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INSTITUTION BUILDING IN UTAH

JOSEPH A. GEDDES

FACULTY RESEARCH LECTURE

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INSTITUTION BUILDING IN UTAH

By

JOSEPH A. GEDDES



EIGHTH ANNUAL FACULTY RESEARCH LECTURE

Institution Building in Utah

By

JOSEPH A. GEDDES

Professor of Sociology

THE FACULTY ASSOCIATION
UTAH STATE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE
LOGAN UTAH — 1949

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EIGHTH ANNUAL FACULTY RESEARCH LECTURE DELIVERED AT THE COLLEGE

April 29, 1949

THIS LECTURE by Dr. Joseph A. Geddes is the eighth in a series presented annually by a scholar chosen from the resident faculty at the Utah State Agricultural College. The occasion expresses one of the broad purposes of the College Faculty Association which is a voluntary association of members of the faculty. These lectures appear under the Association's auspices as defined in Article II of its Constitution, amended in May 1941:

The purpose of the organization shall be . . . to encourage intellectual growth and development of its members . . . by sponsoring an Annual Faculty Research Lecture . . . The lecturer shall be a resident member of the faculty selected by a special committee which is appointed each year for this purpose and which shall take into account in making its selection, the research record of the group and the dignity of the occasion . . . The lecture shall be a report of the lecturer's own findings in a field of knowledge . . . The Association shall express its interest by printing and distributing copies of the Annual Research Lecture.

Dr. Geddes was elected by the committee to the eighth lectureship thus sponsored. On behalf of the members of the Association we are happy to present Dr. Geddes' paper: **INSTITUTION BUILDING IN UTAH.**

COMMITTEE ON FACULTY RESEARCH

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FOREWORD

INSTITUTION BUILDING in Utah has challenged the writer's interest for many years. Progress in institution building, or, the lack of it, has not been so pronounced as to attract widespread attention. Perhaps the most outstanding thing about Utah's institutions is the objectives which the early leaders or founders succeeded in lodging in their ideologies. Another significant matter is the foundational framework on which Utah's institutions rest. This framework is a village or community economy. Each village is made up of a complex institutional cluster in which purely local public and private agencies compete and/or cooperate with state and national agencies with varying degrees of balance, order, and effectiveness. Unified planning has not yet brought sufficient order, or integration, to give collective effort the power expected by the founders, nor has it made possible the control of the various environments in which people live. But the favorable framework is there. Students of community organization think that community building can become genuinely progressive and enlightened only as separate community institutions become integrated in a consistent community complex of institutions. This involves such planned development that the units not only find for themselves a realistic niche, but also recognize obligation to reinforce the efforts of other institutions.

JOSEPH A. GEDDES

Institution Building in Utah

By JOSEPH A. GEDDES

*Department of Sociology
Utah State Agricultural College*

THE SLOW GROWTH of civilization and the early meagerness of tested knowledge in any but the most pressing and practical matters undoubtedly conditioned and determined the nature of primitive collective thinking. Large assumptions had to be made about all things. Trial and error methods were slow methods. Only in his late maturity as knowledge multiplied has man found ways of testing the validity of an hypothesis so that assumption-making could become a tool of advancement rather than a controlling mechanism. Superstition, a large component in the culture of even the most advanced peoples, was an inevitable adjunct of progress. As institutions grew their ideologies contained such elements. Only new institutions that have grown out of the later crises of mankind have had the benefit of assumption testing so that their ideologies are freer of medicine-man thinking.

It is not the purpose of your speaker to deal primarily with assumptions or ideologies. My task in discussing the growth of Utah institutions is: (1) To define institutions and clarify their functions; (2) To point out and present a possible remedy for the chief weaknesses in institutions; (3) To clarify institutional seedbed potentialities in this state; (4) To discuss certain general aspects of institutional growth in Utah, and (5) To illustrate from research materials the nature of group processes as they influence institutions.

MEANING AND FUNCTION OF SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

COOLEY (5) called an institution "a definite and established phase of the public mind." Sumner (15) said "an institution consists of a concept (idea, notion, doctrine, interest) and a structure." Young (21) concluded that "any recurrent performance associated with images, ideas and attitudes and organized around fundamental life situations may be considered as institutional behavior." Hertzler (9) ventures this definition:

Social institutions are purposive, regulatory, and consequently primary cultural configurations, formed, unconsciously and/or deliberately, to satisfy individual wants and social needs bound up with the efficient operation of any plurality of persons. They consist of codes, rules, and ideologies, unwritten and written, and essential symbolic organizational and material implementations. They evidence themselves socially in standardized and uniform practices and observances, and individually in

attitudes and habitual behavior of persons. They are sustained and enforced by public opinion, acting both informally and formally, through specially devised agencies.

The origin of institutions lies in human need. They are the operating units of the social order. To be effective they establish, in the individual and in the group, patterns of social behavior. Institutions serve not only to compel but to guide and develop habits of conformity in the individual. Most people prefer this, though there are some who do not. It seems certain that spontaneous impulses would soon bring chaos if social situations were met by numerous individual egos, each operating from his own standpoint.

From a functional viewpoint it may be said that institutions serve as satisfiers of basic needs; as definers of objectives; as operating units of the social order; as active educational units striving to establish patterns of social behavior for individuals and for groups; as means of social control; and as accumulators and guardians of the social heritage (8).

It will be well to bear in mind that institutions are composed of: an ideology, with a fairly definite oral or written tradition; behavior, involving attitudes and habits; codes, personnel (leaders, members); symbols (flags, shrines, temples, hearths); and buildings and equipment. Services that institutions perform are necessary and are beyond calculation in value. Without them society could not exist, civilization could never have come into being, social order would be impossible, chaos and anarchy would spread, man would die.

A large difficulty that institutions encounter arises out of their need to sustain an entrenched and strong position with their membership. Katz and Schanck (12) name four necessary elements in an institution's ideology: (1) a belief in the institution as a reality, transcending its members, (2) a belief in its superiority to other institutions, (3) an absolutistic belief in the righteousness of its aims and purposes, and (4) a belief in the inevitability of its success.

Because of the nature of the things that institutions must do they often tend to develop sanctity and inherent infallibility as an aid to their programs. The life cycle of an institution shows great changes. Sometimes the institutional pendulum swings full and reverses its course. Ascetic friars renounce comfort and luxury but become in time a wealthy monastic establishment. A political party espouses the cause of freedom and equality in its early days, but emerges a champion of vested wealth. A church finds a "place in the sun" through advanced programs of economic reform, becomes wealthy, and then consorts with entrenched interests which limit and dry up the sources of growth for the many.

A second chief source of difficulty encountered by institutions as agents of the people lies in the failure of adjustment. All institutions tend towards crystalization in structure and method. The principles which

brought the institution into being become confused with the methods used to accomplish them and solidify into fixed forms so that method and structure achieve sanctity. A method suited to one period is not effective in a later one but, having achieved sanctity, it continues to be guarded and upheld even though it prevents the principle it once sustained from operating effectively (3).

Still another serious cause of institutional lag, particularly in America, is capture by dictators, by economic interests, by family cliques, by political and professional groups. Such capture has become a widespread practice. It is an easy thing to prevent reform if the institution that reform forces have established can be manipulated by those who wish to defeat its aims.

A fourth hindrance to institutional good health is found in mental patterns which result in enslavement to the past. All institutions with any history infect their members with this complex. Some vestiges or residues of things no longer needed are not particularly harmful, but many are likely to be sources of disease that prevent human progress. On the whole, institutions lag behind the actual state of living of people and, in the past, society has been more or less helpless. People have been forced to accept dry rot until it has become unendurable. They then have taken the only course they knew—revolution. Rigidity of institutions has been responsible for most revolutions such as the Protestant Reformation, the Cromwell Revolt, the American and the French Revolutions, the Chinese, the Russian, and the Mexican Revolutions of this century. Barnes (2) believes that:

We stand at one of the great turning points in the history of human civilization. Whether we will move forward to security, peace and a worthy life for human beings or will revert to barbarism through continued misuse of our unique opportunities and facilities depends upon our ability to modernize our institutional patterns.

Hertzler (9) says on the same subject:

The far-sighted policy is to keep an institution flexible, prepared to make modifications in organization and method, able to slough off ancient and outgrown elements that impair its efficiency and keep it elastic and adjusted so that it can continually be fitted to changing conditions.

These causes of institutional failure to accomplish what the founders expected are not an exhaustive list. There are others. But in susceptibility to capture by subversive wealth, power, or family interests; tendency towards worship of the past; avoidance of experimentation; and inability to expurge useless residues, lie most of the causes of cultural lag.

It is probably true that the wastages of war, the mass miseries of economic orders, and the failures of Christian people are to be laid not so much at the doors of dictators as at the feet of leaders of institutions

who implant attitudes and patterns that are inadequate for successful social living.

I have attempted thus far to do three things: (1) To clarify the meaning of the concept institution; (2) to enumerate the principal functions institutions perform as agents of the people; and (3) to call attention to the tendency in all institutions towards rigidity, involving accumulations no longer useful.

Is there hope ahead? The beginning of something important in the life of mankind is to be found in the present generation's gropings toward the development of technical devices for surveying and auditing institutions as aids in planning and program making. It is not surprising that the new-born institutions of organized recreation and public health should be the first to develop methods for independent appraisal. Business became an early pioneer in the use of the annual audit. The large influence of these audits on policies and programs is recognized widely. Through them weak points are located where effort and capital are wasted, strong areas where effort is fruitful are mapped. Energy, thus, may become directed to the "piston rods" which control forward movement. What would happen to our schools and churches if annual audits were devised to check progress in achieving goals?

What has not yet come to be recognized by the average citizen is that the independent audit or survey is not only becoming possible for all institutions but is becoming necessary as a tool of democracy and as a necessary means for its advancement (4), useful particularly for those who carry responsibility.

UTAH AS A SEEDBED FOR THE GROWTH OF EFFECTIVE INSTITUTIONS

THE ASSUMPTION is made in this paper that a good institutional seedbed favors the development of institutions that are stable and powerful and yet are closely aligned with progress, so that the structure of the organization as well as its program is continually undergoing accommodation changes that keep it well attuned to prevailing forces, trends, and movements.

Brief appraisal will be attempted of both the physical and the social bases on which Utah institutions rest.

PHYSICAL FACTORS

Climate. The rainfall in Utah varies between 2 and 40 inches in different parts of the state with an average of 13.56. The average in the cultivated valleys is 12 inches (19). Irrigation water is necessary for the growth of crops on all the cultivated area except for a few thousand acres on which dry farming is practiced.

The maximum average daily temperature is 63.2 degrees, the minimum 38.7 degrees and the average temperature is 51 degrees. These are

good temperatures for human activity, but are a little below the north-west Pacific Coast, the northeast coast, and the North Central States, which are rated by Huntington as the best (10).

Land. Only 1,019,400 acres, or about 2.2 percent of the state's area, is now irrigated. Most of the total of 52,700,000 acres is adapted for grazing. More than another million acres of Utah lands are estimated to be available for later use under irrigation projects yet to be developed (19).

Energy resources. In the tri-state corner of Wyoming, Colorado, and Utah, coal reserves are estimated to be 717,372,512 tons, which is one of the world's greatest concentrations of coal (19).

Utah has an unknown amount of oil. It is estimated that 75 billion barrels of oil can be recovered from shales in the tri-state corridor referred to above (13).

In 1945, 289,167 kilowatts of power were produced in Utah. Proposed projects would raise this to 2,628,100 kilowatts, or over nine times the present capacity (13).

Fertilizers. Phosphate reserves in Utah, of 40 percent or better quality, are estimated at 1,702,480,000 long tons (20). The three state (Idaho, Utah, Wyoming) corner contains about 60 percent of the nation's deposits and about half of the world's supply.

Minerals. A study made by the Utah State Planning Board of useful minerals in Utah lists 199. With respect to the better known metals, Utah was in 1945, second among the states in production of copper, second in lead, fifth in zinc, third in silver, and first in gold (18).

THE BIOSOCIAL FACTORS

There is some difference of opinion as to the effectiveness of goals in attracting superior human strains to an area. The religious motive appears to stand up rather well under testing. New England, with puritan antecedents, has been a large contributor to American culture. Huntington (10) gathered a list of 85,000 American leaders from Who's Who in America, American Men of Science, and Poor's Register of Directors of Corporations, and then located their birth places. He says:

Actually some sections such as our great central basin and our southland are far behind in supplying the nation with talent and leadership. Other sections among which surprisingly enough we find the Rocky Mountain states have forged ahead . . . New England easily excels all other sections in leadership. Connecticut is America's No. 1 state with 418 leaders per 100,000 white children born there. After Connecticut comes Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire. As a source of all kinds of leaders Utah ranks fifth among all the states.

The weeding out of the weak during migration and the early pioneer period probably gave Utah's present generation a parenthood of superior men and women.

How about social regimentation and group attitudes as determiners of seedbed possibilities in Utah?

AN OVER-ALL LOOK AT UTAH'S INSTITUTIONS

ONLY an unobservant person could fail to recognize the presence in this area of strong forces that make for regimentation. Among these are: rule by the aged, wide use of the seniority rule for advancement in leadership, group attitudes geared to the past, extensive acceptance of set institutional forms, education that indoctrinates form as contrasted with substance.

Where such forces and conditions are not severely limited, social inventions are few, cultural lag is pronounced, red tape is accepted, rules are followed for their own sake.

I would like to raise a few questions to develop a point of view.

- (1) Is temperance growing in Utah more rapidly than elsewhere?
- (2) Are criminal acts less numerous here and is crime control constantly improving? (16).
- (3) Is juvenile delinquency regularly declining?
- (4) Are recreational facilities improving more rapidly in Utah than elsewhere?
- (5) Are library facilities superior and are they constantly expanding?
- (6) Is planning, zoning, and beautification of villages, towns, and cities moving forward faster here than elsewhere?
- (7) Are the schools superior, especially on the advanced (creative) level, and is the rate of improvement of curriculum adequate to prepare young people to meet an atomic age?
- (8) Are the religions of Utah centering their efforts on the frontiers of change where responsible social conduct begins, or do we reiterate endlessly more or less dead theologies?
- (9) Are the people of Utah achieving control of and conserving their natural resources and are they achieving control of the economic processes in the interest of all of the people?
- (10) Are the people of Utah more prolific than others in developing social inventions?
- (11) Are superior forms of government evolving here?
- (12) Does a love of freedom, liberty, equality, tolerance, and learning burn more brightly here?
- (13) Is considerable energy and money directed to conserving and building health? (14)
- (14) Do happiness, and family stability find unusual nourishment here?
- (15) Are institutions, as agencies of group effort, more effectively under control here than elsewhere?
- (16) Do we have a mature interest in international affairs?

If these questions cannot be answered affirmatively we may be quite sure that some or perhaps all of the following conditions prevail: The people do not have superior potentialities; the methods of leadership selection

in use are unsuccessful in locating dynamic leadership; undue regimentation of institutions has set in so that they are unable to cope with changing conditions; social experimentation is in a low state of activity, and methods have become confused with principles and are inelastic.

If these conditions prevail, considerable institutional overhauling is needed.

Let us take note of a few general aspects of our institutional patterns dealing with religious organization of communities and with utopian effort.

Utah's early communities were organized as religious communities and with the exception of two or three of the larger cities and the mining towns may be so considered today. Joseph Smith and Brigham Young as co-founders of Utah, possessed a profound faith in the efficacy of religious organization. Communities built under the Zion concept with righteousness as the basic and pervading motive, would, so Joseph Smith thought, outstrip other communities in all fields so that people from every nation would "go up" to see the greatness and glory of Zion's cities.

As has been noted the great majority of Utah villages are primarily religious communities. As late as 1947 a check on one such community revealed the following: Total attendances during one month at all local group gatherings amounted to 4,142. Of these 2,605, or 62.9 percent, were at religious functions. Another 23.9 percent was at recreational events. Thus, 86.8 percent of all group attendances dealt with religion and recreation (1). Such direction of effort is not promising for either great community building or important cultural advances. The complexity of modern living has made necessary the organization of many new fields and more are on the way, each a competitor for the time and loyalty of people. Perhaps a way out is to be found in the awakening consciousness that the chief obligation of the church is not in becoming important as one of many organizations but in finding ways of bringing dynamic religious principles into operation in and through all other organizations. This was undoubtedly implicit in Joseph Smith's concept of Zion building.

SOCIAL EXPERIMENTATION

Great as were the losses suffered by the dissenters in religious endeavor, in self sacrifice, in determined assault on what was wrong, in America's one-hundred odd utopias (6), social gains of many kinds still survive. Utah, herself, as has been noted, was a religious enterprise in her early days.

Stalwart and determined, the pioneers of Utah expected to carry out the development of a society largely free of the evils the world had accumulated. The Mormon pioneers did not want to rejoin the large American society. Fifty years of conflict followed in the wake of the coming of the non-Mormons. During the latter half of this time, many accom-

modations were made. By and large, the concessions came from the Mormons. The experiment with the family institution generally known as polygamy came to an end, but not until some experimentation had been made with a different approach to the social control of the sex drives of the male. There had also been achieved a considerable increase in the proportion of abler human stocks through polygamy.

Another withdrawal on the part of the Mormons from their utopian effort was from any further experimentation with the economic order. A large proportion of the spiritual virility of early Mormonism was bound up with their objections to selfishness in the capitalistic system. In their plans to bring other motives to the front the making of a living would minister to the building of character and the development of patterns that would reinforce good relations between groups and advance social control of conflict between large groups.

Consider, for example, the laborer-steward alignment in the joint stewardship of the United Order (7). Few social inventions in the labor field penetrate as deeply into human motivation as does this early concept. And yet no social invention in the labor field has emerged from Mormonism during the past seventy-five years, of which I am aware. Elsewhere real progress has been made. Collective bargaining, for instance, between two strongly organized groups—organized labor and organized capital—has resulted in great gains to humanity and is today greatly minimizing labor conflict.

As might be expected, social inventions of consequence have been few and far between in Utah in any field during the three-quarters of a century since social experimentation came to an end. Having given up the utopian struggle and having re-entered American society, the reunion was so thorough-going that in economic matters religious leadership espoused the cause and became a bulwark of the existing capitalistic system, giving it sanction by example and precept. Quietly, but without molestation, all the evils and injustices that a highly competitive profit-seeking, materialistic era has nurtured, walked in through the back door of Mormonism and became part and parcel of it. In our prolonged poverty, high bankruptcy of contributions to group handling of economic maladjustments, Utah has for a long time been absorbing from other areas some of the things she has been sterile in producing. In the meantime, and coinciding with the Mormon retreat from the frontiers in the economic field, the Catholic Church, which as an institution, one-hundred years ago appeared to be in a state of regimentation beyond that of all other Christian churches, has broken through her institutionalized shell sufficiently to carry on some economic-social experimentation which has attracted world-wide attention. I refer here to the work done with the impoverished Nova Scotia fishermen in raising their standards of living to comfortable levels through cooperatives and of supplanting attitudes

of despondency that impinged on poverty and disease, with hope and confidence born of self direction and improved living. The service was in teaching these people how to make a success of cooperative enterprise so that they could protect themselves against organized group selfishness. This is far different than telling wealthy people not to be selfish.

There are few descendants of older Utah stocks who do not expect that this people will get back to the social frontiers with considerable drive, in the fields of the family and the economic order as well as in education and recreation where progress has been made, and also in health, community planning, and population control. However, there is little, if any, evidence of a return to the frontiers at the present time. Perhaps a quiet period is needed for meditation and understanding. Some of the grave mistakes that were made in the earlier efforts can be seen more clearly now and can be avoided. It is not only necessary to realize that liberty, freedom, equality, democracy, and tolerance have wide horizons and are susceptible of continuous growth; but also that these things belong to the higher ranges of man's social evolution and are delicate processes which decline rapidly in the hands of leadership that is ignorant or vicious. The dividing lines between necessary central authority and local planning and self chosen leadership need to be developed much further and more satisfactorily than they were in many of the early Utah experiments or than they are today if character development and personality growth are to be ultimate objectives. A told people is a weak people. If large programs are developed before such re-defining is done evils of large proportions are bound to follow. If Utah is to contribute to American and world culture as New England has done, her people must get up front through social experimentation, there to grapple with the great forces whose initial impetus takes direction there.

A grave problem of Mormonism in its institutional aspects is the present wide divergence between objectives and programs. The need is great to face courageously the realities that are innate in its philosophy, its proclaimed dispensation of the fullness of times, and its responsibility to this transitional, disordered age. Seriously to deplete energy and resources in foreign missions and temple work constitutes an escapist rationalization in relation to these obligations. The effectiveness of missionary work could be multiplied many times with far less expenditure if Mormonism were first made an effective dynamic agent having the demonstrated power to cleanse and build its own multiple environments at home. So great are the number of old residues no longer effective, so little is the appraisal of methods, so small is the amount of unified planning directed to long-range policies, that influence on community and culture building is of small import in many places. To assume that young men and women, brought up in dilapidated, run-down communities that bear no evidence of healthy group enterprise are in a position to carry

a vital message that will save people who are struggling with the disorders of a transitional age, is a forlorn hope. Mormonism must justify itself in greater living, in better organized communities, where social control over environments has been extended further than elsewhere before it has a vital message for mankind. Any one can admonish others what they ought to do. The Mormon missionary should have a more vital message.

CLUSTERED SETTLEMENT

Strong reliance in the pioneer period was based on the advantages of situation, or pattern, or gestalt, as Wolfgang Kohler might say—the uncompleted situation. Clustered settlement in square blocked, uncrowded villages, where personality was respected and equality in land settlement achieved, was expected to minimize isolation and increase social stimulations. The centers through which institutions operated, whether it was church, or school, or hospital, or clinic, or playground, would be close at hand and would in consequence be more fully and more adequately and successfully used.

A MORE CAREFUL OBSERVATION OF A SINGLE FIELD

IN THE REMAINING part of this lecture the speaker will present material from research in a single institutional field, that of cemeteries, to give substance to the thesis of the lecture and to clarify the slow process of group action. The data are derived from a study in two Utah counties, Box Elder and Summit.

LATTER-DAY SAINT CONTROL OF CEMETERIES IN BOX ELDER AND SUMMIT COUNTIES

The majority of cemeteries in Box Elder and Summit Counties were originally owned by the Latter-day Saint Church (table 1). A few belonged to the village, and one to a lodge. More than two in five of the cemeteries in these counties are still Latter-day Saint owned and controlled.

Table 1. *Percentage of cemeteries under specified control agencies at selected dates for Box Elder and Summit Counties, Utah*

Counties (dates)	Total	Control Agencies							
		L.D.S. Church		Incorporated village		Lodge		Other	
	no.	no.	percent	no.	percent	no.	percent	no.	percent
Box Elder									
1900	20	13	65.0	6	30.0			1	5.0
1930	24	15	62.5	7	29.2			2	8.3
1940	25	14	56.0	10	40.0			1	4.0
1948	25	12	48.0	12	48.0			1	4.0
Summit									
1900	17	7	41.2	6	35.3	1	5.9	3	17.7
1930	17	6	35.3	6	35.3	1	5.9	4	23.5
1940	17	6	35.3	6	35.3	1	5.9	4	23.5
1948	17	5	28.4	7	41.2	1	5.9	4	23.5

Three small burial plots in Box Elder County and six in Summit County not included.

CHARACTERISTICS OF CEMETERY CONTROL UNDER LATTER-DAY SAINT DIRECTION

Ownership of cemetery land was central, but beyond ownership there was no central organization at Salt Lake City to aid localities with planning or stimulation or financial assistance.

Actual control of the cemetery was in the hands of the local bishopric, which either appointed a cemetery committee or aided the people in selecting one. In a few cases a single person was appointed.

Lots were usually purchased, but in some villages were given to families needing them. The amount received, which was never large, was used to maintain the cemetery.

Cemetery maintenance was voluntary and individual, each lot owner being responsible for the upkeep and maintenance of his lot. Once each year on Memorial Day a universal custom prevailed for every lot owner to clear weeds and leave flowers. A neighborly spirit prevailed and lots of absent owners were often cleared. A fence might be built, a gate installed or a lane graveled on this day or on some other day through volunteer labor. Before the day of the sexton, graves were prepared by relatives and neighbors.

Drainage was considered important. High ground, above water levels, was usually selected for the site of the cemetery. The location was often remote, far from highways or traveled roads. The concept of making the cemetery a community park had not yet come nor could it come in many places without considerable effort because of lack of initial planning.

There is little evidence, indeed, of the emergence of any improved organizational control (beyond the committee) or of any social invention in cemetery maintenance through Latter-day Saint Church management in either county.

Whenever a village incorporated and desired to have the local government take over the cemetery, the Latter-day Saint Church was willing to turn over to such government the deeds to the cemetery property without remuneration.

SHIFT IN CONTROL

The world-wide growth in use of government services that marks modern times is found to be a trend also in control of cemeteries in Box Elder and Summit Counties, Utah (table 1). One reason for this is government's power to tax. The voluntary method has shown almost utter bankruptcy in cemetery maintenance. But it should not be assumed that government operation is the only alternative.

A socially promising non-governmental experiment is being carried out at the Wasatch Lawn Memorial Park in Salt Lake City. Here group initiative has developed successfully along several lines. Unified planning

has been achieved by not allowing lot owners to plant trees or shrubs on their lots, by requiring that markers be flat, even with the grass, and by requiring that markers conform to two relatively small sizes with limited information inscribed on them. The inequalities of wealth and privilege ordinarily sustained through monuments have been eliminated. The hodge-podge of individual planning or neglecting to plan has been replaced by unified planning. Revenue comes only from users, not from the taxpayer. It is paid in advance and is sufficient to provide for perpetual upkeep as well as for needed expansion.

Government operation of cemeteries is increasing because of its greater success. Soon after the village is incorporated, a community water system is frequently installed and the cemetery is brought under it. Planting grass and shrubs is then feasible. A caretaker may be employed and the cemetery in that event is likely soon to become a matter of civic pride. The comparative success achieved under the three types of control agencies is shown in table 2. Although effective maintenance has been achieved more frequently under incorporation than under church or lodge direction, the record sustained under incorporated local government is not always good. Less than half of the cemeteries so controlled are satisfactorily maintained.

Table 2. *Percentage of cemeteries in good state of maintenance by control agencies for Box Elder and Summit Counties, Utah, 1948*

Control agency	Box Elder County			Summit County		
	Total	In good maintenance		Total	In good maintenance	
	<i>no.</i>	<i>no.</i>	<i>percent</i>	<i>no.</i>	<i>no.</i>	<i>percent</i>
L. D. S. Church	12	0	0	5	0	0
Incorporated village	12	5	42.9	7	0	0
Lodge	0	0	0	1	0	0
Family	1	0	0	2	0	0
Other	3	0	0	8	0	0
Total	28	5	17.9	23	0	0

The Latter-day Saint Church has been inactive in the cemetery field, but it has not assumed a competitive or antagonistic attitude towards any agency that showed interest in a more active role. Comparatively few of the cemeteries of Box Elder and Summit Counties have all the essentials of good maintenance (table 2). Those which do have are all under local government control.

ILLUSTRATIVE CASES

Social Invention, Case No. 1: Today rural America is undergoing profound alteration as a result of building great dams and reservoirs across the streams of the nation. These great dams do three things: (1) They conserve and provide irrigation water, (2) they control floods, (3) they bring about the generation of electricity. Only a few decades ago rural America had no electricity on its farms. The introduction of elec-

tricity in the homes and in the shops of the farms is so profoundly influencing living that a new rural era is well on its way. Many do not realize that the early patterns for the three-fold development were laid here in the Rocky Mountains, many of them under difficulties.

In 1859 a small group of Mormon pioneers settled in old Deseret and built a dam across the turbulent Sevier River. Ordinarily small and peaceful, this stream becomes torrential after heavy rains. The Deseret dam failed and had to be rebuilt in 1860, 1861, 1863, 1868, 1881, and 1884. In 1890 the Deseret and Salt Lake Agricultural and Manufacturing Canal Company was organized by Latter-day Saint Church leaders and a successful dam was built which ended 30 years of struggle with a stream which refused up to that time to be harnessed to man's use.

Thus, in Utah, often under extreme difficulty, the early patterns were established for the successful physical control of the waters of rivers. No one will question the great value of this contribution to the nation and to the world.

The village economy met irrigation economy half way and greatly enhanced its usefulness to larger proportions of the people. This was social planning of high order. The development, also, of the legally defined irrigation district as early as 1865, anti-dated the widely-cited Wright Irrigation District Law of California by thirty years (11). The village economy and the irrigation district both constituted superior means of handling water. Underlying both was a cooperative spirit. Says Thomas (17):

The Mormon Church and the community spirit made this system (the best duty of water for the community) territorial in extent. It was the same spirit which created small subdivisions of land and where necessary economical and beneficial use of water. It was the cooperative spirit that became the foundation stone of the state.

But in continuing to match the great physical giant, irrigation water, with social inventions of equal strength and importance in the distribution of water, Utah faltered. Who can say what further contributions would have been made in devising social machinery to deal with use and distribution of water had not social experimentation ceased when it did. As it was, the score of irrigation canals along a river that fed as many villages developed small town jealousies, neighborhood quarrels, and unending law suits over the distribution of water. Even today, after one hundred years, irrigation students generally talk in pessimistic terms about the waste and abuses of irrigation water that have brought widespread destruction of fertile land. It was not in Utah, but elsewhere, that a system was devised to distribute electric energy to the people of the Tennessee Valley on a basis that successfully matched the physical implementation itself.

The development of the river system, water users association, so useful a social invention in minimizing inter-town conflict and in enhancing inter-town cooperation was not Utah born. It seems to have been imposed by the federal government as a condition of cooperation with federal funds. Thus, Utah's truly great series of patterns in the irrigation field show lack of balanced development during the slow moving, highly regimented period that persisted for many years after the pioneer era.

Social Invention, Case No. 2: To those who have found in the urbanization process the central trend of modern civilization, the example here described, of a generic rural institutional development, may at least suggest revision of this urban idea.

Soon after settlement the people of Francis, Marion, Kamas, and a portion of Oakley in Summit County built a single canal to serve their needs. The long trek west had taught them how to work together. Irrigation farming confirmed these cooperative traits and imposed on the people the necessity of continuing to work together, for the canal had not only to be built but maintained, and the water divided. When the idea of consolidating schools began to take hold in Utah it was natural to bring these towns together in a school district. Woodland and Peoa were added. Under the consolidation that took place the school system was greatly improved.

A Kamas Lions Club committee proposed that a cemetery district be organized covering the same six communities constituting the school district. It was urged that each community could prepare the seedbed, develop a water system, and plant the grass and shrubs. Then the district could purchase a small truck, a power lawn mower, and employ a man to cut the grass, take care of the shrubs, and maintain the drives of all of the six small cemeteries. At the present time this program has moved along towards completion.

Two things stand out in this development that are of special interest to the student of social origins.

1. Institution building for this district or area, first rested on irrigation, then on education, and now on cemeteries.

2. There is strong evidence of transference of cooperative traits involving organized effort from religion, to irrigation, to education, to cemetery fields.

These people in this six-community area have solved and are in process of solving difficult problems, far too difficult for single community handling, in the fields of irrigation, education, and cemeteries, through establishing organized cooperative effort on a multi-community basis. Having made the adjustment through inventive work in one field, they were resourceful enough and creative enough to transfer it to other fields. There are still more fields that the future may bring into the expand-

ing group consciousness of this rural people, such as health, recreation, and library service. In this ability to develop a form of organization in which cooperative endeavor is widely diffused and powerful and then to devise social machinery in other fields through which such cooperative patterns and attitudes can be successfully sustained lies hope for the growth of a superior culture.

CONCLUSION

OUT OF UTAH'S early utopian experiments have remained two great faiths and a settlement pattern which were developed in the days of her isolation. One faith is a belief in the efficacy of organized religion, the other is a belief in the efficacy of knowledge. The settlement pattern is a semi-urbanized clustering of people into villages and towns. What will come of these things? Can highly organized religion be made sufficiently elastic to redeem? Can knowledge be so directed that it may save? Can clustered peoples produce the leadership that will make of them great community builders?

I limit myself to four suggestions, looking to the removal of impedimenta to forward movement. They are: (1) Greater local anatomy with respect to planning and the emergence of self chosen leadership; (2) much more effort at and nearer the social frontiers where group movements emerge; (3) regularized and extensive use of surveys and audits of institutions, and (4) greater opportunity for and use of men and women with training and ability.

What spark may cause this people to throw off whatever restricting forces are now confining and immobilizing potential strength, is not for me to say. Perhaps first must come more understanding and broader vision before great dedication to forward movement can come. If happily, elasticity can replace rigidity in institutions, if research can provide reliable information on the strength and direction of trends and movements, if sound experimentation can be regularized and diversified, much of the risk in reform can be avoided. Revolution itself may be largely replaced by a continuous process of adjustment, through which worn residues are eliminated and new social inventions that have been tested are applied. Today as in every age mankind calls out for vision, statesmanship, leadership. I address a summons to youth.

Youth of the Mountains, a summons calls you—a summons now becoming more audible and ever more insistent. It is not a clarion note. It is rather a quiet, insistent urge like the murmur of a stream carrying with it a promise of onward movement. The summons comes from the past, from the days of struggle, of denial, of high hope, and of great vision—the days of the pioneers. The noble bulwarks of an uncompleted temple challenges you.

SUMMARY

It is concluded:

1. That institutions—organized ways of providing for man's basic needs—are necessary to civilization, and to human existence.
2. That successful means of controlling institutions by the masses have been slow in developing. The chief weakness of institutions as organs of society are:
 - a. Inability to throw off outworn residues resulting in cumbersome, inefficiency, and costliness so that contact with trends and movements is remote.
 - b. Liability to capture, by self-perpetuating men of authority, by family cliques, by business or professional interests, is widespread. This interferes with program and structure.
 - c. Tendencies towards rigidity or mechanization, leaders having built up the idea of sanctity and of inherent infallibility.
3. That democratic processes may find the answer to this world-old problem of procuring and maintaining control over institutions by the citizens through the development of periodic (perhaps annual) independent audits of program and structure by experts who are trained to measure objectively.
4. That Utah has certain advantages as a seedbed for the growth of institutions. These have to do with:
 - a. The still present possibilities of partial isolation from adverse urban influences.
 - b. The quality of native human stock supplemented by people of talent and accomplishment who recently have moved here.
 - c. The presence of extensive natural resources in the heavy industry categories with the possibility of developing industry.
 - d. The accessibility of large energy resources.
5. That Utah faces certain problems in its institutional development because of: The present lack of communal strength in organizing community consciousness and community programs from within so that serious lack of balance in collective effort has developed. The order, the beauty, the serenity, the balance of well integrated community processes are difficult to achieve here. There is little time in Utah villages for attention to newer fields necessary to good living that a dynamic industrialized age has brought into existence. A great deal of fixity and mechanization in institutions has developed. Policies designed to conserve individual resources as a means of raising the standards of living of the masses who live here are conspicuous by their absence. Serious problems of over-population exist. The exigencies of

war checked, perhaps temporarily, a downward movement. Only deep-seated planning involving the welfare of the people as a whole can be expected to reverse this direction.

6. That in the field of cemetery organization in Box Elder and Summit Counties:
 - a. A period of slow organizational development is observable over a period of three-quarters of a century.
 - b. Evidence of the emergence of social consciousness concerning cemeteries during recent years are quite numerous.
 - c. There is a definite trend toward shifting control from church to local government in both counties.
 - d. Evidences of latent ability to devise social inventions in the field of the cemeteries are increasing.

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