawley, 1997, p. 71)

Grow further elaborated the importance of Pratt's work stating,

You have the *Voice of Warning* which is really key to the early print culture in 1837. In the early church when people talked about what the standard works were, both inside and out of the church they would say *The Book of Mormon, The Doctrine and Covenants* and *A Voice of Warning*. (Grow, interview transcript #6, June 6, 2013, p. 2)

Other examples of publications during the time period are *Voice from Jerusalem (1842)* by Orson Hyde who wrote about his missionary travels through Europe and the Middle East. It contained such things as a description of Mount Zion, the Pool of Siloam, and customs and cultures of the east.

Converts also created a print need from a logistical stance. *The Book of Mormon* indicates that "after they had been received unto baptism and were wrought upon and cleansed by the power of the Holy Ghost, they were numbered among the people of the church of Christ; and their names were taken . . . (Moroni 6:4). Similarily, a revelation received by Joseph Smith in April 1830 commanded that,

> It shall be the duty of the several churches, composing the church of Christ, to send one or more of their teachers to attend the several conferences held by the elders of the church, With a list of the names of the several members uniting themselves with the church since the last conference . . . (D&C 20:81-82)

The growing church and the revelations governing it required a record to be kept of the names of people joining with the church. Jensen further explains that when members,

> were baptized and listed as one of the members officially on record. So that is in some sense a record there and of writing things down. Often members got what was called a Patriarchal blessing which was written down. A copy was made and then given to you to be seen as comfort or guidance and that was obviously written down. (Jensen, interview transcript #5, June 6, 2013, p. 4)

In addition to record keeping for individuals who were baptized into the church, when Joseph Smith introduced ordinances that could be performed for deceased ancestors by proxy also promoted carefully written records, but also a culture of delving into familial ancestral lines, which necessitated literacy skills. Therefore, the record keeping of the church encouraged expansion. Jensen develops this idea,

When Joseph Smith introduced the baptism for the dead and other things, all of the sudden you have individuals seeking out there ancestry and the way to do that is to write to your father or your grandfather or uncle and request names of ancestors. That is an interesting thing. Where records were not really a large part of liturgy in the church that is not true of the temple. From the very beginning, there needed to be proper records kept of temple ceremonies. (Jensen, interview transcript #5, June 6, 2013, p. 13)

This pattern of finding and desiring records was influenced by the evolving doctrine of salvation for the dead. Interestingly, on page six of *The Book of Mormon*, Lehi commands his sons to return to Jerusalem to retrieve what was called the "brass plates" because they contained "the genealogy of my father" (1 Nephi 3:12). Perhaps part of the pattern in requesting genealogical records was induced from the early account found in Mormonism's new sacred text.

Record keeping of ordinances coupled with the necessary writing to request, send, receive, and perform the ordinances all helped expand the use of print. Holland explained it this way, "The tendency and strong emphasis on record keeping and to record and disseminate in print carries with it a powerful impetus plus a message about the importance of literacy" (Holland, interview transcript #9, June 7, 2013, p. 4). Through the influence of print and its need to expand, a powerful message regarding literacy was also signaled.

Record keeping served logistical purposes for the church, but it also appeared to reach the divine. An example encompassing letter writing and record keeping for the purposes proposed above was written by Joseph Smith in 1842. Here Smith writes,

As I stated to you in my letter before I left my place, that I would write to you from time to time, and give you information in relation to many subjects: I now resume the subject of the baptism for the dead as that subject seems to occupy my mind, and press itself upon my feelings the strongest, since I have been pursued by my enemies, I wrote a few words of Revelation to you concerning a Recorder. I have had a few additional views in relation to this matter, which I now certify; ie. It was declared in my former letter that there should be a Recorder who should be eye-witness, and also to hear with his ears that he might make a Record of a truth before the Lord. Now, in relation to this matter; it would be very difficult for one Recorder to be present at all times and to do all the business. To obviate this difficulty, there can be a Recorder appointed in each ward of the City who is well qualified for taking accurate minutes; and let him be very particular and precise in making his Record and taking the whole proceeding; certifying in his Record, that he saw with his eyes, and heard with his ears; giving the date, and names &c. and the history of the whole transaction, naming also some three individuals that are present, if there be any present who can at any time, when call'd upon, certify to the same; that in the mouth of two or three witnesses, every word may be established. to whom these other Records can be handed, being attended with certificates over their own signatures; certifying that the Record which they have made, is true. Then the General Church Recorder can enter the Record on the general Church Book with the Certificates and all the attending witnesses, with his own statement that he verily believes the above statements and Records to be true, from his knowledge of the general

character and appointment of those men by the Church. And when this is done on the general Church Book; the Record shall be just as holy, and shall answer the ordinance just the same as if he had seen with his eyes and heard with his ears, and made a Record of the same on the general Book.

You may think this Order of things to be very particular: But let me tell you, that they are only to answer the will of God by conforming to the ordinance and preparation, that the Lord ordained and prepared before the foundation of the world for the salvation of the dead who should die without a knowledge of the Gospel. And further, I want you to remember that John, the Revelator was contemplating this very subject in relation to the dead, when he declar'd, as you will find recorded in Revelations Chap. 20th v. 12; And I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God: and the books were opened: and another book was opened, which is the book of Life; and the dead were judg'd out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works. You will discover in this quotation, that the books were opened, and another book was opened which is the book of life; but the dead were judg'd out of those things which were written in the books according to their works; consequently, the books spoken of, must be the books which contained the record of their works, and refers to the Records which are kept on the earth: And the book which was the book of Life, is the Record which is kept in heaven; the principle agreeing precisely with the doctrine which is commanded you in the Revelation contained in the letter which I wrote you previous to my leaving my place, "that in all your recordings it may be recorded in heaven." (Smith, 1842, p. 73)

This letter from Joseph Smith to the Saints triangulates the assertions made by respondents who suggest that letters were written during this time period to keep records. Not only was the logistical need for record keeping determined by Smith, but the doctrinal importance of it. The recorder was not just putting names into books, but was following an eternal record keeping pattern. Record keeping was divinely demanded as a way to prepare for the resurrection and judgment.

Another influence involving the demographics was posited by Jensen regarding the westward movement of the church; he explained,

> If you think about the entrance into Mormonism and what that actually entails you are committing to a religion that pretty much tells you that you have to move. You have to move to frontier America. Those small events often caused many individuals to write letters . . . Generally speaking, when your son or daughter went to Ohio or Missouri, or California that sparked a lot of letters. Mormonism was the same way, when you joined Mormonism, if your family didn't completely disown you (which happened) there were often letters passed back and forth and it was often about missionary work. Where converts would write home saying, 'Let me tell you why Mormonism is so great and about Joseph Smith and what the national media is telling about Mormonism and here are my own experiences.' (Jensen, interview transcript #5, June 6, 2013, p. 13)

When individuals joined the church and moved with the church, it separated families. As the church continued to move further and further into the American frontier, traveling home became much more difficult, therefore letters served as another print expansion medium as families communicated over the American landscape.

Another example is a letter from Howard Coray (1817-1908):

Dear daughter Martha.

Yours, bearing date June 2. /89 came duly to hand; and I would have answered you at once if I could have taken the time necessary to treat upon all your questions and queries in a manner satisfactorily to myself as well as profitable to you but I could not consistently do so; Howard's time is about all occupied in looking after his saw mill– hauling lumber to fill contracts &c &c, consequently much labor and care has rested upon me– watering, hoeing out the garden, and a large potatoe patch that has taken me 3 weeks – hard work; besides, taking Edna to Sanford to School in a Cart and bringing her home at night — (2 trips) making 11 miles each school day, and in addition to this, have to go every night from 2 to 3 miles, after the corns – making my daily travel some 16 miles per day — So you see, between travel- ing, hoeing, and watering, I have been kept pretty busy. I have just got through hoeing, and Edna does not go to school to day, which affords me leisure sufficient to write to you;

Your query is: do I think Mary will follow Clark out of the Church? No– I think not, ; but she is tried very sorely in her feelings — she is well versed in the scriptures, and has had many testimonies in regard to the truth of Mormonism– and being a very kind hearted good woman, the Lord will feel after her and not permit the Adversary to lead her to destruction. As I understand Clark's affairs, he is in the right and has been badly used, in regard to his grist mill difficulty. but he is sadly wanting in some of the elements necessary to make a good Latter-day

Saint, consequently the Lord, (as all will have to be tested and tried as gold in the furnice 7 times,) may have permitted trouble to come upon the family in this way.

If I understand the principles necessary for a man to possess in order to lead a woman into the Celestial Kingdom of God, O. C. Roberts will have to change materially from what he now is, be before he will able to take Mare there, or get there himself. The condition of Clark's affairs is a sore trial to Mary— but we all have sore trials– Eppie has some trials, and I perceive, you. are tried not a little Now, concerning the Church's having a policy that conflicts, or seems to, with revelation : I don't know as I will be able to say anything that will be very satisfactory to you — I will, however, have to reason in my own way, hoping and trusting that what I may say will at least do no harm if it does no good. God says in the Book of D.&C that He commands men to do certain things and they don't step forward in obedience to His command, and then revokes the commandment. Ancient Israel was permitted to practice polygamy; but the Nephites were forbidden to do so on the ground that they, as well as Ancient Israel had caused their fair wives and daughters a great deal of sorrow &c., Now have not the Mormons been as unwise and cruel as they were? and was not a check necessary— something to bring them to their Senses? I think so. .

You say "it is painful to see one's landmarks being swept away." Well, as for me, this is not the case. When I first joined the Church I commenced gathering up evidences in regard to the truth of this work, or Mormonism. The first that made a deep impression on my mind was the baptism of fire and the Holy Ghost. This was promised me before I was baptised by water. I soon went to Nauvoo– became

acquainted with the Prophet– heard him preach and saw him conduct the April

Conference of 1840. The power and wisdom that he displayed on this occasion

was more evidence. I hear father Barnsby speak in tongues and saw him & Jacob

Foutz lay hands on a woman that had not been able to walk for 6 months and she

was healed. The next morning after she was administered to she could walk as

well as she ever could. Mother had been deaf for over 20 years before she joined

the Church, and was immedietely healed on coming into it. Now what do you

know concerning our family's being healed by the laying on of hands– yourself,

Don, Mary &c &c. These gifts are to confirm those that believe– not make

believers– I have studied the Gospel as revealed by Joseph Smith and wondered if

it were possible for any one unaided by the spirit of God to have revealed such a

system of salvation and exaltation for man. My conclusion is that in the negative.

I sat and listened to his preaching at the stand in Nauvoo a great many times when

I have been completely carried away with his indescribable eloquence,—power of

expression– speaking as I have never heard any other man speak– I have heard

him prophesy many things that have already come to pass, I have seen him

translate by the Seer's stone

was

I have been present when he received a revelation on priesthood; he blessed me

and prophesied that on my head, which has been litterally fulfilled, and I have

seen him by the aid of the Spirit of the Lord, as a prophet raised up to usher in the

dispen this, the sation of the fullness of times; besides work and the workings of

it, have been made manifest to me by the good spirit, Now, with these and more

evidences of the truth of this work would it be wise for me to query in my mind as to the propriety of some of the transactions of those who are legally placed at the head to steady the Ark, as it were? I am satisfied that it would not be best for me. If the way and manner that polygamy is being handled looks a little queer, it is best to wait patiently for the outcome; and so in regard to Clark's case. Well, as for, I see no failure in it at present. The Savior might come and manifest Himself to but few.– In the Kirtland endowment He manifested Himself only to Joseph & Oliver, & it might be similar to that again.— Please write as often as convenient–

Love to All,

Your father Howard Coray (Coray, 1889)

Letters were a valuable source of communication as the church moved, but not every member decided to gather.

For Mormons who did not move, the church needed to develop a way to communicate with them, to accomplish this the church began to sponsor newspapers and journals. Jensen explains,

The newspaper really tied the Later-day Saints together as a group. They had a strong sense of gathering, though not everyone did gather. Those that were in the various branches on the East coast or Mid-west, the only real tie to the church was through written scripture and from the newspaper. That is especially apparent in the Nauvoo era. *The Times and Seasons* which served as the newspaper was really central as far as establishing this sense of community and this identity of what it means to be a Mormon. Inside *The Times and Season*s there were editorials, it

borrowed a lot from other newspapers which was very common, but they featured

letters from missionaries to show how the work was going. They had conference

minutes, various letters from the first presidency or quorum of the twelve. It was

really crucial as far as tying this community together. (Jensen, interview transcript

#5, June 6, 2013, p. 5)

The increased numbers and geographic spread of the church required some unifying

element.   The newspapers produced by the church filled this void and further expanded

the literary expansion. Members could receive news, revelations, doctrine, and other

church matters if they had not yet or were not going to move with the members of the

church.

Mackay concludes a reason for print expansion:

Increased demographics were the main reason for print expansion. There was a

larger population which required more printing. In Nauvoo you have way more

newspapers than you had in Palmyra. There is an expansion and it expands partly

because there are more members and they are trying to reach more members and

geographically they expand. (Mackay, interview transcript #11, June 8, 2013, p.

6)

The changing demographics of the early church appear to be one factor in validating

Venezky's (1996) theory of literacy expansion. The church began with one text, *The

Book of Mormon* and a few members in April 1830. As individuals converted and the

footprint of the church began to geographically expand, the need to communicate with

fellow church members and church leaders, family, and other personal and official

correspondence led to an increase in printed material. Thus, as Venezky (1996) predicts "literacy is a response to the needs of collective society" and "therefore the most immediate social change that promotes wider literacy is the expansion of writing and print into areas of everyday life where previously it did not exist or where its role was more restricted" (p. 47).

A second source that interviewees suggested was an impetus for expanded print and coded as "rebuttals." This refers to defensive tactics used in newspapers in an attempt for LDS members to apologetically correct misinformation (as they saw it) in the media. Bachman said, "The non-Mormon newspaper published and stimulated controversy" (Bachman, interview transcript #1, May 26, 2013, p. 10). Godfrey connected the printed debates as a medium for increasing literacy as members would seek to read and understand the doctrinal position of their faith. Godfrey suggests,

> the printed attacks on the church forced, in a sense, the Latter-day Saints to produce their own printed rebuttals. That produced a great body of literature . . . if a minister attacked you would have a Charles Penrose or Orson Pratt that would reply and those debates were published and those events fostered literacy.
> (Godfrey interview transcript #4, June 5, 2013, p. 10)

Jessee further asserts that "Joseph Smith felt the need to respond to what was happening around him in terms of criticism from other churches" (Jessee, interview transcript #7, June 6, 2013, p. 2).

An example of newspaper articles that members of the church thought were in error can be found in the *New York Tribune* vol. 1, no. 206.

THE MORMONS.—The Warsaw 111. Signal complains bitterly of thefts

committed by the Latter Day Saints. Their neighbors lose horses, cows, clothes,

&c., and have little difficulty in tracing them to Nauvoo. The same paper suggests

that Joe Smith has pocketed all the money arising from the sale of lots, and hints

that he will ere long take the "Sabine Slide." We cut from it the following account

of a new "peeping stone" just discovered by the Prophet. We learn from the most

indisputable authority, that Joe has found a new peeping stone. The circumstances

of its discovery are rather curious and we give them as received. He was walking

some evenings ago with a young lady, (or woman, which ever you please,) when

suddenly he darted aside and leaped into a cellar, when he presently cried out,

"how came I here" and "how shall I get out." The lady with this, seized him and

raised him as though he had been a child. Joe then stated the miraculous manner

of his being drawn by the power of God into the cellar, and to the very spot where

laid the stone, which he says has the remarkable property of enabling him to

translate unknown languages, and to discover the place where treasures are

hidden. (The Mormons, 1841)

Another example can be found in the *American Masonic Register* printed on 30 July

1842.

THE MORMONS,— Some years ago, when this sect sprung up, we were inclined

to believe, that they were an ignorant and inoffensive class of people who like

many other fanatics in religious matters, desired the peaceable enjoyment of their

paticular creed without molesting or molestation. In the early days of their church,

we looked upon them, as a persecuted people, and on several occasions we have

expressed our views to this effect. We are now sorry to say, that our feelings have

entirely changed— that conclusive evidence is now produced, showing that their

settlements, instead of partaking of the inoffensive character of self delusion, is

the very hot bed of murder lust, and robberies of the most fearful and depraved

class, invoking the strong arm of the law to break them up. The last Louisville

Bulletin contains some most shocking developements, from Bennett, one of their

leading men, which are corroborated by a Miss Brotherton, who has recently

escaped from their den. Respect for our female readers prevents us from

publishing her statement, which is equal in blasphemy and lust, to the scenes

enacted by Mathias on the unfortunate Folger and his wife. Bennett, in his expose,

shows, pretty conclusively, that the attempted assassination, on ex- governor

Boggs of Missouri, was instigated by Joe Smith. Indeed if half that is alledged, is

true, of this abominable nest, it would occasion no surprise, and very little regret,

if the inhabitants in that section of the country should rise en masse and

exterminate the guilty leaders. (The Mormons, 1842)

Thus, the public discourse published through newspapers created print expansion. The

need to correct or establish truth forced Joseph Smith and the church into a mass media

print culture.

Barney claims, "Joseph Smith had to create a print culture" (Barney, interview

transcript #10, June 8, 2013, p. 4). He elucidated this principle by pointing out that at the

very beginning of the manuscript of what is now called the manuscript history of the

church, and is now published as the "Joseph Smith—History" in the Mormon canonized

scripture called *The Pearl of Great Price*; here, Smith gives his reason for entering the foray of print culture:

> Owing to the many reports which have been put in circulation by evil disposed and designing persons in relation to the rise and progress of, all of which have been designed by the authors thereof to militate against its character as a church, and its progress in the world; I have been induced to write this history so as to disabuse the publick mind, and put all enquirers after truth into possession of the facts as they have transpired in relation both to myself and the Church as far as I have such facts in possession. (Smith, 1838-1846, p. 1)

Barney pointed out that Smith felt induced to write, that he didn't willingly want to enter this medium of print; nevertheless, the historical record shows scores of newspaper articles aimed at defending Smith, the LDS Church, and its members and the birth of an expanding print culture.

An example of this form of rebuttal through newspaper can be found in the March 1835 *Messenger and Advocate*, a newspaper printed in Kirtland, Ohio by members of the Church. The following excerpts are taken from an article entitled "Delusion":

> Said Mr. A. Campbell, in 1831, soon after the church of the Saints began to be established in this place; but unfourtunately for his purpose, if a purpose he had, his cry was unheard, the cause still progressed, and *continues* to progress. As this gentleman makes high professions as a Reformer, and is some tenacious that his sentiments are to pervade the earth before the final darkness . . .

In his [not] farm-famed pamphlet, of Feb. 10, 1831, this grave reformer, while examining the book of Mormon, says:

'Internal Evidences'

It admits the Old and New Testaments to contain the revelations, institutions, and commandments of God to Patriarchs, Jews and Gentiles down to the year 1830— and always, as such, speaks of them and quotes them. This admission at once blasts pretensions to credibility. For no man with his eyes open can admit both books to have come from God. Admitting the Bible came from God, it is impossible that the Book of Mormon came from the same author for the following reasons:--

1. Smith, its real author, is ignorant and impudent a knave as ever wrote a book, betrays the cloven foot in basing his whole book upon a false fact, or a pretended fact, which makes God a liar. It is this:--With the Jews God made a covenant at Mount Sianai, and isntituied a priesthood, and a high priesthood. The priesthood he gave to the tribe of Levi, and the high priesthood to Aaron and his sons for an everlasting priesthood.—He separated Levi and covenanted to give him this office irrevocably while ever the templs stood, or till the Messiah came.

Mr. Campbell attempts in a single stroke, to overthrow the validity of the book of Mormon, by bringing forward the institution if the priesthood, conffered upon Aaron and his sons, but we are willing to go the whole length in this matter of priesthood, and say it was conferred upon Aaron and his seed throughout their generations Ex. 40:15.

. . .

> Should Mr. C. finally learn, that Moses received the holy priesthood, after the
> order of Melchesedek, under the hand of Jethro, his father-in-law, that clothed
> with this authority he set Israel in order, and by commandment ordained Aaron to
> a priesthood less than that, and that Lehi was a priest after this same order,
> perhaps he will not raise so flimsey an assertion, as he does when he says the
> validity of the book of Mormon is destroyed because Lehi offered sacrifice; and
> perhaps also, he may not be so quite lavish with his familiar titles as he was when
> he called brother Smith "as impudent a knave as ever wrote a book!!" (Cowdery,
> 1835, 90–93)

The paper continues to argue between doctrine posed by Campbell and Mormons for several pages, but this sufficiently shows how newspapers were a source of print in early Mormonism.

The third reason that emerged from data collection and analysis revolved around printed material that was created as a consequence of persecution toward Mormons. Chapter One of this dissertation gives a passing glance at persecution events relating to Mormons; nevertheless, it should be noted that much of the history, westward movement, and documents are products of persecution. Regardless of any apologetic or perceived justification from any source surrounding the persecution, this research examines how the lived and felt experiences of Mormons led to expanded print. Therefore, it is not necessary to rehearse events, history, cause, or degree of persecution felt by Mormons or those against the religion—it is an examination of respondents claims surrounding the printed claims of such.

While jailed at Liberty, Missouri in March 1839, Joseph Smith received a revelation explaining the duty of the Saints in relation to their persecutors:

And again we would suggest for your concideration the propriety of all the Saints gethering up the a knowledge of all the facts and suffering and abuses put upon them by the people of this state and also of all the property and amount of damages which they have sustained both of character and personal Injuries as will as real property and also the names of all persons that have had a hand in their oppressions as far as they can get hold of them and find them out.

and perhaps a committe can be appointed to find out these things and to take statements and affidafets and also to gether up the libilous publications that are afloat and all that are in the magazines and in the Insiclopedias and all the libillious histories that are published and that are writing and by whom and present the whole concatination of diabolical rascality and nefarious and murderous impositions that have been practised upon this people that we may not only publish to all the world but present them to the heads of the government in all there dark and hellish hugh as the last effort which is injoined on us by our heavenly fat her before we can fully and completely claim that promise which shall call him forth from his hiding place and also the whole nation may be left without excuse before he can send forth the power of his mighty arm. It is an imperious duty that we owe to God to angels with whom we shall be brought to stand and also to ourselves to our wives and our children who have been made to bow down with grief sorrow and care under the most dam ning hand of murder tyranny and oppression supported and urged on and upheld by the influance of

that spirit which hath so strongly rivited the creeds of the fathers who

have inherited lies upon the harts of the children and filled the world with

confusion and has been growing stronger and stronger and is now the verry main

spring of all corruption and the whole Earth grones under the wait of its iniquity.

it is an iron yoke it is a strong band they are the verry hand cuffs and chains and

shackles and fetters of hell Therefore it is an imperious duty that we owe not

only to our own wives and children but to the widdows and fatherless whose

husbands and fathers have been murdered under its iron hand which dark and

blackning deeds are enough to make hell itself shudder and to stand aghast and

pale and the hands of the verry devil tremble and palsy and also it is an imper

ious duty that we owe to all the rising generation and to all the pure in heart

which there are many yet on the Earth among all sects parties and deminations

who are blinded by the suttle craftiness of men whereby they ly in wait to decieve

and only kept from the truth because they know not where to find it therefore

that we should waist and ware out our lives in bringing to light all the hidden

things of darkness wherein we know them and they are truly manifest from

heaven. (Smith, 1839, p. 24)

Godfrey reported what resulted from this effort was the "advent of more than a

thousand petitions for redress that were written." He continued, "This commandment in a

sense, forced those that had been through that experience to put their pens to paper and

write down and document what had happened to them. I think the bulk of those

documents were written by the people who experienced them" (Godfrey, interview

transcript #4, June 5, 2013, p. 10). Jensen states that this movement "actually started a

fairly prominent movement in the Mormon church to write about your experiences.

Several pamphlets and many affidavits were formally submitted to the government as

redress for their losses" (Jensen, interview transcript #5, June 6, 2013, p. 12). Grow

connects the writing with literacy ability explaining, "The Missouri expulsions are a

trigger because of the push for redress and to get the story of the suffering Saints out

there into the American consciousness which is indicative of their literacy ability" (Grow,

interview transcript #6, June 6, 2013, p. 6).

A few examples help illustrate how print was used in these circumstances. First is

a published pamphlet by Greene (1839) that illustrates the expulsion of Latter-day Saints

from Missouri under the exterminating order. The pamphlet was presented to the

Missouri House of Representatives on December 19, 1839, causing a great deal of debate.

The pamphlet also includes other witness accounts of persecution in differing locales

(Crawley, 1997). Greene (1839) writes,

> Horrible to relate, several women thus driven from their homes *gave birth to*
>
> *children in the woods and on the praries,* destitute of beds or clothing, having
>
> escaped in fright. It is stated, on the authority of Solomon Hancock , an eye-
>
> witness, that he, with the assistance of two or three others, protected 120 women
>
> and children, for the space of 8 or 10 days, who were obliged to keep themselves
>
> hid from their pursuers, while they were hourly expecting to be massacred—and
>
> who finally escaped into Clay County, by finding a circuitous route to the ferry.
>
> (Greene, 1839, p. 18)

Two other short example shows the graphic detail used to intreat readers toward the

plight of the Mormons:

Among those slain I will mention Sardius Smith, Son of Warren Smith, about 9 years old, who, through fear, had crawled under the bellows in the shop, where he remained till the massacre was over, when he was discovered by Mr. Glaze of Caldwell county, who presented his rifle near the boy's head and literally blew off the upper part of it. Mr. Stanley of Carroll told me afterward that Glaze boasted of this fiendlike murder and heroic deed all over the county (Greene, 1839, p. 23).

A younger brother of the boy here killed, aged eight, was shot through the hip. The little fellow himself states, that seeing his father and brother both killed, he thought they would shoot him again if he stirred, and so feigned himself dead, and lay perfectly still, till he heard his mother call him after dark. (Greene, 1839, p. 24)

Books were not the only method of print that Mormons employed; letters, newspapers, and even poetry were used to explain their experiences. A poem by Parley P. Pratt exemplifies the varying types of print used as printed in the *Times and Seasons* newspaper:

<div align="center">

ZION IN CAPTIVITY.

A LAMENTATION.

By P.P. Pratt, while chained in Prison.

Torn from our friends, and captive led

'Mid armed legions, bound in chains;

'That peace for which our Father's bled,

</div>

'Tis gone, and dire confusion reigns.

Zion our peaceful happy home,

Where of't we've joined in praise

And prayer,

A desolation has become,

And grief and sorrow lingers there

Her virgins sigh, her widows mourn,

Her children for their parents weep;

In chains her preists and prophets groan,

While some in death's cold arms do

sleep.

Exultingly, her savage foes,

Now ravage, steal, and plunder, where

A virgins tears, and widows woes

Become their song of triumph there.

How long, O Lord! will thou forsake

The Saints, who tremble at thy word?

Awake! O arm of God awake!

And teach the nations thou art God.

Descend with all they holy Throng,

The year of thy redeemed bring near,

Haste, haste, the day of vengeance on,

Bid Zion's children dry their tears.

Deliver Lord, they captive Saints,

And comfort those who long have

mourn'd;

Bid Zion cease her dire complaints,

And all creation cease to morun.

(Pratt, 1840, p. 64)

Mormons used varying media to explain their plight to the counties, states, and country as they sought redress for the wrongs committed against them. From these persecutions endured by members of the church rose a definitive print expansion. It coincides with Venezky's (1996) argument that,

Literacy represents both a national aspiration and set of human practices anchored in space and time. From this dual existence literacy has acquired both a sociopolitical dimension, associated with its role within society and the ways in which it is deployed for political, cultural, and economic ends, and a psychological dimension associated with cognitive and affective properties that lead to greater or lesser individual motivation for and competence with writing and print. (p. 46)

Thus, the aspirational, human practices deployed in a "psychological dimension" provided motivation for the use of print and was another cause for literacy expansion. The early Mormon followers understood the task to write down experiences as a command from their prophet—which really meant a commandment from God. As evidence to their current literacy capacity or future literacy potential, these Saints recognized that God told them to write. This means either God knew they have that ability or trusted their potential and mechanics of the church to teach the illiterate to get there. Simply put, it appears that "where print expands, literacy expands" (Venezky, 1996); or perhaps in this context, where print was expanding, it gave the opportunity for literacy to expand.

Doctrine. The second main code that immediately developed surrounded reasons for print expansion as they related to doctrine. Three sub-codes emerged as plausible explanations for this; first, the need to disseminate the doctrine; second, the need to reflect upon the doctrine; third, the need to elucidate (teach, preach, expand, explain, etc.) doctrine.

The early church used print as a medium to disseminate their unique message; Jessee explains:

> To publish *The Book of Mormon* they had to cough up thousands of dollars to publish it and then the revelations were right on top of that. And if you are going to be a church that is going to take the message to all humanity, what is going to get it there? That was what drove it. (Jessee, interview transcript #7, June 6, 2013, p. 8)

Print was required to disseminate a religion that was based on a book. Without printing there is no book, without the book, there is no Mormonism, and God had told them that Mormonism was to eventually cover the entire planet: "The voice of the Lord is unto all men, and there is none to escape; and there is no eye that shall not see, neither ear that shall not hear, neither heart that shall not be penetrated" (Jessee et al., 2009, p. 197). If it was to cover the planet and penetrate every heart, that means print. Jessee asserts, "The church saw the importance of it, and it spawned from there" (Jessee, interview transcript #7, June 6, 2013, p. 6). In essence, if the message was to go through the world:

> The emphasis on education and the emphasis on preparation to be more effective was imperative. The whole big thrust of the dispensation of the fullness of times is a warning. How are going to warn the world if you are too dumb to do it? They influenced it by disseminating the revelations and the emphasis that it has on that very education and literacy. Going out from their own examples it showed common folk that weren't on missions that they needed to get their act together and go out and learn and study. (Jessee interview transcript #47, June 6, 2013, p. 6)

This idea to disseminate the doctrines of Mormonism required print, simultaneously then, it required literacy and learning. The missionaries couldn't teach a book that they could not read.

The official, canonized scripture was not the only product of dissemination. Bachman shares,

> I think the print thing is really, really vital. I come back to, for example, *The Evening and Morning Star*, the newspapers were critical before there was a Doctrine and Covenants in 1835, during the first five years of the church, the only way you got to know about any revelation from Joseph Smith is either some missionary had a copy that he had copied from a copy of a copy or the original and he read it to you and you copied it or it was published in a newspaper. And so one of the things William Phelps is doing with the *Evening and Morning Star* is trying to publish experts or complete revelations to get them in the hands of more and more people. The newspaper plays a big role until there were codified books made available. (Bachman, interview transcript #1, May 26, 2013, p. 8)

The early Mormon newspapers served a more immediate need until revelations could be gathered, voted upon, and printed in book form. The early newspapers printed entire revelations that would later become canonized or excerpts from them.

Satterfield explains the drive to disseminate the doctrine by stating, "Within that first year that the church moved to Kirtland, Ohio they were was also setting up Zion in Jackson County. In both places it was immediately determined to get a printing press to

learn the doctrines" (Satterfield, interview transcript #3, June 4, 2013, p. 1). To Jensen, the immediacy and sacrifice necessary to print teaches the importance of it:

> Joseph Smith, I think realizes the importance of the written word especially in American culture. The print culture of America is expanding. If you think about this history of the church, Joseph Smith founds the church in New York then moves to Ohio then Missouri. Missouri is the frontier of America at the time. They haul a printing press out to Missouri and it is essentially in the middle of nowhere. There is a 100 mile radius before you find another press, and here they are in the frontier and they have a church owned printing press. So Joseph Smith clearly understands the importance of the written word and the uses of literacy as far as spreading the gospel, but he delegates that to others. He doesn't serve as the editor of the first newspaper, he utilizes W.W. Phelps. Joseph Smith globally understands the role of print culture and literacy but is not heavily involved with it himself. (Jensen, interview transcript #5, June 6, 2013, p. 3)

Smith delegated the day-to-day operations of print while attending to other things; nevertheless, he understands its importance. This print centered movement did not occur in the print hubs in America like Boston or Philadelphia, but in rural, frontier Mormon settlements.

The importance of print and dissemination was driven by the early missionary movement. Jensen affirms,

> In the early missionary movement, often the missionary was called and they went to their family and they tried to convince their family. While traveling they would

preach in villages along the way. Once you get this expansion of Mormonism especially by 1837-39 and into the 1840s they started going into the cities more and teaching large groups of people. As a natural outgrowth pamphlets were published. Parley P. Pratt and Orson Pratt, along with John Taylor who all begin to write pamphlets because it is just so inherent and obvious that they desired to reach as many people as possible, so they decided to publish. The drive to preach the gospel really causes this explosion of print. And it really is about missionary work. You have pamphlets for Latter-day Saints but not as many as pamphlets trying to convince non-Mormons to convert. (Jensen, interview transcript #5, June 6, 2013, p. 14)

The missionary zeal to disseminate Mormonism to the world created an explosion of print. "Obviously Joseph Smith was anxious to have *The Book of Mormon* published as the very first project and was anxious that it be given the widest circulation possible" (Cowan, interview transcript #8, June 6, 2013, p. 1). Holland explains,

The founding of the early church periodicals, and the fact that the church quickly sponsors a variety of journals on both sides of the Atlantic, basically there are saying we are going to share our message not only soap boxes and street corners but we are going to do it through the written word as well. (Holland, interview transcript #9, June 7, 2013, p. 5)

From its rural roots, Mormonism seemed destined and determined to have a global impact. This expansive task necessitated print and a print culture. With so much print being created, it can be inferred that individuals could read it (Grow, interview transcript #6, June 6, 2013, p. 3), and with so much being produced the print need fed the

literate demands and if there were excesses on either side, the other soon caught up.

Dissemination was so essential to the church that Barney suggested to not use the words "print and literacy culture" but a "dissemination culture" (Barney, interview transcript #10, June 8, 2013, p. 13). Though the church engaged in print to a large extent, Joseph Smith remained in the periphery and delegated much of that to others. Barney suggests,

> The logic we have applied to Joseph Smith from the beginnings of a new
>
> church and assuming there would need to be a platform of literature and some
>
> type or literary fuel for the church—it didn't work that way. It isn't the way he
>
> worked. How did he contribute? That's the very question. He didn't contribute
>
> much contrary to the logic we might apply but over time he realized the
>
> necessity of it. (Barney, interview transcript #10, June 8, 2013, p. 10)

Joseph Smith understood the need for a global print culture; however, he remained largely a verbal prophet who relied on others to disseminate the information that came from him.

As Mormon doctrine flashed off the presses, another print medium spawned to internalize it. Thomas explains in addition to having a dissemination print culture there was also a "reflective print culture" (Thomas, interview transcript #2, June 4, 2013, p. 3). He continues, "It is fascinating that you have a culture where people start to write their own histories" (Thomas, interview transcript #2, June 4, 2013, p. 5). Though this study will not enter the expanse of Mormon journaling, Thomas is confident that individuals would write in an effort to internalize and reflect upon what they were reading. Such journaling would have become familiar to them while reading *The Book of Mormon*

where several prophets speak about their personal writing experiences. The book's first words are, "I, Nephi . . ." (1 Nephi 1:1). Thomas continued his thought explaining:

> *The Book of Mormon* is so interested in the imperfections of the written word and the crucial necessity of having a written word. From the very beginning you have the book that is associated with the church emphasizing transmission of God's power, will, and intelligence through human language, in spite of its imperfections it has to be preserved. If you don't preserve it you end up with all kinds of problems. (Thomas, interview transcript #2, June 4, 2013, p. 9)

This study will not analyze the relationship between ancient prophet's journaling and early Mormons; however, there seems to be some connection between the dissemination culture of print and the reflective nature of print as evidenced by the lives of so many members of the church and perhaps connected to the scriptural characters they were introduced to through scripture production.

Jensen also spoke of the reflective print culture and its place in the history of the church explaining,

> There is a lot of encouragement to write down your experiences. As an example, the day the church is organized there is a revelation that there needs to be a record kept among you. That is interpreted very broadly depending on who is doing the reading. But one of the ways that has been interpreted and not just during the life of Joseph Smith, and may be emphasized much later, is to keep a personal record, to keep a personal journal. (Jensen, interview transcript #5, June 6, 2013, p. 12)

It could be inferred then that engaging in personal reflective print culture (i.e., journaling) is commanded for Mormons to participate in. Nevertheless, on a global and personal level print and literacy was clearly influencing the lives of people surrounded in the culture of early Mormonism. Jesse contends, "They wrote effectively, and they did write which is something I think was motivated by Joseph Smith" (Jessee, interview transcript #7, June 6, 2013, p. 2). The relationship between dissemination and reflection is surmised by Holland who says, "The tendency to record and disseminate in print carries with it a powerful impetus plus a message about the importance of literacy" (Holland, interview transcript #9, June 7, 2013, p. 4).

This type of sentiment is characterized in diary of Eliza Dana Gibbs (1813–1899). An excerpt from her journal says,

> The week before we were baptized brother George and a Mr. Copland, who had taught school the previous winter in the aforesaid school house, came over to Father's. Mr. Copland to bid us goodbye as he was going to start for home. They both exerted all the influence they could to change our minds and induce us to give up the idea. They told us we would be disposed, that all our friends would be ashamed of us, etc. When George saw that such arguments had no weight with us he told us that it would kill Mother, she surely could not survive the disgrace. Mother was then stopping at his house. George had, some years before, moved back from Lowville to Hammond and lived about five miles from Father's. George had got Mother to stop a while at his house because his wife was not well, and George, his wife, and Mother were all bitter opposers. I verily believe that George thought as he said, that it would kill Mother.

I told him if our joining the Mormons would kill her she would have to die, that I was fully convinced that the doctrine of the Latter-Day Saints was the truth and that it was my duty to embrace it, that I should do so and leave Mother in the hands of God. My father did not belong to any church and did not oppose us, neither did brother James. James was a believer but never obeyed. He took his clothes at one time and started for baptism but business prevented him at that time and he never started again.

When the day arrived we had settled upon to obey the gospel we went to meeting, and after meeting to the water, but it was with a heavy heart. I had always implicitly obeyed Mother and it sorely grieved me to cause her pain. Nothing but a sense of duty would have influenced me to have caused her trouble. Both my sister and myself dearly loved our mother and we went forth into the waters of baptism with aching hearts. Close by on the banks of the Chippawa Bay in which we were immersed, stood a large house in which several families of the Saints had taken up a temporary residence until spring. Thither we repaired to change our clothing and receive confirmation. Elder John E. Page officiated in the ordinances. As soon as I was confirmed the Comforter in very truth rested upon me in so much it would not have disturbed me had the whole world been arrayed against me. My trouble and anxiety in regard to mother and all else was swallowed up on a heavenly peace.

Soon after this, Mother returned home and was taken sick. I was somewhat fearful that brother's prediction would be verified. She was confined to her bed for two

or three weeks, but the Lord raised her up for a better end. When she began to

recover she began searching the Bible for scripture to confound our faith, but

instead of that she converted herself to the truth and the ensuing summer she

obeyed the gospel herself. (Gibbs, 1891)

This journal entry provides insight into the print culture and why some engaged with

print. This entry details the hardship of converting Mormonism in one family.

Lastly, if print was used to produce a written form of revelation and doctrine,

print was going to be used to elaborate on those doctrines. The events and practices

surrounding the print and literacy culture was a catalyst to simply keep fueling the pump.

Bachman explains it this way,

Obviously I think you start with *the Book of Mormon* to educate the church. The

Lord wanted to educate the church regarding the doctrine, and it educated Joseph

Smith. We know that led Joseph to ask other questions during the translation of

The Book of Mormon. For example, while translating a portion of text it led

Joseph Smith to questions about priesthood authority and baptism, which led to

the appearance of John the Baptist and Peter, James and John and the Priesthood

authority. And so that was an educational process of Joseph Smith. (Bachman,

interview transcript #1, May 26, 2013, p. 1)

The production of one printed material led Smith to ask questions, this in turn prompted

other print material. In the case cited above, the experience with John the Baptist was

written and later canonized as *Doctrine & Covenants* 13.

After the publication of *The Book of Mormon,* the publication of revelations was the "prime focus" (Jessee, interview transcript #7, June 6, 2013, p. 1). The revelations focused the doctrines, answered questions, and "those publications were key to give members a sense of what you believed in" (Jensen, interview transcript #5, June 6, 2013, p. 5). A further example of Joseph Smith producing text from text was what would become the "Inspired Version" or the "Joseph Smith Translation" (JST) of the Bible. Bachman explains,

> I think the Lord gave Joseph the JST project for two reasons: One, to educate Joseph Smith, *The Book of Mormon* didn't teach him all the doctrine and didn't answer all the questions and didn't stimulate all the questions that needed to be stimulated and needed to be asked. So the Lord told Joseph to go through the Bible. That process was to educate Joseph Smith. On the other hand, by educating Joseph Smith and giving him answers to his questions we get many of the revelations in *The Doctrine and Covenants* which are answers to the very questions he asked while translating the Bible. That is all focused on educating the church and Joseph Smith. Much of our scripture came out of that process. (Bachman, interview transcript #1, May 26, 2013, pp. 1-2)

Joseph Smith or the church didn't stop with producing one text. In an effort to elaborate, teach, and preach, the church has never stopped printing (Satterfield, interview transcript #3, June 4, 2013, p. 3). Thomas explains the unique character of adding to the canon with new revelations by saying,

> In terms of Joseph Smith, it is an unusual model, because he says lets go study the Bible and every now and again we will crank out a revelation inspired by the text.

If you want to say the canon was decided then the Joseph Smith says the canon is

just the seedbed. The canon is an artifact of prophets and there is another prophet

now, so watch what happens when a prophet reads a book. (Thomas, interview

transcript #2, June 4, 2013, p. 8)

When Joseph Smith opened the family Bible in 1820 to James 1:5, it explained a

pattern for getting truth from God, Smith may not have realized that would be the pattern

for the rest of his life. When it comes to teaching and elaborating through print,

Satterfield says the biggest catalyst for doing so is,

The doctrine, I have to say it is the doctrine. And the doctrine is being taught in

revelations which means it has to get out there. These doctrines are very

expansive, when we start learning about pre-mortality, and other doctrines that

now expand our understanding of post-mortality. Doctrine is what is really

causing this. Joseph Smith is on par with what he has to do to restore doctrine

held back or lost. (Satterfield, interview transcript #3, June 4, 2013, p. 10)

The doctrine would continue to produce myriads of articles, poems, hymns, books, etc.,

and it has yet to stop in Mormon print culture. Examples of this include pamphlets,

books, letters, poems, and newspapers as explained previously.

Conclusion

The data presented validate Venezky's (1996) theory of literacy. Initiating with

The Book of Mormon, print proliferated into many different media (newspaper, letters,

diaries, etc.). The data suggest that this expansion occurred because of demographic

changes within the church. These demographic changes include the expansion of converts

and the westward movement of the church. Additionally, rebuttals and recourse also promoted many forms of writing as members of the church were instructed to write their experiences regarding persecutions in Missouri and as the church promoted and defended its beliefs primarily in newspapers. Furthermore, the need to disseminate information and doctrine spawned print material. From this, additional printed material reflective print was induced through letter writing and journaling. As with many things relating to Mormonism, the doctrine served as the backbone or drive. The need to elaborate, teach, and elucidate doctrine through letters, books, pamphlets, newspapers, and other sources further expanded printed material.

CHAPTER FIVE: ANALYSIS OF RESEARCH QUESTION, HOW DID EARLY

MORMONISM UTILIZE ASPECTS OF SOCIAL LITERACY, LITERACY EVENTS,

AND PRINT CULTURE AS INSTRUMENTS OF SOCIAL CREATION?

Introduction

This chapter discusses how data are analyzed and interpreted in context of the

second research question: How did early Mormonism utilize aspects of social literacy,

literacy events, and print culture as instruments of social creation? Data were collected

using processes described in the previous chapter. Similarly, data analysis was conducted

following the guidelines articulated in MGT.

Social Literacy Theory

Social context creates differing literacy purposes and practices (Guthrie &

Greaney, 1996); therefore, meaning-making becomes a socially mediated act in which

texts may serve as foundational instruments (Gee, 1996). Social forces combining with

historical formation helps individuals connect knowledge, power, and domination while

participating in the creation of a more just society (Siegel & Fernandez, 2000). Placing

literacy within a social and historical context, social norms, rules, power relationships,

and other social forces interact with the literacy products. Goody and Watt (1988)

explain,

> The content of the cultural tradition grows continually, and in so far as it affects
>
> any particular individual he becomes a palimpsest composed of layers of beliefs

and attitudes belonging to different stages in historical time. So too, eventually,

does society at large, since there is a tendency for each social group to be

particularly influenced by systems of ideas belonging to different periods in the

nation's development; both to the individual, and to the groups constituting

society, the past may mean very different things. (p. 21)

The individual and the historical context, together, form the literate make-up of that

individual and the society that mediates the consumption of literacy (Scribner, 1988).

Guthrie and Greaney (1996) claim that literacy is a personal choice that impacts

self and society; yet, social contexts give rise to differing literacy activities, producing

dialectical thought (Siegel & Fernandez, 2000), which attempts to "trace out the historical

formation of facts and their mediation by social forces" (p. 145). In LDS history, as in

most histories, literacy communities and literacy events were socially mediated to

"connect knowledge, power, and domination to construct a more just society" (Siegel &

Fernandez, 2000 p. 145). Therefore, this chapter analyzes and discusses the print and

literacy culture of early Mormonism through the lens of social literacy theory.

Barton and Hamilton's (2000) three-pronged approach of examining practices,

events, and texts through their theory of social literacy means:

> that *literacy practices are patterned by social institutions and power*
>
> *relationships, and some literacies are more dominant, visible and influential*
>
> *than others. . . .* People are active in what they do and *literacy practices are*
>
> *purposeful and embedded in broader social goals and cultural practices. . . .*
>
> Any study of literacy practices must therefore situate reading and writing

activities in these broader contexts and motivations for use. (p. 12 emphasis added)

Literacy practices are patterned after social institutions (Barton & Hamilton, 2000). Therefore, Mormon literacy is a function of Mormon culture and serves to enhance the goals and cultural practices of that group. Barton and Hamilton (2000) assert further that particular literacy events are often participants taking on particular literacy roles, producing social rules and societal codes of production for use in particular literacies.

Data were coded according to the six aspects of Barton and Hamilton's (2000) theory of social literacy. This theory, when considering other theories that could be used, has been selected because it is best known and most widely accepted theory in determining key theoretical assumptions of literacy as a social practice (Purcell-Gates et al., 2004). The key assumptions posited by Barton and Hamilton (2000) are:

- Literacy is best understood as a set of social practices; these can be inferred from events that are mediated by written texts.

- There are different literacies associated with different domains of life.

- Literacy practices are patterned by social institutions and power relationships, and some literacies are more dominant, visible, and influential than others.

- Literacy practices are purposeful and embedded in broader social goals and cultural practices.

- Literacy is historically situated.

- Literacy practices change and new ones are frequently acquired through processes of informal learning and sense making. (pp. 7-8)

This theory produces literacy events, practices, and texts that govern, empower, change, and illuminate a culture, in the case of this study, Mormon literacy and print culture. Purcell-Gates et al., (2004) elucidate Barton and Hamilton's (2000) theory stating:

> Within this view, *literacy practices* are larger than acts of print-based reading and writing. Literacy practices are sociocultural related ways of using written language, and they involve values, attitudes, beliefs, feelings, and social relationships. In this sense, they are not observable per se but must be inferred by the literacy events and texts utilized as part of the literacy practice (p. 32).

Finally, literacy events (Heath, 1988; Purcell-Gates et al., 2004) are conceptual tools to aid the examination of differing communities and their literate practices and relationships. Heath (1988) defines a literacy event as, "any occasion in which a piece of writing is integral to the nature of participant's interactions and their interpretive processes" (p. 350). Purcell-Gates et al. (2004) postulate that,

> Literacy events *are* observable. They are generally defined as any instance of interaction with print, either writing or reading, or its interpretation. For this reason, analysis typically moves from literacy event to literacy practice, from what is happening to the meaning that the event has for participants, or from asking "what is happening?" to "why is this happening?" (p. 32)

These definitions of literacy events both adhere to the primacy of textual experience as a necessary element of an event; however, Heath's inclusion of participant interactions (individually or socially) adds an important component. Purcell-Gates et al. (2004) take literacy events one step further by moving it from a strict event to an interpretation.

Social literacy in context of this study then essentially becomes a study of socially mediated literacy events.

These elements place Mormon print and literacy culture within its historical context along with the complexities of its national epoch in antebellum America. As individuals within a group, early Mormons participated in a sociocultural community of literates mediated by texts, participants, power, and the invisible cargo of culture.

MGT Analysis and Theory Generation of Barton and Hamilton's (2000) Social Literacy Theory

Coding and Conceptual Refinement

The coding and conceptual refinement process followed the steps outlined in Chapter Four. In the context of this research question, while going through the conceptual refinement process, the six elements of Barton and Hamilton's (2000) theory were discovered to encompass literacy events and print culture. After reflecting on the produced codes, the data were again examined to determine connections in print culture and literacy events and how they related to this social literacy theory. Additionally, the simplicity and ease of coding for Venezky's theory enhanced my theoretical sensitivity (Goldkuhl & Cronholm, 2010). Therefore, during the conceptual refinement process, I reengaged the data to code for elements of Barton and Hamilton's theory in an effort to conceptualize more global yet focused codes. While analyzing the data, I highlighted anything to do with social literacy in red followed by a corresponding letter (A-F) that represented the six elements of Barton and Hamilton's (2000) social literacy theory. The following table represents those codes.

Social Literacy Print Culture Literacy Events	Social practices mediated by Text	Different literacies with different domains of life	Social institutions and power relationships
Red	A	B	C
	Broader Social Goals	Historically Situated	Practices Change
	D	E	F

Figure 4.   Graphic Representation of Codes

At times during the coding process, a comment from a respondent would fit in more than one category. When this occurred, the quote was coded with both corresponding letters. For example, Bachman spoke about how individual members of the church would feel when they received new printed revelation. Bachman specifically said, "they were so thrilled with it. They were the recipients of the revelations of God. It filtered down and lit the fires in the hearts of the people" (Bachman, interview transcript #1, May 26, 2013, p. 11). This quote was coded with both letters "A" and "C" because receiving and reading revelations was a social practice mediated by a text. In addition, it involved a social institution (i.e., the church) and power relationships (i.e., church leaders) who would receive and disseminate the revelations. Thus, this social literacy practice was mediated through text and individuals in some form of power relationship.

Theoretical Sampling

Theoretical sampling is an optional step in MGT and is used to ask additional questions that might elaborate on previous concepts and produce more data or more specific data. Because of the number, quality, and rich data received from initial interviews, the additional/optional step of theoretical sampling, which would necessitate contacting respondents to further investigate unanswered questions or claims, was not taken.

Data Analysis Findings

This section discusses findings that came from careful analysis of the data based on the codes that emerged from the data. Respondents' comments that determine the research question were coded to match the six elements of social literacy theory as stated above. My aim is to elaborate and substantiate the claims made by informants, providing the foundation from which to build a grounded theory.

Literacy is best understood as a set of practices; these practices can be inferred from events that are mediated by written texts. Similar to findings in Chapter Four, early Mormons participated in many print experiences, which led to a proliferation or expansion of print. This section will elaborate upon some of those events while attempting to focus on the specified emphasis and how these may have influenced individuals within this historical context. Bachman reports, "every one of those events involving print and text cumulatively and finally do effect everybody" (Bachman, interview transcript #1, May 26, 2013, p. 10).

With the publication of *The Book of Mormon,* there was a feeling and an interest in the restorative aspect of Mormonism—it was not reforming from a parent church but restoring Christ's original church. Bachman explains,

> There was a sense that the ancient world was anticipating the restoration and now here they were a part of it and these things are to be revealed in the last times. That is how they viewed things and what Joseph Smith taught them and what they were so thrilled with. They really felt they were the recipients of the revelations of God. It filtered down and lit the fires in the hearts of the people. (Bachman, interview transcript #1, May 26, 2013, p. 11)

The literacy practice of reading text began to have some influence on the lives of people who participated in these events mediated by text. Thomas explained that text was used as an instrument to create change within individuals and society:

> The importance of people being persuaded through print is not too shocking. I don't know how Mormonism compares to some of the other early American religions, but it is pretty striking to me that you have a book and then you organize a church. And the book by the way is very interested in records. It is a book that is fascinated with the recording, transmission, and preservation with written intelligence. (Thomas, interview transcript #2, June 4, 2013, p. 2)

In some way, the reading of *The Book of Mormon* mediated a distilling of doctrine and impacted the lives of members of the church. Jensen elaborates,

> I find it interesting that a lot of the aspects of early Mormonism, literacy and the ability to read and the ability to engage with text was important. If you think

about some of the early rituals that early members went through, many of them engaged with texts. (Jensen, interview transcript #5, June 6, 2013, p. 4)

More literacy practices and learning were mediated by text is the establishment of what was called "The School of the Prophets." The school was established in Kirtland, Ohio and was created to educate leaders and prospective missionaries. Satterfield explains the school in this way:

In December 1832 Joseph Smith and a group of brethren received various revelations where the Lord commanded them to organize a school. The initiative is called the School of the Prophets but was eventually expanded to various schools. The schools started in January of 1833 with about 21 brethren. Though called the School of the Prophets, the main topic taught was grammar. So they felt they had to get members of the church to understand and be able to read and express themselves in written form. So right off we have got to get members of the church becoming more literate and improve their literacy. And sitting on the front row is Joseph Smith—he is not the teacher—he had trouble with this and is learning his grammar as well. So here we have got a school that started in 1833 and continued through 1837 and expanded in so many ways. The education of the church members focused not just religious things but a lot of secular things, but they didn't separate between the two. Truth is truth regardless of what field it is found in. Getting people to read—but not just English—they expanded that school to include several other languages. Hebrew was the first language, they then started to learn Latin and Greek and apparently as time went on as the schools continued in Nauvoo, other languages were taught as well. I think again, through

the printed word and through actual schools is what they did in the early church to promote these things. (Satterfield, interview transcript #3, June 4, 2013, p. 3)

The school was an attempt to increase the literacy and spirituality of the members of the church and missionaries specifically. Thomas asks, "What is that like when you see the prophet and leaders of the church in your class studying a language, or geography, or grammar, what kind of model of achievement does that give you?" (Thomas, interview transcript #2, June 4, 2013, p. 3). These literacy practices, which were mediated through texts, began to imbue a culture of learning on members of the church. Holland explained that,

> Joseph Smith was constantly aware, as were lots of early brethren including Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball, they are very sensitive to their lack of formal training. They are very aware of that and the School of the Prophets and other educational endeavors are conscious reactions to their own sense of inadequacies in that area. (Holland, interview transcript #9, June 7, 2013, p. 3)

The awareness of early church leaders surrounding their lack of literacy and learning skills prompted them to seek for change. Satterfield gives further detail on the school as it pertains to this awareness:

> This really was school. And how this impacted the church—getting people literate—not just knowing words but reading the material and getting it out there, and the church has never left that behind. We have to be a church of educated people. (Satterfield, interview transcript #3, June 4, 2013, p. 8)

Texts influenced people. By experiencing print and literacy events, individuals were affected and took actions in many different forms, but text was part of the calculation in what prompted that action. Like so many other things in early Mormonism, it all comes back to Joseph Smith and scripture. Scripture was frequently the medium through which literacy events and experiences happened. Satterfield explains this relationship in context of translating *The Book of Mormon* and the Bible:

> By translating *The Book of Mormon* the Prophet himself is becoming more literate. If he is not becoming literate the church won't. As soon *as the Book of Mormon* is done, the Lord says okay now let's do the Bible. We don't have to translate it from another language so it must be done in another way. Again forcing Joseph to write, he used a scribe to do the writing but from the very beginning Joseph is forced to write. (Satterfield, interview transcript #3, June 4, 2013, p. 9)

The translation process becomes another avenue through which Joseph Smith, as the example, increases his literacy skills through textual mediation and the text is influencing the action of individuals.

What Joseph Smith is attempting to do is to interact with ancient cultures as an unlearned individual and this interaction is creating some form of intellectual, spiritual, and emotional reaction within Smith and others who delve deeply into it. Jensen develops this idea:

> It is truly a fascinating concept that as Joseph Smith is dealing with ancient culture, in Joseph's world view there is only two ways in which you can communicate with ancient cultures: Through visionary and miraculous means or

ancient texts and *The Book of Mormon* comes into play in both of those ways. Here we have the last individual (Moroni) who had created the book visits Joseph Smith in a very religious visionary experience giving him these ancient plates. Joseph could have gotten a lot more traction if he had just discovered the plates, but because the plates were attached to this visionary experience others wouldn't believe. Joseph Smith's first entrance in the written word was through *The Book of Mormon* in receiving the plates and translating the plates. (Jensen, interview transcript #5, June 6, 2013, p. 1)

There appears to be some interplay with the textual, the spiritual. As Joseph Smith embraced his prophetic role this connection seemed to expand. Holland explains this connection between the textual and spiritual in a similar way:

I do think that literacy plays an important role in our notion of the salvific process. Joseph talks about being saved no faster than a man gains knowledge, much of that knowledge is imbedded in text and that textuality is at the center of the movement early on. It is important, but it is not prohibitively important, for people to achieve a degree of influence or importance in the movement. Part of that is because, I made this argument elsewhere, but there is a triangulation of ways of knowing in Mormonism, there is ancient text, the living prophet and revelation. Because you have those three forces and because the personal inspiration aspect of that is given such weight throughout the history of the movement you don't have the same kind of demands of literacy as you would see say in early Puritanism where it is all about the text. It provides alternative avenues to significance than more textually bound movements. Yet the text is

there, it isn't Quakerism or Shakerism where the text is significantly downplayed, it exists in this tension. It is important but not exclusive. (Holland, interview transcript #9, June 8, 2013, p. 2)

Again, individual practices are mediated by text. These textual mediations have some bearing or influence on the people who participate in these literacy practices. Mormonism is a text-driven movement; to understand the text requires literacy, and to understand the text at a deeper level requires deeper literacy. Holland develops this by saying,

Josephs lack of formal linguistic training definitely influences his sense of translation of spiritual process. He so desperately wants to understand these ancient worlds but doesn't have the traditional tools for attaining that. I think that pushed him to think about the Spirit's ability to collapse time and culture. So in that sense his lack of formal training encourages him to a more spiritualistic side of his identity to compensate for that. I think Joseph is symbolic for how other brethren deal with that as well. (Holland, interview transcript #9, June 7, 2013, p. 3)

It appears that as Joseph Smith engaged deeper and deeper with scriptural text, the text mediated more and more experiences. These experiences in turn appeared to help engage with a deeper spiritual level that may have helped Smith overcome his lack of education.

There are different literacies associated with different domains of life. This aspect of social literacy theory did not emerge from the data as strongly as other elements. Differing literacies in several domains of life are necessary. As an example, a lawyer has different literacies than a medical doctor. Latter-day Saints inherently would

have had different domains of literacy to implement in all aspects of life. This study does not include these different domains of literacy for tasks in life. However, certainly there were different literacies implemented by the church that affected the several domains. For example, Thomas explained, "the day the church is organized you have a revelation that says there should be a record kept" (interview transcript #2, June 4, 2013, p. 1). The domain of record keeping was different than the domain of letter writing, though both are print-centered domains to begin with.

Another domain that early Mormons participated in is what Jensen calls a manuscript culture. He explains, "You have this print culture but you have a manuscript culture which I think is interesting. You have this massive interplay of oral culture, manuscript culture, print culture and it is all jumbled together" (Jensen, interview transcript #5, June 6, 2013, p. 3). Members of the church would need to have the literacy capacities for the domain of oral culture to listen to a sermon effectively, to navigate the print culture to read revelations and scriptures, along with writing and re-writing manuscripts to share and read personally.

The domain of record keeping, dissemination, missionary work, etc. all involved different aspects of literacy. Each domain required differing levels of involvement and interaction. Like their contemporary counterparts, Mormons would have had similar literacy domains to successfully navigate different elements of life.

Some examples of print associated in differing domains of life are found in the writings found in the General Orders for the Nauvoo Legion. On 20 December, 1841, Smith, acting as Lieutenant-General, wrote:

The Brigadier-Generals are directed to require the Colonels of Regiments

to order Battalion Parades, some time prior to the General Parade, within the

bounds of their respective commands—the Colonels will act as reviewing

officers, and the Lieuienant-Colonels, and Majors, will command their

respective Battalions.

The officers will take post according to the rank assigned them by the date

of their commissions, agreeably to the rules and regulations of the United States

Army, and the rules heretofore adopted of ranking by grade of companies is

hereby abrogated.

The officers concerned are commanded to report to the Major General any

violation, or disobedience, of these General Orders, as the utmost rigor will be

observed in their execution, and the most severe penalty of the law inflicted

upon any violation of strict military discipline.

The officers of the Legion, will there fore, take notice, and govern

themselves accordingly, and make public proclamation of these orders

throughout their respective commands. (Smith, 1841, p. 1)

Compare this writing with a letter written to Smith's wife Emma:

Frederick, joseph, Julia, and Alexander, Joana, and old major. And as to

yourself if you want to know how much I want to see you, examine your

feelings, how much you want to see me, and judge for youself, I would gladly go

walk from here to you barefoot, and bareheaded, and half naked, to see you

and think it great pleasure, and never count it toil, but do not think I am babyish,

for I do not feel so, I bare with fortitude all my oppression, so do those that are

with me, not one of us have flinched yet, I want you should not let those little

fellows, forgit me, tell them Father loves them with a perfect love, and he is

doing all he can to git away from the mob to come to them, do teach them all

you can, that they may have good minds, be tender and kind to them, dont be

fractious to them, but listen to their wants, tell them Father says they must be

good children, and mind their mother, My Dear Emma there is great resposibility

resting upon you, in preserveing yourself in honor, and sobriety, before them, and

teaching them right things, to form their young and tender minds, that they begin

in right paths, and not git contaminated when young, by seeing ungodly

examples . . . (Smith, April 1839)

As Barton and Hamilton (2000) suggest, different literacies and writing are part of

different domains of life. Just as the needs and goals of differing documents and styles

change so does the purpose and prose of the writer.

Literacy practices are patterned by social institutions and power

relationships, and some literacies are more dominant, visible, and influential than

others. This idea, that literacy practices are created, based, and developed from lived

experience (Barton & Hamilton, 2000), is especially evident in early Mormonism. They

developed social institutions to promote literacy, the church itself developed into a social

institution that did the same. Power relationships were part of the equation determining

who was involved in disseminating print along with deciding when and how it was to be

disseminated. All of this interacted to create dominant forms of literacy within the

population.

One of the most prominent social institutions created in early Mormonism was "The School of the Prophets." The school was designed to train leaders and prepare missionaries, and the school was "the first major thing" (Satterfield, interview transcript #3, June 4, 2013, p. 8) to promote official learning "then you have other efforts like the University of Nauvoo" (Bachman, interview transcript #1, May 26, 2013, p. 2). Jensen provides illumination on events that preceded these when saying,

> I think a lot of people point to the Elders school in Kirtland or the Hebrew school, and I think that is clearly part of the story, but I think backing up before then, Joseph grew up in a household where education was a luxury. They sent Hyrum Smith his brother to a school but they could not afford to send all of their children. So Joseph grew up seeing education as being important precisely because he didn't have access to it. I have no doubt that growing up in that New England culture that Joseph Smith had a very strong sense of learning and with the importance of learning. He had obviously learned reading and writing and all of that stuff but I really do get a sense from Joseph himself how important learning is to him. You really see it in Kirtland with the experiences of the Elders School and the Hebrew School. Education as a part of Mormonism is found in the revelations. I think education itself played a very important part of Mormon culture. (Jensen, interview transcript #5, June 4, 2013, pp. 6-7)

Jensen determines that part of the internal drive in Joseph Smith and Mormonism came from the lack of education and inherent insecurity that brought. Holland explains it this way:

Joseph Smith was constantly aware, as were lots of early brethren including

Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball, they are very sensitive to their lack of

formal training. They are very aware of that and the School of the Prophets and

other educational endeavors are conscious reactions to their own sense of

inadequacies in that area. (Holland, interview transcript #9, June 7, 2013, p. 3)

These inadequacies, Holland believes as stated above, leads Smith to be more dependent

on spiritual processes to "collapse time and culture, so in that sense his lack of formal

training encourages him to a more spiritualistic side of his identity to compensate for

that" (Holland, interview transcript #9, June 7, 2013, p. 3).

As the schools developed, the subject matter became more diversified thereby

creating literacies that are patterned after the social institutions that begat them. Thomas

asserts,

In the gathering places the religious culture is very much connected to learning

culture. If you build a temple that is called a house of God and it is actually used

more for school than for worship, and it certainly isn't used for ritual like future

temples, that sounds like you have a very steep integration of a culture of learning

and a culture of worship . . . In the gathering places it seems like there is a pretty

strong emphasis on literacy. They produce the Lectures on Faith with all these

catechistic things written out, it just looks like a text book. Here is a text book for

studying doctrines of the gospel. (Thomas, interview transcript #2, June 4, 2013,

pp. 2-3)

The schools mixed the religious culture and the learning culture to create a societal institution for learning. Thomas continues, "The schools clearly and the revelations associated with the schools give an emphasis on being able to read, write, study and to teach" (Thomas, interview transcript #2, June 4, 2013, p. 6). "So right off we have got to get members of the church literate, and improve their literacy and sitting on the front row is Joseph Smith" (Satterfield, interview transcript #3, June 4, 2013, p. 3). Interestingly, Smith created a social institution for learning as much for himself as for others. Grow explains the oddity of educational thrust promoted by Smith saying, "There is something really kind of incongruous for the frontier preacher who is really rough around the edges in a lot of ways, who was trying to learn Hebrew and Greek and writing" (Grow, interview transcript #6, June 6, 2013, p. 3).

The School of the Prophets started in 1833 and continued through 1837 and began to expand in many ways, "The education of the church members not just religious things, sometimes religious things but a lot of secular things, but they didn't separate between the two" (Satterfield, interview transcript #3, June 4, 2013, p. 3). Eventually they would expand from teaching English grammar to employing Josiah Seixas to teach Hebrew. Later Latin, Greek, and other languages would eventually be taught. (Satterfield, interview transcript #3, June 4, 2013, p. 3)

Having religious schools mixed with secular learning was not overly unusual in America during that time period; the Mormons may have patterned their social institutions after existent ones, simply modifying the institution to meet their own religious needs. Jensen reports,

I think as far as print culture and literacy culture, educational experience, I think Mormons basically fit in to the larger United States culture—education was important, there was a national movement to reform education and promote literacy. I think one of the things that would differentiate Mormons from others, but not as much as we might think, would be the religious obligation for education. Revelations talk about seeking out knowledge, they reprimanded parents for not teaching children. So there is this clear divine sanction of education, which was present in the United States educational priorities and as part of that religious understanding as an important part of it. But if you asked an average US citizen, "does God want you to seek out education?" They would probably say yes, but Mormons could point to revelations where they could say God has actually said we have got to do this. So it probably accentuates what is already there in the larger US culture. (Jensen, interview transcript #5, June 6, 2013, p. 10)

Thus, literacy practices in some form were patterned after existing social institutions; however, through the leadership of Joseph Smith, the institution evolved along with what was taught.

The church itself, as it grew, also became a social institution promoting literacy practices. As Jensen explained above, members of the church could easily point to specific revelations that commanded adherents to pursue education. Cowan suggests,

I can't help but think the emphasis on learning and the oft quoted scripture, "the glory of God is intelligence." It is much beyond learning, but ideas like that can't help but give divine sanction to the concept of learning . . . There is this divine

sanction to learning and all of that obviously involving the best books as the

revelations dictates. (Cowan, interview transcript #8, June 7, 2013, p. 3)

The institution of the church required note taking and historical journaling (Bachman,

interview transcript #1, May 26, 2013, p. 8) in addition to record keeping as discussed

earlier.

Jensen further explains that the church as an institution and Joseph Smith were

focused about gathering and building people:

I think broadly speaking Joseph Smith was about connecting people with each

other. He was a people person and he wanted to populate heaven with his friends

and his family. As an outgrowth of that he is looking to the past and to the future.

The only real connection to the past is through visionary experiences or through

records, so there is this undertone in Mormon theology that manifests itself in a

dispensational understanding where Mormons feel they are part of a larger

dispensational history. Joseph Smith from the very beginning was about records.

It is about tying generations together through records. I think that is why journals

are so important because they are seen as not just journals for themselves or

records for themselves but journals for their descendants. You often, especially in

Utah, you have people writing reminiscences, which is essentially a life story plus

a testimony for their children. This connection to the future is the same

connection with the past. That is why they are so interested with Hebrew and

other ancient cultures. Mormon theology is really tied up with connecting the past

to the present so that they can look to the future and that is done through records,

it is done through text, it is done through the written word. (Jensen, interview

transcript #5, June 6, 2013, pp. 14-15)

Connecting generations through records, reminiscing, and testimonials were and continue

to be part of an institutional focus for Mormons. The social institution invariably invites

and suggests literacy practices.

The second item listed in this element of social literacy theory stipulates that

literacy practices are influenced by power relationships. This element can also be

examined through the history of the church and some respondents touched on how

relationships produced, controlled, and disseminated literacy and print; however, because

this element is focused on relationships, finding complete agreement can be difficult.

When asked if more literate or better educated people were chosen as leaders primarily

because of their skills, Bachman said, "It would be easy to say yes, that educated guys

rose to the top, but that isn't the case. Yet many were, the Pratt boys and Brigham Young

didn't start that way but certainly ended there" (Bachman, interview transcript #1, May

26, 2013, p. 4). He continued saying, "Here is my thinking, you always have these

outliers that show up and they are not he educated—they are the obedient. You don't

have intellects running the church simply because they are intellects" (Bachman,

interview transcript #1, May 26, 2013, pp. 4-5).

With those assertions by Bachman, other respondents held similar views, while

acknowledging that many of the more learned individuals did find places of leadership

and responsibility with or near Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon being the prime example.

Satterfield explains when discussing these relationships,

Certainly Sidney Rigdon is big in this one. Sidney who had great literacy

capabilities, along with Orson Hyde and Orson Pratt, but Sidney Rigdon is really

pushing this kind of concept. I am sure that there might have been some

interesting struggles when Sidney became Jospeh's scribe with his lack of ability

in grammar and Sidney became then very helpful to Joseph, to help teach him, let

alone church members. Joseph Smith sees in Sidney a man who had greater skills

in literacy than he had, Joseph recognized that and utilized that. Joseph would

later receive a revelation where the Lord instructs Sidney to prevent Joseph from

falling and to write for him. So Sidney Rigdon is to watch and write for Joseph

Smith. What a great thing, this is coming through Joseph to an older man who has

great literacy skills and Joseph knows that and needs it. So Sidney Rigdon has got

to be the first major one. (Satterfield, interview transcript #3, June 4, 2013, pp. 4-

5)

It is clear because of Sidney Rigdon's skills he was given a position in the church to

assist Smith. With that, Satterfield also noted, "I don't think a lack of literacy eliminated

everyone" (Satterfield, interview transcript #3, June, 4, 2013, p. 6). Satterfield also

explained this by recognizing Brigham Young who would later become Smith's

successor did not have formalized education. Jensen also puts Sidney Rigdon as the

prime example of somebody who embodies this educational leader persona:

Many who became leaders partly stood out because they were educated. Sidney

Rigdon is the best example, where he was extremely educated person. He was a

minister, he led a church . . . and was a national character, people would have

recognized him and Joseph Smith relied on him not just because of his

educational background but because Sidney Rigdon provided legitimacy to Mormonism. If you think about the first Apostles, a lot of them were teachers or merchants, or others who certainly had some educational achievement. (Jensen, interview transcript #5, June 7, 2013, p. 8)

Those who were educated assisted in creating the print culture and establishing the newspapers, journals, editorials, etc. and were used by Joseph Smith to help assist in realizing the goals of the church.

Satterfield makes an interesting observation saying, "It is curious that the church was attracting men of skill who see within what great things Joseph Smith was accomplishing, though Jospeh himself is not, he doesn't have these skills" (Satterfield, interview transcript #3, June 4, 2013, p. 5). It was the literarily inclined individuals early in church history,

at least until that time that we get to the Missouri period, that began to publish a book every now and then. So the church members then began to expound and enlarge upon the revelations of Joseph Smith. You have Orson Pratt in England that published in 1840 the first account of the coming forth of *The Book of Mormon* and the first vision. And Orson Hyde starts right after that publishing his pamphlet *A Cry in the Wilderness,* which contained an account of the first vision and the coming forth of *The Book of Mormon*. (Godfrey, interview transcript #4, June 5, 2013, pp. 2-3)

Those who published were already in high standing within the church and these publications elevated them in the sight of the people (Godfrey, interview transcript #4, June 5, 2013, p. 4).

On April 6, 1830, the day the church was organized the Lord commanded that a history should be kept among the people. From that time, Jensen comments,

> I find it fascinating that the earliest leaders of the church that Joseph relies on so heavily were his clerks. If you think about Oliver Cowdery, John Whitmer, and Sidney Rigdon, all of these people served as his scribes. I think what happened, in being scribes to Joseph, is that he realized while they are engaged in this scripture creating process and because the scribes are writing and creating scripture, Joseph Smith begins to trust them with other things. I find it fascinating that the early leaders of the Church were those that Joseph Smith had trusted to write down messages of God as he saw it. (Jensen, interview transcript #5, June 6, 2013, p. 3)

From this comment, it appears that early skilled individuals were used and given some authority. While being faithful in initial assignments, Joseph Smith and they establish a relationship of mutual power and distinction. Meaning, they held positions in the church and were close to the inner workings of it.

Early on, the print culture created another opportunity for print and that was a manuscript culture. Jensen explains:

> As early as 1831, not too far into church's history, they decide to print the revelations which I think one of the reasons they were so attracted to the manuscript copies was because they could limit, to some degree, who could have

possession of the revelations. When you publish something, it is essentially broadcasting it to the world. With the manuscripts you can somewhat control where the revelations go. But once you print it, it is open for everyone. (Jensen, interview transcript #5, June 6, 2013, pp. 3-4)

In his comment, Jensen uses a plural noun "they" rather than "he" which would have referenced Joseph Smith. By 1831, it is clear that other individuals had a say in how and when print was disseminated and an implication that there may have been some previous control of the output. Though, these individuals worked under the leadership of Smith, it had become "they" and not "him." Mackay determines that the individuals who were highly educated were the "ones that controlled much of the information that went out. (Mackay, interview transcript #11, June 8, 2013, p. 3)

Many respondents, while understanding many early leaders garnered power relationships with Joseph Smith and the inner circles of the church, realized that it was not always the case. Many individuals had little or no education similar to Joseph Smith, Brigham Young being the best example. Holland reports,

You do see varying degrees of literacy, at least formal literacy just in the historical record. A lot of the scribes struggled with spelling and usage. I was just reading Zina Peterson Young who is recording an experience with Jane Manning James who is this very prominent African-American convert and a member of the Smith family household. Jane herself was completely illiterate and Young was writing about her with her own marginal literacy (on the basis on the quality of her writing). And these are people who attained a high degree of prominence and significance. Jane Manning James even though she was African-American and

denied temple rights and thing associated with her race, her death made the front page of the desert news and was eulogized by Joseph F. Smith at her death. So there are some examples of people who without the benefit of literacy who achieved a significant amount of prominence. Obviously not within what we might narrowly construe a culture of learning but at least within the community generally. (Holland, interview transcript #9, June 7, 2013, pp. 1-2)

Therefore, literacy practices of individuals and of the Mormon population were influenced by power relationships. Those who were close to Joseph Smith, in some instances, received positions of power because they had literacy skills, though that many not be the only reason for granting position. Godfrey posits,

I have read enough diaries during that period of time that it would seem to me that with the lay membership of the church being called to positions of leadership, which, while not overtly a requirement that you could read and write, still you had almost had to be able to do that to function properly in your calling. I would think that literacy was quite needed in the church to navigate the Mormon culture of learning. Some of the earliest revelations urged church members to study and seek knowledge out of the best books. It isn't qualified in that revelation that, that just means scriptures. It seems to mean more than scripture and was broader in its meaning. Even though Joseph Smith himself does not overpower one with his early education he certainly very early on had this great desire for education. So early on the Kirtland experience they not only establish schools, but even the School of the Prophets and they study Hebrew, and by Joseph's own example he is showing church members the value of learning. Certainly the Latter-day Saints

that stand out in early Mormon history are men who if not formally educated had a high degree of self-education. One only needs to read the writings of John Taylor, and Wilford Woodruff, and the Pratt's to determine that. There is a certain beauty and depth in the writing of Joseph Smith which are not his canonized writings that display some innate ability to write and enjoy and appreciate learning. (Godfrey, interview transcript #4, June 5, 2013, pp. 4-5)

Those who garnered power had some control over the production and dissemination of printed material, which would have affected the general Mormon population and thereby may have influenced their literacy practices. Nevertheless, as Joseph Smith understood the vision of what Mormonism was supposed to become under his leadership and really cover the entire earth through missionaries and print, it is obvious that many of these highly skilled individuals would be called into positions of authority to carry out that mission. Because of the unique errand of Mormonism, some forms of literacy became more dominant, visible, and influential than others (Barton & Hamilton, 2000). This specific tenet in social literacy theory was not overly discussed by respondents. What did emerge was an understanding that the literacy practice of reading was one of the most important practices a member of the church could engage in. Jensen suggests,

I find it interesting that a lot of the aspects of early Mormonism, literacy and the ability to read and the ability to engage with text was important. If you think about some of the early rituals that early members went through, many of them engaged with texts. (Jensen, interview transcript #5, June 6, 2013, p. 4)

It can be surmised that reading and literacy played some role in attaining or maintaining positions of leadership within the church, though such skill may not have been an imperative or definitive aspect in eliminating one from position. Nevertheless, power relationships were part of the early social literacy construct within Mormonism.

Perhaps, one of the most forceful of an implied power relationship came in the form of a revelation from Smith to Martin Harris in March 1830. In this revelation, Harris is told:

> I command you that thou shalt not covet thy Neibours wife. nor seek thy Neibours life. & again I command you that thou shalt not covet thine own Property but impart it freely to the printing of the Books of Mormon which contains of the word of God . . . Impart a portion of thy Property yea even a part of thy lands & all save the support of thy family Pay the Printers debt Release thyself from Bondage . . . (Smith, Revelation Book 1, pp. 25–26)

Smith used claimed revelatory inspiration to have Harris pay the debt to the printer. This may be viewed as a power relationship, whether or not abused, it comes from Smith who holds the most power in the church to a subordinate member.

Literacy practices are purposeful and embedded in broader social goals and cultural practices. This element of social literacy theory relevance to this study can be found in the goals of early Mormonism; the goals surrounding literacy and education were rooted in the goals of Mormonism. The goals and practices may not have been universally social or cultural outside the Mormon population, but within it, it was the purpose for everything they did. Respondents focused literacy practices in relation to two

major Mormon goals: to fulfill the global mission of the church in terms of teaching and preaching and for man to reach his divine potential to become like God.

The first example of this comes from Bachman's assertion that the process of translating and creating scripture was for Smith to have an educational experience. In other words, the literacy practices and skills Smith learned during the process were not the goal, and perhaps creating text was not the goal, it was a broader than all of that:

> *The Book of Mormon* didn't teach him all the doctrine and didn't answer all the questions and didn't stimulate all the questions that needed to be stimulated and needed to be asked. So the Lord told Joseph to go through the Bible. That process was to educate Joseph Smith, but on the other hand, by educating Joseph Smith and giving him answers to his questions we get many of the revelations in the Doctrine and Covenants are to answer questions he asked from the Bible. That is all focused on educating the church and Joseph. (Bachman, interview transcript #1, May 26, 2013, p. 1)

The goal in scripture translation and production was to bring about the fully restored gospel—not just learn to be a good writer. Even when secular things were taught, Smith would turn them into the context of the larger social goals he envisioned:

> There is no question when they read the revelations that they were supposed to learn about all kinds of things. But all that was to strengthen them in their missions to preach the gospel. They were to go out and converse with people as half-way intelligent human beings. But, there is no question in my mind that all of this had as its goal to understand the doctrine and theology of the church.

> Virtually, if you look at Joseph Smith himself and isolate his sermons, I can't
> honestly think of a secular sermon that he gave. He referred to secular things, like
> for example government but used it to teach about theocracy and the government
> of God. Even when he dealt with political matters it was to help build
> understanding and the role of the gospel in the Kingdom. From Joseph's point of
> view everything branches out from there—it was all about theology and doctrine.
> Other things were appendages or tangential and had their importance but that was
> central to everything. I wish it still was. (Bachman, interview transcript #1, May
> 26, 2013, p. 12)

It seems much of what was done in the church and by Joseph Smith had the destiny and
doctrine of the church as its goals. Therefore, the literacy practices were embedded in
these social goals.

The print culture established by the church also carried this vision, Thomas notes
the global perspective that individuals in the church had early on:

> In essence they were saying, We are going global right now, you better read the
> book . . . So they are not thinking just about church literacy, they are basically
> saying, it is good that we have worldwide print because they are all going to be
> put on notice. (Thomas, interview transcript #2, June 4, 2013, p. 8)

Similarly, Satterfield reports, "immediately it was determined that they needed to get a
printing press" and the purpose for the press was "so the church can start to learn the
doctrines because Joseph Smith is line upon line, doctrine is coming out, teaching is
coming out by revelation. They needed to get access to some of those revelations"

(Satterfield, interview transcript #3, June 4, 2013, p. 1). The print culture, especially the newspapers and revelations that came off these presses, were imperative to help achieve the broader social goals.

The School of the Prophets and the temple, which have been spoken of earlier, were all products of these larger goals as well. Speaking of the school, Satterfield was impressed:

> How many people who wanted to come and learn was impressive . . . and the whole church is learning together. So that means we are getting hundreds of people involved. They are loving the idea of coming to learn. (Satterfield, interview transcript #3, June 4, 2013, p. 7)

The people and Joseph are excited to learn, they have a new temple constructed, however the purpose for all the learning was to "learn beyond" what secular knowledge could provide.

Despite the broader social goals found in Mormonism, they still believed in traditional secular learning. Jessee reports:

> Mormons were the first ones in setting up schools in some of these states like Utah, and Missouri. In Nauvoo they had schools at the very beginning. They didn't have any worship buildings so they met in the school buildings. The temples were schools and the schools were chapels. It was a very important part of the theology of the church. (Jessee, interview transcript #7, June 6, 2013, p. 7)

But still, theology and education could never fully divorce from the Mormon culture; they were always hand-in-hand. Holland shares,

I do think the idea of eternal progression, the idea of the glory of God being intelligence, those aren't necessary unique Mormon principles but they are distinct. Some of what we are talking about is indicative of the Protestant movement away from sacrament to text. Mormonism represents in some ways a complicated continuation of that, but the idea of a God and progression and souls that progress through learning is pretty distinct. A lot of it is theological though there are a lot of cultural appropriations. (Holland, interview transcript #9, June 7, 2013, p. 6)

The cultural appropriations combined with theological goals and the sense of determinism found in Mormon culture all lead to larger social (and in this case heavenly) goals. Learning math to learn math cannot be separated from learning math to strengthen the church, please God, and eventually arrive at his intelligence level. Mackay explains that Mormons

have all these revelations that say you need more education. You need to sharpen your mind, it is not just the heart where you understand it it's the mind and the heart. I think theologically speaking we have sort of engrained this theological sense of being where we start here and end here and it is an upward progression. It is probably a false representation but theologically that is really where we are at. It is going straight up and there is an end point and it ends at godhood. (Mackay, interview transcript #11, June 8, 2013, p. 7)

An example of pairing the institutional goals with social literacy can be found in instructions given by Smith on baptism for the dead on September 6, 1842:

Now, what do we hear in the gospel which we have received? A voice of gladness! A voice of mercy from heaven; and a voice of truth out of the earth; glad tidings for the dead; a voice of gladness for the living and the dead; glad tidings of great joy. How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of those that bring glad tidings of good things, and that say unto Zion: Behold, thy God reigneth! As the dews of Carmel, so shall the knowledge of God descend upon them!

And again, what do we hear? Glad tidings from Cumorah! Moroni, an angel from heaven, declaring the fulfilment of the prophets—the book to be revealed. A voice of the Lord in the wilderness of Fayette, Seneca county, declaring the three witnesses to bear record of the book! The voice of Michael on the banks of the Susquehanna, detecting the devil when he appeared as an angel of light! The voice of Peter, James, and John in the wilderness between Harmony, Susquehanna county, and Colesville, Broome county, on the Susquehanna river, declaring themselves as possessing the keys of the kingdom, and of the dispensation of the fulness of times!

And again, the voice of God in the chamber of old Father Whitmer, in Fayette, Seneca county, and at sundry times, and in divers places through all the travels and tribulations of this Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints! And the voice of Michael, the archangel; the voice of Gabriel, and of Raphael, and of divers angels, from Michael or Adam down to the present time, all declaring their dispensation, their rights, their keys, their honors, their majesty and glory, and the

power of their priesthood; giving line upon line, precept upon precept; here a little, and there a little; giving us consolation by holding forth that which is to come, confirming our hope!

Brethren, shall we not go on in so great a cause? Go forward and not backward. Courage, brethren; and on, on to the victory! Let your hearts rejoice, and be exceedingly glad. Let the earth break forth into singing. Let the dead speak forth anthems of eternal praise to the King Immanuel, who hath ordained, before the world was, that which would enable us to redeem them out of their prison; for the prisoners shall go free.

Let the mountains shout for joy, and all ye valleys cry aloud; and all ye seas and dry lands tell the wonders of your Eternal King! And ye rivers, and brooks, and rills, flow down with gladness. Let the woods and all the trees of the field praise the Lord; and ye solid rocks weep for joy! And let the sun, moon, and the morning stars sing together, and let all the sons of God shout for joy! And let the eternal creations declare his name forever and ever! And again I say, how glorious is the voice we hear from heaven, proclaiming in our ears, glory, and salvation, and honor, and immortality, and eternal life; kingdoms, principalities, and powers! (Smith, 1844b, p. 431)

Literacy is historically situated. Initially, this element of social literacy theory I thought was considered to be too elementary. However, a closer examination of the data revealed that there were a great number of comments illustrating the historical context of

Mormon literacy and print culture. In an Antebellum American setting, Bachman reported:

> There were a lot of people who were writing their personal experiences like Joseph Smith did with his first vision and the coming of Moroni, and there were a few people that were writing books, but not very many writing books claiming to be scripture and very few of those actually survived the test of time. In that sense I think he was unique. (Bachman, interview transcript #1, May 26, 2013, p. 7)

Writing experiences were common, but Smith wasn't journaling, he was translating and creating scripture.

As the church grew through converts, according to Godfrey, many early converts were well trained in the Bible: "I think almost all of the early church converts were greatly influenced by the Bible and appreciated having enough education to read the Bible, so that had an impact on them when it came to reading other Mormon print materials" (Godfrey, interview transcript #4, June 5, 2013, pp. 5-6). These print materials would not have been unfamiliar to converts. Jensen suggests,

> I am thinking in the lived religion of the early Latter-day Saints. If you think about the United States citizens, they could draw upon a fairly large background of religious texts like *The Book of Common Prayers* that was part of the liturgy of early protestants in America, where you went to a sermon and read from the book of prayers or your personal worship you read from this or the Bible. I don't know if Mormonism really had a unique aspect that drove people as part of their liturgy or rituals to print. (Jensen, interview transcript #5, June 6, 2013, p. 11)

Jensen also explains, "I think Joseph Smith realizes the importance of the written word especially in American culture" (Jensen, interview transcript #5, June 6, 2013, p. 2). Godfrey also acknowledged that the Mormon print culture grew out of the Protestant print culture,

> Many of the protestant churches in the time frame that you are dealing with had their own periodicals. The church newspapers would not stand out as being unique to a disciple of Christ and the Millennial Harbinger that they published. And other religions had their periodicals at the time. Our print culture would be different in that Joseph was the only one who produced a book that his followers believed in some ways reflected the history of a group that left Palestine and came to America. Whatever you believed about Joseph, if you were serious, you still had to deal with the book he produced. You could say he wasn't educated or did this and this but you still have to deal with the book. (Godfrey, interview transcript #4, June 5, 2013, p. 8)

Mormon culture grew out of existing cultures. As individuals joined the church, these cultures melded together under the leadership, teachings, and culture that was imbued in Joseph Smith and the other leaders. Mormon people and Mormon culture were both cultural products of their time.

Educationally, Mormon culture also reflected the historical literacy practices of the time. Godfrey suggests,

> If you study the history of Nauvoo and the number of schools in Nauvoo (both public and private) and I am not arguing this as being unique to LDS but maybe a

part of America's culture there is great emphasis. Most fathers and mothers

wanted their children educated so they establish schools and see that that is done.

Young people were young people and played pranks on their teachers and weren't

always serious about their studies but the opportunities were there, and as the core

of the church grew larger those opportunities increased. (Godfrey, interview

transcript #4, June 5, 2013, p. 9)

As stated earlier, much of the emphasis on education came from Joseph Smith and other

leaders' insecurities surrounding their lack of formal classroom experience. Jensen

affirms, "I have no doubt that growing up in that New England culture that JS had a very

strong sense of learning and with the importance of learning" (Jensen, interview

transcript #5, June 6, 2013, p. 6). Notice the referent to Smith's New England culture that

was a large piece in his zealous attitude for education—it is historically situated.

While Mormonism shadows some aspects of historical literacy methods, products,

and practices of its generation, there were some differences. Holland suggests,

I think the printed word is crucial from the beginning. I make that point in some

of my work in scripture producing movements. The Latter-day Saint movement is

the only one in which we find a printed scripture that precedes the creation of the

church. In most cases the churches built up to the point of creating scripture

where they feel like they are stable enough and that they have enough momentum

to produce a printed scripture. Joseph Smith is unique in that scripture comes first

and then the church. So from the very beginning there is a printed text at the

center of the movement. (Holland, interview transcript #9, June, 7, 2013, p.1)

Additionally, Holland contends,

> The tendency to record and disseminate in print carries with it a powerful impetus
> plus a message about the importance of literacy . . . again this contrasts to the
> shakers who consciously repudiated a print culture up until the 4th and 5th decade
> of their existence. They arrive in the 1770's and they don't turn to a print culture
> until the early 1820's up until then it is a very oral culture. It wasn't captured in a
> printed word, but as the movement stabilizes and grow and defends itself they
> recognize they have to do that through print. It takes half a century to get to that
> point. The LDS experience is so different equal emphasis on continuing revelation
> yet that continuing revelation is very inextricably bound to the written word. The
> fact that scripture comes out early, records are emphasized the proselytizing effort
> becomes centered around pamphlets that are being generated. You can't get away
> from literacy in the early church effort. (Holland, interview transcript #9, June, 7,
> 2013, pp. 4-5)

While some aspects of Mormon history are following other histories, many respondents
pointed to areas where Mormonism departed the traditional historical road. Nevertheless,
Mormon history does openly display that its literacy is "historically situated" (Barton &
Hamilton, 2000).

**Literacy practices change and new ones are frequently acquired through
processes of informal learning and sense making.** Of all the tenets of social literacy
theory this one was rarely mentioned in the data. It remains unstudied in this research and
further work is necessary to determine how Mormon history fits in. The choice to leave
it unstudied was made because the primary focus of this research were the years 1830-

1844; a period of time that is not sufficient for determining how literacy practices change over time.

Furthermore, only two respondents provided information on this tenet, Barney and Thomas who both explained how print culture was the driving force behind revelation and the dissemination of important doctrinal developments. However, near the end of Smith's life the most important doctrines surrounding the ordinances of the temple were not written and disseminated. Whether it was a "literacy practice change" (Barton & Hamilton, 2000) or for another reason cannot be surmised at this time. It is, however, clear that for some reason Smith only transmitted this knowledge orally (Barney, interview transcript #10, June 8, 2013, p. 13; Thomas, interview transcript #2, June 4, 2013, p. 4).

Conclusion

The data discussed through the lens of social literacy theory (Barton & Hamilton, 2000) acknowledge the social influences that surrounded Mormon print and literacy culture. Many social practices and events were mediated by text. Often scripture, newspapers, and revelations were the text that mediated the practices. Reading and writing were primary practices that seemed to be enhanced by these influences. As with most if not all cultures, it was found that different literacies were found in different domains of life, though this element of social literacy theory was not a large portion of this research. The interactions and authority of individuals within the church during this time period also affected the print and literacy culture. The data show that some respondents felt individuals were given power because of their literacy skills and capacities and those power relationships may have been a source of influence upon the

literacy practices of other individuals. The church itself, and the schools established were major social institutions that provided enhanced literacy opportunities through the School of the Prophets, public schools, and other formal and informal learning opportunities. These opportunities, as presented by the data, were developed and enhanced because of the broader social goals in Mormonism, such as translating and creating scripture. All of these practices and events were historically situated in the time period of 1830-1844 with some evidence that some literacy practices change over time, though this was not a significant part of this research.

CHAPTER SIX: ANALYSIS OF RESEARCH QUESTION, IN WHAT WAYS, IF ANY, DOES EARLY MORMON PRINT AND LITERACY CULTURE INFORM THE RELATIONSHIP THAT EXISTS BETWEEN EDUCATION AND RELIGIOSITY IN CONTEMPORARY MORMON CULTURE?

Introduction

This chapter discusses how data are analyzed and interpreted in context of the third research question: In what ways, if any, does early Mormon print and literacy culture inform the relationship that exists between education and religiosity in contemporary Mormon culture? Data were collected using processes described in Chapter Four. Similarly, data analysis was conducted following the guidelines articulated in MGT.

Mormon Print and Literacy Culture

As established earlier, scholars have determined that early Mormonism embraced, and in some cases, enhanced the existent Antebellum print and literacy cultures (Bushman, 2007; Givens & Neilson, 2009; Gutjahr, 1999). Poe (2011) established the relationship between literacy and religion explaining, "reading religion naturally needs literacy to do its godly work" (p. 110). In other words, it was the faithful who began to learn to read and literacy for the masses began to increase through religious media (Poe, 2011). Print culture, therefore, is the pervading print norms within the cultural context of people, space, time, and printed material. Print culture used within the parameters of this

study emphasizes the use of print on paper (i.e., books, pamphlets, newspapers) as it was the most produced and consumed medium of print in antebellum America.

The following questions (Davidson, 1989) help explore the parameters of print and literacy culture:

> Who could read? Who could write? What was the personal and social meaning of literacy? What was the relationship between mass education and book culture? At what point does a nation consider itself to be sufficiently literate or well educated? How does one define levels of literacy, and how does the concept of literacy, in the fullest sense of the term, bear on a nation's estimation of itself? (p. 9)

Print culture may be understood by developing social meanings, definitions, perceptions, and the influence of individuals within the culture; delving into the literacy events and people of the time provides insight into the daily influences and global forces that promote a print and literate culture.

Mormon print and literacy culture was influenced by preceding generations of Americans. Technology and demand of printed products provided the impetus for increased print (Davidson, 1989). The Bible was the central text and main source of literacy and literacy learning until the mid-nineteenth century (Gutjahr, 1999). During this time, Brown (2010) explains,

> rising social aspirations gave impetus to the practice of extensive reading. In the pursuit of ideological, evangelical, and commercial objectives, ambitious men sought out secular books and magazines as markers of respectability, not just as

requirements for responsible voting. Women and girls read extensively to become fit wives and mothers to citizens. Many heeded the evangelical call to read the Bible and other religious works for the sake of their souls and the well-being of the nation. (p. 71)

The antecedents of antebellum print culture exploded in forms of independence, new social strata, freedom, and a protective national persona. The print culture coming to fruition was one possessed with the ferocity and remembrance of war, coupled with emerging opportunities for an educated citizenry. As these elements were met with technological advancements (Gross, 2010), near-universal literacy among white Americans was heralded (Gutjahr, 1999). Newspaper, books, and other printing rose dramatically, especially in rural America (Green, 2010; Larkin, 2010) and were heavily used by Mormons.

Religion appears to be the predecessor of print culture and widespread literacy from colonial to antebellum America. Then,

In the nineteenth century, the religious fervor of the Second Great Awakening added significant fuel to the fire of American Protestantism's voracious appetite for print. As people converted to Christianity, many denominations felt it necessary to teach new converts the rudiments of Bible reading. Added to the efforts of individual denominations, the American Sunday School Union emerged in the 1820s. Its curriculum concentrated on reading the Bible and other religious material. (Gutjahr, 1999, p. 16)

Bible reading and religion provided the slow burn and the bursting antebellum flames from which a nationalistic print culture was born.

Joseph Smith and Mormonism rose from the ash and smoke of the burned over district. This area was the scene of intense revivalism and bibliocentric print culture. However, as reading the biblical text held its primacy, emotionalism escalated while rationalism decreased (Zboray, 1993). The emphasis on emotionalism through revivals, camp meetings, and other antebellum evangelical outreaches led to a differing emphasis by the preacher:

> The authority of the preacher, which had in earlier times pulled upward the comprehension of the congregation, now gave way to the drama of the revivalist, which descended to the level of the audience. The evangelical performance might be discussed after the revival, along with feelings let loose within the community, not to the meaning of words, sentences, and paragraphs in a prepared written sermon. From the perspective of the pulpit, the orality became, in evangelical sects, more important than literacy. (Zboray, 1993, p. 90)

Print and literacy were the media through which Mormonism was born, took root, and flourished. Education therefore became paramount to early members of the church.

Mormon Philosophy of Education

As discussed previously, a major tenet of early Mormonism focused on the doctrines and practices of learning (Satterfield, 2002). From schools built in antebellum America to funds bestowed to college students in Armenia, the LDS Church has always participated and suggested education. Dallin H. Oaks (2009), an Apostle in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints explains, "As Latter-day Saints we believe in education, and we have a philosophy about how and why we should pursue it" (p. 26). The Mormon philosophy of education presents itself through revelation to Joseph Smith

and the teachings of church leaders, which all stems from doctrinal, sacred, imperatives for Mormons to progress to become God-like and Christ-like; if Deity is omnipotent, certainly man should attempt to become as educated and knowledgeable as possible (Eyring, 2001). Therefore, to Mormons, "[Our] religion . . . prompts [us] to search diligently after knowledge. . . . There is not another people in existence more eager to see, hear, learn and understand truth" (Worthen, 2012, p. 61). Worthen also stated, "LDS theology teaches that the acquisition of knowledge is an essential component of God's eternal plan for his children. Our ability to achieve the full measure of our divine potential—our very exaltation—is dependent on it" (p. 62). In this way, the acquisition of knowledge is not simply a good idea in Mormon theology it is redemptive. Therefore, how and why Mormons pursue education should match those doctrinal underpinnings (Oaks, 2009).

Stark (1998) asserts that the application of this philosophy by members of the LDS church "has been translated into achievement" (Stark, 1998, p. 59). Additionally, an achievement underscored by researchers is Mormon students capacity to remain true to religious beliefs while studying secular subjects—the heart of this research question (Stark, 1998; Albrecht, 1998; Cooperman, 2012).

This research suggests that this philosophy of education may influence educational attainment within the Mormon population. Additionally, in 2012, the Pew Forum published findings that indicated a unique relationship between religiosity and education for members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The survey titled "Mormon's in America: Certain in their Beliefs, Uncertain of their Place in Society" found:

Mormons who have graduated from college display the highest levels of religious commitment (84%) followed by those with some college education (75%). Mormons with a high school education or less exhibit substantially lower levels of religious commitment (50% score high on the scale) than their more highly educated counterparts. (Cooperman, 2012, p. 37)

Pertinent to this study and this question under discussion here is the fact that Mormons who participate in higher levels of education display greater religiosity than other denominations covered in the same study.

MGT Analysis of Relationships of Past and Present Mormonism in Print, Literacy and Educational Context

Coding and Conceptual Refinement

The coding process and conceptual refinement process followed steps outlined in Chapter Four and Five.   However, during the conceptual refinement process, further implications or results from initial analysis were not found. In other words, my initial attempt at theory generation was sufficient. Unlike the first two research questions, respondents did not answer the questions surrounding this topic as definitively as previous questions; consequently, the answers I received came from personal experiences, historical anecdotes, and doctrinal thoughts. Respondents were reticent to make definitive connections and conclusions between these questions because of the historical leap from 1830 to contemporary culture.

Theoretical Sampling

Theoretical sampling is an optional step in MGT to ask additional questions to elaborate previous concepts to produce more data or more specific data. Because of the number, quality, and rich data received from initial interviews. I did not take the additional/optional step of theoretical sampling, which would necessitate contacting respondents to further investigate unanswered questions or claims.

Data Analysis Findings

The question under discussion in this chapter attempted to build a bridge between the past print and literacy findings that were discussed in previous chapters to contemporary Mormon culture, a culture that promotes and has experienced success in educational achievement. In addition to the general educational achievement among Mormons, Mormons have attained this success while maintaining religiosity. While examining and contemplating the roots of the past that have produced these contemporary fruits within Mormonism, Bachman says, "Why are we interested in education at all? It is because of those roots," he continued, "the pairing of education and religion has never left. It has never even been attempted" (Bachman, interview transcript #1, May 26, 2013, p. 12).

The pairing of education and religion by LDS church members had led some to criticize the church and/or its membership of being anti-intellectual (Nelson, 1989), arguing that obedience to gospel principles and leaders is blind obedience and thereby negates pure intellectuality. Thomas explains this careful delineation stating:

However the book is not transcendent. On several occasions Joseph Smith taught that it isn't about books. He taught books won't save you. You have to get

connected to God; you have to get revelation for yourself. So that is a little tension. That is why some people say it is anti-intellectual; it isn't really in the end about exegesis and learned interpretations of the text. Basically it is the text as playground, you go to the text, you get that thought, you go to God and the thought is amplified. (Thomas, interview transcript #2, June 4, 2013, p. 10)

Within the Mormon philosophy of education, obedience and intellectualism are coupled to produce more divine and greater intellectual learning. Nelson (1985), an Apostle in the LDS church, explained this stance at a Brigham Young University devotional speech:

You will hear allegations that the Church is 'anti-intellectual.' … *You* are the greatest evidence to refute such an erroneous statement. Individually, you have been encouraged to learn and to seek knowledge from any dependable source. In the Church, we embrace *all* truth, whether it comes from the scientific laboratory or from the revealed word of the Lord. We accept all *truth* as being part of the gospel. (p. 17)

Combining Nelson and Thomas' assertions, participating in learning through any dependable source combined with revelatory processes can create optimal learning, thus balancing theological faith and intellectual learning.

Monson (2001), who is the current president and prophet of the LDS faith, explained how theological thinking and scientific logic can create tension:

Should doubt knock at your doorway, just say to those skeptical, disturbing, rebellious thoughts: 'I propose to stay with my faith, with the faith of my people. I know that happiness and contentment are there, and I forbid you, agnostic,

doubting thoughts, to destroy the house of my faith. I acknowledge that I do not

understand the processes of creation, but I accept the fact of it. I grant that I

cannot explain the miracles of the Bible, and I do not attempt to do so, but I

accept God's word. I wasn't with Joseph, but I believe him. My faith did not

come to me through science, and I will not permit so-called science to destroy it.

(p. 9)

Hinckley (1985), who Monson succeeded in LDS presidency, said, "As a Church, we

encourage gospel scholarship and the search to understand all truth. Fundamental to our

theology is belief in individual freedom of inquiry, thought, and expression" (p. 6).

Within context of this research question, learning for Mormon's was centered in text;

however, text, science, or other available learning was penultimate to what God could

reveal in addition to secular learning.

Not unique but certainly essential to Mormonism is the relationship between

learning and seeking revelation from God as a process of that learning; this process was

imbued in the early church. It is the book and God. Essentially, "education and literacy is

rooted deep in the revelations in the early history. It goes back to, 'see what is written in

this book—see what God said. (Thomas, interview transcript #2, June 4, 2013, p. 11).

Learning, then, becomes this back and forth experience between learner,

instruction (mediated through teaching or text), and Deity, and for Mormons, it appears it

has been that way from the beginning. One reason contemporary Mormonism has

successfully been able to retain religiosity while achieving high levels of educational

attainment is its relationship to its history as explained above by Bachman and Thomas.

Satterfield and Jensen continue to elaborate this relationship.

Satterfield pointed out the fact that the history of Mormonism is a relatively short history, especially when compared to other religions in the world. Because the history is short, it is easy for leaders and members to go back to that original history. Therefore,

> The concept is that we have important doctrines taught in the past that are still utilized and informing the present day church. The teaching about the revelations are the very thing that match behavior and education . . . the major doctrine that we continue to teach comes from that early time period. (Satterfield, interview transcript #3, June 5, 2013, pp. 11-12)

In this way, it is easy for contemporary Mormons to reach back into Mormon history and determine the importance of education and to be faithful during the educative process. Jensen affirms this same principle:

> Mormonism, perhaps is certainly not unique, but when compared to larger Christian religions or Judaism or other groups, the founding of their religions are so far in the past that it is almost has entered this mythical status. Mormonism is not the same. The founder of this world religion kept a diary and we have that diary in this building. Think about the implications of that in Christianity if Jesus had written something or if Muhammad had written something. It is remarkable to think of Joseph Smith as a founder of religion kept a lot of records and that we have them. Mormonism is tied to its past probably more than many religions. The past and the theology are so closely related. So to understand Mormon theology is to understand its history and to understand its history is understand its theology. Meaning, when people are joining Mormonism today they are reading *The Book of Mormon* and are being told in Sunday School experiences about the past or

pioneers or what have you. It is certainly there, Mormonism tied with education is very important. And yet the way we treat education at sometimes would horrify some of our early Latter-day Saints. There is a kind of attitude where it has become a means to an end. We get education for an MBA or for a law degree or whatever in order to make lots of money. That is not the way Joseph Smith saw education. He did not relate education as a way to get anything other than get your place in the Kingdom. It is an interesting juxtaposition, Mormons today are still very tied to this concept of education but when you tell your mom that you are going to be an art history major, that is not received very well sometimes. And yet, the revelations talk about being a type of renaissance man and learning all that you can and learning doesn't end when you graduate from college but it is a lifelong pursuit. We fall into this larger American culture where it has become the same thing. You get your education to get money, and you get money to buy fun things and that is the common life. I think Mormonism clearly still has that strong sense of education and literacy. In Mormonism you have to help all people read if you want them to become truly engaged in Mormonism. I love it, I think it is great. It is so obvious to a lot of people that you can't experience what Mormonism is about without engaging in Mormon text . . . Education is still there in Mormonism—it is still very important. (Jensen, interview transcript #5, June 6, 2013, pp. 15-16)

Because the church is so young in terms of its founding, its history is still very much imbued in its people and converts. When it comes to things like education and religiosity, a Mormon can point to it specifically from Mormon scriptures or Mormon prophets like

Joseph Smith. The implications on behavior matching the teachings or doctrine of the church are tied to its founders rather than the local pastor or preacher solely. Mormon past is very much a part of Mormon present.

Not only is the history young, but many doctrinal elements are young as well; therefore, they are still fresh in the minds and beliefs of adherents—they haven't reached a mythical point yet. Bachman explains, "I think the real answer is this: If you look at the number of Mormons that are educated it is pretty high and it is to be attributed to our theology" (Bachman, interview transcript #1, May 26, 2013, p. 13). Thomas affirms, "We are basically saying that we have a mandate to learn. That early revelations say you won't be as useful in fulfilling your roles in the world as witnesses and other things unless you have studied" (Thomas, interview transcript #2, June 4, 2013, p. 10). The doctrinal mandate to gain education matches the behavioral approach (meaning Mormons getting education) to education.

Godfrey combines behavior and education giving substance as to why Mormons retain religiosity while achieving high levels of education:

It goes back to those great sections in *The Doctrine and Covenants* that explain the glory of God is intelligence. The God of the Latter-day Saints is an individual who knows everything and encourages the acquisition of knowledge and that seem to make it a divine mandate to learn and of course that led to our great education system. Mormons have emphasized learning since the very beginning. Sometimes we leave out that you don't learn sometimes for the sake of learning, *but it is hoped that in your learning you also develop your character until it is the same sort of character that Jesus has*. What matters is if you are honest and clean,

all of those virtues are as important as knowledge. (Godfrey, interview transcript

#4, June 4, 2013, p. 11, italics added)

Godfrey suggests that learning in Mormonism is important, but of utmost importance is

the character one builds while receiving that education. The goal should be in Mormon

education to "develop your character until it is the same sort of character that Jesus has"

(Godfrey, interview transcript #4, June 4, 2013, p. 11).

Jessee teaches the same principal using a different emphasis, "I think the church

and education it is just in our DNA because of our concept of man and our concept of

God that pushes us into education more so than others it seems like—it should at least"

(Jessee, interview transcript #7, June 6, 2013, pp. 8-9). The concept of man and God in

Mormonism relates to the belief that Man can progress to become like God, meaning in

the resurrection and eternities eventually gain his knowledge, perfections, and attributes.

In this context, if Mormonism believes that men and women can eventually become as

Deity, gaining as much knowledge on earth becomes important. Jessee continues,

So I think you don't have to strain to see the connection, all you have to do is read

the revelations and listen to the leaders of the Church. I don't think there is

anything more important that we can do than push the education button and stay

rooted in the church at the same time. (Jessee, interview transcript #7, June 6,

2013, pp. 9-10)

Lastly, Holland comes to similar conclusions:

I do think the idea of progression and the theologically imbedded ideas that

persist in Mormonsim just as they drove the culture of learning in the Antebellum

era I think those same principles apply in the early 21st century. To the extent that

the elements of the theology have remained unchanged they continue to generate

the same kind of response. (Holland, interview transcript #9, June 7, 2013, p. 7)

Conclusion

Though respondents were more reticent to answer this question because of the

historical leap required, the data collected and analyzed shows there may be some

relationship between the past print and literacy culture and contemporary Mormonism's

parity of educational attainment and religiosity. This is ascertained from respondent's

comments suggesting that doctrinal beliefs held within the church should generate the

desire for education; that while receiving education, a student's character is enhanced as

he/she travels the path leading to a Christ-like life. Secondly, respondents explained how

the relative short history of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints holds a

capacity to continuously influence the members of the church; therefore, the roots of the

past appear to have some bearing on the fruits of education and religiosity found in

contemporary Mormonism, though the extent and intensity of these potential causations

require further research. These findings also reflect the initial and contemporary

philosophy of education held by LDS members and leaders.

CHAPTER SEVEN: GROUNDING A THEORY

Introduction

This chapter discusses the final steps in multi-grounded theory (Goldkuhl &

Cronholm, 2010). First, I present a brief introduction about theory followed by the steps

of data interpretation that provide the stepping stones of the emerging theory.

Theory

Theory can be difficult to define, detect, and develop (Charmaz, 2006; Hansen &

Holman, 2006). Charmaz (2006) describes,

> Disagreements about how to do grounded theory and what a completed theory
>
> should look like often arise from unsettled notions about what theory means.
>
> These disagreements resonate with grumblings—and ideological clashes—
>
> throughout social sciences that grounded theorists echo without necessarily
>
> realizing their epistemological underpinnings. (p. 125)

This difficulty can be compounded by the varying aspects and philosophical thought

surrounding theory, theory development, and theoretical application. This study most

closely follows Charmaz's (2006) delineation of interpretive theory (as opposed to

positivist, objectivist, etc.). Charmaz (2006) determines,

> Proponents of this definition view theoretical understanding as abstract and
>
> interpretive; the very understanding gained from the theory rests on the theorist's

interpretation of the studied phenomenon. Interpretive theories allow for intermediacy rather than seek causality and give priority to showing patterns and connections rather than to linear reasoning. (Charmaz, 2006)

An interpretive theory is most appropriate in this study because a positivist theoretical stance is deterministic and focuses on causality rather than connections between the studied phenomenon, process of sociality, and a focus on inferring rather than determining. Interpretive theory limits the generalizability and universality of the postulated theory because the findings are linked so closely to one focus; however, "such theorizing is not limited to individual actors or micro situations. Nor should it be. Rather, interpretive theorizing can move beyond individual situations and immediate interactions" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 129). Strauss and Corbin (1998) define theory as well developed concepts related through relationship statements that can be used to explain or predict phenomena (p. 15).

Ultimately, theorists attempt to show connections through data that have created a certain premise, "Thus, theories present arguments about the world and relationships within it" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 128). Through the processes of MGT, data have been collected, analyzed, and will now be interpreted. These interpretations follow this interpretive stance, furthermore:

The acts involved in theorizing foster *seeing* possibilities, *establishing* connections, and *asking* questions. Grounded theory methods give you theoretical opening that avoid importing and imposing packaged images and automatic answers. . . . When you theorize, you read down to fundamentals, up to

abstractions, and probe into experience. The content of theorizing cuts to the core

of studied life and poses new questions about it. (Charmaz, 2006, p. 135)

The interpretations that follow act as an intermediary between the data and emerging

theory; it is a reflective, creative, iterative, process seeking to build connections, establish

relationships, and validate what has been accomplished thus far.

Data Interpretation

Bogdan and Biklen (2007) define data interpretation as "explaining and framing

your ideas in relation to theory, other scholarship and action, as well as showing why

your findings are important and making them understandable" (p. 159). The goal is to tie

the data back to the original question. In MGT, this happens in three phases as outlined in

Chapter Three.

Pattern Coding

Pattern coding enables the researcher to transition data from categories to

theoretical statements. These statements are usually based on actions and that the "action

performed has social grounds and social purposes" (Goldkuhl & Cronholm, 2010, p.

196). Therefore, the goal is to take the categories (codes) made during the processes of

theory generation and conceptual refinement to build initial theoretical statements that

categorically determines relationships.

Pattern Coding and Theoretical Statements for Research Question One: In

what ways, if any, does Venezky's theory of literacy expansion inform the use of

print culture and publishing used in early Mormonism? Chapter Four analyzed and

discussed findings relative to Venezky's (1996) theory of literacy expansion. From the

analysis, two main codes emerged to help determine the relationship between the print and literacy culture of early Mormons and Venezky's (1996) theory: First, Purposes/Influences, which helped determine the causes of literacy expansion in the categories of demographics, and persecution/recourse and rebuttals also emerged from the first code. The second code elaborated the importance and involvement of doctrine on the print and literacy culture, specifically the need to disseminate, reflect and elucidate the doctrine helped to more fully determine these relationships.

Purposes/Influences. From the data, it was determined that the growth of the church (meaning increased numbers of followers through baptism) and the westward movement of the church increased print through record keeping, letter writing, newspapers, and other media. Additionally, more print emerged from members of the church as they were instructed to make a record of persecution they received and to defend its doctrine.

Doctrine. From the data it was determined that a relationship existed between print and literacy and literacy expansion theory (Venezky, 1996). The need disseminate through the printed word expanded print and helped to produce a literacy need. Additionally, members of the church participated in literacy activities prompted by reflecting on the doctrine through journaling, letter writing, etc. Furthermore, as the doctrine was taught verbally and textually, it was expanded, defended, and interpreted through printed media, furthering the culture and necessity of literacy among the LDS people.

Initial Theoretical Statements: Demographics. The aim of pattern coding is to take the categories (codes) made during the processes of theory generation and

conceptual refinement to build initial theoretical statements that categorically determines relationships. These theoretical statements in the pattern coding step evolved through the process of theory generation and conceptual refinement. The table below represents the evolution of data from code to theoretical statement.

Table 3. **Graphic Representation of Evolving Theoretical Statements: Demographics**

Theory Generation (Coding)	Conceptual Refinement	Pattern Coding (Initial theoretical statements):
Demographics	The expansion of the church and its westward movement influenced the print and literacy culture as it corresponds with aspects of literacy expansion theory. The command to provide written responses as a medium of recourse in response to persecution influenced the print and literacy culture as it corresponds with aspects of	Print and literacy expand as a response to external influences. The introduction of one text creates a proliferation of other printed material (Venezky, 1996). Literacy and print culture can be affected by religious suggestions to write. Affinity to a religious belief

	literacy expansion theory.	creates action within the believer.
	Public defenses of doctrine in the form of rebuttals further enhanced the print and literacy culture of Mormons and influenced the print and literacy culture as it corresponds to to aspects of literacy expansion theory	Sacrifice, persecution and other external forces coupled with an internal belief system may prompt literacy events and activities. Mass media influences beliefs in a society.

Initial Theoretical Statements: Doctrine. Initial theoretical statements for the second main code seek to build statements generated from theory generation and conceptual refinement and are highlighted in the table below as it relates to doctrine.

Table 4.   Graphic Representation of Evolving Theoretical Statements: Doctrine

Theory Generation (Coding)	Conceptual Refinement	Pattern Coding (Initial theoretical statements):
Doctrine	The need to disseminate Mormon doctrine through the printed word influenced the print and literacy culture of its	The perceived importance of a message influences the production, medium, and dissemination of that message.

	time.	Media of reflective print
		culture may imitate aspects of
	Some Mormons participated	the initial text or motivating
	in a reflective literacy culture	text (i.e., *The Book of*
	in which participants wrote	*Mormon*).
	about their experiences	
	through varying media.	Reflective writing can be used
		as a method of disseminative
	The processes of preaching	writing.
	and teaching led to an	
	enhanced print and literacy	Verbal expansion of beliefs
	culture.	initiates printed expansion of
		the same.

The preceding theoretical statements that emerged from the data found in Chapter

Five will be used in the next step of data interpretation.

Pattern Coding and Theoretical Statements for Research Question Two:

How did early Mormonism utilize aspects of social literacy, literacy events and print

culture as instruments of social creation? Chapter Five analyzed and discussed

findings relative to aspects of social literacy, literacy events, and print culture as how

those influences relate to the creation of a literate society. Data were analyzed using

Barton and Hamilton's (2000) theory of social literacy. During the conceptual refinement

process, I determined to use the six elements of social literacy theory as codes to

categorize the data to determine how events and people in the Mormon past influenced

the Mormon culture in terms of print and literacy. Again, the purpose of the table is to

illustrate the evolution of data from simple codes to more complex theoretical statements. The following table represents the codified elements of social literacy theory with initial theoretical statements emerging from the pattern coding process.

Table 5. **Graphic Representation of Initial Theoretical Statements: Social Literacy**

Theory Generation (Codes)	Conceptual Refinement	Pattern Coding (Initial theoretical statements):
Social Literacy **Literacy Events** **Social Practices**	Literacy is best understood as a set of practices; these can be inferred from events which are mediated by written texts. There are different literacies associated with different domains of life. Literacy practices are patterned by social institutions and power relationships, and some literacies are more	Text can act as a mediating force on behavior. Pairing religious fervor with an emphasis on personal communication with Deity promotes literacy as a medium to achieve that communication with Deity. Religious goals (i.e., going to heaven) can serve as powerful motivations to engage with text.

	dominant, visible, and influential than others.	Cultural beliefs and practices drive literacy achievement.
	Literacy practices are purposeful and embedded in broader social goals and cultural practices.	Changing or emphasizing the end goal (i.e., Man becoming like God) creates an added emphasis on
	Literacy is historically situated.	processes perceived to assist in attaining that goal.
	Literacy practices change and new ones are frequently acquired through processes of informal learning and sense making.	

The preceding theoretical statements produced from the data found in Chapter Five will be used in the next step of data interpretation.

Pattern Coding and Theoretical Statements for Research Question Three: In what ways, if any, does early Mormon print and literacy culture inform the relationship that exists between education and religiosity in contemporary Mormon culture? Chapter Six analyzed and discussed findings relative to aspects of the Mormon

philosophy of education, Mormon history, and how Mormons successfully pair religiosity and educational attainment. Data were analyzed in the following categories: history (meaning implications of history on the present church) and theology (how Mormon doctrine influences Mormon behavior). The following table represents the codified elements of this research question with initial theoretical statements emerging from the pattern coding process.

Table 6.   Graphic Representation of Initial Theoretical Statements: Social Literacy

Theory Generation (Codes)	Conceptual Refinement	Pattern Coding (Initial theoretical statements):
History **Theology**	The history of Mormonism continues to have a bearing on contemporary Mormonism.	Religious institutions with a shorter history may have more influence than religious institutions with a longer history. Clearly defined religious goals induce clearly defined religious actions. Religious tradition may have greater influence on

		individuals than personal or familial tradition.
		The understanding of doctrine induces the application of the same doctrine.
		Religious belief may insure but not ensure religiosity.
		The collection of several unique traits consequently intervenes to create one unique trait.

The preceding theoretical statements produced from the data found in Chapter Six will be used in the next step of data interpretation.

Theory Condensation. This step is designed to evaluate the theoretical statements and selective codes generated from the pattern coding step to reveal the emerging theory grounded from the data. Unlike GT, MGT does not claim the imperative

to have only one claim or category, but the theory should become more inclusive and dense (Goldkuhl & Cronholm, 2010).

During the process of theoretical condensation, I took all of the initial theoretical statements and read through them many times. This was not a fast process, but one that developed theoretical sensitivity. Theoretical sensitivity combines past literature with researcher tendencies. It includes the personal qualities held by the researcher that enable a cognizant awareness of the subtleties of meaning in data. This ability of the researcher requires a heightened sensitivity

> to the attribute of having insight, the ability to give meaning to data, the capacity to understand, and capability to separate the pertinent from that which isn't. All this is done in conceptual rather than concrete terms. It is theoretical sensitivity that allows one to develop a theory that is grounded, conceptually dense, and well integrated—and to do this more quickly than if this sensitivity were lacking. (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, pp. 41-42)

A researcher can begin research with varying degrees of theoretical sensitivity. Additionally, sensitivity may also be gained by the researcher through the study of associated literature, professional experience, personal experience, and delving deeply into analytic processes (Goldkuhl & Cronholm, 2010).

During the process of theoretical condensation, I sought for insight and to give concrete yet creative meaning to the data. During this process, it became apparent that some statements were not as important as others; meaning, some statements were not as logical as others, some were impossible to validate, and so on. Therefore, the emerging statements became more dense and deeply integrated with the data produced by

respondents. Over time, initial theoretical statements focused and emerged toward behavioral (social actions) and doctrinal (religious influences) impacts on Mormonism. An "other" category evolved containing statements that solely reflected practices and expansion; seemed to already be answered by Venezky's (1996) theory of literacy expansion, this "other" category ultimately contained statements that were dismissed. A full list of these statements is provided below and in Appendix E and F respectively.

It became clear that these theoretical statements contained some things that were not specifically answered by Barton and Hamilton's (2000) social literacy theory. I therefore focused more on those statements, attempting to combine these short theoretical assumptions coupled with my understanding of the literacy theories.

During this process, the following theoretical statements were dropped from further analysis:

- Reflective writing can be used as a method of disseminative writing.

- Verbal expansion of beliefs initiates printed expansion of the same.

- Print and literacy expand as a response to external influences.

- The introduction of one text creates a proliferation of other printed material (Venezky, 1996).

- Mass media influences beliefs in a society.

- Cultural beliefs and practices drive literacy achievement.

- Religious institutions with a shorter history may have more influence than religious institutions with a longer history.

- Religious tradition may have greater influence on individuals than personal or familial tradition.

These statements derived from data but were not aimed at generating a workable theory, were too broad or expansive in nature (generalizability), or simply were not logical. Though these statements were dismissed, they still played a role in the continual process of making a more comprehensive and dense theory and are imbedded within it.

The remaining theoretical statements were examined further:

- The perceived importance of a message influences the production, medium, and dissemination of that message.

- Media of reflective print culture may imitate aspects of the initial text or motivating text (i.e., *The Book of Mormon*).

- Text can act as a mediating force on behavior.

- Literacy and print culture can be affected by religious suggestions to write.

- Affinity to a religious belief creates action within the believer.

- Sacrifice, persecution, and other external forces coupled with an internal belief system may prompt literacy events and activities.

- Pairing religious fervor with an emphasis on personal communication with deity promotes literacy as a medium to achieve that communication with deity.

- Religious goals (i.e., going to heaven) can serve as powerful motivations to engage with text.

- Changing or emphasizing the end goal (i.e., Man becoming like God) creates an added emphasis on processes perceived to assist in attaining that goal.

- Clearly defined religious goals induce clearly defined religious actions.

- The understanding of doctrine induces the application of the same doctrine.

- Religious belief may insure but not ensure religiosity.

- The collection of several unique traits consequently intervenes to create one unique trait.

After further examination, I determined the following statements reflected the essence of the above statements listed in the bulleted list below:

- Importance of message impacts actions regarding it.

- Expanded print is a reflection of original printed source. Original source is the seedbed for expanded sources.

- Action correlates with understanding of desired end.

- The medium through which individuals perceive spiritual experiences occurring prompts further pursuit of experiences mediated through the same medium.

What seemed apparent was the fact that text and doctrine appeared to be mediating forces that created print and literacy action in early Mormons. These traits in some fashion (according to the data derived from informants) continues to play a role in contemporary Mormonism.

Therefore, I further condensed all the initial theoretical statements to the following three statements.

Statement One

The perceived importance of a text mediates actions within individuals who engage with it. Expanded print material produced by participants may have some reflections of the original source.

This statement can be traced back to historical referents included in previous chapters; however, I will provide a few examples here. Essentially, this statement reflects

the necessity of perceived importance toward text. If the text is not important to readers, it will not produce action or mediation. Smith's experience reading James 1:5 exemplifies this statement: reading the Bible (perceived important text) mediated action (prayer). If the Bible, and the reading of it was not deemed to be of value or important, Smith may never have engaged with it.

Another example showing the need for a text to be deemed important or it will not successfully mediate is demonstrated when Parley P. Pratt first received a copy of *The Book of Mormon*. Pratt (1874) explains,

> 1 opened it with eagerness and read its title page I then read the testimony of several witnesses in relation to the manner of its being found and translated after this I commenced its contents by course I read all day eating was a burden I had no desire for food sleep was a burden when the night came for I preferred reading to sleep As I read the spirit of the lord was upon me and I knew and comprehended that the book was true as plainly and manifestly as a man comprehends and knows that he exists. My joy was now full, as it were, and I rejoiced sufficiently to more than pay me for all the sorrows sacrifices and toils of my life. (p. 38)

Once the book was deemed to be important, Pratt seemingly couldn't stop reading it. After he did complete the reading, Pratt would become a stalwart leader in the church.

In addition to textual importance, data emerged that suggests print produced after the original source from which expansion proceeds has some relational tie to the originating source. *The Book of Mormon* spawned from an event that was generated from reading the Bible. Much of *Doctrine and Covenants* developed and elaborated on

principles found in the canonical texts that preceded it. Books, newspapers, and other documents had some tie to the early documents, documents that Bachman asserts "are the mainstay of the Church" (Bachman, interview transcript #1, May 26, 2013, p. 8).

Statement Two

The goals of a society or culture mediated through text influences the behavior of those within the society in an effort to meet the desired end.

This statement illustrates the connection between the text and the goals of the society. It asserts that text will mediate the experiences of individuals to reach the goals of the institution or society. In other words, text that is produced and consumed will seek to mediate participants toward the cultural goals. In Mormonism, this means that text deemed to be important will be read, this engagement with text will mediate participant's behavior toward the desired goal.

Pratt's experience engaging with scripture is illustrative of this statement as well. It demonstrates how text mediates behavior which led Pratt to eventual conversion to Mormonism. Thus, the text functioned as a medium to reach the cultural goals of the individuals.

Satement Three

The medium through which individuals perceive spiritual experiences occurring prompts further pursuit of experiences mediated through the same medium.

This statement asserts that participants who engage in text that produces a spiritually, mediating experience will return to the original or other similar texts in an effort to recreate that experience. The consistent recreation or strengthening of original

feelings or behaviors will turn participants back to text. An example of this is Smith's translation of the Bible. After translating *The Book of Mormon,* Smith translated the Bible. This translation was a translation of ideas rather than from one language to another. As Thomas asserts, text is simply the seedbed for further text: "The canon is an artifact of prophets. There is another prophet so watch what happens when a prophet reads a book" (Thomas, interview transcript #2, June 3, 2013, p. 8).

These three statements appropriately interact with the collected and analyzed data and form dense theoretical statements that are broad enough to promote some universality, but specific enough to be determined through the research questions posed in this study.

Conclusion

An interpretive theory seeks to establish connections between phenomena as opposed to determining outcomes and social implications. The preceding steps in MGT regarding the research questions provided steps to condense the data down to theoretical statements through data interpretation. The statements bridge the data with the final theory which will be postulated in the next chapter.

CHAPTER EIGHT: TEXTUAL MEDIATION THEORY

Introduction

This chapter introduces the emerging theory derived from the data and processes of MGT as found in the preceding chapters. Following the introduction and explanation of the theory, the final validating processes of MGT are explained with accompanying delimitation in the research, suggestions for further research, and concluding statements regarding this study.

Textual Mediation Theory

Through the processes and steps in MGT and after condensing the theoretical statements, the following theory is presented: Textual Mediation Theory.

The perceived importance and engagement with text mediates the actions of individuals within a culture to attain the social goals of that population. The textual medium through which this occurs (i.e., the source) becomes magnified within the cultural group further enhancing the literacy practices and print culture of the group. As literacy practices and print culture surrounding the mediating text(s) becomes magnified, it reciprocates by re-enthroning the cultural goals and more intensely mediates the actions of individuals, which reciprocates a heightened sensitivity toward the mediating text(s).

Before showing a graphic representation of this theory, I will attempt to explain it in more detail. First, the text must be perceived as important. If the text is not important to an individual, it will be dismissed and thereby fail to have any mediating influence. If the text is perceived as important and an individual engages with the text, it provides a mediating experience. As engagement and mediation occur through text, the source of the text becomes magnified; as an example, if a person engages with scripture and the reading of scripture mediates positive behavior and a better life for the individual, the individual then has heightened appreciation, reverence or other associations with the textual source of the mediation. Therefore, this magnification of the text furthers the literacy and print culture and practices of the group. This will occur as the text prompts further experiences; these experiences can therefore be seen as being generated from the originating text as Venezky (1996) claims.

As print and literacy engagement becomes enhanced, the cultural goals of the population also become re-instantiated. An example of this can be seen in Mormon engagement with LDS scriptures. The further engagement leads to a greater focus on the goals of the group (e.g., creating Zion, missionary work, becoming like Christ, etc.). As individuals attain the goals of the group, the text(s) that mediated the behavior become magnified. Textual mediation theory can be illustrated as follows:
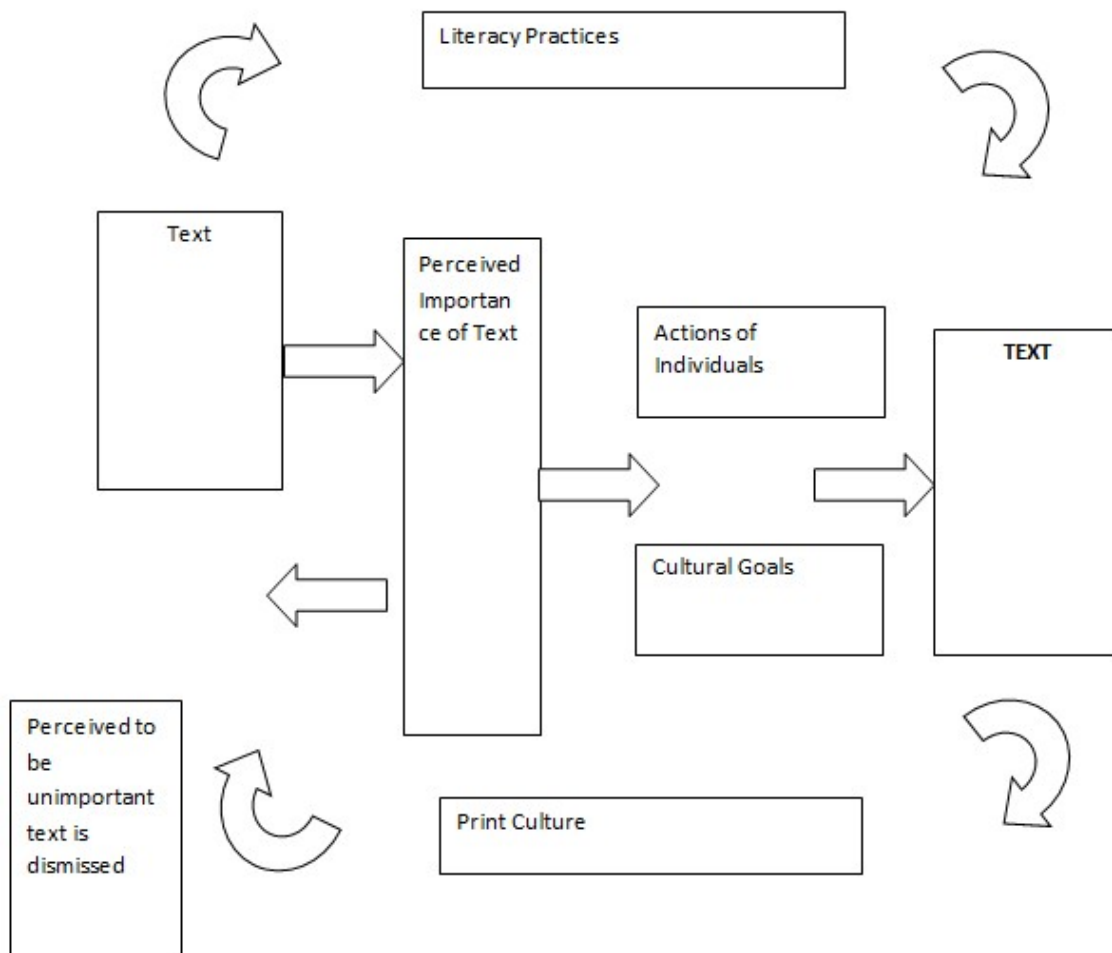
Figure 5.   **Representation of Textual Mediation Theory**

As described in this figure, Textual Mediation Theory begins with an engagement with text. If text is perceived as important, it mediates the action and cultural goals of participants, thus further perpetuating its importance (i.e., this is illustrated in the representation, **TEXT**). This process is influenced by and also influences the pervading literacy practices and print culture of participants.

Grounding the Multi-Grounded Theory

The next steps in MGT seek to explicitly ground the theory through three steps: theoretical matching, explicit empirical validation, and theoretical cohesion. Each of these steps will further explain the theory while grounding it through the varied steps dictated be MGT. These steps are three elements of explicit grounding (see Appendix D to see where these steps fall into the MGT steps).

Theoretical Matching

The first step is theoretical matching; this process involves matching the evolving theory with other existing theories. The main purpose of this step is to allow the researcher an opportunity to further adapt the evolving theory and comment or criticize existing theories (Goldkuhl & Cronholm, 2010). The following theories are similar to the emerging textual mediation theory and will be analyzed to determine how elements of these theories are similar to or different than the emerging theory: Experience-taking theory (Kaufman & Libby, 2012) and role theory (Biddle, 1986).

Experience-Taking Theory. Kaufman and Libby's (2012) experience-taking theory questions the capacity of fictional literature to influence the reader by asking, "Does literature really hold such potential? Does exposure to the lives and experiences of protagonists in narratives have the power to transform an individual so dramatically?" (p. 1). They theorize the concept of experience-taking is the "imaginative process of spontaneously assuming the identity of a character in a narrative and simulating that character's thoughts, emotions, behaviors, goals, and traits as if they were one's own" (p. 1). Essentially, through experience-taking readers lose themselves and assume the

identity of a character adapting the life (goals, traits, actions) as if they really were the character (Kaufman & Libby, 2012, p. 2).

Experience-taking occurs only when the reader simulates the events emerging from the text as if they were the actual character rather than orienting themselves as an outsider or observer:

> In the process, readers let go of key components of their own identity—such as their beliefs, memories, personality traits, and ingroup affiliations—and instead assume the identity of a protagonist, accepting the character's decisions, outcomes, and reactions as their own. (Kaufman & Libby, 2012, p. 2)

As the reader takes on the persona of the character, the reader's behavior and choices may change. Furthermore, Kaufman and Libby (2012) predict,

> the greater the ability of a narrative to evoke experience-taking—and the greater the ability of a reader to simulate the subjective experience of a character—the greater the potential that the story has to change the reader's self-concept, attitudes, and behavior. (Kaufman & Libby, 2012, p. 2)

This ability for the reader to take upon themselves attitudes, behaviors, and goals of characters within the fictional "does not rely on orienting the other as a target for scrutiny or comparison but rather entails the spontaneous replacement of self with other" (Kaufman & Libby, 2012, p. 2).

Kaufman and Libby (2012) found that a central aspect to their theory was the capacity of the reader to allow him or herself become the character:

A central component of experience taking is the process of 'letting go' of one's

own identity and imagining oneself having the character's subjective experiences.

Thus, it stands to reason that the extent to which one's personal identity is salient

when reading a work of fiction would be a crucial determinant of the occurrence

of experience-taking: being in a state of reduced self-concept accessibility should

promote higher levels of experience-taking by making it easier for readers to

'forget' themselves an simulate the experience of a character. Conversely, being

in a state of heightened self-concept accessibility should make it more difficult for

readers to relinquish their identities and engage in experience taking. (Kaufman &

Libby, 2012, p. 3)

In other words, certain factors or states of being influenced the ability of the reader

concede in the experience-taking experience. The researchers found that a first-person

narrative was more effective than a third-person narrative. In addition if the story

involved a main character, "who is a member of a salient and relevant ingroup"

(Kaufman & Libby, 2012, p. 3), this would allow for more ready and higher levels of

experience-taking. If an athlete reads a story of another athlete, the odds of experience-

taking would be higher, versus, a heterosexual reading a story about a homosexual

(Kaufman & Libby, 2012).

The crux of experience-taking theory is the ability of the reader to internalize and

enact beliefs, attitudes, or behaviors:

Part and parcel of our conceptualization of experience-taking is the idea that it

entails adopting the character's mindset, goals, and behaviors as if they were

one's own, which results in the internalization of those attributes. Thus, we

predict that the more readers engage in experience-taking, the more likely they

would be to ascribe the protagonists' personality traits to themselves, to share the

character's attitudes, beliefs, and goals, and to enact the same behaviors

performed by the character. (Kaufman & Libby, 2012, p. 3)

In conclusion, experience-taking allows a reader to change their goals, beliefs, and

behaviors by engaging in text. "These findings suggest that the knowledge gained from

these studies regarding the factors that increase experience-taking could effectively be

channeled and harnessed (by authors, psychologists, parents, policy makers, etc.) toward

creating desirable long-term changes in individuals' attitudes and behaviors" (Kaufman

& Libby, 2012, p. 16).

Experience-taking theory (Kaufman & Libby, 2012) may be used to inform some

elements of the findings that have emerged from the present research. I assert that

behavior may be influenced by engaging in text through textual mediation theory. Some

experiences in Mormon history and Mormon doctrine provide examples of experience-

taking theory.

The ultimate social, religious, and cultural goal, as previously established, in

Mormonism is for mankind to eventually grow into an eternal god-like life. This belief

coincides with the experience-taking tenet of relinquishing the self and taking on the

identity of the other (Kaufman & Libby, 2012). This doctrine is the pinnacle of

experience-taking as readers "assume the identity of a protagonist, accepting the

character's decisions, outcomes, and reactions as their own" (Kaufman & Libby, 2012, p.

2). The process, in Mormonism, may be seen in the doctrinal imperative of becoming as

Deity is the process of losing the self. Joseph Smith himself said,

I am like a huge, rough stone rolling down from a high mountain; and the only polishing I get is when some corner gets rubbed off by coming in contact with something else, striking with accelerated force against religious bigotry, priest-craft, lawyer-craft, doctor-craft, lying editors, suborned judges and jurors, and the authority of perjured executives, backed by mobs, blasphemers, licentious and corrupt men and women—all hell knocking off a corner here and a corner there. Thus I will become a smooth and polished shaft in the quiver of the Almighty. (History of the Church 5, 1978, p. 401)

In the emerging theory and in experience-taking theory, both theories require an experience that is mediated through text. As text mediates the experiences, there are instances where experience-taking may be evident. While Joseph Smith resided in Nauvoo, Illinois he wrote a revelation dated September 1, 1842 where he compares his life to that of Paul. He wrote,

And as for the perils which I am called to pass through, they seem but a small thing to me, as the envy and wrath of man have been my common lot all the days of my life . . . deep water is what I am wont to swim in. It all has become a second nature to me; and I feel, like Paul, to glory in tribulation; for to this day has the God of my fathers delivered me out of them all . . . (D&C 127:2)

Smith's actions, according to experience-taking theory, may have been motivated by taking upon himself the persona of Paul and gave context, motivation, and reason for enduring persecutions.

Likewise, Smith wrote while being held as a prisoner in Liberty, Missouri on March 20, 1839 a revelation where God says to him, "My son, peace be unto thy soul . . . thou art not yet as Job" (D&C 121:10) again relating Smith's experience to a biblical character. Experience-taking theory may suggest that Smith and other Mormons were acting under and acting through the persona of past prophetic people. In simple terms, during specific time periods, experience-taking theory would suggest that Smith would have adopted the persona of Paul, Job, and others who he references in an effort to create and attain Mormonism's cultural goals. Another example also informs how Smith and Missouri Mormons may have engaged in experience-taking. In a revelation dated December 16, 1833, Smith wrote to persecuted followers that "they must needs be chastened and tried, even as Abraham, who was commanded to offer up his only son" (D&C 101:4). Thus, Smith and his followers, according to experience-taking theory, took personas of individuals who had previously endured trying circumstances, "toward creating desirable long-term changes in individuals' attitudes and behaviors" (Kaufman & Libby, 2012, p. 16).

The Book of Mormon gives illustrations of experience-taking. Kaufman and Libby (2012) contend that first-person narratives are more effective in promoting experience-taking. Interestingly, the first words written in The Book of Mormon by the prophet named Nephi is the first person: "I, Nephi" (1 Nephi 1:1). The book begins in first person thus immediately allowing a higher degree of experience-taking. Later in The Book of Mormon, the notion of relinquishing self to accept another individual's beliefs, practices, attitudes, etc. (Kaufman & Libby, 2012) is found during the time when Christ ministers to The Book of Mormon people and Christ explains that at some point in time, "your joy

shall be full, even as the Father hath given me fullness of joy; and ye shall be even as I am, and I am even as the Father" (3 Nephi 28:10), which reiterates a previous commandment where Christ asks, "Therefore, what manner of men ought ye to be? Very I say unto you, even as I am" (3 Nephi 27:27). The first person narrative coupled with the capacity of the reader to effectively relinquish the self to become the other all offer tenable arguments how experience-taking theory may influence the lives, beliefs, and actions of early Latter-day Saints. The continued emphasis on scripture reading, which is a product of the past emphasis on literacy and reading in the early church, may all be directed "toward creating desirable long-term changes in individuals' attitudes and behaviors" (Kaufman & Libby, 2012, p. 16).

In terms of literacy expansion, social literacy, and the pairing of religiosity and educational attainment (the questions of this study), experience-taking theory may evidence itself by asserting that Mormons who engage in fictional text may be manipulating their own self to become the other; another more effective, religious, and educated individual would become products of the texts the individual engaged with.

These implications of experience-taking with its associated tenets may not be exactly correlated. While much of LDS scripture is in first-person, much of it is not; additionally, experience-taking theory asserts that fictional works are the medium through which experience-taking can occur. The emerging textual mediation theory does not differentiate the influence of fiction and non-fiction. Though the veracity of *The Book of Mormon* has never been proved, what is clear is that Mormons believe it is non-fiction. Therefore, experience-taking theory would need to adjust its tenets to allow for non-fiction (even if it is only perceived to be so) as text that can also allow readers to engage

in experience-taking. The two theories do agree that text has the capacity to influence the goals, desires, attributes, and actions of individuals. Both theories suggest that reader's long-term expressions of agency may be manipulated through adherence to or experience-taking of characters within the work.

Experience-taking theory is instructive in explaining the capacity for a reader to relinquish the self and become the other. A perceived downfall of experience-taking is that it may place too much emphasis on the self becoming the other rather than the text mediating the choices of the self to become enhanced because of social, individual, or cultural goals. In other words, I contend that the self does not fully become the other, rather an individual's choices are mediated through text rather than fully pairing the agency to two individuals (the self and the fictional character) or the absence of agency by the reader in choosing to become something different. The emerging textual mediation theory suggests that individuals actions are mediated—thus implying choice of the reader to accept the imperatives, directions, or implications derived from text.

Role Theory. Role theory is another theory closely related to experience-taking theory and the emerging textual mediation theory. Role theory attempts to understand individuals and groups within societal and cultural roles. Role theory relies on "the fact that human beings behave in ways that are different and predictable depending on their respective social identities and the situation" (Biddle, 1986, p. 68). Role theory was generated from the theatrical metaphor of acting (the epitome of taking a role and only performing actions necessary to that role); the performing was based on parts, scripts, and directions. Thus, how individuals act, their use of agency, and processes of decision-

making is determined by the individuals role within a culture or society. Biddle (1986) suggests,

> Thus, role theory may be said to concern itself with a triad of concepts, patterned and characteristic social behaviors, parts or identities that are assumed by social participants, and scripts or expectations for behavior that are understood by all and adhered to by performers. (p. 68)

Therefore, individuals in role theory usually participate in determinate social behaviors within the context of perceived expectations by social participants in a predetermined culture of adherence by actors and performers.

Immediate application to this study, prior to further and deeper examination of role theory, places early Mormons in a culture where individuals were given, chose, or learned roles within a cultural context. By participants (members of the church) taking roles, social adherents and cultural patterns were created. Essentially, in context of role theory, individuals were simply acting out an experience through the application of their agency in fulfilling a specified role. The driving force behind role theory is the assumption that major roles are created out of presumed expectations (Biddle, 1986) and that these expectations are "learned through experience, and that persons are aware of the expectations they hold. This means that role theory presumes a thoughtful, socially aware human actor" (Biddle, 1986, p. 69).

Individuals choosing to act in a role are directly or indirectly taught the essence of their role:

Actors in the social system have presumably been taught these norms and may be

counted upon to conform to norms for their own conduct and to sanction others

for conformity to norms applying to the latter. . . and how they induce conformity

in participants. (Biddle, 1986, p. 70)

With the strict rules found within Mormonism and expectations that leaders had

of each other and the general church membership, through the interpretation of role

theory, it may be determined that conformity to the leaders and doctrines of the church

was induced by taking roles. As an example, behavior may have been modified or

conformed when called to a position in the church or as a missionary. These callings

would demand conformity, thus if an individual answered the call to serve it meant

conforming to the necessary demands of the calling. An example of this is illustrated

when Oliver Cowdery was called to function as a translator for a short period of time.

When Cowdery failed to fully engage in the necessary spiritual exertions and demands of

being a translator, the opportunity was removed (Jessee et al., 2009, p. 17). By not

accepting the demands of the role, the opportunity to fulfill the role was taken away.

Within the context of the experience with Cowdery and assertions made by Biddle

the roles individuals engage with "are thought to reflect the norms, attitudes, contextual

demands, negotiation, and the evolving definition of the situation as understood by the

actors" (Biddle, 1986, p. 71). Given the LDS context, Biddle further explicates a segment

of role theory called "Organizational Role Theory." Within this theory, elements of role

acceptance are

focused on social systems that are preplanned, task-oriented, and hierarchical.

Roles in such organizations are assumed to be associated with identified social

positions and to be generated by normative expectations, but norms may vary

among individuals and may reflect both the official demands of the organizations

and the pressures of informal groups. Given multiple sources for norms,

individuals are often subjected to role conflicts in which they must contend with

antithetical norms for their behavior. Such role conflicts produce strain and must

be resolved if the individual is to be happy and the organization is to prosper.

(Biddle, 1986, p. 73)

This element of role theory may inform the findings from the PEW study mentioned

earlier in this research. Under the conformity norms and expectations of the organization,

picture an LDS university student who is navigating the role of a Mormon student while

attempting to fit the role of a typical college student. The roles may conflict as the student

attempts to reconcile religiosity with education attainment and must be resolved if

personal happiness and success of the organization are to prosper.

Some theorists argue that conformity is associated with the personal beliefs of the

actor (Biddle, 1986). Essentially, "In sum then, the evidence suggests that persons often

conform to expectations that are held by others, are attributed to others, or are held by the

person for his or her conduct" (Biddle, 1986, p. 81). This theoretical stance of role taking

and conformity was first postulated by Mead (1934) who suggested that as individuals

participate in social interactions the person would begin to take the role of "the other."

Mead determines,

If the given human individual is to develop a self in the fullest sense, it is not

sufficient for him merely to take the attitudes of other human individuals toward

himself and toward one another within the human social process, and to bring that

social process as a whole into his individual experience merely in these terms: he must also, in the same way that he takes the attitudes of other individuals toward himself and toward one another, take their attitudes toward the various phases or aspects of the common social activity or set of social undertakings in which, as members of an organized society or social group, they are all engaged; and he must then, by generalizing these individual attitudes of that organized society or social group itself, as a whole, act toward different social projects which at any given time it is carrying out or toward the various larger phases of the general social process which constitutes its life and of which these projects are specific manifestations. . . . within the experiential field of any one of the individuals involved or included in that whole is, in other words, the essential basis and prerequisite of the fullest development of that individual's self: only in so far as he takes the attitudes of the organized social group to which he belongs toward the organized, co-operative social activity or set of such activities in which that group as such is engaged, does he develop a complete self or possess the sort of complete self he has developed. And on the other hand, the complex co-operative process and activities and institutional functionings of organized human society are also possible only insofar as every individual involved in them or belonging to that society can take the general attitudes of all other such individuals with reference to these processes and activities and institutional functionings, and to the organize social whole of experiential relations and interactions thereby constituted—and can direct his own behavior accordingly. (pp. 154-155)

Mead suggests that effective role taking must be centered within the individual and his

capacity to take in all the attitudes and social goals or projects of the group with whom he

participates. It is not enough to simply take a few attitudes or a few goals in an effort to

determine the role that is being taken. The activities, projects, goals, and functioning of

the organization play an integral part of the role taking balanced with the attitudes of

other actors and scripts conforming to the organization.

Mead further suggests how these determinates are used in the creation of an

individual's personality. He states,

> What goes to make up the organized self is the organization of the attitudes which
>
> are common to the group. A person is a personality because he belongs to a
>
> community, because he takes over the institutions of that community into his own
>
> conduct. He takes its language as a medium by which he gets his personality, and
>
> then through a process of taking the different roles that all the others furnish he
>
> comes to get the attitude of the members of the community. Such, in a certain
>
> sense, is the stricter of a man's personality. (Mead, 1934, p. 162)

To effectively be involved in role taking, the individual assesses the attitude of other

actors, the organization, and his own personality. The balance and imbalance of these

elements interact with the community culture to create personality, and it is that final

make-up of personality that drives the individual to fulfill the imposed, suggested, or

necessary cultural roles.

I have specifically included these long assertions by Mead in their entirety to

provide a depth of understanding within the context of role taking. From this

understanding, I hope to demonstrate how role theory may answer the last research question but fails to do the same for the first two research questions.

The research questions surrounding print and literacy culture, I believe, are not answered fully by role theory. Though it has been established in the literature review that there were other similar religious movements that hold similar patterns and projections as Mormonism, it cannot be determined how much Joseph Smith and other early Mormons knew about them. Though individuals like Sidney Rigdon converted from well-known upstart American sects, how their past experience shaped the roles of early Mormon leaders is not delineated though some effect may have undoubtedly happened. In other words, it is unknown how much, if any, influence other individuals had on Smith's religion making. If role theory could determine these assertions, was Joseph Smith simply acting under the guise of other religionists of his time participating in role taking? Though Smith was a cultural product of his time (Bushman, 2007), further research would be necessary to determine who Smith would have patterned his role from.

In terms of print and literacy, the complexity surrounding the varied aspects of Mormon life, beliefs, and movements also seem difficult to chalk up to role taking, though not impossible. Again, further research would be necessary to fully determine the extent to which other American, scriptural, or religious movements served as precedents from which Smith and others could participate in role taking. Assertions from respondents in this research do claim unique traits of Mormonism that were unlike other religious sects (such as beginning the Mormon movement with a scriptural text rather than working up to the creation of such as described by Thomas and Holland). Much of

the unique character of Mormonism may not have been plausibly chartered by participating in role taking from other religious movements that differed to such a degree.

Role theory does, I believe, become relevant in discussing the third research question. In an attempt to understand how LDS members have higher religiosity paired with educational attainment could be explained in some relevant terms in conjunction with role taking. Mead suggests that personality is created by the amalgamation of attitudes, practices, and beliefs of an individual and organization. Similarly, Biddle (1986) contends that individuals in role theory usually participate in determinate social behaviors within the context of perceived expectations by social participants in a predetermined culture of adherence by actors and performers. Simply put, could it be that the parity of Mormon religiosity and educational attainment is a product of Mormon students simply fulfilling their cultural imperatives through role taking? The driving force behind role theory is the assumption that major roles are created out of presumed expectations (Biddle, 1986) and that these expectations are "learned through experience, and that persons are aware of the expectations they hold. This means that role theory presumes a thoughtful, socially aware human actor" (Biddle, 1986, p. 69).

Given the educational, print, and literacy influences found in Mormonism's past, combined with the philosophy of education held by Mormons, paired with the role of the Mormon believer and the role of the Mormon student—all of these forces together— merge to create a conjoining roles of a religiously oriented student, a student who has assimilated the behaviors, goals, attitudes, and personality of the organization by participating in role taking.

Mead's (1934) concluding remarks delimits role theory because of the difficulty of an individual actually assuming the entirety of a role. Mead explains,

> In so far as a man takes the attitude of one individual in the group, he must take it in its relationship to the action of the other members of the group; and if he is fully to adjust himself, he would have to take the attitudes of all involved in the process. The degree, of course, to which he can do that is restrained by his capacity, but still in all intelligent processes we are able sufficiently to take the roles of those involved in the activity to make our own action intelligent. The degree to which the life of the whole community can get into the self-conscious life of the separate individuals varies enormously (p. 256).

Because of the size, history, and world-wide foot print of Mormonism, it becomes difficult for role theory to take hold on an individual. How can one person take on the attitudes "of all involved in the process" if those involved live on a different continent? If they speak another language? How can an individual take upon himself the attitudes of millions of adherents? Thought their collective attitudes may be similar, the cultural make-up and experience of each individual within the LDS faith renders it seemingly impossible for an individual to fully grasp role theory. However, within the North American Mormon populous, especially the collegiate student populous, role taking becomes more plausible.

Explicit Empirical Validation

Explicit empirical validation provides the researcher an opportunity to ensure data are checked, verified and triangulated for validity. Explicit empirical validation allows

for conclusions to be traced back to their formation from the data and the support for substantive claims is checked. In order to accomplish this step, I provide a few quotes from respondents as the most salient and representative statements that validate the emerging textual mediation theory. The following assertions by informants portend to this theory, however, the aim here is to validate the theory rather than re-explain the findings from this study.

<u>D.W. Bachman</u>

- "There was a sense that the ancient world was anticipating the restoration and now here they were a part of it and these things are to be revealed in the last times. That is how they viewed things and what Joseph Smith taught them and what they were so thrilled with. They really felt they were the recipients of the revelations of God. It filtered down and lit the fires in the hearts of the people" (Bachman, interview transcript #1, May 26, 2013, p. 11).

<u>J.C. Thomas</u>

- "It is a church that starts with a book. The book comes first. *The Book of Mormon* comes off the presses and a couple weeks later the church is organized; so you have a book even before the church is organized—that's intriguing" (Thomas, interview transcript #2, June 4, 2013, p. 1).

- "*The Book of Mormon* is so interested in the imperfections of the written word and the crucial necessity of having a written word. From the very beginning you have the book that is associated with the church emphasizing transmission of God's power, will, and intelligence through human language, in spite of its

imperfections it has to be preserved" (Thomas, interview transcript #2, June 4, 2013, p. 2).

D.F. Holland

- "The message of *The Book of Mormon* seems pretty pronounced, the idea that God involves himself in history through texts. *The Book of Mormon* isn't the end but the beginning of the restoration of sacred texts and there is imbedded in the book a theology of reading and a theology of writing and keeping records that I think is pretty overwhelming" (Holland, interview transcript #9, June, 7, 2013, p. 6).

R.S. Jensen

- "I think broadly speaking Joseph Smith was about connecting people with each other. He was a people person and he wanted to populate heaven with his friends and his family. As an outgrowth of that he is looking to the past and to the future. The only real connection to the past is through visionary experiences or through records, so there is this undertone in Mormon theology that manifests itself in a dispensational understanding where Mormons feel they are part of a larger dispensational history. Joseph Smith from the very beginning was about records. It is about tying generations together through records . . . . Mormon theology is really tied up with connecting the past to the present so that they can look to the future and that is done through records, it is done through text, it is done through the written word" (Jensen, interview transcript #5, June 6, 2013, p. 14).

This sampling of quotes (along with findings of Chapter 4-6) illustrate textual mediation theory within the early LDS context. In an effort to triangulate and validate the data through member checks, I emailed each respondent that included a brief discussion about the emerging theory and how their comments influenced the theory. Each respondent was given the option to receive the entirety of their interview transcript, the chapters where their name and comments were used and the above statements specifically tying their remarks to my theory. No respondents reported any discrepancies between their comments and my use of them.

The last attempt to explicitly validate the theory was to work backwards through the MGT steps. Specifically, I took the theory as a whole and went through the conceptual refinement questions to discover the determinates of the theory. Goldkuhl and Cronholm (2010) claim,

> It is important not to take the formulations of the empirical statements for granted. Data can and should be challenged . . . What is said by interviewees is always the result of their interpretations. As researchers we should take a critical stance toward what has been expressed by different informants. We should be cautious concerning the linguistic formulations in the empirical statements. (p. 194)

The critical stance implored is to determine the scope of the claims of the data that produced the theory. Goldkuhl and Cronholm (2010) suggest that the researcher make determinations of conceptual content to determine, "What is the phenomenon? Content determination is an attempt to grasp the essence of the conceptualized phenomenon. It may also specify different components of the phenomenon, that is, what the phenomenon consist of" (Goldkuhl & Cronholm, 2010, p. 195). The following six questions taken

from the conceptual refinement process seek to aid the researcher in determining exactly what the phenomenon is and what the parameters are that surround it.

The first question is, "What is it?" This question seeks to determine the content of the phenomenon, "Content determination is an attempt to grasp the essence of the conceptualized phenomenon. It may also specify different components of the phenomenon, that is, what the phenomenon consists of" (Goldkuhl & Cronholm, 2010, p. 195). The essence of the findings that emerged from the data is that there appears to be some relationship between the print and literacy past in Mormonism that bears some fruit to contemporary Mormonism's parity of religiosity and educational attainment. This assertion is derived from data that suggest Mormon doctrine, print, and literacy converge to create this phenomenon. Godfrey determines,

> It goes back to those great sections in *The Doctrine and Covenants* that explain the glory of God is intelligence. The God of the Latter-day Saints is an individual who knows everything and encourages the acquisition of knowledge and that seem to make it a divine mandate to learn and of course that led to our great education system. Mormons have emphasized learning since the very beginning. Sometimes we leave out that you don't learn sometimes for the sake of learning, *but it is hoped that in your learning you also develop your character until it is the same sort of character that Jesus has*. What matters is if you are honest and clean, all of those virtues are as important as knowledge. (Godfrey, interview transcript #4, June 4, 2013, p. 11, italics added)

Godfrey suggests that learning in Mormonism is important, but of utmost importance is the character one builds while receiving that education, thus the combination of

religiosity and education. The goal should be in Mormon education to "develop your character until it is the same sort of character that Jesus has" (Godfrey, interview transcript #4, June 4, 2013, p. 11, italics added).

Similarly, the history of the church is replete, as suggested in the literature review, with schools, universities, theological schools, in conjunction with many other formal and informal learning opportunities. Temples and schools were buildings of learning and were erected in the name of learning. Therefore in a determination to answer "what is it" I suggest these findings that emerge from the data describe a print and literacy culture that was so influential in Mormon past created a culture of text driven practices and text-based faith which evolved into a culture of learning combined with religious experience that continues to exist today. Therefore, Mormonism is a cultural phenomenon based on "a church that starts with a book. (Thomas, interview transcript #2, June 4, 2013, p. 1)

The second question is, "Where does it exist?" This question of location is an attempt to determine the ontological position of the phenomenon: "If a conceptualized phenomenon is claimed to exist, it must exist somewhere" (Goldkuhl & Cronhom, 2010, p. 195). The location of the phenomenon "presumes a reality with different and related realms: a reality consisting of external objects . . . humans and their actions and also their inner worlds . . ." (Goldkuhl & Cronholm, 2010, p. 195). The emerging theory is ontologically driven by the combination of cultural, material, and human influences (Goldkuhl & Cronholm, 2010). The cultural appropriations such as the print and literacy culture in Antebellum America, the religious fervor centered in Joseph Smith's life and locale, and the generational Christian ethics and lifestyle from the Puritan immigrants influenced the emergence of being in sense of ontology. Materials such as scripture,

letters, newspapers, and other material elements discussed in the review of literature along with the human interactions with them initiated the pattern of human behavior being mediated by text within the realm of this study. Therefore, the emerging theory exists in the cultural past of Mormons and is alive in the contemporary members of the church who look to their relatively short past, drawing these influences into applications of daily life.

The third question is, "What is the context?" The context surrounding the emerging theory has been clearly explicated in many portions of preceding chapters. It is essential that the findings of this study are delimited to the context discussed herein. Generalizations to other movements or individuals should be done carefully within the context of the cultural understandings of the individual(s) involved. Simply put, the context surrounding this theory is currently limited to the influences of print and literacy culture in Mormonism from the year 1830 to 1844. The historical leap connecting Mormon past to contemporary Mormonism is cautiously done in an effort not to force determination but (as the research question reads) to see if the past can inform the relationship of the future. Further limitation and suggestions for further research to further expand the context of the theory will be given later.

The fourth question is, "What is the function?" This question is an attempt to explain the purpose of the social phenomena (Goldkuhl & Cronholm, 2010) that is to say, "what normative and practical roles a phenomenon plays in a social setting?" (Goldkuhl & Cronholm, 2010, p. 195). The findings suggest that participating in a print and literacy culture can influence the future outcomes of individuals within that culture. This is shown by the elements of print and literacy culture driving the textual culture within early

Mormonism. This textual emphasis expanded and may be a piece that informs the findings discussed earlier by the PEW forum. Essentially, the function of the emerging theory culminates in the capacity for text to influence behavior, and as behavior is influenced, the text that promoted the behavior will be magnified by the same individual. Though this finding is situated within the context explained above, Libby's implication of experience-taking seems to be valid here: "These findings suggest that the knowledge gained from these studies regarding the factors that increase experience-taking could effectively be channeled and harnessed (by authors, psychologists, parents, policy makers, etc.) toward creating desirable long-term changes in individuals' attitudes and behaviors" (Kaufman & Libby, 2012, p. 16).

The fifth question is, "What is the origin?" This question attempts to triangulate this historicity of the phenomenon and help determine how instances like it may emerge. The origins of these findings are rooted in the history and culture of the American past. Specifically, it is held in the history of early Mormonism and its relationship with text, "It was a religion that started with a book and documents have proved to be the mainstay of the church ever since" (Bachman, interview transcript #1, May 26, 2013, p. 8). Though this study does not seek to generalize the findings to other situations, further research is suggested to determine or project other instances of how this type of phenomenon may be observed in the future.

The sixth questions is, "How do we speak about it?" Goldkuhl and Cronholm (2010) ask in regards to this question:

Do we speak about something as a separate entity (usually in noun form)? Or do we speak about a quality of something (essentially an attribute)? Or do we speak

about some activity or process (essentially a verb)? . . . is this (linguistically codified) category a separate entity, an attribute, a state of an entity, or some process?" (p. 195)

The findings in this research come from a process. The process in emerges from historical implications that inform a contemporary phenomenon. When determining "how do we speak about it?" The findings are a product of many different cultural implications, religious beliefs and actions of individuals; it is a process. Textual mediation theory suggests a process of engaging with text, and through that process the text may act as a mediating force in the agency of the reader.

What is it? Where does it exist? What is the context? What is the function? What is the origin? How do we speak about it? All of these questions help delimit the findings within the realms of this study, while providing necessary boundaries that can be used to explain what was found. Because there are so many variables and influences that interact with these findings, these questions can be difficult to answer. However, it must be noted that this is a cultural phenomenon and therefore is bound to the specified limitations. Denzin and Lincoln (1998) assert that,

> social phenomena must be studied in their historical context. This involves the use of historical documents and written records from the past, including diaries, letters, newspapers, census tract data, novels and other popular literature, and popular culture documents. To understand historical documents one must have an interpretive point of view, and this point of view in turn shapes how one gathers, read, and analyzes historical materials. (p. xix)

Furthermore, this study began with questions, not with a theory—the questions came first. This ordering is demanded by MGT: "One does not begin with a theory, then prove it. Rather, one begins with an area of study and what is relevant to that area is allowed to emerge" (Goldkuhl & Cronholm, 2010 p. 23).

Theoretical Cohesion

This step ensures the data are structured to reveal the postulated theory, a final check determining if the phenomena has been correctly coded, categorized, and interpreted, to produce a *grounded* theory—a final review ensuring that subjective influences have not erroneously interpreted data to create a false correlation between history, documentation, and theory (Goldkuhl & Cronholm, 2010).

The first discussion point in theoretical cohesion surrounds my data coding procedure. As MGT allows, existing theories were used in an effort to understand those theories or to create an emerging theory. Because I used elements of Venezky's (1996) theory of literacy expansion and Barton and Hamilton's (2000) theory of social literacy as my codes two things happened. First, the coding process became subjective according to my understanding of the theories involved. However, the coding became simultaneously more objective as I was coding for statements in categories that I did not create or determine. This is important given my previous admitted proclivity of perceived subjectivity. Secondly, the use of this coding procedure may have narrowly skewed what I saw represented in the data. There may have been other elements that remain unseen and patterns that should have been developed, but were not. Moreover, coding through theory in the first two research questions may have influenced my third research coding procedures because no theory was used.

The judgment to code as I did was based on theoretical sensitivity (Goldkuhl &
Cronholm, 2010) and established theories. Looking for themes and patterns from existent
research, I believe, harnessed subjectivity and enabled a broader approach to finding
relationships within the theories that best answered the research questions. This
eliminated impulsive, subjective coding and made way for more objective coding within
that procedure, understanding as Bushman states,

> A believing historian like myself cannot hope to rise above these battles or
> pretend nothing personal is at stake. For a character as controversial as Smith,
> pure objectivity is impossible. (ix)

Nevertheless, coding through theories checked many of my assumptions and helped me
view Mormon history through a historical and theoretical lens rather than an individual,
believing stance. For me, the focus on employed theories minimized subjectivity and as a
product also delimited the study in an appropriate fashion. Because of the small historical
period (1830-1844) this study covers and the unique population (only Mormons), the
generalizability of the findings are small. However, focusing this study through theory
provides methods that are concrete, I perceive, with a high rate of validity and is easily
replicated.

During this nearly year-long process of research and writing, including years of
coursework, I developed a large degree of theoretical sensitivity. This sensitivity was
enhanced by using previous literature and enhancing personal researcher qualities that
provide the attributes of

> having insight, the ability to give meaning to data, the capacity to understand, and
> capability to separate the pertinent from that which isn't. All this is done in

conceptual rather than concrete terms. It is theoretical sensitivity that allows one

to develop a theory that is grounded, conceptually dense, and well integrated—

and to do this more quickly than if this sensitivity were lacking. (Strauss &

Corbin, 1998, pp. 41-42)

Though theoretical cohesion is an attempt to ensure subjective influences have not

erroneously interpreted data a better word to use would be insure. I have taken steps to

insure against subjective interpretation but pure objectivity can never be ensured.

Nevertheless, the use of theory to assess Mormon history coupled with my personal

background that could be prone to subjectivity, I believe, have not created false,

perceived, misconceived, or unassociated findings.

Postulation or Verification of Theory

Through the data collection, analysis, and interpretation procedures under the

directives of multi-grounded theory in conjunction with Venezky's (1996) theory of

literacy expansion, and Barton and Hamilton's (2000) social literacy theory, the

following research questions have been effectively explicated within this methodology:

1. In what ways, if any, does Venezky's (1996) theory of literacy expansion inform
    the use of print culture and publishing used in early Mormonism?

2. How did early Mormonism utilize aspects of social literacy, literacy events, and
    print culture as instruments of social creation?

3. In what ways, if any, does early Mormon print and literacy culture inform the
    relationship that exists between education and religiosity in contemporary
    Mormon culture?

Through the research process, I conclude, in and through the context of Mormon history of 1830-1844, print and literacy culture were used as elements that enhanced the print expansion and literacy practices of members of the church in that time. Furthermore, these historical precedents bear some connection to contemporary Mormonism's pairing of education and religiosity as found in the Pew study (Cooperman, 2012). These conclusions are generated from primary and secondary source materials with a heavy emphasis on the information received by Mormon and historical scholars gained through interview.

Specifically, it is determined that Venezky's (1996) theory of literacy expansion was validated and proved to be a valid method of looking into Mormon history. The expansion of print started with the publication of *The Book of Mormon* and expanded into a dissemination and reflective print culture that many individuals engaged in. Thus, the print expanded. As Venezky (1996) postulates, where print expands, literacy will also expand. While this assertion is not empirically verified, it can be inferred that literacy practices also expanded through which members of early Mormonism communicated, learned the doctrine, and kept records.

It is also determined that Mormons used many aspects of social literacy, literacy events and print culture to create a social organization. Specifically, Barton and Hamilton's (2000) theory comprised of six elements of social literacy describe and delineate how Mormons accomplished this. A culture of learning and literacy was established through schools, the School of the Prophets, scripture reading, power relationships, and cultural factors.

Additionally, there seems to be some relationship informing Mormon print and literacy cultural influences and contemporary Mormonism's pairing of educational attainment and religiosity. Because Mormonism's history is relatively short when compared to other world-wide religious movements, Mormon history has a large impact on its contemporary people. This phenomenon coupled with its doctrinal beliefs and print and literacy culture as explained above all seem to have some relationship with education and religiosity, though this finding needs much more verification and research. As established, some scholars did agree, however, that there were some influences between the print and literacy past and contemporary Mormonism.

I, therefore, assert the following theory is an attempt to discover the relationships between the research questions and the findings with an understanding of my potential subjectivity, research flaws, and the frustrations of being bound by time, space, and ability: Textual Mediation Theory.

> The perceived importance and engagement with text mediates the actions of individuals within a culture to attain the social goals of that population. The textual medium through which this occurs (i.e., the source) becomes magnified within the cultural group further enhancing the literacy practices and print culture of the group. As literacy practices and print culture surrounding the mediating text(s) becomes magnified, it reciprocates by re-enthroning the cultural goals and more intensely mediates the actions of individuals, which reciprocates a heightened sensitivity toward the mediating text(s).

Implications of Findings and Theory

This study informs the relationship between print, literacy, and education paired with religiosity. These relationships are concluded from the data collected in an effort to answer the research questions. From this process, some implications, though not universal in their applicability or generalizability, have emerged and warrant some discussion.

First, it has been established that there is a relationship between Venezky's (1996) theory of literacy expansion and the use of print and literacy in early Mormonism, as well as Barton and Hamilton's (2000) theory of social literacy. Therefore, it may be concluded that these theories are viable approaches in literacy theory through which to engage and interrogate the past. The use of theory provides a lens through which to capture, categorize, and conceptualize the people, participants, and events in the past.

In terms of the emerging theory, several implications can be drawn from it. First, the idea of text acting as a mediating force of behavior has several cultural and societal consequences. If textual mediation theory is functional, then text can act as a force for promoting or eliminating behavior. Though, like Kaufman and Libby (2012) suggest, many people have been influenced by text and these implications are not new; however, the findings from this study validate a supposition that may have been inferred but not explicated. Further research needs to be done in an effort to discover the qualities, affect, and realms of how text mediates behavior, but the inferences in these findings and this theory help to substantiate those claims.

In context of Mormonism, the claim that text can mediate behavior may not come as a surprise. Many Mormon leaders (and non-Mormon clergy as well) have taught that

engaging with scripture can mediate behavior. A Mormon example of this can be found in the following quotes by leaders within the church: first from Packer (1986) who said, "True doctrine, understood, changes attitudes and behavior" (p. 79). This quote illustrates the fact that the understanding of something can lead to changes in behavior. In context of this study, it could be inferred that the reading or engagement of "true doctrine" can have a mediating effect on behavior. This concept is developed further by Scott (2011) who explained, "Scriptures can calm an agitated soul, giving peace, hope, and a restoration of confidence in one's ability to overcome the challenges of life" (p. 6). Scott delineates that engaging with scripture can change behavior (gain confidence, become less agitated, having more peace and hope). Thus, the text assists in the mediation of behavior within individuals and numerous other citations could be used that establish the same assertion. Sell (2013) found a significant correlation between participants' daily scripture reading and assessed doctrinal application scores. Sell (2013) determined that students who read scriptures more frequently have higher rates of applying taught doctrine in their lives. In other words, scriptural text appears to have a mediating influence on behavior.

The emerging theory further suggests that engaging with text in an effort to mediate behavior will assist individuals reach the social goals of their group. Again this implication may seem simple, but can be powerful in its application. Groups, businesses, schools, or any institution could apply this principle by including text in training, motivating, and enhancing productivity within its members. Imagine a school that held reading assemblies to motivate students to accomplish goals rather than pep assemblies!

An implication that is more unique to this study found in the theory is the suggestion that the text(s) that mediate behavior becomes magnified within the cultural group. An example of this in Mormonism can be found in the story of Mary-Elizabeth Rollins. From a letter to the Editor, 20 February 1904 to the *Deseret News*, Rollins recounts:

> When the mob was tearing down the printing office, a two story building, driving Brother Phelps' family out of the lower part of the house, they (the mob) brought out some large sheets of paper, saying, "here are the Mormon commandments." My sister, 12 years old (I was then 14) and myself were in a corner of a fence watching them. When they spoke about them being the commandments, I was determined to have some of them. So while their backs were turned, prying out the gable end of the house, we ran and gathered up all we could carry in our arms. As we turned away, two of the mob got down off the house can called for us to stop, but we ran as fast as we could, through a gap in the fence into a large corn field, and the two men after us. We ran a long way in the field, laid the papers ont the ground, then laid down on top of them. The corn was very high and thick. They hunted all around us, but did not see us. After we were satisfied they had given up the search, we tried to find our way out of the field. . . (Rollins, 1904, p. 24)

The Book of Mormon also demonstrates this attachment to text and its capacity to mediate behavior. This emphasis found within the Mormon book is, perhaps, another reason why early Mormons took it so seriously. In the opening pages of the book, the prophet Lehi is told by God that his Sons need to return to Jerusalem in an effort to

secure what were called "the brass plates" (1 Nephi 3:3), which held the writings of Old Testament prophets (1 Nephi 3:20). During this process, one of Lehi's sons named Nephi explained why getting the prophetic writings was necessary, he explained:

> And behold, it is wisdom in God that we should obtain these records that we may preserve unto our children the language of our fathers; And also that we may preserve unto them the words which have been spoken by the mouth of all the holy prophets, which have been delivered unto them by the spirit and power of God, since the world began, even down unto this present time. (1 Nephi 3:19-20)

On page five of *The Book of Mormon,* the importance of records, text, and its potential capacity for mediation is introduced. A few pages later Nephi is compelled by God to slay a man as the last resort to obtain the sacred writings. In this difficulty, Nephi is told by the Lord,

> Behold the Lord slayeth the wicked to bring forth his righteous purposes. It is better that one man should perish than that a nation should dwindle and perish in unbelief. And now, when I, Nephi, had heard these words . . . I also thought that they could not keep the commandments of the Lord according to the law of Moses, save they should have the law. And I also knew that the law was engraven upon the plates of brass. (1 Nephi 4:13-17)

Then, on page eight of the book, Nephi kills Laban as a necessary effort to get the scriptural record. Nephi understood the need to have text and without it worried his people would lose faith and belief in God. In terms of this theory, Nephi may have had some indication of how important text was to mediating believing behavior.

These two examples indicate not only behavior that was mediated by text, but also a reverence or magnification of the text in the lives of the participants. Actions were taken to receive or safeguard the text at the cost of human life. Furthermore, this research suggests that this reverencing or magnification of the mediating text does two things, first it enhances the print and literacy culture because individuals continue to engage with the text and create other texts in an effort for further mediation; secondly, the proliferation of text and simply by returning to the mediating text(s) re-enthrones the cultural goals of the people.

An example from Mormon history contextualizes this theorized finding. First, when Joseph Smith was attempting to find which church to join, Smith began reading the Bible in an attempt to find some answer. While reading the text Smith read James 1:5, which instructed him to "ask of God." Therefore, the very first behavior mediation within the founder of Mormonism came through text. Smith, later had his experience with Deity in the grove of trees where he was instructed not to join any denomination. There is an interesting intermediary piece between these two circumstances. Smith later recalled this experience:

> Never did any passage of scripture come with more power to the heart of man than this did at this time to mine. It seemed to enter with great force into every feeling of my heart. *I reflected on it again and again*, knowing that if any person needed wisdom from God, I did . . . *At length I came to the conclusion* that I must either remain in darkness and confusion or else do as James directs, that is, ask of God. (JSH 1:12-13, italics added)

It is interesting that Smith reflected on the mediating text frequently, as his behavior reached that point in time where his behavior matched the text (was fully mediated). Though more research is necessary to determine the length and frequency of Smith returning to the mediating text, it is clear that he did return to it.

With that being said, there is some disconfirming evidence that early Mormons did return to mediating texts, at one time Smith received a revelation that individuals would remain under condemnation "until they repent and remember the new covenant, even the book of Mormon . . . " (Smith, Revelation Book 2, p. 35). The popularity, existence, and growth of the church demonstrates that there must be some continued attachment to the sacred texts that influence contemporary Mormons. Further research in this area is recommended; however, the emerging theory contends that behavioral mediation through text reciprocates with print, literacy, and the originating texts. The teachings of church leaders (as previously established) and the impact of text on the lives of members is a continued demonstration of this effect.

Delimitations and Suggestions for Further Research

The findings and research found within this study was attempted with the highest intentions of fidelity, reflexivity, theoretical awareness, and reliability; however, like most research there are limitations that will now be addressed.

The first limitation of this study is centered in issues with snowball sampling. Though I was true to respondent referral method of data collection, I was limited by time and accessibility to respondents. I limited data collection to the time of the Mormon History Association Conference as it provided an opportunity to have respondents all in one place. Thankfully, the conference was held in Layton, Utah, which was close enough

to travel to without too much difficulty. However, because the nucleus of Mormon scholarship is in Utah, it was not possible for me to travel frequently. Therefore, further research in this area could involve more respondents. Though involving more respondents may enhance findings, using the qualitative method it would be difficult to deal with the mounds of data that would be included.

Another difficulty of respondent referral inherent in this research is the lack of diversity among respondents. All respondents were male, white, and members of the LDS Church. Further research using more or different respondents may enhance or change the findings. No women or non-Mormon's were used to collect data. Though there were non-Mormons at the conference, none were suggested or available for interview. It was necessary for me to follow the referral trail and trust that the experts I interviewed referred other experts. In other words, I had to trust the respondent referral system at the cost of a more diverse set of data. If I had centered my data collection in Provo at BYU, a greater opportunity to interview females and other non-religious educators (such as history, literacy, or educational professors) may have been possible but not guaranteed. Though the respondents I did interview was a very homogenous group, I believe it really was a collection of some of the most respected scholars in the field. It is simply difficult to find non-Mormon scholars of Mormonism. A heterogeneous element did emerge from the respondent referral method that was useful. Through the referral process, I interviewed individuals who had a wide range of age. From retired scholars and professors, to Richard Cowan who has been a professor for over 50 years, to new and upcoming scholars who have fresh perspectives and fresh training from distinguished universities.

Another limitation is my lack of training and expertise in historical data collection and interpretation. I have received little training in historical processes and therefore this research may disproportionately rely on interviews rather than the historical record itself. However, the areas covered within this research are not very contestable.

Lastly, a clear delimitation must be placed on the stereotyping of LDS members in terms of educational attainment and philosophy. Though these principles are clearly taught in Mormon doctrine, not all members of the church hold identical philosophies. When measuring educational attainment and religiosity, the sample size and demographics of it need to be scrutinized more carefully. If a larger sample was studied could a BYU effect be detected, meaning how many graduate degrees are given through BYU in the LDS population? Is it a true representation of American Mormonism or global Mormonism if the vast majority of graduate degrees are received from BYU? This research has yet to be made available. A call was placed to the research division of the LDS church in Salt Lake City. They did confirm that data was collected on educational attainment within the church but the information was not available for the public. As the church continues to grow through the world, with large growth coming in Africa, South America, and Polynesia, a more global approach to determining educational attainment and religiosity may be useful. Simply put, these questions remain: do all Mormons share and participate in the philosophy and culture of education? Does the worldwide church have the same parity of educational attainment and religiosity as the American sample?

It may also be inferred that as The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints increases its global footprint through proselytizing efforts, the literacy and educational achievement from converts may increase. This inference is derived from the textual

mediation theory and the data, which suggest that individuals who engage with text and participate in a print and literacy culture will enhance their literacy skills. In addition, from social implications derived from the Mormon philosophy of education, converts may continue the pattern of textual and educational experience, therefore promoting and enhancing the literacy capabilities of a population. Simply put, areas where the LDS church is growing may experience growing rates of educational and literacy attainment. Though difficult to conclude, it may be found that the larger the influence that the Mormon church has in a population, the greater the literacy and educational attainment may be found within that same population. Further research is necessary to ameliorate this supposition.

This information for further research would be illuminating as it may be able to determine if the worldwide church could expect the same literacy/educational success as the American Mormonism. Secondly, it could delimit this study further by shedding some light determining if American culture (especially antebellum print and literacy) can account for the findings in this research rather than Mormon culture. Such an assertion is inconclusive now, but both cultures (as determined in the literature review and findings) obviously play a role in the literate and educational success found within American Mormonism. Further study is necessary to further separate the influences of both cultures in an effort to determine these suppositions.

Conclusion

When Joseph Smith was securing funds to pay costs that would be incurred by publishing *The Book of Mormon*, Martin Harris mortgaged his farm as collateral for the loan. Though Harris would eventually relinquish his land to the lender, he struggled with the decision to do so. As Harris vacillated, Joseph Smith received a revelation directed at him. In the revelation Harris was told that Christ retains

> all power, even to the destroying of Satan and his works at the end of the world, and the last great day of judgment, which I shall pass upon the inhabitants thereof, judging every man according to his works and the deeds which he hath done. And surely every man must repent or suffer, for I, God, am endless . . . Therefore I command you to repent—repent, lest I smite you by the rod of my mouth, and by my wrath, and by my anger, and your sufferings be sore—how sore you know not, how exquisite you know not, yea, how hard to bear you know not. For behold, I, God, have suffered these things for all, that they might not suffer if they would repent; But if they would not repent they must suffer even as I; which suffering cause myself, even God, the greatest of all, to tremble because of pain and to bleed at every pore, and to suffer both body and spirit—and would that I might not drink the bitter cup, and shrink . . . Wherefore, I command you again to repent, lest I humble you with my almighty power . . . And again, I command thee that thou shalt not covet thine own property, but impart it freely to the printing of the Book of Mormon, which contains the truth and the word of God . . . Impart a portion of thy property, yea, even part of thy lands, and all save the support of thy

family. Pay the debt thou hast contracted with the printer. Release thyself from bondage. Leave thy house and home . . . (D&C 19:3-33)

How important was text to Joseph Smith? To the church? To God? In this revelation, Martin Harris was told if he did not impart the money he would suffer precise pain, the type of pain that Christ suffered if he remained unrepentant. Smith knew the power of text.

From a farm boy in New York whose behavior was mediated through text, a movement was born, a movement that has grown into an international religion, a religion that grows primarily through the medium of a text. This research has suggested that print and literacy culture of antebellum America, coupled with aspects of social literacy were used by individuals in early Mormonism. This research also suggests that this historical backdrop has some bearing on contemporary Mormonism's parity of educational attainment and religiosity, though this supposition merely explains potential interacting forces and not causes. Together, print culture, social literacy, and educational attainment coupled with religiosity in Mormonism combine to create a culture of learning, education, literacy, and religiosity that appears to be unique when compared with other cultures; this conglomerate of mediating forces (print, literacy, social literacy, etc.), according to this research, centers in textual mediation theory. This theory examines the interacting influence of these elements while purporting that these elements concentrated on text can influence an individual toward some behavioral mediation. In this case, the textual mediation theory attempts to give evidence for the findings submitted by the PEW foundation who determined an anomalistic culture among Mormons in educational attainment and religiosity when compared to other religious groups (Cooperman, 2012).

The essence of this research asserts that the print and literacy culture found in Mormonism's past has some bearing on the contemporary church as determined by the PEW study; furthermore, this research asserts that some of this bearing can be explained by the multi-grounded theory that emerged from the data collected herein: textual mediation theory.

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APPENDIX A

Comparison of Grounded Theory and Multi-Grounded Theory

Table A.1.   Comparison of Grounded Theory and Multi-Grounded Theory

Grounded Theory	Multi-Grounded Theory	Comparison
- Open Coding - Axial Coding Selective Coding - - -	Research interest reflection and revision Inductive Coding Conceptual Refinement Pattern Coding Theory Condensation Theoretical matching Explicit empirical validation Evaluation of theoretical cohesion	Not existing explicitly in GT Similar approach Not existing explicitly in GT Similar approach No requirements in MGT for one core category Not existing explicitly in GT Not existing explicitly in GT Not existing explicitly in GT

APPENDIX B

Interview Consent Script

"Thank you for agreeing to speak with me today."

"The purpose of this interview is to collect data regarding the print and literacy culture within early Mormonism. I have some questions to ask that pose little or no risk. If at any time you feel uncomfortable or unwilling to answer or participate further you may withdraw. You have been recommended for this interview by colleagues and other experts in the field, if you feel you cannot participate please indicate this to me."

"This interview is being recorded."

"The interview will last about 45 minutes to an hour and will be recorded to ensure accuracy; do I have your permission to record our interview?"

"Do you have any questions before we begin?"

APPENDIX C

Interview Protocol

1. In what ways did Joseph Smith utilize literacy and text (written word) to increase the church in numbers and faithfulness?

2. How much literacy was needed to successfully navigate Mormon culture of learning?

3. How did education, or the lack of education, influence early church leaders?

4. How was Mormon print and literacy culture the same or different to other cultures in New York, Ohio, Illinois and Utah?

5. Can any conclusions be drawn between the early church print and literacy culture to contemporary Mormonism's educational phenomenon?

6. How did early church leaders influence or emphasize the literacy practices and beliefs of adherents?

7. What major literacy events fostered print, literacy, and educational growth for the church and its members?

8. How quickly did use of print expand in the early church? Why?

9. How was education mixed with theology?

10. How did print and literacy culture affect social life and social standing in Mormon community?

11. In what ways does Mormon doctrine influence the literacy practices and education of its people?

APPENDIX D

Revised Interview Protocol

1. In what ways and through which media did Joseph Smith utilize literacy and print (written word) in the early church?

2. How much literacy was needed to successfully navigate Mormon culture of learning?

3. How did educational achievement, or the lack of education, influence early church leaders? Who were the major figures (leaders) who promoted literacy and education?

4. How was Mormon print and literacy culture similar to or different than print and literacy cultures in Upstate New York, Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois?

5. How did early church leaders influence or emphasize the literacy practices of members of the church?

6. What major literacy events fostered print, literacy, and educational growth for the church and its members?

7. What influenced the rapid expansion of print use in the early church? What were the media through which this happened?

8. In what ways does Mormon theology or doctrine influence the literacy practices and education of its people?

9. What, if any, relationships exist between the historical uses of print, education,

    and literacy in early Mormonism and research showing contemporary

    Mormonism's reported parity of education and religiosity?

APPENDIX E

Biographies of Respondents

Danel W. Bachman. Bachman served as an institute instructor for The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Logan, Utah, and held other assignments during his career in the LDS Church education system. He received an M.A. in history from Purdue University in 1975. He also received his bachelor's degree from Brigham Young University. Bachman has written articles on the Morrisites and the practice of polygamy in the LDS Church prior to Joseph Smith's death. Bachman co-authored the article in the Encyclopedia of Mormonism on Plural Marriage with Ron Esplin.

John C. Thomas. Thomas is a faculty member in the Department of Religious Education at BYU-Idaho, where he also teaches in the Foundations program. He received BA and MA degrees in International Relations from BYU (1988, 1989), and a PhD in Political Science from Indiana University (1995). His short-lived career in Political Science included brief stints at BYU and the University of Washington. He has published historical scholarship in a variety of forums, including BYU Studies, The Religious Educator, and the Journal of Mormon History.

Bruce K. Sattefield. Satterfield is a professor in the Department of Religious Studies at Brigham Young University - Idaho where he teaches Old and New Testament. He also teaches Biblical Hebrew in the Honors Program. He received degrees in Anthropology, Archaeology, and Ancient Near (or Middle) East studies. Dr. Satterfield

completed his undergraduate and graduate degrees in the United States and the Middle East. His education has centered on Old and New Testament studies receiving degrees in Anthropology, Archaeology, Ancient Near (or Middle) East studies, and Education. As part of his studies he was trained in Biblical Hebrew and New Testament Greek. His studies also included LDS church history. For his doctoral dissertation, he pieced together from official LDS church histories, journals, letters, and newspapers the history of the School of the Prophets held in Kirtland, Ohio in 1833-37. His dissertation was awarded the University of Idaho's dissertation of the year award. As part of his studies he was trained in Biblical Hebrew and New Testament Greek.

Kenneth W. Godfrey. Godfrey spent thirty-seven years in the Church Educational System as a teacher and administrator. He holds a two degrees in political science, his MA from Utah State University. He is the former president of the Mormon History Association. His articles on Mormon history have appears in the *Illinois Historical Society Journal*, *BYU Studies*, *Utah Historical Quarterly*, *Cobblestone*, *Nauvoo Journal*, *Journal of Mormon History*, and the *John Whitmer Association Journal*. Along with Donald G. Godfrey he received the Mormon History Association's Steven F. Christensen Award for Best Documentary on Mormon History for *The Diaries of Charles Ora Card: The Utah Years, 1871–1886*.

Robin S. Jensen. Jensen is the lead archivist for The Joseph Smith Papers and coedited the first two volumes in the Revelations and Translations series (published 2009 and 2011, respectively). He specializes in document and transcription analysis. In 2005 he earned an MA degree in American history from Brigham Young University, and in 2009 he earned a second MA in library and information science with an archival

concentration from the University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee. He is now pursuing a PhD in history at the University of Utah. He completed training at the Institute for the Editing of Historical Documents in 2007. He has published several articles and edited documents and has presented papers at various scholarly conferences. http://josephsmithpapers.org/projectTeam#robinJensen

Matthew J. Grow. Grow is director of publications at the Church History Department. He is a general editor and a member of the editorial board of The Joseph Smith Papers. He was previously an assistant professor of history and director of the Center for Communal Studies at the University of Southern Indiana. He is the author of "Liberty to the Downtrodden": Thomas L. Kane, Romantic Reformer (Yale University Press, 2009), winner of the 2010 Best Book Award from the Mormon History Association and of the 2011 Evans Biography Award; and coauthor, with Terryl Givens, of Parley P. Pratt: The Apostle Paul of Mormonism (Oxford University Press, 2011). He has published articles in Journal of the Early Republic, Church History, American Nineteenth-Century History, Journal of Mormon History, BYU Studies, and Utah Historical Quarterly. He received his PhD in American history from the University of Notre Dame in 2006. http://josephsmithpapers.org/projectTeam#matthewGrow

Dean C. Jessee. Jessee is one of the general editors of The Joseph Smith Papers, with Ronald K. Esplin, Richard Lyman Bushman, and Matthew J. Grow. He received an MA degree in LDS church history from Brigham Young University. His career includes working for the Archives and the History Division of the Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints from 1964 to 1981, followed by nineteen years' service at the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History at

Brigham Young University. His years of gathering and publishing Joseph Smith

documents laid the groundwork for the current Joseph Smith Papers. His publications

include Personal Writings of Joseph Smith (1984, 2001); Papers of Joseph Smith, vols. 1

and 2 (1989, 1991); Brigham Young's Letters to His Sons (1974); and numerous articles

dealing with aspects of nineteenth-century Mormon history. He is a past president of the

Mormon History Association.

Richard O. Cowan. Cowan is a professor of Church history and doctrine at

BYU. Cowan received his bachelor of arts in political science at Occidental College in

1958. He received an M.A. in 1959 and a Ph.D. in 1961 in American History, both from

Stanford University earned his Ph.D. at Stanford University. For more than a decade he

headed the committee preparing Gospel Doctrine manuals for the Church. He has

published many articles and books, including The Latter-day Saint Century, The

Encyclopedia of Latter-day History, and Temples to Dot the Earth.

David F. Holland. Holland is an Associate Professor of North American

Religious History at Harvard Divinity School. Holland earned a BA in history from

Brigham Young University and an MA and PhD from Stanford University. He is the

author of *Sacred Borders: Continuing Revelation and Canonical Restraint in Early*

America, published by Oxford University Press in 2011. His new projects include a

comparative biography of Mary Baker Eddy and Ellen White and a study of the legacy of

Perry Miller.

Ronald O. Barney. Barney serves The Joseph Smith Papers as coeditor of

volumes in the Documents series. He was an executive producer for The Joseph Smith

Papers Television Documentary Series, a weekly program that originally aired on Salt

Lake City's KJZZ-TV. He has history degrees from Weber State and Utah State universities. He was employed from 1977 to 2011 as an archivist and historian in the Church History Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. He has worked for the Western Historical Quarterly and has taught as adjunct instructor of history at Weber State University. He has served on the executive board of the Mormon History Association and belongs to Utah Westerners. He has published several articles and three books, One Side by Himself: The Life and Times of Lewis Barney, 1808–1894 (2001), winner of the 2002 Evans Biography Award and the 2002 Best Biography Award from the Mormon History Association; The Mormon Vanguard Brigade of 1847: Norton Jacob's Record (2005), winner of the 2006 Utah State Historical Society Best Documentary Book. http://josephsmithpapers.org/projectTeam#ronaldBarney

APPENDIX F

Multi-Grounded Theory Process Outline

1. Empirical (Inductive) and Theory (Deductive) paradigms used

2. Data Collection

    a. Primary Sources

    b. Secondary Sources

    c. Interview

3. Data Analysis

    a. Theory Generation

        i. Coding

    b. Conceptual Refinement

        i. What is it?

        ii. Where does it exist? (ontology)

        iii. What is the context?

        iv. What is the function?

        v. What is the origin?

        vi. How do we speak about it?

    c. Theoretical Sampling

4. Data Interpretation

    a. Pattern Coding

    b. Theory Condensation

      c. Explicit Grounding

          i. Theoretical matching

          ii. Explicit empirical validation

5. Evaluation and theoretical cohesion

6. Postulation or verification of theory

APPENDIX G

Doctrinal/Behavior Initial Theoretical Statements

- The perceived importance of a message influences the production, medium, and dissemination of that message.

- Media of reflective print culture may imitate aspects of the initial text or motivating text (i.e. *The Book of Mormon*).

- Text can act as a mediating force on behavior.

- Literacy and print culture can be affected by religious suggestions to write.

- Affinity to a religious belief creates action within the believer.

- Sacrifice, persecution and other external forces coupled with an internal belief system may prompt literacy events and activities.

- Pairing religious fervor with an emphasis on personal communication with Deity promotes literacy as a medium to achieve that communication with Deity.

- Religious goals (i.e. going to heaven) can serve as powerful motivations to engage with text.

- Changing or emphasizing the end goal (i.e. Man becoming like God) creates an added emphasis on processes perceived to assist in attaining that goal.

- Clearly defined religious goals induce clearly defined religious actions.

- The understanding of doctrine induces the application of the same doctrine.

- Religious belief may insure but not ensure religiosity.

- The collection of several unique traits consequently intervenes to create one unique trait.

APPENDIX H

Other Theoretical Statements

- Reflective writing can be used as a method of disseminative writing.

- Verbal expansion of beliefs initiates printed expansion of the same.

- Print and literacy expand as a response to external influences.

- The introduction of one text creates a proliferation of other printed material

   (Venezky, 1996

- Mass media influences beliefs in a society.

- Cultural beliefs and practices drive literacy achievement.

- Religious institutions with a shorter history may have more influence than

   religious institutions with a longer history.

- Religious tradition may have greater influence on individuals than personal or

   familial tradition.

APPENDIX I

Member Check Email

Thank you again for allowing me to interview you as part of my data collection for my

dissertation. I have now completed my collection, analysis and interpretation of the data I

received. Using your (and others) comments I have attempted to answer the following

research questions:

1. In what ways, if any, does Venezky's (1996) theory of literacy expansion

   inform the use of print culture and publishing used in early Mormonism?

2. How did early Mormonism utilize aspects of social literacy, literacy events

   and print culture, as instruments of social creation?

3. In what ways, if any, does early Mormon print and literacy culture inform

   the relationship that exists between education and religiosity in contemporary

   Mormon culture?

For my methodology I used multi-grounded theory methodology which provides an

opportunity for the researcher to theorize about the findings. From my research, the

findings illustrate the importance of text, how text was a source for change, how print

culture was used, how aspects of social literacy were employed, and if there is any

relationship between these elements of the past within the LDS church and the church today.

If you feel uncomfortable having your name and comments related to this theory of my research please indicate this to me. In addition, if you desire I can make the following documents available to you at any time:

1. Your interview transcript

2. Entire chapters where your name comments were used

3. Methods section to determine if my procedures were in line with our experience together.

4. Entire dissertation will be available online when completed.

No response from you indicates (as established in the interview) I may use your name and comments in my dissertation.

I am confident that procedures, guidelines, and use of your data are favorable, but please do not hesitate to contact me if you would like to verify.

Thanks,

Ezra Gwilliam

ezragwilliam@u.boisestate.edu