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The Deseret Alphabet:

Can Orthographical Reform for English Succeed?

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Introduction

For centuries some English speakers have regretted that the language has lost certain advantages of alphabetic writing. Linguists illustrate the clumsiness of using twenty-six letters to represent the approximately forty basic sounds or "phonemes" heard in English speech. Purists cite the aesthetic undesirability of representing single sounds by determined letter digraphs even in an invariable orthographic scheme. English and reading teachers often blame arbitrary and ambiguous spelling for modern reading failures and the unusually high illiteracy rate existing in such advanced countries as the United States of America and Great Britain. And English speakers and students everywhere have cursed traditional orthography (or "T.O.") as they reached repeatedly for the dictionary. In the words of Mario Pei, "English spelling is the world's most awesome mess."

Hundreds, perhaps thousands, of reformers have offered relief for English orthographical ailments although some of the cures may seem worse than the original disease. The ranks of reformers include such men as Noah Webster, Benjamin Franklin, George Bernard Shaw, U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt, and Mormon Prophet Brigham Young. Some plans are simple, minimally radical, and seemingly innocuous, such as the uniform use of the letter "e" for the sound heard in "bet" (hed for head, sed for said, frend for

Speech sounds are infinite in number and vary widely according to dialect, mood of the speaker, preceding and subsequent sounds, and other factors. Phonemes are groups or families of speech sounds that count as one single sound for practical representation purposes. In the modern jargon, phonetic alphabets or transcriptions serve scientific interests, distinguishing small changes in sound. The term phonemic is reserved for systems used in less technical applications such as everyday representation of language. In many old references, this distinction is not made.

Mario Pei, The Story of the English Language (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1967), p. 337.

friend, etc.); more radical plans advocate a strict one-to-one letter to phoneme representation and even the complete replacement of the alphabet with non-romanic forms. And all points of view between these extremes are well represented both historically and modernly.

But in spite of the numerous and costly reforms spanning continents and centuries, spelling reform has largely been a lost cause—a field where quixotic heros with idealistic swords battle imposing windmills of social and linguistic tradition. Some minor proposals have seen limited success. Webster gave us "parlor" and "liquor" for "parlour" and "liquour" among other minor simplifications. And the Simplified Spelling Board, founded in 1906 with the financial blessing of Andrew Carnegie, crusaded for years with some small result. But most proposals have been dismal failures. The old windmill may well be old, but it does continue to turn. And it has a nasty habit of snagging those who challenge it, lifting them high, and throwing them contemptuously back down to earth.

Despite all this, the reform movement continues optimistic and unabated. Most have a reason for why the reform has failed in the past. Leo G. Davis, a modern reformer, says that "most proposals hav [sic] been entirely too radical for serious consideration." Shaw held the view that the reforms had not been radical enough. Many think that they have found a new angle of attack. Newell W. Tune feels that "no academic solution to the problem, no matter how well devised and agreed upon by our educators, can

Leo G. Davis, "Approaches to Orthugrafik Reform," Orthagrafik Reform, Winter 1973, p. 7.

²George Bernard Shaw willed his money to finance the invention and promotion of a non-romanic spelling reform, believing that a mere rearrangement of the common letters would produce ridiculous and even obscene results. P.A.D. MacCarthy, "The Bernard Shaw Alphabet, "Alphabets for English, ed. W. Haas (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1969), p. 107.

ever be put into effect until and unless the legislative solution to the problem is first devised and put into effect." Vic Paulsen suggests "that the Space Administration be given the job of creating a readable form of writing for this nation." But for all the optimism, and in spite of the eternal claim that the time for spelling reform has come, the proposals always have one thing in common: failure.

The failure of the Mormon Church's Deseret Alphabet reform in the last century is especially interesting, for the history and background of this reform include many elements lacking in the others. Development and spread of this reform took place in the tight-knit, semi-isolated "world" of the Mormons, the Great Basin. Behind the movement was the uncompromising support of the highest civil and religious authorities. Official money and publicity flowed freely. Special books were printed, and teaching of the new orthography was introduced in the schools. While isolated, the community was also international in character because its members represented many different parts of the English-speaking world. In addition there was a large number of immigrants, mainly Scandinavians, who were learning and using English as a second language. Thus the attempt to reform English spelling with the Deseret Alphabet had the advantages of a speech community of varied backgrounds and a general situation highly conducive to success.

Newell W. Tune, "The Problem of Reforming Our Spelling," form letter, 1975.

Vic Paulsen, "Orthographer Says U.S. Space Administration Should Take Over Literacy Problem in America," Press Release-3, n.d.

The possibilities of success in orthographic reform as a whole may be tested by examining the history of the Deseret Alphabet when the chances of reform were especially good.

It is important to understand that the Deseret Alphabet and other similar reforms sought only to change the representation of English and not the language itself. Spelling reform, especially with non-romanic letters, is often confused with international language movements like Esperanto.

The Deseret Alphabet:

Can Orthographical Reform for English Succeed?

While orthographic reform proposals had appeared before, the nine-teenth-century Englishman Sir Isaac Pitman was the Father of Modern Orthographical Reform. This man, who gave the world its first practical and wide-ly studied shorthand system in 1837, dedicated most of the rest of his life and money to changing our spelling habits. This quest spanned over sixty years, proved "from first to last a serious financial drain," and, while it was no permanent success, inspired a multitude of imitators who continue even today.

When Mormonism first tried to adopt such an alphabetic reform system, the first plans paralleled Pitman's work in England. As early as April 1847, Church leaders considered the introduction of phonemic printing in Winter Quarters, a large camp close to what is now Omaha, Nebraska. George D. Watt, who was the first Mormon convert in England and was skilled in the Pitman method of shorthand, was at that time in England on a religious mission for the Church. Brigham Young wrote him the following:

It is the wish of the council, that you procure 200 lbs of phonotype, or thereabouts, as you may find necessary, to print a small book for the benefit of the Saints and cause same to be forwarded to Winter Quarters before navigation closes, by some trusty brother on his return, so that we may have the type to use next winter.

Alfred Baker, The Life of Sir Isaac Pitman: Inventor of Phonography (New York: Isaac Pitman and Sons, Publishers, 1908), p. 138.

The Latter-day Saint Millennial Star 11 (1847): 8.

The Saints were in perilous times, journeying to the West to escape persecution, and this plan was never carried out. But the intention was clear: a new orthography of some sort was thought beneficial to the Church.

This "1847 alphabet," as it was widely called, appeared in England in January of that year and had been a joint effort of Isaac Pitman and Dr. Alexander J. Ellis, a renowned phonetician. The Pitman alphabet had already gone through fourteen variations, but this version was triumphantly hailed the zenith, the end, the answer; and it was loudly praised for "its present state of perfectior." But while the Pitman movement was to be modified many more times in ensuing years, the "1847 alphabet" continued to command loyalties on both sides of the Atlantic.

Leaving Winter Quarters earlier than Brigham Young had expected, the first party of emmigrating Mormons reached the Great Basin in July of 1847 and immediately set about the building of a small mountain empire. To their credit, education was of high priority, and a board of regents was soon called to establish a university in the territory they called Deseret. Discounting a couple of false starts, the University of Deseret as a significant teaching institution did not appear until the appointment of John R. Park as President in 1869. The most demanding subject which was to absorb the attention of the Regents from 1850 to 1877 was the orthographic reform.

On March 20, 1850 the Regents held their second meeting in the log cabin of Parley P. Pratt. The secretary recorded that

The Fonotipic Jurnal 6 (January 1847): 8.

the conection [sic] of the English Language or shortening it that spelling and Pronunciation should be the same was brought forward. His Excellency [Brigham Young] gave his views upon the subject and placed it upon the Regency to do and act by the spirit of Wisdom.

In a similar meeting held a week later, "Judge [W.W.] Phelps presented his Mormon Alphabet and explained his method of shortening the English Language and gave his views at some length upon the subject regarding its introduction and use." Brigham Young expressed his approval of the system and intuitively asked "why the Old Alphabet would not do without any additions or alterations except the leaving out some letter that was not sounded," that is "by throwing out the silent letters." The exact form of the Phelps alphabet is unknown. Perhaps it was the grandfather of the Deseret Alphabet. President Young's remarks imply that it was not a simple variation of the Roman alphabet. The Regents and Brigham Young already appeared united as to the need of reform if not the exact structure of the new system.

Addressing the Church in April Conference of 1852, Brigham Young explained the phonetic philosophy of the new reform.

I have asked the Board of Regents to cast out from their system of education, the present orthography and written form of our language, that when my children are taught the graphic sign for A, it may always represent that individual sound only. But as it now is, the child is perplexed that the sign A should have one sound in mate, a second sound in father, a third sound in fall, a fourth sound in man, and a fifth sound in many, and, in other combinations, soundings different from these, while, in others, A is not sounded at all. I say, let it have one sound all the time. And when P is introduced into a word, let it not be silent as in Phthisic, or sound like F in Physic, and let two not be placed instead of one in apple.

¹Minutes of the Board of Regents of the Deseret University, 20 March 1850, L.D.S. Church Archives, Utah Territorial Collection.

²Ibid., 27 March 1850.

³ Journal of Discourses 1 (1854): 70.

This indicated that the new alphabet was to be constructed on the strict principle that each basic sound is represented graphically by one and only one alphabetic character. Equivocal representations and combinations of letters (digraphs) to indicate single phonemes were to be avoided.

The Regents then found themselves with another major question connected with all orthographical reforms: What letter forms should be used to represent the sounds? Some reforms use only the common twenty-six Roman forms in general use, eliminating irregularities and silent letters and making do with what is left. Reforms in the Pitman tradition use an augmented Roman scheme: most of the regular letters are retained and new forms augment the deficient alphabet to represent the approximately forty phonemes heard in English. A few more radical plans call for the complete substitution of the romanic alphabet. All of these possibilities were enthusiastically considered by the Regents. In the Descret News of November 24, 1853, the progress of the reform was reported.

. . . a query has arisen and occasioned some warm debate whether the present old Roman alphabet is sufficiently perfect to carry forward this reformation. It is objected by some that the characters of the old alphabet are like the white man (as the Indian says) too uncertain. That is, their sounds are too variable: too many letters enter into the composition of single words, and some of these letters are often silent and unmeaning. Now in the present stage of the discussion it is proposed by some to change a small portion of the English alphabetical characters and attach invariable certainty to the sounds of others, in order that words may be palpably shortened, and the spelling become natural and simple and easily acquired. Others are for carrying the reformation still further, thinking that a people of progressive intellect will not be contented with only a partial reformation, and that it requires an entirely new set of alphabetical characters to affect a clean handsome reformation that will be abiding. Some of the Board have even offered one phonographic handwriting as a better hand for printed language . . . Will the old bottles answer for the deposit of the new wine? /

Meetings of the Regents continued through the end of the year, and the plan was indeed in the direction of new bottles for the new wine. Regent Hosea Stout wrote that "their object is so to shape the letters that they will answer for both writing and printing and take up as little room as possible." Refinement of the system continued until January 19, 1854, when the Descret News heralded the adoption of the alphabet in its first form.

The Board of Regents, in company with the Governor and heads of departments, have adopted a new alphabet, consisting of 38 characters . . . which are much more simple in their structure than the usual alphabetical characters; every superfluous mark supposable, is wholly excluded from them. The written and printed hand are substantially merged in one.

Unfortunately, no printing type existed at that time, and the News was not able to print any samples. But in March of 1854, "the new alphabet . . . was printed and presented to the board." Regent Hosea Stout made a copy on this occasion which corresponds in the minutest details to the alphabet appearing on an undated four-page broadside which was protably printed with cut wocden letters. This version was "exhibited . . . to the putlic" and an effort was made to introduce it in the schools. Classes eventually sprang up. Lectures were presented to the Deseret Theological Institute and the Deseret Typographical Association, and the subject was reportedly "well received."

This "Stout Version" lacked separate signs for the diphthongs in boy and fuse. The spelling also illustrates an unfortunate characteristic of very primitive Deseret Alphabet spelling: the sounds corresponding with certain letters were confused with the names of those letters.

Hosea Stout, Journal, 17 December 1853, Utah State Historical Society Library.

² Ibid., 24 March 1854.

³Ibid., 4 April 1854.

(Americans and Englishmen have different <u>names</u> for the letter written z, pronounced <u>zee</u> and <u>zed</u> respectively, but in practice the <u>sound</u> is the same.)

The Deseret letter for s, pronounced <u>es</u>, was supposed to include the "short e" in its sound as in the word <u>zest</u>, which came out looking like ZST; "hard g" pronounced like <u>gay</u> made possible the equivalent of GN as the spelling for <u>gain</u>.

The shortcomings of this style of writing, not the alphabet itself, were distortion and ambiguity of representation. But these problems did not go unnoticed. The Regents soon provided two more letters which made the system more similar to Pitman's general formula of 40 characters and phonemes. Also, the sparse samples of writing from the ensuing months show that the problem of letter names being used as letter sounds had been overcome, at least for the time being. With the more consistent philosophy of diphthong and pure vowel representation, the alphabet became a better writing tool.

In August of 1854, George D. Watt proposed a complete revision of the Deseret Alphabet. His scheme had only thirty-three letters and claimed to better represent the basic sounds of English. An added advantage, important to the stenographer Watt, was that the new form lent itself more easily to longhand. In a letter to Brigham Young, Watt defended his philosophy and then managed the almost superhuman feat of juggling the two widely different systems in a side-by-side comparison.

Watt's first dissatisfaction was with the phonemic basis of the forty-character alphabet then in use (the same described by Jules Remy and

Sir James Pitman claims that English can be written with as little as thirty-two phonemes if one divides the diphthongs and affricates as Watt did. Sir James Pitman and John St. John, Alphabets and Reading: The Initial Teaching Alphabet (New York: Pitman Publishing Corp., 1969), p. 42.

²George D. Watt to Brigham Young, 21 August 1854, L.D.S. Archives, Brigham Young Collection.

Julius Brenchley in a visit to Salt Lake City in September of 1855). He thought the system too cluttered, and he reduced all sounds to their "basic units" by dividing diphthongs and affricates and by discarding separate symbols for y and w (he used the short sounds of i and u). He added a much needed schwa.

Watt's second concern was with the shapes of the letters themselves. He tortured the Remy Version into a script form showing its utter awkwardness. His own forms blended at least a little more gracefully and the ambiguities caused by the necessary linking strokes were largely removed. Watt well recognized that letters are only arbitrary representations of speech sounds, and he did not hesitate to tinker with them when he found them inconvenient.

While "Watt's Version" was never adopted, it illustrates the extreme difficulty of getting any two spelling reformers to agree in principle or practice. Those individualistic enough to buck tradition are usually too independent to accept another person's ideas. But in spite of the failure of this specific "reform within a reform" to gain approval, the idea of representing diphthongs by digraphs may have influenced the final thirty-eight-character version of the Alphabet. In the end, the diphthongs in boy and fuse were written with digraphs despite the fact that several forty-character versions previously used had provided special symbols for these sounds.

General promotional activities continued through 1855, but such reform movements need printing type and wide-spread publications to be truly effective. In August of that year, the News could report that "punches, matrices, and moulds are being prepared by br. [sic] Sabins, for casting

While nothing is necessarily gained by using new symbols, nothing is necessarily lost except the familiarity of former users. Horst Feistel, "Cryptography and Computer Privacy," Scientific American 228 (May 1973): 16.

type of the New Alphabet." This article also revealed the possible source of the undated four-page broadside showing the Stout Version: "Large letters of this Alphabet have been cut by two enterprising young lads in this office, which, together with an illustrative card, can be obtained at the Post Office." While these large letters may have provided the alphabet version "printed and presented to the Board" in March of 1854, Watt's letter to Brigham Young in August of 1854 showed that the Stout Version had already been replaced. The local attempt to cast metal type was a failure. Proper facilities for this work did not exist in the region.

The reform was taken very seriously by many who thought it would last. The tombstone of John T. Morris, who died in Cedar City, Utah on February 20, 1855, was carved mainly in the Deseret characters.

On September 25, 1855, two suspicious French adventurers, cleverly disguised as prospectors, slinked into Salt Lake City. These men, Jules Remy and Julius Brenchley, were highly biased ("Joseph Smith whom they never met]... was, to the whole extent of the word sic, a cheat and impostor." however, when confronted with the facts and the people, they proved grudging but insightfully honest and precise observers ("... the actual Prophet Brigham Young is neither the associate nor the accomplice of the great juggler Joseph, but that, on the contrary, he is honestly

Desert News, 15 August 1855.

^{2&}lt;sub>Ibid</sub>.

³Stout, 24 March 1854.

The original tombstone is no longer to be found in the Cedar City Cemetery. A copy marks the grave. For a picture of the original, see Sam Weller and Ken Reid, "The Deseret Alphabet," True West, October 1958, p. 16.

Jules Remy and Julius Brenchley, A Journey to Great-Salt-Lake City, vol. 1, (Lordon: W. Jeffs, 1861), p. xxx.

> The only discovery of which the University of Deseret can claim the honour, is that of an alphabet composed of forty characters, as simple as they are inelegant. Some persons have supposed that the object of this alphabet was to prevent access to the Mormon books and writings; but it is more probable that the only thing intended was to simplify the reading of the English language by establishing a determinate and uniform relation between the sign and its sound; in fact, a phonetic alphabet. The new characters, intended for the printing-presses of the Salt Lake, were cast at St. Louis; but up to this day nothing has been published, as far as we know, with these singular types. As much as it may be a matter of regret that there should be in most languages, and especially in the English, a discordance between the sound and the sign which represents it; desirable as it may be to adopt a character which would make the sounds invariable; praiseworthy even as are the efforts directed to this end, -- it is nevertheless probable that the orthographic innovation proposed by the Mormon philologists will have no success, and will be abandoned by its own authors, on account of the difficulty that must be experienced in its application, not to speak of the inconveniences to which it would give rise, such as the effacement of etymologies, and the disconnection of roots from their derivatives. The engraving we place in face of this page [see Appendix] is a facsimile of the Mormon alphabet, which we had executed at San Francisco, in January, 1856, after some genuine specimens we brought from the Salt Lake.

To give to every man his due, we ought to say that the idea originated with the apostle W.W. Phelps, one of the regents of the University, and that it was he who worked out the letters. 2

This forty-character alphabet included signs for the diphthongs in <u>boy</u> and <u>fuse</u> which the th<u>irty-eight-character</u> Stout Version lacked. Some signs for

^{1&}lt;sub>Remy</sub>, vol. 1, p. 212.

²Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 184-5.

the short vowel sounds were modified: the symbol for short i changed from what appeared to be an Old English "crossed d" (for the th sound) to a simpler sign resembling our t; the sign for the sound of ow in <u>cow</u> was also substituted.

Significantly, Remy, himself an anti-Mormon writer, dashed charges that the Deseret Alphabet was to be used for concealment. This conclusion is supported by the well-known scriptural basis of most of the material that was eventually published and the absolute puerility of the rest. Alone among contemporary and later writers, Remy ascribed the Deseret Alphabet letter forms to W.W. Phelps who, it is remembered, first presented his "Mormon Alphabet" to the Board of Regents in 1850.

Remy's conclusion that the Deseret Alphabet would fail was prophetic, but the Latter-day Saints at that time were more optimistic. The Regents and the Territory made positive steps toward putting Deseret Alphabet books in the hands of schoolchild and adult alike. Two thousand five hundred dollars were appropriated for the purpose of "procuring fonts of Deseret alphabet type, in paying for printing books with said type, and for other purposes." A first and second reader were envisioned, and Wilford Woodruff, Samuel W. Richards and George D. Watt were appointed a committee to "get up those books, and present them to the Board for acceptance."

These three men dedicated themselves wholeheartedly to the task, meeting for long hours, often twice a day, through the middle of March. "Spent a few hours with the committee as usual" was a typical journal entry by Regent S. W. Richards. But the task proved to be more difficult

¹ Laws of Utah, 1855, chapt. 88, sec. 1.

Journal History, 4 February 1856.

Samuel W. Richards, Journal, 1 March 1856, B.Y.U. Library.

than any of them had thought. In one meeting "the application of the alphabet to the use of the English language was criticised [sic]." The Regents had to adapt themselves to the new medium "by arranging the alphabet into syllables, words &c" which often involved a session of blackboard exercises. Governor Young joined with the Board in "taking a lively interest in . . . the mode of spelling the new alphabet." So much discussion of spelling conventions arose that a separate committee of revision had to be formed. It included Daniel H. Wells, Albert Carrington, William Willis, and sometime later, Elias Smith, Orson Pratt, and Parley P. Pratt. Even an appeal to Webster's Dictionary (a popular nineteenth-century practice) was frustrating.

The pronunciation and of course the spelling of several classes of words, where custom invariably differs from that found in Webster's dictionary, was unanimously decided upon, and a record thereof made by the secretary.

The Board even struggled with the question of indicating accent.

It is a shame that all this effort went to waste. The manuscript material treated subjects like "the pioneers, Mormon Battalion, Salt Lake Valley and Utah Territory, grisley [sic] bears, and buffalo bull fights." It was all lost in 1857 when the press and records of the Church were moved from Salt Lake City to Fillmore to escape Johnston's Army in the Utah War fiasco.

When Wilford Woodruff reported this loss to Brigham Young in November of 1858, he was told to "take hold with Geo. D. Watt and get up some more." 5

Richards, 4 February 1856.

²Ibid., 5 February 1856.

Desert News, 25 February 1856.

⁴Journal History, 6 February 1856.

⁵Ibid., 20 November 1858.

Almost the entire board sprang into hurried action to compile books. Again opinions clashed over some representations and a meeting on November 30 featured "a spirited debate on the pronunciation of the word 'rule." A special committee on pronunciation was formed.

While this quibbling may seem silly, all involved were probably "right." The regents represented various dialectical regions (Watt, for $^{\nu}$ example, was an Englishman) and no consistent harmony of representation could be found even at the phonemic level.

By this time, type had arrived in Salt Lake City, and the Regents prepared to print samples in the <u>Descret News</u>. On February 16, 1859, the <u>News</u> presented the Descret Alphabet and printed a sample of text from the Sermon on the Mount. The spelling was crude, and syllables were hyphenated in an attempt to simplify reading. The alphabet reverted to thirty-eight characters as it had been in 1854. And already the Regents were expressing discontent:

Since the arrival of the matrices, &c., for casting the Deseret Alphabet, it has been determined to adopt another character to represent the sound of EW, but until we are prepared to cast that character, the characters 19 will be used to represent the sound of EW in NEW. The characters 11 are sounded as AI in HAIR, for which one character will also be used, so soon as it can be procured.

The News favored the reform's newspaper debut with a generally rosy editorial that nevertheless included a few thorns.

The characters will appear crude and impractical at first sight. We deemed them so when we were first shown them. But it was not long before we saw our error. We do not say that they are perfect. In fact we believe we can ourself [sic] see where improvements might be made. But we have so far scrutinized them as they are now presented, that we can say unhesitatingly they are not only a great improvement but easy of adoption. We look for

¹ Journal History, 30 November 1858.

improvements, and earnestly commend the subject to the further careful study and unremitting attention of the Chancellor and Regents. I

The <u>Descret News</u> articles illustrated both a development and diversity of spelling conventions. The words in the first few articles were hyphenated into syllables, but this practice was soon dropped. On September 7, 1859 a worthless "suspending of the voice" sign, resembling a single quote mark, was introduced, serving somewhat like a schwa. It was immediately forgotten. The most distressing experiment was the reinstitution of the confusion concerning letter sounds and letter names in November of 1859. This writing style vanished and reappeared at intervals which suggests that two or more writers were involved.

Not everyone in the far-spread Mormon empire could accept or keep up with all the successive changes. Marion J. Shelton, who knew Pitman shorthand, and Daniel H. Wells met with Brigham Young on September 7, 1859, "discussing some improvements in the Deseret Alphabet: The President said that these technicalities are the result of education and if the alphabet was [sic] taught to children who had not learned any other they would

l Deseret News, 16 February 1859.

²Journal History, 16 February 1859.

never realize the difference." Shelton was called on a mission to the <u>Hopi</u> Indians with Thales Haskell as his companion. Writing to George A. Smith in November, Shelton remarked:

Brother Hamblin has left Bro. Haskell here in charge of the portion of the mission. I employ my time in studying the language, and in instructing them in the Deseret Alphabet. I find that I acquire the language very readily, several of them know the first six characters, and we can hear them hollowing the sounds throughout the village. They have some peculiarities in their tongue that I never have heard in any other. You will please tell the President that I have had to introduce another character which I sincerely hope will meet with his approval. It is simply, I, a straight mark.²

The missionary journal of Thales Haskell was written partially in an interesting forty-character Deseret variation while, at the same time, the Deseret News was printing with its own thirty-eight-character form. Haskell's version of the Alphabet is also found in the manuscript of the History of Brigham Young, a text which Brigham Young had copied into the Deseret characters by his clerks. Haskell used a special letter for the sound of u in rule that is not found elsewhere. Perhaps despairing of the alphabet's future, he recopied, in the traditional orthography, all that he had written in the Deseret Alphabet.

By 1860, the Deseret Alphabet had appeared in newspaper articles, on handbills and shop signs, in journals and private correspondence, on a gold coin, and even on a tombstone; but even all this could not overcome the greatest difficulty facing all such reforms: the lack of popular support.

Journal History, 7 September 1859.

²Marion J. Shelton to George A. Smith, Journal History, 30 November 1859.

History of Brigham Young MSS, L.D.S. Church Archives. See Journal History, 19 December 1859.

Thales Haskell, Journal, B.Y.U. Library.

A writer signed only as "A.B." expressed these views in the Deseret News:

The circumstances attending the introduction of the Deseret Alphabet are similar in their character to the reception which usually attends innovations upon an established system, whether scientific, theological or philosophical. The originators of every new system have always encountered the prejudices which flow as a consequence out of the existing ignorance of the newly discovered system or invention.

Indeed, things were going badly for the orthographic reform. Robert L. Campbell, Superintendent of Public Schools in the Territory, wrote that Marion J. Shelton had "suspended operations, at present, on the Deseret Alphabet." Even Brigham Young, a prophet to his people and ex-governor of the territory he had shaped and colonized, could only wish for the adoption of his pet alphabet and say that "if he had influence enough he would have the old system dropped." 3

Under the personal direction of Brigham Young, the Church clerks continued to keep the journals and ledgers in the new alphabet. Also, Church histories and Brigham Young's autobiography were being transcribed. But it was all enforced enthusiasm. Key personel like Orson Pratt, Erastus Snow, and George Q. Cannon were sent on missions. Movements of Johnston's Army, still stationed in the territory after the Utah War, became more potentially menacing with the outbreak of the Civil War. Alphabetic reform was temporarily neglected.

Two years later, Superintendent Robert L. Campbell approached Brigham Young with a new manuscript for an elementary reader. To Campbell's surprise,

¹ Deseret News, 14 March 1860.

²Journal History, 11 July 1860.

³Ibid., 3 May 1860.

⁴Ibid., 29 September 1860.

the Deseret Alphabet question was not as dead as it seemed:

The president emphatically said he would not consent to have his type, ink or paper used to print such trash (which he considers such works to be, seeing they are in the English characters). He wishes the Deseret Characters to be patronized."1

Nothing came of this outburst and the question was laid to rest for another four years.

Meeting in November and December of 1866, the Regents proposed the first of several new plans to substitute the Deseret Alphabet completely. Writing to Franklin D. Richards in England, his brother Samuel W. reported:

The board of Regents of the Deseret University, have been called together by the Chancellor, to consider the propriety of adopting, and immediately introducing to general use in this community, Pitman's system of spelling, reading, and writing. This is considered a very great improvement upon the old style, and might materially aid in the future development of what was originally designed in introducing the "Deseret alphabet." Only one meeting has been held, at which no definite action was taken, but the subject was discussed in view of action at another meeting soon to be held. President Young, who has ever manifested a very lively interest in this subject, was not able to be present on account of illness, but his views will come before the Board.²

Meeting at President Young's office on the tenth of December, "[Benn]

Pitman's phonetic printing characters were adopted, in place of Deseret,

for present use."

Benn Pitman, stateside brother of the illustrious Isaac, had left England to "break new ground" for the alphabetic reform. 4 (Alone among his brothers, Benn had not succeeded in finding gainful employment outside the

¹Journal History, 22 May 1862.

²Samuel W. Richards to Franklin D. Richards, <u>Millennial Star</u> 29 (1867): 77.

Richards, 10 December 1866.

⁴Baker, p. 117.

Pitman reform lecture circuit.) His "Institute," headquartered in Cincinnati, fostered a forty-three-character augmented Roman alphabet and an out-of-date version of Isaac Pitman's shorthand. George D. Watt, in New York City in June of 1867, was assigned to request that Benn Pitman send catalogs of type prices to Salt Lake City, which service he performed faithfully. But a new system called "Standard Phonotipi," by a man named Andrew Graham, caught his eye. He sent a sample to Brigham Young and offered this challenge:

There is printed matter of the Pitman Phonotipi in your office, by comparing the two, I think you will see at once the advantages of the Graham System over the Pitman. By the Graham system all the type which is now in use can be used, with the adition $\begin{bmatrix} \underline{sic} \end{bmatrix}$ of a few pounds of marked letters, which can be got in New York at any time. I

Perhaps in reaction to the divergence of opinion, Brigham Young made his mind clear in the General Conference of the Church held in 1867:

"The Deseret Alphabet should be studied, that our young might advance more rapidly in the knowledge of every science."

The Board of Regents met in February of 1868 and "agreed to petition the Legislature for ten thousand dollars, and then send a practical printer to the East, and have the new type made for the Deseret Alphabet, and publish and import this season, spelling books, primers, readers, &c."

Brigham Young made it clear to the Regents that he was serious,

and all who were willing to aid him in this important undertaking, were asked to uplift their right hand, when every Bishop, Councillor, Teacher, and Elder present raised their hands; he then said, "God bless you brethren."

George D. Watt to Brigham Young, 25 June 1867, L.D.S. Church Archives, Brigham Young Collection.

Deseret News, 9 October 1867.

Millennial Star 30 (1868): 157.

⁴Ibid., p, 190.

The money was appropriated and Orson Pratt was engaged to "prepare a series" of elementary school books."

A first and second reader were prepared and sent to the East for printing. Under the care of D. O. Calder the work was soon completed.

Brigham Young, in October Conference of 1868, announced that "we have now many thousands of small books, called the first and second readers, adapted to school purposes, on the way to this city." This was a monumental accomplishment for those who supported the reform. Without doubt there were some that scoffed and were tired of the whole scheme, but none could disagree with the relief-choked statement of the President that "we have been contemplating this for years."

Finally, after sixteen years, the Regents had the literary ammunition for effective teaching of the Alphabet in the schools. Robert L. Campbell and Edward Stevenson toured southern Utah to introduce the Alphabet to the people. Enthusiasm for the project waxed once more, and Church leaders began a new promotion campaign in their sermons. Orson Pratt started a transcription of the Book of Mormon which he finished in March of 1869. The Annual Report of the Superintendent of Common Schools, 1869 contained Robert L. Campbell's prediction that "but a few years will pass until the News, the Instructor, the Ogden Junction, and a host of other intellectual lights, will spring up, clothed in the unique, novel, and simple dress of the Deseret character" and asked that \$2,000.00 be appropriated for further printing. In 1869, Orson Pratt went to New York City to superintend the publishing of the Book of Mormon in Deseret characters, engaging the services of Russell

¹ Millennial Star 30 (1868): 364.

²Journal of Discourses 12 (1868): 298.

^{3&}lt;sub>Ibid</sub>.

Brothers Printers. Soon, 500 copies of the entire Book of Mormon and 8,000 copies of the first third of the book (1 Nephi to Words of Mormon) were shipped to Utah. Orson Pratt rode home on the newly completed transcontinental railroad.

Sale of the books, however, was disappointingly slow. The <u>Deseret</u>

News summed up the situation:

About sixteen years ago, the Chancellor and Board of Regents of the University of Deseret, under the direction of President Young, adopted a new alphabet, which they styled the "Deseret Alphabet." The characters—thirty—eight in number—were entirely new, and were intended to represent every sound in the English language.

Within a year, . . . first and second Readers have been printed and published in the Deseret Alphabet, under the direction of one of the Board of Regents--D.O. Calder, Esq.--and more lately, Elder Orson Pratt has transcribed the Book of Mormon into the alphabet, an edition has been printed in New York, and the Book is now offered for sale in the Territory. If the books at present offered for sale by the Regency were disposed of, they would then have funds at their disposal with which to publish other works, and we should soon have a literature published in our own characters. I

In spite of all the Regents and Brigham Young could do, they still ran into the brick wall of public resistance. It seemed that nothing could rouse the common man to break his reading and writing habits.

While the demise of the Deseret Alphabet was finally apparent to all concerned, it was especially regrettable to those who realized what it meant: if spelling reform could not work in "Zion," with its "peculiar people" and the support of its highest leaders, where could such a reform succeed?

There is no good prospect of the system becoming general in its use. It has the prejudices of the age to contend with, and it meets with strong opposition. If the system of spelling the English by sound shall ever become general, it will have to be through the efforts of the people of this Territory. We have effected a great reform in religion, in politics, in social matters, and in many other directions; it remains for us to correct the faults which

¹ Deseret News, 22 December 1869.

exist in the present method of writing our language.—
We are better prepared than any other people to accomplish this; for we are united; and let it be known by the people of this Territory that a new and better system should be adopted, and they will not hesitate to carry it out.

While advertisements for the Deseret Alphabet books continued to appear in the <u>Deseret News</u>, the movement slowly died. Orson Pratt petitioned that his bill of \$6537.87 be paid for "writing 3,996 fool's-cap pages in Manuscript for educational purposes." Most of the new books remained unsold, and the Deseret Alphabet reform just passed into history.

In 1875, the Church witnessed a dramatic resurrection of the reform idea in a completely new dress. The <u>Juvenile Instructor</u> informed its readers that

The Book of Mormon has been printed in the characters of the Deseret Alphabet, but President Young has decided that they are not so well adapted for the purpose designed as it was hoped they would be. There being no shanks to the letters, all being very even, they are trying to the eye, because of their uniformity. Another objection some have urged against them has been that they are entirely new, and we should have characters as far as possible with which we are familiar; and they have felt that we should use them as far as they go and adopt new characters only for the sound sic which our present letters do not represent. There is a system known as the Pitman system of phonetics which possesses the advantages alluded to. Mr. Pitman has used all the letters of the alphabet as far as possible and has added seventeen new characters to them, making an alphabet of forty-three letters. The Bible, a dictionary and a number of other works, school books, etc., have been printed in these new characters, and it is found that a person familiar with our present method of reading can learn in a few minutes to read these works printed after this system. We think it altogether likely that the regents of the University will upon further examination adopt this system for use in this Territory. 3

¹ Deseret News, 22 December 1869.

²Minutes of the Board of Regents of the Deseret University, 16 January 1872.

The Juvenile Instructor 10 (1875): 234.

Orson Pratt was again assigned to prepare and supervise the printing of basic literature, and in 1877 he found himself in Liverpool, England where printing facilities were of superior quality. In his own words, "I made arrangements with a house in London, to furnish the phonotype, and most of it had arrived in Liverpool, just as I was called home." Brigham Young had died.

Before leaving for the States, Orson Pratt explained to the British
Saints that his mission had been not to preach but to get the Book of Mormon and the Doctrine and Covenants printed in the Pitman alphabet. He repeated his story to the Church in Salt Lake in October Conference of the
same year, but no hint was made of continuing the project. Mormon attempts
to reform English orthography died with Brigham Young.

¹ Journal of Discourses 19 (1877): 112.

^{2&}lt;sub>Ibid</sub>.

Conclusion

In a field where all proposals have been rejected, it is too easy to call the Deseret Alphabet project a failure. Actually, most reforms are considerably more ephemeral. The Mormon alphabets, surviving twenty-three years, appearing in books, newspapers, journals, and being taught in some of the local schools, must be considered a relative success.

This "success" of the Deseret Alphabet was obviously the result of high-level money and pressure behind the project. Still, this advantage was not overwhelming, serving only to carry the reform to a more logical and testable conclusion.

In the end, however, the Deseret Alphabet succumbed to the classic difficulties facing all such orthographic reforms. The lack of money was a great handicap. Over \$18,500.00, a huge sum in those days, was spent on the Deseret Alphabet literature, and the cost of a basic Deseret Alphabet library was estimated by Orson Pratt at \$1 million. The lack of unity in purpose and philosophy among the reformers was another obstacle. When all the old rules were thrown out, few could agree as to what conventions should be instituted. Perhaps more discouraging than any other difficulty, the reform spirit was simply not taken up by the average citizen.

A spelling reform for English may not be impossible, but it is most improbable. The Deseret Alphabet experience suggests that success requires more money and power than the dictatorial Brigham Young controlled and more unity and obedience than even the Mormons could muster.

Dale L. Morgan, "The Deseret Alphabet" (unpublished monograph in the Utah Historical Society Library), pp. 42, 49, 115, 116.

²Journal History, 23 January 1859.

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Appendix

List of Illustrations

- 1. The International Phonetic Alphabet
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- 11. Page 1 of the Book of Mormon
- 12. Alphabet Comparison Table--Part 1
- 13. Alphabet Comparison Table--Part 2
- 14. Benn Pitman's Phonotypic Alphabet

The International Phonetic Alphabet

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The Weseret Alphabet,

Of thirty-eight characters, is designed to represent the sounds heard in the English Language, as extensively as is deemed consistent, without enfering too minutely into nice distinctions, which the oar does not readily eateh, and whose omission causes no loss. !

The former division into vowels, consonants, liquids, or diphthongs, is considered inconsistent and unnecessary;—lience, any or all of the characters may be used as vowels, consenants, liquids, or diphthongs, for each one has invariably its own certain sound.

It is not expected that this alphabet is perfect, but it is a decided improvement, and its use will greatly simplify our orthography, adapting it to the capacity of the youngest school children, making it extremely easy for them to acquire and retain it, and will greatly facilitate writing, printing, and reading the English Language., It will also tend much to train the ear in the nice discrimination of sounds, preparatory to bringing about a more uniform pronuncia-

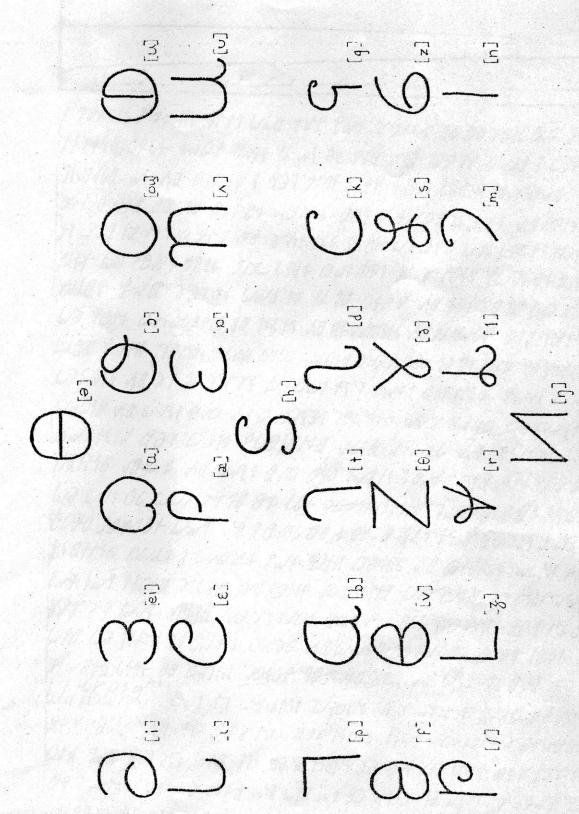
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Sent my children to their grand mothers to day, by Loseph Vaylor, where they will Stay this surmer Wednesday I I March 1853. overhauling to day preparitory to 500 overhauling as yesterday. Warch 1854 overhauling as yesterday. Whench 1854 at attended the meeting of the Regents at dark The subject was the new alphabet which was printed and presented to the Board to night: It is anticipated to Loud by f. D. Nichards to England for use it here ofter in our correspondence also to immediately introduce it the Descret alphabet and is as follows. ah. aw. o.

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The Mormon Alphabet.

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Revision of the Deseret Alphabet Proposed by George D. Watt--21 August 1854

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NO. 51.

GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1859,

We present to the people the Deseret Alphabet, but e not adopted any rules to blod the taste, Judgment or eference of any. Such as It is you have it, and we are ngeine that the more it is practised and the more intisately the people become acquainted with it, the more eful and beneficial it will appear.

The characters are designed to represent the sounds for bich they stand, and are so used. Where one stands me, the name of the character or letter is the word, it ng the only sound heard. We make no classification vowels, consonants, &c., considering that to be of litor no consequence; the student is therefore at liberty deem all the charac era vowels, or consonants, or startor stoppers, or whatever else he pleases.

In the orthography of the published examples, Weba's prenunciation will be generally followed, though it nil be varied from when general usage demands. All rds having the same pronunctation will be spelled fike, and the reader will have to depend upon the conat for the meaning of such words.

Since the arrival of the matrices, &c., for casting the eret Alphabet, it has been determined to adopt anothcharacter to represent the sound of Ew, but until we

prepared to cost that character, the characters 9 will used to represent the sound of Ew In NEW. The char-

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Alphabet Comparison Table--Part I

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*Thales H. Haskell had the habit of dropping his r's before consonants.

**This is an undated manuscript "The Deseret Phonetic Speller" in the Vault of the L.D.S. Archives.

These comparisons are only approximate. Spellings vary widely in the early manuscripts.

	I.P.A.	Stout	Remy	Watt	Haskell	Speller	News	Books	Benn Pitman
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25	dz	9	9	(W)	9	q	9	۶	j
26	k	a	Q	C	Ω	ω :	Ω	۵	k
27	9	0	0	9	C	W	0	Q	9
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