

On the Edge: Mormonism's Single Men

Jeffery Ogden Johnson

THE DOCTRINE AND COVENANTS contains extremely specific instructions concerning marriage for men:

In the celestial glory there are three heavens or degrees;
And in order to obtain the highest, a man must enter into this order of the priesthood [meaning the new and everlasting covenant of marriage];
And if he does not, he cannot obtain it. (D&C 133:1-3)

When Joseph Smith gave these instructions 16 May 1843 to the Saints in Ramus, Illinois, a forty-four-year-old bachelor was a member of his household in Nauvoo. John M. Bernhisel of Pennsylvania had graduated from the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania before he joined the Church in the early part of 1842. He received his endowments from Joseph Smith in late 1843 and boarded with the Smiths until after Joseph's death. It wasn't until 1846 at the age of forty-seven that he married, being sealed to four women on January 20 in the Nauvoo Temple. In February he was sealed to three more women, including Melissa Lott, a former wife of Joseph Smith. In December 1846 John Milton Bernhisel II, his first child, was born to Julia Ann Haight.¹ During the Utah period, Bernhisel developed an essentially monogamist relationship with another wife, Elizabeth Barker by whom he had nine children (1849-71) while several wives including Melissa Lott, left him in Utah and married other men. A son David Martin Bernhisel called him "naturally shy and retiring, never obtrusive, but silent and shrinking from public notice. He was a confirmed bachelor, in which condition he would probably have remained, but for the teachings of Joseph Smith, who strenuously urged him to obey the law, which he did."² Both Joseph Smith's trust

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¹ Family group sheet of John Milton Bernhisel and Julia Ann Haight, Genealogical Society Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.

² David M. Bernhisel, "Dr. John Milton Bernhisel," *The Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 3 (Oct. 1912): 174.

and his strenuous urgings can be seen as setting a tone for the relationship of single men with the Church. This paper will look at that relationship, as well as the place single men occupied in their broader community, and the social-emotional support systems they developed.

It is interesting that the social reality for single men was in decided contrast to the consistently negative rhetoric about them. A conspicuous example is that of a conference sermon by Orson Hyde in 1854, chastizing unmarried men: "If you do not step forward and marry, and try to carry on the great work of Jehovah, it will be left for a better man to do than you." Behind him, a "voice in the stand" interrupted: "There is but one old bachelor in the Territory, and he has gone to the States."

Hyde continued: "O! I beg your pardon; President Young says he does not know of but one old bachelor in all the Territory of Utah, and he has gone to the States; therefore I have nothing more to say on this particular point."³ He did, however, continue by denouncing bachelors, presumably non-Mormons, who gratify their "fleshly desires" but will not support their offspring honorably.⁴

It is interesting that Brigham Young's was the "voice in the stand" since the 1850 census lists thirty-six-year-old Samuel Greenleaf Ladd, a bachelor, as a member of his household.⁵ Ladd received his endowments on 15 December 1851⁶ and worked for Brigham Young for several years. He had joined the Church in New York in 1843 and emigrated to Utah via California with the *Brooklyn* company, arriving in Utah in August 1847.⁷ In early Utah when the Aaronic Priesthood quorums were composed of adult men, Ladd, an elder, served as first counselor in the deacon's quorum of the Salt Lake Stake (October 1862–April 1865). In October Conference 1865 he was sustained as president of the priests' quorum and so served until he was called to settle Arizona in 1873.⁸ Interestingly, as president of the priests' quorum he presided over all the priests in the Salt Lake Valley, adult men called to "visit the house of each member, and exhort them to pray vocally, and in secret and attend to all family duties" (D&C 20:47).

After a first trip to the Mormon colonies in Arizona in 1873, Ladd settled there permanently in 1876. The only trained surveyor in the settlement, he laid out the town plats and then surveyed the irrigation canals. When he died in St. Joseph, still unmarried in 1893, he was honored as the area's oldest citi-

³ *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool, England: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1855–86), 2:84.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ United States, Department of the Interior, Bureau of the Census, 1850 Census, Utah, Salt Lake County, p. 49.

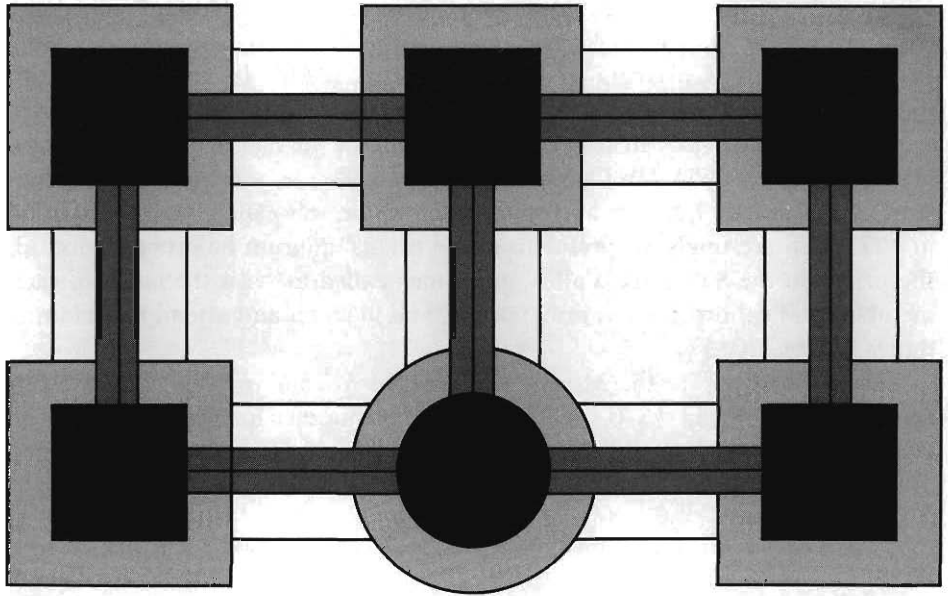
⁶ "Samuel Greenleaf Ladd," Temple Index Bureau, Genealogical Society.

⁷ John Bushman, "Death of Major Ladd," *Deseret News*, 20 May 1893, p. 5.

⁸ Sustaining of officers in general conference, *Deseret News* from Oct. 1862–April 1873.

zen. His estate was willed to the Snowflake Stake Academy; his house and city lot went to the city.⁹

Twenty-year-old George John Taylor, oldest child of Apostle John Taylor, was probably at the meeting where Elder Hyde railed against bachelors, but he died sixty years later, still unmarried. His record of Church activity is exemplary, beginning with his baptism by Joseph Smith at age eight in Nauvoo. Young George became de facto head of the house as his father's church duties kept him away from the family for long periods of time. When the family arrived in Salt Lake Valley, thirteen-year-old George immediately began snaking logs out of the canyons to build the family home. He also got out the logs used to build the first bridge over the Jordan River. These activities developed into a family lumber business. He served two missions, one in New England and another in England. He helped his father edit his New York City newspaper, *The Mormon*, served as business manager for his father's large family, taught grammar and geography at the University of Deseret, was a member of the editorial staff of the *Deseret News*, served on the Salt Lake City Council, as chief clerk of the Utah Legislature, as county coroner for many years, and as editor and publisher of *Keep-A-Pitchinin*, one of the West's first illustrated journals and humor periodicals. In 1873 he was called to the high council of



⁹ See Charles S. Peterson, *Take Up Your Mission: Colonizing Along the Little Colorado River, 1870-1900* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1973); and George S. Tanner and J. Morris Richards, *Colonization in the Little Colorado: The Joseph City Region* (Flagstaff, Ariz.: Northland Press, c1977).

Salt Lake Stake where he served until the stake was divided in 1900. His lumbering, mercantile, and later mining activities made him one of the leading businessmen in Utah.¹⁰ In his old age, he was honored and respected by each member of his father's "large Patriarchal family of which he was the eldest member."¹¹ He had supervised the education, both spiritual and economic, for many members of the family and obviously had a central place in his family and community.

Another single man who would also make a significant impact on Mormon society, arrived on 1 October 1861. He was John Rockey Park, a native of Tiffin, Ohio, who had been educated at the Heidelberg College at Tiffin and Ohio Wesleyan University and had graduated from the medical department of the University of the City of New York. He planned to go to California but investigated Mormonism that winter in Utah, joined the Church, and began teaching school. Later he left Utah for a few months to teach school in Oregon but returned in the spring of 1864 to receive his endowments on June 18. He taught school until the spring of 1869, when the Board of Regents at the University of Deseret asked him to become its president. For twenty-three years his energies were focused on developing the university; and some idea of his central role can be guessed from the fact that, when Brigham Young advised him to study Europe's educational systems, the university closed until he came back. In 1892 he retired from the university but in 1896 was elected the first State Superintendent of Public Instruction. He had already been working with schools all over the territory and this job gave him the power to improve teaching on all levels. He continued in this position until his death in 1900.¹²

Apostle Orson F. Whitney conceded that Park was not "a religious man" but praised him for his morality as "an educator, a creator and a developer of latent powers."¹³ His role as father of education in Utah was extremely challenging and delicate. Joseph L. Rawlins, former professor at the university explains: "On the one side it was charged that it was a school of infidelity and operating against the interests of the dominant church, and, on the other side, among non-Mormons, that it was a strictly Mormon institution. So when the Territorial Legislature occasionally made an appropriation for the University the Governor would veto it, and all sides seemed bent on its destruction."¹⁴

¹⁰ "George John Taylor is Called by Death," *Deseret Evening News*, 15 Dec. 1914, p. 7; Ronald W. Walker, "The *Keep-A-Pitchinin* or the Mormon Pioneer Was Human," *BYU Studies* 14 (Spring 1974): 331-44; and the George J. Taylor papers, Historical Department Archives, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah; hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives.

¹¹ Nellie T. Taylor, "John Taylor, His Ancestors and Descendants," *Utah Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 21 (Oct. 1930): 159.

¹² See Levi Edgar Young, *Dr. John Rocky [sic] Park* (Salt Lake City: privately published, 1919); and Ralph V. Chamberlin, ed., *Memories of John Rockey Park* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Alumni Association, 1949).

¹³ Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon and Sons Co., 1892-1904), 2:332.

¹⁴ Chamberlin, *Memories*, p. 48.

Park successfully walked this narrow line between church and state. By the end of his term as president, the University of Utah had developed into a fully functioning university and the new campus on the foothills above Salt Lake City was taking shape. He also left a society deeply committed to education.

Whitney's allusions to Park's singleness are gracefully phrased:

It was said of the great Washington that nature gave him no children in order that he might be the Father of his Country. As truly might it be said of Dr. Park, that he had neither wife nor child, in order, it would seem, that he might devote himself the more fully, and with all the zeal of a Catholic priest laboring in the interests of Mother Church, to the cause of education in Utah. He was married to that cause. Education was his wife, and his children were the University of Utah and the public school system of the present time.¹⁵

This same idea — that a single man was too busy or too committed to a project to marry — occurred not infrequently in eulogies at the funerals of single men, but it hardly applies to Dr. Park. He created an artificial family for himself by becoming the foster father for seven children, and with the mother of two of these children, his housekeeper, had a closeknit family. He did not, however, ever marry this woman. One of the sons, David R. Allen, became a professor at the University and his foster daughter Rosa Zender was married to another professor, William G. Roylance. After David Allen married, he and his wife lived with Dr. Park in his large home and later the Roylances joined them. All the children seemed to have been close to their foster father.

Park also married, even though he was a bachelor. Returning from his study tour of Europe in 1872, he met a young girl, Annie Armitage, a convert enroute to Salt Lake City. After her arrival, she lived with Daniel H. Wells, of the First Presidency, but soon became very ill. Park succumbed to pressure to marry her for eternity and the deathbed sealing was performed by President Wells on 5 December 1872. She recovered, but Park was adamant: the sealing was for eternity only — not for mortality. He obtained a divorce from Brigham Young on 13 March 1873. This marriage became an issue when his will was probated at his death, even though in the meantime, she had married William Hilton and had several children.¹⁶

In 1885, Park hired a single man to be in charge of the University's vocal music instruction. Even Stephens was an energetic young Welshman whose family had joined the Church and emigrated to Utah in 1866 when he was twelve years old. Except for fording the Green and Platte Rivers, he remembers, "I had the privilege of walking all the way," and recalls the journey as "such an experience of pleasure to me, that I found it difficult to sympathize with the pioneers who thought it a hardship. I find my mind wandering off now, and I can see myself . . . the first day I started across the rolling country.

¹⁵ Whitney, *History of Utah*, p. 331.

¹⁶ Chamberlin, *Memories*, p. 127; and Journal History, 16 May 1901, pp. 3-6, LDS Church Archives.

I was too elated to walk, so I would run ahead and then would stop and wait for the crowd." He quips, "Of course I was a very young man. I was going across that thousand miles and as I was going to have a walk between two and three hundred Danish girls, I ought to have been content and happy."¹⁷

Stephens spent his boyhood in Willard, Utah, herding sheep, building stone houses and working on the railroad, but his real work was music and he developed into one of Mormonism's most important musicians. With only ten months of study in Boston, he trained thousands of voices and wrote hundreds of songs, including many of the hymns in the present hymnbook. He organized the Stephen Opera Company and brought grand opera to the West. In October 1890, the Church leaders asked him to become the director of the Tabernacle Choir. Six months later he had increased the size to 300 voices and the interior of the Tabernacle was remodeled to accommodate it. He took the choir to the World's Fair in 1893 and won second prize, giving concerts in Denver, Kansas City, Saint Louis, and Omaha en route. He wrote the Hosanna Anthem for the dedication of the Salt Lake Temple and directed the special choir in the sixteen sessions of the dedication. When he retired in 1916, he had been director for twenty-six years.¹⁸ When five to six hundred singers assembled at his home for his farewell, he thanked the choir "for this opportunity to have a family reunion, for the choir, he said, had been a family to him, as he had none of his own."¹⁹

Zina Young Card, a daughter of Brigham Young, wrote a tribute that is better as an expression of affection than as poetry. It expresses rather awkwardly some feelings about Even Stephens' singleness:

For in the hearts of Zion's children found
A wondrous love for thee. And he will hear
Their prayers. No children call thee sire,
Yet art thou father to the glow and fire
Of noble aspiration that in them will live for aye
And thy inspired songs, and name shall never die.²⁰

Most single men, however, did not occupy the socially prominent places of John R. Park and Even Stephens. Few, for example, have heard of Axel Einerson, elected president of the United Order in Axtell, Utah, on 15 March 1876. He was a bachelor and one of the largest landholders in southern Sanpete County. Because of his management, the United Order Salt Company was very successful. Under his direction, it held a monthly fast meeting and also took over the ecclesiastical duties of the settlement. After the Order was dissolved he stayed on to build a rock store and run the community blacksmith shop. His sister, Helena Einerson Madsen, president of the Gunnison Relief

¹⁷ "The Great Musician," *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 20 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1958-77), 10:85.

¹⁸ Andrew Jenson, "Even Stephens," *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:740-46.

¹⁹ "Passing Events," *Improvement Era* 19 (Oct. 1916): 1123.

²⁰ Zina Young Card, "Even Stephens," *Young Women's Journal* 6 (June 1895): 432.

Society, persuaded him to donate \$363 to assist the Relief Society in promoting home industry.²¹

Another almost forgotten single man is Henri Edouard Desaulles, a furniture maker from Kingston, Piute County, Utah. He was a Swiss convert to the Church and had come to Utah with his mother and niece. Well-educated, he wrote English better than he spoke it, had a large library for pioneer Utah, and subscribed to newspapers from New York City and Boston as well as French language papers published in the United States. Isolated and intensely lonely, he recorded despondently in his diary, "I guess Hell itself would not be worse than my past life."²² His mother had died and his widowed niece and her family, his only relatives in the Church, lived in northern Utah. He was also a little deaf. His diary records the social problems of a single man in unusual detail, but we may assume that other single men might have similar frustrations, chief among them his loneliness. One diary entry uses the word *alone* nine times in a single sentence.²³ It was hard for him to participate in community activities because he felt unwanted. For example, he cleaned the schoolhouse for the Twenty-fourth of July program and then did not attend because he felt no one wanted him there. The United Order in which he was a member did not credit his work at the same rate for married men which made him feel unvalued. He also had to hire women to wash his clothes and bake his bread because the time such needed housekeeping took (he was a successful breadmaker) kept him from his work.

Even in his highly introspective diary, there are clues that he was not totally excluded from his community. In fact his shyness may have caused more of a problem than exclusionary ward members. Desaulles's bishop called him to be the elders quorum clerk and he faithfully went to quorum meeting even when no one else attended. He spoke in sacrament meeting and sometimes bore his testimony at fast meeting. Later the bishop called him to be an acting priest, visiting ward members with his companion. The bishop sometimes visited him and encouraged him in his work. People regularly borrowed books or brought him a pie. Obviously, he had a place in the community even though he lacked friends and companionship.

He met some of these needs when he was able to afford a cow. He gave her a name and, with obvious affection, named each calf that came along. He also lost himself in his books — Milton, the Bible, Gibbon's *Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire*, and other popular books of time.

He felt responsible for his niece; and when her husband died, he wrote President John Taylor asking if he should leave the United Order to help her.²⁴ He corresponded regularly with her and her children and sent her money when

²¹ *Memory Book to Commemorate Gunnison Valley's Centennial, 1859-1959* [n.p.; n.d.], pp. 72 and 74.

²² Henri Edouard Desaulles, Diary, 1 January 1888, LDS Church Archives.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ H. Edouard Desaulles to John Taylor, 28 Nov. 1880, John Taylor papers, LDS Church Archives.

he could. One entry in his diary reads, "I had letters from . . . my niece Adele but they are very short letters & don't tell me much. I wish I was better off so I could send Adele something, but I could not this year. If we were nearer I could help her a good deal more. I think next winter [I will move to Ogden] the Lord permitting unless I get myself a wife in the mean time."²⁵ This last statement is interesting: he was fifty-six years old but still did not accept his single state.

Desaules' diary also contains several passages, rare for the nineteenth century, that may acknowledge sexual tensions. One reads:

I feel a little alone & lonesome to day I cleaned the school house preparatory to the people having a dance here to night. They all went to Antimony today to picnic the fourth [July 1885] at Mr Winters. I would have liked to have gone but I had to clean the room out wich took me till past noon today after wich I went & took a bath in the river, wich comforted my poor old body somewhat I am now trying to overcome a weakness inherent to me since childhood I have tried over and over again to overcome it. I have never been able to be fifteen days without sucomeing to it. I had prayed to the Lord in my early days in the woods of Saint Blaize [?] in my old county to have pity on me and overcome in me this terrible weakness. I was not in the Church then. Yet I prayed to the God of Abraham the God of Isaac & the God of Jacob to have pity on me and help me over come, but through all these years & it is thirty seven years since I am still very weak, helpless, all alone, & seemingly without a single friend in the whole world who seems to care about me. If that is my destiny all right. I will not give up trying to break [it] up as long as I can command the will to do it. I feel very miserable at times, but still try to grin & bear it, I must help myself & then perhaps the God of Heavens will have pity on me and help me overcome evil so I may be more usefull in the ways of the Gospel, instead of being useless as I have been until now.²⁶

This passage may be describing the so-called "solitary vice" held abhorrent in Victorian culture and still, like all nonmarital forms of sexual expression, forbidden by the Church. If so, it is obvious that Desaules was suffering from emotional isolation and low self-esteem as much as — or possibly more than — from sexual frustration.

Desaules had no opportunity to express sexual feelings. He records in his diary, "I joked with the girls again. Ellen Mar McCullough kissed me [once], but would not let me kiss her again."²⁷

Desaules's feelings of isolation from the community were not unique to him. Another single man, John Powell, an English coalminer, joined the Church and came to America at the age of forty-three in 1893. He got a job in Rock Springs, Wyoming, but had a crippling accident that was almost fatal. Determined to receive his endowments as soon as he was

. . . feeling strong enough for the journey, I applied to the Bishop for a recommend to the Logan Temple. As soon as possible I made the trip and put up at the Logan House kept by a Mr. Blanchard.

²⁵ Desaules, *Diary*, February 1889, pp. 112–13.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 4 July 1885, p. 61.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, July 1885, p. 64.

After a week's recuperation I went to the Temple. There I was informed that being a single man I could not have my Endowments. "You must bring your wife with you," they instructed me. I failed to see it that way. Sensing my obstinacy, the President came and confirmed what had already been told me. I reminded him of the costs of my journey, and "here's my recommend endorsed by the Stake Presidency, and I'm going to remain here until I receive my endowments — unless you throw me out," I added. I cannot soon forget the deep red that mantled the President's cheeks as in a vehement tone of voice he said: "Brother, you shall have your Endowments, for you are worthy," and then reminded me of the responsibility I was taking upon myself. It was suggested that I discard my walking cane while I was going through the House.²⁸

The feeling that somehow there was something wrong with single men is also expressed in the autobiography of David Evans Coleman of Thatcher, Arizona. He here expresses his perception of the community towards his singleness: "Here is a young man of thirty odd years in our community, has ability, takes an interest in social, spiritual and civic affairs. He will neither marry nor go on a mission. A man of that age, unmarried, is not an asset to any community. He is a social liability."²⁹

With much reluctance and under great pressure from local Church leaders Coleman did go on a mission and later, at the age of thirty-nine, married a woman of nineteen. It would be interesting to have more details about the remainder of his life.

It is frustrating to lack the demographic data that might let us project how typical such cases were. But these rather negative examples are a minority of the single men I was able to find in my far-from-random searches. Most of the single men I heard about were, in contrast to Coleman, considered assets within the circle of those who knew them no matter what the official position may have been.

Such a case is Andrew A. Kerr, like John Park a schoolteacher. He grew up in Ogden and went on a mission, and taught school until he could go to Harvard to get his master's and doctor's degrees. He returned to Utah to head the Anthropology Department at the University of Utah. He conducted the archaeological fieldwork for the university and was in charge of its natural history collections.³⁰ Barnard DeVoto pays him a glowing compliment that manages to insult almost everyone else on the faculty: "Dr. Kerr is a trained anthropologist and he stands out like a sequoia amidst sage brush — a scholar alone in a mob of Mormon bishops, tank town annotators and hicks."³¹

Singleness was not even an absolute bar to such church positions as bishoprics and stake presidencies despite scriptural injunctions that bishops be married. In 1904 when the wards in Salt Lake City were organized into four

²⁸ John Powell, "A Summary of the Religious Side of My Life," p. 16, LDS Church Archives.

²⁹ David Evans Coleman, *Autobiography*, p. 3, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah.

³⁰ See the Andrew A. Kerr collection, LDS Church Archives.

³¹ Bernard De Voto, "Utah," *The American Mercury* 7 (March 1926): 322.

stakes, a thirty-four-year-old bachelor, Nephi L. Morris, was named president of the northwest stake which retained the name of the Salt Lake Stake and was assigned ten wards. He had served on a mission in Great Britain from 1892 to 1895; after he returned, he was called by Wilford Woodruff to serve on the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association general board. His father, Elias Morris, died after serving as bishop of the Fifteenth Ward many years, and Nephi was made second counselor in the new bishopric in 1898 from which he was called to head the Salt Lake Stake. He served as a bachelor president for three years, until 1907 when he married Harriet Hooper Young, a granddaughter of Brigham Young.³²

As recently as 1937, Apostle Charles Callis ordained and set apart a single man, John William Pulley, to be bishop of the American Fork Four Ward.³³ Oral tradition has it that Elder Callis told Bishop Pulley to get married within a year and sixteen months later he married Anna Vee Davis.³⁴ The Capitol Hill Ward in Salt Lake City had a single bishop, Herman J. Hogensen, from 1965 to 1969, and on 12 December 1982, William Clayton Kimball, a never-married university professor, became bishop of University First Ward in the Boston Massachusetts Stake.³⁵

The relationship of never-married men to the Church was an important question to this study and it was rather unexpected to discover that some single men were given important duties in the kingdom, both spiritual and temporal. Others felt socially and doctrinally estranged from the Church and either became inactive or remained marginally involved. Apostle E. T. Benson's son Walter, born in 1867, was never baptized and never participated in Church activities even though he lived in predominantly Mormon Cache Valley.³⁶ Stanley Snow Ivins, son of Apostle Anthony W. Ivins, served a mission for the Church in 1914 but became increasingly disaffected in his later life.³⁷ The same pattern appears with historian Dale Morgan, who died in 1971. He came from a strong Mormon background but did not maintain active affiliation as an adult.³⁸ Evidently one's relationship with the Church was highly personal; some felt close and others did not. No doubt the pattern of cause and effect was self-sustaining to a great extent. Those who were important to their community's social and economic life obviously received emotional and material rewards that increased their involvement. Others, feeling alienated and un-

³² Andrew Jenson, "Nephi Lowell Morris," *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:639-40.

³³ American Fork Fourth Ward, manuscript history, 1936, LDS Church Archives.

³⁴ Family group sheet of John William Pulley and Anna Vee Davis, Genealogical Society.

³⁵ Capitol Hill Ward, Manuscript History 1965-69, LDS Church Archives; [William Clayton] Tony Kimball, "Priesthood Without Family," *Exponent II* 9 (Spring 1983): 15.

³⁶ Donald Benson Alder and Elsie L. Alder, *The Benson Family* (Salt Lake City: The Ezra T. Benson Genealogical Society, Inc., 1979), p. 315-16.

³⁷ See the Stanley Snow Ivins collection, Utah State Historical Society.

³⁸ See Utah State Historical Society, *Register of the Dale Lowell Morgan Collection* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1979); and Everett L. Cooley, "A Dedication to the Memory of Dale L. Morgan," *Arizona and the West* 19 (Summer 1977): 103-6.

appreciated, withdrew even farther and had little or no effect on the people around them.

These variations also showed up in the support systems single men developed. Here chronology seems to have been a factor. Early single men like George Taylor had strong family ties and clearly defined roles with their siblings and their siblings' children. John Park created an artificial family which acted as a support system. However, the second generation of Mormondom's single men seem to have found comparable support among colleagues. Both Even Stephens and Andrew Kerr shared interests with other men in their same profession as well as with family members. Colleagues provided vacation companions and funeral speakers. Since there were few women colleagues, this was a strongly man's world.

Furthermore, since it also seems to have been a married world, I found no indication of a single men's network. Even Stephens wrote a hymn to John Park, but it was done for the dedication of the Park Memorial Building,³⁹ and was similar to many hymns written for many similar occasions.

What we do not know about most of these men is how they viewed their singleness. Were they apologetic? defiant? oblivious? They do not say, but it would require unusual ego strength for them not to accept some of the negativism of their society, a negativism that saw their achievements as largely compensatory. For example, when Hollywood actor Moroni Olson was buried in his home state of Utah, President David O. McKay said of him: "Although he never married and reared a family, I want to think of him as a person who so loved his profession that he gave his all to it and this is the reason he never married. Moroni was a man of great ideals, both spiritual and moral, and was a great contribution to Hollywood, the stage and screen. I only regret that he did not marry and have someone to bear his name now that he has passed into eternal life."⁴⁰

It is often true that the names of single men are forgotten since they do not have descendants to honor their contributions and ritualize their history. Many of them lived on the fringe of Mormon society. Yet whether as fully contributing members like Even Stephens or as lonely outcasts like Henri Desaulles, they are part of our broader community. In that sense, we are their spiritual descendants, and the reconstruction of their fragmented histories is a worthy activity for Mormon historians.

³⁹ "Memorial Ode," *Improvement Era* 22 (June 1919): 716-19.

⁴⁰ "Rites in Ogden Eulogize Utah Actor," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 28 Nov. 1954, p. 10C.