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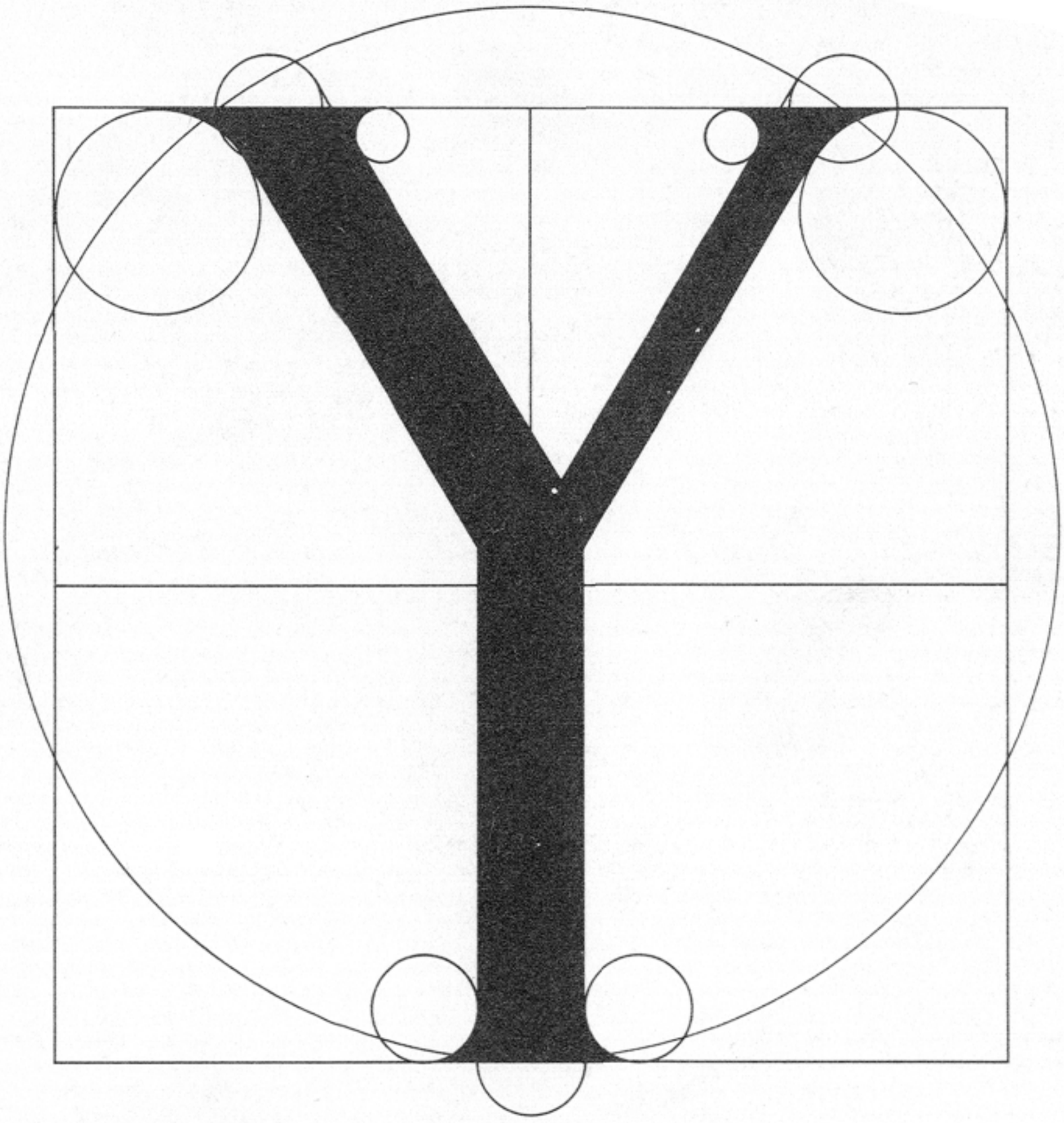

STUDIES

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Call for Papers: Special Issue on British Isles

BYU Studies is pleased to announce a forthcoming special issue devoted to the LDS church in the British Isles. The issue will be published in 1987 in conjunction with the Sesquicentennial of the Church in Britain. Dr. James R. Moss of the Church History Department at Brigham Young University has been appointed guest editor.

Those interested in submitting articles for publication in this issue should send them to Dr. James R. Moss, 136 JSB, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT 84602.

Articles may be on any aspect of LDS church history in the British Isles from the beginning to the present or may focus on current issues of concern to the Church and its members in Britain. Deadline for submission of articles is 31 December 1986.

This special issue will be one of many activities planned by the Church, Brigham Young University, and other organizations to celebrate the 150th anniversary of the Church in the British Isles. We encourage your participation in these events and hope many of you will submit articles for publication.

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Nephi, Seer of Modern Times: The Home Literature Novels of Nephi Anderson

Richard H. Cracroft

I

Nephi Anderson, known primarily among late twentieth-century Latter-day Saints as the author of *Added Upon* (1898),[1] attempted in that widely read, ambitious failure, to encompass "all things in heaven and earth within 140 pages."[2] B. H. Roberts wrote this statement in admiration, but I assume Anderson knew better—at least, if he didn't then, he would later, when he came to be a much more accomplished writer. Endowed as he was with a fine narrative gift, a rich imagination, and a keen sense of appreciation for literary style, Anderson subsequently attempted two major revisions of *Added Upon* in a futile effort to transform his wooden *tour de force* into a lively novel on par with his nine later works. Inevitably and sadly, Anderson has been dismissed—or heralded—on the basis of this first novel, when in fact he would be better served by study of his nine later—and always better—novels. Unfortunately, the nine later works are now generally unavailable and thus virtually ignored, and Anderson, if discussed at all by modern Mormon critics, is dismissed as a one-novel, one-failure author.

The truth is otherwise. As an examination of Anderson's ten novels, four additional books, forty various articles and at least forty-eight identified short stories makes impressively evident, Anderson was a vital and positive force in turn-of-the-century Mormon letters. His unparalleled contribution was to combine a remarkably fervent faith in the gospel of Jesus Christ and in the teachings, history, culture, and mission of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints with a single-minded devotion to establishing a Mormon literature which reflects this faith. The fact of his popular success among the Latter-day Saints is recorded in the number of editions his many works enjoyed—and which *Added Upon* still enjoys.

But while Mormon critics have generally dismissed Anderson's works without examining more than his first and weakest effort, Anderson's remaining body of writing should be of interest to

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Mormons in the mid-1980s not only because they reflect *fin de siècle* LDS and American values and concerns, and not only because Anderson has made the most important, sustained literary effort to date in attempting to fashion a significant didactic literature from the stuff of Mormon belief and practice, but also because many of the literary questions he confronted continue to challenge Mormon writers, critics, and readers.

II

Christian Nephi Anderson was himself a thoroughgoing product of the Mormonism he so fervently professed. Born on 22 January 1865, in Christiania, Norway, to Latter-day Saint parents Christian and Petronelle Nielson Anderson, Nephi, as he always signed himself, emigrated to the United States with his parents in 1871, when he was only six years old. The family settled in Coalville and later Ogden, where Nephi's father worked as a painter and paperhanger, trades which Nephi also learned but soon left for a career in education. Married 22 December 1886 to Asenath Tillotson, Nei hi received his education in Ogden schools and at the University of Utah. In 1892–93, he interrupted a career of teaching in Box Elder and Weber counties to serve an LDS mission to his native Norway.

After his return from Norway, Nephi again taught in several schools in Ogden and Brigham City and was named superintendent of schools in Box Elder County, where he served from 1900–1903. Soon after the death of his wife, in January 1904, Anderson was called on a second mission, this time to Great Britain, where his renown as a writer on LDS subjects led to service under Mission President Heber J. Grant as editor of the *Millennial Star*.

Following his release in 1906, Anderson made an extensive tour of Europe, after which he returned home to Salt Lake City, where for three years he taught as an instructor of English and missionary course teacher at LDS High School. In June 1908, Anderson married Maud Rebecca Symons, and in July 1909, he was again called, along with his family, to serve as missionaries in the Central States. Headquartered in Independence, Missouri, Anderson edited the *Liahona*, the voice of the Church to the central United States, until the fall of 1910, when he was recalled in order to serve as editor of the *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine*, replacing Elder Joseph Fielding Smith, who had just been called to the Quorum of the Twelve. Anderson served in this post until his untimely death on 6 January 1923, at age fifty-eight, from peritonitis, which developed following emergency surgery.

Besides being a missionary and a prolific writer, Anderson was a dedicated Church leader. In 1910 he was called to the General Board of the MIA, where he remained until his death. He also served on the General Priesthood Committee of the Church and prepared several courses of study for the Church priesthood quorums. He spent much of his time during his last years traveling among the LDS stakes giving instruction in genealogy, for which he became a major force in the Church. It was he who prophesied, in October 1911, that the small genealogical library in Salt Lake City would one day be "the largest and best equipped . . . in the world."[3] The esteem in which Anderson was held by Church leaders is attested to by his funeral held in the Salt Lake City Tenth Ward on 10 January 1923, at which Elder George Albert Smith and Elder Joseph Fielding Smith of the Quorum of the Twelve spoke, as did Elders Anthony W. Ivins, Rudger Clawson, and Heber J. Grant of the First Quorum of Seventy, "all of whom spoke of his noble character and his efficient work in the gospel cause."[4] Resolutions from many of the stakes of the Church poured into Salt Lake City praising Anderson for his "genius and his skill" in teaching and in writing for the Latter-day Saints.[5]

III

It is in his "genius and his skill" as an author in the Home Literature tradition that modern scholars are most interested, for Anderson stands at the head of the Home Literature movement in Mormon letters, that movement which also included such influential figures as Susa Young Gates, Orson F. Whitney, Emmeline B. Wells, B. H. Roberts, Josephine Spencer, and Augusta Joyce Crocheron.

Home Literature—fiction, drama, poetry, and essays written by faithful Mormons to instruct other Latter-day Saints in Mormon truth, Mormon faith, Mormon standards, and Mormon commitment—rose to importance over the space of a single decade, 1888–98 (the latter the year of *Added Upon*), and has continued to be a force in Mormon letters ever since.

From the earliest days of the Territory of Deseret, the leaders of the Latter-day Saints had little use for fiction, particularly of the dime-novel variety then flooding the country. Indeed, George Q. Cannon blamed novel reading for "many of the evils which prevail in the world."[6] It was only after the monolithic strength of Mormon isolation began to be threatened by the influx of Gentiles and their accompanying gentile values that Church leaders, notably Orson F. Whitney,

Susa Young Gates, and Emmeline B. Wells, suggested that the Church fight the fires of a pervasive popular fiction with a fiction and a literature lit at the torches of LDS values.

In 1888, Bishop Whitney, in a major address directed to the youth of the Church, called on Mormon writers to produce a literature for home consumption, a "home Literature," "pure and powerful," centering on Mormon themes and reflecting Mormon ideals, a literature which would one day enable the Mormon culture to produce "Miltons and Shakespeares of [its] own."[7]

Responding to this challenge, Nephi Anderson wrote and published, to wide though not uncritical Mormon acclaim, *Added Upon* (1898), a novel based on an idea which he had begun to formulate in 1893, following his return from his mission to Norway. Excited about the possibilities of a Mormon literature, and by the success of this first book, Anderson exclaimed in "A Plea for Fiction," an essay published in the first volume of *The Improvement Era*, "What a field is here [in Mormonism] for the pen of the novelist." And he called for promotion, in the stakes of Zion, of "the good, pure, elevating kind" of literature.[8]

In *Added Upon*, and in the nine novels which would periodically follow, Anderson attempted to achieve just that. He worked with imaginative vigor to express his appreciation for the impact of the doctrines of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints on his life and the lives of all who had been, like him, caught in the gospel net.

Anderson's literary theory is therefore similarly single-minded and focused. In his short story, "At St. Peter's Gate," published in the *Improvement Era* (1917), Anderson tells of a painter, a singer, a writer of books, a physician, a businessman, and a merchant, applying for entrance to heaven. Each of them, however, had catered in life only to the wealthy—none of whom was present in the heavens to testify in the petitioners' behalf. The writer, when asked if he had taught his readers great ideals, replied "I never had patience with 'purpose' stories."[9] Consequently, the writer, Anderson leads us to believe, went straight to the telestial kingdom—with the rest of the gifted but selfish artisans and businessmen. "By all means let us have in literature, as in all else, 'Art for Art's sake,' " he wrote in "Purpose in Fiction" in 1898; "only let us understand what art is." And art, for him, meant purpose, for "Art deals with love, and God is love; Art deals with truth, and God is the source of all truth."[10]

In "Purpose in Fiction" Anderson succinctly states his literary creed and the central tenet of LDS Home Literature when he insists that

"a good story is artistic preaching," and that "a novel which depicts high ideals and gives to us representations of men and women as they should and can be, exerts an influence for good that is not easily computed." He concludes that the main object of literature is not to provide amusement. "He who reaches the people," he writes, "and the story writer does that, should not lose the opportunity of 'preaching.' "[11]

The process of change and self-realization through the gospel lies at the center of each of Anderson's novels and short stories. Since missionary work is the vehicle for preaching Mormonism and effecting such dramatic changes and insights, Anderson wrote about it, more or less, in all of his novels and stories. "Teaching the gospel to receptive minds is the keenest joy of missionary life," he writes in *A Daughter of the North*,[12] and in *Romance of a Missionary* he writes, in a typical passage:

> The missionary spirit burned within him, and drove out all fear. If the door was slammed in his face, he simply hummed softly a song . . . and then went to the next door. . . . After a time, he declared that he would rather hold a good street meeting than to eat one of Sister McDonald's splendid meals. There was something exhilarating to the soul to have a large company of people stand and listen to the message which he was sent to deliver.[13]

Anderson's missionaries, sometimes weak and often vulnerable, grow mighty in the work long before the "long-sleeved envelope" of official release sends them back to their patiently waiting Utah sweethearts.

But his missionaries are, after all, only catalysts for broken and contrite hearts; thus Anderson portrays, again and again, the pattern of truth-seeking, acceptance, trial, change, and gratitude. Harald's father, in *The Castle Builder*, speaks for many of Anderson's characters when he says, "Thank God, thank God, the truth has come at last."[14]

Such change is the dynamic force in all of Anderson's plots and follows hard on the inevitable temptation and trial—whether after the irate parent has disinherited the young convert, or after the bewildered (and handsome) gentile lover has severed his relationship with the newly baptized young woman. The characters must then undergo the agony of doubt and the consequences of their new Mormonness. But the heroes or heroines inevitably triumph over self, never to waver again. They change their lives, shed Babylon, and embrace the supposed loneliness of Mormonism only to be "surprised by grace" and the blessings which follow conversion—often in the form of material and romantic recompense.

Despite this purposeful, didactic heresy, Anderson developed into a craftsman whose integration of the gospel message into his stories was increasingly subtle and skillful. Though dated, his novels are still generally readable, occasionally charming, often moving, and always faith promoting. They are not as good as we would hope; but they are much better than some critics have led us to expect, reminding the reader, on occasion, of the works of such contemporary novelists as William Dean Howells, Edward Eggleston, and Winston Churchill. But the difference between Anderson and other turn-of-the century writers remains profound: his novels are permeated with Mormonism, which he explores in unprecedented ways. He became the first Latter-day Saint to attempt a literary fusion of life, modern fictional modes, and Mormonism—a fusion which continues to challenge Mormon writers. As Anderson's ten novels attest, he grew increasingly adept at making that difficult fusion.

IV

Nephi Anderson's first attempt at integrating Mormonism and realistic literature is a failure—a failure which has moved several generations of Mormon teenagers. In *Added Upon* (1898), Anderson attempts to follow Signe and Rupert and their friends through premortal life and earth-life into the spirit world, through the Millennium, and finally, into exaltation (with which he chose to deal in blank verse). The best sections of the novel are those concerning earth-life, wherein Anderson prefigures his real strength—telling a good story.

Even in these mortal sections of *Added Upon*, however, Anderson fails to pay attention to transitions, to necessary detail, or to logical character development. His protagonist, Rupert, moves from Norway to the American Midwest and West, through material success and failure and loss of his true love, only to find, at the point of suicide, happiness in the restored gospel of Jesus Christ as taught to him by Signe, whom he marries, and with whom he moves west once more, only to die in a construction accident. The story then continues to follow the couple—Signe laboring in mortality and Rupert in the spirit world—until they are reunited, resurrected, and eventually glorified.

Anderson's avowed purpose, of course, is to demonstrate Mormon teachings (and some individual views) concerning relationships between the living and the dead, the unborn and the living, and the importance of vicarious ordinances in behalf of the dead—concerns

similarly underlined in such modern spin-offs of *Added Upon* as *Saturday's Warrior*, *Star Child*, and *My Turn on Earth*.

Often impatient and awkward with the vehicle of fiction at this early stage in his career, Anderson frequently stumbles in his attempts to combine story and sermon. To his credit, however, his section on the Millennium shows imagination and insight—and perhaps some indebtedness to Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward* (1888) and William Dean Howells's *A Traveller from Altruria* (1894). Anderson depicts, for example, a visit to the Celestial City by the king of Poland, who is conducted on a tour and taught the Lord's laws of social equality, economics, government, and, of course, theology. The king learns that it is truly a blessing to live in the holy city when George Washington, Martin Luther, and Socrates arrive to speak to the children about history. The trio have been, the guide points out, "at the school of the prophets all morning, and now they come from the high school yonder. You see what advantages today's students of history have," he adds.[15]

Evidence of artistic growth is abundant, however, in his second novel, *Marcus King, Mormon* (1900).[16] More tightly focused, with fewer characters and a smaller canvas, this novel follows Marcus King, a young minister, through his conversion to Mormonism, his rejection by his fiancée Alice Merton because of his conversion, and his exodus to Utah, where he meets and eventually marries Janet Harmon, but not until he converts Alice to the gospel, nurses her until her death, and returns to Utah and Janet and temple marriage—to both of his loves, living and dead, a *deus ex Mormonia* ending which appears in several of Anderson's novels and short stories.

Marcus King, Mormon is occasionally clumsy in its execution, notably in King's unnecessary confession at the end that he is the author but has written in third person because of modesty—a point of view which then forces him to explain lamely that passages written in praise of his character have been sneaked in by his wife Janet without his prior knowledge. Still, in *Marcus King, Mormon*, far superior to and far more readable than *Added Upon*, Anderson makes an interesting attempt to examine personal sacrifice on an individual and a collective level.

In *The Castle Builder* (1902), Anderson's experimentation with technique continues with even greater success as he turns to Norway for his setting and relates the fortunes of Harald, a kind of Norwegian Horatio Alger who rises from rags to Mormonism, and his lovely Thora, a wealthy lass who eventually renounces all for Mormonism and Harald.

Anderson's developing technique is seen in his obvious but sustained use of unifying symbolism—in a number of rose and castle-building images, for example—as well as in his soaring, romantic descriptions of Norwegian landscapes, which he attempts, often successfully, to parallel with beautiful gospel inscapes. *The Castle Builder*, though sometimes overwritten, becomes Anderson's first real novel, and he manages to mute gospel preaching and underscore the realities of human psychology as his hero and heroine make important accommodations in their lives because of their new faith.

In his fourth novel, *Piney Ridge Cottage* (1912),[17] published a decade after *The Castle Builder*, Anderson sets the story in Utah and attempts to deal directly with the importance of marrying within the faith. Julia Elston, a cultivated and beautiful Mormon girl who reads the *Atlantic*, *Harper's*, and *Ladies Home Journal*—and the Church magazines—has her certain future with Glen Curtis temporarily disrupted when her handsome adopted half-brother, a confirmed and tenacious Gentile, arrives from Chicago, falls in love with her, is softened by association with the Latter-day Saints, and is taught the gospel. The question throughout, however, is whether the Gentile, Chester Lawrence, is converted to Julia or to Mormonism. Julia opts, after great internal turmoil, to marry Glen Curtis, who is called on a mission. He goes, of course, as "refusal [of a mission call]," Anderson teaches, "never enters the mind of a true Latter-day Saint."[18] Chester, spurned, eventually leaves as well, heartbroken but true to his newly found faith. All ends well when Julia receives a belated but comforting spiritual witness that she has done the right thing.

In *Piney Ridge Cottage*, Anderson portrays human psychology by dealing with inner turmoil. He demonstrates clearly, and with a sophistication uncommon in Home Literature, that even when one lives a righteous life decisions are not always easy. It is only after Julia's struggle and decision that she receives her spiritual confirmation. In this novel, Anderson also manages to use a passable dialect and to portray a missionary farewell party with such effective local color that the reader is reminded of Bret Harte and even Sarah Orne Jewett. The gospel, while integral to the book's fabric, is often made subsidiary or tangential to the drama being enacted in the misunderstandings and decisions of the major characters.

Piney Ridge Cottage has a weak sequel in *The Story of Chester Lawrence* (1913),[19] in which Anderson takes the story of Gentile *cum* Saint Chester Lawrence to its fanciful but not very satisfying conclusion. Trying to heal his wounds, Chester, while traveling by ship

to England, meets and falls in love with the lovely but frail Lucy Strong. Chester converts Lucy to Mormonism, much to the discomfort of her adopted minister father, who, it turns out, is Chester's father. After some weeks in England, Lucy, terminally ill, is hastened homeward on an unseaworthy ship, which sinks. While the ship is sinking and Anderson is taking utmost advantage of all the *Lusitania* anguish, Lucy dies of natural causes. Chester nobly gives the last place in the last boat to the Reverend Mr. Strong, who goes sorrowing to Utah, where he joins the Church and will have the temple sealings performed in behalf of Lucy and Chester.

The Story of Chester Lawrence, not nearly as successful as either *The Castle Builder* or *Piney Ridge Cottage*, is literarily one step backward, flawed as it is in its very conception. But there are successful moments as well, scenes which demonstrate that Anderson was still growing in his technique. He handles, for example, the various settings of Ireland, England, Paris, and Lucerne in vivid prose and also gives his readers their first taste of Mormon proselytizing, as Chester, during his London stay, accompanies the missionaries in their endeavors. Throughout the book Anderson also crafts an internal unity through the Lucy *leitmotif*. He also suggests very subtly the symbolic relationships between Chester's voyaging and his life.

One of the greatest evidences of Anderson's development as a writer comes, however, in his next novel, *A Daughter of the North* (1915), clearly one of his best. A kind of reversal of *The Castle Builder*, *A Daughter of the North* examines the effects on Atelia Heldman, a lovely, wealthy, talented and nationally renowned Norwegian boat-racer, of her conversion to Mormonism. Atelia, finding she cannot embrace both Mormonism *and* her beloved Halvor Steen, is tempted to recant, but remains firm and passes the conversion agony to Halvor, who eventually joins the Church after proving to himself that his conversion is genuine. The couple rejoice in their newly found Church and emigrate to Utah where they are sealed in the Salt Lake Temple.

A Daughter of the North, full of internal character turmoil, lovely settings, and believable conversation and plot, is an exciting novel. It is packed with several adventures, including fire and shipwreck, all set against the backdrop of Norway's spectacular fjords and painted on a Mormon canvas, not merely sprayed with a Mormon veneer. Anderson's characters are real, as is their misery, their joy, their love, and their impatience in waiting for the happiness they eventually achieve. *A Daughter of the North* still reads well and might

be favorably compared with such second-ranked American novels as Harold Frederic's *The Damnation of Theron Ware* or Edward Eggleston's *The Hoosier Schoolmaster*.

With *John St. John* (1917),[20] however, Anderson suffers from a failure of focus and art, selling his simmering pot of fiction for an epistolary mess of Mormon history. Like Marcus King, John St. John leaves a life of ease and wealth to investigate Mormonism's claims. He joins the Saints in Missouri, is converted, and in a long series of letters to his believing mother and his inane and lifeless fiancée, Dora, John relates the high points of LDS church history through the Missouri and Nauvoo periods. Dull Dora and her lovely sister Jane visit John and his mother in Nauvoo, but Dora continues to resist the faith while Jane becomes converted to Mormonism—and to John. This fragmented retelling of early Church history is followed by a rushed postscript in which Anderson boggles the reader's mind by revealing that John St. John, prosperous and middle-aged, is now the husband of both Dora, the dull and unbending Gentile, and the vivacious, charming and believable Jane.

John St. John, while it depicts some notable scenes, is an artistic failure in which Anderson attempted to create in fiction that which he had already better accomplished in exposition in his *A Young Folk's History of the Church* (1898).[21]

In his next novel, *The Romance of a Missionary* (1919), Anderson successfully follows Elder Willard Dean through his first faltering steps as a missionary into a brief flirtation with English Saint Elsa Fernley, who reciprocates, causing him to flee the city and to come of age as an effective and mature missionary through his work among the lower classes in industrial England. Toward the end of his mission, Elder Dean assists in sending Elsa to Utah, where she marries Willard's best friend. At the end of the book, Willard, still on his mission, is assured in a well-crafted prophetic daydream of a bright future with Grace Wells, his lovely Utah love.

In *The Romance of a Missionary* Anderson skillfully treats the English rural and urban contrasts and portrays several of his characters with a richness previously found only in *A Daughter of the North*. His missionaries have frailties as well as strengths, and among his Englishmen are authentic portraits of poor and distressed human beings, as well as believable portrayals of the middle class. Anderson weaves into the story a subplot involving a young woman cousin whose life has been blighted by her lover's alcoholism. Elder Dean is able to effect reform and conversion in the young man and eventual reconciliation with his fiancée.

But Anderson is full of surprises. His ninth novel is totally different from his earlier works. *The Boys of Springtown* (1920)[22] is a pleasant summertime idyll about William Wallace Jones, a young English convert to the Church sent to live with his aunt in Springtown, Utah, while his mother saves enough money to transport herself to the American West. Anderson unfolds, in a spritely and entertaining style reminiscent of the works of the Yorgason brothers, a number of adventures among the lively Mormon boys of Springtown. The book, lighthearted and charming, its Mormonness remarkably subtle, still reads well and continues to be read and appreciated (where it is available) as a kind of Mormon *Tom Sawyer* or *Penrod*.

Anderson caps his literary career with *Dorian* (1921),[23] probably his best, and certainly his boldest novel. *Dorian* is the story of Dorian Trent, a small-town Mormon boy with intellectual abilities which have been fanned to white heat by Uncle Zed, the town philosopher and avid disciple of Orson Pratt. Dorian, a reader of Dickens, Thackeray, Huxley, Ingersoll, and Thomas Paine, is sobered by the death of his first love, Mildred Brown, which turns him more fervently to philosophy and away from practicality and awareness of the unwavering love of his lovely neighbor, Carlia Duke.

Dorian is first shaken into realization of his own feelings for Carlia by the attentions paid her by Jack Lamont, a traveling salesman with an automobile and dubious background. When Carlia disappears for several months, Dorian undertakes a search for her, only to learn that, months earlier, Jack had drugged and seduced Carlia, who had given birth to an illegitimate child, born dead. Dorian also discovers that Carlia, ashamed and fearful, remains in hiding. He eventually finds her and attempts to answer to himself the question, "Could he let his love for her overcome the repulsion which would arise like a black cloud into his thoughts?"[24] Gradually he finds he can love her without qualification. Without revealing to Carlia that he knows of her baby, he takes her home, where she eventually confesses her fall, only to find that Dorian has known all along, having learned the lesson of the book: one must not only learn but also live the tenets of the theology one studies. As the book ends, a year later, Carlia has nearly completed what Anderson calls a "period of purification," and, after discussing their future plans for education and temple marriage, the sadder but wiser pair walk on, "hand in hand," writes Anderson symbolically, "down into the valley of sunshine and shadow."[25]

Dorian is Anderson's mature novel, and it is generally a success. Artistically, Anderson has come a long way. Gospel discussions among

the characters continue to be important to the book, as in all of Anderson's works, but in *Dorian* they often form a counterpoint with the ongoing life of the Valley and are obstacles to Dorian's real understanding of Carlia and life.

The novel is real: in the foreground are serious human dilemmas and problems, and Carlia's fall and Dorian's ability to forgive and eventual willingness to marry her in the temple suggest a maturity and wisdom in Anderson's final novel which makes it the success it generally is. *Dorian* recalls Thomas Hardy's *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*. But unlike Angel Clair, Dorian demonstrates his own Christian capacity to forgive. Carlia is real: she pouts, frets, grows angry, despairs. Dorian is real: he becomes angry, fights, swears, and irritates the reader in his short-sightedness regarding Carlia's plight. All of this tempers Dorian's superior intellectual powers and gentles him to believability. His triumph comes in his struggle to harmonize his knowledge of science and Mormonism and in his forgiving relationship with Carlia.

Dorian also underscores a maturity not only in Anderson, but in his readers—or at least in Anderson's respect for his readers—and fosters hope for a more sophisticated LDS Home Literature. With Anderson's untimely passing, however, such promise was left unrealized, for in the next half-century Home Literature, conforming to the enervating policies of the Church magazines, would fall far short of the promise to which Anderson had pointed at the end of his career.

V

Karl Keller proclaims that "literature cannot be theological tracts, with dogma abstracted, ideas preached, salvation harped on," and he insists that "literature is seldom written, and can be seldom written, in the service of religion."[26] Nephi Anderson, unwilling and unable as he was to separate creed from experience or art from belief, would strongly disagree. Still, while his work falls short of modern critical expectations, Anderson moved steadily from writing the dogmatic didacticism which Keller attacks toward more subtle portrayals of life as experienced by a man whose meat and drink and air were Mormon.

His accomplishments should be instructive to modern Mormon writers, for, like many present writers, he was fascinated by the "flood subjects" of missionary and conversion experiences and by the old verities of repentance, personal worth, love, pride, humility, and spirituality. He attempted to deal with such themes in a way which is at once artistic and orthodox—a challenge which many current Latter-day Saints, captivated

by Babylon, discuss, but few attempt, and fewer succeed in meeting. Unable to separate Mormonism out from the fibers of his art, Nephi Anderson tried very hard to turn his positive Mormon experience into significant art. In Anderson's successes and failures, in his steady progress from artless dogma to gently dogmatic art are lessons to be learned by modern Mormon readers, critics, and a whole new generation of writers.

NOTES

[1]Nephi Anderson, *Added Upon* (1898; reprint, Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1973, 34th printing).

[2]In announcing the eighth edition of *Added Upon*, Nephi Anderson said that "Elder B. H. Roberts of the *Improvement Era* in reviewing said that I had encompassed all things in heaven and earth within 140 pages" (*Deseret News*, 13 August 1921, sec. 3). I have been unable to find a review by B. H. Roberts in which he makes this statement, though Roberts does state, very early, that *Added Upon* "is doubtless his [Anderson's] chief work, judged in the way of permanency" (*Improvement Era* 5 [August 1902]: 808).

[3]Anderson, *Added Upon*, foreword.

[4]"Nephi Anderson" (obituary), *Improvement Era* 26 (February 1923): 373–75.

[5]"Nephi Anderson" (obituary), *Utah Genealogy and Historical Magazine* 14 (April 1923): 62–66.

[6]George Q. Cannon, Editorial, *The Juvenile Instructor* 5 (8 January 1870): 5.

[7]Orson F. Whitney, "Home Literature," in Richard H. Cracroft and Neal E. Lambert, *A Believing People: Literature of the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1979): 208–10.

[8]Anderson, "A Plea for Fiction," *Improvement Era* 1 (January 1898): 186–88.

[9]Anderson, "At St. Peter's Gate," *Improvement Era* 21 (November 1917): 44–45.

[10]Anderson, "Purpose in Fiction," *Improvement Era* 1 (February 1898): 270.

[11]Ibid., 270–71.

[12]Anderson, *A Daughter of the North* (Salt Lake City: De Utah–Nederlander Publishing Co., 1915), 84–85.

[13]Anderson, *Romance of a Missionary* (Independence, Mo.: Zion's Printing and Publishing Co., 1919), 21.

[14]Anderson, *The Castle Builder* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1909), 192.

[15]Anderson, *Added Upon*, 188.

[16]Anderson, *Marcus King, Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1916; first published 1900).

[17]Anderson, *Piney Ridge Cottage* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1912).

[18]Ibid., 191–92.

[19]Anderson, *The Story of Chester Lawrence* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1913).

[20]Anderson, *John St. John* (Independence, Mo.: Zion's Printing and Publishing Co., 1917).

[21]Anderson, *A Young Folk's History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Sunday School Union, 1916).

[22]Anderson, *The Boys of Springtown* (Independence, Mo: Zion's Printing and Publishing Co., 1920).

[23]Anderson, *Dorian* (Salt Lake City: Bikuber Publishing Co., 1921).

[24]Ibid., 205.

[25]Ibid., 223.

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Mission Widow

Eileen Gibbons Kump

Amy put off going to bed for as long as she could. She walked around the sleeping children straightening quilts and making sure that her footsteps were distinct on the wood floor. She wrote loving words to Israel even though she had written today already and would soon be out of paper. She even emptied the chamber pot before it needed it so that she could stomp down the stairs and back up one more time. Finally, too tired to resist sleep any longer, she extinguished the lamp with one deep breath of courage and pulled her feet after her into bed.

The lamp was still warm beside her when she heard them. Like wind in sawdust their motion whispered through the house. The fat and cocky rats—their busy jaws already announcing the nightly feast and treasure hunt—were back.

Mortals do not perform miracles without practice. Amy had practiced. Her hand trembled as she lit the lamp but she slid her feet from the creaky bed without a sound and pushed them hard against the floor. Slowly she stood and took one step toward the doorway. Then, having no lightning bolt or magic spear, she seized the lamp with one hand and the broom with the other and sprang down the stairs. She swung at corners and threw at shadows, but the rats were still too quick for her. Impressed no doubt with WOMAN, but not empty-mouthed, they retreated to their nests.

Amy went back upstairs without counting her losses. She lay down and began pulling covers as if at last she could sleep, but it was a deception. How dare she seek comfort? Instead, she curled toward the edge of the bed, ready to spring.

This time she was quicker and when the battle was over one rat remained, stopped in flight by a broom. Lowering her lamp to the floor, Amy bent over the body. The night was not wasted. The stiff little legs looked incapable of mischief, but Laun's shoelace was in the teeth and

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Eileen Gibbons Kump is a noted writer of Mormon fiction. Her *Bread and Milk and Other Stories* was published in 1981.

the belly was bloated. As Amy worked the shoelace free, she studied the startled eyes. She ought to leave the body where it lay as a warning to returning comrades. But she knew that rats do not have brains. If they did, they would take two shoelaces, and they would not eat her winter stores until their bellies swelled up like balloons. The rat lying dead in the middle of her kitchen floor was simply a dumb animal with an instinct for her property. She picked it up by the tip of its tail and, walking outside in her bare feet, flung it as far as she could toward the desert. Then, even though she knew that one enemy casualty does not win a war, she went upstairs to stay. She closed her door and hugged the pillow around her ears. After all, she reasoned, what does a mission widow have of her own if not a night's sleep?

She dreamed of Israel. He was not in Australia on a mission. He was downstairs fixing the kitchen door. In his Prince Albert suit and black hat he was fitting soft sanded wood to wood and measuring with an eye toward perfection, his soundless motion detached from Amy's watching. She tiptoed around him and now the door was glass and she looked at him through it. He held it tenderly; his hands moved it into place and secured it without screw or hammer.

Amy needed to ask him a question but the door needed him too. Australia needed him. He was distant through the door and no matter what Amy did or where she stood she could not get his attention. Finally, her tapping and moving broke the glass and he was gone.

Amy opened her eyes. Israel was not beside her, or downstairs either. He was across the ocean in a green exotic land. The rats were dragging off her belongings and eating her food, and the kitchen door would not shut right for at least two more years because Lola had been swinging on it again, a small hand clinging to each knob, a bare foot lifted to press hard against each side so that the floor would not get in her way. Israel had fixed the door again before he left but Lola would not be cured of swinging, as if she understood that soon, tomorrow maybe, her bottom would smack the floor.

Could there have been a mistake? Why had Uncle Dan, childless, been sent to Chicago? Mamie's letters came and went in two weeks! Even Tennessee (where folks said a missionary had been tarred and feathered) was close enough for a wife to ask a question and get an answer before her hair turned gray.

The leaves and blossoms Israel sent were brittle by the time they arrived but the words, six weeks aged, were tender. She felt each letter

before she opened it, moving her fingertips around the fragile enclosures he always sent to shorten the miles between them. She and the children held each piece before they slipped it under glass.

Yet weary bones and sleepless nights told Amy that a whole bushel of keepsakes would not replace a missing sack of corn saved for human consumption in winter. She must save the corn, and the sacks of fruit, and the shoelaces. Even the rags, worn thin, were necessary. With or without a man's help, she must get rid of the rats.

When Amy slept again, Israel was still wearing the new black suit. This time he was lying on his stomach in the dirt by the back door looking under the step that had tripped Amy and a load of wash. His eyes glowing with purpose, he studied each board. It was the face of the watchmaker in Salt Lake City. Bent over a small round intricacy as God himself might bend over his world, he mended. But the watchmaker was wearing an apron, not a Prince Albert suit! Which did God wear? Or did he change clothes to suit the task before him?

The step looked perfect to Amy now, but Israel kept fixing. She ran to bring his overalls from where they always hung inside the back door. The washtub was there, but where were the overalls? She could not find them anywhere and slept out the night with a frown on her face.

Morning and children woke Amy together. As she opened her eyes, necessity put sudden lumps in the feather mattress and there was nothing to do but get up. She followed the children down the stairs and while she made a fire and put mush on to cook, Lola and Irma ran to see what the rats had taken. Laun studied the broom enviously. It might be good for fighting one more war but the broken straws had swept the floor for the last time. Why, he wanted to know, was he old enough to help make a broom but too young to stay up and see it work.

"Brooms don't work," said Amy. "We need something faster and more efficient." She paused. Even saying the words was hard. "We need a trap."

The worry on Laun's face, she knew, mirrored her own.

"Can't we use poison? Grandpa would give us some."

"Strychnine is out of the question," said Amy. No matter what Grandpa said about well-taught offspring, Amy would not set where a child might discover it the tempting saucer of white powder. As for heaping her valuables around her bed the way some did and sleeping with a frying pan in her hand, she would never do that either. She

had envisioned a rat's nest, walls banked with her dried apples and peaches and corn, cracks stuffed with her dishrags, and ceilings decorated with her shoelaces and ribbons. No, she would not sleep in a nest.

Somewhere on the ranch hung the steel traps Israel had used along his trapline. When Laun could not find them, Amy was relieved. She had seen their black bite and wept over their victims. Even fox furs, warm and lovely, did not erase those scenes. No, she would use a deadfall instead. It would be messy if not weighted properly, but it would work. And she could build it herself. She sent Laun to the old mill site for a board comfortably longer and wider than a rat. With Israel's jacknife, he cut willows along the creek bed while Amy chose a gleaming cob of corn for bait and hefted the flatirons. Two would do.

Amy and the children built the trap by the hearth. It was a strange-looking instrument, but as deadfalls go, it went. Lola and Irma teased the tempting bait with willows too spineless for prop or trigger. Down came the board and irons. Laun reset the contraption and the girls teased it and it fell again. It was built just right. After supper, the children hurried to their beds without fussing, and Amy, sensing adventure, climbed the stairs with light feet.

The first night Amy emptied the trap six times. She let Laun help at first—a pretended man's presence nearby—but he fell asleep between rats and Amy was left alone. As she disposed of the dead, she considered the food and belongings her enemy had taken. Otherwise, she could not have emptied the deadfall by herself. She was not a delicate woman. She had lifted her share of mice out of the flour bin and swatted enough flies to paper heaven, but the seasonal slaughter of a pig or calf was man's domain. She stayed inside the house. Even killing the tired old rooster that deserved better, when his turn finally came to be eaten, Israel spared her and brought him plucked to the kitchen door. How could a wife who had been thus protected dispose of smashed rats the size of cottontails? Israel? I have a question!

Night after night, all night, Amy emptied and reset the deadfall, sometimes hardly reaching the top of the stairs before the flatirons came crashing down again. Standing there in her nightgown she was sure that the rats, brainless still, spent their days in line waiting for darkness and a chance to nibble the diminishing cob of corn and die. Their insolence made climbing the stairs between victims to lean longingly

toward her made bed seem more and more foolish as the nights passed by.

And then, abruptly, there were fewer trips downstairs until finally one night the traps did not fall. Amy lay in amazed silence, flinching at sounds. She could not believe that she had won. In the morning everything was in its place, and the deadfall waited. That night she fell asleep. In her dreams she and Israel were no longer separated by doors and questions and he was wearing his overalls. The next day she wrote to him about her victory, and at bedtime she made sure the trap was assembled, but, clearly, all of the rats were either dead or over to Grandpa's eating strychnine.

The night the trap resumed falling, Amy knew instantly that the enemy lying dead in her kitchen was not a rat. The fragrance of fresh skunk exploded through the house. She lay still, pretending to dream, pushing herself into the mattress. When the children began calling for her, she hurried to shut their door and insist that they stay behind it. Then, holding the lamp with one hand and her nose with the other, she tiptoed slowly down the stairs. She lowered the lamp toward the board and flatirons. They moved. The skunk spread out beneath them was alarmed, disheveled, somewhat compressed, but alive. Alive? Israel? She could not breathe. She could hardly see. What would a man do with a skunk, half alive, in the kitchen? Would it take *three* flatirons to kill a skunk?

The stench gave Amy no time to deliberate. Gasping, she took one tiny paw between her fingertips and dragged the skunk up the stairs and across the bedroom floor and threw it out the window. Such a course seemed merciful, but as she looked into the darkness below, she realized that she could not be sure. She ran down the stairs and outside. There the skunk lay, more alarmed, more disheveled, suffering, but alive! What could she use? Not a broom, surely! Oh dear, no. The skunk must die by itself. But how? And how soon? She had heard that drowning was a sure way to be rid of a skunk, stench and all. How much water would that take?

She got the washtub and set it beside the skunk. Then she ran to the well for water until the tub was full to the rim. She knew she was being extravagant, but how was a woman to judge? And what if when it came time to pick up the poor thing and drop it into the precious water, she couldn't do it? What if afterward the skunk knew she wasn't Israel and wouldn't stay in the tub long enough to drown?

Mocked by the skunk's misery, and her own, Amy took a deep breath of the putrid air, and with both hands against the side of the big tub of water, tipped it over on top of the skunk. While water soaked into the parched ground, Amy went inside for quilts and made beds on the opposite side of the house. Surely the water would have had to be thrown out anyway. If a skunk had died in it, probably it would have been no good for any other use.

The skunk passed away in the privacy of the family washtub. Amy and the children, a house away, rolled under the distant stars and watched for morning.

Dear Israel,

The rats are still gone. The food and dishclothes are safe, but I have ruined the washtub. I have made lye soap in it and have scrubbed it (and the stairs and floors, too, of course) and have let the sun beat into it all day, but it still smells to high heaven. Perhaps you have written already to tell me what I should have done. It was frightful. And why did I take the skunk upstairs? Every step is a reminder of my short-sightedness. On scrub day the smell is as fresh as the night it happened. As for washday, the tub holds water still of course, but the wet brings out the skunk and on Saturday, although the children smell clean, they simply cannot bathe in it.

I'm afraid you won't even want to come home to us. Oh, of course you will love us the same, and perhaps the house will be livable with time, but the washtub, so useful, so necessary, is ruined forever. Your affectionate, foolish wife,

Amy

My Belief

Richard L. Bushman

When I was growing up in Portland, Oregon, in the 1930s and 1940s, I always thought of myself as a believing Latter-day Saint. My parents were believers; even when they were not attending church regularly, they still believed. All of my relatives were Latter-day Saints and so far as I could tell accepted the gospel like eating and drinking, as a given of life. In Sunday School I tried to be good. I answered the teachers' questions and gave talks that brought compliments from the congregation. From the outside, my behavior probably looked like the conventional compliance of a good boy. But it went deeper than mere appearance. I prayed faithfully every night, and whenever there was a crisis I immediately thought of God. I relied on my religion to redeem me. I often felt silly or weak, and it was through prayer and religious meditation that I mustered my forces to keep on trying. As a sophomore and junior in high school, I was a thoroughbred wallflower, at least as I remember it now, with no close friends. At lunchtime, I often ate all by myself because no one noticed me, and I had no idea how to insinuate myself into a circle of people. At the end of my junior year, a Mormon friend in the class beyond mine said it was my obligation, for the honor of the Church, to run for student-body president. One thing I had learned in church was to speak, and a good speech could win an election. I prayed that God would help me for the sake of the Church, got my speech together, and was elected. That made redemption very real.

Partly because of the student government responsibilities that fell to me as a senior, I was admitted to Harvard and left my family and Portland for Cambridge in the fall of 1949. I loved everything about Harvard—the people, the studies, the atmosphere. I was more myself there than I had ever been in my whole life. Harvard helped redeem me, too, but it also eroded my faith in God. I went to church regularly and made good friends with Latter-day Saint graduate students, a faculty member or two, and the small circle of Mormon undergraduates. The undergraduates met Sunday afternoons to discuss the scriptures. We debated everything about religion, but we all were believers. I do not know why it was that by the end of my sophomore year my faith had

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drained away. Logical positivism was at a high tide in those days, trying to persuade us that sensory evidence was the only trustworthy foundation for belief. At the end of my freshman year, I wrote a paper comparing Freud and Nietzsche and confronted the assertion that Christian morality is the ideology of servile personalities who fear to express their own deepest urges. Up until then I had prided myself on being a servant of God. Was I also servile? These ideas and perhaps the constant strain of being on the defensive for believing at all must have eaten away at my belief. The issue in my mind never had anything to do with Latter-day Saint doctrine specifically. I was not bothered by the arguments against the institutional Church, which so trouble people today, or the problems of Mormon history, another current sore spot. I was not debating Mormonism versus some other religion; the only question for me was God. Did he exist in any form or not? I was not worried about evil in the world, as some agnostics are. I suppose Mormon theology had made the existence of evil perfectly plausible. I simply wondered if there was any reason to believe. Was all of religion a fantasy? Were we all fooling ourselves?

These doubts came on strongest in the spring of my sophomore year. During the preceding Christmas holiday, I had been interviewed for a mission and received a call to New England, to serve under the mission president who attended the same sacrament meeting as the students in Cambridge. Did I have enough faith to go on a mission? I debated the question through the spring, wondering if I were a hypocrite and if fear of displeasing my parents was all that carried me along. And yet I never really considered not going. It may be, I think looking back, that my agnosticism was a little bit of a pose, a touch of stylish undergraduate angst. It was true enough that my bosom did not burn with faith; on the other hand, I was quite willing to pledge two years to a mission. So I went.

The mission president was J. Howard Maughan, an agricultural professor from Utah State and former stake president. In our opening interview in the mission home in Cambridge, he asked if I had a testimony of the gospel. I said I did not. He was not at all rattled. He asked if I would read a book, and if I found a better explanation for it than the book itself gave to report it to him. Then he handed me the Book of Mormon. The next day I left North Station in Boston for Halifax, Nova Scotia. For the next three months, while trying to learn the lessons and the usual missionary discipline, I wrestled with the book and wrote long entries in my journal. I thought a lot about the Three Witnesses: were they liars? had they been hypnotized? were they pressured? I believe it was at that time I read Hugh W. Nibley's *Lehi in the Desert*. I also read the Book of Mormon and prayed, sometimes in agnostic form—"if you are God . . . ." After three months, President Maughan came up for

a conference, and when it was my turn to speak I said with conviction that I knew the Book of Mormon was right. The reasons that I had concocted for believing were not the difference—though Nibley made a great impression—it was more the simple feeling that the book was right.

The mission left me with another impression. At Harvard in those days we talked a lot about the masses, envisioning a sea of workers' faces marching into a factory. In Halifax we missionaries met the masses every day tracting, and they did not exist. There were a great number of individual persons, quite idiosyncratic, perverse, and interesting. They were no more a mass than the Harvard faculty or the United States Congress. That realization planted a seed of doubt about formal conceptions. Did they conform to the reality of actual experience? After the mission, I never again felt that the issues debated in the academy were necessarily the issues of real life. This skepticism grew, especially after I entered graduate school in history and learned how formulations of the past had continually altered, each generation of historians overturning the conceptions of its predecessors and making new ones for itself. Rational discourse came more and more to seem like a kind of play, always a little capricious and unreal—and in the end, compared to the experience of life itself, not serious. To confuse intellectual constructions with reality, or to govern one's life by philosophy or an abstract system came to seem more and more foolhardy. My attitude as it developed was not precisely anti-intellectual. Ideas did not strike me as dangerous; they were too weak to be dangerous. I was depreciating intellectual activity rather than decrying it. But whatever the proper label for this attitude, it put distance between me and the intellectuals whom I so admired and whom, as it later turned out, I would aspire to emulate.

Paradoxically, in my own intellectual endeavors, I have benefited from this skepticism engendered in the mission field, for it has led me to trust my own perceptions and experience over the convictions of my fellow historians, considered individually or *en masse*. I have always thought it possible that virtually anything taught and believed in the academy could be wrong. Repudiation of God by every intellectual in creation did not mean God was nonexistent. By the same token, any of the certainties of historical interpretation could be perfect errors. However fallible I might be myself, however much subject to influences and illusions, I had to trust my own perceptions above everything else.

After I returned from the mission field, I no longer had doubts, but I did have questions. They were not specific questions about the meaning or validity of specific doctrines, the wholesome kind of questions that enlarge understanding. They were the questions of some unknown interlocutor who asked me to justify my faith. "Why do you believe?" the masked stranger asked. This was the old question of my

sophomore year, asked now, however, of one who did believe, who had faith and was being called upon to justify it. I suppose there was nothing complicated about the questioning. At Harvard I studied in the midst of people who made a business of defending their convictions. It was an unwritten rule that you must explain why you took a position or supported a proposition. "Why do you believe in God?" was a question that all of Harvard whispered in one's ears without prompting from any skeptical inquisitors. In fact, when I returned to Harvard in 1953 the religious atmosphere was much more favorable to believers. The president, Nathan Pusey, was himself a believing person, and he had seen to the hiring of Paul Tillich as a university professor and to the rejuvenation of the Divinity School. Even the agnostics listened respectfully to Tillich, and undergraduates talked more freely of their religious convictions. In my senior year, I headed a committee sponsored by the student council on "Religion at Harvard," and our poll of undergraduates turned up a majority who said they had a religious orientation toward life. Even so, the mood did not quiet my faceless questioner. I still wanted to justify my convictions.

How those questionings came to an end is beyond my powers of explanation. For an undergraduate reader today, still fired by fierce doubts and a desperate need to know for sure, one word may seem to explain all—complacency. But I myself do not feel that way. My questions have not simply grown dim over the years, nor have I answered them; instead, I have come to understand questions and answers differently. Although I cannot say what truly made the difference, a series of specific experiences, small insights, revelations, new ideas, all addressing the same issue and coming over a period of thirty years, have caused me to change my views. I now have a new sense of what constitutes belief.

For a long time, twenty-five years or more, I went on trying to answer the questioner. I received little help from religious philosophers. The traditional proofs for God never made an impression on me. I did not find flaws in them; they simply seemed irrelevant. My empirical temperament and suspicion of grand systems worked against any enthusiasm for arguments about a prime mover. I never studied those arguments or made the slightest effort to make them my own. My chief line of reasoning was based on the Book of Mormon. It was concrete and real and seemed like a foundation for belief, not merely belief in Joseph Smith but in Christ and God. Joseph Smith and Mormonism, as I said before, were never the issues; it was God primarily. Although it was a lengthy chain from the historicity of the Book of Mormon, to Joseph's revelations, to the existence of God, it was a chain that held for me. I felt satisfied that if that book were true my position was sound. Without it, I do not know where I would be. I

have imagined myself as a religious agnostic were it not for the Book of Mormon. That is why Hugh Nibley's writings played a large part in my thinking. Although I recognized the eccentricities of his style and was never completely confident of his scholarship, there seemed to me enough there to make a case. 1 Nephi could not be dismissed as fraudulent, and so far as I know no one has refuted the argument Nibley made in *Lehi in the Desert*. He offered just the kind of evidence I was looking for in my pursuit of answers: evidence that was specific, empirical, historical.

Nibley's style was important enough that I made one attempt myself to prove the Book of Mormon in the Nibleyesque manner, and this effort came about in such a way as to confirm my belief. When I was asked to give some talks in Utah during the bicentennial of the American Revolution, I decided to examine the political principles embodied in the Book of Mormon and make some application to our Revolution and Constitution. I thought this would be simple enough because of the switch from monarchy to a republic during the reign of Mosiah. I was sure that somewhere in Mosiah's statements I would find ideas relevant to the modern world. With that in mind, I accepted the invitation to talk, but not until a few months before I was to appear did I get down to work. To my dismay I could not find what I was looking for. Everything seemed just off the point, confused and baffling. I could not find the directions for a sound republic that I had expected. Gradually it dawned on me that the very absence of republican statements might in itself be interesting. I long ago learned that it is better to flow with the evidence than to compel compliance with one's preformed ideas. So I asked, instead, what does the Book of Mormon say about politics? To my surprise, I discovered it was quite an unrepublican book. Not only was Nephi a king, and monarchy presented as the ideal government in an ideal world, but the supposedly republican government instituted under Mosiah did not function that way at all. There was no elected legislature, and the chief judges usually inherited their office rather than being chosen for it. Eventually I came to see that here was my chance to emulate Nibley. If Joseph Smith was suffused with republican ideas, as I was confident he was, then the absence of such sentiments in Nephite society was peculiar, another evidence that he did not write the Book of Mormon. Eventually, all of this came together in an article, "The Book of Mormon and the American Revolution," published in *BYU Studies* in 1976.

While circumstances and my predilection to justify belief influenced me up to that point and beyond, my commitment to this kind of endeavor gradually weakened. Perhaps most influential was a gradual merger of personality and belief. By 1976 I had been a branch president and a bishop and was then a stake president. Those offices

required me to give blessings in the name of God and to seek solutions to difficult problems nearly every day. I usually felt entirely inadequate to the demands placed upon me and could not function at all without some measure of inspiration. What I did, the way I acted, my inner thoughts, were all intermingled with this effort to speak and act religiously for God. I could no longer entertain the possibility that God did not exist because I felt his power working through me. Sometimes I toyed with the notion that there could be other ways of describing what happened when I felt inspired, but the only language that actually worked, the only ideas that brought inspiration and did justice to the experience when it came were the words in the scriptures. Only when I thought of God as a person interested in me and asked for help as a member of Christ's kingdom did idea and reality fit properly. Only that language properly honored the experience I had day after day in my callings.

Church work more than anything else probably quieted my old questions, but there were certain moments when these cumulative experiences precipitated new ideas. Once in the early 1960s, while I held a postdoctoral fellowship at Brown University and was visiting Cambridge, I happened into a young adult discussion, led, I believe, by Terry Warner. He had the group read the Grand Inquisitor passage in *The Brothers Karamazov*. The sentences that stuck with me that time through were the ones having to do with wanting to find reasons for belief that would convince the whole world and compel everyone to believe. That was the wish of the Inquisitor, a wish implicitly repudiated by Christ. The obvious fact that there is no convincing everyone that a religious idea is true came home strongly at that moment. It is impossible and arrogant, and yet that was exactly what I was attempting. When I sought to justify my belief, I was looking for answers that would persuade all reasonable men. That was why I liked Nibley: he put his readers over a barrel. I wanted something that no one could deny. In that moment in Cambridge, I realized the futility of the quest.

I was moved still further in this direction by a lecture which Neal Maxwell invited me to give at Brigham Young University in 1974 as part of the Commissioner's Lecture Series. I cannot for the life of me recall why I turned to the topic of "Joseph Smith and Skepticism," but that was the subject. In that lecture I sketched in the massive effort to demonstrate rationally the authenticity of the Christian revelation. The effort began in the early eighteenth century, when Deism first took hold in earnest, and continued through the nineteenth century. The Christian rationalists assembled all the evidence they could muster to prove that biblical miracles, such as the parting of the Red Sea, were authentic and therefore evidence of God's endorsement

of Israel. In the course of the nineteenth century, as agnosticism waxed strong among intellectuals, the volumes on Christian evidences proliferated. I can still remember sitting on the floor in the basement of the Harvard Divinity School library, flipping through these books, each one almost exactly like the others. I realized then that the tradition of seeking proof was very strong in the nineteenth century and that Mormons had been influenced by it. B. H. Roberts, a man troubled by questions as I had been and a great apologist for the Latter-day Saint faith, borrowed these methods. His *New Witness for God* was a replica of the books in the Harvard Divinity School basement, except with Mormon examples and conclusions. Hugh Nibley dropped the nineteenth-century format for works of Christian evidences, but his mode of reasoning was basically the same.

Awareness of the affinity of Nibley with these Protestant works did not dilute my own interest in evidences. The study of Book of Mormon republicanism, my own contribution to the genre, came along two years later. But the contradictions were taking shape in my mind and readied me, I suppose, for a personal paradigmatic shift. It occurred in the early 1980s at the University of Indiana. Stephen Stein of the religion department had some Lilly Endowment money to assemble scholars and religious leaders from various denominations to discuss their beliefs. With Jan Shipps's help, he brought together a handful of Mormon historians, some historians of American religion, a local stake president and Regional Representative, and a seminary teacher. The topic was Joseph Smith. The historians among us made some opening comments about the Prophet, and then over a day and a half we discussed the issues that emerged. It was a revelatory assemblage from my point of view because it brought together in one room representatives of the various groups involved in my religious life—Church leaders, non-Mormon scholars, and Mormon scholars. Although all of these people had been represented in my mind symbolically before, they had never been together in person before my face, talking about Joseph Smith.

Their presence brought together notions that previously had been floating about separately in my head. Sometime in the middle of the conversations, it came to me in a flash that I did not want to prove the authenticity of Joseph Smith's calling to anyone. I did not want to wrestle Stephen Stein to the mat and make him cry "uncle." It was a false position, at least for me, and one that I doubted would have any long range good results. I recognized then that the pursuit of Christian evidences was not a Mormon tradition; it was a borrowing from Protestantism and not at a moment when Protestantism was at one of its high points. At any rate, it was not my tradition, and I did not want to participate in it. There was no proving religion to anyone;

belief came by other means, by hearing testimonies or by individual pursuit or by the grace of God, but not by hammering.

By the time of the conference, I had completed the manuscript of *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism*. The Book of Mormon chapter in that book hammered at readers. My urge had been to show that the common secular explanations of the Book of Mormon were in error and to imply, if not to insist, that only a divine explanation would do. In the revision, I tried without complete success to moderate the tone. I did not wish to dissipate the basic argument, which is that the counterexplanations are inadequate to the complexity of the book, but I sincerely did not want to push readers into a corner and force them to come out fighting. The desire to compel belief, the wish of the Grand Inquisitor, was exactly what I had abandoned.

At the present moment, the question of why I believe no longer has meaning for me. I do not ask it of myself or attempt to give my reasons to others. The fact is that I do believe. That is a given of my nature, and whatever reasons I might give would be insufficient and inaccurate. More relevant to my current condition is a related question: how do others come to believe? I would like to know if there is anything I can do that will draw people to faith in Christ and in the priesthood. My answer to this question is, of course, related to my personal experiences. I no longer think that people can be compelled to believe by any form of reasoning, whether from the scripture or from historical evidence. They will believe if it is in their natures to believe. All I can do is to attempt to bring forward the believing nature, smothered as it is in most people by the other natures that culture forms in us. The first responsibility is to tell the story, to say very simply what happened, so that knowledge of those events can do its work. But that is the easy part, the part that could be done by books or television. The hard part is to create an atmosphere where the spiritual nature, the deep down goodness in the person, can react to the story honestly and directly. Some people can create that atmosphere quite easily by the very strength of their own spiritual personalities. It is hard for me. There are too many other natures in me: the vain aspirer formed in childhood, the intellectual fostered at Harvard, the would-be dominant male created by who knows what. But I do believe that when I am none of these and instead am a humble follower of Christ who tells the story without pretense to friends whom I love and respect, then they will believe if they want to, and conversion is possible. Questions may be answered and reasons given, but these are peripheral and essentially irrelevant. What is essential is for a person to listen carefully and openly in an attitude of trust. If belief is to be formed in the human mind, it will, I think, be formed that way.

Johann Sebastian Bach and George Frederick Handel: In Remembrance of the Three-Hundredth Anniversary of Their Births

Hans-Wilhelm Kelling

Because of the many musical anniversaries, the Council of Europe proclaimed 1985 the European Music Year. Heinrich Schütz[1] was born four hundred years ago; Domenico Scarlatti[2] three hundred years ago; Johann Christian Bach[3] two hundred and fifty years ago; and Alban Berg[4] one hundred years ago. Also born three hundred years ago, within four weeks of each other, were two of the Western world's greatest composers: George Frederick Handel—whose German name was Georg Friedrich Händel[5]—and Johann Sebastian Bach. The tercentenary year of their births has been celebrated with special concerts, performances, lectures, and publications. Since both men have so greatly enriched our lives with their music, it is appropriate that we refresh our memories and recall some of their most impressive accomplishments.

BACH AND HANDEL

Bach and Handel were born just a month apart, and their birth places, Eisenach and Halle, are located only approximately seventy miles from each other and less than that from the town of Freiberg, where the new LDS temple was dedicated, also in 1985. Although they grew up in such close proximity, knew of each other, and were acquainted with some of each other's compositions, their paths took different directions, and, as far as we know, they never met. We do not know the reason for this. There certainly were opportunities for a meeting. The two composers, on various occasions, worked and visited in places close to each other, and since they both traveled they could have arranged the opportunity for such a meeting, but it seems that they did not. Perhaps they deliberately avoided each other.

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Since Bach and Handel were contemporaries and their music covers some common ground, and since they inherited the same musical tradition, they are often thought of together. They are now considered the greatest composers of the baroque period, climaxing both the Renaissance and baroque styles. In their own time, however, their genius was not universally recognized, and Bach was renowned more as an organist than as a composer. Their contemporaries rejected some of their compositions as out of style, foreign, or too old-fashioned and considered Bach and Handel very different from each other, both musically and personally.

In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the Italians dominated music—especially opera, a genre which Handel preferred for many years and in which he excelled. Opera was written in the Italian style, which meant placing supreme emphasis on melody for its own sake and on vocal virtuosity at the expense of simplicity and austerity. Besides opera, a variety of vocal forms had been developed including the oratorio, the passion, and the cantata.[6] Instrumental music had also reached a high level of development. The opera, the oratorio, the cantata, the passion, and the concerto were the musical forms Bach and Handel encountered, carefully studied, at first imitated, then developed, refined, and led to heights which—with the exception of opera—have not been surpassed since.

Bach centered his life and work mainly around the church, while Handel concentrated on secular endeavors: the opera and, finally, the oratorio, which—with the exception of the *Messiah*—were primarily based on historical texts. Bach never traveled abroad, and he rarely traveled in Germany. Handel, on the other hand, traveled extensively: in Italy, Holland, England, Ireland, and, of course, in Germany. Bach married twice and fathered twenty children; Handel remained a bachelor and had no posterity. Bach came from a musical family—some seventy members of the Bach family were accomplished professional musicians—but Handel's ancestors appear to have had no musical talent. While Handel was highly acclaimed during much of his lifetime, earned a comfortable living, and mingled with kings and queens at the English court in London, and while his star continued to rise steadily after his death, Bach's life consisted of constant hard work and of a basically unheralded career which was forgotten within a few years after his death. His son, Johann Christian, is supposed to have called him the "old wig" because his contrapuntal medium of four part harmony and abstruse fugues was considered unfashionable and passé.[7] His magnificent *Passion According to St. Matthew* was practically unheard until Felix Mendelssohn revived it in a memorable performance in 1829. Since then Bach's stature has steadily risen and today his fame is undisputed and far surpasses that of Handel. Handel's forty-one operas,

which were so fashionable in his day, are now rarely performed, though some have been revived recently, mainly for historical reasons. Our tastes have changed and so have the voices for which the arias were composed, notably the castrati, surgically altered male sopranos whose vocal power and awesome technical ability and breath control thrilled audiences in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[8] Of his twenty-four oratorios only the *Messiah* has become a regular concert staple. It was acclaimed as a masterpiece from the beginning and has enjoyed unparalleled popularity ever since. Handel's great choruses, especially those from the *Messiah*, are well known, particularly in England and the United States, and are frequently performed by choirs great and small. Bach's most popular choruses are also well known and require exceptional skill on the part of the performers. Most, however, are not usually recalled and hummed by the average concertgoer after a performance.

> To state as a fact that Bach's choral music is generally not intrinsically vocal, that it is difficult to sing, implies not the slightest criticism. Indeed I consider it one of the fortuitous virtues of Bach's music in general that it does demand self-discipline and long arduous hours of practise on the part of those who would perform it.[9]

For a number of years, as a schoolboy, Bach sang in church choirs and, later in his life, conducted choirs "thereby gaining an insight into the subtleties of choral composition and a sympathetic approach, as a composer, to the problems of choral style—and that, I may say, puts a heavy burden on the credulousness of the conductor and singer of Bach's music."[10] Most choral singers find Handel more melodious than Bach. Handel knew what the public wanted and what singers loved to sing. In his decorative choral passages, "once Handel sets the pattern he generally preserves it."[11] One can anticipate Handel but not Bach.

Handel loved opera, the most dramatic, spectacular, and lucrative musical genre of the time. He wanted to be a successful opera composer, and, although he succeeded for a while, in the end he failed. Bach, on the other hand, eschewed opera entirely. Handel became the unrivaled master of the oratorio, and Handel's oratorios, like all his compositions, were written for the public. Bach composed mainly for himself and for the glory of God, and his greatest works are church cantatas and organ music.

Both masters knew tragedy in their lives. As a young boy, Handel lost his father; Bach lost his father and his mother, his first wife, and ten of his children. Both had to overcome opposition and adversity, ignorance and intolerance. Both composers became blind during the last years of their lives, but this malady did not stifle or appreciably

interrupt their creativity and vitality. Handel's last oratorio, the *Triumph of Time and Truth*, is considered as vibrant and brilliant as his early works; and Bach's valedictory work, the choral prelude *When We Are in Deepest Need*, dictated to his son-in-law because the master was totally blind, has all the power of the compositions of his youth.

After this general comparison of the two masters, we will now look at the life and accomplishments of each individually.

GEORGE FREDERICK HANDEL

Handel's ancestors, like those of Bach, came from Eastern Europe, Silesia and Bohemia, and settled in Saxony. They had become converted to the Lutheran church and left their homeland in order to practice their religion freely. Handel's father, Georg (1622–97), was a barber–surgeon and became the court physician to the duke of Saxe-Weissenfels. His first wife had died, and he had married Dorothea Taust, the daughter of a prominent Lutheran pastor. She was thirty years younger than her husband and bore him two sons and two daughters. The oldest son died; the second was George Frederick. George Frederick was born on 23 February 1685, in Halle, which belonged to the territories ruled by the elector of Brandenburg.[12] Handel's gift for music became apparent very early in his youth. Initially, his father seems to have been opposed to a musical education for Handel, but musicians and other influential men at the court prevailed upon him to allow George Frederick to take lessons. His first teacher was Friedrich Wilhelm Zachow, a fine musician and a composer of average talent, who taught young Handel composition, organ, piano, harpsichord, violin, and oboe. When Handel's father died in 1697, the boy's music lessons were intensified. He also learned Greek and Latin at the *Gymnasium* and later studied at the university in Halle, where in 1702 he became organist at the cathedral for one year.

A well-rounded education for an artist usually included travel to cities and countries where other well-known artists worked and were available for tutoring. After his year as cathedral organist in Halle, Handel traveled to Hamburg, a major trading center in the north whose wealthy merchants had established the first opera stage in Germany in 1678. The opera house was more a place of popular entertainment than of culture. Although the music of the operas performed there was passable, the texts were common and crude and were usually based on recent historical events with which everyone was familar. They emphasized the comical, farcical, and risqué. Handel came in contact with several of the local musicians and earned a fair amount of money by playing the violin and the piano for the opera company and by composing several operas which were apparently performed with great

success. He was able to save a substantial amount of money, which made it possible for him to accept an invitation to visit Italy, the country where, at that time, opera and other musical genres were cultivated and developed. He visited Florence, Venice, Rome, and Naples and thereby came in contact with such famous composers as Scarlatti and Corelli and with cultured and influential leaders of the Roman Catholic church and of the European aristocracy, who gave him support and referrals and thus influenced his future career. He enjoyed tremendous success both as a performing musician and as a composer. He composed operas, cantatas, church music, and an oratorio, all of which were performed in front of enthusiastic audiences. In Venice his opera *Agrippina* was played a number of times and was wildly acclaimed.

Members of the court of Hanover were present during the Venice presentation, and they invited Handel to Hanover where George of Brunswick ruled. (He later became King George I of England.) Handel accepted the position of kapellmeister at an annual salary of one thousand ducats, a very substantial sum of money and considerably more than Bach earned as cantor in Leipzig in his later life.[13] The terms of his employment allowed Handel to travel extensively. The courts of London and Hanover maintained warm relations with each other, and English noblemen invited Handel to visit London, an invitation he accepted late in 1710.

London, at that time a city of half a million people, was a major European cultural center, the home of such renowned authors and philosophers as John Dryden, Alexander Pope, Jonathan Swift, Daniel Defoe, Joseph Addison, Richard Steele, John Locke, George Berkeley, and Isaac Newton. Music in London, however, did not enjoy the same renown as literature and philosophy; in fact, since the death of Henry Purcell in 1695, it had reached a low point. The aristocracy was enamored with Italian opera. With his training and experience in Hamburg and Italy, Handel had mastered Italian opera and was eminently qualified to satisfy the taste of London high society. He composed and performed his opera *Rinaldo*, which became an instant and resounding success. Handel himself accompanied the singers on the harpsichord, and his brilliant improvisations thrilled the audience, as did also several of the melodies from the opera, which soon became tunes for popular marches and drinking songs. The march from the third act became the ''Royal Guard March'' and was used by John Pepusch in *The Beggar's Opera*. The aria ''Il Tricerbero humiliato'' became a popular drinking song with the text ''Let the waiter bring clean glasses.'' Almirena's saraband—Handel's own favorite melody—''Lascia ch'io pianga'' is sung to this day in the Church of England as the hymn ''Father in Heaven.''[14] Romain Rolland calls the *Rinaldo* a turning point in the history of music since it marks

the moment when German composers (Handel, Hasse, Gluck, and Mozart) wrote better Italian operas than the Italians.[15]

Handel returned briefly to Hanover, but in 1712 settled permanently in London and in 1726 became an English citizen. Queen Anne awarded him an annual stipend of two hundred pounds, which was raised to four hundred pounds by George of Hanover, who had become king of England in 1714. John Mainwaring, one of the early biographers of Handel, reports that Handel regained King George's favor with his performance of the *Water Music* on the occasion of a party on the "water," presumably the river Thames, but this account is probably anecdotal.[16]

The *Water Music* is undoubtedly the best developed and most popular of Handel's instrumental compositions. It consists of three suites: the first in F major for oboes, bassoons, horns, strings, and basso continuo; the second in D major, adding trumpets to the first set of instruments; and the third in G major for flutes, piccolos, oboes, strings, and basso continuo. The music of the suites in F and D is open-air music because of the brilliant flourishes of the trumpets and the horns. No brass is used in the suite in G and it has a more pastoral, chamber-like character and can be more readily performed indoors. Handel's superb mastery of instrumental music is evident in these three suites which are not martial like the *Fireworks Music* but uniquely capture more of the social air and spirit of the royal court.

The king, the court, and English high society adored Handel, and the twelve years following his arrival in London marked his greatest success, culminating in the establishment of the "Royal Academy of Music" in 1720, a precarious commercial venture. The purpose of the academy was for the investors to earn large sums of money from musical performances, primarily opera. Handel was appointed the director and labored valiantly to make the enterprise successful, but in the end failed. The Italian style, with its irrational and sometimes ludicrous actions on stage, had long annoyed English intellectuals who, with wit and satire, criticized the operas and called for a national theater that would perform works more to the liking of the English. The deadly blow to the academy—which closed permanently in June 1728—and eventually to Handel's operatic productions came in 1727 when *The Beggar's Opera* was performed for ninety nights to cheering audiences. The text by John Gay was bawdy, vulgar, very witty, and written in English so that everyone could understand it. John Pepusch had borrowed many of the tunes from Purcell and Handel. It was the death knell of Handel's operas and the Italian singers.[17]

Handel continued to write operas until 1741, but the complete failure of his last works convinced him that his opera career was finished, though not his career as a composer and musician.[18] His fortunes soon changed for the better.

In the summer of 1741, Handel received an invitation from William, duke of Devonshire, who was the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to visit Dublin. Handel had just completed his *Messiah* and planned to perform it in Dublin and donate the proceeds to charity. The performance was a resounding success. The *Dublin Journal* wrote on 17 April 1742:

> On Tuesday last [the 13th] Mr. Handel's Sacred Grand Oratorio, the MESSIAH, was performed at the new Musick-Hall in Fishamble-street; the best Judges allowed it to be the most finished piece of Musick. Words are wanting to express the exquisite Delight it afforded to the admiring crouded Audience. The Sublime, the Grand, and the Tender, adapted to the most elevated, majestick and moving Words, conspired to transport and charm the ravished Heart and Ear.[19]

Handel had composed the music and filled in the instrumentation in only twenty-four days. "Considering the immensity of the work, and the short time involved, it will remain, perhaps for ever, the greatest feat in the whole history of musical composition."[20]

> It was the achievement of a giant inspired—the work of one who, by some extraordinary mental feat, had drawn himself completely out of the world, so that he dwelt—or believed he dwelt—in the pastures of God. What happened was that Handel passed through a superb dream. He was unconscious of the world during that time, unconscious of its press and call; his whole mind was in a trance. He did not leave the house. His manservant brought him food, and as often as not returned in an hour to the room to find the food untouched, and his master staring into vacancy. When he had completed Part II, with the "Hallelujah Chorus," his servant found him at the table, tears streaming from his eyes. "I did think I did see all Heaven before me, and the great God Himself!" he exclaimed. Of a certainty, Handel was swept by some influence not of the world during that month—an influence not merely visionary. Never in his life had he experienced the same emotional sense, and he never experienced it in the same measure again. For twenty-four days he knew those uplands reached only by the higher qualities of the soul.[21]

As we would expect, some modern skeptics doubt this account and reject it as "excess romanticism."[22] For Latter-day Saints, however, who believe that God can and does reveal himself through beautiful art and for whom the *Messiah* is a revered masterpiece frequently performed on appropriate occasions, the report that Handel was inspired and heard "heavenly choirs" is entirely plausible.

In later years, when Handel had returned to London, he performed the *Messiah* annually for charity and raised substantial amounts of

money for the poor and the sick.[23] The beautiful music stirred thousands of listeners, and when the *Messiah* was first performed in London, the audience, including the king, were so deeply affected that they rose to their feet while the "Hallelujah Chorus" was sung.

> When that chorus struck up, 'For the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth,' they were so transported, that they all, together with the king (who happened to be present), started up, and remained standing till the chorus ended: and hence it became the fashion in England for the audience to stand while that part of the music is performing.[24]

The *Messiah* consists of instrumental music based mainly on the string section occasionally embellished by flutes, oboes, and bassoons. Trumpets and drums are used for the great climaxes. The continuo—consisting of cello, bass, harpsichord, and, during the climaxes, the organ—forms the basic fundament of this as of every baroque orchestral composition. The solo voices are soprano, contralto, tenor, and bass. The oratorio is divided into three parts: the prophecies of the coming of the Messiah, the sufferings and the death of the Savior, and the Resurrection.

Highlights include the first tenor aria "Every Valley Shall Be Exalted" followed by the chorus singing "And the Glory of the Lord." Somewhat later in the first section occurs the famous "For unto Us a Child Is Born" with its powerful rendition of "and His Name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace." To many, this chorus is the most beautiful and inspiring part of the entire composition because of its spirit of hope and promise, and the grandeur, power, and majesty of the music. It certainly is one of the most inspiring and uplifting choral compositions in all of religious music. It is followed by a touching and tender pastoral symphony that contrasts magnificently with the preceding powerful chorus. The highlight of the second part is the "Hallelujah" chorus, during which the audience still traditionally stands. The third section is introduced by the soprano aria "I know that My Redeemer Liveth" and closes with the chorus "Worthy Is the Lamb That Was Slain," climaxing in the final "Amen."

Handel continued to compose and to perform during the 1740s and 1750s. He wrote other oratorios and concertos, some considered excellent by critics, but none as exquisite as the *Messiah*. A high point was the commission of the *Music for the Royal Fireworks*, performed in 1749 in front of a vast audience of more than twelve thousand people. The music, composed for outdoor performance, is of martial nature and was performed originally by an orchestra consisting of nine trumpets, nine horns, twenty-four oboes, twelve bassoons, one contrabassoon, kettledrums, and drums. The opening "Ouverture"

is the finest part of the composition, powerfully setting the mood with a courtly *grave* section played by the entire orchestra. This indeed is royal music, the stately music of the court. The brilliant allegro emphasizes the roll of drums and the fanfares of the trumpets. The "Rejoicing" section is played three times—first by the trumpets, then by the horns, and the third time by the entire orchestra. This triumphal music enjoyed immediate success and along with the *Water Music* still ranks with the finest orchestral music of the eighteenth century.

In his last years, Handel's health failed and he became blind, but he did not lose his courage or his creative power. He wanted to die on Good Friday, but did not pass away until the morning of the next day, 14 April 1759, and was buried in Westminster Abbey on Friday, 20 April.

JOHANN SEBASTIAN BACH

Because he became converted to the Lutheran faith, Vitus Bach, Johann Sebastian's second great grandfather, had to flee from Hungary and settle in Wechmar, near Gotha, in Thuringia. He was a baker, but his descendants became town musicians. There are seventy professional musicians in the family, not counting all those who played instruments for their own pleasure.[25] Bach's father, Johann Ambrosius, (1645–95) was a town musician[26] in Erfurt.

Johann Sebastian Bach was born on 21 March 1685 in Eisenach, a small Thuringian town. Bach, the youngest of three children, was given music lessons by his father and his uncle and attended the Latin school in Eisenach where he became a member of the boys' choir. He was an excellent student who learned Latin, Greek, mathematics, logic, rhetoric, and music. He memorized the Lutheran catechism, the Gospels, and the Epistles in the New Testament and graduated second out of a class of eighty. When he was nine years old, his mother died; one year later, his father also died. His oldest brother, Johann Christoph, who later became a musician at the royal court of Sweden in Stockholm, took care of Johann Sebastian and continued his music lessons. When he was fifteen, young Bach transferred to the Michaelis-Gymnasium in Lüneburg where he received free room and tuition in exchange for singing in the elite Mettenchor, which sang daily in the church services. In 1703, when he was eighteen, he accepted an offer as violinist in the orchestra of the duke of Weimar, but after only a few months moved to Arnstadt where he became church organist at an annual salary of eighty-five gulden.[27] He stayed until 1707 when he became church organist at St. Blasius in Mühlhausen. Since Bach had excellent knowledge of organ construction, he was also given responsibility for

keeping the organ in good repair. On 16 October 1707 he married his cousin Barbara Bach, who bore him seven children, four of whom lived. The second son, Carl Philipp Emanuel, later became one of the most famous musicians and pianists of his time. He became a member of the orchestra at the court of King Frederic the Great of Prussia and, in 1767 after the king's death, replaced the renowned Georg Philipp Telemann as music director of the city of Hamburg. The oldest son, Wilhelm Friedemann, was his father's favorite. He was gifted and talented as a composer and organist, but did not attain the fame and success of his father or younger brother.

In 1708 Bach returned to Weimar. Duke Wilhelm Ernst cultivated the arts and the sciences and laid the foundation for Weimar as the cultural center of Germany, which it became at the end of the century when such famous writers and poets as Wieland, Herder, Schiller, and Goethe resided and worked there. By now Bach was earning 252 gulden a year, three times the amount he had earned in Arnstadt. Of equal importance to Bach was his improved social standing. He was court concertmaster and court organist, and his reputation as organist, composer, teacher, and organ inspector rose considerably throughout central and northern Germany.

Bach was a perfectionist, and his working relationships with other people were often tempestuous. He had very high expectations of himself and of anyone who worked with him, and he was well aware of his own genius and ability. It was most difficult for him to be obedient to superiors who knew much less about music and instruments than he did and who treated him as a lowly servant and not with respect. Because social position was of utmost importance in society at that time, Bach constantly strove to improve his standing by seeking and accepting not only positions that paid well but positions that placed him in a higher social class. Titles and positions were so important—more so than they are today in European society—because they brought distinct social advantages, prestige, influence, and thus power. This meant that a person of high social position endured fewer humiliations and affronts than a person of lesser station. Unfortunately most members of the nobility and the bureaucracy lacked culture and intellect, and it was difficult to respect them. For us it is challenging to understand that Bach, Haydn, Mozart, and Goethe were considered lowly servants who had to keep their distance from the noblemen and ladies at the court and, for example, had to eat their meals in the servants' quarters along with the gardeners and butlers. A title and a court appointment often meant considerable improvement of one's daily circumstances, and thus, when in 1717 Bach had a chance to become concertmaster of the court and at the same time double his salary, he accepted the position so quickly that he failed to follow

acceptable procedure for terminating his post in Weimar. The duke became so angry with him that he ordered him thrown in prison for three weeks.

At Köthen, Bach had reached the pinnacle of his social career. He was on a par with high military officers and court officials of the state, and only ministers and members of the nobility outranked him.[28] Nevertheless he was, of course, still a servant and had to observe the expected social norms and traditions carefully. Perhaps that was one of the reasons he eventually traded the courtly life for work in the city. Bach's first wife Barbara, whom he loved very much, died in Köthen in 1720 while the composer was on a concert tour. When he returned, she had already been buried. He needed companionship and a mother for his four surviving children, and a year later he married Anna Magdalena Wülcklin, the youngest daughter of the "Court and Field Trumpeter of the Music of His Highness the Prince of Saxe-Weissenfels."[29] She was also the court singer and earned almost half as much as her husband. Like the first marriage, the union with Anna was very happy. She soon became a supportive and valued companion who raised his four children from the first marriage (the first child was barely older than Anna) and gave birth to thirteen children herself, seven of whom she lost in their early childhood.

It is difficult to imagine the heartache which the death of his parents, his first wife, and ten of his twenty children must have caused Bach. These repeated tragic experiences undoubtedly account, on the one hand, for the preoccupation with death so prevalent in many of his compositions and, on the other hand, for the expression of deep faith and trust in the Savior. Anna Magdalena, who lost seven of her children, shared her husband's grief and was a source of strength and comfort to him. Her substantial musical ability made her an indispensable co-worker, for not only did she assist in teaching music to the children, but every week she copied all the voices for Bach's Sunday cantatas. Her musical notations are so similar to Bach's own that only experts can differentiate between them.

If Bach was happy, respected, and succesful in Köthen, why did he move to Leipzig in 1723? We do not know all the answers, but there must have been several persuasive factors. Bach's sons were maturing, and their father was deeply concerned about their education. Leipzig had the famous Thomas School in which he enrolled the boys immediately after the family's arrival, and it also had a reputable university at which they would continue their education. We know how anxious Bach was for his sons to receive a good higher education.[30] But there were other reasons as well for favoring a move to the city. Most positions at the courts were rather insecure and impermanent. When the prince died or when financial problems arose,

the musicians were usually the first to lose their livelihoods and had to seek work elsewhere. In contrast, the church and the cities offered security. Bach also missed playing the organ and composing church music. Members of the court at Köthen belonged to the Reformed church, which frowned on music in the church. Finally, there were the usual attractions of the big city, among them the hope for a more democratic society, a higher salary, and better possibilities for advancement. These may have been among the factors that persuaded Bach and his wife to accept, in 1723, the position of cantor and director of music at St. Thomas Church in Leipzig.

As cantor and music director, Bach had many responsibilities, including teaching Latin and music at the school and overseeing the entire church music program in the city.[31] In addition he was expected to compose music for church holidays and for Sunday services, a task he most admirably mastered. He was thirty-eight years old when he arrived with high expectations, and he stayed for twenty-seven years until his death in 1750. He soon discovered that his expectations had been too high and that his dreams were not fulfilled. The cost of living in the city was much higher than in the small provincial towns, his income was smaller than expected, and his work load was considerably more demanding. Also, dealing with the intransigent and ignorant bureaucracy and attempting to improve the discipline and the curriculum of the school proved terribly frustrating and time-consuming. Seven years after his arrival, Bach talks about his frustrations in a letter to his lifelong friend Georg Erdmann and asks him for a position in Danzig:

> You know the course of my life from my youth up until the change in my fortunes that took me to Cöthen as Capellmeister. There I had a gracious Prince, who both loved and knew music, and in his service I intended to spend the rest of my life. It must happen, however, that the said *Serenissimus* should marry a Princess of Berenburg, and that then the impression should arise that the musical interests of said Prince had become somewhat lukewarm, especially as the new Princess seemed to be unmusical; and it pleased God that I should be called hither to be *Director Musices* and Cantor at the Thomas-Schule. . . . This post was described to me in such favorable terms that finally (particularly since my sons seemed inclined toward [university] studies) I cast my lot, in the name of the Lord, and made the journey to Leipzig. . . . But since (1) I find that the post is by no means so lucrative as it had been described to me; (2) I have failed to obtain many of the fees pertaining to the office; (3) the place is very expensive; and (4) the authorities are odd and little interested in music, so that I must live amid almost continual vexation, envy, and persecution; accordingly I shall be forced, with God's help, to seek my fortune elsewhere. Should Your Honor know or find a suitable post in your city for an old and faithful servant, I beg you most humbly to put in a most gracious word of recommendation for me.[32]

Bach then adds some details that are informative and show his sense of humor. He tells that his fees depend on the number of funerals at which he performs the music. If few people die, his fee is small. One almost gets the impression that he hopes for a catastrophe:

> My present post amounts to about 700 thaler, and when there are rather more funerals than usual, the fees rise in proportion; but when a healthy wind blows, they fall accordingly, as for example last year, when I lost fees that would ordinarily come in from funerals to an amount of more than 100 thaler. In Thuringia I could get along better on 400 thaler than here with twice that amount, because of the excessively high cost of living.[33]

Bach also collected fees for playing the organ and having the Thomas choir sing at weddings, and it made him angry when couples had their marriage ceremony performed in nearby village churches in order to avoid the extra charge for music.

In contrast to Handel, Bach and his wife had to economize carefully in order to manage a household with ten children, a household which had to meet the standards and expectations of a respected middle-class family. They seem to have succeeded quite well; in fact, Bach was able to accumulate a modest library and several musical instruments.[34] It is a tribute to the genius of Bach and to the congenial companionship and able management of his wife that, despite all the frustrations and setbacks, he was able to devote so much time to his compositions and create such extraordinary beauty in his music.

Two events sweetened and highlighted Bach's work in Leipzig. In 1736 he was appointed "Composer to the Court Capelle" by "His Royal Majesty in Poland and Serene Electoral Highness of Saxony."[35] This title enhanced Bach's standing among his colleagues and superiors. The second honor came in 1747 from Frederic the Great, king of Prussia. Bach's son Carl Philipp Emanuel had become court musician in Potsdam, and through him the king sent an invitation to the father. He was received cordially and with great respect by the king, who was a fine flute player and fair composer himself. In gratitude for the king's graciousness, Bach composed his *Musical Offering* which is based in part on a theme the king himself had suggested but which Bach modified. "In deepest humility I dedicate herewith to Your Majesty a musical offering, the noblest part of which derives from Your Majesty's Own August Hand."[36] Being invited to perform in front of royalty was a distinct honor in Bach's day and is somewhat comparable to a contemporary composer receiving an invitation from the president of the United States to play his compositions in the White House.

The *Musical Offering* was Bach's last great composition. Increasingly his eyesight failed him, and, after an unsuccessful operation, Bach

became completely blind. During the last months of his life he dictated his scores to his wife and other relatives. Until the end he worked on his *Art of the Fugue*. A few days before his death he dictated the following text for the organ chorale "Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein" (no. 668, "When We Are in Deepest Need") to his son-in-law:

> Vor Deinen Thron tret' ich hiermit,
> O Gott, und Dich demütig bitt':
> Wend' Dein gnädig Angesicht
> Von mir betrübtem Sünder nicht.
>
> (I come before thy throne
> O God, and humbly plead:
> Do not turn away thy gracious face
> From me, a troubled sinner.)

These words express his final desire, to be graciously received by a loving Lord. On the evening of 28 July 1750 he died after having suffered a heart attack. Three days later he was buried in St. John's cemetery.

When I was a boy my mother told me a story which I have not been able to verify and which may well be anecdotal but which nevertheless demonstrates the respect Bach enjoyed among some of his more sensitive contemporaries. Frederic the Great was assembled with his court musicians in concert performance when the news of Bach's death reached him. He interrupted the performance, rose to his feet, and said, "Der alte Bach ist tot" (Friend Bach is dead). The performance was continued another day. Not too many people, however, took note of Bach's death; in fact, the city council of Leipzig was relieved to be finally rid of a troublesome old man and quickly appointed a successor, a quiet man of mediocre talent who promised to be less troublesome than Bach.[37]

Bach's widow lived in poverty for ten more years. When she died, only three boys from the Thomas choir, which her husband had directed for so many years, sang at her funeral. She was buried in a pauper's grave.[38]

Bach's music, which had not been widely popular during his lifetime, was soon forgotten. It was revived by the Romantics during the first third of the nineteenth century, some seventy-five years after Bach's death. It can be argued that Bach's music is romantic in the sense that it contains beautifully melodious parts and many sections of deep emotional impact, anguish, sorrow, and ecstasy. While this is certainly true, Bach's music also has a very formal, rational side. There is a mathematical exactness in the great attention that Bach pays to the underlying, inflexible rhythm usually carried by the bass, which

appears to negate the romantic exuberance. This obvious contrast between heart and mind provides a unique tension and satisfaction appealing to modern man, and it is in part due to this dual quality that Bach today is almost universally acclaimed as one of the greatest composers of all time.

Bach's work is so massive that it surpasses the layman's comprehension; his output is unparalleled and embraces practically every musical genre except opera. In Leipzig he composed a church cantata for every one of the approximately sixty Sundays and holidays of the church calendar for five consecutive years, sometimes completing the work barely in time for the performance.[39] The standard Bach cantata opens with a brief instrumental introduction and a chorus followed by several vocal solos in recitative and aria form, and closes with a chorale. Only about two hundred of Bach's cantatas have been preserved, and they provide a variety of spiritual and secular examples, yet they are both generally of high musical quality and of great spiritual profundity.

I have already mentioned that Bach wrote all his compositions for the glory of God and the recreation of the human mind. In fact, he did not separate these two aspects. To him a piece of music composed for a wedding, the inauguration of a prince, or some other worldly celebration was not essentially different from one composed for a Sunday church service. In the Lutheran tradition, the craftsman who makes a useful article or the peasant who tills his field honors God as much as the worshipper who prays in church or the pastor who delivers the Sunday sermon. All aspects of life were spiritual, an attitude we Latter-day Saints certainly understand and embrace. Thus, when listening to Bach's music, it is practically impossible for the layman to distinguish between the secular and spiritual cantatas. An excellent example of this is the "Hunting Cantata" (no. 208, "Was mir behagt ist nur die muntre Jagd") which glorifies not so much the hunt as the beauty of God's creation in nature and which appeals to the prince to be just and kind to his subjects. This cantata contains one of the master's finest and most gentle arias, the famous "Sheep May Safely Graze." The unforgettable melody sung by the soprano is gently counterpointed by a second melody performed by the flutes.

It is, of course, somewhat presumptuous to recommend one of Bach's cantatas to the reader; nevertheless, since it is quite unreasonable to expect the novice to listen to all of them, I shall briefly comment on some favorites and hope that the reader will feel inspired to hear the sections discussed.

The text for "Aus der Tiefe rufe ich, Herr, zu dir" (no. 131, "From the Depth I Call on Thee, O Lord") is based on Psalm 130. The opening instrumental and choral section lifts the worshipper from the

bottom of the abyss to the heavenly abode of the Lord with a profoundly nostalgic melody which quickly turns into a more lively and joyous rhythm in the second verse. The expressive last chorus ends in a fugue. "When the text announces the Grace of Our Lord, a tender oboe melody suddenly blossoms and glides above the chords sustained by the voices, seeming to bring a message of consolation and a promise of salvation."[40]

"Gottes Zeit ist die allerbeste Zeit" (no. 106, "God's Time Is the Best Time of All") was composed for a funeral, and the opening sonatina is exceptionally beautiful with its serene lullaby symbolizing the calm slumber of those who have died in Christ and in the knowledge that they will be resurrected and reunited with their loved ones. It expresses Bach's conviction that death is sweet and desirable because it means union with Christ.

The second chorus in "Preise, Jerusalem, den Herrn" (no. 119, "Praise, Jerusalem, Thy Lord") is very beautiful and is accompanied by four trumpets, two recorders, three oboes, drums, strings, and continuo. The powerful melody aptly underscores the message that mankind may rejoice because the Lord is gracious and merciful.

The music of "Christ lag in Todesbanden" (no. 4, "Christ Lay in Death's Chains"), the "Easter Cantata," reflects the dramatic aspects of the text and expresses the contrasting themes of death and the resurrection. "The cantata burns with that inner flame which glows in the soul of every member of the congregation whose religion is alive."[41]

"Herz und Mund und Tat und Leben" (no. 147, "Heart and Mouth and Deed and Life") is a masterpiece which contains one of Bach's most popular compositions, the chorale "Jesu, Joy of Man's Desiring." The chorale occurs after an introductory sinfonia and three arias by alto, bass, and tenor voice. It closes both the first and second section of the cantata, the first with the verse "Wohl mir, da ich Jesum habe, o wie feste halt ich ihn" ("Blessed Am I that I Have Jesus Whom I Will Never Let Go") and the second with the more famous verse "Jesus bleibet meine Freude" ("Jesu, Joy of Man's Desiring"). The serene melody of the chorus is embellished by an equally serene and melodious counterpoint played by the orchestra consisting of strings, oboes, and a trumpet which supports the choral line. The mood is one of serene joy and quiet assurance. There are few comparable compositions in all of Western music.

"Gott, der Herr, ist Sonn' und Schild" (no. 79, "God, the Lord, Is Sun and Shield") commemorates the Lutheran Reformation. The libretto is based in part on Psalm 84. The second aria, sung by the alto, has a lovely oboe counterpoint, and the famous chorale "Nun danket alle Gott" ("Now Thank We All Our God") has become a

staple of congregational singing. "Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott" (no. 80, "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God") also commemorates the Reformation and certainly is one of Bach's grandest cantatas because of the richness of voices and instruments and because of the majesty of the subject. The text is based on Luther's famous hymn, the "Battle Hymn," so called because Luther and his followers sang it upon entering the city of Worms in 1530 where Luther would face the Imperial Diet. The chorale tune appears in four of the eight movements and expresses the triumph of the Reformation, the victory of light over the forces of evil. The powerful first chorus is a brilliant variation on Luther's theme with the participation of the full orchestra and the intermittent intonation of the theme by the trumpets and the oboes. The second verse of Luther's hymn is sung by a soprano and bass duo accompanied by strings and oboes. The third and fourth verses again are sung by the chorus.

Perhaps the most frequently performed cantata is "Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme" (no. 140, "Sleepers Awake, a Voice Is Calling"). The text is based on the parable of the ten virgins. The three vocal soloists represent the watchman (tenor), Christ (bass), and the believing soul (soprano). The melody of the first chorus is sung by soprano voices and depicts the virgins as they are waiting for the bridegroom. The other choral voices and the instruments provide the counterpoint. The most famous part of the cantata and one of the most famous chorales of Bach is "Zion Hears the Watchman Calling," sung by the tenors and brilliantly counterpointed by the violins and violas playing in unison. Christ arrives and then passes as the faithful joyously join him, while those who were unprepared are left behind in despair. The final chorale once more repeats the familiar theme, this time with the entire orchestra supporting the chorus. Here indeed Bach allows us to preview the exaltation awaiting the Lord's faithful followers.

Bach composed three oratorios—the *Christmas Oratorio* being the best-known—and five passions of which only two survive: the *St. Matthew* and the *St. John*. The *St. Matthew* passion is a staple of the concert season in Europe and is usually performed at Christmas or Easter. It is a massive work with double chorus. The text, based on the Gospel narrative, is set to beautiful music with passages of distinct lyrical quality. In the great closing chorus, "In Deepest Grief," the two choirs, split in two as if to symbolize man's broken heart, lament the Savior's death with a throbbing melody. The listener finds some consolation in the final lines, "Rest ye softly, rest in peace." In this magnificent work Bach approaches an ideal which opera composers to the time of Richard Wagner were seeking to reestablish and which was believed to have been achieved by the Greeks: classic tragedy based on a profound religious foundation.

In Bach's time, Latin polyphonic music, such as the mass, was still performed on important feast days, and Bach inherited the tradition and mastered it in his *Mass in B minor*. He is, however, a transitional figure and a master also of the new style of music in which a single melody dominates amidst harmonic accompaniment. Like Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis*, Bach's monumental composition is a magnificent expression of man's search for eternal truth. The work is carefully and masterfully crafted and rich in complicated artful structures such as the fugue. The music is of sublime majesty and expresses man's fervent hope for eternal life, his profound faith in Christ, his love for the Eternal Father who sent the Savior, and his deep longing to return to God's presence.

Besides his vocal and chamber music, Bach's organ compositions are prodigious. Since all of his life he was preoccupied with the canon as the most perfect form of counterpoint, this musical form occurs again and again in his organ chorales and fugues. The masterful use of counterpoint is also apparent in his keyboard music among which *The Well-Tempered Clavier* is particularly well known. This composition consists of two sets of twenty-four preludes[42] and fugues[43] each. In the preludes Bach reveals and explores the special tonal qualities of the piano[44] and in the fugues the musical texture and the harmonious combination of diverse themes. Each of the two sets covers the twenty-four major and minor keys. Since much of the keyboard music was orginally written for family use and practice, it reflects a unique spirit of intimacy and warmth.

Among his orchestral works—many of which are lost—his six *Brandenburg Concertos*, dedicated in 1721 to the margrave of Brandenburg, are exceptionally beautiful and have become deservedly well known. They were performed by a much smaller orchestra than we are used to today, and each concerto was written for a different group of instruments. Thus the first is for strings, three oboes, two horns, and a bassoon; the second is for strings, solo violin, flute, oboe, and trumpet. Particularly striking is the third movement of the first concerto, the instrumentation of the second concerto, the sterling string sections in the third, and the piano section in the fifth. Bach's expertise as a violinist helped him greatly in the composition of his violin concertos in A minor, E major, and D minor. These three concertos demonstrate his special talent for exact and varied phrasing. His violin concertos; his triple concerto for flute, violin, and piano; and his *Brandenburg Concertos* represent the climax of the baroque orchestral style.

The compositions discussed here are all worthy of the reader's attention. To become better acquainted with Bach, the music lover must listen often and attentively and choose his own favorites. The

greatness of Bach's music becomes apparent in its sublimity and in its unique combination of mathematical precision and profound spiritual fervor and passion.

Bach was a superb craftsman who knew the capabilities and limitations of the human voice and the instruments for which he composed—especially the organ, harpsichord, clavichord, viola, and violin—and he knew what a virtuoso could do with them. Consequently his music makes great technical demands on both performers and audiences. Yet technical excellence, although it underlies every one of his musical compositions, never dominates to the point that melody, intense emotion, and religious fervor are overwhelmed. As with every excellent piece of art, Bach achieves an admirable balance between the two. Bach's music, indeed, is great and will for all time uplift and inspire audiences and bring them closer to God.

NOTES

[1]Heinrich Schütz worked for the elector of Saxony in Dresden and composed the first German opera, *Dafne*. He is noted for his sacred music, oratorios, and passions. He died in 1672.

[2]Domenico Scarlatti was an important Italian master who composed sacred music, operas, and numerous pieces for piano and organ. Handel met him in Italy and was inspired by his music.

[3]Johann Christian Bach was the youngest son of Johann Sebastian and his second wife, Anna Magdalena. He became the organist at the cathedral of Milan and converted to Catholicism. Eventually he settled in England.

[4]Alban Berg was the gifted student of Arnold Schönberg, who is best known for his operas *Wozzek* and *Lulu*. He died in 1935.

[5]Handel and his family spelled his name several different ways. When he became an English citizen in 1726, he consistently wrote it George Frideric Handel.

[6]Opera is a drama set to music and performed on a stage. The oratorio is related to opera but is not dramatized. It is performed in a concert hall, and the text is sung by soloists and a choir, both accompanied by an orchestra. The subject may be religious or secular. The passion is an oratorio with the text based on the Gospels. The subject matter is the suffering and agony of Christ. The cantata is a mini-oratorio based on either a secular or a sacred text.

[7]Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel, eds., *The Bach Reader* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1945), 270. This volume is a valuable research tool. It presents in English translation many documents and letters pertaining to Bach's life and work. Another even more valuable source for the researcher is Werner Neumann and Hans-Joachim Schulze, eds., *Bach-Dokumente: Supplement zu Johann Sebastian Bach: Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke*, 4 vols. (Kassel, West Germany: Bärenreiter, 1963), 79.

[8]There is an excellent article on the castrati in the German weekly, *Die Zeit*: "Magere Riesen mit hoher Stimme," in *Die Zeit*, no. 32, 9 August 1985, 9–10.

[9]Archibald T. Davison, *Bach and Handel: The Consummation of the Baroque in Music* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951), 25.

[10]Ibid., 28.

[11]Ibid., 15.

[12]Germany did not become a unified nation until 1871. Before that time she consisted of dozens of kingdoms, grand duchies, duchies, small principalities, and independent cities. Weissenfels, where Handel's father worked and Handel received music lessons, is practically next door to Halle but belonged to the Duchy of Saxe-Weissenfels.

[13]It is difficult for us to assess the value of money in those days. One way is to judge by the amount of gold or silver contained in the coins. A ducat contained approximately three and a half grams of fine gold, which would have a current market value of approximately forty dollars. Will Durant estimates that a guilder in Luther's time was equivalent to twenty-five 1955 dollars (see Will Durant, *The Reformation* [New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957], 295), but all such estimates are inaccurate. A look at Bach's estate [*Bach-Dokumente*, 2:490–512] shows us the cost of books, household goods, and musical instruments and might be a more accurate indication of the buying power of money in the seventeenth century.

[14]Paul Nettl, *Georg Friedrich Händel* (Berlin: Verlag Merseburger, 1958), 53–54.

[15]Romain Rolland, *Handel*, trans. A. Eaglefield Hull (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, and Co., 1929), 63.

[16]John Mainwaring, *Memoirs of the Life of the Late George Frederic Handel* (London: R. and J. Dodsley, 1760), 89–92.

[17]Rolland, *Handel*, 81–82. See also Newman Flower, *George Frideric Handel* (London: Cassel and Company, 1923), 173–74.

[18]Since the Second World War, Handel's operas are being staged again but are enjoyed mainly for their historical significance. It is highly unlikely that they will ever reach the popularity of Mozart's or Verdi's operas.

[19]H. C. Robbins Landon, *Handel and His World* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1984), 188.

[20]Flower, *George Frideric Handel*, 271. The libretto had been compiled by Charles Jennens, who had taken most of the text from the English Prayer Book and from the Christmas and Easter services of the Church of England (see Landon, *Handel and His World*, 174).

[21]Ibid.

[22]Christopher Hogwood, *Handel* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1984), 169.

[23]Mainwaring, *Memoirs of the Life of the Late George Frederic Handel*, 135–37.

[24]James Beattie to the Rev. Dr. Laing, 25 May 1780, cited in Landon, *Handel and His World*, 202–3.

[25]David and Mendel, eds., *The Bach Reader*, 20.

[26]In the Middle Ages, musicians had been vagabonds who had no civil rights and were usually treated with contempt and disrespect. By the seventeenth century, however, most musicians had become professionals and were hired by the courts, the church, or the cities on a permanent basis. The town musician belonged to a respected guild, his activities were regulated by laws and statutes, and his place in society was secure. As in other professions, the aspiring musician had to work for six or more years as an apprentice and thereafter as a journeyman before he could apply to become a master craftsman and train other musicians. He was employed by the city council and played at weddings, funerals, socials, holidays, and other official functions of the city.

[27]See note thirteen on the value of money.

[28]Johann Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte* (Hamburg: N.p., 1740; reprint Berlin: Kommissionsverlag von Leo Liepmannssohn, 1910), xxxii, 46. This edition is a reprint of the 1740 original printed in Hamburg.

[29]David and Mendel, eds., *The Bach Reader*, 83.

[30]Karl Geiringer, *Johann Sebastian Bach* (Munich: Verlag C. H. Beck, 1966), 82.

[31]Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte*, xxxiii, 47.

[32]David and Mendel, eds., *The Bach Reader*, 125.

[33]Ibid., 125–26.

[34]Ibid., 193.

[35]Ibid., 151.

[36]Ibid., 179.

[37]Neumann and Schulze, eds., *Bach-Dokumente*, 2:479.

[38]Ibid., 3:5, 17, 153.

[39]Geiringer, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, 135. The cantata is performed as part of the Lutheran church service, part before and part after the sermon. It usually lasts about fifteen minutes and consists of instrumental, vocal solo, and choral parts.

[40]Andre Pirro, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, trans. Mervin Savill (New York: Orion Press, 1957), 77.

[41]Ibid., 103.

[42]In his preludes Bach explores the special tonal qualities of the instrument before he begins to concentrate on melody.

[43]In the fugue the listener's main interest is directed to musical texture, in other words to the harmony achieved through the combination of different themes.

[44]Bach used the clavichord, the forerunner of the piano.

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Book Review

CONWAY B. SONNE. *Saints on the Seas: A Maritime History of Mormon Migration, 1830–1890*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983. 212 pp. $20.00.

Reviewed by William G. Hartley, senior research historian, Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Church History, Brigham Young University.

Liking Latter-day Saint immigration history, I prize this book, which sits on my library shelf next to the classic LDS migration studies by William Mulder, P. A. M. Taylor, Gustive Larson, and LeRoy Hafen. Nevertheless, *Saints on the Seas* feels like a *Reader's Digest* version of something longer and richer that does not exist. Regrettably, the six hundred page saga the subject so richly deserves is not found here. Perhaps the author's plans for a forthcoming LDS maritime encyclopedia caused this volume to be brief.

Saints on the Seas, like a fine (but small) ship, sails successfully into previously uncharted historical waters. Conway Sonne, a trustee of the National Maritime Museum Association, wrote this book because "little has been written about the rich maritime tradition of the Mormon Church" (ix). He describes the LDS migration "over water"—missionaries outbound and immigrants inbound—from 1830 to 1890.

Stepping aboard Sonne's book, we find it to be a hybrid—a mix of monograph, reference book, and maritime chronicle. Ruddering the book is the massive data Sonne has collected—prodigious research is evident—concerning about 325 ocean and river vessels, or nearly every important vessel that carried the Saints. Always his focus is ships—their types, sizes, speeds, schedules, passenger capacities, builders, and captains. Despite its large cargo of facts and statistics, the book frequently pulls us easily "out to sea" where we taste salt breezes, hear gruff sea captains, squint at masts and riggings, and smell musty holds below deck.

Sonne serves us eight chapters: one on the LDS "gathering," one on missionaries' voyages, two on sailing ships, one on riverboats, two on transoceanic steamers, and a final statistical assessment. He also provides eleven appendices (twenty-seven pages) packed with original calculations and tables.

Readers seeking full discussions of LDS emigration find only short synopses here and should consult the detailed monographs by Mulder and Taylor. However, several of the "best" voyage stories—the *International*, *Olympus*, *Julia Ann*, and riverboat *Saluda*, for

example—are briefly retold here. Too often LDS migration is thought of in terms of the Atlantic Ocean and Europe, but Sonne reminds us of the ignored Pacific aspects, too.

Avoiding parochialisms that plague much LDS history writing, the author puts LDS water travel into the larger context of international maritime history. To explain the safety of LDS voyages in the 1840s, for example, he gives statistics on 1840–41 ocean wrecks in general. While his narration proceeds chronologically forward through six decades, he keeps readers abreast of technological changes affecting water transport. For landlubbers, he defines differences between ships, barkentines, brigantines, brigs, schooners, and barks. Here and there he sprinkles in bits of maritime color, such as this ditty about the speedy-or-else Black Ball line on which Saints sometimes sailed:

> 'Tis larboard and starboard on deck you will sprawl
> For kicking Jack Williams commands the Black Ball.
> (52)

The narrative is peppered with historically valuable maritime details not known before. Sonne calculates, for example, that sail voyages from Liverpool to New Orleans averaged fifty-four days; from Liverpool to New York, thirty-eight days; and by steamer from Liverpool to New York, eleven days. The average size of LDS immigrating companies was 271. While no one can know exactly how many Saints emigrated between 1830 and 1890, Sonne's figures are as reliable as any—85,000 emigrants out of about 91,600 LDS passengers. Noah Rogers, he says, was the first Mormon to sail around the world (1845).

His chapter about riverboats the Saints used on the Hudson, Ohio, Missouri, and Mississippi rivers breaks new paths (or should we say charts new routes?). To 1855, 17,600 of 18,500 LDS immigrants churned up the Mississippi River on dozens of riverboats—Sonne identifies fifty-three by name. Against a backdrop of general U.S. river history, he describes several LDS upriver voyages.

Notable too is his discussion of twenty-one transoceanic steamers that carried LDS emigrants, starting in 1868. Almost half of all LDS emigrants (1840–90) came on such steamers. In two chapters he describes specific steamers, voyages, and the maritime context. (Readers should supplement these chapters with Richard Jensen's "Steaming Through: Arrangements for Mormon Emigration from Europe, 1869–1887," *Journal of Mormon History* 2 [1982]: 3–23; Sonne relies for some of his interpretation on Jensen's earlier piece without making adequate acknowledgment.)

Of Sonne's eleven informed appendices, appendix one bears particular importance for LDS historians. It is the fullest and most reliable chronological list ever compiled of LDS emigrant companies.

It is better than (and should replace) the LDS historical department's standard list because it adds non-European voyages, arrival as well as departure dates, and details about vessels. Another appendix lists the twenty-four LDS voyages with highest death tolls—statistical proof that LDS companies enjoyed remarkable safety at sea. Other appendices list shipmasters, vessels carrying the most passengers, shipbuilders, steamship lines the Saints used, and construction facts about specific vessels.

A rich bonus, the book's forty-six illustrations create the best picture gallery in print of LDS-hired sailing, steam, and river vessels. Also valuable, Sonne's nine page bibliography lists many LDS and especially non-LDS maritime sources that would be next to impossible to discover by anyone not a seasoned maritime scholar.

However, a few minor errors and omissions appear. In 1841 the *Caroline* (*Collina* in some accounts) made two, not one, LDS voyages, according to Quebec newspaper accounts. *Monarch of the Sea* emigrants in 1861 were not crammed together (56); instead, as diarist Johanna Nilsson Lindholm noted, "It is an excellent vessel, large, roomy" (in *Our Pioneer Heritage* [Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1961], 5:49–50). The discussion (123) of Castle Gardens (New York arrival depot) abruptly cuts into a steamer's chapter, giving readers the erroneous impression that the depot had slight importance for sailing Saints. Sonne's use of Linforth's list of emigrant occupations for the 1850s (29) should be accompanied by passenger occupation analyses for other decades, such as that found in Gordon Irving and Richard Jensen's study of *Amazon* passengers (Pacific Coast Branch of American Historical Association paper, 1979). Sonne's reasons why emigration diminished around 1890 (144–45) do not include the most important one—overpopulation of Utah and Idaho valleys, as Richard Sherlock noted in "Mormon Migration and Settlement after 1875," *Journal of Mormon History* 2 (1975): 54–56.

It is regrettable that in a reference book of LDS vessels, Sonne did not design his bibliography to help the public know how to locate what ship their ancestors sailed on (emigration index cards and passenger lists at the LDS Church Archives) or where to find firsthand accounts of particular voyages (Paul Smart's list in his and David Pratt's World Conference on Records paper, "Life Aboard an Emigrant Ship").

Nevertheless, *Saints on the Seas* is a "fit ship"—packaged well with pleasant layout and design, generous illustrations, scholarly endnotes and bibliography, index, maps, solid binding, quality printing, and archival grade paper.

This book is entertaining reading, valuable history, and a vital reference book. As volume 17 in the University of Utah's Publications in the American West series, it is a "spanking" credit to the series' editors and publisher.

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Editor:

Richard Cracroft's review of the "Special Issue on Peace," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 17 (Winter 1984), indicated that *Dialogue* is behind in its publishing schedule. Since 1983 *Dialogue* has appeared regularly and on time. Dr. Cracroft may have been a bit confused because the Winter 1984 issue, to which he referred, was mailed in early January of 1985. The seasonal schedule for winter, however, includes December, January, and February. Subscribers now regularly receive their *Dialogue* issues in March, June, September, and December of each year.

Linda King Newell
L. Jackson Newell
Editors, *Dialogue*

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