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A Study of the Literary Qualities in the Diary of Hosea Stout

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A STUDY OF THE LITERARY QUALITIES
IN THE DIARY OF
HOSEA STOUT

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH
OF
BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS.

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by
Richard Grant Ellsworth
1952
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INTRODUCTION

The aim of this thesis is to present the diaries of Hosea Stout in the light of literary criticism and analysis. Two questions have been asked: do the diaries contain literary quality by revealing the characteristics, attitudes, abilities, and feelings of Hosea Stout; and, does Hosea Stout's style contain the literary elements necessary to distinguish it from ordinary communication. Passages from the diaries have been quoted and analyzed to answer these questions. Conclusions are made after each analysis, after each chapter, and at the end of the thesis.

There are nine complete diaries known to have been written by Hosea Stout. The same trends and attitudes are found within them all. Therefore, in order to present points more sharply, one or two passages have been chosen to represent each quality. Further examples are indicated in the footnotes. Obviously, a complete picture can be obtained only by reading the diaries themselves.

Because of the nature of diary writing, all of these elements necessarily overlap each other. Therefore, in seeking to show the presence of certain elements within a passage, I have not acknowledged the presence of other elements within the same passage. Thus stylistic criticism has been disregarded when searching passages for self-revelation, and self-revelation has been ignored when analyzing quotations for elements of style. This has been done in an effort to achieve clearer definition.
It was discovered, in working with the typewritten copies of the journals at the Brigham Young University, that Volume VI covered the same time period and the same daily events as Volume V, Volume VI presenting by far the better written record. Examination of the original diaries revealed that they are both valid documents, Volume VI evidently having been written concurrently with, or immediately after, Volume V. Quotations from both volumes are used in this thesis. It is also generally accepted that there are only eight volumes to the diary. In reality there are nine. Volume IX, referred to as "B. H. Stout's Book" was written by Hosea Stout during the year 1869. Afterward Hosea gave it to his son Brigham Hosea Stout.

It should be remembered that Hosea Stout probably did not intend his diaries for a literary audience. Having had little schooling, and living in the environment that he did, he was not concerned with the niceties of grammar and punctuation. Verb forms are often incorrect, and sentences lack periods and capital letters. Hosea Stout's spelling errors and grammatical mistakes have been reproduced exactly in quoting from the journals. Because of the great number of these errors, and in order to avoid a constant detraction from his expression, (sic) has not been used.

I am indebted for much of the material in this thesis to the kindness of Mrs. L. S. Palmer, a grand-daughter of...
Hosea Stout, and the holder, for the Stout family, of his diaries and correspondence. Thanks also are due to Dr. Briant S. Jacobs, and Dr. Brigham Madsen for their helpful advice and suggestions, and to the many others who generously have donated their help towards the completion of this thesis.
"Hosey" Stout, as his friends called him, was a big man. He stood six feet three in his stocking feet and was lanky, rawboned, iron-muscled, and solid. His long arms and legs hung almost awkwardly from his great frame, yet when he moved there was no sign of awkwardness in him. His complexion was dark; and his black hair, turned up at the ends, reached nearly to his shoulders. His piercing eyes were a sharp brown and deep set in dark sockets, giving him a most fierce and penetrating look and causing many a lesser man to fear and tremble under his gaze. Such was the powerful fierceness in those eyes that it is said that no man could willfully tell a lie when Hosea looked hard at him.

Hosea Stout was a son of the frontier. He was rough, wild, and outspoken, and he carried a powerful temper which, once exploded, was terrible to behold. He formed his opin-

1 Biographical information for this chapter was obtained from "The Diary of Hosea Stout" (Heber J. Grant Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah), 9 vols. (typewritten copies), 1941. Andrew Jenson, Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia (Salt Lake City: The Andrew Jenson History Company, Arrow Press, 1920), III, 531-534. "Journal History, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" (Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah).

2 Information as to the character and physical appearance of Hosea Stout was obtained from Mrs. L. S. Palmer, grand-daughter of Hosea Stout, July 3, 1951, July 7, 1951.
ions quickly, and held to them with a vindictive tenacity that made many fear him and hate him and seek his destruction. He was unswervingly loyal to his convictions, and he was not easily turned from a goal when once he had set his face toward it. Yet he was generous and kind, and was loved and respected by those who truly knew him. He had a ready wit and would often set a company laughing with his quick action or comment. He loved to dance and to attend parties and delighted in good fun and happy conversation.

But his life was not all of these outward things, seen and known by his fellow men; he lived his real life deep within the shadows of his soul revealing his true self only within the pages of his journal. He felt deeply the indefiniteness of living, and fully recognized how thin, and yet how strong, are the cords which bind us in mortality. His heart was big, and he loved much; and as those he loved were torn from him one by one, he tasted the agony of loneliness and the awful emptiness of desolated hopes. He saw six wives to their graves, and watched the earth enfold the lifeless forms of eight of his children. Each of these losses tore at his heart and clutched at his soul until his great frame shook, and he wept as a little child.

He was born in the fall of the year 1810, on the eighteenth day of September, in Danville, Mercer County, Kentucky. His father was Joseph Stout and his mother Anna
Smith. He was the oldest of two living sons in a family of twelve children, his brother Joseph Allen being five years his junior.

When Hosea was about four years old, his father suffered some serious financial setbacks, and little Hosea, with his sisters, was sent to live in a Shaker colony at Pleasant Hill, Kentucky, not far from his father's farm. He stayed there for almost five years, becoming an orthodox Shaker in manner and thought, until his mother at last prevailed upon his father to bring him home again. About this time, Joseph Stout moved with his family to Clinton County, Ohio, and took up a farm close to some of his Quaker relatives. It was here that Hosea grew to manhood, working first with father, and later hiring himself out at various farms for his board and keep. His father did apprentice him for a short time to a Mr. Isaiah Morris, Clerk of the County Court at Wilmington, Ohio, with hopes that Hosea might become a lawyer.

1 More information as to Hosea Stout's family background can be obtained from "The Diary of Hosea Stout", I, 2. See also Wayne D. Stout, Our Pioneer Ancestors (Salt Lake City: Wayne D. Stout,) 1944, frontpiece, pp 19-20.

But in this he was disappointed, for Hosea learned more of fighting and swearing than he did of the law. After being released from apprenticeship, Hosea, then fifteen, and already physically full grown, came under the direction of Eli Harvey, a young Quaker farmer and school teacher. Eli boarded him for three years; he taught him to read, write and cypher, to be thrifty, and above all, to be honest among his fellow men.

In 1828, Hosea and his sister Margaret, moved from Clinton, Ohio, to Stouts' Grove, Tazewell County, Illinois, where Hosea's father had already removed with the three younger children, Joseph Allen, Lydia, and Elizabeth. Hosea's older sister Anna had come to Stouts' Grove some time before.

Here, Hosea, forced by ill health to cease all hard physical labor, became a school teacher, and taught at several places in and around the settlement at Stouts' Grove. In the fall of 1832, after teaching a school at the Ox-bow, he went to Dillen's Settlement, near Stouts' Grove, to visit his sisters Anna and Lydia, not having seen them since the preceding spring. It was here that he first came into contact with the Mormons, for, much to his horror, he found that his sister Anna had married a Mormon widower with five children.

Hosea had always secretly been a very religious boy. From the time he was able to absorb the Shaker doctrine back in Kentucky he had worried much over his sins and the attain-
ment of his salvation. He had never doubted the existence of God, and had tried many times to "get religion." His friend, Eli Harvey, had almost convinced him to become a Quaker, and he had finally joined the Methodists on the faith that he would yet receive that religious change of heart. As for Mormonism, in Stouts' Grove it was considered to be an ignorant superstition and a work of the devil. Thus it is not surprising to find Hosea quite upset over the news of his sister's Mormon marriage. Hosea records his actions and feelings in his autobiography:

After my school was out I returned to Stouts Grove again & now in good circumstances & tolerable plenty of money & uncommon good health.

From here I set out for Dillon's Settlement to see Anna and Lydia as I had not heard any thing particular about them since I left in the Spring.

Upon arriving there I heard that she [Anna] was married & upon arriving at the place where Lydia was I heard that she [Anna] was married to a mormon widower who had five children.

This perfectly astonished me & I at first felt like simply going to see her for the purpose of telling my mind and then leaving her forever for I considered it a disgrace beyond endurance to be any way connected with the mormons & a widower too was too bad.

I had only heard the gold Bible Stories & the fortifying Jackson county Mo & in short the common and universal slang then going about them & did not even once think but it was true.

I thought deep all that night intending to morrow to see her for the last time. My agitation of mind was intense but on my way the next day I came to that more sober conclusion not to unbosom my fellings for as she was now fairly into a scrape not to irritate her feelings but let her enjoy herself if she could so I now hastened on with this view.

When I arrived there I was met by her & introduced to Mr Jones who seemed glad to see me & in fact was a very clever & pleasant man against whom I could find no fault and had he not been a Mormon should have been
well enough pleased with. But 0.1 the stigma and disgrace inevitable to that name. This bore in my mind & weighed down my feelings while I endeavored to put on a cheerful and happy countenance. The subject of religion was not mentioned to me while I at the same time was anxious to go into an investigation of it.

The investigation was soon forthcoming and with unexpected results to young Hosea:

Suffice it to say that we passed over the grounds of our different belief, referring our opinion wherever we differed to the Bible.

It is not necessary to mention our investigation which resulted in all cases in loss of my position while he always sustained his on the fairest possible terms.
The perplexity which this threw me into can only be realized by those who has been through the same thing with the same anticipations before them that I had. I saw plainly that my positions were wrong & did also verily believe Mormonism to be correct. All my plans & calculations both spiritually and temporally were now futile. The agitation of my mind was intense and I did not know what to do. I could not forego the idea of joining the church for aside from the disgrace which would follow I was fearful least I should not live up to its precepts as I did with the methodists. I wanted confidence in myself.

After remaining here untill I had fairly investigated Mormonism & also became acquainted with a number of Mormons whose society I was very fond but did not express it I returned to Stouts' Grove, where I commenced preaching the doctrine to the astonishment of all who knew me, yet at the same time did not profess to believe it.

I was astonished at my self when I saw with what ease & fluency I could confute any one who would appose me.
This raised considerable excitement in the grove.
Emboldened by my success I soon made it in my way to attack even the ministers who I believed did not understand the scriptures & I also thought I had always the best of their arguments.2

1"The Diary of Hosea Stout" (Typewritten copies, Heber J. Grant Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 1941) I, 75-76.
2Ibid., pp. 76-77
While thus striving with his religious conviction, Hosea was able to buy half interest in his new brother-in-law's mill; accordingly, he moved to Dillen's Settlement and became even more closely associated with the Mormons. He was very happy here, but was much troubled religiously.

Here I was well suited with the society I was in. There were mormon meetings once a week to which I attended and became intimate with the doctrines they professed & did most devoutly believe it, but I must confess that I was afraid to join them least I should not hold out faithful and thus make my situation worse.

There was also good society here who were not mormons with all I became acquainted & in short was well suited with the people who resided here.

It is hardly necessary for me to record the fluctuating feelings which I necessarily had to encounter between mormonism & the popular sects of the day for every one who had embraced Mormonism has, I suppose experienced the same thing.\(^1\)

As the years went by Hosea became more and more convinced of the truth of Mormonism. His brother, Joseph Allen, had joined the Mormon Church somewhat earlier and now never ceased in his efforts to convert Hosea to the new gospel.

In 1837 Hosea moved with a great many of the Mormons to Caldwell County, Missouri. Here, on January 7, 1838, he was married to a young Mormon girl named Samantha Peck; here also he finally and wholly cast his lot with the unpopular Mormons; he was baptized on August 24, 1838. From this time forward he did not waver in his testimony of his religion; persecution,

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\(^1\)Ibid., p. 78. All biographical information up to this point has been taken from the "Diary of Hosea Stout" Vol I - II.
trials, sickness, or loss of loved ones seemed only to make him stronger in his new found faith. When mobs descended on the Mormons in Missouri and burned their homes, driving them at gun point from their possessions, Hosea fought back, and by October had to leave his young wife and flee for his life northward into Illinois. After a few months in hiding he crossed over the river to Sugar Creek, Iowa, and there joined by his wife, began to make a new home. But his new found happiness lasted only a year, for on November 29, 1839, after a very short sickness, his wife Samantha suddenly passed away, leaving him a widower after not quite two years of married life.

March, 1840, found Hosea moved back across the river into Nauvoo.¹ Here it seemed that fortune began to smile again upon him. He was appointed Clerk of the High Council and became acquainted with many of the influential men in the Church.

He met and married Louisa Taylor, a young twenty-one-year-old girl, who loved him thirteen years, and bore him eight children, burying five of them beside the roads of

¹The city of Nauvoo, Illinois, was the last staying place of the Mormons before their journey to the west in 1846. It was settled by the Mormons after the Church bought two large farms from Dr. Isaac Galland for the sum of $14,000.00. The Mormon settlement absorbed completely the former Indian trading post of Commerce, Illinois, located at the same spot. In Jan. 1841, Nauvoo reported a population of 3,000, and in 1846, when Chicago was a spindly village of 5,000, Nauvoo had over 20,000 inhabitants. Federal Writer's Project, Nauvoo Guide ("American Guide Series"; Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Co., 1939) pp. 19-25.
persecution and sorrow. February 4, 1841, saw the forming of the Nauvoo Legion, and 2nd Lieutenant Hosea Stout took his place in the ranks of the Mormon army. Later, he was advanced to captain and then to colonel; and after the dreadful mob-slaying of the Prophet and Patriarch at Carthage, he became an acting Brigadier General, directing the 2nd Cohort in the defense of Nauvoo.

In April of 1844, he served a mission to Kentucky, visiting the places he had known as a little child, and doing his best to spread the fire of Mormonism a bit farther. Upon his return in 1845, he obeyed the law of celestial marriage and took into his home two new wives, Lucretia Fisher and Marinda Bennett.

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1 Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet, and his brother Hiram, the Patriarch for the Mormon Church, were murdered by a mob of men with painted faces while being held for trial in a state prison at Carthage, Illinois, on the evening of June 27, 1844. Doctrine and Covenants, (3rd ed.; Liverpool: Rudger Clawson, 295 Edge Lane, 1912) Section 135:1.

2 Biographical information from Note 1, page 9, to this point was taken from Jensen, op. cit.

3 The doctrine of plural marriage. See Doctrine and Covenants, Section 132.
In April of 1845, he was appointed Captain of the Nauvoo Police Force and from then to the time of the expulsion performed valiant service protecting the people from the violence and destruction of the threatening mobs.

In September he was taken to Carthage and tried and acquitted on trumped-up charges for treason against the state of Illinois. Returning to Nauvoo, he was called to be Senior President of the 11th Quorum of the Seventy.

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1 The Saints were forced by threats of mob violence to abandon the City of Nauvoo in the early spring of 1846. The family of Charles Shumway was the first to cross the Mississippi (February 4, 1846). Hosea Stout and family crossed over on February 8th.

"Colonel Hosea Stout with a strong force of police had charge of the ferries, which were kept busy night and day until the river froze over. The companies then crossed on the ice. By the middle of February a thousand souls, with their wagons, teams, and effects had been landed on the Iowa shore." Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah*, (Salt Lake City, Utah: George Q. Cannon and Sons Co., 1892), I, 248.

2 It is the order of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to "call" or name a certain person to fulfill a certain task or position within the Church. These "calls" come from those in authority and are considered to be the will of the Lord by faithful Mormons.


and in December was called to labor in the Nauvoo Temple.

Eighteen forty-six brought the exodus of the Saints from Nauvoo, and Hosea, appointed by Brigham Young, superintended the movements of the Saints over the rough and windy Mississippi River. Later, with a picked band of men, and accompanied by his family, he guarded the emigrating Saints on their journey toward Mt. Pisgah. Here, his men were officially disbanded and reorganized. Hosea was made responsible for the public arms: two large wagons loaded with the guns and weapons of the Nauvoo Legion; he was charged to see them safely to Winter Quarters, about 120 miles away, on the west side of the Missouri River.

This assignment caused him much hardship and trouble. The wagons were heavy, the oxen tired and in need of good

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1 Temples, within the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, are strictly differentiated from meeting houses. Within the walls of their temples faithful Latter Day Saints receive certain blessings necessary to their exaltation. Also, in the temple these ordinances are performed vicariously in behalf of the dead. Records are kept, and it is a solemn responsibility for the faithful to provide for their dead in this respect. See Doctrine and Covenants, Section 124: 31-55. Also I Corinthians 15:29.

2 The camp at Mt. Pisgah was one hundred sixty-seven miles west of Nauvoo. Whitney, op. cit., p. 254.
feed; the wagons sank often to their wheel hubs in mud, the thin oxen being unable to make them move. Many times Hosea had to wait in the rain and storm until help came to pull him out. Often, no help was forthcoming, and he had to devise means by himself to get the wagons again on their way.

His wife Louisa, due to hardship and exposure, plus the added weight of a yet unborn child, had been violently ill since shortly after leaving Nauvoo; most of the time she was unable to leave her bed in the back of the wagon. Toward the first of April, she recovered somewhat and, on the 22nd of the month, gave birth to a little girl whom they named Louisa after her mother. Shortly after this the two older boys, Hyrum (1 year 10 months) and William Hosea (3 years) became deathly sick with the whooping cough. On the 9th of May Hyrum died and was buried along the wayside, and, after much suffering, on the 28th of June, his brother William Hosea also passed away. Although shocked by the loss of his children, and worn out by the demands of his task, Hosea stubbornly pushed on, reaching Winter Quarters a month later after much sorrow and hardship. But here death struck again: his second wife Marinda was brought to childbed and died before evening, leaving a still-born child in the arms of its sorrowing father. Thus within seven short months Hosea's family, consisting of six members, was reduced to three and, before another year was out, his new daughter
Louisa was also to sicken and die.

Here, at Winter Quarters, work was soon found for Hosea Stout's abilities. Sometime before he had been ordered to reorganize the Nauvoo Legion, and before long most of his time was taken up with this task. President Brigham Young soon appointed him Captain of the city guard, a very difficult and thankless job which he nevertheless performed diligently and well for almost two years.

In the spring of 1848, he joined Heber C. Kimball's company and successfully made the long trip to the valley of the Great Salt Lake. Even on this journey he did not escape police duty; and he served as captain of the night guard all the way to their destination.

Hosea and his wife Louisa arrived at Great Salt Lake City in September of 1848 and immediately set about building a home for themselves and their new little daughter, born on

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1August 15, 1856, Journal History of the Church, L. D. S. Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah. See Also "Diary of Hosea Stout", III, 4.

2"Diary of Hosea Stout" III, 39, 64-65, 81, 136-137, 146, 204-205.

3The loss of Hosea's third wife Lucretia Fisher is not recorded in the diary; his last reference to her is on February 14, 1845, while still in Nauvoo. See "Diary of Hosea Stout" VI, 24; also III, 143.
the way to the valley. Hosea hauled timber from the mountains and built a one-room cabin for them to live in; he planted a garden which soon provided them with all the vegetables and fruit they could eat. Children were born; in 1850 came Hosea Jr., and in 1851 Eli Harvey, named after the Ohio Quaker who had been such a friend to Hosea in his younger days.¹

Hosea was given many prominent positions within the settlement in Utah. Admitted to the bar in 1851, he held various public offices, ranging from membership in the State Legislature to Attorney General of the State of Deseret. He was Speaker of the Territorial House of Representatives, and later Prosecuting Attorney for the Third Judicial District. He was also appointed Judge Advocate in the still-active Nauvoo Legion.²

In General Conference, on August 28, 1852, he was called to head a mission to China. Leaving his family "in the care of the Lord" he set out on October 17, traveling by horseback down through the southern settlements to San Diego, California, and from thence, by boat to San Francisco. Here, he and his companions were able to find passage on a

¹Biographical information from Note 2, page 10, to this point has been gathered from Ibid. III-IV.

²Jensen, op. cit. pp. 533-534.
sailing vessel for Hong Kong, China, and arrived there on the 27th of April in 1853. China, at this time, was in a state of revolution and travel by foreigners was strictly forbidden. Thus, after a few months of unsuccessful missionary activity within the city, it was finally concluded that the missionaries would serve little purpose by remaining there. Accordingly, passage was secured for the return voyage, and, after a tedious overland journey from the California settlements, Hosea arrived in Salt Lake City on December 8, 1853.

Hosea caught up with his mail in San Francisco. Here he learned that on December 30, of the year before, his wife had given birth to a son whom they had named Joseph Allen after Hosea's younger brother. In spite of all efforts to keep the child alive, the baby had died within ten days, and the mother too had passed away just two days later. Arriving in Salt Lake City, he found his home inhabited by a stranger, his garden desolate; it was after much trouble that he even located his children.

On January 9, 1854, Hosea married Mrs. Asenath Gheen, a widow whom Hosea describes as being "... 30 fine looking & Buxem."¹ But, in spite of good intentions, the marriage

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¹"Diary of Hosea Stout" V, 35.
was quite unsuccessful, and that fall, while Hosea was working at Green River, Asenath obtained a divorce. Hosea did not contest the action.

In the spring of 1855, returning to Salt Lake City, Hosea married a pretty young girl, twenty-one years old, named Alvira Wilson. Alvira was an exceptional woman; she moved into Hosea's life and raised his four children, had eleven of her own, and outlived him by twenty-one years.

After his marriage to Alvira, Hosea moved back into his home and began to care for his garden and orchard. He was elected to the territorial legislature, and soon was actively engaged in his law practice and the performance of his public duties. In 1857 he was made a regent of the Deseret University, and in 1858 became Judge Advocate for the Territory of Utah.

During the so-called Utah War, he was active in his

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1Hosea's family at this time consisted of Elizabeth Ann (seven years), Hosea Jr. (five years), Eli Harvey (four years), and a young boy named Henry Allen whom Hosea had taken into his family as an act of kindness. See "Diary of Hosea Stout", VI, 99, 100, 105.

2The Utah War (1857-58) consisted of armed invasion of Utah by Colonel Sydney Johnston with a force of 2,000 men on Presidential order to restore order amongst the "rebelling" Mormons. Only casualties sustained on either side were the burning of the U. S. Army's supply trains by Captain Lot Smith of the Nauvoo Legion thus successfully halting Col. Johnston's advance on Salt Lake City. When the charges against the Mormons were proved to be false Col. Johnston's orders were cancelled. B. H. Roberts, A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Century I (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News Press, 1930), Vol. IV, Chapters CV, CVI, CVII.
position as Judge Advocate of the Nauvoo Legion, and helped
to set up the defenses in Echo Canyon, serving to maintain
communication between the Mormon army and Salt Lake City.¹

In 1861, at the October Conference of the Church,
his name was among those called to settle areas in the southern part of Utah. Accordingly, he took his family and moved
south, settling a short distance from St. George. On April
16, 1862, he was elected for two years to represent Washington County in the state legislature, and on September 30,
1863, became District Attorney for the Second Judicial
District with headquarters at St. George. He was also active in church affairs, being called to serve as a member of
the High Council of St. George Stake ² in May of 1864, and in
November of the same year was sustained as president of that body.³

In the summer of 1866, at the request of President
Brigham Young, he moved back to Salt Lake City to continue

¹Biographical information from Note 1, page 14, to
this point taken from the "Diary of Hosea Stout" Vol. V-IV.

²A stake is an organizational unit within the Mormon
Church comparable to a diocese in other churches.
See Doctrine and Covenants, Section 107.

³"Journal History, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-
day Saints" 1861-1866.
his law practice, becoming, in 1869, the City Attorney for the city of Salt Lake.

Hosea married his seventh wife, Mrs. Sarah Cox Jones, widow of David Jones of Mormon Battalion fame, on May 23, 1868. There were no children from this union.

Hosea continued, until a few years before his death, to practice law and perform public service, and to be active and faithful to his membership in the Church. About four years before he died, he suffered a stroke which made it necessary for him to use a cane.\(^1\) After this he retired from public life to his residence in Big Cottonwood and spent his last few years close to his family and friends. In February of 1889 he suffered a very severe paralytic stroke and a few weeks later, on March 2 passed away.\(^2\)

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\(^1\) Personal interview with Mrs. L. S. Palmer, granddaughter to Hosea Stout, Salt Lake City, Utah July 7, 1951.

\(^2\) Biographical information from Note 4, page 16, to this point taken from Jensen, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 534.
CHAPTER II

SELF REVELATION

Within his diary Hosea Stout reveals much of his inner thought and feeling. Many of those human qualities and attributes which governed the actions of his life are woven intricately within his daily entries.

Hosea Stout was a man of observation and intelligence whose piercing eyes quite often penetrated the outward appearances of men. He learned in his youth that men were not always as one might believe.

This winter I had an affair with one of the School boys which I believe taught me the first lesson I ever received on human nature.

There was a boy named Samuel Savage who was not a Quaker. He was a most profane and quarrelsome fellow and all the boys and girls at school hated him. He was always disputing at playtime and threatening to fight which he well knew the Quaker boys would not; but I often heard them wish some one would whip him.

At length he commenced abusing me. A thing I would by no means bear so I told him one day in great earnest that I would whip him if he did not behave which only made him worse, for he did not believe me and accordingly the next day he brought a number of small stones in his pocket and showed them to me in time of school and was making his bragg all the forenoon how he would use then on me if I attempted to hurt him. All the boys and girls expressed their disapprobation at his conduct and unanimously declared that he ought to be whipped.

I knew I had the decision of the whole school in my side and verily thought it would be a righteous act to whip him and also a great accommodation to all the scholars accordingly at playtime I went out with the rest to play ball & he was very crabbed and swore if I hit him with the ball even when it was in order that he would hit me with a stone So the first chance for a throw I got I aimed at him while he squared himself to throw back; but I was at him before he had time to throw
back and while he was taking the stone out of his pocket, Jumped on him and gave him a most unmerciful beating over the head with my fist which almost entirely dis-abled me from writing for a day or so.

Eli soon come out and gave me a severe repremand for my "Town boy capers" and threatned to dismiss me from school. The scholars unanimously turned against me and sympathized for Samuel Savage calling me fighter. I now found I had done a thankless job for it was as much to accommodate them as to gratify my own feelings. The fact was they did not really want any one whipped and while saying so did not expect to see it done. Where as I was in earnest and thought they were also.

This was heralded all over the settlement to my dis-advantage but I stood up for my self.

I learned that it was not good policy to do fighting for people who had not courage or a disposition to do it for them selves and it proved a useful lessen to me in after life and caused me to begin to observe the in-constancy and ingratitude of mankind & no doubt it has prevented me from falling into worse difficulties by trying to help those who will not help themselves for if you ever do you may depend on being forsaken in times of trouble.\(^1\)

Besides the "lessen" learned this account reveals strength in Hosea's character which later typified his life. His leadership, his determination to stand by his convic-tions, his will to act true to his word, all later were strong points within his personality. From this time forth Hosea was careful in whom he placed his trust; he became adept in judging men and throughout the diary seldom mentions any person without passing a judgment upon him. Relatives,\(^2\)

\(^1\)"Diary of Hosea Stout," I, 38-39. A discussion of literary values and devices in Hosea Stout's writing will follow in Chapter III.

\(^2\)Ibid. I, 55, 58, 61.
companions, enemies white and red, all were judged by Hosea's standards of conduct. He never liked pomp and show, or false pride among men; when it was detected he did not hesitate to name and denounce it. Yet, when he expected to find it and did not, he was frank in his approval. In 1846 Hosea tells of meeting the man who came to recruit the famous Mormon Battalion to serve in the Mexican War:

From Mother Taylor's I went, leaving my wife there to see Captain James Allen the United States officer and found him on another ridge neatly situated under an artificial bower near his tents with several men in attendance having the "Striped Star Spangled Banner" floating above them. He was a plain non assuming man without that proud over bearing strut and self concieted dignaty which some call an officer-like appearance... I was much pleased with his manner as a gentleman notwithstanding my predjudice against, not only him but the government which he was sent here to represent.

Often Hosea's insight into the manners of men extend-ed to whole groups. With consummate skill he satirically describes a group of listeners at a Mormon meeting in China in 1853:

... They paid good attention and make some inquiries after meeting, yet it is amusing to see how very nice and reserved they are, acting with an assumed modest bashfulness like the false modesty of a

2 See Ibid. II, 66, 68, 81-83. VI, 6-7.
3 See Ibid. III, 116-119. VI, 118.
4 Ibid. II, 260.
tickelish flaunting coquette wanting to talk and not be seen.¹

Here, Hosea is amused by the polite veneer of interest shown by his listeners; his rough, frank, frontier attitudes make possible this piercing perception of an ironical situation.

His well developed powers of observation soon put Hosea in positions of leadership where it was necessary for him to exercise a great amount of perception and judgment. As head of the Nauvoo Police he was forced to settle many controversies which called for understanding, diplomacy, and decision.² He seemed to be well liked by all under him,³ and in social gatherings was among the foremost in appreciating good fellowship.⁴ He didn't hesitate in demanding sacrifice to duty from himself and others,⁵ often employing physical force to maintain set standards and laws.⁶ He possessed wisdom and insight into disputes which, even after he became a leading lawyer in Utah, caused him to say:

¹Ibid. VI, 153.
³Ibid. II, 77. VI, 37.
⁴Ibid. II, 20.
⁵Ibid. II, 13, 11, 175, 176. III, 139.
⁶Ibid. III, 143.
... How much better it would be if saints would always adjust their differences before the proper tribunals of the Church free of costs and in humility & the Spirit of the Lord than to go before the courts of law which so often involves fortunes to the stubborn will of man, engendering an evil spirit & irreconcilable enmity & hatred towards each other which is seldom cured.¹

But Hosea himself was quite an independent personality. Even as a child he was one to go his own decided way, especially when he felt that he was being mistreated. At the age of fourteen, while apprenticed to a Mr. Morris at Wilmington he records:

I served Morris purpose very well for a while but became dissatisfied for he did not treat me well. He would not get me any cloths for winter which I needed badly, but would have me wear some of his old one which made me look very odd for he was a large man. I knew I was not well treated and had no reason to expect anything for my advantage. Neither good food clothing or any chance to go to school but saw I was only intended as a servant and I decreed in my heart to be of no use to him. This caused me to seek ways to shun work which thing I found I had quite a talent and was soon able to make him about earn all that I did before he could get me at it right. I would take care of the horses because I loved them and not for his sake.²

In Hosea's tone can be detected notes of pride, independence, determination, and rebellion. These traits of character followed him throughout his life, and even twenty-two years later when his family was hungry, and he penniless, he wrote:

I found Rockwood at the Ferry ... Rockwood said he would help me and told me where to go and get meal without an order which would amount to begging on my

¹Ibid. VI, 280-1.
²Ibid. I, 32. See also I, 15-16, 28-30, 38-39.
part so I did not do it. I concluded that I would rather starve than live thus ignominously in the midst of the saints.\(^1\)

The above account reveals, besides Hosea's proud will, that the meal could only be obtained "without an order". This probably smacked of dishonesty to Hosea and might have had some influence on his decision to go hungry. Honesty was deeply ingrained in Hosea's character. His conscience bothered him whenever he felt he was not earning his wage\(^2\) and often in practicing law he turned down large fees lest he violate his personal integrity\(^3\). This devotion to honesty was one of his most outstanding qualities, serving to make him trusted and respected (and sometimes feared) by his companions.\(^4\)

But although Hosea Stout was often fierce and outspoken in his dealings with his fellowmen, he was inwardly sensitive and fine-spirited. As a child he received much love and attention from his mother and older sisters,\(^5\) and, as he grew older and away from them, he felt deeply a need for love and security. He sought this in his family, and

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\(^1\)Ibid. II, 261. See also "Supplement to the Diary of Hosea Stout" pp 293-296.
\(^2\)Ibid. I, 52, 53.
\(^3\)Ibid. VI, 285-286.
\(^5\)Ibid. I, 11-12, 24, 30-31, 66, 70-71.
sincerely loved his wives and children, often putting aside his own business to accommodate the wishes of his wives.\(^1\) And when sickness occurred the children and the home came under his care.\(^2\) Deaths among his loved ones were threats to his security and he deeply felt the anguish of each loss. In 1853, with the death of his wife, he writes in his diary:

> This morning early I visited Louisa grave, by the side of which rests my son who I never saw... How calmly, sadly, happily, seemed to rest her ashes. How quiet seemed that heart which once beat for me so warmly... all now rests in death's embrace while I remain as a blank on earth, a monument of disappointed hopes. I have followed three wives to their graves and beheld the earth enclose seven of my own children yet I had hopes of better days but now hope is vanished & I must give myself up to inconsolable sorrow.\(^3\)

Like most men Hosea could not help feeling sorry for himself. To him frustration and helplessness were most terrible. His confidence in his own ability was high. Its existence beside his inward need to lean on the strength of loved ones, created a frustrating conflict which was then very galling to him. Signs of this conflict first became evident in his youth, but they appear throughout his entire lifetime.\(^4\) When twenty years old, Hosea became very sick.

\(^{1}\)Ibid. II, 14, 77, 95.

\(^{2}\)Ibid. II, 173, 175, 206, 225.

\(^{3}\)Ibid. VI, 192. See also II, 14, 19, 226, 248-253 IV, 171-172, 180-181, 191-192.

He records:

Anna took a notion that if I could get to Dillen's settlement that I would soon get well & so Mr Robb took us there where I staid all winter having a chill & fever every day. I became so stupid that I would not move from the fire when my clothes would scorch till they would smoke. It is incredible what a stupefying effect that fell disease will have on any one. I was at several different places while here this winter & experienced & tasted the very dregs of adversity for some places I was not welcome & I knew it & I could not get away & who knows the disagreeable feeling to be in such a condition but those who have experienced it

That which made this conflict most disagreeable was Hosea's extreme sensitivity in feeling and recognizing attitudes in others. Seldom is it so explicitly stated, but its existence is almost always betrayed through implication.

But this sensitivity was not limited to people. Hosea also felt relationship throughout his entire environment. He was especially sensitive to changes in nature and admits that these greatly influenced his moods and attitudes. He records:

"This evening there fell a cold snow with the wind hard blowing from the North howling through the city and spreading a lonely gloom on all nature which I seldom feel." 3

"To night the moon was allmost totally eclipsed on her northen limbs about dusk it was a beautiful sight

1Ibid. I, 66.


3Ibid. III, 46.
and it spread a dark and dismal gloom over the bright and clear night & seemed to shroud all nature in deep mourning. I never felt such a desolate sensation in my life at the changes of nature.  

In such passages Hosea is seen to be deeply responsive to his environment. He is greatly influenced by everything around him. His reaction, phrased as it is in simile, is almost tinged with superstition, and certainly reflects a feeling for nature quite beyond the apparent and the material.

Hosea often philosophically expressed his sensitive awareness. He was able to recognize relationships in nature and man, and he often felt the insignificance and impotence of man against the earth.

... But how beautiful is the calm ocean. With her ever changing heaving bosom like hills & dales ever rising ever disappearing like the never ceasing hopes & fears of the human heart Sporting at all attempt to alloy them.  

Both waves and the human heart tease man; he is helpless before their inevitable workings.

But besides this perception of outward forces, Hosea often recognized the inward drives within himself. As a child he was jealous of the favoritism of his father for Allen, his more delicate, younger brother.  

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1Ibid. II, 92.
2Ibid, V. 25 See also VI, 24-25, 131, 144.
3Letter of Mrs. L. S. Palmer, July 7, 1951.
Hosea would mistreat him at every opportunity probably in an attempt to rid himself of feelings of insecurity. Though perhaps not understanding why he acted as he did, in later years Hosea baldly acknowledged his deeds and his own capacities for temper, violence, and cruelty.

I sometimes could prevail on my mother to let my brother Allen go out to work with me, but never failed to set him at something he could not do & on his failure would most unmercifully beat & whip him and then make him promise not to tell on me, swearing if he did I would kill him the next time I got him out.

The little fellow would not know what to do. If he went with me I was sure to beat him shamefully & if he refused to go would whip him for that the first opportunity.

If I chanced to mark him I told him what to say when questioned which he never failed to do but once and was not then believed but I learned him better than to ever tell again.

Notwithstanding my tyranny and ill treatment, He always loved, feared and obeyed me & was kind and docile, ever ready to take my advice & instructions, which made me repent of my abuse to him & would resolve to do so no more which would last till he done something to displease me.

These inner conflicts of spirit brought Hosea into many ironical situations. But he grew through these experiences, and often formed, from self contemplation, the ideals and standards by which he later governed his life. For instance, when Hosea was nineteen, the following situation arose:

While at Mr. morris Phelps I attended a meeting in Pleasant Grove for the purpose of forming a Temperance Society, got up by Neil Johnson, a brother to Archibald, my teacher. He was the most eloquent preacher in all

1Ibid. I, 15-16. See also I, 14-15, 33.
the country and now spoke loud and long against the practice of drinking ardent spirits and I was quite over- come by his arguments and altigether converted & after meeting he called for volunteers to join the Temperance cause & I and 14 others came forward and gave our name as members.

Drinking to an excess was a thing I never had even any temptation for and although I love a dram sometimes yet seldom ever drink when I have it by me notwith- standing all that, constitutionally temperate, yet I joined the Temperance Society to be reformed from drink- ing and at the same time did not ever expect to taste another drop of ardent spirits again in my life what an absurdity after all was over I pondered deeply on the subject and continually felt like I wanted a dram yet firm in my resolution not to drink again. That night I dreamed a man handed me a bottle of whiskey and I drank deep. In the morning I still wanted some & did for days during which time I had the offer but refused. It was a mystery to me why I so wanted it now for the first time in all my life and that after I had set out not to drink any more, but "when the law came sin revived" I suppose.

Mr Morris Phelps and all his neighbours thought very little of all this and came very near making me sick of my bargain for it did look foolish to me to quit that which I never did. ¹

Thus, to Hosea, came an understanding of the harm that can be done by over-zealous reformers, how sometimes the very desire they seek to quell is augmented by their zealousness.

A few weeks later, while Hosea was building a mill for a man in Mackinaw, the situation was finally resolved:

... He was a fine man to work for done well by his hands & gave them plenty to eat and was liberal. He fur- nished whiskey for his men every morning. It being necessary for we had to work in the water some times. At first I was too conscientious to drink for which I was duly rallied by the rest who considered it worse.

¹Ibid. I, 63. See also I, 20-21.
than folly & nonsense for a sober temperate man to be under any obligation not to drink when it was for his health, & I thought so too. The temperance regulations allowed a man to use ardent spirits as medicine & recollecting this one morning I took the jug and called the attention of the company who had assembled for the purpose of taking their morning dram, to witness that I took it as medicine at which all shouted applase & after this I always used it as I thought proper ... 1

Hosea was never a great drinker; the rule which was here formulated was followed throughout his life. But besides adopting a standard, Hosea learned many other things about himself. He found that he was easily influenced by powerful oratory, and that, once converted, he was hasty in his thought and action. 2 The knowledge of this truth may have been the influence which caused him to wait for five years before actually joining the Mormon Church. It was certainly a factor in making him a successful prosecutor of law and justice. Again, he recognized his desire for independence, and his inward rebellion against restriction; and he found that the power of control was his if he but chose to possess it. He recognized the strength of adverse public opinion upon his own mind, and was clearly able to see the ridiculousness of a pledge of complete temperance. In solving his predicament he perceived with delight (as did

1Ibid. I, 64
2See also Ibid. I, 26-27, 74.
Benjamin Franklin before him\(^1\) the convenience of self-
rationaleization.

As Hosea grew older he seldom fooled himself in his thinking. He always endeavored to weigh action against purpose and to form his opinions from the balance they revealed. Religion caused many of his biggest problems. He always felt that a man should live as he believed, and even as a boy he was inwardly smitten with the differences between this philosophy and his own actions. During the time of his rebellion against Morris at Wilmington, he says:

Sometimes I would go alone to the district of my former days with my brother and rove through the woods where we had been used to and give myself up to weeping and mourning in solitary loneliness.

It was there I would resolve to amend my ways and do better for I knew I was going to ruin but had not government over myself to keep me strait when in town.

I would resolve to join the Methodist sometimes but did not know how neither had the moral courage to enquire, at other times I would resolve to leave town and go to a place better calculated to teach me better things but did not know how to leave Morris, because my father enjoined it on me to stay there and that seemed sacred to me now.

Amidst all these good and bad feelings I was tossed and would hardly get into town before all was over for the first boy I met I was as bad as ever notwithstanding my better desires when alone.

Upon the whole, in all my wild career, I was uncommonly wrought on about religion when my mind could be brought to reflection, and had any of the religious part of the community undertaken it would soon have brought me to the "anxious seat\(^2\)" to get religion, but who would have thought so of me?


\(^2\)Ibid. I, 33. See also I, 37-38, 55, 59, 75-80.
This incongruity of thought and action bothered him, not only in himself, but also in others. He became quite upset when those who professed religion would laugh or talk during meeting, and controversy over "nonessentials so called" was most discouraging to him.

Religious camp meetings were serious experiences for Hosea. He earnestly sought "religion, a change in heart, to pass from death unto life..." but was always unsuccessful. Mostly a Quaker at heart, he finally joined the Methodists "on trial," and remained a member of that church until he began a five-year investigation of Mormonism. The Mormon doctrine satisfied Hosea; it settled his problems and answered his questions. After becoming a Mormon he was faithful to all of its demands, from answering missionary calls to abstaining from tobacco. Representative of his faithfulness is this entry, written at Winter Quarters in 1846:

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1Ibid. I, 55.
2Ibid. I, 55, 61.
3Ibid, I, 59, 61.
4Ibid. I, 37, 55.
5Ibid. I, 59.
6Ibid. I, 75-80
7Ibid. II, 107. V, 1-34. VI, 130-192.
8Ibid. IX (B. H. Stout's Book), 5.
Tonight myself and family had the pleasure of once more sleeping in our own house for the first time since we left Nauvoo on the 9th day of last February, making nine months and fifteen days that we lived without a house. During which time we have undergone almost every change of fortune that could be imagined. One half of my family so dear to me has been consigned to the silent grave & we who yet remain have often been brought to the verge of death often in storms & rains have I stood to hold my tent from uncovering my sick family expecting every moment to see them exposed to the rain & wind which would have been certain death. Often have I lain and contemplated my own sickness & feeble situation, without any thing for myself and family to eat with death staring me in the face and could only contemplate what would become of them in case I was called away.

And worse yet how often have I behed my family one by one yielding up the Ghost & bereaving me of every earthly prospect with the melancholy reflection that there was yet more soon to follow. How often in sorrow & anguish have I said in my heart. When shall my trials and tribulations end. But amid all these adverse changes, these heart wrending trials not once yet have I ever regreted that I set out to follow the council of the people of God & to obey the voice of the spirit to flee from the land of the Gentiles.†

Hosea, as a faithful Mormon, believed not only that the Mormon doctrine was of God but also that Mormon leaders were called and inspired by the Lord. As Chief of Police at Nauvoo in times of political upheaval he learned to know many of them intimately and to trust their judgment in all things.

... went with John Scott to see Br A. Cutler about the dissension of the police and wanted him to and have the matter laid in a proper manner before the Twelve. This was about noon. I think some thing is wrong in

†Ibid. III, 24.
the minds of the Twelve in relation to this matter but how it appears to them I know not. But I feel that I have done my duty in protecting their lives from their enemies both from within and without which thing has brought down the indignation of the mob and also false brethren upon me & my life is threatened by both and diligently sought for as I walk in the streets, but whether I live or die I am determined to sustain the Twelve and the Authorities of this kingdom. . . .

It was during these trying days in Nauvoo that Hosea Stout formed in his mind the political views which influenced him throughout his life. His loyalty to his God and his church always preceded all other considerations, and his political attitudes were therefore shaped accordingly. His anger and disgust knew few bounds when mob-controlled state militia, with state authority, searched Nauvoo for the Mormon arms and cannon:

. . . Their object was too obvious & I feel indignant at the idea & also think of the "Honor of Governor Ford and the plighted faith of the State" to Joseph & Hyrum's protection while he could lock them in jail and then with draw his forces to insult us, in his weak administered and "Brief authority" in Nauvoo while his comppeers could assassinate them in cold blood in despite of the "Carthage Grey" guard loaded with "Blank Cart-rages" as we know they were To all Such men officers and governments I can truly say that it is my hearts desire and prayer to God for Christ's and his Kingdom's and people's sake that they may be speedily damned to lowest degradation of Hell. But cease my feelings and be calm.

Hosea Stout was a man of strong feelings; he not only said how he felt but was always prepared to back up his

1Ibid. II, 136, 137. See also II, 74-76, 107, 236-237. VII, 382.

2Ibid. II, 66. See also II, 67, 68, 81-83.
words with action if necessary. After the exodus from
Nauvoo had begun Hosea records:

. . . At two was informed that some of the Carthage
troops were in the city with writs for some of the
brethren and me among the rest whereupon I called out
all the troops belonging to our camp and agreed that if
any of them came across the river after any of us as
we were informed they intended that we would put them
to death rather than be Harrassed as we had been after
we had started to leave their cursed & corrupt gover-
ment. . .

The treatment of the Saints in both Missouri and
Illinois always colored Hosea's political thinking. He could
never forget that the United States had allowed them to be
driven forcibly from their homes and had neglected to listen
to their many appeals for justice. In 1846, while on the
road to Winter Quarters, he writes:

In the midst of the rain & gross darkness Pleasant
Green Taylor, my wife's brother came to the tent wet
thoroughly. It was very unexpected to us. He said
that his mother and all his folks were eight miles from
here and on their way to the next farm. He said also
that there was war between the United States and Mexico
and a great excitement in the States about raising
troops to March to the relief of General Taylor in
Texas who had already had two battles with the Mexicans.
I confess that I was glad to learn of war against the
United States and was in hopes that it might never end
untill they were entirely destroyed for they had driven
us in to the wilderness & was now laughing at our ca-
lamities. 2

This rebellious attitude stayed with Hosea all of
his life, although with time it became less bitter. 3

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1 Ibid. II, 147. See also II, 121, 122.
2 Ibid. II, 232-233 See also VI, 6-7.
3 Ibid. IV, 34-35 VI, 291.
He never entirely lost his disrespect for gentile law and its enforcement. He felt that the privileges of the Mormons as American citizens under the Constitution had been abused and often nullified, and even in Utah as a successful lawyer and holder of many public offices he nourished a sarcastic attitude of quiet contempt toward all contemporary gentile legislation.  

Altogether Hosea Stout presents a very interesting personality. Proud, defiant, independent, with a look of wild fierceness about him, he was a man more readily feared than loved. His piercing eyes quickly penetrated the outward appearances of those around him making him a leader worthy of respect. He was ever honest in his convictions and loyal to his God; nothing could keep him from a thorough performance of his duty. He was emotional in temperament; he loved deeply and hated vigorously. He had a violent temper when aroused. He was extremely sensitive to the changes of Nature, and often wrote of their influence upon him.

Hosea Stout, as revealed by his diary, was outwardly similar to most men of his time; he was rough-hewn, and unfinished. But inwardly, he had many sensitive qualities; there was much of the poet within Hosea Stout.

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1Ibid. VII, 450, 461, 464, 506 VIII, 521, 525, 527.
CHAPTER III

LITERARY QUALITIES

All literature contains certain elements which separate it from ordinary communication; for instance, metaphor and simile are used to point out similarities, and relationships, to act as illustrations in communicating ideas surrounded by attitudes and feelings. Satire and irony are used to reveal perception, attitude, and belief, to set the tone or mood of a writing. Suspense, coherence and emphasis are used to maintain interest in developing thought. Paradox reports situations where surface contradiction hides internal truth, and symbol uses concrete objects to represent abstract ideas. True literature is interested in going beyond ordinary detail; it attempts to give human meaning to bare facts. It is a vivid, moving, concentrated, interpreted picture of life.

If it is assumed that the presence of these values within a writing establish a literary relationship, critical examination will reveal that the diary entries of Hosea Stout are literary in many respects. Hosea Stout achieves good narration in anecdotes of his childhood, setting scene, tone and mood, maintaining suspense, and building climax. He employs simile and metaphor, and is successful in
achieving ironical and satirical effects. 1

When Hosea was four years old, he was sent to live in a Shaker Colony at Pleasant Hill, Kentucky. He was placed with a small group of boys of the same age under the charge of two Shaker women. There was also a man, Dunlavy, who was over them. Hosea tells of their methods of maintaining order and discipline:

I shall never forget one time when one of the most obstinate boys was frightned into submission. He had been whipet about the time we were going to bed and would not hush crying. They in vain attempted to stop him intill at length they told him if he did not hush they would call in the Bad man who would carry him away. He still continued to ball louder than ever, while some of the rest of us were in great suspense least he might thus bring the old gentleman in to us. At length one of the women went to the door and commenced calling. Our fears increasing at the same time.

In a few minutes we heard a loud gruff surley voice demand what was wanting; to which she replied there was a bad boy who would not mind her & she wanted him to take him away to the bad place (hell) He then called quite loud for the boy who was still crying and did not stop intill she commenced pulling him out of bed. This was Dunlavy who had altered his voice. This left an impressive lessen on our minds and made us more ready to mind.

When we first heard the old man speak, we covered up our heads (for we had just gone to bed) and lay trembling least we should be all carried away together.

Such stories as these were continually impressed upon our minds and such was my ideas of the "Bad Man" being around my bed of nights that I have often lain trembling with fear, not daring to move, and imagined that I could see him ready to take me "afe to his dark hole".

1 For anecdotes other than those quoted within this chapter, see I, 10-13, 15-16, 30-31, 28-30, 38-39. III 207-208.

2 Ibid. I, 7-8.
As in most of his accounts, Hosea presents his material in an apparently unorganized succession, imitating the natural sequence of idea and image passing through his mind. This lends reality to his narration. The organization of the account is simple: the first paragraph sets scene and mood, the second constructs conflict to be resolved, the third builds suspense and reports action, and the fourth brings all to climax and completion. The remaining parts of the account are Hosea's reflections on the main theme of the story; they help to create a more complete picture in the reader's mind.

However, the greatest value in this anecdote lies in its characterization. There are three personalities portrayed: the obstinate, crying boy, Dunlavy and the two women, and the terrified Hosea with his frightened companions. They perhaps represent the three forces usually present during such a drama: the condemned victim, the powerful persecutor, and the helpless onlooker. The boy is portrayed as obstinate, whipped, and crying; he is rebellious to authority, increasing his cries in response to commands to cease. Dunlavy, and the women, are harsh, and yet they are human. They are exasperated by the boy's refusal to obey their authority. At last they appeal to a higher authority, and grimly employ the child's fear of the unknown to force him to comply. Dunlavy, as the Devil, is
portrayed with feeling and insight. In a "loud," "gruff," "surley" voice he "demands" what is "wanting." Here "the old gentleman," as Hosea satirically calls him, is strictly in character. "Demand" is just what the Devil would do if seeking a soul. And "what was wanting" even better tells his business of gathering up those who are weighed in the balance and found short. Dunlavy, as a faithful Shaker, believing in no show of affection or love, is really tolerant of the situation; his impersonation of the Devil quiets the boy and the women.

But in reality, Hosea, with his companions, is the dominant character of the anecdote. All the descriptive details have been chosen for their value in revealing his mood and feeling. The event is seen through his eyes, suspense is felt through his impressions. When Hosea begins to become frightened the event suddenly slows down. "At length" one of the women went toward the door and "commenced" calling. Hosea's fears are "increasing" all the time. These words are slow words; they demand time for completion. Later in the account, Hosea makes the picture more clear by describing how he and his companions hid under the covers and lay trembling all the while. The last paragraph intensifies the whole experience as Hosea admits the lasting impressions made upon him, how years afterward he would lie "trembling with fear, not daring to move," and would see
the "Bad Man" in the darkness ready to take him "afe to his dark hole."

However, Hosea does not always look back on his childhood experiences with as much seriousness as he does here. Frequently he relates a serious happening in a humorous tone, as in the following:

My father rented a farm about one mile South from my Uncle's, & we removed there & began to clear and prepare the ground for a Spring crop. My situation was now materially changed, being separated from my two cousins society, I was, put to work, picking up and burning brush. This was fine sport for me at first; but I soon found that it was work, which I did not relish quite so well as playing with my cousins: but when I would not pick brush fast enough to suit my father, he would apply one to my back, as a prompter for me to put away childish things.

When summer came I was put to pulling weeds; but as soon as I was left alone, would stop and go to play; which seldom failed to bring the prompter on me when my father came: It done good however about as long as it was in operation, for he was no sooner gone than I was to play again. (9 yrs of age)

One day, being impatient at my indolence and me arguing that I was not used to work; after giving me a severe flogging, put a chain around my neck and started away, swearing that he would "usen" me.

I supposed he was going to hang me forthwith & began to beg most lustily and promise to do better: but he went on paying no attention to me & took me out on the corn field to a green beach tree and tied me to a long "swinging limb" and there set me to pulling up the weeds which were "in the reach of my cable tow" and went away.

As soon as he was gone & I saw he had no notion of hanging me, I laid down in the shade and went to sleep soundly. The next thing I knew he had me by the chain, and using a beach limb as usual, swearing it was more trouble to make me work than my neck was worth.

The above is a fair specimen of my industry for several years. 1

1Ibid. I, 15-16.
Here, looking back on this event, Hosea finds an insight into himself and into his father which causes the tale to be told humorously. He has by now had children himself, and understands fully his father's exasperation at his laziness. His satirical explanation of the effectiveness of "the prompter," and his final ironical comment as to his "industry" send a humorous current through the whole episode.

His dilemma is accentuated when he says that "the prompter" was used to help him "to put away childish things." Because he is still a child, this ironical use of a Biblical idiom contains real power. In fact, irony is inherent to the whole situation; it is sharpened by Hosea's vivid consciousness of the figure he cuts in comparison with what his father wishes him to be.

Use of images and figurative language are prominent characteristics in Hosea Stout's writing. Always he seems to seek to concentrate and intensify his expression. Most of the imagery he uses in this episode serves only for illustration; he emphasizes only the most prominent feature of each object or action, thus defining his point more sharply (as, for instance, his being tied to a long "swinging limb" and pulling the weeds "in the reach of my cable tow").

Again, Hosea achieves good characterization. The
picture he paints of his father is realistic: his impatience, his quick temper, his violent action; he flogs Hosea swearing to "usen" him to hard work. All of these images contribute to the general picture of his extreme exasperation. Hosea, however, is characterized as totally indifferent to all efforts to get him to work. Industry holds no interest for him; he is interested only in "fine sport".

A sort of sporadic suspense is created as the account proceeds. The preliminary explanation of the existing conflict creates a feeling of impending suspense. This is carried on and encouraged. From the moment that the "chain" is put around Hosea's neck, he does not explain that he is not to be hanged until he himself realizes it. Here suspense rests a while then, when Hosea deliberately does the opposite from what he is ordered to do, suspense again mounts. The final resolution is swift, and though expected, is surprising because of its swiftness. Hosea's final ironic remark returns the whole episode to the somewhat humorous mood with which it began.

Hosea was quick to recognize a humorous situation, especially when his own youthful actions were involved. When he was fourteen he accompanied his father and sister on a journey to the next township:

This was the first "long journey" I had taken being 20 miles, to walk in a long dry summer day bare foot with only a shirt, hat, & pantaloons on, my feet wore
out on the gravel and I found it hard "sledding". Coming home however was not quite so hard, for about half way home and when very tired we came in company with a man who had two barrels of cider oil, very good. He was drawing it to Wilmington to sell. When he started to travel it commenced to foment and he drew out some and put in water thinking to stop it, but it made it worse. This my father knew but said nothing. At length it became so bad that he commenced drawing it out and we all went to drinking at a round rate. This was fine times for me and made the road easy. It was the first I ever tasted & pleased me well. Not knowing its power I drank deep and long before I got home was under full sail beyond the bounds of cares and sorrow every thing seemed to rejoice.

We came home thus in the evening of the 7th of June. None of the rest had partook so liberal as I, & were right side up when they came home, and of course I was the only one who could rejoice under the circumstances. . . .

This account is humorous because of its satire and irony. At the very first Hosea's comment on the Long journey", is made ironical by his added information that it was "20 miles". This, in the light of Hosea's later travels, is a thrust at his youthful naivety. But Hosea's real powers of satire and irony appear when he tells of the effect of the "cider oil" upon him. He satirically says these were "fine times for me," that the cider "made the road easy" and "pleased me well." Then, in order to better express his feelings under its influence, he resorts to metaphor, comparing himself to a big boat, gliding easily "under full sail." He is "beyond the bounds of care and sorrow" even as a vessel sails beyond the bounds of land and its encum-

1Ibid. I, 20-21.
bering ties. And his lightness and airiness extend to all around him for "everything seemed to rejoice." But Hosea tells us he put on so much sail that he became topheavy, and when they finally arrived home he was no longer "right side up." The irony of the situation is sharpened by Hosea's satirical excuse that the others did not partake quite so "liberal" as he had, and further, that under the circumstances (that is, his extreme drunken condition), he was the only one who was able to rejoice.

Hosea's images throughout are comprehensive and intense. Always they attempt to communicate his perceptions. On the first half of the journey, when Hosea is very tired, his images reflect his tiredness: the day is a long, dry, summer (therefore warm) day, his bare feet "wore out" on the "gravel", the whole journey was "hard sledding." But, on the return trip, Hosea's whole attitude is changed. Before he is able to become too discouraged and tired, a man with two barrels of cider joins them. When the cider starts to foment, Hosea's father becomes delightfully human. He knows that the water the man adds will increase fermentation, but he says nothing, realizing that free drinks are in the offing. Hosea portrays the actual drinking episode in an intense image. They all "went to drinking at a round rate" portrays the whole company descending eagerly on the cider barrels and drinking the fermenting cider vigorously. Then follows
that whole string of metaphoric scenes satirically telling Hosea's inner feelings under the cider's influence. Altogether, his images and metaphors make this event vivid and living. Without them this account would have little claim for literary recognition.

Hosea uses a similar satirical tone in telling an experience which occurred when he was fourteen years of age and apprenticed to Mr. Morris in Wilmington:

When I first came he gave me very positive orders not to be out after night as was the custom with other boys here, and that I had to be civil and industrious, which I thought at the time was perfectly right and intended strictly to observe it, for I had been thus far raised in a civil Quaker settlement and was in fact an uncommon civil boy, for the simple reason that I had never yet had the opportunity to learn anything else. The sequel will show how well I retained my loyalty and first love for I was not there many days before the Presidential election came off which resulted in the election of John Quincy Adams to the Presidency. I was not allowed to go to see what was going on and be an eye witness to the election; but was engaged in burying cabbage close to the Court house and could hear the oaths and shouts for the respective candidates usual in such occasions all which was so wild and uncivil to me that I did not know what to think for it was the first election I ever saw or even heard of.

The day passed off and after dark the boys took the streets and commenced mostly for Henry Clay, "Hurrah for Clay", "Hurrah for Adams"; "Hurrah for Jackson" was ringing all over town. Some of Morris family wanted me to go and stop the boys, and accordingly I went, for I verily thought was most ridiculous.

I did not lecture them long, for as soon as I came in company, one of the boys told me to never mind but to Hurrah for Clay, which was no sooner said than I also took fire and commenced I believe louder than any one else. In a moment all my gravity was gone and I was the wildest one in the company. so unaccustomed was I to such freaks that once engaged did not know how to govern myself but like a tame well disciplined
young horse taken on surprise by a frightened wild drove, is more impetuous than the rest, for I knew not what ailed me.

We continued thus along time when I sobered down and went home & very gravely complained at the reckless noisy boys who did not regard the good order of the place.

Besides the social picture of the times, Hosea here shows a wonderful insight into himself. He presents it with power because of his recognition of satire and irony, his expert use of simile and metaphor, and his constant presentation of imagery in words and phrases.

He achieves a satirical tone immediately in his preliminary exposition. He tells of his ready agreement to the requirement that he be "civil" and "indestrous", and to not stay out late at night as did the other apprentices. Then, in a tone similar to that of Benjamin Franklin, laughing at his own cloistered, innocent world, he satirically observes that he really intended "strictly to observe it," for having been "thus far"raised in a "civil" Quaker community, he was "in fact an uncommon civil boy." Then, ironically, he observes that this was only "for the simple reason that I never yet had the opportunity to learn anything else." The episode which follows then relates his first initiation into the wide world and his own reaction to it.

Hosea's sheltered, self-righteous attitude toward the election is expressed intensely through his use of

1Ibid. I, 26-27.
imagery. He says the noise of election seemed "wild and uncivil" to him, as though it were something uncontrollable and almost frightening. When the day "passed off" (receding as a cover over the darkness), the boys "took the streets," almost with a flavor of military occupancy. Their noise and shouting was so loud and prolonged that it seemed to Hosea to be "ringing". The whole affair, to Hosea's mind, was "most rediculous" and he welcomed an opportunity to stop it. But the influence of crowd psychology proved too much for Hosea ("I also took fire"), and he bursts out of his restricted world in the same way as flame bursts from a sufficiently heated paper.

His brief moments in the outside world are told in vivid language. In a moment all his "gravity" is gone. So unaccustomed is he to "such freaks" within his ordinary world, that he loses all control over himself. The scene is one that can only be adequately told through comparison. And Hosea's simile of his likeness to a "tame well-disciplined young horse taken on surprise by a frightened wild drove" completely fills this need.

The whole situation of the change which occurred within Hosea is ironical; it becomes doubly so with his satirical description of his return home. He at last "sobered down" (as though recovering from a long drunk), and entering the Morris household (and also his own strict,
and emotionally sterile world), he “gravely” complained at the “reckless, noisy boys” (carefully excluding himself) “who did not regard the good order of the place.”

In this account, Hosea’s narrative form is quite regular. He begins with exposition and setting of scene and attitude. The conflict between his two worlds is realized. A climax is reached when the old world falls and he gives himself over to the enthusiasm of the new one. His reluctant return to his old world brings the account to a conclusive end.

Although Hosea had a definite skill in recording humorous experiences, he was not nearly as accomplished in his accounts of a more sad nature. He had a tendency to feel sorry for himself and his portrayal of sadness almost always approaches sentimentality.

While Hosea was at Wilmington he sometimes became homesick. Twice he received permission to return home for a visit.

I went home to see my people once, and Allen came part of the way home with me, which was the last time I ever saw any of my people for years.

Not many weeks after this I came to see my people again full of joy and gratification with a light heart at the prospect of again being with my brother and sisters once more.

I came near the house and commenced making a noise to cause some of them to come out to see what was the matter, and then hid to disappoint them; but I soon found myself more sadly disappointed, for no one came out, and wondering at the cause I went to the house and there found they had gone. The House was desolate. I knew in a moment that they had gone to Cincinnati for
father had been making such calculations. I found myself in this lonely desolate place of my former joys, All gone far away & I here alone whereas I had anticipated so much satisfaction at this moment. But O! my people are gone. It is impossible to describe my feelings. After looking around on the desolation which now brooded over everything in view. I commenced weeping & most bitterly. It seemed that I was the most forsaken being on earth and now doomed to eternal loneliness and sorrow & I must mourn out the remainder of my day. It seemed that I could hear the weak plaintive voice of my departed mother admonishing me to do better and would look in the house but alas she was gone & I truly alone and where is the family

Every object before me was a witness of better & happy day but all gone by all these things conspired to awaken my feelings and sorrow

It was now for the first time that my head pained me & seemed that my senses would leave with trouble.

I wept long and loud.

At length ... I started home again, to Wilmington weeping and lamenting as I went, and cast many a long lingering sorrowful look back to see my little brother I came to the place where he had accompanied me to when I saw him last and there seemed to part with him again. It is hard for a person to conceive the agony I was in when I came home and let Morris' folks know what had happened."
images are probably chosen with the purpose of shaping the desired responses within the reader. Ordinarily, this is good literary planning, but in this case Hosea overdoes it. He approaches the house "full of joy and gratification", "with a light heart". But no one is there; the house is "desolate." Here he begins to feel sorry for himself. "I found myself in this lonely desolate place of my former joys, All gone far away & I here alone whereas I had anticipated so much satisfaction at this moment. But O! my people are gone." Desolation "brooded" over everything. He was "forsaken," "doomed to eternal loneliness and sorrow," forced to "mourn" all the rest of his days. He imagines he can hear the "weak plaintive" voice of his departed mother, telling him to do better. He gives himself over to tears, and weeps "long and loud." As he returns to Wilmington he looks back "with many a long lingering sorrowful look." Most of these phrases are what Cleanth Brooks would call "false alarms."\(^1\) They are emphatic, exaggerated, and attempt to appeal directly to deep emotions within the reader. They are unsuccessful because Hosea fails to show that his use of these words are justified; therefore, his feelings and actions become somewhat ridiculous.

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Sentimentality could have been avoided in this account for in it there is much that is of good literary quality. His description of his approach to the house is excellent. The picture of the teasing youngster, making strange noises, then hiding, attempting to lure someone out of the house, contains the basic elements of real literature. Also, there is an abundance of irony in the whole situation. The fact that he had come expecting joy, but instead finds sorrow, is deeply ironical. Had Hosea allowed this irony to dominate the account he would have escaped sentimentality.

Yet this account does not reach the depths of sentiment reached elsewhere by Hosea. The usual subject of such passages is sorrow for the death of loved ones. Louisa, Hosea's only wife at the time, died in childbirth in 1853 while Hosea was in China serving the Church. Upon his arrival in San Francisco he records:

Tuesday 23 August 1853. . . . Early this morning I went ashore, leaving Bros Lewis & Duncan on Board, and went to visit the Saints in this place finding them all well and rejoiced to see our return but the joy and satisfaction which I expected to be a happy partaker of in their society was only heighten to be overcast in a sorrow and deep mourning. Too happy in the anticipation of at last hearing from my wife and children, the last news from whom had left my wife in such critical circumstances had only increased my anxiety to hear how she was now, But my anxiety and better hopes was now doomed to be blasted by the inconsoleable intelligence of her death and the death of her child.

\[1^{\text{Ibid. II, 226, 248-253. IV, 190, 191, 192.}}\]
Baffled & disappointed in our hopes & wishes relative to our mission & so soon return I gladly looked forward for consolation in the intelligence from home & a word of comfort from her who was always so ready to console me in the hour of deep distress by proving herself the good angel to administer the balm to the disconsolate. Why attempt to pen grief, disappointment & sorrow totally unutterable; why write the anguish which rends the heart? When the companion of our toils, the partaker of our sorrows, grief, anguish, and dispondencies of this mortal life is so rudely torn from our bosom, carrying her last tender offspring with her, while we are absent and in blissful ignorance, of the ravages of the destroyer why should we attempt to depict the feeling which such sad news brings to the heart as this morning beclouds my hopes when I learned that Louisa was no more.

Let those who have drank of this bitter cup respond to my feelings and drop a tear of compassionate sympathy with me in this hour of my deepest mourning. That blissful sorrow of soothing the last agonies of her death and receiving her last departing benedictions and farewell as her immortal Spirit drops the mortal coil. Yea more those dear pledges which God had given us to receive them in my arms with her dying blessings on them, but alas this was denied me. Bereft of her and not knowing how or where my children are with no one who can appreciate my feeling now for who can sympathize with me only the disconsolate, let me not forget from whence comfort & consolation comes. 1

Here Hosea Stout depends almost entirely upon stock responses to achieve his effect. The words which he uses are emotional words which awaken emotional response in almost any reader. "Sorrow," "deep mourning," "unutterable," "baffled," "grief, disappointment & sorrow totally unutterable," "anguish... rends the heart," "agonies of death," "dying blessings," etc, all touch off the emotional responses which people have been taught they should have.

1 Ibid. VI 171-172.
This appeal to stock responses is poor literary style. It does not reflect the creative effort necessary to produce real literary quality.

It may be argued that Hosea Stout was sincere in recording his feelings in these words. This may, or may not, be true. But sincerity can refer to two values. It may refer to a writer's private-life attitude toward a subject (as in Hosea Stout's case), or it may refer to the absence of sentimentality within an author's writing. Literary criticism can only recognize the latter definition; accordingly, the writing of Hosea Stout suffers in a literary evaluation.

But Hosea Stout's sentimentality can not be blamed entirely on his use of stock responses. He is also unwise in his style; in attempting to achieve a sympathetic response he overdoes his use of simile and metaphor.

Thursday 20th Oct 1855. Today completes one year since I left home where I was surrounded by all the endearing ties of an affectionate wife, whose ashes now lies mouldering in the dust and my children lonely orphans, my home, with all its kindred ties, no more. I feel a disconsolate blank, my tears dries in their fountain & I groan without a response for only those in like affliction can appreciate the heart felt anguish that burns in his bosom who has had, torn from him the dearest object of his heart the solace of all his cares, the repository of all his joy and sorrow, another self, the wife of his bosom. True I am surrounded by friends who care for me but, home, & family only can make happiness in this world.¹

¹Ibid. VI, 180-181.
Only one metaphor in this whole entry has a feeling of originality in it: "I feel a disconsolate blank." Also, the philosophical observation at the end of the entry rings true, but all the rest falls short of its intention. This is because he has made so much use of many worn out phrases "Endearing ties," "ashes... mouldering in the dust," "lonely orphans," "heart felt anguish," all are cliche. But Hosea uses them many times, often within the same paragraph. Also, Hosea includes too many metaphors. He refers to his departed wife by five different combinations, one after another. This detracts from his grief and causes the reader to watch his conscious eloquence more than his sorrowful message.

Sentimentality is Hosea's worst literary fault. It seems to occur only in grief over loss of loved ones. At other times Hosea's literary style is keenly fresh and invigorating.

He reports scenes of nature, actions of people, and events or happenings. Seldom does he use "false alarms," stock responses, or worn out phrases. For instance, in describing a mud spring, he says:

This spring is some 20 feet in diameter, of a circular form, the water about 2 feet deep, the bottom quick sand, boiling and heaving up like thick boiling soup as the water forces its way through it.¹

¹Ibid. VI, 119.
This is good clear description. Hosea describes the spring in size, form, and appearance. Its action is caught in imagery: "quick sand, boiling and heaving up like thick boiling soup." The soup simile creates an especially apt image.

Such imagery is characteristic of Hosea's descriptions of nature. He often writes of the weather and its effects, as in the following:

Today was one of the most mild and beautiful days in all nature, being very warm, clear, pleasant.
The cattle could be seen strolling around town and seemed to be enjoying life with some degree of comfort after the long chill. The West wind was mildly floating in the air giving life and animation to everything while all nature seemed to smile.

Imagery contains the life of this description. Hosea's combination of word images and metaphor recreate his experience, even causing a successful transfer of mood. Hosea feels comfortable, easy, pleasant. His very words reflect this. The day is one of "the most mild and beautiful days in all nature." The cattle are "strolling" leisurely about town, "enjoying" life in "comfort." All of these words convey an easy, pleasant feeling, bearing out Hosea's comfortable attitude. The west wind was metaphorically "mildly floating in the air," and "giving life and animation"

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1Ibid. III, 46, 136. VI, 123. VII, 474.
2Ibid. III, 65.
to everything, while all nature "seemed to smile." Nature is not inanimate to Hosea Stout, he sees in nature life and movement; there is a definite connection for him between the life-giving weather and the reawakening of the Spring.

Hosea always attributes life to nature. He never directly proclaims it, but always implies it through metaphorical imagery.

... In the evening there was a storm from the West. The clouds rolled up white & circling rising in all directions seemed to be strangely crazed & whirling and at length a west storm of wind & rain which blew down my tent and many others and exposed my things to the storm again.¹

Here, it is Hosea's metaphorical attribution of life to the clouds which excels. They arise so quickly they seem "strangely crazed & whirling," "rolling" over themselves, "white & circling," almost as if the storm were omnipotent, and man helpless.

And again, with less metaphor and more detail:

Towards day the howling North wind, which had not yet ceased to blow, began to howl with renewed strength and filled our little shanty full of its cold and piercing breath. The weather had increased in coldness and when morning light came I found one of those intolerable cold clear days that bids the most industrious to cease his labors and keep within²

¹Tbid. II, 297.
²Ibid. III, 46.
Here, the North wind has life; it "howls" with "strength" and fills the cabin with its "cold and piercing breath." Even the day has life and "bids" (that is commands) all to stay inside. Hosea uses detail to create pictures. The cabin is a "little shanty" ("shanty" is a much more frail word than cabin, its use accentuates the strength of the "howling North wind). The wind's breath is not only cold, but "piercing." "Morning light" comes, instead of only "morning," and the day is "intolerable," "cold," "clear."

Hosea sees life in all around him. His descriptions of the ocean offer more examples:

This morning the Ocean sleeps. The rolling swells have disappeared and nought but smiling eddies dimple over the wide expanse as though all nature were at rest. The broad blue ocean & the blue vault of heaven face each other in Majestic silence while our vessel sleeps. With a warm south breeze playing just perceptibly among her sails, she rests like the smiling infant in her sleeping mother's arms.1

Here all things are imbued with the powers of life. The ocean is seen to be the mother of the vessel upon which Hosea is traveling. In rocking her infant she has gone to sleep. The "rolling swells" are replaced by "smiling eddies" which "dimple" the whole surface of the sea, ocean and heaven "face" each other in "silence" while the vessel,

1Ibid. VI, 144 See also VI, 128.
as "a smiling infant in her mother's arms," "sleeps". A warm south breeze "plays" among her sails. "All nature is at rest."

But even the calm ocean is not always conceived to have such affectionate qualities.

... In the afternoon the wind nearly ceased to blow. The ocean became smooth so that no white caps appeared. Nothing but the smooth heaving billows came sleepily & lazily along, tilting and rocking the vessel, flapping her sails, sporting at our anxiety to go ahead.¹

Here the ocean teases man. Hosea sees in the waves an almost taunting quality, as though they were laughing at the impotence of men and the helplessness of the vessel.

Hosea's delicate inclusion of detail makes the picture intense and concise. The ocean is so smooth "that no white caps appeared." The waves are "smoothe" and "heaving" (ordinarily these two words used together would seem almost incongruous, but here they are precise and exact); they come along "sleepily," "lazily," "tilting" and "rocking" the vessel, and "flapping" her sails. All of these words are almost onomatopoeic in their nature.

At other times Hosea compares the actions of inanimate objects to things alive. He uses simile in describing their vessel's departure from San Francisco bay. They were forced to "sail against a head wind which blew

¹Ibid. VI, 139.
hard from the mouth of the harbor and consequently had to tack forward and back like a dancing master until we zizagged on our way out to sea.\textsuperscript{1} The image presented by the dancing master simile makes the "forward and back" course of the vessel much more vivid.

Another time Hosea says that "a sudden squall took us aback running the vessel backwards like a baulky horse untill I began to think she would soon come on to her haunches."\textsuperscript{2} Here, again, it is the imagery which gives power to Hosea's description. His use of simile (the baulky horse comparison), and personification (the boat coming on to her haunches) intensify his record of this experience.

At times, metaphor and simile are used by Hosea to achieve humorous effects. In a satirical description of a political banquet he compares proceedings to a military battle:

\dots About a little before dark the grand legislative Supper commenced It opened by a fierce attact upon Oysters sardines, crackers and a variety of eets well got up and well served out This was Mr A. W. Babbitts the Sacratary's generosity. After the usual cerimonies and diligence was bestowed on these table comforts the second part opened by a volley of discharges from about 190 champaigne bottles which strongly indicated that the Battle had become general. Many a fine coat & vest bare marks of the heroism of their

\textsuperscript{1}Ibid. VI, 139.

\textsuperscript{2}Ibid. VI, 141.
owners and a very many glad heart and pleasing face left the state House this evening.

Hosea's final metaphor (the marks of "heroism" down the fronts of fine coats and vests) places a fine satiric emphasis upon the whole description. The satire is saved from becoming bitter by his colloquial remarks about the state of the "eets" ("well got up and well served out"), and his rather softening, good humored metaphor that "many a glad heart and pleasing face" left the State house that evening.

Hosea repeats the same method in the following example, told in a mock epic manner:

... While sailing thus, to break the monotony, kill dull care, and dispell "ennui" the captain with malice prepense and without the fear of God before his eyes, but instigated &c had an innocent goose hung by the hind legs and hoisted to the main top yard, when he took a gun in his hands and wilfully, deliberatly, pointing in the direction of the said goose, with the said gun, pulled trigger causing the fire to ignite & causing instant death to the said goose &c against the peace and dignity of the whole aquatic tribe &c After the above "Fowl]tastrophe had happened the vessel bore to the E...

Hosea's manner is mock epic because he employs elevated legal language to treat trivial subject-matter. The deliberate detail with which the death of the "inocent" goose is described ("against the peace and dignity of the

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1 Ibid. VI, 342-343.
2 Ibid. VI, 165.
whole aquatic tribe &c") causes the passage to become a sharp satire on the differences in law and justice at various levels. Hosea's invented word "Foultastrophe" helps to put law and order on the level of the goose. Hosea reasons that murder, according to men, is a catastrophe, so also is the murder of the goose according to "the whole aquatic tribe," a "foultastrophe". This word reduces the sharpness of the satire, revealing Hosea's playful, joking mood.

Although Hosea does not always invent words to convey tone and mood, he always projects his tone through choice of words. In a flowing, good-humored manner he describes a marriage which took place at American Creek, Utah:

... I forgot to state that while at American Creek I had the satisfaction to witness the triumph of Mormonism over the traditions of our fathers for George A. sealed Arza Adams to an old maid aged 48 as withered and forbidding as 4 doz. years of celibacy might naturally be supposed to indicate. She joyfully took his hand had consented to be part of himself as number two wife number two. Thus entering into a respectable state of matrimony under auspicious circumstances when nothing except the privileges of Mormonism would have permitted.¹

His own exuberant attitude is reflected by the rhythm of his sentences, his choice of words, and his choice of comparison. Words such as "satisfaction," "triumph," "joyfully,"

are all pleasant words, they reflect a pleasant, happy attitude. Hosea’s description of the old maid also reflects exuberancy. She is not only "withered and forbidding," but (intensifying even these modifiers) she is that "withered and forbidding" which is brought about only by long "celibacy," and "4 doz. years" of it at that. The whole account is a satire on marriages, both Mormon and Gentile. It satirizes Mormon marriage because the woman is old and ugly, and is acceptable only in a polygamous union. It satirizes Gentile marriage because Gentile law will not allow her to thus "joyfully" take Brother Adam’s hand in a "respectible state of matrimony" "under auspicious circumstances."

Besides satirically reporting events Hosea often includes satirical comment on the people involved. Because Martin Van Buren, as President of the United States, had rejected the Mormon appeal for help against the Missouri mobs, he was very unpopular among them. Hosea satirically reports news of him:

. . . Also that there were now five candidates out for the Presidency and among the rest was Martin Van Buren who came out at the head of a new party called the "Free Soil" party Barn Burners" which is composed of all the apostate politicians of both parties, abolitionists &c and that he was likely to run a good poll to be elected. Their motto is "To Burn tha Barn and drive the rats out &c." Matty will well grace their head.  

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2Ibid. IV, 34-35.
Besides satirizing the smallness of political purpose
Hosea, in the last two lines reduces Van Buren to the level
of a rat-exterminator. His friendly use of familiarity,
referring to Van Buren as "Matty," is sarcastic and ironical
in the light of his true feelings toward him. Sarcastic irony
again appears when he says that Van Buren will "well grace"
their head. "Grace" is a fine word, implying a beautiful,
favored, gracious action. To use it in the sense of leading
a band of barn-burners and rat-drivers is highly ironical.
This last line also makes their political motto ridiculous,
thus complimenting the satire on politics in general.

Hosea Stout had a profound disgust for Gentile politi-
cians. In 1858, when President Buchanan, in response to
false rumors of Mormon insurrection, sent Gentile officers to
govern Utah territory, Hosea was invited to visit the new
Governor. He records his visit in a mocking, bantering tone,
even mimicking the Governor's embarrassment.

... Gov Cuming declared it was his intentions to
make favorable reports to government for us and do all he
could to prevent a collision between us and the U. S.
He expresses to be dissatisfied with the doings of Col
Johnson and the troops at Bridger &c &c &c &c ahem!
He was very much astonished to find that the Utah Library
and the Court records were not burned as reported to
government and wondered how such utterly false reports
could be raised ect ect ect.

Hosea's use of "&c" sets the mocking tone of the ac-
count. His inclusion of the "ahem!" is a deliberate mimicry of the

1Ibid. VII, 450.
Governor's pomposity. Probably many of the Governor's own words are used; the "utterly" in "utterly false reports" contains a ring of mimicry. The whole passage is a satire on the anti-Mormon activity in the east, and especially on the credulity of governmental officials.

Sarcasm, through satire, is characteristic of Hosea when disgusted at the actions of people. He is bitingly sarcastic in the two following entries:

Thursday 28 Feb 1856 Court met as usual to day and the first case on the docket was Grow vs. A. W. Babbitt in an action of slander in damages to the tune of ten thousand dollars but the deft being drunk the case was continued until two p.m. But then the Hon deft was so highly hallucinated that the court deemed it wisdom to adjourn till to morrow. to give the parties a fair chance to investigate their Characters if they had any. Wasn't this very kind in the Court.

Friday 29 Feb 1856 Court met and parties sober & went to trial and the jury found Hon A. W. Babbitt innocent of slander alleged by Mr. Grow Whether they found Grow with out a character to slander or that Babbitt did not Slander I can not say . . .

Hosea Stout is not only critical of both Grow and Babbitt, but of all slander cases in general. The whole event is disgusting to him. First, Grow is reportedly slandered by Babbitt, so Grow, in order to prove the extreme falseness of the slander, sues Babbitt "to the tune of" ten thousand dollars. This is ridiculous to Hosea; his use of this colloquialism implies that the demand far exceeds the cause. The day the

1Ibid. VII, 352.
case comes up in court Babbitt is too drunk to defend himself. Hosea says he was "halusinated." To use this word in place of "drunk" is critical satire of high order. The case finally is adjourned "to give the parties a fair chance to investigate their characters." The addition of "if they had any," plus the sarcastic comment, "Wasn't this very kind in the court," reveal definitely Hosea's disgust with the whole affair. Hosea's comment the next day repeats the same attitude.

Throughout his diary Hosea is a reporter. He reports philosophically, ironically, or satirically whatever he encounters. He employs simile and metaphor to illustrate his perceptions and to reveal his own moods and attitudes. He is successful in doing this in all cases except those concerning the deaths of his loved ones; then he becomes extremely sentimental. He applies narrative methods and devices when recording anecdotes and past experiences, achieving suspense and climax, and employing paradox and symbol. He goes beyond ordinary detail in his writing, and often succeeds in giving human meaning to bare facts.

His diary contains a vivid, concentrated, interpreted picture of life, written with literary skill and precision. As such, it must be said to attain literary value.
CONCLUSION

In spite of Hosea Stout's spelling difficulties, and stylistic imperfections, his journals in actual content and style often contain literary value.

In content they reveal Hosea Stout's characteristics. He is revealed to be honest, determined, proud, defiant, independent, emotional, and sensitive. He was a good judge of men, and was respected and trusted as a leader. Throughout his life he felt a great need for love and security. He was very faithful in his religious duties, and had a great contempt for politics, especially those of non-Mormon politicians.

In style, the diaries contain narrative and poetic elements. Anecdotes show setting, tone or mood, detailed action, climax, and denouement. Reporting is done in satirical, ironical, and philosophical fashion. Imagery is used; metaphor and simile illustrate idea and communicate feeling. Paradox and symbol reveal Hosea Stout's perception and attitudes. Perceived detail creates emphasis and coherence. Hosea uses all of these devices successfully except when recording feelings of sorrow; then, he becomes extremely sentimental.

Within his diary, Hosea Stout vividly records his observations of Nature, events, and people.
He seems always interested in going beyond physical detail, and in supplying human meaning to otherwise bare facts. Writing spontaneously, with only his natural skill and ability to aid him, he presents an intense, concentrated, interpreted picture of life. Acknowledging this, it follows that his journal, though outwardly imperfect, inwardly attains literary value.
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Personal Interviews

A. William Lund, Assistant Church Historian for the Church
of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints at Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah, July 3, 1951.

Mrs. Leslie S. Palmer, Grand-daughter to Hosea Stout, and holder for the Stout family of all his original diaries and correspondence. 1232 East 4th South, Salt Lake City, Utah. June 22, 1951, July 3, 1951. Also correspondence July 7, 1951.
ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis is to present the diaries of Hosea Stout in the light of literary criticism and analysis. Two questions have been asked: do the diaries contain literary quality by revealing the characteristics, attitudes, abilities, and feelings of Hosea Stout; and, does Hosea Stout’s style contain the literary elements necessary to distinguish it from ordinary communication. Passages from the diaries have been quoted and analyzed to answer these questions. Conclusions are made after each analysis, after each chapter, and at the end of the thesis.

This study revealed that, in spite of Hosea Stout’s spelling difficulties and stylistic imperfections, his journals, in actual content and style, often contain literary value. They record Hosea Stout’s personal characteristics in their content, and in style are seen to contain narrative and poetic elements. Hosea Stout successfully uses many literary methods and devices. He falls short only when recording feelings of sorrow; in such instances, he becomes extremely sentimental.

Within his diaries, Hosea Stout vividly records his observations of Nature, events, and people. He seems always interested in going beyond physical detail, and in supplying human meaning to otherwise bare facts. Writing spontaneously, with only his natural skill and ability to aid him, he pre-
sents an intense, concentrated, interpreted picture of life. Acknowledging this, it follows that his journals, though outwardly imperfect, inwardly attain literary value.