FOURTH GREAT AWAKENING
AN EXECUTION IN MEXICO
BEHIND FUNDAMENTALIST ANTI-MORMONISM
MORMON FOLK ART
SILENCE IN ART AND RELIGION
"SEDUCED AWAY"
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BYU Studies is abstracted in Current Contents: Behavioral, Social, and Management Sciences; indexed in Religion Index One: Periodicals (articles) and Index to Book Reviews in Religion; and listed in Historical Abstracts, Arts and Humanities Citation Index, American History and Life Annual Index, and MLA International Bibliography.

BYU Studies is published quarterly at Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. ©1995–96 Brigham Young University, Provo, UT. All rights reserved. Printed in the U.S.A. on acid-free paper 4-90-46359-3.3M ISSN 0007-0106
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The Latter-day Saints
Rafael Monroy ca. 1913. President of the branch in San Marcos, Mexico, Monroy was executed by the army of Emiliano Zapata during the Mexican Revolution. As villages surrounding San Marcos came under attack, Monroy, a merchant and landowner, helped provide refuge in San Marcos for members of the Church fleeing the violence of the Revolution. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.
Execution in Mexico: The Deaths of Rafael Monroy and Vicente Morales

This retelling of the execution of Monroy and Morales places their deaths in the context of the religious, social class, and nationalist conflicts of the Mexican Revolution.

Mark L. Grover

Introduction

It had rained most of the night, and the air was damp. Jesucita Monroy had not slept and was out on the street early, pleading with the officers of the Zapatista army who were occupying the Mexican village of San Marcos. Her early morning appeal was successful, and the Zapatistas released her three daughters from army custody. After getting two of her daughters home, Jesucita and her oldest, Guadalupe, went to the place where two executions had taken place the evening before. Already burdened with emotion and grief, these two women began the task of moving the stiff bodies of their son and brother, Rafael, and their nephew-in-law and cousin-in-law, Vicente Morales, home to prepare for the funeral and burial. Victims of the brutality of a civil war in Mexico, these two men had lost their lives in the violence they had deplored. For many members of the family and for many friends, Rafael and Vicente became examples of faith and dedication to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. For the grieving mother and sister, the possible motives for the execution were to be understood several years later, only after the pain and emotion of the event had subsided.

Few scenes in the history of man are as dramatic and disturbing as an execution. The shooting of Joseph and Hyrum Smith in 1844 is indelibly etched in the collective memory of Mormons. On July 17, 1915, seventy-one years later, Rafael Monroy, the president of the San Marcos Mexico Branch, and Vicente Morales, his
first counselor, were brought before a firing squad at 9:00 p.m. and shot by soldiers in the army of the Mexican revolutionary leader Emiliano Zapata. Monroy and Morales became the first Mexican Mormons to be executed by a revolutionary army and, in the eyes of many, to suffer the fate of martyrdom.

The published descriptions of the execution by Rey L. Pratt, the president of the Mexican Mission at the time, and subsequent popular recounting of the story portray the event primarily in terms of religion and faith. I suggest that, although religion played a part in the chain of events that led to the shooting, these events must also be examined in the context of the political and social environment of the time. A rejection of Catholicism by the two men was a component of the story, but the middle-class status of Monroy; his relationship to citizens of the United States, both Mormon and non-Mormon; and his apparent support of the opposing revolutionary army were equally important ingredients. The fact that violence in the Mexican Revolution often focused on certain professions, such as merchants, also helps to explain the tragic occurrence.

Religious history must be examined within the environment of the society in order to be fully understood. Thus an understanding of the events in religious history often requires an appreciation of various interlocking factors, of which religious persecution is only one. Placement in this context does not lessen the spiritual elements of religious history, but does increase our understanding that the spiritual does not occur in a vacuum removed from the secular environment.

**Mormonism in Mexico**

Mormon missionaries first entered Mexico in 1875, and a small branch was established in Mexico City in 1878. The early missionary reports encouraged Brigham Young to establish a colony in northern Mexico of members from the United States. After negotiating with the government of Porfirio Díaz, the Church purchased land in the northern state of Chihuahua, and several Mormon families moved from the United States to Mexico in 1885. The mission in central Mexico was closed in 1889 but reopened in 1901, and the earlier branches in that area were reestablished. Rey L. Pratt,
later of the First Council of the Seventy, began serving as mission president in 1907. He was energetic and enthusiastic, and his presence stimulated and vitalized the mission. Missionary activity in and around Mexico City, combined with the presence of the United States colonists in the north, resulted in a small, but important, Mormon presence in Mexico by the beginning of the Mexican Revolution in 1910.¹

**San Marcos**

One area where the Church was particularly successful was in the small village of San Marcos, Hidalgo, close to the town of Tula, about forty-five miles north of Mexico City. One member, Jesús Sanchez, was baptized in 1881 and remained faithful to his new religion after the missionaries left. Missionaries returned to the village on August 15, 1912, to reestablish contact with Sanchez. They stopped at the local store to ask directions, and the proprietor invited them to eat with her family. After the meal, the family gave the missionaries directions to the Sanchez home. Jesús Sanchez was a quiet man, respected in the village for his honesty and integrity. He had maintained his belief in the Mormon Church and had suffered some persecution because of his religious beliefs. Sanchez was close to sixty years old and was not in good health.²

The owner of the store was Jesús Mera de Monroy (Jesucita Monroy), the mother of four living children.³ Before moving to San Marcos, the family lived on a farm near the town of El Arenal until the father, Jesús Monroy Vera, died. The family’s landlord suggested they leave the farm and helped Jesucita get a government position. In December 1902, Jesucita moved her family to the village of San Marcos, where she worked in the new job and soon opened a small grocery business. One daughter, Natalia, married R. V. McVey, a U.S. citizen, and they owned a store in the nearby village of San Miguel. The oldest son, Rafael, married Guadalupe Hernández, and they purchased a small farm on the outskirts of town. Two daughters, Jovita and Guadalupe, lived with their mother, taught school in the village, and worked in the family store. Jesucita opened her home to extended family members, and several nieces and nephews lived with the family on different occasions.⁴
The Monroy family ca. 1913. Left to right: Rafael Monroy, María Concepción Monroy (Rafael's daughter), Guadalupe Hernández de Monroy (Rafael's wife), Natalia Monroy de McVey, Jesucita Monroy, Jovita Monroy, and Guadalupe Monroy. After joining the Church in 1913, the Monroys became one of Mexico's early stalwart Mormon families. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.
Members of the Monroy family were generally well regarded in the region, especially Rafael. Guadalupe stated that "Rafael was respected in the town for his character and standing, in so much that District of Tula authorities asked that he represent the village and town and other organizations. He was consulted on various issues or questions."  

Rafael was acquainted with Jesús Sanchez, and he knew that Sanchez was a "Protestant," though they seldom discussed religion. After the missionaries' visit, Rafael asked Sanchez about the foreign missionaries and inquired concerning his religious beliefs. Sanchez responded with a discussion of Mormonism and concluded by bearing his testimony of the gospel. Rafael's two sisters Jovita and Guadalupe were particularly moved by his testimony and decided they wanted to investigate the Mormon Church. Sanchez gave them a Protestant Bible, and the two began to read and compare it with the Catholic Bible. They told Sanchez they desired to talk with the missionaries when they returned to the village.

Sanchez became ill in March of the following year and was cared for by his daughter and Jesucita Monroy. When he went into a coma and death seemed imminent, Jesucita persuaded his daugh-
ter to contact the Mormon missionaries and ask them to come and give him a blessing. She sent a letter to mission headquarters in Mexico City explaining the extent of her father's illness and urging the missionaries' visit. On March 29, Elders W. Ernest Young and Willard Huish arrived to find that Sanchez had died that morning. The family made funeral arrangements, and the missionaries stayed the evening at the home of R. V. McVey, Natalia Monroy's husband.

The following day a number of people attended the funeral. After the service, Jesucita approached the elders and "took us by the hands, and said she wanted to know more, and invited us to her home, which we gladly accepted." The missionaries ate lunch at the Monroy home and talked about the Church with Jesucita, Jovita, and Guadalupe. That evening Rafael came by, and they all stayed up late, talking. Two days later, the missionaries revisited the family before returning to Mexico City.

The two Monroy sisters Jovita and Guadalupe had the most ardent interest in the Church. Their enthusiasm was so great that for a time their mother became concerned they were
becoming “addicted” to the Church. Rafael’s interest caused conflicts with his wife; she tried to hide the pamphlets given them by the missionaries.  

The Monroy family attended a mission conference that was held May 24-26, 1913, in the town of San Pedro Mártir. At this conference, they met President Rey L. Pratt, and a strong bond was immediately formed between President Pratt and the Monroys. They enjoyed the meetings and were particularly impressed with the unity felt among the members. After the conference, President Pratt invited the family to his home in Mexico City, where they met the rest of the Pratt family. Two weeks later, President Pratt and Elder Young returned to San Marcos, where, on June 11, Rafael, Jovita, and Guadalupe were baptized. Elder Young described the event:

June 11 is a happy day for me. It is now three months since visiting the Monroys the first time. . . . These converts are descendants of the Otomi [stc] Indians, a very nice family. At 12 noon we went to a grove on the river, a beautiful place by a large cypress tree with branches that spread over the water. . . . It was interesting how I baptized Rafael, as he was a 210-pound man, but I took him into water up to our shoulders and I immersed him so quickly that he had no time to be disturbed about breathing. President Pratt was smiling about the sudden immersion when I looked at him while he witnessed the baptism from the bank of the river.  

The Monroys’ association with the foreign missionaries immediately attracted the attention of the villagers. The family’s rejection of the Catholic Church was noted, and many of the faithful Catholics began to pray for the Monroys’ return to the church. The local priest even directed a Sunday sermon against the Monroy family. They became the object of some harassment that included written vulgarities on a wall of their home. Rumors were spread suggesting that food sold at their store had been officially condemned and that some who had eaten it had become ill. An unsuccessful boycott of their store was attempted. Many friends of the family withdrew, and the Monroys became isolated from the rest of the community. The family’s response was increased faith and enthusiasm in the Church.  

These activities would probably not have lead to serious difficulty had Mexico not been in the midst of a general civil war. Thirty years of oppressive dictatorial rule by Porfirio Díaz between
1876 and 1910, followed by a period when his successors were unable to gain legitimate political control, had propelled the entire country of Mexico into a violent revolution. Four separate armies eventually formed around powerful regional caudillos (strongmen), who battled each other for political control of the country.

In the midst of this civil violence, the lives of missionaries and Church members were often in danger, as were the lives of many others. One of the goals of the revolutionaries was to diminish foreign influence and control in the country. Consequently, people from the United States and those associated with them came under increased threat of violence. The foreign Mormon missionaries had to be extremely careful about where they went and how they acted. They even held a special meeting to discuss "attitude and conduct." The mission developed a set of rules and regulations for appropriate behavior.¹¹

Members also suffered abuse. Most of the violence had little to do with their status in the Church but was the result of the instability of civil war. Elder Young reported the kidnapping of a Sister Elena Rojas of the town of Tecalco. She and her mother were held for two hours and beaten. The women were bruised but not seriously injured.¹² A few days later, men broke into the home and store of the Luz Bautista family in Tlalpan. The soldiers ransacked the store and took everything, as they had done in many other homes and businesses in the town. The missionaries were in the house at the time but were able to hide from the soldiers.¹³ Ernest Young stated, "Great suffering was experienced by the members, and sad events were reported. Towns were burned, and savage revenge was carried on between conflicting political parties."¹⁴

The violence increased to a point that the safety of United States citizens was in jeopardy, necessitating the evacuation of all foreign missionaries in late August 1913. President Pratt, prior to leaving, attempted to assign local male members to lead the congregations, hoping to ensure the continuation of Church units until the return of the missionaries. Upon hearing the news of the evacuation, Rafael immediately went to Mexico City to say goodbye. At this time, Rafael, a member of only three months, was ordained an elder and put in charge of the meetings in San Marcos.¹⁵ Later that day, Pratt left for the United States.
The next two years were difficult for the members in San Marcos but were also a period of spiritual development. The members held Sunday meetings whenever possible, and the numbers attending increased. The members had frequent visits from local missionaries and surrounding branch presidents (generally once every two weeks) to insure that everything was going well. Local leaders received letters from President Pratt in the United States instructing the members about Church doctrine and encouraging faithfulness. Several new converts were baptized, and attendance at the meetings increased from just the Monroy family to almost forty people on numerous occasions.

Rafael became well known for his energy in the cause of the Church in Mexico. As surrounding towns came under attack by revolutionary forces, members would move to San Marcos for safety. The congregation welcomed these members and did all that was possible to find them housing and jobs. Many ended up working for the Monroy family either at the store or on Rafael's farm. It became fairly well known throughout the Church in Mexico that members in need could go to San Marcos and receive help. However, many of the local villagers became concerned that the growth of the Mormon population was too great and that it threatened their own security. Some even threatened to kill Rafael for teaching doctrine contrary to the Catholic Church.16

Rafael was concerned with the plight of the expelled American colonists in Northern Mexico17 and saw the area of San Marcos as a potential new gathering place. He purchased land with his own money with the intent of saving it for the colonists. He also collected money from members for the same purpose.18

The Killing

The Mexican Revolution was essentially a regional conflict between local leaders. Originally, several armies from different areas of the country were involved. In the final stages of the Revolution, the two strongest armies—the Zapatistas, followers of Emiliano Zapata from the southern state of Morelos, and the Carranzistas (also called Constitutionalists), followers of Venustiano Carranza from the north—battled each other in the vicinity of Mexico City.
Emiliano Zapata was a small land owner whose involvement in local politics made him acutely aware of the land problems of the Mexican poor. His personal charisma, combined with an attractive political platform, resulted in his being able to recruit a large army dedicated to changing the political and social structure of Mexico.

The Constitutionalists were led by Venustiano Carranza, the governor of the northeastern state of Coahuila. They were a loose coalition of northern political and military leaders, including Alvaro Obregón from the state of Sonora but excluding Pancho Villa. Their political leanings were less radical than Zapata's, but they were still concerned with eliminating the inequities that were common in Mexico. These two armies battled for control of Mexico.¹⁹

The individual armies were not strong enough to maintain continuous control of the area, and consequently small villages and towns in the vicinity of Mexico City became the battleground between the two rivals and frequently changed hands. The residents suffered greatly. Jesucita Monroy described the difficulty of surviving this type of a conflict: "It was for us a very sad life, because we were frequently obliged to witness battles, and pose (without being such) as Zapatistas on the one hand and as Constitutionals on the other, and thus we passed the space of three months."²⁰

On July 7, 1915, a group of Zapatista soldiers moved into the village of San Marcos, which had been under the control of the Carranzistas for several months. ²¹ They demanded food and other supplies from many in the village, including the Monroys. Rafael obliged the troops and provided them with a steer that he helped butcher. While waiting for the hide, he observed a neighbor by the name of Andres Reyes talking with the troops. Reyes apparently harbored jealousies toward the Monroys and told the soldiers that not only was Rafael an officer in the Carranzista army, but that he also had a cache of weapons and ammunition hidden in his mother's store.

The accusation that Monroy had hidden weapons was false, but his relationship with the Carranzistas is not clear. It is doubtful that he held any position in the army, but he had shown considerable sympathy for them. Daniel Montoya Gutiérrez, who worked for Rafael, indicated that leaders of the army had eaten at the Monroy home several times, and it was this familiarity with the Carranzistas that attracted the attention of the town and resulted in the accusation.²²
Vicente Morales, a brick mason, was a member of the Church and part of the Monroy family. He had begun visiting the Monroys on January 25, 1914, as a local missionary on assignment from the branch president of the San Pedro Branch shortly after the missionaries from the United States returned home. Guadalupe Monroy described him as "a poor young man whose Spanish was limited because his native language was Otomi. . . . What he did have was a strong faith and powerful testimony about how the gospel had changed him." He visited the family at least once every two weeks and became interested in Eulalia, the niece of Jesucita living in the Monroy home. They were married a year later on January 3, 1915. He worked for Rafael doing odd jobs on the farm and at the store.23

Just prior to the time of Andres Reyes’s accusations, Morales had been working in the Monroy store, building a closet. Reyes suggested to the Zapatistas that this was a hidden closet where a cache of weapons could be found. Meanwhile, Rafael had returned to his mother’s house, and while he was eating, the soldiers confronted him—demanding that he open the store so they could search for the weapons. Rafael denied having stored any arms. The soldiers did not believe Monroy’s denials and continued to question him about the hidden weapons. They searched the store several times, knocking down the walls of the new closet, and found nothing. Guadalupe said to General Balderas, who was in charge of the troops, "Tear down the house if you want, but you won’t find weapons because my brother is peaceful and not a revolutionary."24

After the soldiers ransacked the store, they took Monroy, his three sisters, and Morales to a house that the Zapatistas were using as an improvised prison. When the Monroys and Morales arrived, they realized they were not the only ones being held prisoner. Several others in the town had been rounded up and arrested—most coming from wealthy families.25

Jesucita spent much of the afternoon trying to influence the soldiers. She pleaded with the men:

Señores, My son is a peaceful man, he is not connected with any party, if he were do you think you would find him at home? If you want our possessions, then take everything we have, take all the money you have found, but don’t take my son.26
To their demands that she give them arms, she “gave them the only weapons we had which were the Bible and the Book of Mormon, but they responded, ‘No, No, those aren’t guns! We want weapons and ammunition.’”27

The soldiers tried to gain a confession from Rafael by hanging him from a tree and beating him. He told them nothing and “never showed any anger. He was always firm.”28 Questioned several times during the afternoon, Monroy suffered much at the hands of the soldiers. When he was brought back to the prison, he did not look well. Guadalupe stated, “My brother’s hair was uncombed and his hands were dirty and bloody. I told him to comb his hair so he looked in his pocket for his comb but couldn’t find it. He went to a water faucet and washed his face.”29 Later he saw his mother pass by and was touched: “Mother, you are like a feather in the wind, alone and dragged down by your pain because all your children are imprisoned.”30

Jesucita took dinner to the five prisoners in the late evening. Before they could finish eating, soldiers came to the door and demanded that Rafael and Vicente come with them. Not knowing exactly what was happening, Rafael asked that his sister Natalia come with him, but the Zapatistas denied his request and took Rafael and Vicente from the room. Guadalupe described the scene: “Our hearts were pounding. The other prisoners looked at each other, and a profound silence filled the prison. We remained in this condition until we heard the firing of rifles and afterwards another shot.”31 It was a few minutes before nine. None of the family was at the execution.

After hearing the shots, Rafael’s mother rushed to the prison to find her son and Vicente dead. As she sobbed over her son’s body, the soldiers pushed her away from the scene. She was forced to return home in anguish, not knowing what would happen. She became concerned about the fate of her three imprisoned daughters.

That night seemed strange. It was a rainy evening, and the air was humid and the sky dark. The sisters remained as prisoners. Jovita was so upset that she vomited throughout the night and had to have frequent assistance. Guadalupe reported that they overheard the soldiers talking among themselves about the bravery of Rafael—that he had died “with his boots on.” Others questioned
Jesús Mera de Monroy. Jesucita was matriarch of the Monroy family, a widow, and proprietor of a small grocery store. She befriended the Mormon missionaries, and her family joined the Church during the Mexican Revolution. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

why Vicente had also been killed. This talk was little comfort to the sisters. "Their observations were a little late. My brother had already been killed." That evening the soldiers butchered some sheep and allowed the blood to flow on the floor, creating a strange, terrible aura in the prison.  

The soldiers did not allow the bodies to be removed from the place of the execution until the next morning. Jesucita Monroy's anguish intensified:

Imagine what my suffering was to remain with my corpse lying there, and my three daughters prisoners, without permission to remove them that night, without human help, because all forsook me, even the brethren in the faith hid themselves for fear, and I could only hope for the protection of my Heavenly Father.

The next morning, Sunday, the Zapatistas released the sisters at seven. Guadalupe and her mother collected the bodies of Rafael and Vicente. With only limited assistance from members of the Church in the village, they took the bodies home. At three that afternoon, they held a funeral conducted by Casimiro Gutiérrez, a member of the Church. Some of the "humble" women of the town were present at the funeral "and wept with us." The two men were buried the following day.
The next few days were difficult. The family and other members of the Church were in constant fear as soldiers threatened to kill all the Mormons. After a few days, the Carranzista soldiers returned to San Marcos, and the Zapatistas were no longer a threat.35

Rafael's mother sent Rey Pratt, who was in the United States at the time, a brief description of the events. After the cessation of the fighting, Pratt returned to Mexico and visited the San Marcos Branch on December 9, 1917, for what must have been a very emotional and sad reunion.36

Religious and Secular Factors

The question remains as to why the two men became victims of the Revolution. The explanations given in eyewitness accounts are not entirely clear but begin to shed light on the various factors that combined against Monroy and Morales. Rey Pratt, in his description of the event, concentrated on the religious aspects. As recorded in a 1920 conference report, Pratt stated that, although he was not an eyewitness, he received his information from the family: “I can see it just as plainly as if it were here: for I have seen it and I have heard the mother and the daughters recite the sad experience.” He further stated in an article about the execution, “The circumstances attending the execution were told to the family afterwards by a soldier who witnessed them.” Pratt suggested that the arrest and execution occurred because the Monroy family were members of the Church—that the Zapatistas arrested the two men because a neighbor denounced them as Mormons and specifically Rafael as “a leader of those who professed that strange religion . . . and was perverting the people and leading them off after other gods.” Pratt stated that the soldiers requested that Monroy and Morales “give up their arms.” (He does not mention the Zapatista pursuit of a cache of arms.) In response to this request, Rafael and Vicente gave the soldiers their scriptures (as Jesucita had done earlier, according to Guadalupe Monroy’s account). The soldiers became angry and began to torture the two men. They were told all that was required was a denial of Mormonism and they would then be given their freedom. Brought before the firing squad, they again refused to deny the Church. They were allowed
to pray, and in his prayer, Rafael stated, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." After the prayer, Rafael stood up, folded his arms, and said, "Gentlemen, I am at your service." After the execution, a "tropical storm broke over the little village, and the rain came down in torrents." 37

In Jesucita's description of the events, she also suggested that religion played some part in the tragedy. In the letter written to Pratt immediately after the execution, she described the event and then stated:

As the days pass we are finding out little by little that also in this town there were false witnesses that helped to condemn to death my son, saying that he perverted the people and taught a kind of religion, and that he was a 'Mormon,' and that word that they had not before heard they interpreted as some very bad thing, and hatred and ill will follow us with the stories. 38

Jesucita then indicated, however, that she felt the primary reason for the killings was due to Rafael's non-Mormon U.S. connection. She stated that the soldiers came to the village "hunting the gringo"—her son-in-law, R. V. McVey. He was suspected of actually participating in the fighting on the side of the Carranzistas. McVey had left for the United States when the fighting became heavy, leaving his wife and child behind. Jesucita believed that, unable to find McVey, the soldiers had arrested his Mexican brother-in-law with whom he had business dealings and who was therefore also considered to be part of the opposition army. After explaining this to Pratt, Jesucita expressed her feelings and anger toward her son-in-law: "Please write to Mr. McVey and explain to him all that has happened, as myself and his wife cannot do it, as our hearts are very sore, that because of his bad character, my innocent sons have had to pay." 39

Guadalupe Monroy makes no mention of what happened at the actual execution even though she wrote her account several years after the incident. She indicates that none of the family was present at the execution, but she does mention overhearing the soldiers talk about the bravery of the two men. Guadalupe's account is so detailed in all other aspects of the event that it is surprising that she does not include a description of the execution. The oral history of Rafael Monroy's daughter also does not include
a description of the execution. Daniel Montoya Gutiérrez was a young man at the time of the execution and had rushed to the scene immediately after the shots were fired. His description of the events—recorded nearly sixty years after the execution—is similar to Rey L. Pratt’s.40

The Revolution was not a coordinated effort by the Mexican people to bring about change in the political and social structure of the country. Adherents of political movements from each region of the country became involved in some way in the seven years of fighting, each group attempting to affect the outcome of the struggle in favor of their particular region or ideology. Nevertheless, in spite of the varied regional factions in the Revolution, common beliefs and goals eventually united the groups, culminating in the cessation of the fighting and the acceptance of the Mexican Constitution of 1917.

At least three of these ideologies affected the revolutionary mind-set that swayed the Zapatista soldiers and influenced their decision to execute Monroy and Morales. The most prevalent of these beliefs was that foreign influences and interests were responsible, in large part, for the social and economic deprivations of the early twentieth century. President Díaz had encouraged and favored foreign economic and financial involvement in the country, believing foreign participation to be essential and crucial in the industrialization and modernization of Mexico. U.S. investments in Mexico were three times that of any other country and well over double the investments made by the Mexicans themselves. U.S. citizens had controlling interest in 75 percent of the mines, 72 percent of the metallurgy industry, 68 percent of the rubber companies, and 58 percent of the petroleum industry. Combined foreign interests controlled 80 percent of all major Mexican industries.41

During the conflict, there were widespread anti-U.S. manifestations throughout the entire country. These nationalistic acts became important influences in the ideology of the Revolution. A pro-Mexican stance automatically meant an anti-U.S. stance. Consequently, revolutionary rhetoric and violence were directed against U.S. citizens as well as Mexicans who had dealings with Americans. These factors especially applied in the south among the followers of Emiliano Zapata, who had suffered significantly at
the hands of foreign elements. Even the Mormon colonists in northern Mexico, who tried not to take sides in the fighting and were protected from the harsher aspects of the violence during much of the Revolution, still experienced persecution and eventually became war refugees. Rafael Monroy's business dealings with his American brother-in-law, combined with his conversion to a church whose headquarters were in the United States, made him suspect in the eyes of the anti-U.S. nationalists.42

Second, for many in Mexico, the Revolution had a powerful religious component. For several years, Protestant churches had been active in the country, often with the blessings of the Díaz government, and had converted many Catholics. Many Mexicans viewed the Protestant evangelical activity as anti-Mexican. These same anti-Protestant groups also believed the secularization of the Mexican government since independence in 1821 was wrong—especially in a country which had a historical tradition of the combination of church and state. Many Catholics erroneously saw the symbol of the Virgin of Guadalupe on the flag of Emiliano Zapata as an indication of his intent to reestablish the Catholic Church as the state religion. The antireligious activities of the Carranzistas in destroying Catholic churches further strengthened the perception of many that the Mexican Revolution was as much a religious as a political conflict. In fact, a Carranzista attack on a Catholic church in a nearby town probably intensified the religious conflict in San Marcos.43

These feelings naturally translated into anti-Mormon activity. The soldiers in San Marcos were strongly influenced by local citizens who had been against the Monroys since they joined the Mormon Church. But the primary consideration of the soldiers was military, and the religious affiliation of the victims was of secondary importance. The Zapatista military was primarily interested in Rafael and his family because of their suspected relationship with the opposing forces. Other members of the Church may have been harassed, but none was imprisoned.

The third important element was the level and direction of social violence in the civil war. The Mexican Revolution was perceived by many—particularly the lower classes—as a class struggle. The fighting forces of the caudillos' armies were generally
poor peasants who took up arms and fought in the Revolution both because of a sense of duty to local leaders as well as frustration caused by years of neglect and abuse. These peasants were those who inflicted the violence.

Within this anarchistic atmosphere, the identification of the enemy tended to be as much a personal decision based on emotions and past experiences as a choice based on ideology. The middle classes of society, especially those involved in the distribution of goods and services, are often the most vulnerable victims of war, regardless of political or ideological leanings. Mexican grocers and retailers of foods, both large and small, suffered greatly because of demands placed upon them by the soldiers. More importantly, the poor people often felt that the grocers and shop owners had been exploitative and dishonest with them in the past; consequently, the poor took advantage of the lack of law and order to get revenge. When both the distribution of food and the presence of a foreigner or foreign investment were combined, the degree of violence inflicted was significantly higher.

The best-known example of this type of social violence was directed against the Chinese of northern Mexico. Brought into Mexico primarily to work on the construction of railroads, the Chinese moved away from manual labor jobs connected with the railroad and soon owned grocery stores scattered throughout northern Mexico. They were so successful that by the time of the Revolution the Chinese controlled much of the food merchandising in Sonora and other northern states. The first victims of the violence, they were attacked and their stores looted. Most fled the country. The Chinese became victims of the war because of the Mexican revolutionaries’ suspicion of foreigners and their hostility towards the retailers of food products.44

**Conclusion**

Rafael and Vicente and their families became victims of a conflict over control of Mexico. Unfortunately, too many factors combined against the Monroy family for them to remain unaffected by the war. First, Rafael had openly given at least moral support to the opposing army. Second, his connections with foreigners—the Mormon missionaries, the Mormon colonists, and especially his U.S.
brother-in-law—made him suspect. The town knew that he was purchasing land for the purpose of bringing the displaced U.S. colonists to the area. Third, he and Vicente were perceived as Protestants during a conflict having an anti-Protestant component. And fourth, Rafael was a merchant and fairly well-to-do. This combination of factors encouraged his neighbors to turn him in to the Zapatista army officers, who in turn made the decision to execute Rafael and his cousin because they perceived the two as threats to their revolution.

But for many, the execution is more than a story of innocent victims caught in a conflict for power in Mexico. Their story as told by Rey Pratt and retold by missionaries and members has become primarily a tale of religious martyrdom. Regardless of the interpretation placed on the motives and events leading to the executions, Rafael Monroy’s and Vicente Morales’s dedication and faithfulness to the gospel are unquestioned, and their story is an important part of the history of the Church in Mexico. The legacy of the faith,
strength, and resilience left by Jesucita, Rafael, Vicente, Guadalupe, and other members of the Monroy family and the San Marcos Branch are important examples to present-day members.

Although the branch of San Marcos has grown into a ward of faithful members, the small village has changed little in eighty years. The Monroy store is still open, run by descendants of Jesucita, and the graves are still decorated by family members on special days and visited by members of the Church who have heard the story of Rafael Monroy and Vicente Morales.

Mark L. Grover is Senior Librarian and Latin American Bibliographer, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University. He expresses appreciation to Katy Warner Christiansen for assistance with the original documents.

NOTES


2 Most of the personal information concerning San Marcos and the Monroy family comes from a document written in 1934 by Raphael Monroy’s sister, Guadalupe Monroy. It is a detailed, vivid, and touching account of the history of the family and the San Marcos Branch. I contacted Rafael Monroy’s daughter, María Concepción Monroy de Villalobos, who gave me permission to use the document. The translation of all quotes into English is mine. Guadalupe Monroy, “Historia de la Iglesia de Jesucristo de los Santos de los Últimos Días de la rama de San Marcos, Tula, Hidalgo, 1934.” Copies of this manuscript are available in the Archives, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; and Archives Division, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives).

3 Jesucita signed her name Jesús Mera Vda. de Monroy. Vda. is the abbreviation for viuda or widow and thus not actually part of her name. Mera is her maiden name, and Monroy is the surname of her husband. Throughout the remainder of this paper, she is referred to as Jesucita Monroy. Her letter to Rey Pratt, quoted in the text, is signed formally and is referred to in the notes as she signed it—Jesús Mera Vda. de Monroy. In the text and in the notes, the other Spanish names are used as they are signed or as they are referred to in the documents.

4 Another son, Pablo, had died of typhoid at the age of nineteen soon after the family moved to San Marcos. María Concepción Monroy de Villalobos, oral

5 Guadalupe Monroy, "Historia," 9A. As is common in Mexico, Monroy's history is numbered with a page number on the right page only. I will indicate whether it is on the left page with an A or right page with a B.

6 W. Ernest Young, *Diary of W. Ernest Young* (n.p., 1973), 90–91. This volume was printed primarily for family members. Copies are available at the LDS Church Archives and the Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

7 Young, *Diary*, 91.

8 Guadalupe Monroy, "Historia," 9B.

9 Young, *Diary*, 98–99, 106–7. Jesucita Monroy was baptized on July 21, 1913, along with two other members of the family living with them. Two servants of the Monroy family were also baptized in July. Despite her initial concerns, Rafael Monroy's wife, Guadalupe, was baptized on July 28. Guadalupe Monroy, "Historia," 11B–12A.

10 Guadalupe Monroy, "Historia," 11B–12A.

11 Young, *Diary*, 92.

12 Young, *Diary*, 102.

13 Young, *Diary*, 103. The members and missionaries in San Vicente were threatened with death when someone suggested that Catholicism was the only true religion and that the proof of this claim would be the death of the Mormons. Fortunately, the civil authorities in the area provided protection to the members. Young, *Diary*, 110.

14 Young, *Diary*, 120–21.

15 Young, *Diary*, 115; Guadalupe Monroy, "Historia," 19A.

16 Guadalupe Monroy, "Historia," 22B–23A.

17 Eight Mormon colonies were established in two states of northern Mexico—Chihuahua and Sonora—between 1885 and 1912. With the outbreak of fighting in 1912, the settlements occasionally were threatened by military forces passing through the area. The colonists' U.S. connections made them vulnerable, considering the antiforeign rhetoric of the Revolution, though they suffered less than other U.S. citizens in northern Mexico. Beginning in 1912, a series of evacuations of Mormon settlers from Mexico to the United States took place whenever the colonists perceived their lives to be in danger. Many would return when the immediate threat passed. In the end, however, the six smaller, less-successful settlements were abandoned. For a general history of the colonies, see Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico*, 5–108; Blaine Carmon Hardy, "The Mormon Colonies of Northern Mexico: A History" (Ph.D. diss., Wayne State University, 1963); and Karl Young, *Ordeal in Mexico: Tales of Danger and Hardship Collected from Mormon Colonists* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1968).

18 Guadalupe Monroy, "Historia," 17B, 20A.


20 Jesús Mera Vda. de Monroy to Rey Pratt, August 27, 1915, LDS Church Archives. An English translation was made of the original letter and kept in the file. I used that translation.
In describing the events surrounding the execution, I have used Guadalupe Monroy’s and Jesuscita Monroy’s accounts because they were eyewitnesses. For printed descriptions of the event, see Rey L. Pratt, “A Latter-day Martyr,” Improvement Era 21 (1918): 720–26; Rey L. Pratt, in 90th Annual Conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints 19 (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, April 1920): 90–93 (hereafter cited as Conference Reports); Rey L. Pratt, “I Will Make One Last Request,” Deseret News, Church Section, December 1, 1934, 3, 8 (this is an abbreviated publication of Pratt’s conference address in April 1920); Steven P. Osborne, “Affire [sic] in Mexico: Benjamin Parra,” This People 4 (February/March 1983): 36–38; Annie R. Johnson, Heartbeats of Colonia Diaz (Salt Lake City: Publishers Press, 1972), 462–66; W. Ernest Young, “The Baptism and Martyrdom of Rafael Monroy,” Diary of W. Ernest Young (n.p., 1973), 669–70. See also the film And Should They Die (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1964).


Guadalupe Monroy, “Historia,” 14A, 18B.

Guadalupe Monroy, “Historia,” 32B.

Guadalupe Monroy, “Historia,” 32B. The wives of Rafael and Vicente were not imprisoned. Vicente’s wife, Eulalia, was pregnant.

Guadalupe Monroy, “Historia,” 32B.

Guadalupe Monroy, “Historia,” 32B–33A. Apparently this was a common tactic and had been used by the missionaries who, when asked for guns, offered the scriptures as their only weapons. Young, Diary, 79.

Montoya Gutiérrez, interview, 2.

Guadalupe Monroy, “Historia,” 33B.

Guadalupe Monroy, “Historia,” 33B.

Guadalupe Monroy, “Historia,” 33B.

They were to find out later that the sheep were Rafael’s and that during the evening the soldiers had ransacked the Monroy farm, taking everything, even “the bed linen.” Guadalupe Monroy, “Historia,” 34A.

Monroy to Pratt.

Guadalupe Monroy, “Historia,” 34B.


Pratt continued as president of the Mexican Mission until his death in 1931. For a description of his return to San Marcos, see Guadalupe Monroy, “Historia,” 51A–52A.

Pratt, “A Latter-day Martyr,” 724–26; Rey L. Pratt, Conference Reports, 92-93. Pratt’s description of the story is supported by missionaries who worked in the area after the fighting had stopped. Elmer P. Bright, a missionary who went with the Monroy family to decorate Rafael’s grave, stated in his diary on March 31, 1922, “He [Rafael] was taken from his home by a little squad of soldiers and they told him if he would deny his testimony of the truthfulness of Mormonism they wouldn’t kill him.” Elmer P. Bright, Diary, vol. 1, LDS Church Archives, 113–14.

Monroy to Pratt.
Monroy to Pratt. McVey eventually returned to Mexico after the deaths of Rafael and Vicente and reconciled with the family. For several years after the incident, missionaries traveling through the area would stay at his and Natalia’s home. See Elmer Bright, Diary, vol. 2, 4.

Montoya Gutiérrez, interview, 2. It is puzzling that Guadalupe Monroy left out of her account of the execution the strong religious motives described by Pratt, Gutiérrez, and others. The recounting of the event by Pratt in his 1920 conference address was already part of the story that was being told to missionaries. Notice the following description written several years later by Elmer Bright when he described the event in a history of his missionary experience: “I will here give an account of the case I am referring to. I will write the words of President Rey I. Pratt as he spoke of the account at the general conference in Salt Lake City, in the spring of 1920. . . . I have heard the story from the lips of those who suffered the loss of their son and brother and I know this account of it to be true.” Elmer P. Bright, Life History, part 4, LDS Archives. Most secondhand descriptions of the event are similar. It is curious that Guadalupe, though a faithful member of the Church for the rest of her life, did not chose to focus on the religious aspects of the story.


Mother and Son Discuss Politics

The boy who will die
watches his mother slap arepas
into hot oil. "Mamá, can you hear
the Revolution?" the boy asks.
He scratches the back of a mutt
at his feet, throws him a bone.

"Sí, hijo," she mumbles, spinning
the sizzling moons of corn.
The dog cracks his bone, loudly,
pries out the marrow in pieces.
The boy persists. "Will the Revolution
change our lives?" He sits on a chair
in front of the window. His mother stares
at his silhouette in the light.
"Doubtful," she whispers.

She thinks her son should not ask
such questions. She starts to tell him so
and then the snicker of bullets.

—Trenton L. Hickman

"Mother and Son Discuss Politics" received honorable mention in the 1995 BYU Studies Poetry Contest.
Traveling without Reservation

On a backroad, the only vacancy,
as last light evaporated
from tops of trees,
we paused to look and listen
anxiously about, to know the land a little
before we slept.
Forest birds had taken cover
in the tented places, long needles and bark floors
padding the silence.
From the ground, darkness came on,
stirrings of night animals
sure of their way
reaching us—imagined or real.

We fled to ourselves, places taut
and pulsing, sleep a scant coverlet
for senses that longed for release . . .
to touch home.
Morning would bring a wet yellow light
through the green.
It would be the world again.
But for now, we would think of words
unspoken in our ritual living—

*hair moss  bloodroot*
*lichen  heartwood.*

Underground rivers and caverns
would become the archives
of being. For this night,
we would dream and breathe
in another history.

—Dixie Partridge
The Fourth Great Awakening and the Political Realignment of the 1990s

This April 1995 commencement speech examines the political outcomes of previous religious cycles in America to chart the directions of current ethical and social trends.

Robert W. Fogel

The legislation that has already emerged from the 104th Congress and the tenor of their debates make it clear that we are witnessing a major shift in American social and economic policy. What do these developments mean for those of you who are graduating today?

A clue to the answer is contained in the pattern of voting over the past dozen years. Exit polls taken during the midterm congressional elections of 1982 revealed that about one-third of the voters identified themselves as believers in what historians call enthusiastic religion, which is characterized by spiritual intensity linked to conversions. Such individuals split their vote fairly evenly between Democratic and Republican candidates in 1982 but not in 1994. Not only has their share of the ballots risen between the two elections, but the bulk of believers in enthusiastic religion have shifted from the Democrats to the Republicans. In 1994 only 26 percent continued to vote Democratic while 74 percent voted Republican.

If those who embrace enthusiastic religion turn out in the same proportion in 1996 and if they continue to favor the Republicans over the Democrats by the same margin, there will have been an interparty shift of about 7.5 million voters. That shift by itself is enough to create a fourteen-point spread in the upcoming presidential election in favor of the Republicans.
The election statistics thus reveal that we are in a process of a political realignment that is to a large extent spawned by trends in American religiosity. One cannot understand current political and ethical trends without understanding the cycles in religiosity in American history and the previous social and political reform movements that they have spawned.

Religious enthusiasm in America has tended to run in cycles that last about one hundred years and that consist of three phases, each about a generation long (see table). A cycle begins with a phase of religious revival, which intensifies religious beliefs and ushers in new or reinvigorated ethics and theological principles. The phase of religious revival is followed by a phase in which the new ethics precipitate powerful political programs and movements. The cycle ends with a phase in which the ascendency of the ethics and politics of the religious awakening come under increasing challenge and the political coalition awakened by that awakening goes into decline.

Those who directly identify with the principles of a revival are usually only a minority of the population, even if a large one, but what they lack in numbers they make up in enthusiasm and in an energy derived from a sense that their cause is righteous. By building coalitions on single issues, they have been able to extend their influence in politics far beyond their numbers.

Historians of religion refer to the periods of religious revival as “Great Awakenings.” The United States is currently in its fourth great awakening, which began about 1960. The upsurge in religiosity takes the form not so much of an increase in the number of churchgoers as of an intensification of religious beliefs and a mobilization of believers to shape political and social institutions.

The past several decades have witnessed a sharp shift of membership away from the mainline Protestant churches, which are identified with a rationalistic approach to religion, to the more mystical churches, which appeal to emotions as much as to the mind—to a religion of passion and sensation. These more enthusiastic churches stress personal conversion and salvation through faith in the atoning death of Christ. They call on their adherents to strive for a mystical experience that will cleanse them of their earlier sins and lead to their spiritual rebirth. The churches in this movement
## American Cycles in Religiosity and Their Political Impact

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Great Awakening</th>
<th>Period of religious revival</th>
<th>Period of rising political impact of the revival</th>
<th>Period of increasing challenge to dominance of the revival's political program</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>First</strong></td>
<td>1730–1760 weakening of predestination doctrine by recognizing possibility that even sinners may be predestined for salvation; rise of the ethic of benevolence</td>
<td>1760–1790 attack of British corruption; American Revolution</td>
<td>1790–1820 breakup of revolutionary coalition</td>
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<td><strong>Second</strong></td>
<td>1800–1840 anyone can achieve saving grace through inner and outer struggle against sin; widespread adoption of the ethic of benevolence; upsurge of millennialism</td>
<td>1840–1870 abolitionist, temperance, and nativist movements; attack on corruption of South; Civil War</td>
<td>1870–1900 replacement of pre-war evangelical leaders; Darwinian crisis; urban crisis</td>
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<td><strong>Third</strong></td>
<td>1890–1930 shift from emphasis on personal to social sin; more secular interpretation of Bible and creed</td>
<td>1930–1970 attack on the corruption of big business and the rich; labor reforms; civil rights and women’s rights movements</td>
<td>1970–1999? attack on liberal reforms; defeat of ERA; rise of tax revolt; Christian Coalition and other political expressions of enthusiastic religion</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Fourth</strong></td>
<td>1960–1999? return to enthusiastic religion and reassertion of mystical content of Bible; reassertion of personal sin</td>
<td>1990–? attack on materialist corruption; pro-life, MADD, and animal rights movements; expansion of tax revolt; attack on entitlements</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
were estimated in the late 1980s to have about sixty million adherents. Although often identified with the rapidly growing Fundamentalist, Pentecostal, and Protestant charismatic denominations, the movement is far wider. It includes about twenty million persons in the churches of the mainline Protestant denominations, six million Catholics who have reported a "born again" experience, and nearly five million Mormons. During the past three decades, enthusiastic churches have grown at a rate far greater than the population, while the mainline Protestant churches have lost from 20 to 25 percent of their members. To stem the tide, some mainline churches are attempting to respond to the demand for a more passionate religion, including the Roman Catholic Church, which has launched its own charismatic movement.

The new religious revival is fueled by a revulsion with the corruptions of contemporary society. It is a rebellion against preoccupation with material acquisition and sexual debauchery; against indulgences in alcohol, tobacco, gambling, and drugs; against gluttony; and against all other forms of self-indulgence that titillate the senses and destroy the soul. The leaders of the revival are attempting to win their hearers to piety and to an ethic which extols individual responsibility, hard work, a simple life, and dedication to the family.

To fully understand the meaning of the Fourth Great Awakening, we must briefly review the three previous religious-political cycles in American life. America was from its beginning a deeply religious society. Down to 1790, about 80 percent of Americans (90 percent of the free population) were of British descent and were attached primarily to the dissenting British churches: Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Baptists, Quakers, and Methodists. Another 5 percent were pietistic Germans or Scandinavians whose religious creeds and ethics were similar to those of the dissenting British churches. The New England strains of these denominations were particularly strong in America because favorable demographic conditions produced unusually high rates of natural increase. By the 1820s, Yankees and their descendants, who accounted for hardly 5 percent of all the immigrants into the U.S. before that decade, represented about 80 percent of the northern population and about 20 percent of the southern population.
Although the Puritan founders of New England were deeply dedicated to their religious principles, their children and grandchildren were more equivocal. Religious enthusiasm waned until the early 1730s, when a new surge of religiosity became evident. The most inspirational figure was George Whitefield, a Methodist itinerant minister, who from 1738 to 1740 evangelized both northern and southern colonies with an explosive emotional power that deeply moved his hearers. Whitefield inspired other ministers and lay itinerants to take up the task of extending the revival to every corner of the British colonies.

The main theological features of the First Great Awakening were the justification of mass, emotional revival meetings; the emphasis on "new birth" as the central objective of the revivals; the emergence of the ethic of benevolence as an aspect of "new birth"; and the weakening of the Calvinist doctrine of predestination.

The political phase ran from 1760 through 1790. It was marked by attacks on British moral and political corruption and by charges that this corruption was being foisted on the American colonies, where it threatened the struggle for purification. The political product of this ideology was the American Revolution. Between 1790 and 1820, the revolutionary coalition broke apart along ideological and partisan lines. And the influence of churches was at its lowest point in American history, due in large measure to the impact of the secular ideology popularized by the many deist leaders of the Revolution.

The Second Great Awakening began about 1800, and the revival phase lasted until 1840. During this era, the camp meeting was invented. In the North, the doctrine of predestination was further weakened, and a new theology, reflecting Methodist influence, arose. This theology held that anyone was capable of achieving saving grace through a determined inner and outer struggle against sin and through the practice of benevolence. Hearers were assured that if they achieved grace they would be healthy and prosperous because God rewarded virtue while the condemned would be visited by economic and other catastrophes because poverty was the wages of sin.

Hearers were also told that the American mission was to build God's kingdom on earth. An array of reform movements
were launched to make America a fit place for the second coming of Christ. These included the temperance movement, the abolitionist movement, and a nativist movement that aimed either to cut back the large number of Catholics allowed to enter the country or to convert them to Protestantism.

During the political phase of the Second Great Awakening, which began in 1840 and continued until 1870, the temperance movement was successful in getting many state and local governments to license the sale of alcoholic beverages. The high point of this campaign was reached between 1846 and 1855 when thirteen states, led by Maine, prohibited sales of all alcoholic drinks.

The militant abolitionists initially focused their campaign on the denominations but later shifted the struggle to the political arena. That switch diluted the benevolent content of the antislavery appeal but greatly broadened the antislavery coalition and eventually led to the formation of the Republican Party. Republicans urged the northern electorate to vote for them, not to free the slaves because it was their Christian duty, but to prevent slave owners from seizing land in territories that rightly belonged to free whites. The slavery issue was settled by the Civil War. Despite the passage of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments, however, the deep hostility of southern whites and the ambivalent support of northern whites compromised the struggle for the civil equality of ex-slaves and led to its virtual abandonment in 1877.

The Third Great Awakening began about 1890, and the revival phase extended to 1930. It was marked by a major theological split among the principal evangelical churches, with the winning faction rejecting the proposition that poverty was the wages of sin. To a large extent, this split was precipitated by the urban crisis. Evangelicals were divided on how to reform the cities, which were growing at alarming rates and were viewed as centers of corruption, crime, drunkenness, prostitution, and graft that threatened to infect the entire society.

Debates over these and other issues spawned two camps. The conservatives wanted to stand fast on the basic evangelical principles of the Second Great Awakening. That movement, whose most conspicuous element is now called Fundamentalism, upheld the Puritan belief that God spoke to humankind through the Bible.
The Fundamentalists were strongest in the rural areas, particularly in the South.

The winning camp of the Third Great Awakening has come to be called "modernist" or "liberal." Modernists applied scientific principles to the study of the Bible, on the assumption that it was a historical document written by men who were trying to understand God's will within the context of their own times and civilizations. Modernists also believed that Darwin's evolutionary theory was consistent with biblical thought since the world was evolving not only toward human beings as the highest form of life, but also toward ever more perfected human beings. In this view, the laws of nature were God's laws, and scientists were the ones who would discover and explain them. As theologians were needed to interpret the Bible, scientists were needed to interpret nature.

A radical wing of the modernist camp came to be called the Social Gospel movement. Its leading figures argued that if America were to revitalize itself, it would not only have to change its creed—its theory of man's relationship to God—but also change its ethics. It would have to make poverty not a personal failure, but a social failure, and evil would have to be seen not as a personal sin, but as a sin of society. According to these radicals, it was the obligation of the state to improve the economic condition of the poor by favoring labor and redistributing income, since such intervention was necessary to put an end to urban corruption.

The millennialist dream of the Second Great Awakening thus became transformed by the modernists. The new theory switched the emphasis from the second coming of Christ to a new optimism about perfecting American society. In the place of divine revelation stood the revelations of science. Since most of the problems were not physical or biological but social, a new breed of social scientists was required who understood the problems of the cities and who knew how to reconstruct them in a way that would alleviate the social crises of the age.

During most of the revival phase, the theological conservatives, not the modernists, were in control of the church hierarchies and related organizations. Indeed, down into the 1920s, these conservatives were the ones on the offensive, seeking to limit the influence of the modernists and Social Gospelers within denominational circles if not to defeat them entirely.
Support for the modernist cause came from an unexpected source. During the nineteenth and into the early twentieth century, colleges and universities were church institutions and focal points for revivals. Their presidents were usually ordained ministers who taught required courses in moral philosophy or natural theology. However, during the Third Great Awakening, modernist and Social Gospel theories were widely embraced by university teachers, who then taught them to their students. Moreover, for reasons that had more to do with technology than ideology, the student bodies of the colleges and universities began to expand at a remarkable rate. By World War I, the universities were producing far more secular than sacred writers. Journalists, essayists, historians, social scientists, novelists, and dramatists who embraced modernist ideology were turned out by the tens of thousands. They became entrenched in the new mass media—low-cost daily newspapers, glossy magazines, inexpensive books, popular theater, vaudeville, and movies—which they used to attack conservative religionists. The victory of the modernists and Social Gospelers laid the basis for the welfare state, providing both the ideological foundation and the political drive for the labor reforms of the 1930s, '40s, and '50s; for the civil rights reforms of the 1950s and '60s; and for the new feminist programs of the late 1960s and early 1970s.

I now return to the question posed at the beginning of this address regarding the Fourth Great Awakening and the political realignment of the 1990s. The phase of religious intensification began in the late 1950s and early 1960s, when church membership began to grow across all denominations. However, from the mid-1960s on, only the enthusiastic religions showed rapid growth, not only cutting deeply into the membership of the mainline churches, but also drawing many unchurched persons into their fold. Over the past three decades, membership in the principal Protestant mainline churches of America has declined by as much as 25 percent, while the membership of enthusiastic churches has nearly doubled. In some cases, as with the Mormons, the membership has quadrupled.

Single-issue movements began to emerge about halfway through the religious phase: the right-to-life movement emerged during the mid-1970s, tax revolts exploded in the late 1970s, and
the movement against drunk driving (MADD) followed early in the 1980s. These developments were comparable to the temperance, nativist, and abolitionist movements of the 1830s and early 1840s, which despite considerable successes were viewed as zealous minority efforts far from the mainstream of political life.

In 1979 the Moral Majority came into being with a bid to become the vehicle through which believers in enthusiastic religion could unite on a national program of political restructuring. The program included anti-abortion, prayer in the schools, and the elimination of pornography. Although it had significant success in shifting intensely religious voters from the Democratic to the Republican column during the 1984 elections, it collapsed in 1989, tarred by the televangelist scandals of the mid-1980s. Too rigid religiously, too focused on the abortion issue, and undecided whether the denominational churches or the broader political electorate was its main concern, its place was taken by a broader movement called the Christian Coalition, which was formed a year earlier in 1988.

The Christian Coalition has more clearly focused on politics, is more willing to make compromises on key issues in the interest of extending their coalition, and is religiously more flexible, with better connections among enthusiastic religionists in the mainline churches than was true of the Moral Majority. Thus promoting the traditional family has superseded abortion as a coalition issue. The Christian Coalition has also reached out to economic conservatives by integrating tax reductions and smaller government into their social program, linking them to their principles regarding individual responsibility. This move recalls the compromises made by such politically skillful abolitionists as Salmon P. Chase, senator and later governor from Ohio, when he joined with former adversaries in creating first the Free Soil Party and then the Republican Party on a minimalist antislavery program.

It is too soon to know whether the coalition that swept the Republicans into power in 1994 has been consolidated. President Clinton, Vice-president Gore, and other Democratic strategists may possibly devise an appeal that will win back those intensely religious voters who have only recently deserted them. By now it is probably clear to at least the Democratic moderates that their
party committed a major political blunder when they pilloried believers in enthusiastic religion. As Baptists from Arkansas and Tennessee, Clinton and Gore understand and speak the language of evangelicals and know how to fashion an effective appeal. The real issue is whether the more secular parts of the Democratic Party have enough flexibility to accept such a strategy.

If the Republicans retain or increase their control of Congress in 1996 and also capture the presidency, it will probably mean that the religious voters who deserted the Democrats are permanently disaffected. In that case, the Republicans will probably be the dominant party for a generation, for it may take that long to rear a generation of believers in enthusiastic religion who are again comfortable with the Democratic Party.

In closing, I want to discuss briefly how governmental policy is likely to be affected by the new coalition. First, even though the rhetoric is different, many issues stemming from the ethics of the Fourth Great Awakening were also embraced in the ethics of the Third Great Awakening. For example, "sexual harassment" may have originated as a slogan of the feminist movement, but its content is quite Victorian, and it is an aid to those who wish to see a return to traditional family values. Other reforms that unite both ethical camps include protection of the environment, reversal of the growth of pornography and violence in the media, reversal of state-sponsored gambling, and control or suppression of illegal drug trafficking and use.

Second, although the new Republican coalition may pursue different tactics and have a different set of priorities, it is unlikely that it will turn back the clock on race relations, universal education, equal opportunity for women, religious freedom, and the other great social reforms of the twentieth century. I base this assessment partly on the fact that professional women, Hispanics, African-Americans, and Asian Americans are already an important part of the movement for enthusiastic religion and will become an increasingly large presence in the electorate over the next generation.

Among existing programs most likely to be trimmed are those that aim at bringing about equality of income rather than equality of economic opportunity. The theory that cultural crises can be resolved by raising incomes has been given a long trial and has
turned out to be incorrect. Over the past century, the real income of the bottom fifth of the population has increased thirteen-fold, which is about twice the gain of the balance of the population, the upper four-fifths. The poor of the 1990s are relatively rich by 1890 standards, since only households in the top 10 percent of the 1890 income distribution had real incomes that exceed the current poverty line.

Yet despite these economic accomplishments, we have still not solved the national cultural crisis that precipitated the Social Gospel movement. Such problems as drug addiction, births to single teenage women, rape, battering of women and children, broken families, and violent teenage deaths are far more severe today than they were a century ago. As a consequence, not only members of enthusiastic churches, but many in the mainline churches have become convinced that cultural reform must be pursued primarily at this individual level, with an empathy and warmth better achieved by churches and organizations such as Alcoholics Anonymous than by government bureaucracies. This reemergence of confidence in the power of personal compassion is a major factor in the new populism with its demand to return power to the people.

The new coalition will likely enact substantial new legislation designed to increase the share of the population that completes high school and goes on to college. Not only are there strong ethical and social grounds for such legislation, but economic and technological factors are also at work. The competitive pressures of globalization and the substitution of computers for labor in many lower-level service occupations mean that full employment and high rates of economic growth in the United States will require an expansion of the share of the labor force in technical and professional occupations. As I have argued elsewhere, nothing has done more to redistribute income in favor of the poor and middle classes over the past century than the subsidization of higher education. A well-established tradition in education—accepted by believers in enthusiastic religion as passionately as by secular liberals—is that scholarships should be awarded not equally but on the basis of need. That principle allows a concentration on the most disadvantaged sections of the population.
You are leaving Brigham Young University and entering the world of work during a period of considerable hope. The economy is in good shape, and you will have varied opportunities to establish yourselves in that world. You are also entering the next stage of your lives when momentum is with the forces of virtue. What you have learned at BYU will help you find fulfillment in the material world and to contribute to the improvement of the spiritual one.

Robert W. Fogel is Director of the Center for Population Economics and Charles R. Walgreen Distinguished Service Professor of American Institutions at the University of Chicago. This address was delivered at the Brigham Young University commencement, April 27, 1995, and is based on the Kuznets Lectures, which were delivered at Yale University in 1992 under the title "Egalitarianism: The Economic Revolution of the Twentieth Century." Publication of an expanded version of these lectures is forthcoming. The following bibliography of presently available readings on religion and American politics was prepared by the BYU Studies staff.

Selected Recent Bibliography
on Religious History of America


The Storyteller

"You have to know what scares you."

He tried other things before he found his stories again. They had waited, ready to embrace him like a well-deserved snake, winding slowly, softly up and through, inviting resistance or charmed acceptance, ready to strike. But what sweet poison, working in or out, who cares when the tale spreads over mind and bone? Lord, it hurts to stand there naked with a story wrapped around you but there's freedom in it. You can always deny it, watch it slither off, be lonely for it, imagine it in the night, and wake to find it, smooth and demanding around you, ready to strike.

—Lisa Bolin Hawkins
Old Wine in New Bottles: The Story behind Fundamentalist Anti-Mormonism

Despite originating in sensational hoaxes, certain nineteenth-century French writings continue to fuel an extreme anti-Mormon rhetoric and world view.

Massimo Introvigne

Anti-Mormonism, a strange shadow of Mormonism, is itself a social phenomenon. In 1992 the *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* noted that no comprehensive history of anti-Mormonism has yet been published.1 Even if such a history had been published, it would need considerable periodic updating because of the changing activity of anti-Mormons. I have argued elsewhere that the 1982 film *The God Makers* marked the emergence of a new anti-Mormonism that I have called "postrationalist."2 While "rationalist" anti-Mormonism—mostly represented by the "career apostates" Jerald and Sandra Tanner3—denied anything supernatural in Joseph Smith's experiences and regarded him as a mere fraud, postrationalist anti-Mormonism advances the theory "that Joseph Smith was in touch with a superhuman source of revelation and power." However, according to the postrationalist theory, the superhuman source was not God, but Satan.4

While the postrational theory may seem new, this article will show that it is merely an example of old wine in new bottles, being part of a tradition that dates back to the nineteenth century. Although this tradition became somewhat disreputable in the first decades of the twentieth century, it continued to exist in the fundamentalist subculture. Indeed, postrationalist anti-Mormons in the 1980s started using nineteenth-century literature as source material to prove their thesis about the Satanic connection in...
Mormonism. This article traces the origins and nature of the world view held by those nineteenth-century writers and traces their influence on postrationalist anti-Mormonism.

The French Revolution, Spiritualism, and Satanism

Certain historical events are perceived as so incredible and unexpected as to announce the end of an era, if not the end of a world. Such was the French Revolution. For many Europeans and Americans, it was so unexpected that it could not be explained through natural causes; behind the Revolution, a supernatural agent must have been at work. For millennialist religious thinkers, the power behind the French Revolution was God himself, and the date 1789 soon became part of a number of prophetic chronologies offering calculations for the more or less imminent end of the world. Although this interpretation was particularly popular among Protestants, Catholics could not reconcile themselves with the idea that the anti-Catholic French Revolution, with its persecution of their church, was really masterminded by God. They started suggesting that the Revolution was the product of a conspiracy organized by secret societies, including Freemasonry, the Illuminati (a Bavarian politically radical secret society mostly active between 1776 and 1785), and the mysterious "retro-lodges" (secret Masonic lodges allegedly controlling the regular lodges). The most famous work on the Revolution as a conspiracy was published in 1797 by the French Catholic priest Augustin Barruel (1741-1820) while in exile in England. John Robison's *Proofs of a Conspiracy* made the same claim from a Protestant point of view. By 1802 parts of Barruel's work, translated into English, had been published in the United States.

Barruel and Robison suggested that "retro-lodges" were "diabolical" organizations, but they did not explicitly involve Satan in the conspiracy. However, in Paris during the Revolution, another Catholic priest, Jean-Baptiste Fiard (1736-1818), published underground and anonymous editions of two works suggesting that groups of Satanists in direct contact with the devil were behind the French Revolution. In 1796 and 1803, Fiard published two further books in which he openly argued that "the leaders of the French Revolution, the Freemasons, the Illuminati could only have
success because they have signed a written pact with the devil."\textsuperscript{10} After the Revolution, Fiard’s ideas were spread by Jean Wendel Wurtz (1760–1826), a German Catholic priest living in Lyon, France. Wurtz also combined the Satanic and the millenarian themes about the Revolution, announcing the coming of the anti-Christ in the year 1912.\textsuperscript{11} He started suggesting that fallen angels inspired reformers, causing not only the French Revolution, but also the phenomenon of Spiritualism.\textsuperscript{12}

Although Spiritualism has existed in France since the last decades of the eighteenth century, “modern Spiritualism” originated in 1848 with the Fox sisters in Hydesville, New York—a village now called East Palmyra, which is next to Joseph Smith’s Palmyra. The enormous success of Spiritualism in the 1840s and 1850s took both Catholics and Protestants by surprise. Although of a different nature, it was a phenomenon as unexpected as the French Revolution. Again, someone suggested that it could not be explained through purely natural causes and must involve the direct action of Satan.

The debate about the “real” origins—Satanic or otherwise—of Spiritualism was connected with the great discussion on the five-volume work authored by German theologian Johann Joseph von Görres (1776–1848) on divine, natural, and Satanic mysticism.\textsuperscript{13} Although Görres often believed reports of the most incredible facts, he was very cautious when it came to explaining these facts. For Görres, “Satanic mysticism” did exist but was extremely rare; most Spiritualist and magic phenomena could be explained through natural causes, including Mesmer’s “animal magnetism” and the newly discovered electricity. However, Görres was criticized for being too cautious. When Spiritualism spread in the United States, a number of Protestant critics were ready to conclude that the devil was indeed responsible for most of the phenomena.\textsuperscript{14}

The French Revolution and Spiritualism—both unexpected phenomena of great concern to Catholics and Protestants—thus had set the standard for conspiracy theories explaining the inexplicable not only through the secret action of Freemasons, the Illuminati, and “retro-lodges,” but also through the direct action of Satan. When Mormonism became prominent, critics attempted to explain this new phenomenon in the same way.
It was easier for the French Catholics to see Mormonism as non-Christian than to try to prove that its divine origins were impossible. Mormonism's origins were, in fact, too close to Christianity's own origins to claim that such things as revelations and miracles could not happen. Disconnecting Mormonism from Christianity was the only way to solve the dilemma.\textsuperscript{15}

**Orestes Brownson as an Anti-Mormon**

Although he is less well-known than other nineteenth-century religious authors, Orestes Augustus Brownson (1803–1876) "had a far greater impact [on his own time] than those like a Henry David Thoreau or Emily Dickinson."\textsuperscript{16} A native of Vermont, Brownson was raised a Congregationalist but converted to Methodism and then to Universalism. In 1826 he was ordained a Universalist minister. Quite restless in his religious ideas, he left the ministry in 1829 and became a social reformer and, for a short period, a free thinker. In 1831, Brownson started an independent ministry, and he became a Unitarian pastor in 1832.

In the subsequent decade, although he kept in touch with the tolerant Unitarians, Brownson aligned himself with a number of religious and philosophical movements, associating with Emerson's Transcendentalism, dabbling in Spiritualism, and enthusiastically trying to spread the doctrines of the French socialist and pantheist thinker Henri Leroux (1797–1871), an independent disciple of Saint-Simon. During this period, he also explored Mormonism but found it intellectually wanting. Brownson's brother, Oran, later became a convert to Mormonism. Finally in 1844, Brownson converted to the Roman Catholic Church, where he stayed for the remaining thirty-two years of his life, acquiring great fame through his magazine, *The Brownson Quarterly Review*.\textsuperscript{17}

As "the Pope's champion in America,"\textsuperscript{18} Brownson exposed from a Catholic viewpoint the various "isms" he had explored before conversion, including Spiritualism, Universalism, and Mormonism. Brownson regarded himself as an expert on Mormonism because he was personally acquainted with Joseph Smith in Vermont and had lived in upstate New York during the formative years of the LDS Church. He also tried to explain the true causes of the French Revolution.
In 1854, ten years after his conversion, Brownson published a fictionalized autobiography under the title *The Spirit-Rapper.*

In this book, Brownson, like Fiard and others, concluded that the influence of secret societies is not sufficient to explain the French Revolution. Some Catholic writers, as "good, honest" as they are, would explain all this by the Secret Societies. It is in vain. They did much, those secret societies; but how explain the existence of those societies themselves, their horrible principles, and the fidelity of their members in submitting to what they must know is a thousand times more oppressive than the institutions they are opposing?

The answer could only be "there was there the mighty power, whatever it be, which it is said once dared dispute the empire of heaven with the Omnipotent, and which all ages have called Satan." Brownson reported that when "the spirit was upon him, his face brightened up, his eye shone and sparkled as living fire, and he seemed instinct with a life and energy not his own. He was in those times, as one of his apostles assured me, 'awful to behold.'"

Brownson thought that Satan was the real author also of the Book of Mormon and ridiculed the Spaulding theory as "the most ridiculous" attempt to explain the Book of Mormon:

This version is refuted by a simple perusal of the book itself, which is too much and too little to have had such an origin. . . . Whoever had produced it in his normal state, would have made it either better in its feeble parts, or worse in its stronger passages.

A further element for Brownson was that Mormonism seemed to produce "marvellous cures." The reality of these cures was not doubted but only proved to Brownson that Satan was behind Mormonism:

That there was a superhuman power employed in founding the Mormon church, cannot easily be doubted by any scientific and philosophic mind that has investigated the subject; and just as little can a
A sober man doubt that the power employed was not Divine, and that Mormonism is literally the Synagogue of Satan.23

After the publication of The Spirit-Rapper and his first years of "militant aggressive [Catholic] apologetic[s]," Brownson's Catholicism became "more conciliatory and optimistic."24 In later years, he was less certain that all non-Catholic religious movements came straight from Satan. He concluded that "Satan, though a creature, has a superhuman power, and is able to work, not miracles, but prodigies, which imitate miracles, and which the unwary may mistake for them."25 By 1875, Brownson was prepared to conclude that "much fraud, and no little jugglery" of human rather than supernatural origin was connected with Spiritualism.26 In the same year, more than three decades after The Spirit-Rapper, Brownson returned to the subject of Mormon miracles and concluded that perhaps they were due simply to inexplicable causes:

We had a near relative who for six months had been rendered utterly helpless by inflammatory rheumatism. She was unable to move herself in bed, or even to raise her hand. A Mormon Elder asked her husband for a night's lodging, which was refused on the ground of the illness of his wife. The Elder replied that that was no reason for refusing his request; for, if he would let him see his wife, he doubted not he could cure her. He was led to her bedside, where he kneeled down and made a short prayer; at the end of the prayer she was completely cured—as well as ever she was in her life. We do not believe that God wrought a miracle at the prayer of the Mormon Elder, nor are we willing to suppose an intervention of the Evil One. There are moral or non-physical causes whose operation we but imperfectly understand, and which produce effects on the physical system that seem to us little less than miraculous. Till we know the extent of these causes, or the moral *vis medicatrix* of nature, we cannot take these sudden and inexplicable cures as conclusive proofs of a supernatural intervention.27

**French Anti-Satanism in the 1860s**

Brownson, who read both French and Italian, had been deeply influenced by the huge *Pneumatologie* of the French marquis Jules Eudes de Mirville (1802–1873). Mirville argued in ten volumes that all Spiritualist phenomena from the ancient mysteries to modern Spiritualism originated from the devil.28 Mirville was
the acknowledged leader of a school of French Catholic authors—whose books were recommended by both the French bishops and the Vatican—who tried to answer skepticism about the existence and the action of the devil by beating skeptics at their own game through a showing of prodigious scholarship. Mirville and his disciples, Henri-Roger Gougenot des Mousseaux (1805–1876; a diplomat) and Joseph Bizouard (1797–1870; a lawyer), produced thousands of pages on Spiritualism and the devil (with occasional remarks against the Jews). They also criticized Görres for being too cautious in not attributing the phenomenon of Spiritualism to Satan. Their works became popular among European Catholics in the 1860s.

While Brownson had been influenced by Mirville, Mirville’s protégé Bizouard in turn used the French 1862 translation of Brownson’s *The Spirit-Rapper* in volume six of his four-thousand-page work on Satanism to prove the demonic origin of Mormonism. Bizouard devoted sixteen pages to Joseph Smith and Mormonism and noted that French Catholic priest and encyclopedist Jacques-Paul Migne (1800–1875) had explained away Mormonism, citing only the alleged greed and fanaticism of Joseph Smith. Bizouard asserted that these traits were not enough to explain Mormonism. He also reviewed the travel account of Jules Remy published in French in 1860. According to Bizouard, Remy tried to treat Mormons kindly and fairly, but he could not avoid giving involuntary evidence to the thesis that their religion originates with Satan. Bizouard believed Mormon leaders were provincial Americans, neither particularly brilliant nor intelligent. Naturally, they could not have been capable of what they had achieved. Since their achievements were, indeed, extraordinary, the only possible conclusion for him was that behind both Joseph Smith and Brigham Young was the action of a superhuman power, namely, the devil.

**The Mormon Connection in the Taxil Hoax of the 1890s**

In the 1870s, the popularity of authors like Mirville and Bizouard declined in France (although they remained popular among Catholics in Italy). The success of positivist skepticism
made French bishops very cautious in endorsing Satanic explanations of Spiritualism or new religious movements. By the 1880s, they preferred to attribute spiritual phenomena to naturalistic explanations based on psychiatry or electricity.\textsuperscript{34}

However, an interest in Satanism was revived in the late 1880s by the scandals surrounding the defrocked Lyon priest Joseph-Antoine Boullan (1824–1893), who claimed that his controversial ceremonies, including sex magic, were necessary to counteract the operations of Satanists, and by the presence in the occult subculture of small groups of Satan-worshippers in France and Belgium. These groups were revealed to the public by investigative journalist Jules Bois (1868–1943), himself a member of the occult milieu. A close friend of Bois, novelist Joris-Karl Huysmans (1848–1907), caused a sensation in 1891 with his extremely successful novel \textit{Là-bas}, which included the first literary depiction of a Black Mass,\textsuperscript{35} allegedly based on the real experiences of the author and his friend Berthe Courrière (1852–1917).

After the publication of Huysmans's novel, anti-Masonic literature produced by a Léo Taxil, recently reconverted to Catholicism, started introducing the idea of Satanic secret orders behind Freemasonry, a theme not prominent in Taxil's pre-1891 anti-Masonic works. Taxil, whose real name was Marie-Joseph-Antoine-Gabriel Jogand-Pagés (1854–1907), was raised Catholic before joining French Freemasonry in a period when French Lodges were so extremely anticlerical that they were cut off from communion with British and American Freemasonry.\textsuperscript{36} Taxil exploited the anticlerical climate by producing extreme anti-Catholic literature that contained exposés of alleged sexual scandals of the clergy and of Pope Pius IX, who, according to Taxil, entertained a number of secret lovers. Since many anti-Catholics were atheist and rationalist free-thinkers, Taxil did not suggest that the Roman Catholic Church was run by Satan. He did claim, however, that Jesuits had learned both Eastern and Western magic and were capable of killing people from a distance and of performing other mysterious and almost supernatural wrongdoing.\textsuperscript{37}

Taxil earned his livelihood for a period of time by publishing anti-Catholic pamphlets. Because he later recognized that many more Catholics lived in France than anti-Catholics, in 1885 he
decided to return to the Roman Catholic Church. Once he was back in the fold, he began to produce anti-Masonic literature with all sorts of astonishing revelations intended for the Catholic reader. Some of these books became best sellers and were eventually translated into many languages.

Taxil was no ordinary con man and exhibited two traits of exceptional cunning. First, before his "conversion," he created a legal scheme through which the copyrights on his anti-Catholic works were transferred to his wife. He even pretended to separate from the wife, and she continued to publish anti-Catholic books (sometimes without the name of the author or with Taxil's unfamiliar names "Jogand" or "Pagés") while her "estranged" husband was busy selling anti-Masonic literature to Catholics. In this way, Taxil managed to retain the profits of his anti-Catholic business while simultaneously working in an ostensibly conflicting enterprise.

Taxil's second ingenious idea was to produce a perfect witness who could not be cross-examined since she never existed. In his first set of disclosures, Taxil began to focus on a "High Freemasonry" called Palladism that was hidden behind the public lodges. Palladist lodges, unlike regular Freemasonry, included both men and women. Taxil and his co-conspirator Charles Hacks, a medical doctor who in 1892 started publishing his popular serial *Le Diable au XIXe siècle (The Devil in the Nineteenth Century)* under the pen name of "Dr. Bataille," also mentioned the struggle for the control of Palladism between two powerful Satanic high priestesses called Diana Vaughan and Sophia Walder.

To make these two fictitious characters more believable, Taxil and Bataille pretended these women were in touch with other well-known Freemasons of the time who were secret members of Palladism, including the Italian prime minister Francesco Crispi (1818–1901), the powerful great master of Italian Freemasonry Adriano Lemmi (1822–1906), and Albert Pike (1809–1891), the great commander of the Southern Jurisdiction of the Scottish Rite of Freemasonry in America. Although Pike was particularly controversial during the U.S. Civil War, Taxil made him the secret Satanic Pope of the World, who reigned over a worldwide Satanic-Masonic enterprise from his "Luciferian Holy See" in Charleston, South Carolina (perhaps a strange and exotic place for the average European
reader of the time, as well as the place where the Civil War began).38 When the Roman Catholic bishop of Charleston ruled out the possibility that his city was the seat of a “Luciferian Holy See,” Palladist high priestess Diana Vaughan personally suggested that some U.S. bishops were perhaps in league with the Satanists.39

According to Taxil, Diana Vaughan had converted to Catholicism and was hiding in a monastery for fear of being kidnapped by Palladists. From her hiding place, she was busy publishing a monthly journal (written, of course, by Taxil) that included her recollections. Bishops, cardinals, and even the Vatican congratulated Taxil for being instrumental in the conversion of Diana Vaughan. By 1894 other anti-Masonic writers—possibly to the genuine delight of Taxil, who may not have been in league with them originally—began writing their own books about both Diana Vaughan and her archival Sophia Walder. These writers included Abel Clarin de la Rive (1855–1914), who published *La Femme et l’enfant dans la franc-maçonnerie universelle (The Woman and Child in Universal Freemasonry)* in 1894, and the Italian Domenico Margiotta.40 In 1896, Margiotta tried to win the leadership of the movement by revolt against Taxil and explaining that he had evidence that the real Diana Vaughan had never converted: a false Miss Vaughan was writing the French publications sponsored by Taxil.

Soon Catholic anti-Masonic writers who were more sober emerged. They suggested that Diana Vaughan was simply a figment of Taxil’s imagination. Under pressure, Taxil announced in 1897 that Diana Vaughan would finally appear on April 19 in public at a lecture in Paris. On that date before a crowded public hall of the French Geographic Society, Taxil appeared and announced that he had never really converted to Catholicism, that he remained an anti-Catholic, and that he had fabricated the whole Vaughan-Walder story to demonstrate to the world that Catholics were incredibly gullible. One Diana Vaughan, he explained, existed: she was a French typist of remote American descent who, although she had nothing to do with Freemasonry, had authorized Taxil to use her name and had done some typing work to help him and to share the fun of the hoax. Following his “confession,” Taxil left the hall through an emergency door and never returned to the world
of anti-Masonry. Instead, he quietly returned to his wife (whom he later, however, divorced) and to his anti-Catholic publishing business, which he continued until his death.

Nevertheless, the Taxil episode was not a simple story. It was viewed by both Freemasons and Catholics as a complicated scheme worthy of a modern spy story, and debate continues on its real meaning. Taxil continued to be quoted even after the 1897 scandal. Some counter-Masonic authors continued to maintain that even though Taxil had willfully mixed true and false statements readers could extract the true statements through careful analysis. Others relied on authors such as Abel Clarin de la Rive, who was clearly not in league with Taxil and was credited with separating the good and bad parts of Taxil’s work. Clarin de la Rive, at least for some years after 1897, continued to believe in Diana Vaughan and did not exclude her having been conveniently killed by Taxil in 1897. Finally, other authors simply continued to use Taxil as a source without quoting him by name.

Taxil had argued at length that Satan was behind Freemasonry as well as a number of other organizations. He included Mormonism in that number. Mormonism had been exploited in French literature as a source of intrigue, fanaticism, and scandalous sex. For Taxil’s purposes, this image made Mormonism an ideal candidate for Satanic power. Indeed, in his hoax one of the chiefs of the worldwide Satanic conspiracy was none other than a top Mormon leader from Salt Lake City. He is introduced in *The Devil in the Nineteenth Century* by “Dr. Bataille” (Taxil’s co-conspirator, Charles Hacks) as

former pastor Walder, unsaved Anabaptist, now Mormon, living in Utah, United States, where he is the real shadow of John Taylor, the successor of Brigham Young as leader of the Mormons; he [Walder] is one of the most active missionaries of Palladism, the semi-masonic form of Luciferian occultism. . . . This Phileas Walder . . . is one of the ugliest specimens of the human race I have ever seen.

Apparently, nobody in France bothered to check whether a Phileas Walder had ever been a Mormon General Authority or whether a person of his description was raised to prominence by being the “shadow of John Taylor.”

Walder was no minor character in Taxil and Hack’s fictitious and fantastic worldwide Satanic conspiracy. In fact, Satan planned
that after three generations one of Walder's own descendants would give birth to the anti-Christ. Since the tribe of Dan has to figure in the genealogy of the anti-Christ and since modern Danish populations really descend from the Jewish tribe of Dan (according to Bataille), the devil planned that the Mormons would organize one of their most important missions in Denmark. Walder was sent to Denmark as mission president (another detail, by the way, that could easily have been proved false). In Denmark, Walder managed to convert and seduce a young girl, Ida Jacobsen, and took her to Strasbourg, where she gave birth to Phileas's daughter, Sophia Walder. Satan had ordered the birth of Sophia to take place in Strasbourg, because of the occult tradition of that city and also (as Bataille explained) because Strasbourg had a sizable Protestant minority that could eventually convert to Mormonism.44

At this point Ida Jacobsen, the mother of Sophia, disappears, never to be mentioned again in the saga. Among Taxil's readers—organized in clubs and societies throughout Europe—the rumor circulated that she had been killed by Walder himself. Years later, however, the charitable Diana Vaughan cleared the old "shadow of John Taylor" from this crime. Walder, she explained, was not above resorting to homicide, when really necessary, but the mystery of Ida Jacobsen was "of supernatural order." Before her conversion from Satanism, Diana Vaughan asked the devil Asmodeus about the fate of the mother of Sophia, and the devil replied that the young Mormon convert from Denmark "had not been killed, nor abandoned by Mr. Walder." The mystery would have remained a mystery, but it seems that the devil himself—not Walder—took poor Ida Jacobsen, if not straight to hell, very far from her baby daughter Sophia. Diana Vaughan explained that Satan did not want Sophia to be raised by a woman who was not deeply entrenched in the Satanic mysteries. In fact, Sophia Walder was raised by her father and then by Albert Pike, Freemason commander, but not without a little help from Satan personally.45

Sophia spent most of her time in Charleston, South Carolina—not a typical place for the daughter of a Mormon authority, but remember that Charleston was the seat of the Luciferian Holy See. In addition, Pike was a close associate of John Taylor, and the third president of the Mormon Church was himself a
Palladist, the founder of a sacred “Moabitic” Freemasonry mostly composed of Utah Mormons who would spread Freemasonry over Utah’s borders.46

By age twenty (she was allegedly born in Strasbourg on September 29, 1863), Sophia Walder was second-in-command in the worldwide Satanic conspiracy, immediately after Albert Pike, and on the same level as Adriano Lemmi, the Italian grand master. No doubt, she was helped by being “as beautiful as her father is ugly.”47 Sophia had at her command more than one million Palladists throughout the world when on October 18, 1883, in a secret meeting in Rome where Adriano Lemmi and Italian prime minister Francesco Crispi were also present, the devil Bitru appeared. Bitru declared that he would marry Miss Walder on December 25, 1895, and that on September 29, 1896, the daughter of Sophia and the devil would be born. In due course, Sophia’s daughter would marry another devil, Décarabia, and would in turn become the mother of another daughter. That daughter would later become the mother of the anti-Christ.48

This complicated prophecy of generations meant that Sophia Walder would eventually become the great-grandmother of the anti-Christ. It also meant that Phileas Walder, alleged Mormon General Authority and the “shadow of John Taylor,” was the father-in-law of the devil Bitru. In 1896 the monthly magazine for which Diana Vaughan served as editor followed the saga of Sophia’s pregnancy, to the great astonishment of its readers in France and elsewhere.49

**Evangelical Fundamentalist Anti-Mormonism**

As previously mentioned, the Taxil saga did not entirely die with the scandal of 1897. A “key character”—as French scholar Jean-Pierre Laurant calls him—Abel Clarin de la Rive continued after the scandal as an anti-Masonic writer for seventeen years until his death in 1914. Although Clarin de la Rive suspected Taxil even before the scandal, he was never entirely convinced—even after Taxil’s confession—that Diana Vaughan and Sophia Walder never existed.50

Evangelical fundamentalist allegations of Mormon connections to Masonry also survived the Taxil hoax. Catholic anti-Masonic authors, who were normally very careful with respect to the whole Satanic connection after 1897, nevertheless continued
to speculate that Mormons were part of a larger conspiracy. The summa on secret societies from a Catholic perspective was written by Monsignor Nicolas Deschamps from 1874 to 1876 and went through a number of editions. The book explained that Mormons and Freemasons were not necessarily always in league between themselves but that Mormons probably represented an example of a "sect" or "cult" "more advanced" than Freemasonry itself.  

A group of European and American authors used parallel criticisms for Mormonism and Spiritualism but did not necessarily imply that either "heresy" was directly inspired by Satan.

Although the fall of Taxil discredited and marginalized all theories of Satanic conspiracy, these theories did not disappear entirely. In 1904 a Reverend Eugene Rickard of Meath (Ireland) had a selection of writings by "Diana Vaughan" republished in English in Mexico—without mention of the Taxil hoax. Claiming that the former "Priestess of Lucifer" was "now a nun," he distributed the writings in the United States.

The interest in Diana Vaughan was revived in 1929 by the publication in Paris of L'Elue du Dragon, a book purportedly written by one Clotilde Bersone, who in the years 1877–80 had been the lover of the future United States president James A. Garfield (1831–1881). Garfield was represented as the leader in Paris of a secret Satanic Freemasonry similar to Palladism. The book was actually written by the Catholic priest-novelist Paul Boulin (1875–1933) and was purportedly based on an ancient manuscript discovered by the Jesuit father Harald Richard (1867–1928). Boulin's book was actively promoted by the influential anti-Masonic journal Revue internationale des sociétés secrètes, whose editor, Mgr. Ernest Jouin (1844–1932), had a number of readers and friends in the United States. Strangely enough, nobody checked in Garfield's papers the dates when he should have been in Paris as head of international Satanism: Garfield had been in Paris for only a few days in 1867 and did not leave America at all between 1875 and 1881. After the publication of L'Elue du Dragon, the French anti-Masonic camp became interested again in Diana Vaughan, and books suggesting that perhaps both she and Sophia Walder had really existed were again published.

In the last years of his life, Mgr. Jouin was heavily influenced by Lesley (or Leslie) Fry, a Russian-American anti-Semitic author
well known for her defense of the spurious *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. Fry, whose real name was Paquita Shishmarev, also persuaded Jouin to occasionally include Mormonism in lists of Satanic “cults interested in sex” published by the *Revue internationale*.57 The French anti-Masonic camp was noted for its evangelical fundamentalist political preferences and had good connections in the United States.

A key figure in the transmission of the Taxil saga to America is Edith Starr Miller, Lady Queenborough. Her two volumes of *Occult Theocrasy* were “published posthumously for private circulation only” in Paris (in English) in 193358 but have since gone through a number of U.S. editions and are in print even today.59 Miller admitted that parts of her work relied heavily on Margiotta, Dr. Bataille (Hacks), Paul Rosen, and Alice Bailey. Samuel Paul Rosen (1840-1907) was a Jewish rabbi from Poland who converted to Roman Catholicism and wrote a very famous book, *Satan et Cie. (Satan and Co.),*60 in which he insisted that a Satanic conspiracy existed at the direction of Freemasons. Before and after the Taxil scandal, Rosen, with a blessing by Pope Leo XIII, continued to lecture against Freemasonry.61 Alice Bailey (1880-1949), an independent Theosophist and founder of the Arcane School, wrote from an entirely different perspective, but Miller found in her works evidence that she was also a member of the Satanic conspiracy.62

Miller also quoted liberally from Clarin de la Rive. Basically translating from the fictitious Dr. Bataille, Miller revealed some spicy details of astonishing “Palladian sessions” Albert Pike held in Charleston. She also claimed that a “wireless telephone [was] in the possession of the heads of the Masonic organization” that worked only because of Satan, because when Pike was alive “wireless was unknown.”63 Joseph Smith, according to Miller, “conceived the idea of establishing a Masonic super rite.” However,

Joseph Smith, applying his powers of mediumship towards the realization of the ambitious project nurtured by General Pepe, Mazzini and others for the establishment of a super rite, was not necessarily acceptable to the Masonic leaders of his time. Thus as a Mason he failed but as the founder of a Masonic sect he succeeded.64

Miller concluded that “the Mormon dogma is universality, materialism, and pantheism. It blends Judaism and Christianity, aiming at a progressive universal religion while seeking to unite in itself all
faiths and the cults of every people on earth." The establishment of this "universal religion" is, of course, the whole aim of the great Satanic conspiracy. Miller's influence should not be underestimated, and her anti-Mormon (and anti-Masonic) arguments are still quoted by a certain kind of evangelical fundamentalist literature today.

In recent years, the reception of such anti-Mormon arguments has been aided by the rise of "perennialism"—a name implying that a "perennial," esoteric philosophy is behind all religions—which has become increasingly popular in the United States. One of the founders of the perennialist school was René Guénon (1886-1951), a French esoteric author who had a number of followers throughout Europe and was received with sympathy even by a number of Roman Catholics before converting to Islam and settling in Egypt, where he died. Though largely limited to the perennialist milieu and to academic scholars of esoterica, the influence of Guénon in the United States seems to be growing in recent years.

Guénon regarded Mormonism as one of the most important religious movements produced by the United States and wrote a report based largely on anti-Mormon sources from various countries. Guénon suggested that Joseph Smith, though he may have been a sincere fanatic, was controlled by hidden inspirators, perhaps through Sidney Rigdon. Guénon saw Joseph as intellectually inferior to Orson Pratt, who had some knowledge of European philosophy. Guénon wrote, "Notwithstanding their peculiarities, the emergence of Mormon doctrines is not a lonely phenomenon" but part of a much larger conspiracy. Europeans needed to "keep a watch" since "Americans have already presented Europe with other very unpleasant gifts." Guénon's anti-Mormonism largely explains why more recent perennialist authors in the United States and elsewhere, who regard Guénon as a sort of cult figure, have facilely viewed Mormonism as a pseudoreligion or a false revelation.

**Direct Use of Nineteenth-Century Sources in Contemporary Evangelical Fundamentalist Anti-Mormonism**

We are now in a position to understand and critique the main proponents of recent anti-Mormonism. Despite the publication of a less successful sequel, *The God Makers II*, in 1993, there is little doubt that *The God Makers*, released as a film in 1982 and
published as a book in 1984, is the most visible contemporary work of evangelical fundamentalist anti-Mormonism, particularly of its extreme postrationalist wing. One of the key arguments of *The God Makers* is that Mormonism is derived from Freemasonry; Freemasonry, in turn, is a form of Satanic worship and as a consequence (even if admittedly only very few Mormons are aware of it), Mormonism worships Satan.

The origin of these claims is obvious: quotes attributed to Albert Pike are prominent in *The God Makers*, including an address to “the leaders of World Freemasonry” in which Pike explains that there are two gods, Adonay (the God of the Christian Bible) and Lucifer. Lucifer, according to the quotation cited by Decker, is Pike’s hero while Adonay is the villain: “‘Lucifer is God and unfortunately Adonay is also god . . . for the absolute can only exist as two gods. . . . Lucifer, God of Light and God of Good, is struggling for humanity against Adonay, the God of Darkness and Evil.’”

This quotation from Pike is very important in *The God Makers*. According to *The God Makers*, satanic Freemasonry was the major influence on Mormon doctrine and practice. But is there any evidence that Pike “turn[ed] Lucifer (Satan) into God”? Where does Decker’s evidence come from? Endnote 30 to chapter 9 of *The God Makers* reads:


This is a strange note: it is a quote from a quote of a quote. Decker claims he is quoting from Miller, quoting de la Rive, quoting Pike. The mention that *Instructions* by Pike was “recorded by A. C. De La Rive” is clearly misleading. De la Rive did not “record” anything. He was simply using information supplied by Diana Vaughan, that is, Léo Taxil, who had admitted that everything he wrote about Pike was fictitious, including the allegations of Satanism.

Interestingly enough, when William Schnoebelen and James Spencer published their *Mormonism’s Temple of Doom* two years after *The God Makers*, they quoted again from Pike’s spurious *Instructions*, altering the endnote only slightly. Apparently
Decker and Schnoebelen do not realize that Taxil specifically admitted his forgery of the 1889 Pike Instructions in his 1897 confession\textsuperscript{76} and that even anti-Mormon and anti-Masonic authors such as Leslie Fry recognized the forgery as such.\textsuperscript{77}

In 1991 Schnoebelen wrote a new book, \textit{Masonry beyond the Light}, which was published by the controversial Chick Publications (known for its anti-Mormon and anti-Catholic comics) and which contained an entire chapter on "Albert Pike and the Congress of Demons." After admitting to the Tanners in a 1988 interview that the source was "controversial,"\textsuperscript{78} Schnoebelen nevertheless wrote in his 1991 Chick Publications book that "if we look at his writings and statements attributed to him, we find that he [Pike] acknowledged Lucifer as the true god and Adonay (the Biblical God) as the god of evil."\textsuperscript{79} This time, the quote is from "de LaRive" [sic],\textsuperscript{80} again with no reference to Miller. Schnoebelen quotes liberally not only from de la Rive, but also from Miller and from Domenico Margiotta, whom we met earlier as the Italian who claimed he had known Diana Vaughan and Sophia Walder quite well. Schnoebelen quotes Margiotta to the effect that "Albert Pike had only specified and unveiled the dogmas of the high grades of all other Masonries," and asks his readers, "Please note that . . . statement carefully! The Lucifer doctrine, we are told, is implicit in the lower degrees, and only becomes an explicit teaching in the highest degrees. The highest of the high was the Palladium."\textsuperscript{81}

Next come the claims—mentioned but not emphasized in \textit{Mormonism's Temple of Doom}—that the Palladium not only really existed in the nineteenth century, but also still exists today in the United States and that Schnoebelen has been a member of it:

I was brought into Palladium Lodge (Resurrection, #13) in Chicago in the late 1970's and received the degree of "Paladin" in that Lodge in 1981 from the son of one of the leading occultists in the late 19th century—an associate of Aleister Crowley. Evidently there was (and is) Palladium Masonry being worked in the 20th century.

I am ashamed to admit it, but I, myself, stood in Lodge and joined in the traditional Palladium imprecation, which is (translated from the French): "Glory and Love for Lucifer! Hatred! Hatred! Hatred! to God accursed! accursed! accursed!"

\textsuperscript{82}
One wonders why a ritual supposedly devised by an American like Albert Pike would need to be “translated from the French,” although if one assumes that Schnoebelen is really translating from Taxil the situation becomes obvious.

In the 1988 interview, Schnoebelen told the Tanners that the Palladium ritual requires the initiate to immediately burn his certificate of initiation.\(^5\) However, Schnoebelen published in 1993 a certificate of initiation of his wife, Sharon, into the Order of Palladium signed by a “David D. DePaul.”\(^4\) According to Michael Bertiaux—a well-known figure in the occult milieu of Chicago and the man who consecrated Schnoebelen as a bishop in his Gnostic Church in 1977—David DePaul “was a real person and that was his name. He was originally Roman Catholic, from an orphan’s home, or else placed there by family.” Having “realised a special bond between himself and satanism,” DePaul believed that Diana Vaughan was a real spirit trying to contact him. He also stated that she came to him and directed him in setting up a mystical society that would continue the work of the Palladium, of which he was chief.\(^5\)

There is, at any rate, much to learn from Schnoebelen’s distortions, for example his questionable claim that the Mafia is really “a Sicilian Masonic terrorist organization” and is a part of the big conspiracy. According to Schnoebelen it was founded by Giuseppe Mazzini (1805–1872), the Italian revolutionary, and “the name Mafia . . . is an acronym for Mazzini autorizza furti, incendi, avvelenamenti—Mazzini authorizes thefts, arson and poisoning.”\(^6\) This theory was first suggested in the late nineteenth century but was immediately abandoned because historians in Europe recognize that the Mafia existed some centuries before Mazzini. But we have to leave Schnoebelen, although not without noting that his whole book is a tribute to the Taxil sources and the legend they built around Albert Pike.

**Common Trends**

The way Decker, Schnoebelen, and the whole postrationalist anti-Mormon camp use nineteenth-century French sources connected with the Taxil hoax (quoted directly or from Miller) is only
part of the story. By relying on these French sources to buttress their arguments, postrationalist anti-Mormons rely on Taxil not only for all their spurious data about Albert Pike, Mazzini, and Palladism, but also for a whole method and logic. Taxil's line of "logic" is replicated in the contemporary anti-Mormonism that The God Makers inaugurated. According to both, (1) Satan plays a direct role in the story. (2) Besides Satan, the major villains in the plan are the devil's agents, a chosen few who are aware they are working for him. The term "demonized" is relatively new, but the concept is the same as that employed by Taxil and his followers. (3) Although the great Satanic conspiracy is, of course, secret, Satan leaves his signature via symbols, books, and acronyms. When these are studied by counter-Satanist experts, it is obvious to them that Satan is in charge. We have seen that even Mafia is an acronym and that no Masonic symbol or motto escapes a sinister explanation by Taxil or de la Rive. Likewise Decker and Schnoe-belen have played fast and loose. And they have acknowledged that the real master at this game of dissimulation is another postrationalist anti-Mormon with the pseudonym of Loftes Tryk.87 (4) The two main tools used by Satan to recruit people for his conspiracy are power and sex. Taxil introduced the likes of Pike and Walder, who wanted to rule the entire world, and sex was always present. (5) Neither Masons nor Mormons could have succeeded alone in the Satanic conspiracy. As we have seen, Freemasonry in the Taxil saga and Mormonism in The God Makers are both supposedly best understood as part of a larger occult conspiracy. Accordingly, it is no contradiction to state that Joseph Smith was an occultist and also to insist that he "was a classical humanist atheist,"88 for secular humanists and atheists are clearly part of the conspiracy, too.89 Decker's explanation of Mormonism90 could just as well be a summary of Occult Theocracy, Miller's compilation from earlier French sources.

Likewise, in a marginal book about the New World Order as a Satanic threat, William T. Still claims the Mormons are part of the conspiracy. In chapter 9 of Still's book, titled "Albert Pike & Mazzini," we again find the familiar reference—quoted from Miller's quote of de la Rive—to Albert Pike's alleged "Instructions," issued from Charleston, "the sacred city of the Palladium": "Yes Lucifer is
God, and unfortunately Adonay is also God.”91 The Taxil saga of Albert Pike, Diana Vaughan, Sophia Walder, Satanic Masons—and a few Mormons—did not die with the scandal of 1897. And it will probably continue into the next century.

All Ends in Confusion?

The new wave of anti-Mormonism that emerged in the 1980s is largely different from both secular and sectarian anti-Mormonism, which have existed since the birth of the LDS Church. Although the new anti-Mormonism borrows themes and arguments from both its predecessors, its historical roots are in the much older French nineteenth-century counter-subversion literature, which focused on Freemasonry and included tangential references to Mormonism. The new anti-Mormonism has borrowed much more than a few quotations from these nineteenth-century sources. It has borrowed their whole system of logic and world view.

Even though scholars agree these sources were spurious and largely connected to a hoax—the Taxil scandal—they are so crucial to the postrationalist anti-Mormon movement that its proponents are not prepared to stop using them. It would be simple to eliminate the references to the Instructions by Pike—known to be a fabrication for more than one hundred years—but anti-Mormons are reluctant to abandon a “smoking gun” that they claim proves that Masons worship Satan. The Masonic connection—which becomes their Satanic connection to Mormonism—is too essential for their purposes.

Although new developments are probably in store for the future, for the time being I will conclude with one of my favorite quotations from C. S. Lewis:

There are two equal and opposite errors into which our race can fall about the devils. One is to disbelieve in their existence. The other is to believe, and to feel an excessive and unhealthy interest in them. They themselves are equally pleased by both errors.92

Massimo Introvigne is a partner in the law firm of Jacobacci and Perani, Torino, Italy; Professor of Religious Studies at the Pontifical University Regina Apostolorum, Rome; and Director of CESNUR, the Center for Studies of New Religions, an international research facility in Torino, Italy.
NOTES


8Seth Payson, *Proofs of the Real Existence, and Dangerous Tendency of Illuminism, Containing an Abstract of the Most Interesting Parts of What Dr. Robison and the Abbé Barruel Have Published on This Subject; with Collateral Proofs and General Observations* (Charlestown, Mass.: Samuel Etheridge, 1802); Augustin Barruel, *The Anti-Christian and Anti-Social Conspicacy* (Lancaster, Pa.: Joseph Erenfried, 1812).


12Wurtz, Superstitions, 3.
24Patrick W. Carey, introduction to Orestes A. Brownson: Selected Writings, 36.
36 The alienation of the largest French Masonic group (the “Grand Orient”) from the mainstream-world Masonic bodies, caused by this schism, has not been healed to this day.
39 See Diana Vaughan [Léó Taxil], “Evêques des Etats-Unis,” Mémoires d’une ex-Palladiste parfaite initiée, indépendante, no. 6 (December 1895): 189–92.
40 See Domenico Margiotta, Le Palladisme culte de Satan-Lucifer dans les triangles maçonniques (Grenoble: H. Falque, 1895); and Abel Clarin de la Rive,
La Femme et l'enfant dans la franc-maçonnerie universelle (Paris and Lyon: Delhomme et Brigué, 1894; 2d ed., 1899). On Clarin de la Rive, editor of the journal La France chrétienne antimaconnaise (as successor of Taxil) from 1896 to 1914, see the entry "C. la Rive, Abel," in James, Esotérisme, 72–74.

Historians sympathetic to Freemasonry maintain that Taxil was only a con man and that extreme anti-Masonic prejudice explains the success his scheme enjoyed for a number of years. See, for example, from the perspective of contemporary Italian Freemasonry, Aldo A. Mola, "Il Diavolo in Loggia," in Diavolo, Diavoli: Torino e altrove, ed. Filippo Barbano (Milano: Bompiani, 1988), 257–70. Masonic encyclopedist (and Golden Dawn member) Arthur Edward Waite (1857–1942) published a rebuttal to Taxil one year before the scandal of 1897: Devil Worship in France; or, the Question of Lucifer: A Record of Things Seen and Heard in the Secret Societies according to the Evidence of Initiates (London: George Redway, 1896). After the fall of Taxil in 1897, Waite wrote a further work, Diana Vaughan and the Question of Modern Palladism: A Sequel to "Devil Worship in France," that remained unpublished and is at present in a private collection in England. Another classic pro-Masonic account of the scandal is Henry Charles Lea, Léo Taxil, Diana Vaughan et l'église romaine: histoire d'une mystification (Paris: Société nouvelle de librairie et d'édition, 1901.) One should also read the famous lecture of 1907 where Taxil confessed the hoax: Léo Taxil, "Conférence à la salle de la société de géographie à Paris: douze ans sous la bannière de l'église: la fumisterie du Palladisme chez les Francs-Maçons," Le Frondeur 12 (April 1897): 13. Scholars less favorable to Freemasonry do not rule out the possibility that Taxil was in league with a segment of French Freemasonry and that he knowingly combined true and false information which made it difficult, if not impossible, for years for even more moderate forms of anti-Masonry to be taken seriously. See James, "Taxil, Léo," and Fry, Léo Taxil et la franc-maçonnerie. See also the bibliography in Weber, Satan franc-macon.

For discussions of Mormon themes in French literature mainly in the 1860s and 1920s, see Wilfried Decoo, "The Image of Mormonism in French Literature," parts 1 and 2, BYU Studies 14 (winter 1974) 157–75; 16 (winter 1976): 265–76.


Diana Vaughan, Mémoires, 292–93.


See Diana Vaughan, Mémoires d'une ex-Palladiste parfaite initiée, indépendante. I have in my library the copy which was once the property of the library of Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia; the handwritten comments of
Dr. William Wynn Westcott (1848–1925)—a member of the Societas, an authoritative Freemason, and one of the founders of the important occult society called the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn—show that he was aware of the magnitude of the hoax.


53See on this point Michael W. Homer, “Spiritualism and Mormonism: Some Thoughts on the Similarities and Differences,” in *Le Défi magique. I. Esotérisme, occultisme, spiritisme*, eds. Jean-Baptiste Martin and François Laplantine (Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 1994), 143–62. In 1867 a book by “Lacon,” *The Devil in America: A Dramatic Satire* (Mobile: J. K. Randall, 1867) suggested that America was threatened both by the “Demon of Mormonism” and the “Demon of Spiritualism.” (I thank Michael W. Homer for this reference.) It is, however, unclear whether “Lacon” merely used demons as literary devices for his satire or really believed that both Mormons and Spiritualists were controlled by the Evil One.

54Diana Vaughan [Léon Taxil], *Miss Diana Vaughan Priestess of Lucifer, by Herself, Now a Nun* (Guadalajara, Mexico: La Verdad, 1904). This volume has become extremely scarce; one copy has been located by Michael W. Homer at the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.


60Paul Rosen, *Satan et Cie.: association universelle pour la destruction de l’ordre social* (Paris: Veuve H. Casterman, 1888). Rosen was, on the other hand, an enemy of Taxil.

61It has also been suggested that Rosen mentioned “Mormon theories” concerning the possibility of generating spirit children in the celestial world as being similar to his interpretation of the Tenth Degree of Scottish Rite Freemasonry. See Pierre Barrucand, “Quelques aspects de l’antimaçonisme, le cas de Paul Rosen,” *Politica Hermetica* 4 (1990): 91–108, especially page 105.


Miller, *Occult Theocracy* (1931), 2:464. This page, apart from the solemn conclusion, also includes a curious mistake: LDS Church president Joseph Fielding Smith is said to be the "eldest son of the founder of the order," that is, apparently, Joseph Smith Jr. Of course, he was actually the grandson of Joseph's brother Hyrum.

Although Guénon was part of the occult underground himself, he saw the world as a struggle between real "traditional" initiates and the dark forces of "counter-initiation." When writing against counter-initiation, he was ready to cooperate with Catholic apologists, and his books against Theosophy and Spiritualism were written predominantly for a Catholic audience. See René Guénon, *Le Théosophisme: histoire d'une pseudo-religion* (Paris: Editions Traditionnelles, 1965); and René Guénon, *L'Erreur spiritue* (Paris: Editions Traditionnelles, 1952). On the first editions of these works and Guénon's relations with Catholic circles, see Marie-France James, *Esotérisme et Christianisme autour de René Guénon* (Paris: Nouvelles Editions Latines, 1981).

"René Guénon, "Les Origines du Mormonisme,"* Revue politique et littéraire* 64 (September 4, 1926), 535–41; republished in *Mélanges* (Paris: Gallimard, 1976), 161–75. Guénon's evaluation of Joseph Smith is not very kind or accurate:

If he was incontestably an impostor, even though some have tried to show him to be a sincere fanatic, it is not sure that he imagined all his frauds by himself; there are too many cases, more or less similar, where those who appear as leaders of a movement are more the tools of hidden puppet masters who remain entirely unknown even to themselves. A man like Rigdon, for example, may well have been an intermediary between Smith and the hidden inspirators. . . . As usual in these cases, the tool is ferociously destroyed. This was exactly what happened to Smith. Guénon, "Origines du Mormonisme," 538.

Guénon suggests that dark forces may have inspired Spalding to write his manuscript and Sidney Rigdon to use it to produce the Book of Mormon. Guénon noted that it was possible that Joseph Smith was about to discover the hidden inspirators who manipulated him through Rigdon or that he attempted to free himself from the external apparitions hidden behind him. For this reason, he was killed; in fact, according to Guénon, "it is hard to believe that the mob [at Carthage] acted spontaneously. . . . It is much more probable that someone had an interest in eliminating Joseph Smith at this very time." Guénon, "Origines du Mormonisme," 536, 538–39.

Guénon, who was well learned in philosophy, fancifully distinguished between what he attributed to Joseph Smith himself and what he attributed to Orson Pratt, "under whose intellectual dominion Smith fell toward the end of his life, and who had some more or less vague knowledge of the ideas of Hegel and some other German philosophers, in popular versions due to authors like Parker and Emerson." Contrarily, Joseph Smith, who insisted on a limited God of flesh and bones, rather reminded Guénon of William James: "Is it not true," the French esoteric author asked himself, "that Mormons were first to propose
the idea, now dear to pragmatist philosophers, of a limited God, the ‘Invisible King’ of Wells? The Mormon idea of "intelligences" who are coeternal with God was, on the other hand, wildly attributed by Guénon to reminiscences of Leibnitz and his theory of "monadism." Guénon, "Origines du Mormonisme," 538-40.


70Sec, for example, Frithjof Schuon, Comprendre l'Islam (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1976), 54.


72Decker and Hunt, God Makers, 130.

73Decker and Hunt, God Makers, 131.

74Decker and Hunt, God Makers, 267.


80See Taxil, "Conférence à la Salle de la Société de Géographie."

82See Fry, Léo Taxil et la franc-maçonnerie, 207. For a recent discussion of the Pike hoax from a Masonic point of view, see Art de Hoyos and S. Brent Morris, Is It True What They Say about Freemasonry? The Methods of Anti-Masons (Silver Spring, Md.: Masonic Service Association of the United States, 1994).

83When the Tanners, in a 1988 meeting during the course of their controversy with Decker and his associate William Schnoebelen, questioned the quote, Schnoebelen “admitted that it is a ‘controversial’” and "anti-Masonic source." Schnoebelen, according to the Tanners, “seemed to know the French language and translated the title of the publication [by Clarin de la Rive] into English for us. When we inquired as to whether it could in any way be traced back directly to the Masons, he responded: ‘Not to my knowledge, no.’" Jerald Tanner and Sandra Tanner, The Lucifer-God Doctrine, 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: Utah Lighthouse Ministry, 1988), 63. I have obtained from the Tanners a copy of the tape-recorded interview and have checked the references. For the controversy between the Tanners and postrationalist anti-Mormons, see Introvigne, “The Devil Makers.”

84Schnoebelen, Masonry beyond the Light, 191.

85Schnoebelen, Masonry beyond the Light, 286.

86Schnoebelen, Masonry beyond the Light, 191. In 1990, Schnoebelen also published with Chick Publications of Chino, Calif., Wicca: Satan's Little White Lie. Nothing resembles a book by Schnoebelen more than another book by Schnoebelen: the plot is always the same. Because of his “unique” background as an (allegedly) former Catholic priest, Satanist, Wiccan, Mason, and Mormon, Schnoebelen feels qualified to detect that all these “pseudo-religions,” if they are not one and the same, are at least all part of the same Satanic conspiracy.

87Schnoebelen, Masonry beyond the Light, 193-95.

88See Tanner and Tanner, The Lucifer-God Doctrine, 63.


89Michael Bertiaux, letter to author, February 12, 1994.

90Schnoebelen, Masonry beyond the Light, 192.


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Advertisement for plastic grape supplies. This advertisement appeared in the *Relief Society Magazine* (p. 719) in September 1967. Women from around the country were thus alerted about where to obtain materials for this popular folk art during general conference.
By Their Works Ye Shall Know Them:
The World View Expressed
in Mormon Folk Art

Although ridiculed, plastic grapes and hair wreaths symbolize
their makers' religious devotion to community and home,
obedience to divine injunction, or belief in the Resurrection.

Mark L. Staker

Art and religion have a long and pervasive relationship in
most of the world. Despite this long relationship, the central
importance of religion in understanding folk art has received aca-
demic prominence only in the past decade. One of the major pro-
ponents of using religion to understand folk art is Henry Glassie,
who argues religion is more significant for understanding folk art
than is history. In fact, observers are increasingly aware that only
an understanding of communal ideals will give many artifacts any
real significance. This view is readily reflected in the popular
American folk art traditions of the Shakers and Amish. The
emphases on humility found in the Shakers' simple, direct forms
and on the avoidance of the new or ostentatious in Amish folk art
are so prominent even the casual outside observer quickly notices
their presence. These traditions easily impart a sense of group
cohesiveness and of religious community.

In contrast, Latter-day Saint folk art does not quickly convey
such a sense of humility or community to the casual outsider, and
even many inside the core cultural spheres of the faith perceive only
an apparent emphasis on what is new, decorative, or showy—all ad-
jectives that imply competitive and divisive behavior, not religious
community and cooperation. Some have even held the individual up
in contrast to the community as the ideal. Two students of Mormon
art conclude, "In the creative experience the creator-artist expresses
his uniqueness, his free choice that is basic to Mormon doctrine."

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Although this view could certainly apply to some Latter-day Saint academic art, the overwhelming conclusion of those examining folk art in other communities has been that their art is a reflection of community ideals and is a celebration of the community as a whole. This approach reflects the nature of the art produced, as Vlach discovered in his examination of African-American folk art:

The essential characteristics of folk things stem from their communal nature. Because they are shared expressions they are not unique but typical and even commonplace; they are not usually monumental but ordinary and familiar; they are not singular but precedent, formulaic, and duplicated; they are not the product of a lone instant but are repeated continuously.4

The emphasis on community and tradition over creativity and individuality should not surprise anyone. After all, as Bourdieu observes, “There is no struggle concerned with art that is not also concerned with the imposition of an art of living.”5 Given the evidence from other groups, we would expect Latter-day Saint folk art to also reflect a spirit of community. The following preliminary examination not only corroborates this assumption, but also indicates that humility is as important a driving force in Latter-day Saint folk art as it is in Shaker and Amish traditions.

The examination is narrowly focused on two specific folk-art traditions in the Intermountain West—plastic-resin grapes and hair work. Although other folk arts have been practiced in different times and places in an increasingly international religious body, the popularity of plastic grapes and hair work among Latter-day Saint women in the Intermountain West and other scattered Latter-day Saint communities suggests that these two traditions should begin any study of Mormon folk art. Both of these art forms have received outside ridicule at one point; however, a close examination reveals that the aspects of both forms that received the most criticism are actually what gave these folk arts social and religious significance.

**Plastic-Resin Grapes**

Community in art and the religious significance of decorating a home with “handmade” items were fostered through Relief Society organizations making plastic-resin grapes (see color plate 1). Because of the Relief Society’s networks, the grapes’ popularity
quickly spread to become almost universal among Latter-day Saint households in the Intermountain West. Grapes were also made in other households and even appeared in businesses, for example wineries in California.6

**Brief History.** Some of the specifics of the development of plastic-resin grapes are still not clear. We do know that, when they first appeared, expensive glass grapes were already popular in California and elsewhere. And plastic resin was being used to encase insects, rock collections, and other items. In this context, Ruby Swallow developed inexpensive plastic grapes.

Swallow was thoroughly part of the Latter-day Saint tradition. Born in 1905 in the small hamlet of Hogan just north of Fillmore, Utah, she presented flowers as a young girl to President Joseph F. Smith when he visited Fillmore. Swallow always enjoyed making things with her hands and saw handwork as an important part of her activity as a Latter-day Saint. In 1963 she took old, glass Christmas-tree balls, put a piece of wire in each, and poured in plastic resin. She chose the color orange "because it matched [her] living room."7 Swallow continued to experiment during June or July of 1963, and in September she completed her first set of grapes in time to show them at a stake homemaking activity (see color plate 2A). Sister Louise W. Madsen, the second counselor in the Relief Society General Presidency, saw the grapes and asked Swallow to display them the following month as part of the homemaking display produced in conjunction with the semiannual general conference.

The first time most Latter-day Saints saw plastic grapes was at that October 1963 homemaking display. They became popular immediately. In fact they became so successful that within a very short time many Church members had made grapes. Swallow was hired by an arts and crafts store to teach classes on plastic grapes, and other stores quickly joined the market.8 The plastic-resin grapes remained unusually popular for years. In the early 1970s, almost a decade after the first set was made, many Latter-day Saint households in the Intermountain West and elsewhere had at least one set of grapes (see color plate 2B). Some had plastic grape swag lamps as well (see color plate 3). With the consequent decrease in demand for more grapes, the various grape promoters invented other ways to use up their dyes, wires, resin, catalyst, and glass-ball
molds. The plastic grapes still sitting in boxes were sold to children to make toys.

**Popularity of Plastic Grapes.** Plastic grapes became so popular among Latter-day Saint women that an out-of-town visitor asked Ruby Swallow's sister if the grapes were somehow connected to Mormon beliefs. Because Ruby told that story during many homemaking demonstrations, it became familiar to many Latter-day Saints, and a number of variations on the story are still repeated. Although this perception by some outside observers is well known, it has generally been laughed off without an attempt to understand why the grapes became so popular so quickly and stayed popular for so long when other similar projects were quickly forgotten (for example, feather flowers, foam hats, and marble wall plaques). Even those who sold or promoted plastic grapes were surprised at their continued popularity and fully expected the market to become saturated much sooner than it did.

Among the many possible reasons for the popularity of plastic grapes, two seem to predominate: plastic grapes came to represent the values of home and community, and they were a convenient way for Latter-day Saint women to live what they believed was a religious injunction to decorate their homes with handmade items.

**Ideology and Grape Production.** Less than a month after the grapes were introduced during general conference, Ngo Dinh Diem was assassinated, and American involvement in the Vietnam conflict escalated dramatically. Only a few weeks after the general conference display, John F. Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas. In short, plastic grapes were introduced at the beginning of what became a tumultuous period in American history, and they continued to be made until the early 1970s, when American involvement in the Vietnam conflict diminished.

Of course, the grapes were not directly connected with the politics of the time, but the political climate influenced the feelings of many Latter-day Saints concerning family, religion, and the stability of home life. During the upheaval of the times, the grapes became a subtle symbol of the value of home and family. They generally sat almost invisible in the living room of an active Latter-day Saint woman, blending into the matching orange carpet or purple-flowered wallpaper. Recently one writer fondly recalled the grapes
as a reminder of "hot summer days" and "all the other things that, long time ago, have gone away." In 1993 the Utah Quilters' Guild announced in their newsletter, the Beeline, that the beehive would no longer be their symbol. Instead, the guild had chosen grapes as their new logo. The grape had been "unanimously and enthusiastically voted in" because, as one speaker noted,

we piece them, appliqué them, stuff them, jelly and juice them.
We've even immortalized this glorious fruit with permanent acrylic models which have been passed down from Grandmother to Mother to Daughter to D.I. to D.I. [Deseret Industries].

The grapes had also come to symbolize family continuity.

The grapes were generally made as a community. Rarely could one person complete the process herself. The balls were usually poured and assembled in Relief Society, their production and distribution taking place almost entirely in the context of a religious community. Even those who were not Latter-day Saints tended to work in groups.

Plastic grapes were introduced at a time when the Relief Society organization was promoting arts and crafts. In 1963 the Relief Society Magazine published its first section devoted exclusively to arts and crafts and strongly encouraged them until the magazine was discontinued in 1971. That year marked the beginning of "a precipitous drop in the emphasis on arts and crafts" in the Relief Society. Plastic grapes began to fade from the scene at about the same time. Many LDS women credit the Relief Society's emphasis on arts and crafts for their participation in grape making.

Lou Wimmer began a career in arts and crafts just as plastic grapes were becoming popular. Reflecting on more than thirty years of experience working with other Latter-day Saint artisans, Wimmer concluded that "we were commanded in the D&C to make beautiful things with our hands." Many other Latter-day Saint folk artists have expressed this same view. Plastic grapes were well suited to this vision of art. Eleanor Zimmerman, who was an early influence in popularizing plastic grapes and who worked with other Latter-day Saint artisans for more than forty years, concludes, "plastic grapes were so popular because they were handmade but looked store bought." In Zimmerman's view, plastic grapes allowed women to live up to what they believed was a religious injunction to make things with their hands. They could create a product that
looked like quality craftsmanship but did not demand the time and training required to become expert in other art forms.

About the time that the popularity of plastic grapes was beginning to wane, Rodello Hunter wrote:

In Relief Society on Work Day, the women make things. The amount of Work Day items are innumerable. I have abundantly scattered the works of my hands in my house and in the houses of my relatives and friends. I have also received dozens of these items.16

Hunter perceives that making things by hand is important as a creative process, but she also believes that giving and receiving these handmade items is part of that process. Handmade gifts serve as a means of creating reciprocal relationships with others. Hunter argues that a handmade item is a gift of self and “a gift that cannot be purchased.”17 Thus, in addition to symbolizing family life and serving as a treasure to be handed down from generation to generation, the grapes were a symbol of both a true gift of self given in love as well as an image of humility and sacrifice because their maker had created them with her own hands. As such, they were used to decorate the home and other sacred places where the community worshipped.

Over time the grapes lost their appeal and slowly began disappearing from their central place in the home. Although some have assumed they were all given to the Deseret Industries (Mormon version of Goodwill stores and the Mormon image of unwanted items), most grapes seem to have found their way to the private spheres of the bedroom or children’s stored inherited treasures.

Publicly, plastic grapes are now generally viewed in a negative light. When a cluster of grapes was included in a 1978 folk-art exhibition, “many visitors were confused and irritated” that an item “aesthetically judged by popular culture to be without merit” had been included.18 The now widespread contempt for the grapes is illustrated in the comment of a woman involved in the establishment of a new religious tradition in Manti, Utah. As an example of how her women’s organization differs from the Relief Society, Elaine Harmston replied, “You won’t find any resin grapes on our tables.”19 This response is not a unique one. Most Latter-day Saints now view the grapes as insignificant if not silly. But with time they may come to be viewed as the folk art they are.
Hair Work

Hair work underwent a decline in popularity similar to that of plastic grapes. After falling out of fashion, hair wreaths were viewed as “misguided monuments to persistence in collecting.” Now it is much easier to view hair work as a folk-art tradition. An examination of Latter-day Saint hair work sheds light on the origins of some beliefs of Mormon folk artists about their work.

Cultural Foundations. Hair work is not a unique Latter-day Saint art tradition. Locks of hair believed to belong to early Christian saints and other significant individuals were worn in jewelry by the tenth century. Before the sixteenth century, jewelry itself was occasionally made of hair. In John Donne’s poem “The Relic,” published in 1633, the speaker asks to be buried wearing “a bracelet of bright hair” as a love token from his mistress. Making mourning jewelry of human hair was revived in the mid-eighteenth century (the era of the Graveyard School of poetry). Throughout the Victorian period, hair work of all kinds was popular, and in the United States its popularity peaked between 1820 and 1880. Some women still weave items out of hair.

During the mid-nineteenth century, hair work for purposes other than jewelry became increasingly popular. The best known example was probably a life-size portrait of Queen Victoria exhibited in Paris in 1855. As early as the winter of 1850, Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine, the most popular women’s magazine in America, began to publish a series of how-to articles on hair work. In many magazines, women could read articles on making flowers out of yarn and “hair pictures” out of pieces of hair glued in mosaic form. There is no clear documentation on how the transition was made from weaving traditional hair jewelry to making other things such as hair wreaths and “trees,” but by 1864 instructions were published for making hair flowers, from which the wreaths were made, by wrapping hair around wires. Their connection to yarn flowers is clear because an identical process using yarn is described almost a decade earlier in Godey’s. Latter-day Saint women made flowers out of both yarn and hair and displayed them in similar ways.

Hair flowers were viewed as a more challenging and complex art form than hair jewelry. Women were told in Godey’s that hair
flowers were “a branch of the hair work which depends more on the artistic skill and delicacy of touch of the worker, and on practice, than on any instructions we can give.” So the readers were essentially left to learn the art on their own. Most women seemed to learn by word of mouth. This was the case with the women in Bear Lake Valley. For example, Ila Wright learned the art from her mother, Caroline Jensen Allred, who learned it from Nancy Rich Pugmire, one of three women who brought knowledge of hair work to the valley in the 1860s.

By the late 1800s, knowledge of hair-work techniques had spread to the point that most women knew how to make wreaths and trees out of hair and most had contributed to one or more wreaths. Lichten concludes, “Hair wreaths and ‘trees’ were in high fashion in the 1860s and 1870s, although several decades earlier domestic circles were already practiced in the art of making these mournful trophies.”

**Victorian Ideology and Hair Work.** Campbell’s 1867 instructions on hair work note that hair jewelry functions “either as an ornament or memento.” Jewelry made from the hair of a known individual was generally known as “sentimental jewelry” and was often given as a token of love or friendship. However, for Victorians it really came into its own as mourning jewelry. One surviving account of a man’s funeral in Boston indicates that two hundred mourning rings were made of his hair and given to friends with inscriptions like “Prepare to follow me” attached to them.

Hair was significant as a memento because it was considered to be durable remains of a loved one. It served both as a reminder of the person and a way to keep his or her presence near. An advertisement for hair jewelry from the period states:

> Hair is at once the most delicate and lasting of our materials and survives us, like love. It is so light, so gentle, so escaping from the idea of death, that, with a lock of hair belonging to a child or friend, we may almost look up to heaven and compare notes with angelic nature—may almost say: “I have a piece of thee here, not unworthy of thy being now.”

Wreaths made from hair flowers differed from hair jewelry for most Victorians in that they were seen as solely decorative. Urbino instructed, “To make hair flowers we need live hair, that is hair from
the head of a living person.” Physiologically, this was not necessary; the hair was equally workable if the donor was alive or dead. Ideologically, it was essential; hair from the dead made the piece a memorial rather than simply a decoration. However, every piece of hair work eventually became a memorial as it survived its owner.

**Latter-day Saints and Victorian Hair-Work Ideology.** For Latter-day Saint women, hair jewelry often had a sentimental value similar to that of other Victorians. A man’s watch chain was usually made from his wife's hair. Sometimes women would send watch chains made from their own hair to fiancés who were on Church missions.

Just as other Victorians did, Latter-day Saint women occasionally used their own hair to make flowers. In her journal, Emily Spencer describes the same process for making hair flowers that women all over the United States were using. Their hair made the long petals, and their husband’s hair made the flower’s center. These were arranged into “family wreaths” or “flowering trees,” which were kept under dome-shaped glass.

The same sentiment appears to have been associated with these flowers as was connected with the watch chains sent to missionaries. They became mementos of the love two people shared. Some also had hair from parents or children, thereby extending the bonds of love beyond the couple to the family. Others were made from the hair of Church leaders. These were considered particularly significant. One hair wreath, made from the hair of eight Relief Society leaders and twenty-nine General Authorities (including hair from Joseph Smith), hung in the main entrance of the Salt Lake Temple until 1967. In another case, “a wreath of hair . . . especially caught the attention of the visitors [to the Women's Territorial Centennial Exposition in Salt Lake] because its braids contain hair from the heads of our murdered Prophet and Patriarch, as well as from Brigham Young, his counselors, and some of the Twelve Apostles.”

Hair work was also done as a means to express oneself or pass time. The latter purpose is especially notable where passing time was foremost in the minds of artisans serving time as convicts. During the polygamy raids of the period, some of the men convicted as “cohabs” became avid workers of hair. One man cut hair
from the children of his cell mate, Joseph Heywood, when they came to visit and made a hair corsage for Heywood. This attempt at art was described as "characteristic of an amateur."35

**Latter-day Saint Departure in Ideology.** Superficially, what Latter-day Saint women were doing was not any different from what other women of their era were doing. Despite the similarity between the process and perceptions of hair work by Latter-day Saints and other Victorians, the values were subtly different. Because hair mementos were strongly associated with death, Latter-day Saint views on death influenced how the work was viewed. One of the earliest examples of human hair used in Mormon folk art is Mary Ann Broomhead's embroidered piece made in 1844 to honor the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith (see color plate 4). Above an urn with the martyrs' initials on it, Mary Ann stitched with her hair a verse that lamented the death of the martyrs and concluded: "When the earth shall be restored / They will come with Christ the Lord." The use of hair to embroider a piece with an emphasis on the resurrection was a logical extension of the traditional association of hair with death.

The sisters in the Manti South Ward Relief Society made a hair wreath to decorate the Manti Temple (see color plate 5). In the center of the work is a thin piece of wood cut and painted by Janne Sjodahl to look like oxen standing on a tiled floor with a vase or font on their backs. Out of the font grows a bouquet of hair flowers. Surrounding the scene is a large wreath of flowers open at the top like a large horseshoe or dish.

The image of the oxen and font would have had specific meaning for the Relief Society members. It represents a baptismal font used on behalf of people who have died. The hair coming out of the font strengthens the message of resurrection, a message reinforced by the words written on the font: "These locks of hair, O Lord, thou hast seen us wear, so now we commit them to Thy Holy Temple's Care." Although the author was probably looking for a rhyme for *hair*, the choice of the word *Care* at the end of the verse strengthens the connection between hair and resurrection. A purpose of Latter-day Saint temples is preparing Church members for the Resurrection. In that context, the temple's "care" for the hair could symbolize the preparation individuals receive for their
own resurrection. These women were familiar with the prophet Alma’s promise in the Book of Mormon that in the Resurrection “a hair of the head shall not be lost” (Alma 40:23). Although quite a leap from a single word to a general symbolic meaning, this interpretation makes the entire image relevant.

If hair wreaths did become symbols of the Resurrection, this meaning was only incidental and temporary. More significant and enduring meaning was attached to the pieces as symbols of unity and community. Rarely was a wreath made out of the hair of one individual. Wreaths were generally made from the hair of a specific group—a family, Church leaders, or a Relief Society. The hair from these individuals was brought together in one common image to create unity from individuality. These wreaths were hung in communal spaces—temples, chapels, or parlors.

Hair wreaths also became symbols of humility because they were works made by hand. The editor of Bikuben, a Danish Latter-day Saint newspaper, commented on the attention given to the hair wreath displayed at the Centennial Exposition (described above): “I wish our sisters in the Church would increase the production of such beautiful handwork which would be used to adorn themselves, witnessing that these were the works of their own hands.” This same phrase is found in Doctrine and Covenants 42:40: “And again, thou shalt not be proud in thy heart; let all thy garments be plain, and their beauty the beauty of the work of thine own hands.” This statement, given in the context of a revelation largely about economic relationships, affirms humility in connection with creations made by one’s “hands.”

The Latter-day Saint World View as Expressed in Folk Art

Plastic grapes and hair wreaths both express aspects of the world view of Latter-day Saint folk artists. Although these beliefs are not readily accessible by looking at the art, they were part of the belief system of the artists. Plastic grapes came to symbolize stability, homemaking skills, and family life, while hair wreaths were linked to beliefs in the Resurrection. Both reflect community unity and the humility of adorning homes and public buildings with handmade items.
“Work of thine own hands” in the injunction “let all thy garments be plain, and their beauty the beauty of the hands” was expanded to apply to all forms of decoration, especially those things made for the home. President Spencer W. Kimball told Latter-day Saints, “I’ve always felt to commend the sisters who tat and knit and crochet, who always have something new and sparkling about the place.”37 “Plain” continued to be restricted to its original context of clothing. Even today a temple as a “house of God” is elaborately decorated while those who go to worship there avoid ostentatious clothing and jewelry.

The importance of sisters producing “new and sparkling” objects has been stressed in a variety of ways over the years. In a Relief Society manual on “handicrafts,” women were instructed, “Many people believe, unfortunately, that the purpose of art and of art instruction is to create a body of professional artists and practitioners. This is not so[;] . . . art is an adjunct to every-day life, [and] ordinary folk, like ourselves, can apply it—even create it.”38 This view of art as a production by “ordinary folk” during their everyday lives was compared by Glenn Johnson Beeley, former art director for the Relief Society, to religious commitment. “Picture-galley art,” Beeley told Relief Society members, “is about as unsatisfying as a Sunday religion.”39 In other words, art should fit into the larger context of daily life and the home.

“Picture-galley art,” however, has always been an important part of the Latter-day Saint art tradition, although for many Church members, this art has been heavily complemented with their own productions. Folk artists, as “ordinary folk,” worship daily by creating things for their homes.

Neither plastic grapes nor hair wreaths were seen by their creators as essential to their core religious beliefs, yet these items not only expressed some of those beliefs, but were also nourished by them. These two folk-art traditions, still frequently viewed as silly rather than significant, also have their place in any attempt to understand the Latter-day Saint art tradition. As Church membership continues to expand rapidly in countries with strong folk-art traditions, an understanding of the historical foundations of Mormon folk art will aid in interpreting and determining the future direction of the artistic traditions developing in those new Latter-day Saint contexts.
Mark L. Staker is Curator, Museum of Church History and Art. In addition to those credited in the footnotes, the author is indebted to Jennifer Lund for sharing her knowledge and to Marge Conder, Kimberly Staker, and Richard Oman for comments on earlier drafts of this paper.

NOTES


6 Colleen Staker, interview by author, Salt Lake City, Utah, December 5, 1993.

7 Ruby Swallow, interview by author, Salt Lake City, Utah, December 23, 1993. Interviews with a number of women who made plastic grapes have occasionally elicited memories of grapes being made "around 1960." Ruby is specific about 1963 as the year she first made the grapes because her husband, Truman, died just as they started to become popular.

8 Eleanore Zimmerman, interview by author, Salt Lake City, Utah, December 23, 1993; and Swallow, interview.

9 Others credit different people as the source for this story, and it may be that a number of different women were asked if the grapes were connected to the religion of the Latter-day Saints. A fictional account is written in a novel by Rodello Hunter, A Daughter of Zion (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972), 93: "One day a friend of mine was contemplating the plastic grapes we were making. 'You remember Mrs. McCord, the visitor from New Zealand who we had during the holidays? Well, one day she asked me if grapes had any significance in the Mormon religion.' LuAnn waved her hand over the tables of grapes in various stages of preparation. 'Grapes!' I said. 'How would she get that idea?'" A more recent fictional scenario appeared in the Deseret News: "An alien visit to a Bountiful neighborhood in 1965 would have no doubt convinced the stranger that local inhabitants worshipped dusty bunches of 'sacred orbs.'" Deseret News, July 25, 1995, C2.

10 Ann Edwards Cannon, "Where Have All the Plastic Grapes Gone?" This People 13 (fall 1992): 75.

11 Utah Quilters' Guild, "Demonstratrs [sic] for New Logo at Annual Meeting," Beeline Newsletter (November/December 1993): 1. Although the grape was unanimously voted in as a symbol, the Beeline continues to sport a beehive as its official logo.
20Hunter, A Daughter of Zion, 92.
21Hunter, A Daughter of Zion, 94.
29Godey, Godey’s Lady’s Book and Magazine (1859): 197.
31Lichten, Decorative Art, 193.
32Mark Campbell, Self-Instructor in the Art of Hair Work (New York: By the author, 1867), 262.
34Ilichten, Decorative Art, 193.
35Urbino, Art Recreations, 294.
40Jacobsen, Bikuben, 3.
43Beeley, Handicrafts, 12.
Plate 1. *Sisterhood*, by Gary Ernest Smith (1942–), oil on canvas, 36" x 42", 1983. Courtesy Museum of Church History and Art. Diverse groups of Relief Society sisters throughout the Church developed a sense of community through participation in group arts-and-crafts projects.
Plate 2A. *Plastic-Resin Grapes*, by Ruby Swallow, 1963. Courtesy Museum of Church History and Art. The display of these grapes at a homemaking exhibit during the October 1963 general conference initiated such enthusiasm that plastic grapes became an unusually widespread Mormon folk art.

Plate 2B. *Collection of plastic grapes*. This collection demonstrates how Latter-day Saint women in true folk-art tradition created variations on a basic form. Courtesy James B. Welch.
Plate 3. Top: Plastic-Grape Swag Lamp; bottom: Decorative Hanging Cluster. Following the principle in Doctrine and Covenants 42:40, Latter-day Saint women made decorations with their own hands to beautify their homes. Courtesy James B. Welch.
Plate 4. Martyrdom Sampler, by Mary Ann Broomhead, textile and human hair, 27" x 24", 1844. Courtesy Museum of Church History and Art. Made by a thirteen-year-old, this sampler, with its emphasis on the Resurrection, demonstrates how Latter-day Saint values were superimposed on the traditional association of hair with death.
Plate 5. *Hair Wreath*, by the Manti Relief Society, hair, 35" x 29 1/4" x 6 1/2", 1888. Made for the Manti Temple, hair from the individual sisters was brought together in one common image to create unity from individuality.

A woman, in a moment of silent enlightenment, begins to understand an eternal truth. Vincent paints the woman realistically, juxtaposing her mortality against an abstract background symbolizing the world of the spirit.
The Paradox of Silence in the Arts and Religion

Through paradoxical silences, some artists convey their anguish over heaven's unresponsiveness in the face of evil. But in religion silence often conveys God's presence and sorrow.

Jon D. Green

Only by the form, the pattern,
Can words or music reach
The stillness, as a Chinese jar still
Moves perpetually in its stillness.

—T. S. Eliot, Four Quartets

Introduction

T. S. Eliot's stanza captures an essential ingredient in the theme of this essay: the paradoxical relationship between the mute and the immutable, between silence and stasis. The jar is still (silent and unmoving), yet still moves (us) in its stillness (quietude). The word still suggests that both the mute and the motionless have continuous being, and silence is laden with messages that reach our emotions. The simple paradox of silence is that what is not said can be more expressive than what is said.

This paradox of silence has universal applications. In every culture and civilization, silence weaves its way through God's communication with his creations and throughout our attempt to communicate with the Divine and with each other, particularly through the arts. For the purposes of this paper, I am limiting my analysis to silence in three art forms—music, film, and painting—and to a discussion of silence in religion.

The figure, isolated in a box, is a compelling combination of the body of a pope clothed in ceremonial robes with the shrieking face of a wounded nursemaid. The head of the figure explodes into a blurred vision of silent violence.
Silence in the Arts

We experience the paradox of silence through both hearing and seeing. Aurally, silence is more than the absence of sound; it is a part of sound as well as a means of provoking an emotional response in the listener. Visually, we may perceive an object as silent and motionless. The suggestion of sound in the image creates tension, causing a reaction to a sound we do not hear. Indeed, the crux of the paradox within the arts lies in the palpable presence of a sensory experience virtually absent from the medium: silence in music; mute (visual) meaning embedded in the temporal-spatial complex of film; and motion suggested by static patterns in painting. A graphic way to illustrate silence in the arts is through the silent scream.

In Western arts, the silent scream emerges as a reaction to philosophical and religious anguish. Priest and scholar Raimundo Panikkar in *The Silence of God* defines the central dilemma of the modern age as the problem of God: “God seems ineffective, and deaf, or at least speechless, inasmuch as God permits all manner of holocaust, injustice, and suffering.”1 What Panikkar describes, however, are actually the consequences of the age-old problem of evil. If God is all-good and all-powerful, whence evil? One response to this problem, once Nietzsche announced the “death of God,” was to shift the burden of such cosmic dilemmas from the divine to the human sphere. The cry for help as expressed by traditional religious invocation becomes in our century a scream of defiance in the face of existential despair. This core feeling of helpless (ineffable) anguish has given rise to depictions in recent art of silent screams.

These Western reactions stand in marked contrast to biblical evidence of God’s intimate involvement in the affairs of his chosen people and to Eastern expressions of religious devotion. The impassively benign countenance on sculptures of Buddha attests to the superfluity of the very question of God, because “the answer can only be as contingent as the question.”2 The Buddha’s answer is silence because the ultimate question is irrelevant. The human creature simply cannot leap over its own shadow by formulating contingent questions that will yield ultimate answers.
Thus, the cosmic silence as expressed by East and the West differs dramatically. The West suffers from fear of silence in part because the scientific mentality has tried to rationalize these ultimate questions and has ended up destroying the mystery and meaning of God. “Now,” writes Panikkar, “they [the inhabitants of the West] find themselves wrapped in an absolute Silence beyond all possibility of redemption, rupture, or manifestation. Now it is the silence of absence, and this is all the more terrible and terrifying a silence.” Albert Camus perfectly expresses the mental condition of the primal scream when he writes, “The absurd arises from the confrontation between [the need for rational clarity] and the irrational silence of the world.”

Silence, which includes darkness, absence, and emptiness, is not solely the principle means of encoding the limitations of human consciousness, it is also the only direct method of rendering the numinous in art. Timothy Walsh argues that “conspicuous absence” in a work of art keeps it vital and prevents the work from becoming static. Absence in the work creates a fluid state where potential is “never completely fulfilled.” J. A. Ward comes to a similar conclusion about the function of silence in the works of certain American writers and painters who “suggest an eternal silence remote from commonplace experience,” a silence that is clothed in a paradoxical form of expression: “The content of the expression must be the inexpressible.”

While most discussions of the “meaning” of silence occur within the context of written or spoken language, there is also an expressive potential of silence within the domains of three non-literary arts: music, film, and painting. In each of these three mediums, silence functions in a slightly different way.

Silence in music is an essential part of the medium along with organized sound, a fact self-evident, although not so obvious until it is pointed out, to anyone who can read music. There are notes, and there are rests.

Cinema was born in silence and remained a mute medium of pantomime with crude subtitles until the advent of the “talkies” in 1927. The sound track ended the great age of the silent stars by eliminating the need to convey meaning by gesture alone. Motion minus sound amplified both the tragic and comic significance of
the visual images in the era of silent movies by forcing the viewer to rivet full attention on vision as the sole source of meaning and emotion. In modern films, silence plays an even more significant role because it is unusual. We expect to hear a scream when one is portrayed on the screen. When there is none, the silence amplifies the implied presence of the scream.

Silence in the visual arts, however, is so obvious and self-evident that it is unnoticed (inaudible) by the viewer. By that very fact, an awareness of its cryptic presence expands the range of possible visual interpretations, particularly when the artist exploits its enigmatic impact for special expressive effects. This relatively recent possibility was already anticipated by the French Symbolist poet Stéphane Mallarmé when he wrote, “Paint not the thing, but the effect it produces” and was given indelible visual expression by Edvard Munch in his painting *The Scream* (1893).

The West retreats from the word, not, as in the Orient, to ascend to the more profound silences of divine mystery, but to descend into the “unspeakable” confrontation with man’s inhumanity to man. Pascal “is nearer the mainstream of classic Western feeling when he says that the silence of cosmic space strikes terror.” Van Gogh’s *Starry Night* and Munch’s *The Scream* come immediately to mind as silent, visual analogs to the relentless, reverberating angst suffusing the modern psyche. James Ingo Freed, Jewish architect of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C., acknowledged that he wanted to create a place that could embrace the enormity of the nightmare. “I wanted to make a scream,” he said about his Hall of Witness. Silent screams provide the unifying motif for this discussion of silence in the arts.

**Silence in Music**

What is the function of silence in music? All music exists in and derives meaning from a background of real or imagined silence, just as forms in the visual arts acquire their formal articulation against the background of negative space. Every musical performance is framed by silences: the pregnant silence poised on the threshold of the opening bars of a piece and the resonant silence
following the end of the piece, full of the reverberating echoes of the sounds and emotions generated during the performance—the aural equivalent of “afterimage” in dance criticism, namely, the vivid memory sensation that remains in the mind after the performance is over. Beethoven, for example, places a fermata over a quarter-note rest at the end of the fourth movement of his Third (“Eroica”) Symphony to underscore the fact that the final silence was an integral part of the piece. In addition, stage theorist Max Picard identifies a third dimension of silence within the span of the fore-silence and after-silence of a musical piece, namely, an “intervening silence.”

In a very literal sense, therefore, silence is an indispensable part of the fabric of music, as the musical symbols for silence (the rests) pepper the pages of any musical score by internally punctuating, sometimes dramatically, the meaning and impact of the music on the listener. An exhaustive and insightful treatment of the function of silence in music can be found in Zofia Lissa’s study, “Aesthetic Functions of Silence and Rests in Music.” One of her major points is the paradoxical relationship of silence in a sound medium: the positive power of the negative example. “In its constructive form,” she says, “silence (which never appears in absolute form) is


The last rest, prolonged by a fermata, demonstrates the final silence the composer intended as an integral part of the piece. The conductor’s arms remain elevated for a moment before the applause may begin.
capable of provoking response not only in music but in any form of
art involving the elements of temporal development."\textsuperscript{15} The dra-
matic tensions created by Beethoven's pauses, for example, carried
over into later romantic usage in works from Chopin, Brahms,
Bruckner, and Mahler to Bartok and Prokofiev. Particularly signifi-
cant, she claims, are the pauses and silences found in Wagner's \textit{Tris-
tan and Isolde} and Bruckner's Second Symphony, subtitled the
"Pausen-Symphonie." In other words, each musical period exploits
the expressive effects of silence somewhat differently.

Probably the most memorable and widely known instance of
"intervening silence" is found in the closing bars of Handel's "Hal-
ellelujah Chorus" from the \textit{Messiah}. The crescendo repetitions of
the word "Hallelujah" are suddenly left hanging in the air by a half-
measure rest, followed by the final "Hal-le-lu-jah." The impact of
this block of silence results from the fact that Handel has suddenly
forced the listener to become aware of the soundless space in the
music, which we normally attend to only, as mentioned above, in
the silent anticipation of the opening bars and in the breathless
pause before the final applause.

Of course, there is no true silence in the pauses at all, espe-
cially when the music is experienced in a live performance—a fact
that John Cage's "Silent Sonata" effectively demonstrates. The "per-
former" comes on stage, sits before a piano for four minutes and
thirty-three seconds, and then leaves the stage. The audience
quickly discovers that silence is filled with a myriad of sounds that
normally, and probably rightfully, escape our conscious attention.
These previously unperceived sounds are enhanced when the
silence is allowed to continue unabated for four or five minutes
and when the audience is carefully attentive, keenly anticipating
hearing something ostensibly worth listening to. It would be diffi-
cult to imagine an equally evocative sequel to such a piece of
planned silence. And yet, for all his chicanery, Cage has taught us
something important about the meaning of silence in music. By re-
versing the relative role sound and silence play in a musical per-
formance, Cage is inviting all sound to take on a significance
worthy of our undivided attention, even the trivial sounds that per-
meate our environment, that provide the buzzing backdrop to our
daily lives. In his essay on silence, he notes, "There is no such thing
as an empty space or an empty time."\textsuperscript{16}
Such a stunt was anticipated fifty years earlier by none other than Claude Debussy. In a letter to a friend, he wrote, "I have made use (quite spontaneously, moreover) of a means that seems to me rather rare, namely of silence (don’t laugh) as an agent of expression and perhaps the only way of making effective the emotion of a phrase."\(^{17}\)

Unfortunately for Cage’s idiosyncratic musical aesthetics, it is nearly impossible not to laugh (let alone scream in silence) at the prospect of listening to an audience listening to itself: feet shuffling, chairs squeaking, stomachs growling, etc. But there is at least one composer of our century who captures the raw power of these extraneous, unmusical silences in our lives with the gripping force of a cosmic scream: Krzysztof Penderecki (1933–).

Two potent influences created the compelling immediacy and universal relevance of Penderecki’s musical style: religion and social injustice. Of his hometown of Debica, Poland, Penderecki said that “the [Catholic] church was absolutely the center of life. People would kiss the shoulder of the priest as he walked by.”\(^{18}\) The Nazi destruction of the Jewish ghetto in Debica during the Second World War cruelly awakened his social conscience at a very impressionable age. “This traumatic experience was subsequently to become crystallized in a corpus of works beginning with the *Threnody to the Victims of Hiroshima* (1959–61)”\(^{19}\) and including his *Dies Irae* (Auschwitz Oratorio, 1967).

The *Threnody* evokes haunting tonal images of the horror of utter destruction. Penderecki’s unconventional musical syntax creates this aura of atomic annihilation by a kind of “controlled aleatoricism”\(^{20}\) made up of long sustained dissonances in the fifty-two strings (playing a “chord” of fifty-two different pitches simultaneously), punctuated by monotonous rhythmic figures and interspersed with large blocks of near breathless silences. Gradually one becomes aware of sirens and finally the suggestion of the lonely drone of bombers receding into the distance. The most unsettling sound of all is the sudden barrage of piercing dissonance that begins the work—a macabre collage of human screams drowned in the menacing electronic vibrations of atomic destruction.\(^{21}\) As one critic describes this first section, “We seem to hear a gigantic structure ripped apart by tiny bits, as though a slow-motion

The notation instructs the fifty-two strings to play fifty-two different pitches. The broad wavy lines in the violin part indicate a very slow vibrato with a quarter-tone frequency variation; the narrow wavy lines in the viola part indicate molto vibrato.

...earthquake were in progress.” This experience is followed by an abrupt silence, which only gradually gives way to the distant wail of a siren.

The seemingly haphazard placement of silences throughout the piece makes the listener more vulnerable to the next wave of wrenching dissonances. The dense fifty-two-pitch “chord” recurs again in section IV, beginning as a roar but gradually subsiding to a “pitiful knotted murmur at the end.” The expressive gravity of silence in this piece gains in significance when we discover that Penderecki was composing his *Dimensions of Time and Silence* (1962) for mixed chorus, string instruments, and percussion at virtually the same time as the *Threnody*.

*Dimensions of Time and Silence* exploits the extremes of vocal and instrumental ranges (from the highest to the lowest possible notes), producing sounds of indefinite pitch as well as quarter-tone dissonances and dynamic extremes from sudden fortissimo sforzandos to virtually inaudible triple pianissimos. In such works,
silence is like a gigantic black hole expressing the extremes of non-sound out of which all sound, from natural to musical, emerges, and into which all sound eventually disappears. Another example is the work Stabat Mater. About it reviewer Tom Carlson notes, “Employing a condensed version of the Latin text, succeeding syllables of words are passed from one chorus to another, one or more vocal lines are used as pedals simultaneously, and even silence assumes an importance nearly equal to the production of sound itself.”

But perhaps no contemporary composer (even John Cage) has so brilliantly drawn upon the continuum of vocal and instrumental sound possibilities as has Penderecki, who moves from silence to noise to tonal sound and from pure monophony to jarring dissonant tone clusters and gliding glissandi. The sudden gaps of silence that punctuate Penderecki’s music act as aural anchor points from which his strange timbres are heard and against which the dramatic contrasts are measured.

Penderecki’s Ecloga VIII, written especially for the King’s Singers, is a musical setting of the second part of Virgil’s Eighth Eclogue, in which a woman is described as resorting to witchcraft in order to bring her man back from “town.” Here Penderecki plays with the tonal possibilities of the text so that often whole lines, words, even syllables seem to have disappeared into thin air; “this, together with all the current avant-garde armoury of word-setting (deep-breathing, humming, sliding, singing-through-the-teeth, whispering, ‘falsetto-ing,’ speaking, laughing, hissing, shouting, gibbering—Oh! and yes, singing), makes it a truly hair-raising experience.” The grunts and hisses dribble off into silence in the middle of the piece.

The paradoxical suggestion of silence emerging from natural sounds is probably nowhere more effectively displayed than in Penderecki’s St. Luke Passion, where the expressive capacity of the human voice is stretched to the breaking point in voiceless hissings and whisperings. One movement ends with the whole chorus simply breathing in unison, more and more slowly, until only silence remains. Whispering—or breathing, in this instance—approximates a kind of relative silence standing for the unsounded, aspirated human voice. The presence of whispering suggests the absence
of audible speech. When movement stops, there is silence; when breathing stops, there is death—the inverse of God’s life-giving act of filling Adam’s nostrils with “the breath of life” (Gen. 2:7). Penderecki’s music evokes primordial images of life and death as it echoes from a silent vacuum signifying utter annihilation.

This piece of music is eerily reminiscent of Thomas Mann’s description in Doctor Faustus of the closing passage of Adrian Leverkühn’s “Ode to Sorrow”—a nightmarish inversion of Beethoven’s “Ode to Joy” from the Ninth Symphony. Mann’s description of the ending of Leverkühn’s piece is also virtually the ending of the novel:

For listen to the end, listen with me: one group of instruments after another returns, and what remains, as the work fades on the air, is the high G of a cello, the last word, the last fainting sound, slowly dying in a pianissimo-fermata. Then nothing more: silence, and night. But that tone which vibrates in the silence, which is no longer there, to which only the spirit hearkens, and which was the voice of mourning, is so no more. It changes its meaning; it abides as a light in the night.26

Mann plays with the paradox of double negatives: the vibrating silence, no longer there, is there as a “light in the night.” Darkness gives birth to light, silence to a new sound.

Given the whole new range of nonmusical sound components, it is understandable that Penderecki’s new musical language created the need for a new musical notation. Perusing the pages of one of his scores reveals the visual approximations of the vacuous silences in his music—pages of bar lines without notes, large blank spaces between bar lines, thin wedge-shaped crescendos growing to wide, black strips that entirely obliterate the bar lines. By exploiting the expressive dimensions of silence, Penderecki redefines the role of music’s negative dimension (silence). His scribbled manuscripts represent a silent, macabre fever chart of modern existential angst.

**Silence in Film**

Those of us entranced by the inimitable performances of the great silent comedians like Chaplin and Keaton can justly lament the passing of the art of silent cinema. Some film scholars, most
notably Rudolf Arnheim, believe that the new art form was dealt a fatal blow by the introduction of sound to film in 1927. "From its very silence," Arnheim writes in *Film as Art*, "film received the impetus as well as the power to achieve excellent artistic effects."27

His provocative thesis argues that the peculiar virtue of film as art lies in the creative exploitation of its medium limitations: the absence of sound, color, and three-dimensional perspective. The great silent film makers were on their way to creating a distinctive new art form when mechanical advances in sound halted them in their tracks. Arnheim’s radical thesis—his contention that the absence of sound forced the artist to more expressively convey his meaning by indirection and paraphrase—makes a lot of sense because it conforms to an aesthetic principle underlying most great classic art: less is more.

This principle has something to do with the relative importance of artist and audience in the trade-off between what the artist leaves unsaid and what the audience can catch that finally generates "aesthetic closure"—a tricky relationship that, when fully operative, creates the key catalyst in the collaboration necessary to make an art work succeed.

Walter Kerr, in discussing the expressive opportunities offered to both film makers and audiences by the silent camera, observes that not only do deletions, pushed to an "evocative minimum," take the artist closer to the core of what he is doing, but they open the door to the viewer's imagination:

> Audiences are rarely aware of how active they become in the presence of work that is created by nuance, by incomplete statement. With their own imaginations forcibly alerted, they move forward to meet the imagination of the man who has composed what they are watching. There is a journey and a greeting, an exchange of experience, a handshake on truth. The two make the image together.28

A similar collaboration emerged from the ancient Greek dramatic convention of the "messenger" who rushed onto the stage and reported some gruesome event that had just happened off stage (like the blinding of King Oedipus). The human imagination paints a more indelible picture of events than could ever be achieved by the pyrotechnics of contemporary film wizardry.
Christopher Marlowe understood this principle of audience imagination and artistic economy when he chose to describe Helen's beauty simply by its effects rather than in a conventional verbal description: hers was "the face that launched a thousand ships." There is a memorable scene from Josef von Sternberg's silent film *The Docks of New York* (1928) in which a gunshot is "illustrated" by its effect—a rising flock of birds. Arnheim concludes that "a positive artistic effect results from [this visual] paraphrase. . . . And this [understated] indirectness is shockingly impressive [because] the suddenness, the abruptness of the rising birds, gives visually the exact quality that the shot possesses acoustically." Sternberg's scene beautifully illustrates Mallarmé's previously quoted dictum—"Paint not the thing, but the effect it produces"—and raises an important point regarding the relationship between two mediums and their attendant senses: when one medium approximates the effects rightfully belonging to another, the absence of the second medium (sound) greatly magnifies the impact of the former (sight). The unique expressive power of silent films seems to bear this out.

Sergei Eisenstein filmed the most graphic and memorable silent screams in the history of cinema: the screams of the two female victims in his classic *Battleship Potemkin* (1925): the scream of the defiant mother who watches helplessly as her son is shot down by the advancing soldiers in the Odessa Steps sequence; and the nursemaid with pince-nez who screams in pain as she is shot in the right eye. The mother's anguish is caught by a travel shot as the camera approaches her, "clutching her head in desperation, and it almost enters the black hole of her open mouth. The entire effect is . . . based on the fact that we do not hear her scream." The pain and horror is greatly magnified by the impossibility of hearing the sound effects.

But what of the impact of silence in films where sound is possible? The presence of sound in cinema has, in some dramatic instances, led to overkill, where the sound and the image compete in overwhelming the viewer. Stanley Kubrick's *A Clockwork Orange* (1971) is a case in point. Sounds (whether musical or natural) are ubiquitously present throughout this "anatomy of violence." Noise reverberates at very high decibel levels; dialogue is
shouted rather than spoken. Kubrick virtually attacks the audience aurally with a noise "as violent in its intensity as the dramatic events of the movie."33

In contrast, however, as we have already discovered with music, protracted silence in a sound context can carry, by contrast, even greater expressive potential than the silence of the silent cinema. For example, in The Spiral Staircase (1946), Dorothy McGuire plays a young girl who has lost her voice. She attempts to recover it in front of a mirror, but all she can generate is a fog of breath that completely covers the reflection of her mouth, a frightening image underscoring her helplessness—her inability to speak on the telephone or scream for help when pursued by the killer.

In the Pawnbroker (1965), Rod Steiger walks out of his shop and leans over the body of his slain assistant. In a 1991 interview, Steiger admitted:

"I open my mouth and put my head back to scream. Now, this all happens in a millionth of a second. My intellect said to my instinct, 'Don't make a sound.' I have won money, I have people who say, 'You screamed in that scene,' and I'd say, 'I bet you $10 I didn't scream in that scene.' It's a very powerful moment."34

What makes it powerful is the violation of the expected, which amplifies the effect by negation. The audience instinctively fills in the rest with even greater effect.

The films of Alfred Hitchcock perhaps best illustrate the uncanny force of silence in a film context where we expect to hear piercing sound. Hitchcock's often-stated goal, according to Elizabeth Weis in her book on Hitchcock's aural style, appropriately entitled The Silent Scream, "was to hold the audiences' fullest attention."35 One overlooked technique he employs repeatedly to achieve this goal is manipulating tensions between the visuals and the sound track. Over the years, he uses several ongoing aural motifs: "silence, screams, and language as manifestations of human feelings."36 Weis contends that screaming is the one "thematic constant" in the evolution of Hitchcock's aural film style. The very first image in the film Hitchcock himself considered his first personal picture, The Lodger (1926), is a close-up of a girl screaming. This "maiden shot" of his career is a perfect paradigm, according to
Weis, of Arnheim’s point that “visualized sound in a silent film can be more effective than real sound in a talking film.”\(^\text{37}\)

A more visceral (and musical) instance of Hitchcock’s screaming motif occurs in *Psycho* (1960), in which Janet Leigh’s bathtub scream is taken over by Bernard Hermann’s film score, wherein the shrieking glissando arpeggios in the highest register of the violins express pure terror—her terrified scream gives way to the inhuman wail of horsehair vibrating catgut.

But perhaps the most gripping of all Hitchcock’s filmic effects is the one achieved by combining silence *and* screams, which, brought together, convey a state of emotional paralysis precipitated by unspeakable horror:

The adjective *unspeakable* is made literal in *The Birds* when the hero’s mother [played by Jessica Tandy] discovers a dead neighbor whose eyes have been gouged out by the invading birds. As she runs out of the house and opens her mouth to speak, no sound comes out. Then she drives home and confronts her son with her mouth agape, but she is still unable to speak of what she has seen.\(^\text{38}\)

Silent screams stand for the outer limits of inexpressible horror. In the context of sound cinema, the shock of silence is even greater, because we expect not only sound, but rhapsodic background music as well. The absence of both in the enlarged visual presence of a screaming mouth paradoxically raises the level of intensity to an unbearable emotional pitch.

With the silent image of a screaming girl in his 1926 silent film, *The Lodger*, Hitchcock introduced at the start of his career the double nature of his films—“his interests will be both sensational . . . and metaphysical”\(^\text{39}\)—and linked his style to the great expressionist tradition in art, for which Munch’s *The Scream* (1893) has become a virtual icon as the most recognized primal scream in the history of painting. Hermann Bahr, the famous turn-of-the-century Viennese critic and playwright, “singled out the shriek as the chief characteristic of Expressionism.”\(^\text{40}\)

**Silence in Painting**

As mentioned earlier, the suggestion of sound in a silent medium like painting creates an uncanny tension between the viewer’s
expectations and the medium's limitations. One of the most controversial silent screams of antiquity is found on the face of Lao-
coön, the Hellenistic statue of the Trojan priest being crushed to death by a sea serpent for distrusting the Greek's gift, the Trojan Horse. In Laocoön (1766), his famous essay on the limitations of painting and poetry, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing argues that the priest's scream is visually subdued, not because of any Greek notion that screaming was inconsistent with a noble soul, but because the Greeks believed it was inappropriate to depict overt expressions of pain or ugliness in the graphic permanence of a static visual medium like painting or sculpture.  

Unfortunately for Lessing's thesis, modern artists clearly do not share his concerns about medium limitations. On the contrary, they seem to revel in pushing their psychic expressions beyond the natural limits of a medium's boundaries into the nether realm of the surreal. In an effort to overcome the natural limitations of one medium, the artist pushes into that twilight zone where the natural borders of two mediums merge and sometimes overlap or even reverse roles. The unexpected effect can magnify the impact of the work.

The magnified impact of the visual by the absence of the aural takes on a curious tone in Goya's later works, due to an ear affliction that caused a continual buzzing sensation which eventually cost him his hearing and, finally, his sanity. Sir Kenneth Clark attributes the explosive visual power of Execution of the Third of May, 1808 (1814–15) to Goya's lost hearing:

Gesture and facial expression, when they are seen without the accompanying sound, become unnaturally vivid; that is an experience we can have any day by turning down the sound of television. Goya had it for the rest of his life. The crowds in the Puerto del Sol were silent to him; he could not have heard the firing squads on the third of May. Every experience reached him through the eye alone.

Incipient insanity accounts as much as any other explanation for the haunting visual dissonance created by Munch's The Scream and qualifies his late works as pure, visual analogs of existential angst. Reinhold Heller devotes a whole book to this one painting. In it he observes that "through his paintings, Munch at one and the same time attempted to retreat protectively into the reality of his
own existence and totally to reveal the precarious existential state of his personality." Sources of Munch's unstable psyche were rooted in his childhood:

"Disease and insanity were the black angels on guard at my cradle," [he] wrote. . . . At the age of five he watched his mother, ill with tuberculosis, die of a hemorrhage. Thereafter he was raised by a strict and threatening father: "When he punished us," Munch recalled, "he could become almost insane in his violence."  

While in Nice on January 22, 1892, Munch recorded a pivotal, personal event that had taken place earlier in Norway:

I was walking along the road with two friends. The sun set. I felt a tinge of melancholy. Suddenly the sky became a bloody red.

I stopped, leaned against the railing, dead tired, and I looked at the flaming clouds that hung like blood and a sword over the blue-black fjord and the city.

My friends walked on. I stood there, trembling with fright. And I felt a loud, unending scream piercing nature.  

His first visual expressions of this unsettling experience were some pencil and charcoal sketches and a painting, variously titled *Mood at Sunset*, *Deranged Mood at Sunset*, and *Despair* (1892). The problem of painting his psychic reaction to nature's ominously silent scream was not totally resolved for Munch in this first painting of *Despair*. His decision to have the figure turn away from the landscape and face the viewer in *The Scream* (1893) resulted in a drastic change in the nature of the scene depicted, because now his memory of the disembodied scream in nature is given a frighteningly frontal expression.

Munch exaggerates the aural dimension of his inner fear by depicting a ghostly, skull-like face, with mouth agape (reminiscent of the screaming figures in Eisenstein and Hitchcock), with ears covered by thin, snake-like hands, shielding him from the piercing sound, which penetrates his soul like a sword, yet eerily emphasizing the "silent sound" of the scream. Adding to the macabre quality of the scream is the strangely distorted anamorphotic "ear" shape that extends above and to the right of the screaming head, creating a centripetal suction effect, as if the figure is being drawn into a whirlpool of blackness.
The Scream, by Edvard Munch (1863–1944), tempera and pastel on plate, 36" x 29", 1893. National Gallery, Olso. Courtesy Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

The Scream is Munch's deeply personal expression of the soul-searing anxiety that suddenly overcame him while he was watching a blood-red sunset: "I felt a loud, unending scream piercing nature."
Munch employs some ingenious visual devices to bring off his "silent scream." The most obvious one is the linear patterns, creating parallel concentric circles around the screaming figure of Munch at the lower right, suggesting the sonic reverberations of the scream itself. But, contrary to what concentric circles normally do (radiate out from the point of impact like a pebble in a pool), these turn in on the screaming head in a threatening, serpentine manner, checking the expressive release of fear that the scream symbolizes.

Such linear patterns are characteristic of many of Munch's other works. Sinewy lines often represent women's hair seductively entwining men's necks and smothering their forms, evoking the fear of being engulfed in a hostile, female-dominated world. In view of these precedents, the total absence of hair in the figure in The Scream connotes a kind of personal emasculation, a harbinger of death (love and death were closely linked in Munch's mind and subject matter).

Sunsets normally inspire serene meditation on the beauty of nature and the beneficence of God. But for Munch, the vivid redness of this sunset conjured up visions of blood and violence. His friend, Christian Skredsvig, with whom he was spending his time in Nice when he described nature's scream, recorded his memories of that time in his own journal:

For some time Munch had been wanting to paint the memory of a sunset. Red as blood. No, it actually was coagulated blood. . . . He talked himself sick about that sunset and about how it had filled him with great anxiety. He was in despair because the miserable means available to painting never went far enough. "He is trying to do what is impossible, and his religion is despair," I thought to myself but still advised him to try to paint it—and that was how he came to paint his remarkable Scream.46

In a later version of his 1892 account of nature's scream, Munch adds the following statement: "I painted that picture, painted the clouds as if they actually were blood. The colors screamed."47

According to Heller, on one of the red stripes of his Scream, Munch penciled the words: "Only someone insane could paint this!" Heller notes the distinction between two types of screams: the Trojan priest in the Laocoön screams because the pain is inflicted by an outside source; Munch screams because the pain is internal and spiritual.48
**Guernica,** by Pablo Picasso (1881–1973), oil on canvas, 11'6" x 25'8", 1937. Museo Nacional de Arte Reina Sofia, Madrid, on permanent loan from the Museo del Prado. Courtesy Art Resource, N.Y. The open mouths of Picasso’s tortured figures silently scream their protest against the horrors of war.
Picasso’s Guernica (1937) and Francis Bacon’s series of “screaming” variations of Velasquez’s Portrait of Pope Innocent X (1949–1953) perpetuate the twentieth-century fixation on screaming heads as emblems of our collective psychic disorientation in the face of modern genocide and existential angst.\textsuperscript{49} Guernica was not only the last great history painting, it was the last modern painting of major importance intended to influence how people thought and felt about the abuse of power, the last in a long line of images of battle and suffering that runs from Uccello’s Rout of San Romano through Rubens to Goya’s Third of May.\textsuperscript{50}

Ironically, Guernica’s rectangular horizontality is organized as a medieval triptych, with a screaming horse occupying the central panel as victimized Christ-figure, and the narrow side panels framing two female figures representing two extremes of human suffering: physical agony (death by fire) on the right; and bereavement (suffering for a loved one) on the left, the former suffering in mute (closed-mouth) agony, the other hurling a Cassandra-like scream into the face of an impassive bull, the personification of despotic brutality.\textsuperscript{51} Here again, the screaming mouths are mute reminders of the unspeakable horrors perpetrated on innocent civilians by the technology of modern warfare.

The spiked tongue of the “Picta” figure on the left and the sharp point of the missile protruding from the horse’s mouth in the center accentuate the penetrating sharpness of the silent sound, linking it to the high-pitched whine of Stuka dive bombers—reminiscent of Munch’s metaphorical association of the piercing scream with a piercing sword. The mouth of the burning figure on the right is ambiguously mute because Picasso’s cubistic rendering in profile creates a vacuous space between nose and chin that first appears as a gaping mouth. However, closer scrutiny reveals a tight-lipped mouth clenched shut.

Two other figures have open mouths: the lamp-bearing classical female rushes in, transfixed in open-mouthed shock at the scene of carnage, while the fallen, fractured portrait bust of a warrior with broken sword lies petrified in death. All of the figures in Guernica direct their screams upward toward the impassive bull’s face or toward heaven, suggesting the ultimate futility of resistance and outrage. The horror of these imagined sounds, prompted
by the powerful visual cues of Picasso’s screaming figures, magnifies the sobering impact of Guernica’s central message: man’s inhumanity to man.

Francis Bacon, the contemporary English painter of grotesquely flayed human images, seems, at least on the surface, to perpetuate and intensify the visual portrait of twentieth-century physical violence prompted by psychological alienation. But Bacon resists this kind of simplistic pigeonholing, notwithstanding the fact that he was conditioned by the horrors of World War II and the vivid memories of his troubled childhood in revolution-torn Ireland. Bacon makes a distinction between this “mirrored” violence (as in Guernica), which he strongly opposed and called “illustrational,” and the mode by which he feels that violence enters his paintings:

But this violence of my life, the violence which I’ve lived amongst, I think it’s different to the violence in painting. When talking about the violence of paint, it’s nothing to do with the violence of war. It’s to do with an attempt to remake the violence of reality itself. And the violence of reality is not only the simple violence meant when you say that a rose or something is violent, but it’s the violence also of the suggestions within the image itself which can only be conveyed through paint.\(^5\)

The result of Bacon’s attempts to generate violent “suggestions within the image itself” is a series of nightmarish images more visceral even than Picasso’s:

As for Picasso, his screaming mouths and dart-shaped tongues looked by comparison as general as Giotto’s mourning angels. Bacon’s mouths were bewilderingly unrhetorical and despite their pseudo-old-masterishness, they could not be returned to art. Nothing could be attributed to them which would transcend their particular presence.\(^5\)

The mouth has been a prominent feature in Bacon’s figures from the beginning. As critic Dawn Ades observes, “Speech may be the sign of human intelligence, eyes the window to the soul, but the cry, \emph{visibly speechless}, is an instinctive spasm of the body.”\(^5\)

There are other specifically artistic sources for Bacon’s preoccupation with the gaping mouth motif: the screaming figures in Picasso’s \emph{Guernica} (Bacon admitted that his exposure to Picasso’s works in the Rosenberg Gallery provided the initial impetus for
his becoming a painter\textsuperscript{55}); the wounded, screaming nursemaid depicted in the Odessa Steps sequence of Eisenstein’s \textit{ Battleship Potemkin}; the desperate mother in Poussin’s \textit{Massacre of the Innocents} (which he considered “probably the best human cry in painting”\textsuperscript{56}); and perhaps even Caravaggio’s \textit{Medusa}. Bacon recognized the early impact Eisenstein’s film had on him: “It was a film I saw almost before I started to paint, and it deeply impressed me. . . . I did hope one day to make the best painting of the human cry. I was not able to do it and it’s much better in the Eisenstein.”\textsuperscript{57}

The other visual sources for Bacon’s screaming mouths can be traced to newspaper and magazine photographs of topical events that cluttered his Kensington studio, a graphic “image bank” of the shameful events and unsavory figures associated with the atrocities of war. Prominent among these is a photograph of Joseph Goebbels delivering a speech with finger wagging and mouth agape.\textsuperscript{58} The varied sources of his screaming figures—diseased mouths, snarling animals, terrorized humans, mad tyrants—bespeak a paradoxical mix of contradictory impulses that gruesomely illustrate the dehumanizing tendencies he saw in modern society.

The one artistic image Bacon returns to again and again, however, is Velasquez’s \textit{Portrait of Pope Innocent X} (1650). He admits to being obsessed with photographs of this painting, because, he says, “I think it is one of the greatest portraits that have ever been made.”\textsuperscript{59} Through an uncanny visual linkage, Bacon has combined these two seemingly unconnected but obsessive images—Eisenstein’s screaming nursemaid and Velasquez’s pope—into his well-known motif of the “screaming Pope,” a series of macabre variations on Velasquez’s portrait. In spite of the fact that he seems to dismiss them as “very silly,”\textsuperscript{60} they possess a frightening visceral power that exceeds any of the previous silent screams we have encountered in the arts.

One reason for their intense expressive power becomes clear when comparing Bacon’s \textit{Head III} (1949) with \textit{Head VI} (1949; see color plate 7), his first “variation” on Velasquez’s portrait, and then placing these against the picture of Eisenstein’s nursemaid and Velasquez’s papal portrait. The dark beady eyes of \textit{Head III} look at us through a pince-nez, recalling Eisenstein’s nursemaid, yet the
mouth is gripped tightly shut as in Velasquez's pope. *Head VI* is eyeless, revealing only a gaping mouth above clerical vestments, combining the screaming nursemaid's mouth with the pope's attire. The two heads capture two stages of a crisis—the intense build-up of pressure and the subsequent explosion. The Velasquez portrait and the Eisenstein photograph reveal an analogous process of psychological tension and release.

To recall an earlier point: Bacon was firmly opposed to illustrative violence in art. For him, the violence comes out of "suggestions within the image itself." In the first place, a figure is usually located within a vacuous, planar surface. In other words, there is no illusion of real space for the figure to exist in: "the body is isolated in its own localized space."  

Moreover, the figure is caught in a distorted netherworld between abstraction and full figuration. In this, according to Ades, Bacon destroys appearance in order "to convey a presence beyond likeness." How does he do so? First, he uses "non-rational marks" that have no representational relationship with the areas of the face they are intended to depict. He describes these involuntary marks as a graph within which there are enormous possibilities for "planting facts" like the mouth or eyes. Second, he suggests veils or screens through which we look at the portrait "as through a glass darkly." For Bacon, this method has a philosophical dimension: "We nearly always live through screens—a screened existence. And I sometimes think, when people say my works look violent, that I have from time to time been able to clear away one or two of the veils or screens."

Andrew Forge calls attention to the function these regular striations serve in Bacon's portraits: "They introduce a formal register against which the threat of formlessness is steadied. They bring the skin sometimes to the very surface of the canvas. At others they set up a cage or screen behind which lips or the sliding plane of a cheek can be made out."

A similar part is played by the mysterious circles and ellipses that often hover in front of Bacon's heads. Their prototype is the shattered pince-nez of Eisenstein's nursemaid: "They have gathered other affinities, with mouths, nostrils, cameras, watchglasses, muzzles and the sectioned tubes of the viscera."
Curiously, what seems most obvious in interpreting Bacon’s rectilinear and curvilinear overlays—that the parallel lines visually trace the sound vibrations of the pope’s scream—is left unsaid throughout critical observations about Bacon’s *Screaming Pope* series. Further, Bacon’s conversations with David Sylvester reveal the notion that

the friction between opposites is essential to him [Bacon] and that unless an issue can be felt to be grinding between these either/or’s it has no vitality for him. Everything must be loved or loathed. . . [In fact], “friction” is too weak—it is the incompatibility of opposites that counts.66

One of these incompatibilities grows out of the strange juxtaposition of a screaming nursemaid and a poker-faced pope.67 Ades explains the macabre matching by suggesting that “perhaps [Bacon’s] idea was to test one of the greatest portraits ever painted, of a man set highest above his fellow men (the archetypal father, verging on the divine) in the grip of a feeling so intense that the only expression of it brought him close to the beasts.”68 However, one of the strongest unresolved tensions at work in Bacon’s “mouth” portraits seems to be the collision of mediums which Bacon exploits so subtly and paradoxically—these suggested sounds of silent screams, which, uncannily magnified by visual vibrations, dramatically increase the potency of Bacon’s visual-aural medium mixtures.

**Silence in Religion**

Traditionally, at least in the Western world, silence has been saddled with mainly negative connotations: the absence of sound in the presence of death and futility. However, these connotations neglect the meaningful affirmative dimensions of silence. The role of silence has long been accorded central importance within such disciplines as philosophy and religion.69 In Eastern thought, silence serves the efficient ends of discourse, action, and desire. In Taoism, for example, “authentic speech is one with authentic silence, and, in their oneness, they are the most efficacious of human achievements.”70 In Buddhism, silence is “the ground of the Buddha’s entire message, from the silence of meditation to the silence
of nirvana." But in the West, silence betrays an ambiguous relationship with discourse: silence and speech are viewed as both determinate and nondeterminate; both sometimes reveal and sometimes conceal. One solution to the dichotomy rests in faith, in the divine discourse of silent prayer.

In scripture, silence connotes at least two fundamental relationships between the human and the Divine. On one hand, it indicates worshipful humility and wonder: "Let all the earth keep silence before him" (Hab. 2:20) and "Be still and know that I am God" (Ps. 46:10). But silence also defines the just condition of the sinner—"For the Lord our God hath put us to silence, and given us water of gall to drink, because we have sinned against the Lord" (Jer. 8:14)—as well as heaven's sorrow in the face of sin—"For all flesh is corrupted before me, . . . which causeth silence to reign, and all eternity is pained" (D&C 38:11, 12).

Revelation stops and silence reigns when people or nations are in a state of iniquity. Because of the sins of the priests and people in the time of Samuel, the heavens fell silent and "the word of the Lord was precious in those days; there was no open vision" (1 Sam. 3:1). On the other hand, the scriptures repeatedly inform us that when righteousness reigns, the heavens open:

Yea, he that repenteth and exerciseth faith, and bringeth forth good works, and prayeth continually without ceasing—unto such it is given to know the mysteries of God; yea, unto such it shall be given to reveal things which never have been revealed. (Alma 26:22; see also D&C 42:61; 76:5-10)

Silence that reigned for a thousand years was broken when Joseph Smith exercised his faith in the Sacred Grove, as expressed in George Edward Anderson's The Sacred Grove, near Palmyra, New York.

The phenomenon of silence plays other roles in the Bible, according to Jewish scholar A. D. Neher, "be it divine silence, human silence or cosmic silence." Cosmic silence is expressed in Psalm 19:2: "There is no speech, there are no words, neither is their voice heard." Human silence is expressed in Psalm 62:2: "Only for God doth my soul wait in stillness."73

Divine silence reigns, albeit temporarily in a probationary period, in the preparations for the sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham (Gen. 22), and in the book of Job, where thirty-five of its forty-two
The silence of heaven was broken when God the Father and Jesus Christ appeared to the young Joseph Smith in response to his prayer offered in a quiet grove of trees near the Smith family farm.
chapters are permeated with divine silence. Neher asserts that
divine silence is unique to Jewish scripture: “Not giving an answer
is characteristic of the originality and uniqueness of Israelite proph-
ecy, for in the prophecy of the ancient Middle East, including
Greece, there is no oracle which does not answer.”74

One response to Neher’s assertion is that there is a difference
between “the silence during which the prophet awaits an answer
[as in Jeremiah’s ten-day wait] and the silence that originates in
God’s decision not to answer at all (as in the days of Saul). Then
too there is the silence that is itself God’s reply. Just as He can
answer in fire He can answer in silence.”75

Christ, in eloquent silence, refused to step into the trap set
for him by the scribes and Pharisees when they brought to him the
woman taken in adultery. Instead of responding to their questions on
the law, he “stooped down, and with his finger wrote on the ground,
as though he heard them not” (John 8:6). Continuing to ignore
their questions, he made one simple statement that compelled the
woman’s accusers to walk away in shamed silence (John 8:6–9).

Christ also answered at least one of his own accusers in
silence. According to Luke’s record, Christ, who had spoken a
brief reply to both Caiaphas and Pilate, remained silent before
Herod. “And when Herod saw Jesus . . . then he questioned with
him in many words; but he answered him nothing” (Luke 23:8–9).

As far as we know, Herod is further distinguished as the only being
who saw Christ face to face and spoke to Him, yet never heard His
voice. For penitent sinners, weeping women, prattling children, for
the scribes, the Pharisees, the Sadducees, the rabbis, for the perjured
high priest and his obsequious and insolent underling, and for Pilate
the pagan, Christ had words—of comfort or instruction, of warning
or rebuke, of protest or denunciation—yet for Herod the fox He had
but disdainful and kingly silence.76

Matthew’s account tells us that Jesus also refused to answer
to the charges made against him by the false witnesses brought in
by Caiaphas. Peter explains that in Christ’s silence, the Savior set
an example for all who suffer for righteousness sake:

But if, when ye do well, and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is
acceptable with God. For even hereunto were ye called: because
Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example, that ye should

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Captured in a silent contemplative moment shortly before his martyrdom, Joseph Smith gazes intently into eternity, following the Savior's example of suffering in silence. Peace is juxtaposed with tension, light with shadow, God's word with human knowledge.
follow in his steps: Who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth: Who when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatened not; but committed himself to him that judgeth righteously. (1 Pet. 2:20–23)

The Book of Mormon also reveals God’s “silent answer” in response to the pained and silent reaction of the righteous to evil when Amulek pleads for Alma to call upon God to save the innocent from the flames. But Alma was “constrained” from stretching forth his hand “that the judgments which [God] shall exercise upon them in his wrath may be just.” Their only consolation (and Amulek’s own family may well have been among the victims) was the promise that the silence would be broken when the blood of the innocent would “cry mightily against them at the last day” (Alma 14:11). God’s silence continued as Alma and Amulek answered nothing to the judges and lawyers who smote them. For many days they suffered as captives, repeatedly answering nothing in the face of mocking accusations. Their silence was evidence of their faith, their patience, and their trust in the Lord to render judgment. God’s silence ended with the thundering contrast of the great noise of the fall of the prison (Alma 14:14–29).

In a manner analogous to the pregnant silences in music, silence also punctuates the pivotal points in the spiritual history of the earth. Just prior to the advent of Christ in the New World, “there was silence in all the land for the space of many hours” (3 Ne. 10:2). When the seventh seal is opened at his second coming, “there [will be] silence in heaven for the space of half an hour” (Rev. 8:1). Thus silence seems to serve God’s need to bring his people to reflection, to allow them to contemplate the state of their existence, to ponder on the past, and to be ready for instruction, admonition, or for an epiphany—some dramatic event or insight that bears directly on salvation. After experiencing the power of God, Jonah was given time for silent meditation in the belly of the fish.

Members of the LDS Church are offered silent time for contemplation as well as expression of reverence while they approach or address God through the ordinances of the gospel: the seconds of silence under water during baptism; the reverent silence
observed with bowed head during confirmation, blessings, and prayers; the thoughtful silence observed during the sacrament; and the peaceful silence experienced in the temple.

The world itself bears silent testimony: “All things denote there is a God; yea, even the earth, and all things that are upon the face of it, yea, and its motion, yea, and also all the planets which move in their regular form do witness that there is a Supreme Creator” (Alma 30:44). The Lord had already taught Moses that “all things are created and made to bear record of me” (Moses 6:63). This theme was reiterated in modern revelation to Joseph Smith: “Any man who hath seen any or the least of these [earth, sun, moon, and stars] hath seen God moving in his majesty and power” (D&C 88:47).

In Temptation of Christ in the Desert (see back cover), the Creator himself is pictured in the midst of his handiwork. Here nature silently testifies of the expanse of his power while paradoxically dwarfing his mortal body.

Conclusion

In view of the fact that the arts of modernism have forsaken the Divine as a valid source of certainty, the perceived silence of heaven has driven some modern artists, consciously or instinctively, to express this untenable breach between humanity and God in a silent scream, an image fraught with paradox and frustration.

To gloss T. S. Eliot’s stanza from the introduction:

Only by the form, the pattern [of the silent scream],
Can words or music [or film or painting] reach
The [paradoxical] stillness [of existential angst] as a Chinese jar still
Moves perpetually in its stillness.

The image of a scream sans sound in the major media of our century rivets our attention on a world both overwrought with the power to annihilate the human race and overcome by the presence of evil in the absence of God. It is almost as if our artists are unwittingly repeating Augustine’s earnest, but futile, supplication: “Here are my ears, God speak to them!” Thomas Mann offers a veiled and paradoxical hope in the previously quoted line from
Doctor Faustus: “It [the tone vibrating in the silence] abides as a light in the night.” And Ricardo Molina’s “Answers” are even more hopeful, reminding us of the Biblical witnesses that assure us of His presence even in His silence:

What if
in the very questions the answer hid?
What if
in the divine silence were heavenly acquiescence?
What if
the inquiry itself were our salvation?^78

A particularly poignant witness to God’s presence in silence is the simple poem written on the wall of a basement in Cologne, Germany, discovered by allied troops at the end of the war and later used by Michael Horvit as a text for a deeply touching song. It had been written by someone hiding from the Gestapo.

I believe in the sun even when it is not shining.
I believe in love even when feeling it not.
I believe in God even when God is silent.

Perhaps this is what Jesus meant when he said, “He that hath ears to hear, let him hear” (Matt. 11:15). Jesus’ statement indicates that silence is not absolute, that the responsibility to hear and interpret lies within the listener.

The pivotal artists of our time in music, film, and painting, who have lived throughout the political and psychological eruptions of the past hundred years or so, have pushed the expressive capabilities of their mediums to the threshold of the abyss, reducing their voices to the mute horror of a silent scream in the face of a nonexistent God. The interpretations of silences in the scriptures stand in stark contrast to those images in the arts. Powerful silences in the scriptures and in religious contexts, by contrast, are used to convey another message: God is.

Jon D. Green is Associate Professor of Humanities at Brigham Young University.
NOTES

3 Panikkar, *Silence of God*, 166.
8 By nonliterary, I mean that words don’t figure as the primary means of communication in the medium, even though in all three media words can and do play a role (in vocal music, in screenplays, and in textual inclusions in paintings). Since the advent of sound, films have used spoken dialogue, but the verbal is subordinate to the visual as primary mode, as anyone can see who has ever tried to read a screenplay. This subordination is partly the result of what Susanne Langer has called the “principle of assimilation.” Where two art forms are combined, one always takes over: music swallows words; dance assimilates music; the visuals supersede the words. Susanne Langer, “Deceptive Analogies: Specious and Real Relationships among the Arts,” in *Modern Culture and the Arts*, ed. James B. Hall and Barry Ulanov (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972), 29. Thus, in the three arts represented here, we are concerned with the silences that intrude into or amplify the primary (nonverbal) realm of the medium: the sounds of music and the visual framework of films and paintings.
Lissa, "Aesthetic Functions," 444.

John Cage, Silence: Lectures and Writings (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1961), 8. On the other hand, C. S. Lewis fears this move toward all sounds (noise) intruding into the domain of music when he has Screwtape exclaim, "Music and silence—how I detest them both! How thankful we should be that ever since our Father entered Hell—though longer ago than humans, reckoning in light years, could express—no square inch of infernal space and no moment of infernal time has been surrendered to either of those abominable forces, but all has been occupied by Noise—Noise, the grand dynamism, the audible expression of all that is exultant, ruthless and virile—Noise which alone defends us from silly qualms, despairing scruples and impossible desires. We will make the whole universe a noise in the end." C. S. Lewis, The Screwtape Letters (London: Collins, 1942), 113–14.

Experiments in physics demonstrate that on earth humans cannot experience silence, except in the case of those who are profoundly hearing impaired. In an anechoic chamber, a sound laboratory designed to minimize echo and external sound, one can still hear low-frequency sounds and internal body sounds.

William W. Austin, ed., Prelude to "The Afternoon of a Faun" (New York: W. W. Norton, 1970), 135. The letter was written to Ernest Chausson and dated October 2, 1895.


Ate Orga, Krzysztof Penderecki: Canticum Canticorum Salomonis, EMI Electrola, Köln, West Germany, 1976, notes on slipcover.

Orga, Penderecki, notes on slipcover.

Unlike the visual arts, it is virtually impossible for music to convey a silent scream, just as it is not possible for paintings to depict the verbal expression "The man is not here."


Thomson, Music for Listeners, 179.

Tom Carlson, Krzysztof Penderecki, MACE Records MXX 9090, notes on slipcover.

Kenneth Elliott, The King's Singers: Contemporary Collection, EMI Records Ltd. OC061, notes on slipcover.


Rudolf Arnheim, Film as Art (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1958), 106.


Arnheim, Film as Art, 107, 108. Arnheim's emphasis.

It is possible that we, who have been weaned on sound films full of dialogue, natural sounds, and background music, cannot experience silent films with the same responses as our pre-1927 ancestors. Those silences are likely
more intrusive to us than to them, even given the fact that most silent films of that era were not really silent: a pianist or organist accompanied each showing with appropriately dramatic background music. In fact, the impact of sustained silence in contemporary films (especially evocative foreign films like those directed by Ingmar Bergman) is greatly magnified by our programmed expectations of continuous realistic sound accompanying the moving image. Bergman’s silences rivet our attention on the visuals and often endow his films with a certain macabre, surrealistic quality.

37. Weis, Silent Scream, 166.
38. Weis, Silent Scream, 155.
45. Edvard Munch, Diary, January 22, 1892, quoted in Heller, Edvard Munch, 65.
47. Edvard Munch, Diary, quoted in Heller, Edvard Munch, 109; italics added.
49. “Social Realism” was a major international art movement in the 1930s, represented in the Western hemisphere by Ben Shahn, Diego Rivera, José Orozco, and David Alfaro Siqueiros, whose Echo of a Scream (1937) surrealistically amplifies an infant’s crying face amidst the wreckage of war. This stark monochromatic portrait of innocent suffering creates a chilling reminder that sixty years has done little to alter the human condition.

Francis Bacon, interview by Hugh Davies, in Hugh Davies and Sally Yard, Francis Bacon (New York: Abbeville Press, 1986), 12.

Bacon, Interviews with Francis Bacon, 34.


Bacon, Interviews with Francis Bacon, 24.

Bacon, Interviews with Francis Bacon, 37.

Ades, "Web of Images," 9. Bacon's gaping mouths invite comparison with cosmic black holes, which consume all positive elements in a vortex of nothingness. Not only are Bacon's hollowed-out, shapeless figures lacking in substance, "the paint itself, has holes in it, if it is not wiped out, effaced, or simply absent." Ernst van Alphen, Francis Bacon and the Loss of Self (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 14.


Francis Bacon, quoted in Ades, "Web of Images," 10; see also Sylvester, Interviews with Francis Bacon, 82.


Forge, "About Bacon," 24–25. In his interview with Sylvester, Bacon acknowledges that his paintings were primarily "concerned with my kind of... exhilarated despair" (Bacon, Interview with Francis Bacon, 83), an oxymoronic expression appropriate to the paradoxical ambiguity of his aesthetic purposes.

Bacon's ambivalent attitude toward mouths surfaces in his exchange with Sylvester, when he admits that part of his obsession stems from a fascination with "the glitter and colour that comes from the mouth, and I've always hoped... to be able to paint the mouth like Monet painted a sunset." Bacon, Interview with Francis Bacon, 50. The visceral effect of Bacon's mouths, however, is much closer to Munch's sunsets than Monet's and recalls the classical association with a line from Aeschylus' Oresteia that haunted Bacon. As the Furies pursue Orestes, their leader says: "The reek of human blood smiles out at me." Ades explains that this image, like Bacon's mouths, shocks because of "the clashing of disgust (′reek′) and joy (′smiles′), but more because of the extraordinary synaesthesia of the metaphor: the wound gapes in the flesh like a smile in the face." Ades, "Web of Images," 17.


Dauenhauer, Silence, 138.

Panikkar, Silence of God, 167.

Max Picard as referenced in Dauenhauer, Silence, 188. Dauenhauer's central thesis regarding the ontological significance of silence reads as follows: "Both man and world are syntheses of two irreducible, but non-self-standing, components which are not contraries of one another. Rather, these components are
simply other than one another. . . . The components of this synthesis, this dyad, are appropriately named the ‘determinate’ and ‘nondeterminate.’ This dyad, this synthesis, cannot, at least with the resources available to philosophy, be resolved into a perfect finished Whole or One.” Dauenhauer, *Silence*, 142–43.


74Neher, *Speech and “Silence,”* 5.

75Comment by Dr. Anat in Neher, *Speech and “Silence,”* 14.

76James E. Talmage, *Jesus the Christ* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1981), 636.


The Abalone Shell

No chambered nautilus, this; rough algal beard
on bark of an inverted bowl outside;
unpretentious, simple, plain, with tiered
holes joining its life with sea and tide.

They pried it loose from its foundational rock
and tore the living from the shell it grew,
consumed its flesh with light convivial talk
as all of us who know not what we do.

Now resurrected on a mantelpiece,
the shell lies open in a single whorl
bearing its holes of living without cease
above the iridescent mother-of-pearl.

—A. Sherman Christensen
Personal Essay

Waiting

Marian Sorenson

We were lying in the shade of the John Deere baler, my youngest and I, the crumbs of our lunch scattered on our replete bellies, the quills of newly mown hay scratching through our shirts. The native hay lay in fragrant windrows in front of the baler and in huge eggs behind. Rolling over to his stomach, his chin resting on his palms, he asked, “So how did Grandpa know?” Fifteen-year-old Jared was only five when it happened, and although he remembered the incident, he had forgotten the particulars. I have not forgotten.

That summer afternoon the boys were milking the cows and riding the calves in the barn lot. Suddenly they were back, throwing down their bikes in the yard and racing for the kitchen.

“Tony’s horse is dead. Some guys shot him and he’s laying there, blood all over his neck and he’s really dead!” Joey’s face was red with exertion, the words exploding from his mouth in bullet bursts. Tony rubbed his eyes, gulping back sobs. Laurel and I dropped our supper preparations and swarmed them. “What happened? Say it slower. Joey, what is wrong?” Holly had heard enough and was already on the Suzuki four-wheeler, slamming the gears and streaking for the white house where Jim, the current hired man, lived.

“This truck drove by real slow.” Joey was emphasizing each word now, willing us to get the picture. “Two guys were in it and they backed up and sat there, just staring at me and Tony. We were graining Ginger, and then one guy got out a gun. Yeah, a rifle, and just started shooting. We got out of there and they spun out and we saw Ginger sort of stagger and then he fell down.” Joey spoke with his whole body, ducking, aiming, staggering. “Then we got for
home. Fast.” Tony cried quietly, his eyes fixed on Joey, his real brother, who had promised to take care of him, promised to never leave him.

“It’s true,” was all Holly said when the Suzuki spun gravel in the driveway, where we were waiting for her report. “You better call the sheriff. It’s real sick.” She would be a high-school senior in the fall and was Miss Take Charge.

Von and the older boys were not yet home, so Holly flagged down a neighbor who was passing. Tom knelt over the fallen horse. Then he closed the wooden gate and slowly wiped the inside of his hat with a bandanna. Shaking his head in disbelief, he asked, “Who in the heck would do such a thing? You ever see the truck before, Joey? Chevrolet you say? Blue, no stock rack? Don’t know nobody close drives such a rig.”

The story was repeated again and again most of the night. For Von when he returned from the sheep on the far range. For Dave, Dan, and Erin in from the hay fields. For Marianne after irrigating and later on the phone for Kirsten at her university summer session. And for the sheriff and the deputy and the local cops. Jared sat wide eyed, listening. The story was the same each time except for the new details added to answer the new questions. Idaho plates. 28 D something 4. One guy had a white shirt, and the other had some kind of red coat and a cowboy hat. Yeah, four-wheel drive. Didn’t talk—just looked and shot.

Two-way radios crackled, piercing the quiet of the valley air. When the officials left, we huddled together, comforting Tony, sensing Joey’s fear. The girls took their brothers to bed, sitting with them until sleep came. Von took the keys from the trucks and cars and locked up the shop and house. We had never locked anything before.

Saturday morning brought phone calls from our neighbors, alerted to danger in our peaceful community. Official uniforms again, the story again and again. Tony hung close to me, touching me, his bony body even more drawn in, somehow thinner. His eyes were dark circled, reminding me of my first glimpse of him, looking like a war waif as he and Joey stepped off the plane and into a new life and a new family. A horse of his own was his wish on the trip home, nearly two years earlier.
“You guys got horses?” Tony asked after miles of unnatural quiet. “You ever let kids ride? Wish I had a real horse.” Joey remained silent, not wanting food or conversation. Finally he asked his question: “You guys beat up kids when they’re bad?”

It took time to find the right horse for a city boy. Ginger, gentle but sprightly, was the answer. “I’m breaking him,” Tony would brag, coming back from a gentle ride on “my very own horse.” Now Ginger was gone.

Our house, filled with ten children, was seldom calm, but there was an uneasy tension that Saturday. Joey jumped every time the phone rang. He listened to the one-sided responses we gave and then hammered his questions, “Who was it? Did they get ‘em? Do they know who did it?” He had attended his mother’s funeral a year before coming to us. He knew his mother died a brutal death. Perhaps that explained his anxiety, his hovering about Holly, his retelling the story to Dan, three years older and his hero.

We spent an uneasy Sunday. After church, we walked to our sacred grove in the quakies above the house, and to the birds' accompaniment, we sang our silly family songs and talked of home and family and love. On the way back, we stopped at the hollow tree to check the robin’s nest. It was empty. The hatchlings had become nestlings and then fledglings, and now the mature couple had left to enjoy their brief retirement before returning to the cycle.

On Monday my Mom brought Dad from their home in Battle Mountain to the Elko Clinic for tests. I drove the sixty-five miles from the ranch to meet them. Dad was showing the first stages of Alzheimer’s disease, which would later take his life. He sat quietly, listening across the Red Lion table as I told of the bizarre events at our place.

“They haven’t figured out who did it,” I concluded to Mom’s clucking of “How awful.” Dad said something I didn’t catch. “What was that, Dad?”

“Joey did it.” He reached his trembling hand across the table to grasp mine, the hand still rough and calloused from a lifetime of heisting a pick and shovel and sorting rocks.

“No, Dad. He couldn’t have. The police were there, and they are looking for two men in a blue truck. They are searching in Nevada and Idaho. They’ll find them.” My words were assured, but
my lips were quivering. I was sick. The taco salad had a strange
taste. I took a forkful of lettuce and cheese and put it down again.

"Excuse me. I'll be right back." I dropped my napkin and
stumbled over it, hitting my shin on the table leg. I rushed through
the casino, between rows of slots, around the gaming tables to the
phones, muttering denials, "It couldn't be. No. No. No."

"Holly, hi. This is crazy, I know, but, umm. Could Joey have
done it? . . . You know what I mean! Could he have done it?"

Calm, reasonable responses. Un-Holly-like responses: "That's
crazy, Mom. There are too many details. Get real. He couldn't have
made all that up. No way."

"Yeah, I'm being dumb. Thanks. Be home soon. Take care of
them, Holly."

I saw nothing on the trip home, heard nothing but the voice
in my head. There had been warning when, just five days after call-
ing Church Social Services saying we would take two children, any
race, any age, any disability, the boys were in our home. "Don't
make it permanent too soon," good friends advised. "Try them as
foster children for a while."

Sometimes we wondered if we had taken on the impossible.
Would all our love, concern, and caring be enough to make up for
the early years of neglect and abuse? One dark night after a bad
dream, Joey remembered, "I just tried to wake Dad up 'cause a guy
said I better or else, and Dad slammed me in the face with his fist.
I woke up in the corner with blood all over me."

All these thoughts swarmed in my head as I tried to concen-
trate on driving myself back to the ranch to deal with the situation.
We love him, and he needs us so much, I reasoned. But our other
children need a safe home, too. Are they safe? What will the years
ahead bring? I breathed deep, sobbing breaths, trying to quiet the
fears pounding in my chest. Somehow I got home.

I sat on Joey's bed a long time that night. "Am I your best kid,
Mom?" he asked as he always did. "Do you love me more than
Danny?" I stroked his springy black hair and searched his hazel
eyes. "Moms' hearts love everybody best, remember?" I said.

"We're stuck with each other, right?" he repeated the words I
often said to him.
“Yeah, I’ve got you and you’ve got me and nothing will change that.” I said it to remind myself of the commitment that I had not expected to be so hard. Their IQ scores were so low. Too low for the sharp kids they seemed to be. But years of Head Start, kindergarten, and repeated grades had failed to help them read. So I sat at the table between them for days, weeks, years, and the miracle of learning began to happen. But they hated the everydayness of it, and sometimes so did I.

“I can’t do it. It’s too hard,” Joey would scream, kicking the table, breaking another pencil, tearing the paper. “You’re not my real mom, and you can’t make me do this. I hate your guts!”

“Oh, hate my guts. Hate my left foot if you want. But the only way you will ever be free from me is to read. Now, start again right here.”

“I’m gonna run away and never come back. Never!”

Catching him, holding his flailing body close to me, I would say again and again, “Wherever you go, I’ll come looking for you and bring you home. We’re a family, and I’ll never let you go. We’re stuck with each other.”

Now my own words echoed back at me. I watched him. He smiled a lot. He always smiled. Such a beautiful kid. He couldn’t do something so horrible, so sick, could he? Long after he was asleep, I lay beside him in the dark, feeling his breath on my cheek. Then I crawled back to Von’s comfortable warmth and his whispered assurances that all would be well.

In the predawn hours, I asked Von for a blessing of comfort. His hands, in the age-old ritual of healing, were warm on my head, protecting my sanity, allowing his strength, his faith to flow into me. His hands that have loved me, supported me, shared my pain in labor and illness, I knew would heal me now.

“I bless you with strength. With courage and wisdom. With vision to see the tender heart in the savage body.” His voice broke. “There is much pain and sorrow ahead for us.” I shivered at the sudden vision of all the nights ahead, waiting for our boy, searching for him, crying for him. And then I felt only peace and confidence. Von continued, “Trust our decision to bring them here; it was made prayerfully. It is pleasing to God. We are shepherds, Marian. We will feed His lambs.” He slipped to his knees beside me,
and the morning sun streamed through the east window, encircling us in a benediction of light.

That night I read to Jared and Tony, and Jared fell asleep as Tom Sawyer and Becky entered the cave. I tucked Tony in bed and turned as I was leaving the room. "Tony," I said quietly. "I know the truth. Do you want to tell me about it?"

His black eyes opened wide. Only his brown face showed above the log-cabin quilt. I sat beside him and put my face next to his as the sobs started deep inside him and his body shook. Then his skinny arms grabbed me, pulling me down with all his strength, and the words came out in spasms. "Joey shot Ginger. Ginger is dead, and Dad told me to take care of him." His body heaved in grief. "Now Dad won't let me have another horse." So softly I could hardly hear the smothered words, "And me and Joey will have to go."

At night it is cold in our valley in the Ruby Mountains, even in summer. The down-canyon winds sweep over the Rubies and flood the valley like ice water. The wind cooled my fever as I left the house to look to the hills, searching for strength. Walking the meadow trails is part of every day for me, and most days I pray aloud as the land renews my soul. "Thanks for this verdant valley of the desert where my children can grow deep roots." This night my prayer was a litany of need as I bowed to the earth, "Help us. Help him. Please."

Von and the older children came home, and we knelt in family prayer. I looked across the circle. Joey quickly closed his eyes, but not before he read my face.

Later, huddled together under a blanket on the back deck, my love and I looked again to the craggy peaks above the giant poplars that surround the house. Our pain rose from us to be swept by the wind to join the pain of all parents who love and grieve.

Joey did not come at the 6:00 call to breakfast the next morning. I found him sitting on his bed, head in hands, his clothes and treasures spread about.

"When do I leave?" the question muffled.

I formed my hands into cupping shape and held his hands within them. "Your wings are soft and tender now, and this home is a safe nest for you. But you will grow strong. When your wings are sure and steady, we will open the doors and let you fly away."
His eyes, dark and fear filled, searched my face. "Will I ever come back?"

"Remember the robin's nest in the hollow tree? If this is truly your home, Joey, you will come back."

He flew south one day, on wings too weak and too unsure. He is still flying. Each spring I climb the promontory and looking at the southern horizon keep my vigil. Waiting. Waiting for his return.

Marian Sorenson is a cowinner of the 1995 BYU Studies Personal Essay Contest.
Winter Fire

In the cold, cedar burns slowly
but sweetly. Sagebrush is quicker,
shooting white smoke when flame hits a seam.
Snow seeps between my small cairn of stones
till a ring of dark earth
moats fire from ice.

I am outside that ring
though within the heat, for now,
and can almost imagine my fuel in the mix,
that my bones are burning, too,
driving back the dark, turning demons to swine.
It is that warm with the wood stacked high.

But how brittle I have become.
I have not seasoned well, would only flash
thinly like dry grass:
Without the fire and the fire without me,
I will not burn, only not freeze.

When it comes down to ashes
I will bury them, scatter the rocks
leaving little trace, and return home.
For now the smoke is in my hair;
I imagine it swirling about my head
like fire through trees.

—C. Wade Bentley
Personal Essay

Taking Uncle Toby Home

Rochelle A. Fankhauser

Even before I was born, my tupe was an old man. When his wife gave birth to their first child, my father, he was already forty years old. But at the age of sixty-seven, a year before my birth, my grandfather was not your average elderly man. He was off stealing bodies.

_Tupe_ is pronounced "too-pee." Derived from the Maori word for grandparent or ancestor, _tupuna_ [too-poo-nah], this is the name by which my generation knows our grandfather and great-grandfather. One of the mokopuna¹ could not pronounce it, so we use the shortened form, _Tupe_. To me and all the rest of Gordon Ponga Kingi Davies's descendants, _Tupe_ means more than other titles like _Grandaad_, _Grandpa_, or _Pop_. Our tupe is the patriarch of our extended family, our kaumatua. His name calls to our minds the soft, wrinkled face and wise eyes of a man who will be forever loved.

In 1973 my tupe's uncle Toby passed away. Uncle Toby had spent his life working and living off the family tribal land on Great Barrier Island, a mountainous, green protrusion in the sea off the east coast of Auckland. During the last few years of his life, he had lost his sight, and in general his health had deteriorated. He had avoided leaving his home on Great Barrier Island until he could fight it no longer.

You see, those of us who have visited the "Barrier" know how much it hurts to leave. Anyone who spends even a few days there risks heartbreak on departure. The quaintness of the island charms visitors: Each house has to generate its own electricity by diesel engine. The phone system is a party line, which means no two people on the same side of the island can make a call at the same time and anyone can listen in. The few roads are not sealed, and if it rains two consecutive days, they become torrents of liquid clay that no vehicle can navigate, leaving each family isolated on its...

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own farm. But the land is fertile, the native forest is lush, and the coastline and cool sea are picturesque. As a child, I spent every Christmas holiday there, climbing around the rocks, hunting for crabs, walking through the bush, bathing in the water hole. It was my very own place to escape to.

This oasis from modernization has one more special attraction. Great Barrier Island, or, more specifically, Katherine Bay, is the land of my heritage. My grandfather and his father and his—right back to the chiefs of the Aotea-Ngatiwai tribe—have lived off this land. It has been good to them, and in return they stay. Even after they die, they stay.

At the time of his death, Uncle Toby’s daughter Hine dictated his burial be in Auckland. Some of the family disagreed, but no one took any action. No one, that is, except my tupe.

Maybe Hine was right in thinking that a funeral and burial in Auckland would be better. The cost involved would be far less. If the body were buried locally, she would not have to hire a plane to transport it over the ocean to a sparsely inhabited island. More people could attend a service in the city. She also lived closer to his intended grave in Auckland, and she wanted to visit him often. But she did not take into consideration her father’s connection with the land on the Barrier. The Maori believe in spirits living on after death, and so did she, but this she did not realize: In life, Uncle Toby’s heart had always been on the island. The histories of the two, man and earth, are intertwined. She should have known that if in life he had not wanted to leave his home then surely in death he would not have rested elsewhere.

My tupe understood this. He took up his concerns with the family, but Hine was strong willed, especially in mourning, and who denies a bereaved woman her wishes? Without further discussion, Tupe set about discreetly doing what, as far as he was concerned, was his only option. He made plans to steal the body from the family and to take Uncle Toby home.

This idea was in line with family tradition: Old Tupe, my Tupe’s father, stole his wife’s body from her family when she died. He rode for two days on a horse to her family’s home and asked for permission to bury his wife elsewhere. Her family, seeing this lone man and horse, thought that even with permission he had no means by which to transport a body, so they consented. That
assumption was the cornerstone of his plan. With the horse and some bushman's craftsmanship, Old Tupe managed to drag my great-grandmother's casket to the nearby beach and into a small dinghy. A larger fishing boat was waiting out of sight around the point, and in almost no time at all, he had the body in the ground on his own land. My father hasn't ever stolen any bodies. But I'll give him time—he is only forty-seven.

A Maori funeral is called a tangi. The body is kept for three days either on a marae or in the home of the deceased person's whanau. Mourners come and go, giving speeches, singing songs, drinking a lot of beer in the evenings, and partying the nights away. The casket remains open, and the kuia sleep around it so the dead one does not have to sleep alone.

Uncle Toby's tangi was held at his niece's house in Penrose, Auckland, where he had been convalescing. From the minute he passed away, the rooms began to overflow with relatives and friends. When a tangi is on, no one is turned away. Beds are filled first, often with multiple sleepers. Other visitors curl up on the couches, and the majority find a space on the floor. And no one ever leaves a tangi without putting on five pounds.

The night before the funeral service, Tupe and his younger brother, Bill, put their plans to action. Another brother, Taz, and Tupe's brother-in-law Archie were also in on the scheme. Just after 3:00 A.M., my tupe rose in silence from his bed. He moved about the rooms of the house, waking the other men one by one. They had slept with enough clothes on to not have to worry about dressing in the darkness. In a corner, they stood in a circle and briefly prayed. They crept into the living room towards Uncle Toby's lifeless form. The room was warm with the regular sound of sleeping women, and condensation rolled off the windows onto the sills. Large breasts rose and fell, the women breathing a symphonic lullaby to their sleeping brother. The silent intruders stepped over and around the sleeping kuia as they made their way to the coffin in the center of the room.

I've no doubt that even in their stealth these men followed tradition and kissed their uncle good-bye. As they began to close the casket, a wakened sleeper appeared in the doorway. Uncle Bill, with spur-of-the-moment ingenuity, asked him for a screwdriver.
The sleepy-eyed relative retrieved one, helped screw down the lid, and promptly went back to bed.

One of the women asleep in the room was Tupe’s cousin, Aunty Ellen. My sisters tell me she was a formidable force, the iron lady of her generation. Even the men would not cross her. While Tupe, Bill, Taz, and the rest prepared to take the body, Aunty Ellen awoke.

“What are you fullas doing?” Her voice was raspy with sleep. “Gordon, what’s going on, e boar?”

Tupe didn’t need to say a word. He signaled to her that everything was okay. They were “good cuzzies,” Tupe and Aunty Ellen, and she knew he was a good man. So she rolled over and did not interfere. Maybe she agreed that Uncle Toby needed to be taken home. Or maybe she obeyed only because she knew that Tupe was a stubborn man and that once he got an idea in his mind he wouldn’t be stopped.

A coffin with a corpse in it is not an easy load to carry. These uncommissioned pallbearers had to take great care and effort to get it through doorways, along the hall, and down the front steps without being noticed. Either all the sleeping whanau were too drunk to be awakened, or my tupe and his conspirators were very skillful in the art of silence. Or maybe the angels were on their side. In my mind, I see the spirits of my tupuna sneaking into the rooms and putting their hands over the ears of everyone in the house so that the men could complete their task. I think they wanted Uncle Toby to join them at their resting place on the quiet island.

Outside, the air was chilled. The dew had fallen, and their footfalls made soft squelchy noises on the damp grass. A station wagon was already waiting on the road, so they loaded the casket and piled in after it. By 4:15 A.M., they had arrived at Mechanic’s Bay, where a plane was waiting. It was a Grummond Goose, hired at great expense on my tupe’s account, but he knew it would save difficult transportation by road when they reached the island.

Henare, the pilot, owed someone a favor and considered this a worthy cause. In the still of the damp morning, waiting for daylight before they could take off, they sang hymns. I can hear my tupe’s quivering voice as he sang the words of his favorite Maori hymn, a loose translation of the hymn known in English as “How Great Thou Art”: 
“Whakaaria mai to ripeka ki au. Tiabo mai, ra roto i te po.” Let me know your cross. Shine to me, like day in the night.

Tupe and his brothers sang hymns to their uncle, songs of the sweetness of life and the peace of death. They sang while they waited to take Uncle Toby home.

By 5:20 A.M., the hidden sun had illuminated the sky enough for the plane to take off. The exact thoughts that went through my tupe’s mind during the forty-five-minute flight, I can’t say, but I do know he would have been concerned about what was going to happen after the burial. My tupe fully expected to be arrested for his actions. On the flight, he was probably wondering what his sentence would be. A fine? Time in jail? What would happen to his wife? But no matter what happened, he would not let anyone dig up Uncle Toby’s body. This necessary disturbance to his rest was already too much.

Just after 6:00 A.M., the plane set down on the choppy water of Moanauriuri, a small inlet in Katherine Bay. By now the light had pushed almost all the darkness away, and as the plane neared the shore, its passengers could see the silhouettes of people on the beach—about twenty of them. These were my more distant relatives, representatives of the local tribal committee. Tupe had made prior arrangements with them, and they stood on the shore waiting to help as pallbearers and to officially welcome the dead and the visitors. Six men waded out into the salty waves to meet Tupe. Brief, but emotional, greetings were exchanged with quiet words and pressing of noses before the casket was pulled from the plane.

The wail of the kaikaranga rushed out over the water to meet the men: “Haere mai, haere mai, haere mai.” Welcome, I welcome you, come. With no woman to answer her call, and the men too busy with the body to reply, her voice echoed, strong but alone between the sheltering hills of the bay.

Across paddocks and along a sheep track through the bulrushes, they carried Uncle Toby, past the garden he had tended and the rubble that was all that remained of the house he had been born in. Up they marched, up to the schoolhouse where he had attended school, and then the party ascended a steep cattle trail through gorse and manuka to the clearing that borders the small graveyard, the graveyard where Uncle Toby had buried his own parents.
At this point, Tupe bid them all “e nobo ra,”\textsuperscript{11} and left his brothers to run the funeral service and to put Uncle Toby into a grave that had been dug during the night. My tupe left to play the most admirable part in the whole sequence of events.

He went back to Auckland to face the wrath of the whanau. He didn’t lay low for a few days; he didn’t hide out; he didn’t even wait until the burial was completed because he wanted to go and face up to what he had done. He had not taken the body to upset anyone; he had done it because he could not allow things to happen any other way. He rushed back to his sister’s house so there would be no misunderstanding or misconstrued blame and so the inevitable hurt feelings would be as few as possible.

As he crossed the lawn, huddled groups of smoking relatives eyed him accusingly. As he opened the front door, one of them confronted him.

“What the bloody hell have you done with him!” Fury and anguish burned in the man’s eyes, and his body trembled with barely restrained violence.

This outburst aroused Hine from her wailing, and she lurched up from the position in which she had been mourning, prostrate on the floor of the living room where her father’s coffin should have been. Screaming, she rushed at Tupe, but the kuia held her back. After a volley of colorful metaphors, she was reduced to sobs. “Toku papa. Toku papa.” My dad, my dad.

“Why did you take him?” she cried. “You knew we wanted to keep him here with us.”

“Yes,” my tupe replied, “but you know that land was Uncle’s life. How could you think of keeping him away from the place his heart has never left?” He turned in disgust from her ignorance and entered the kitchen. There he found a policeman sitting at the table. With a resolute sigh, my tupe walked towards him as the officer rose.

“I need to ask you a few questions, mate.”

No charges were ever made. The prior arrangements Tupe had made with the tribal committee on the Barrier brought a certain level of legality to the whole matter. Eventually Hine accepted the situation as finished, though I don’t know if she ever forgave him.

The bishop who was to have presided over the funeral in Auckland didn’t even hesitate when Tupe told him what had happened;
he just asked what to do with all the flowers. And my tupe, with the same matter-of-fact attitude that had started the whole business said, “Take them to the hospital. Plenty of sick people there.”

Today, Uncle Toby’s body rests in the family plot on a ridge overlooking Moanauriuri. When I last visited the cemetery, a fantail flitted around my husband and me, guarding our ancestors and warning us that these sleeping ones are not to be disturbed. Searching over names on headstones, I noticed one in particular, to which I drew my husband’s attention:

“Uncle Toby”
Maho Kino Davies
Born December 20, 1885
Died March 8, 1973

The shadows lengthened, and a warm breeze sighed contentedly in the manuka. Our little guardian perched himself on the headstone, and I knew, with the part of me that knows sacred things, Uncle Toby was home.

Rochelle A. Fankhauser is a cowinner of the 1995 BYU Studies Personal Essay Contest.

NOTES

1grandchildren
2at a Maori meetinghouse
3family
4old women
5friend
6a formal Maori greeting
7The karanga is a part of any Maori ceremony. Literally it means “call” and is almost always performed by a woman known as kaikaranga, “the person who calls.” Usually there is at least one kaikaranga representing each party, and if not, a man may take her place.
8fields
9a noxious weed like briars
10a bushlike native tree
11good-bye
12A fantail (piwakawaka) is a small, native New Zealand bird. According to Maori tradition, they are the keepers of burial grounds, watching over all who enter therein.
By Rachel

I'm feeling Leah today.
She must have grown weary of being
   the tender-eyed one
   with a beautiful sister.

Not a bit do wit and heart reverse rude
   beatings of reflections.
Today I am not the younger fare
   who was favored at the well.

I'm feeling Leah today.
Waves of pride and jealousy
   break upon each other
   and surge for an outlet.
Pride in what she had—Rachel;
Jealousy because of what I am—Rachel.

On good days, I feel Rachel.
I wonder if there were days
   when her Rachel felt me.

—Rachel S. George
"Seduced Away": Early Mormon Documents in Australia

The only handwritten documents concerning early Australian Latter-day Saints demonstrate the converts’ urgent desire to gather to Zion and the exploitation of public misconceptions

Marjorie Newton

One of the most dramatic events of the Mormon “gathering” was the wreck of the Julia Ann en route from Sydney to California. Among the passengers and crew of the Julia Ann were twenty-six Mormon converts and two returning American missionaries.1 Associated with the sailing of the Julia Ann from Australia is another story, buried in two documents held by Sydney’s Mitchell Library. These documents are unique in the history of the restored Church in Australia and link a prominent Australian family with Mormonism. More importantly, they vividly illustrate the widespread public misconceptions about the doctrines of plural marriage and the gathering to Zion. Fostered by scurrilous press reports, these misunderstandings frequently coalesced in a common assumption that the early Mormon missionaries were trying, by fair means or foul, to recruit gullible females for their exotic harems in Utah.2

The first document is a letter written in 1853 by Martha Maria Bucknell Humphreys, one of the women who subsequently drowned in the wreck of the Julia Ann. A small portion of this letter has been published, but the text is of sufficient interest to justify reproduction in full.3 The other document is a one-page memorandum from the premier of New South Wales to the governor, detailing a charge of abduction made by Mormon rebel William Wentworth Bucknell against three Mormon elders.4 This document has never been published.

Apart from a few examples of early Australian imprints, these are the only documents from the pioneer period of Mormon
The Hunter and Paterson Valleys

Courtesy Cecily Newton
history so far found in any Australian repository. What makes the story particularly interesting is that William Wentworth Bucknell and Martha Maria Bucknell Humphreys were brother and sister, and their mother, Martha Wentworth Bucknell, was first cousin of William Charles Wentworth, a leading explorer and politician of the colonial era in Australia. The Wentworths are still one of the most prominent families in Sydney’s social register.5

Background to Letter from Martha Maria Humphreys

In 1826, Martha Wentworth Bucknell arrived in Sydney with her jeweler husband, William Bucknell, and their six children.6 Bucknell was allotted two land grants in the Hunter Valley, one hundred miles northwest of Sydney.7 Elms Hall, the Bucknell property between the Paterson and Allyn Rivers, is where William Wentworth Bucknell and his sister Martha Maria grew up. Young Martha Maria married William Humphreys on February 14, 1837. Her brother William married Susannah Barker in 1841.8

Elms Hall. This Bucknell home was located on Gresford Road, north of the towns of Vacy and Paterson. The two siblings responsible for the documents reproduced in this issue—Martha Maria Bucknell Humphreys and William Wentworth Bucknell—were raised here. Pencil sketch by Rodney Galagher.
By October 1851, when the first American missionaries of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints reached New South Wales, Martha Maria Humphreys was the mother of a large family. The Humphreys family as well as William Wentworth Bucknell, his wife, Susannah, and their sons, Thomas and Arthur, were living in the Hunter Valley. The senior Bucknells had apparently moved south to the Sydney suburb of Newtown.

Early in June 1852, John McCarthy, a young convert ordained only one month earlier, was sent on a short mission to the Hunter Valley. McCarthy spent much of the next year laboring in the area. Among those converted were Martha Maria Bucknell Humphreys, whom he baptized on December 17, 1852; her son John, baptized March 17, 1853; and her sister-in-law, Susannah Barker Bucknell, baptized a few months later on April 5, 1853.10

In April 1853, mission president Augustus Farnham dispatched Mormon Battalion veteran William Hyde to the Hunter Valley, where McCarthy had opened the field. Three months later, Martha Maria Humphreys's brother William Wentworth Bucknell was added to the growing membership list. Martha's elder daughter, Eliza, was baptized by the mission president, Augustus Farnham, during a visit to the Hunter Valley in December 1853. Baptized the next year were William's two sons, Thomas and Arthur (July), and Martha's second son, Robert (September).11

Three branches of the Church were organized in the Hunter Valley area during 1853: the Williams River, the Clarence Town, and the Newcastle Branches. By Christmas, Farnham and Hyde were planning to send a company of Saints from the district to Utah in March or April 1854.

Less than a week after her ten-year-old daughter Eliza's baptism, Martha Maria Bucknell Humphreys wrote a poignant letter to her mother in Sydney. Written in ink on now-yellowing, fragile paper, of which the last page is "crossed" (see next page) it is still quite legible. Martha had been a member of the restored Church for just a year and was fired with yearning to go to Utah. Her husband was away working and apparently did not yet know of Martha's desire to emigrate, though she had written both to him and to her parents with news of her plans.
Last page of letter from Martha Maria Bucknell Humphreys. Martha Maria finished her letter by writing the last lines of her text at a right angle over the preceding text. Her signature is in the top right corner. Courtesy Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia.
Martha's letter illustrates the teachings of the Mormon missionaries and the beliefs and attitudes of their converts. It exhibits Mormon millennialism and the urgency felt by the converts to remove from "Babylon" before the judgments of the last days. Martha catalogues plagues and natural disasters around the world in support of her urgent plea to her mother to listen to the Mormon missionaries. She discusses plural marriage, decrying the popular view of that practice and claiming Biblical authority for the doctrine. The letter also shows Martha's awareness of the history of the persecutions suffered by the Saints and her willingness to endure these if necessary. From beginning to end, the letter is a fervent testimony to her belief in the truth of Mormonism.

Missionary William Hyde sailed on the *Julia Ann* with some twenty-eight converts from the Hunter Valley in March 1854, but the Humphreys were not among the number. However, the voyage was so successful that Farnham engaged the vessel to take a second company the following year, and Martha was determined to sail this time.

Martha Humphreys's husband apparently never joined the LDS Church; despite this, she sailed with her daughters, twelve-year-old Eliza and ten-year-old Mary, and her youngest son, seven-year-old Francis, on the second voyage of the *Julia Ann*, departing Sydney on September 7, 1855. Whether she was leaving William Humphreys and her older sons or whether they planned to follow later will never now be known. One month later, the *Julia Ann* was wrecked, and Martha Maria Humphreys and her daughter Mary were drowned. With the other survivors, Eliza and Frank Humphreys eventually reached Tahiti after spending six weeks marooned on a coral island.

*Letter from Martha Maria Humphreys to Her Mother*¹²

Allyn River
Dec. 8th 1855[3]¹³

My dear Mother,

The letter that I received from you by William Hill,¹⁴ I should have answered long before this, had I received a letter from my
Husband, not having done So, I now Sit down to answer it without and now my dear Mother, I will answer that question you put me, of when, are we going. I answer you, if the God of all mercies, in whom I trust, will give my Husband the means, we leave Australia, with all its woes, and bitterness, for the Land of Zion next April. I am not afraid but what when my Husband comes Home, that he will be as anxious to go as I am myself. perhaps you will Say, I am building on worldly hopes, that never will be realized, not so Mother, I mean not to boast, but knowing what I know, I tell you, if I knew for a positive certainty, that when we get there, persecutions, Such as have been the portion of the Saints before, awaited us I would Still insist upon going. what are a few Short years in this present State, compared with Life Eternal, bliss Mother, that is never to know an end. and Oh what bliss. Would Mother that a daughter's prayers could persuade you to take the Same Step as I have done Obey the Saviours command and be baptized, hands will then be laid on you, for the remission of the Spirit and it will instruct you in all things. to morrow week will be a 12 month Since I obeyed the Saviours command, and truly, most truly, can I Say my life is entirely changed. I may compare my past life, to a wilderness of weeds, with hardly a flower Strewed among them. now how different, the weeds have vanished, and flowers Spring up in their place. Mother why cannot you take the Same Step. I tell you, Mormonism is truth, and the only truth, and So you will find it, these are the last days, this is the last Message, that the Almighty will ever deign to Send on earth again, and woe, unutterable woe, will be the portion of those who reject it. Dear Mother let me entreat of you, not to be of that number, why will you not open your eyes, and judge for your Self, why not read all the Mormon works. Alas Mother, the hour is not far distant, when famine, pestilence, and War, will rage from one end of this country to the other. why the very Signs of the times ought to convince you, that all, that is foretold in the Scriptures, is literally coming to pass, what greater Sign can any one want, than that of the Jews gathering to their own land, why you know that was not to take place untill the last days just before the Saviours Second coming, to reign on the earth a thousand years. And now my dear Mother as this is a Subject of life, or death, in which ever way you regard
Obey the various commandments and be baptized, hands with their blow on you, for the remission of the sins and it will instruct you in all things to receive and will be a 2 ambox since I played the various commandments and truly, and truly, can I say my life is entirely changed. I may confine my body to a wilderness of words, with hardly a flower among them.

... how different, the needs have resembled, and gleams.
it, let me for once Speak plainly to you, Study the Scriptures with an honest heart, praying in all humbleness to the Father in the name of his Son, even, Mother, in his name, who has died to Save us, that he will have mercy on you that he may open your eyes and understanding, that you may know for yourself, if you will do this, believe me, it will not be in vain. You know the Saviour Says those who come to him, he will in no wise cast out. but if we will not ask, how can we expect to receive. does he not Say, Knock and it Shall be opened to you ask and ye Shall receive. oh my dear Mother wo[uld] that I could persuade you to make the experiment.

You have made mention of plurality of wives in your letter, well that that is as plain as any thing else in the Scriptures, without it was the case, how could the Prophecy be fulfilled regarding the last days, why I learned this for myself, from the bible, before I heard any thing about it either by word or book, but when it mentions about wives, it does not Say that females are to have more than one Husband The Gospel of Christ, that is the Mormon Gospel, is a Gospel full of purity, and love, not loathsome vileness, but Mother when you put that question to me, which as your own child and the Mother of Six children I might have been Spared your own better Sense told me you, you was asking me what you knew was not true. I should like Mother before we leave this Colony, to See you, better than words can express. at the Latter end of March we Shall be in Sydney; have I your leave to go and See you before I go my little girls often tell me they ought to See their Grandmother before they go away. you would like them if they were to be seen by you. my eldest girl Eliza was baptized the other day when Elder Farnham was up, and you would be surprised to hear what She finds in the Scriptures for herself, and the questions She puts to me. her Father will be quite delighted with her when he comes home. they have got a firstrate Schoolmaster and Mistress. they are being taught to Sew and hem, mark, and do cross [key] work, Eliza is making a collar the girls are So delighted with their School that it is quite a punishment for them if the Rain happens to keep them at home. they that is my girls have reckoned how long it is to April, they want to go to Zion nearly as much as I do. I do not know how we Shall get ready in the time, nor whether we will be able to get enough clothing, but So as we get enough to pay
our passage that is all I care for. for clothes we must do the best we can, and when we get there my Husband and big boys can work, you know Mother in Gods eyes it is no disgrace to be poor and besides in obeying the Lords command to gather to Zion we go to a land where the windows of Heaven will be open to us, So that we cannot be poor long after we get there however be it as it will, poverty will not fright[en] me. consider the thousand years of the Saviour on the Earth. I was Sorry for you to tell me, that you was glad of the Elder M'carthy going away. I Sent the Messenger of Peace to your house one who would have been as a Shield to you, in the day of trouble. I suppose you have seen in the papers that the cholera is Raging in [Ed]inburgh and expected every hour in England, you may depend up on it when once it reaches there it will Soon be here, look to how the yellow fever is Raging in South America this is 53 I tell you Mother 1854 will tell fearful tales before it is out. the Mormon Gospel Gospel is Spreading throughout this colony. and Soon the judgements will fall on those who Reject it. dear Mother, do examine and See for yourself when the hour of the Lords coming is, of what avail will it be for you to Say, oh I thought they were nothing but a Set of ignorant fanatics, or else I would have believed them, will that plea avail you then, Alas you will Say. your poor frail child told you the truth, it is the truth, and So pray receive it as Such. I know Father whatever he may Say to the contrary, believes it So. I would give Mrs Hill a word of advice, let not the gaities and the fantasies of the world Step between her and her God. You pity Mr Wandell's Delusion15—, alas, alas, has he not occasion to pity you. would Mother that you were all as he is, my heart would dance with joy. I wish when Father comes up that you would lend me the three Sermons you Spoke of. I must entreat you to receive this letter in the light I have written it, my hearts fondest wishes are, that you would all throw prejudice aside, and examine for yourselves, trusting that my Father, Yourself Mrs Hill and Mrs Eager16 are in the Same good health, that it leaves me and all my children, believe me my dear Mother

Your affectionate Daughter

Martha Maria Humphreys

I hope you will Send me an answer to this
Background to Charge of Abduction

When news of the *Julia Ann* tragedy reached New South Wales in March 1856, another company of Saints was about to leave on the *Jenny Ford*. Among those committed to sail with them were Martha Humphreys's brother, William Wentworth Bucknell; his wife, Susannah; and sons, Thomas (19) and Arthur (14).

At some time during the previous year, William Wentworth Bucknell had formed an attachment for a young servant girl. His behavior was now causing great problems for his wife and the missionaries. Perhaps influenced by Brigham Young's public acknowledgment of polygamy, news of which had reached Australia with Farnham and his party, Bucknell announced that he was "taking the Girl to the Valley if he had to spend everything he was worth and shed every drop of blood he would conquer and have his say." Finally, his wife gave him an ultimatum: if he paid her passage to America, he could do as wished. Bucknell agreed but still planned to go to Utah himself.

A few weeks, later Farnham's counselor Absalom Dowdle reported that Bucknell had ordered him out of his house, "saying he did not care for any one not Brigham Young he would not be governed by any one but would do as he had a mind to do again saying he had liberty to take seven wives to the Valley with him."

What was more disturbing, Dowdle reported, was that Bucknell was using his influence with the "Gentiles" in the Paterson district to prevent the emigrating Saints from selling their properties. A little later, when Susannah Bucknell arrived at a meeting with a black eye, President Farnham, with the sustaining vote of the Williams River Branch, promptly excommunicated him.

Bucknell immediately wrote to the priesthood council in Sydney, protesting his excommunication. A group of the leading local converts (including Joseph Ridges, who was later to build the Salt Lake Tabernacle organ) signed a letter informing him that "we are one with President Farnham and highly approve of the corse that he took in relation to your case." Thwarted in this effort, Bucknell retaliated by doing his best to persuade some of the company to give up their intentions of emigrating, being successful in at least one case.
When the *Jenny Ford* sailed on May 28, 1856, Susannah Barker Bucknell and her sons were on board. Whether deterred by his excommunication, by Farnham’s refusal to allow him to take the girl with him, or by the news of the loss of his sister and niece in the wreck of the *Julia Ann*, Bucknell did not accompany the party. A month later he visited Sydney and filed a complaint, which was passed to the premier of New South Wales, Stuart Alexander Donaldson (1812-1867), the first premier of the colony,23 the “AD” of the first minute written on the charge.

The “WD” of the second minute was the governor, Sir William Thomas Denison. The Donaldson Ministry lasted less than three months—from June 6, 1856, to August 25, 1856, but it was in this period that the Bucknell memo reached the government. It is clear from Donaldson’s minute and Denison’s reply that the government of New South Wales saw no way of doing anything productive to help Bucknell, even if they had so desired.

Unsuccessful in obtaining official action, Bucknell did not mourn his wife long. He married Susan Hopkins in Sydney on July 16, 1857, declaring on the marriage certificate that he was a bachelor. The marriage was performed by the Reverend James Fullerton, a leading Presbyterian minister who was an old adversary of the Mormon missionaries in Sydney.24 Whether Susan Hopkins was the girl whose relationship with Bucknell led to his excommunication is not certain, but it seems likely. According to her age on the birth certificates of her children, she was eighteen years younger than Bucknell and may well have been employed on his property or in his parents’ Sydney home in domestic service.

While it would seem like poetic justice to report that the apostate Bucknell did not prosper, the ironic truth is that he did—at least temporally. The first of ten children (eight sons and two daughters) was born to the couple in 1858, the tenth in 1874,25 and the family increased in wealth, lands, and social status. Meanwhile, Susannah Bucknell and her sons returned to Australia from California, only to find William Bucknell firmly entrenched in his new relationship and apparently unwilling to recognize his legal wife or his elder sons. He did, however, give them financial
support. No member of either the Humphreys or Bucknell families had any further contact with the LDS Church in Australia, as far as available records show.

While William and Susan and their growing family lived comfortably, dividing their time between his country properties and their newly acquired residence, Avondale, in the Sydney suburb of Arncliffe, Susannah Bucknell lived in obscurity at Wallarobba in the Hunter Valley. Her elder son Thomas, who was forty-two and unmarried at the time, was killed in a lumber-camp accident in 1874. His death was certified by his cousin Robert Humphreys (the second son of Martha Maria Humphreys); apparently there was contact between Susannah and her two sons and their Humphreys relations. Her other son, Arthur Bucknell, became a respected farmer in the Big Creek–Hilldale area of the Hunter Valley and is remembered today for donating half an acre of land for the erection of a union church. Susannah Bucknell died on May 18, 1898, at the age of eighty-five. She was buried in the churchyard of Saint Paul’s Church of England, Paterson. Arthur Bucknell died in 1924.

On Saturday, October 17, 1891, the weekly Sydney Mail contained the following news item: “On Sunday afternoon [October 11, 1891] the dead body of William Wentworth Bucknell, a grazier, was found in the Wolli Creek, near his residence, at Arncliffe. At an inquest held on Monday the jury returned a verdict of accidental death by drowning.” Neither Bucknell’s first marriage nor his sons from that union were recorded on his death certificate.

It is an ironic twist of history that the sibling originators of the only known early Mormon manuscripts in Australia should both have met death by drowning. Martha Maria Humphreys died as she tried to follow the teachings of the restored gospel and gather with the Saints to the new Zion in the Rocky Mountains; her brother William Wentworth Bucknell, who refused to place his life on the altar, drowned by an accidental fall into a creek near his suburban mansion. But the two lone documents catalogued under their names continue to breathe the spirit, life, and vitality of the 1850s Mormon mission to Australia.
Mr. William Wentworth Bucknell, states, that during his absence on private affairs, his wife, Susanna, and his two boys, Arthur, and Thomas, were seduced away from his house by the Patriarch's son, Mormon elders, Miss Fairham, Fleming, and Cook. These three have gone away in the midst "Jenny Fox, American Rebel, Captain Savage," on the 28th May 1856 - taking away the above named persons without theitation for them. If it.

Bucknneck

Cornwallis signet Pat. Cost. to

Snature

I am afraid that I cannot afford any assistance now. Had it been under

would have interred to have learned from Mr. Bucknneck.

Susanna eventually returned, only to find William married to another wife. Courtesy Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia.
Charge of Abduction by Mormon Missionaries
Filed by William W. Wentworth, Esq.  

Mr. William Wentworth Bucknell, states that during his absence on private affairs his wife, Susanna, and his two boys Arthur, and Thomas, were seduced away from his house on the Paterson by some American Mormon elders, Messrs. Farnham, Fleming, and Cook. These three have gone away in the vessel "Jenny Ford," American vessel, Captain Sarjeant, on the 28th. May 1856—taking away the above named persons without the Sanction or consent of W. W. Bucknell.

Communication from this Govt. to the Socy. Is. Govt. to Stop the parties—

Address  Mr. Bucknell,  
New. Town.  

[First minute written diagonally across text:]  

His Excellency will perhaps suggest a course to be pursued but I cannot imagine how the Government can "Stop the parties"—they might as well be asked to stop the [Tuolumne] River  
AD  
28 June  

[Second minute in different handwriting:]  

I am afraid that I cannot afford any assistance now—had the vessel been here I could have interfered now I cannot do anything.  
WD 29 June 56.  

[Written on left-hand side:]  
Bound to Tahiti—San. Pedro—San Francisco—

Marjorie Newton is a mature-age Ph.D. student at the University of Sydney. The author of *Southern Cross Saints: The Mormons in Australia*, she is currently researching Mormonism in New Zealand.
NOTES


2For a discussion of these themes, especially as they applied to early Mormonism in Australia, see Marjorie Newton, Southern Cross Saints: The Mormons in Australia (Lae, Hawaii: The Institute for Polynesian Studies, 1991), chapters 5 and 6.

3Martha Maria Humphreys to her Mother [Martha Wentworth Bucknell], December 8, 1857 [1853], Reference Ah 161/1, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney; Newton, Southern Cross Saints, 157–58.


5In 1813, William Charles Wentworth with two companions was the first to find a way across the rugged Blue Mountains west of Sydney, opening up the vast hinterland to the farmers and graziers who were to build Australia’s fortunes with wheat and wool. He later became a prominent politician.

6Malcolm R. Sainty and Keith Johnson, Census of New South Wales: November 1828 (Sydney: Library of Australian History, 1985), 69. Another three children were born in the colony.

7Historical Records of Australia, series 1, vol. 11, 433; Sainty and Johnson, Census of New South Wales: November 1828.

8Microfilmed Records of Pre-1856 Baptisms and Marriages in New South Wales, Archives Office of New South Wales.

9Australasian Mission Minutes, Archives Division, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives).

10Record of Members, 1852–1870, New South Wales District, Australia, microfilm, LDS Family History Department.

11Record of Members, 1852–1870.

12Reference Ah 161/1, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney.

13The document is incorrectly dated and catalogued in the Mitchell Library under the date December 8, 1857. Another dating error occurs in the membership record of the Hunter River District, where Martha’s baptismal date is given as December 17, 1853. However, the members are listed in order of baptism, and the baptismal dates immediately before and after the entry for Martha Humphreys make it clear that she was baptized in December 1852. The text of the letter confirms that Martha was writing to her mother in December 1853, less than a week after the baptism of her daughter Eliza and one year after her own baptism.

14Martha Maria Humphreys’s brother-in-law, William Henry Hill.

15Charles W. Wandell was one of the first LDS missionaries to arrive in Australia. He preceded Augustus Farnham as mission president.

16Mrs. Hill was Martha Maria Humphreys’s sister Kate, who married William H. Hill in 1853; Mrs. Eager is another sister, Mary Ann Arabella Bucknell, who had married Geoffrey Eagar in 1843. Geoffrey Eagar was a leading banker and politician, serving two terms as treasurer of New South Wales. He was also well-known in literary and academic circles.

Augustus Alwin Farnham Journal, February 20, 1856, LDS Church Archives.

Farnham, Journal, February 21, 1856.

Farnham, Journal, March 16, 1856.

Farnham, Journal, March 20, 1856.


From the granting of responsible government in 1856 until the Australian colonies federated in 1901, the leader of the majority party in each colonial parliament was actually known as the prime minister.

See Newton, *Southern Cross Saints*, 72, 73, 85.

Birth, Death, and Marriage Records, New South Wales. Two of the sons died in infancy.


Thomas W. Bucknell died intestate. Legally, his property should have passed to his father but was granted to his younger brother, Arthur, "the father having renounced his right to administration." N.S.W. Supreme Court, Wills, Series 2, #948.

Ingle, *Big Creek the Allyn to Hilldale*, 37. A union church was one shared by several denominations.

Death certificate, Registrar-General’s Department, New South Wales.


These three were mission president Augustus A. Farnham, his counselor Josiah W. Fleming, and William Cook, an American baptized and ordained in Australia.

As well as Elms Hall on the Allyn River, the senior Bucknells had a city house in the Sydney suburb of Newtown, where they were living by the 1850s. Family members visiting Sydney from the Hunter Valley stayed at the Newtown residence as a matter of course.

The spelling on the document appears to be "Tolumne"; Glade Nelson of the Family History Department, Salt Lake City, suggests that the reference is to the swift-flowing Tuolumne River in Yosemite National Park.
Book Reviews


Reviewed by Marshall E. Bowen, Distinguished Professor of Geography, Mary Washington College.

In June 1992, during a visit to Brigham Young University, the president of the Academic Reference Division of Simon and Schuster suggested a cooperative venture between the university and his publishing house to produce an atlas that would introduce readers "to the geographic relationships associated with the history of the Mormons" (vii). His suggestion was seized upon with vigor. Within a period of less than two years, S. Kent Brown, Donald Q. Cannon, and Richard H. Jackson, all prominent BYU faculty members, had tapped deeply into the expertise of more than four dozen scholars of the Mormon experience to create the *Historical Atlas*. The atlas presents a new perspective on Mormons and Mormonism from the birth of Joseph Smith in Vermont to announcements in the early 1990s of plans to build temples in Hong Kong, England, and Spain.

This atlas is, however, much more than just a collection of maps. Each of the seventy-eight maps (or, in some instances, groups of maps) is supplemented by an informative one-page essay and a brief, but pertinent, bibliography that usually contains standard published sources as well as works that are less well known, including numerous graduate theses and dissertations. What emerges from this format is a capsule review of Mormon history as seen within a spatial framework, an approach which is second nature to most geographers but which may open new windows of interpretation for others when they absorb the cartographic presentation and begin to sense the broader picture.
The maps, prepared by cartographers in the Geography Department at BYU, are clear and unambiguous and are produced in a uniform style that provides continuity from one presentation to the next. Some, by their very nature, are a bit stark and austere, particularly when their principal function is to merely pinpoint locations. Included in this category are map 1, which shows the birthplaces of early Church leaders, and map 10, a compilation of places in Ohio that were of importance in the early years of the Church's existence. But more often than not, they are real gems, incorporating depth and intriguing detail in a single illustration that can serve as an analytic tool in its own right. Maps in this category are almost too numerous to mention, but they include map 11, a wonderfully detailed portrait of Kirtland and its surroundings; map 12, which is actually a series of maps demonstrating the emerging patterns of Mormon land ownership near Kirtland from 1830 through 1836; and map 44, which traces the sequence of Mormon expansion along the Wasatch Front from 1847 through 1851.

The most valuable contributions are the sets of several maps, supplemented by lively, informative essays that examine related topics at different scales and from somewhat different perspectives. Two sets deserve special commendation. The first is a set of four maps of Nauvoo and its surroundings (maps 25-28) that situate Nauvoo within the broader mid-1800s midwestern context of land speculation, expanding agriculture, and young, vigorous towns and cities; analyze the city's site and its utilization before the Mormons arrived; describe Nauvoo in 1842; and outline the extent and impact of Latter-day Saint expansion into neighboring parts of Hancock County, Illinois. The maps in this section are exceptionally well integrated with the accompanying essays, written by Richard H. Jackson and Donald Q. Cannon, and convey a sense of process in place that could not be adequately achieved if they stood alone or were separated by other topics.

The second exemplary set is a pair of maps (maps 41 and 42) that provide clear pictures of Salt Lake City as it existed in the latter part of 1847 and in 1870 and describe the sequential expansion of settlement outward from Salt Lake City to other parts of the Salt Lake Valley during that period of time. The use of shaded relief creates sharp cartographic images. The essays prepared by Brian Q.
Cannon are smoothly written and include a great deal of information within a very few paragraphs that are direct and to the point.

Unfortunately, the atlas does contain some flaws. As a native of Providence, Rhode Island, I was distressed to see, in map 7, that the place of my birth had been moved several miles to the north and now appears to be mostly in Massachusetts. Similarly, my cousins, who grew up in southern Maine, would be surprised to discover on the same map that Maine's southernmost county (York) has also been relocated well to the north and now appears to be a bit closer to Canada than to Maine's southern tip. It is perhaps understandable that these miscues in distant New England escaped detection, but there is no excuse for Provo—where the atlas was drafted—being nudged out of place in map 74. In the essay accompanying map 13, the author places Colesville, an early stronghold of Mormonism, in Ohio rather than New York. The author of the essay accompanying map 53 asserts that "to simplify the map, the return from distant centers is shown as a straight line"; in fact, no such line or lines are on that particular map. As noted above, map 11 is a real treasure, but it is also in desperate need of a scale. None of these (and other similar slips) is a serious problem by itself, but collectively they do mar the volume's overall quality.

The atlas is a handsome piece of work, and the editors and publisher should be congratulated for producing such a fine volume in such a short period of time. It is often difficult to meld the work of so many people into a meaningful, integrated unit, but with few exceptions, this goal has been achieved. Most maps are excellent, most essays are highly informative, and some of them provide provocative analyses that, when considered from the perspectives that the maps supply, will encourage further investigation of a historical/geographical nature. Many users of this volume will be familiar with a large share of the topics, but few will have in-depth knowledge of all of them, and fewer still will have considered these historic circumstances from a geographical point of view. On one hand, the atlas is a convenient reference tool whose utility transcends mere cartographic presentation. On the other, it is a starting point for inquiry about the Mormon experience in which understanding may lie well beyond the domains of
theology and the more traditional approaches to history and closer to the realms of geography and spatial inquiry. The atlas already occupies a prominent spot within easy reach of my work table, and I know I will use it often. I am equally confident that scholars and lay people alike will make it a valued addition to their own bookshelves.

Reviewed by Beth R. Olsen, Historian, Community Local Government, Pleasant Grove, Utah.

Celebrations commemorating important events often result in extra efforts that bring new and significant contributions—milestones within themselves. So it is with Allan Kent Powell’s *Utah History Encyclopedia*. What began years ago as a gleam in the Utah Historical Society’s eye came to fruition because of goals to complete the book in time for the Utah State Centennial in 1996. This comprehensive collection covers subjects varying from prehistory to recent happenings. Like other encyclopedias, this hefty reference work provides foundational information that will satisfy the needs of some readers and will serve others as an important base for further inquiry. It is the first Utah history compiled in encyclopedic form, and it will benefit many segments of the state’s population interested in Utah’s unique and fascinating past.

School children and their teachers studying Utah history have long been in need of just such a volume. Now second-grade students, whose curriculum includes community history, literally have at their fingertips the history of nearly every Utah town. Fourth- and seventh-grade students, who study the entire state, have each aspect of the state’s history laid out for examination. Thus the encyclopedia is invaluable as a reference work for revealing numerous state historical subjects to young minds.

The book is written for more mature minds as well. Adults who care to delve into the past or to satisfy their historical appetites for information about a place or event will find pertinent information. Historians or editors and publishers seeking background information can conveniently locate needed material in this capacious edition. When I lacked information about the defunct town of Garfield, Utah, for a family history, the encyclopedia’s cross-referenced index sent me to “Copper Mining.” Here the creation, existence, and demise of Garfield was discussed, allowing me to fill in the details of my uncle’s history. The possible uses of this volume in homes as well as libraries are endless.
Recognizing the need for this history compilation, the Utah Statehood Centennial Commission provided a grant for part of the book's publication and further placed free copies of the encyclopedia in some 115 public libraries throughout the state. A centennial grant from the George S. and Dolores Doré Eccles Foundation provided for copies of the book to be placed in all of Utah's public-school libraries. A more worthy or lasting use of centennial funds could not have been found.

The array of over two-hundred authors who contributed articles is impressive. Most are exceptionally knowledgeable researchers and experienced writers who have published in their specialized areas. The three-column, two-page list of contributors attests to the credibility of the text and demonstrates the resource depth behind the work.

The editor, himself a contributor, holds the position of Public History Coordinator at the Utah State Historical Society. His contributions to the book include articles on mining, mine workers' unions, and Germans in Utah. Powell has authored several books including *The Next Time We Strike: Labor in Utah's Coal Fields, 1900-1933*, a well-researched and well-written look at labor unions and their impact on coal mining in Utah. A native of Price, Utah, he witnessed the operations of the coal mines and their problems during his youth. Powell's other publications are *Splinters of a Nation, German Prisoners of War in Utah*, and *Utah Remembers World War II*. Powell patterned Utah's encyclopedia after Howard R. LaMar's *The Reader's Encyclopedia of the American West*, also a benchmark.

The *Utah History Encyclopedia* contains discussions on several early Mormon topics, which can be separated from Utah history, as well as more recent subjects that do not reflect on Mormon history. Other entries integrate the two, such as those that combine ethnic involvement in Utah history with the various aspects of Mormon settlement, adequately addressing both by explaining Mormon patterns based on their beliefs and the changes wrought by later arriving groups. The reality of conflicts between the Latter-day Saints, who preferred to remain autonomous, and the newer elements of Utah society is also squarely faced in the articles.
A two-page chart that shows the national origin of Utah's population from 1850 to 1990 helps the reader to visualize the changes that caused those conflicts. The volume contains a number of other charts and lists that are equally helpful.

In addition to its many strengths, the encyclopedia has a few weaknesses. The one map that marks Utah's counties, major cities, and roads seems inadequate for a volume of this magnitude. Small black and white photos sparsely dot the narrative, although there are 250 of them. The apparent lack of pictures, perhaps because of their size, is partly forgiven by the discovery of a two-page centerfold of pictures titled "Life in Utah." Today's cost of publishing, coupled with the Utah Historical Society's desire to keep the volume affordable for all, makes these two drawbacks acceptable.

Public response to the *Utah History Encyclopedia* has exceeded all expectations, and the volume is now in its third printing. The completion of this project is not an end, but a beginning; those who sample the material in this extraordinary volume will want more.

Reviewed by Rex Cooper, Research Associate in the Research Information Division of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

American Congregations is an outgrowth of the University of Chicago Divinity School's congregational history project. The project's intent was “to focus fresh scholarly attention on American congregations” (1:ix). The stimulating case studies and essays published here present good reason to suppose that this goal will be achieved.

The work is edited by James P. Wind (director in the Religion Division of the Lilly Endowment) and James W. Lewis (director of the Louisville Institute for the Study of Protestantism and American Culture), who together served as codirectors of the project. They have brought together articles written by qualified scholars from such diverse fields as theology, history, ethics, sociology, policy planning, Africana studies, and philosophy. One of the work's refreshing achievements is that despite the authors' obvious academic credentials they do not become pedantic or overly technical. Anyone interested in the practical dynamics of American religious life and congregational development will find these two volumes enjoyable and highly informative.

Themes

The editors regard the congregation as the key to understanding the American religious experience, since American religion is “persistently communal” (1:2). They maintain that through interacting with coreligionists within the congregation individuals form their religious identities and work out the implications of their religious beliefs. Each congregation must, in one form or another, deal with such issues as authority, discipline, diversity, and the appropriate public manifestation of religious faith. The congregation mediates between the secular and the sacred and
provides members with a shield against secular culture. At the same time, however, in order to persist, the congregation must react to, and thus be influenced by, elements in that culture. Congregations respond to such issues and develop over time in a wide range of ways. Thus each congregation can provide a distinctive perspective on how religion is experienced in America.

**Brief Analysis**

Volume one is a series of case studies that trace the historical development of twelve American congregations. Included are the oldest Protestant congregation in New Haven, Connecticut; a southern Fundamentalist congregation; a reform Jewish synagogue; two ethnic Catholic parishes; a Greek Orthodox congregation; a Muslim congregation; a Hindu temple; and others. Of particular interest for LDS readers is the inclusion of the Sugar House Ward in southeast Salt Lake Valley. Thus the volume permits a ready comparison between a “typical” LDS ward and a wide range of congregations.

The authors of each case study were free to analyze the development of their congregations from whatever perspective they wished and to focus on those issues they felt were most important. The result is a rich tapestry of themes and variations by which the development of any religious congregation (or LDS ward) might be better understood. Despite their diversity, these case studies focus on a relatively small number of key issues, outlined above, with which most American congregations have to deal. The similarities and variations in how congregations have dealt with these issues reveal a great deal about American culture and the role of religion in American life.

Volume two contains general, interpretive essays. The first four essays develop broad contexts or “maps” by which congregations might be better understood and compared. I was particularly intrigued by E. Brooks Holifield’s attempt to provide a general history of American congregations by establishing main congregational characteristics in various historical periods. Previously, I had viewed the proliferation of auxiliary organizations and social activities in Mormon wards during the late nineteenth
and early twentieth centuries as distinctive to Mormonism. Holifield’s analysis helped me understand that the same tendency was prevalent throughout America as congregations attempted to become “comprehensive” by instigating programs to address all the needs of their membership.

The remaining essays center on the roles of tradition and leadership in congregations. Dorothy C. Bass’s article on the importance of congregations in transmitting tradition provides an excellent theoretical basis for analyzing the role of the LDS ward in the formation of Mormon identity. Robert Michael Franklin’s excellent treatment of the role of ministers in Black congregations greatly increased my understanding of Black religious experience in America.

Case Study of LDS Ward

Compared to the other eleven case studies in volume one, I personally found the treatment of the Sugar House Ward to be somewhat flat—although perhaps little could be said about the Sugar House Ward that would have appeared unexpected to a Salt Lake Mormon like myself. The authors provide a general overview of the historical development of the LDS ward and use the Sugar House Ward as a case study to illustrate this evolution. The simultaneous 1854 organization of the Sugar House Ward, the construction of the sugar factory within its boundaries, and the settlement of people to run the factory are provided as an example of the fusion of community and ward in early Utah. The interrelationship of Abraham O. Smoot’s activities as the ward’s first bishop and as the factory’s superintendent illustrates the dual role of early bishops as both temporal and spiritual leaders. In varying degrees of specificity, the same approach is used in discussing tithing, block (home) teaching, ordinances, missionary work, the reorganization of the Relief Society in the late 1860s, the subsequent organization of the MIA and the Primary, the proliferation of organized sports at the turn of the century, the introduction of the welfare program during the 1930s, and the recent curtailment of ward-centered activities.

While the article presents an adequate overview of these and other ward-centered activities, it gives little information on how these
activities and ward callings fit together. The authors make little attempt to describe the structure of the ward as a network of interrelated callings and to note the ways this structure has developed.

Also missing is an adequate statement about the contemporary situation in the ward. What are the current roles of the bishop and the Relief Society president? How are the youth auxiliaries operating? How does the modern ward provide members with a mediating structure as they attempt to relate to one another, to the broader Church, and to American society and culture? These and other subjects could have been addressed if the authors had spent time interviewing ward members and becoming involved in ward activities as participant-observers. Such an approach would have provided important insight into the dynamics of the contemporary Mormon ward and the role it currently plays in the lives of its members.

Perhaps these flaws can be better understood by taking into account the authors' contention that the Sugar House Ward's "personality is rooted in its essential typicality" (1:299). What they seemed to be attempting in this essay was more a general analysis of the generic features of LDS wards than an examination of the Sugar House Ward as a distinctive LDS congregation. The authors view the Sugar House Ward as typical in at least three senses: (1) like most nineteenth-century wards, it was a comprehensive community in which religious and secular elements were combined; (2) it is currently suburban, as are most twentieth-century wards; and (3) its members, as are those found in most U.S. wards, are predominately from the middle class. This general approach is probably a proper strategy since the analysis was published as the single LDS example in a volume dealing with different religious traditions.

I agree with the authors that these characteristics are pervasive in those U.S. wards whose roots extend back into the nineteenth century. I do, however, take issue with their inference that the generic features of LDS wards are in some sense the essence of the LDS congregational experience. They write, "To a considerable degree... the history of any LDS ward is the history of every ward" (1:299). Despite an obvious cookie-cutter similarity among LDS congregations, variation exists among LDS wards in demographic composition, localized vision, leadership style, internal
dynamics, and interaction with the larger society. Marked differences exist between an inner-city ward or branch in Chicago or Philadelphia and a Utah ward in rural Paragonah or Portage. This distinctiveness is intensified as one moves away from the United States to places like Nicaragua, Sierra Leone, and India.

A very valuable work could be produced if a group of LDS scholars were to apply to LDS congregations the analytical tools employed to produce *American Congregations*. Such a work would provide keen insight into how the Saints experience and live their unifying religion in rich variations.

Reviewed by Allen J. Christenson, master of arts candidate in pre-Columbian art history, Department of Art and Art History, University of Texas at Austin.

Until recently most scholars have accepted the theory that the ancestors of all Native American cultures in the New World migrated by foot from Asia during the Pleistocene Era, when the sea level was lower and a narrow strip of land called the Bering Land Bridge connected the two continents. In his new book, Quest for the Origins of the First Americans, E. James Dixon challenges this traditional view and presents an impressive and compelling body of evidence suggesting that the first inhabitants of ancient America actually arrived on ocean-worthy vessels—the first as early as 35,000–40,000 years ago. Dixon is one of the leading authorities on the archaeology of eastern Beringia, the chain of islands which once formed the ancient land bridge connecting Asia with present-day Alaska. Although no one doubts the existence of this land bridge or its potential as a conduit for human migration, Dixon demonstrates that it is not realistic to conclude that the land bridge was the sole mechanism for populating the Americas.

The geology and paleoecology of the region suggest that the Bering Land Bridge did not become passable for human overland migration until about 9500 B.C. Consistent with this date is the lack of documented evidence of human occupation anywhere in the Beringian corridor before about 9000 B.C. However, there is ample evidence of early occupation along the west coasts of both North and South America that date at least two or three thousand years before that time. Since there was no way of crossing overland at that early date, Dixon asserts that these settlements must have been founded by seagoing peoples. It is well documented that the Pacific coasts of Asia were dotted with numerous settlements; these coasts may have been one of the most densely populated regions of the world at that time. Dixon suggests that shortly before 12,000 B.C., as the climate became abruptly warmer, the sea level began to rise rapidly and engulfed the communities around the Asian Pacific rim (something like a Pleistocene version of the
movie *Waterworld*. This deluge may have triggered a massive wave of eastward migrations that followed the prevailing ocean current into the New World. By the time the Bering Land Bridge became passable, the descendants of these early travelers had already settled over a vast segment of the coastline of North and South America and had even moved inland into the area which today comprises the southwestern United States.

Perhaps more intriguing are the even earlier traces of human occupation in South America—such as the reported dates of 30,000 B.C. at Monte Verde, Chile, and 31,000 B.C. at Pedra Furada, Brazil. Dixon concludes that the most plausible explanation for these early occupations is settlement by colonists who traveled in oceangoing vessels across the Pacific Ocean. This possibility is reinforced by the fact that Australia, which was never connected to Asia by a land bridge, was colonized by at least 40,000 B.C., presumably by people traveling via watercraft. The Lapita culture of Polynesia is known to have occupied the islands of the Pacific Ocean by at least 4,000 years ago. Dixon suggests that such transoceanic migrations began much earlier and that some of the earliest occupations in South America may have been the result of direct ocean crossings. Ancient migrations need not have ended at these early dates. Dixon supports the theory that

human may have populated the Americas by migratory ‘dribbles’ over long periods of time. Some of the migrations may have been successful, and others . . . could have been genetically swamped by later groups, possibly exterminated by warfare or the introduction of disease . . . or perhaps died out from an inability to adapt to new environments.1 (130)

Latter-day Saint scholars have long been interested in the issue of transoceanic crossings to the ancient New World, although they have found scant support among most experts in the field. Likewise, Dixon at one time was “sharply and swiftly” (129) criticized by several of his colleagues for even suggesting the possibility of transoceanic migrations and was counseled to drop the subject for fear of losing credibility within the profession. Although Dixon still encounters some reservations regarding his theory of transoceanic voyaging, his newest book has been received with great fascination.2
Dixon himself admits that "the idea of pre-Columbian trans-oceanic contacts between the New and Old Worlds is not popular among New World prehistorians" (129) because of the tendency by some outside the field to explain virtually all similarities between the two great cultural regions on the basis of diffusion across the oceans. I agree that this subtle form of racism serves to deny to Native Americans their own creative genius and ability to build sophisticated civilizations independent of the Old World. Nevertheless, in the light of new archaeological discoveries, it must now be accepted, as Dixon argues, that humans were perfectly capable of making long-distance voyages across open water as early as thirty-five to forty thousand years ago to colonize the Pacific coast of South America. By extension, one may reasonably assume that the help of the Lord as well as thousands of years of refining sailing skills, seagoing vessels, and navigational ability would enable small colonies of Jaredites, Lehites, and Mulekites to make the trip and settle in the New World as well.

NOTES


Reviewed by Neal W. Kramer, Assistant Dean of General Education and Honors, Brigham Young University.

Readers of BYU Studies will recognize Professor John S. Tanner's name and interest in John Milton's Paradise Lost from an earlier article he published in these pages in 1984.1 Anxiety in Eden continues Tanner's work on Milton, this time from the perspective of the work of the Danish philosopher and theologian Søren Kierkegaard. The book has already received much praise, including the Milton Society of America's James Holly Hanford award for most distinguished book of 1992.

There is good reason for readers of the journal to know about this valuable contribution to our understanding of important philosophical, psychological, and doctrinal issues associated with Milton's epic poem. Not only is Tanner's insight into the works of two great Christian writers of value, but the book also reflects his ability to combine the languages of the academy and the Spirit, of reason and faith.

Elder Neal A. Maxwell recently stated that "you and I should be fully qualified and certified in traditional education and its processes for [a] . . . very good reason: bilinguality." He went on to describe this special bilingualism for Latter-day Saints as being "truly educated and articulate as to secular knowledge but . . . also . . . educated and articulate in the things of the Spirit."2 An important aspect of this kind of bilingualism, especially for scholars, is the ability to appropriately communicate, through their writings, things of the Spirit as well more secular insights from their individual disciplines. Latter-day Saint scholars have much to offer their various specialties if they can learn when and how to use the discourse of the Spirit to enlarge or enlighten their disciplines. Tanner's book is a fine example of how to write for a scholarly audience without compromising one's faith.

Anxiety in Eden presents an analysis of Paradise Lost employing ideas from Kierkegaard's The Concept of Anxiety. Milton's
depiction of life in Eden before the Fall presents the reader with a fundamental dilemma. Were Adam and Eve free to partake of the forbidden fruit, or was their fall predeter-mined? Literary critics have often sought to answer this question in dogmatic terms. Adam and Eve were either entirely free to choose or entirely determined in their choice. Often this issue of prelapsarian capacity implies something innate to Adam and Eve that defines them not so much by the Fall as by who they were in Eden. Tanner’s application of Kierkegaardian psychology provides a more complicated and yet more satisfying solution. Following Kierkegaard, Tanner “chart[s] an elusive via media between rigid necessity on the one hand and random spontaneity on the other” (29). This route leads to the insight that the Fall has a dual nature of its own. It is at once a leap forward and a fall downward, one that can be made only by free human beings. The motivation for such a leap lies in an “anxiety” at the core of being human. Anxiety about the future and about being human itself. Adam and Eve are therefore both anxious about falling and, by implication, anxious to fall. Thus Kierkegaard and Milton “interpret the Fall so as to expose and accommodate a baffling paradox implicit in Genesis: sin erupts as a radically free act, yet as an act somehow conditioned by the Temptation, which confers upon it psychological probability” (35). Tanner thereby presents Adam and Eve and their posterity as implicated in a fallen world but free to make their way back to God. His careful analysis of the psychology of anxiety leads to a remarkable interpretation of the Fall in Paradise Lost.

Critics of Paradise Lost have also been fascinated with Milton’s portrayal of Satan. “Strong readers” (to use Harold Bloom’s term) of the epic, like Shelley and Blake, have even asserted that Satan is the true hero of the poem. Tanner devotes two chapters to an interpretation of Satan’s role in the Fall and an analysis of Satan’s ontological status. The first of these chapters explains the connection between Satan and sin. In the epic, Milton presents sin as born “leap[ing] out of the sinister (left) side of Satan’s head” (43). Thus sin does not emerge by degrees into existence but is always full grown, and sin has no intention of its own. Sinful intention arises from the will of Satan, a wicked being who is in open rebellion against God and who desires to destroy Adam and Eve
through sinfulness. This connection of sin with Satan provides a space within which Adam and Eve may be saved, for even after the Fall "they are uniquely individual agents" (55). They are not over-determined by original sin; it is not embedded in their minds as it once was in the mind of Satan. "The poem thus presents Edenic evil as something humans both inherit and imitate" (61). The difference between Satan and humans becomes obvious: "We do not . . . condemn human sinners as utterly responsible but, rather, find hope for repentance in the fact that human evil is never wholly contingent upon the individual" as Satanic evil is entirely contingent upon himself (62–63).

In his second chapter on Satan, Tanner stresses an even greater gulf between Satan and humanity. The very essence of Satan's being is despair, while we humans have good reason, even in the face of the catastrophic Fall, to hope for a better future. Adam and Eve's sinful leap is also a leap of faith. Satan's is not. Satan's rhetoric in Paradise Lost reveals him to be a dogmatic individualist. He neither subordinates nor submits himself to anyone, especially not to God. Tanner, following Kierkegaard, explores how this individualism can lead only to isolation, absence, and dolor. Satan's "ontological individualism offers not freedom, but mere arbitrariness, not security, but despair" (162).

Satan's bondage manifests itself in numerous ways throughout the epic, but Tanner's interpretation stresses Satan's despair as he confronts God's creations: the natural world and Adam and Eve. Satan's deepest-felt response to natural beauty is his desire to negate or destroy it. Satan rebelled against God to assert his ontological independence. To admire the beauty of God's creation is to admire God, which is to deny Satan's individualism. So Satan, temporarily awestruck by beauty, almost immediately must try to destroy it. Rather than love Eve, he seeks to drag her into his own sin-drenched separation: "Eve's comeliness is terrible because it is God-given; her beauty attests the even more terrible beauty of the Lord who fashioned her" (159). Satan affirms only his power to destroy and therefore announces his inability to recognize the life-granting powers of God, to whom one must be subordinate in order to obtain a fullness of joy. In God's absence, Satan suffers the despair of disconnected individualism and can only be diminished. He is no hero, only the victim of his own foolish desire to be independent.
The contribution of this scholarly interpretation is heightened by Tanner’s ability to speak the language of faith. Many scholars, I believe, are originally drawn to Milton or Kierkegaard because they find these writers’ deep commitment to Christian principles spiritually sympathetic. That has certainly been my own experience. However, as the demands of scholarship overtake earlier enthusiasm, scholarly writing often requires one to relinquish the faithful sympathy that originally vitalized such study. In one sense, the demand that the scholar avoid being overtly confessional is good. To get bogged down in the polemics of confession and apology often results in neglecting the richness of textual analysis and interpretation that characterizes excellent literary study. In another sense, however, to deny for the sake of academic convention the religious power of individual works or the spiritual motivation of the critic can also be intellectually dishonest. Nevertheless, in the secular world of modern scholarship finding even the slightest space in which to aver faith is amazingly difficult. And in the study of religious figures, it can be especially demanding since one’s colleagues are particularly alert to the nuances of testimony. Tanner’s creation and use of such spaces is noteworthy indeed.

One such space is Tanner’s obvious choice, clear from the first page, to allow his subjects to express their own “high and holy religious passion” unencumbered by immediately secularizing or minimizing interpretation (7). If Milton’s language soars to spiritual heights or Kierkegaard’s words invite readers to examine more thoroughly the deepest recesses of conscience, Tanner unleashes their spirit. He then supports having done so with critical (and spiritual) insights: “Milton and Kierkegaard learn to sing like Homer and reason like Hegel, respectively, in order to bear witness to Christianity’s unknown God. They baptize epic poetry and dialectical philosophy and bring them, still dripping wet, to the Christian God” (9). Both these introductory passages carry the style and tone of literary critical language. Tanner is crisp, insightful, and passionate in his account. But he is also respectful of belief. His criticism expands his subjects’ expression of faith. And the ease with which he navigates the difficult shoals of epic and dialectic in relation to their concomitant expressions of testimony reveals Tanner’s own religious intellect as well. For he could not generate
such insightful critical images of belief without beliefs of his own to inform his choices.

Another instance where Tanner makes room for faith is his discussion of the fall of Adam and Eve. The conventional approach to either Milton or Kierkegaard’s use of the Fall is simply to account for it in terms of mythology. And while talk of Christian mythology is sensible in numerous contexts, it often implies a disconnection between critic and text. That is, the Fall becomes an object only for scholarly analysis, leaving no room for discussion of how such scholarship might increase understanding of human experience through a study of this subject and relevant texts. Such scholarship minimizes any awareness that understanding the Fall might improve our lives.

Such is not the case with Tanner’s treatment of the Fall. Take, for example, the following sentence where Tanner addresses the complex relation between progression, transgression, and the Fall: “Only humans, however, ‘grow’ in another way; only humans transgress, breaking out of a moral sphere by becoming evil” (26). To some, it may appear that Tanner’s use of the special terms “grow” and “transgress” is fairly innocuous. However, part of what is at stake, I would contend, in the selection of both terms is knowledge of the gospel vouchsafed by the Restoration. To see in the Fall potentially progressive as well as regressive consequences, implied in this text by “grow,” places the analysis in a particular theological framework, one supported by Milton’s understanding and augmented by spiritual insight gained from the doctrines of the latter-day restoration (see 2 Ne. 2:4–27). The same is true of the word “transgression.” To present Adam and Eve as transgressing as opposed to “sinning” is not merely to replace a term with its synonym. Here Tanner invites us to consider, with intellectual rigor, a careful distinction with real theological and salvific consequences. The doctrines of the Restoration carefully and boldly distinguish between transgression and sin.3 Tanner invites his readers to do the same, to learn true gospel principles in connection with their study of traditional Christian writers. And yet this care is not sullied by boorish confession, designed to intimidate or threaten fellow scholars. Instead it presents opportunities for learning accompanied by a spirit of Christian goodwill.
There are other examples of similar choices throughout the text as Tanner grapples with the challenge of engaging great minds in conversation about salvation. Important as these choices are, however, Tanner must also come to grips with the desire to bear testimony. In a book about doctrines so fundamental to our understanding of the Savior’s mission, how does one announce allegiance, as a scholar, to Jesus Christ? Much of *Anxiety in Eden* carries with it a feeling of despair. Part of that necessarily arises out of Tanner’s involvement in Kierkegaard’s melancholy philosophy, but some is generated by the awful reality of the pain we all feel at being separated from God through the Fall. I was curious as to how Tanner would turn us away from the disaster of the loss of Eden to the eternal hope we find in Christ. This he does in the concluding chapter entitled, “Anxiety and Salvation.” In an endnote to this chapter, Tanner announces his fellowship with Milton (and Kierkegaard) in their mutual hope in a joyous reunion with the Savior. “I am most moved by the consolation the poem offers (through faith) in and for *this* world. But . . . I do not intend to dismiss or disparage as ‘surrender to literalism’ the hope offered by the promise of a Second Coming . . . or future heavenly bliss . . . or a literal resurrection. . . . These are not dead hopes for me or for Milton, who would surely concur with Paul: ‘If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable’ (1 Cor. 15:19)” (185–86).

Elder Maxwell has frequently spoken of meekness as a cardinal virtue of disciples. In the context of a scholarly essay, Tanner’s faith as it manifests itself in the language of belief demonstrates meekness while it also heightens the quality of the interpretation. *Anxiety in Eden* engages fundamental questions about freedom and necessity, original sin, works and grace, and the nature of evil, offering important insights that only a careful comparison of Milton and Kierkegaard on these topics could generate. Its presentation, from beginning to end, exhibits the highest standards of literary criticism and philosophical reflection. That said, perhaps its most important strength is revealed in a remark by a colleague as we discussed the book: “If you read it carefully, it is obvious that a believing Mormon wrote it.” I took the statement as high praise and commend *Anxiety in Eden* as an ideal example of Elder
Maxwell's notion of bilingualism, using the languages of scholarship and faith with true facility and genuine meekness.

NOTES


Brief Notices

Centennial Utah: The Beehive State on the Eve of the Twenty-First Century, by G. Wesley Johnson and Marian Ashley Johnson (Cherbo Publishing Group, 1995)

This attractive volume is one of many Utah statehood centennial efforts by publishers and authors. The Johnsons have a unique approach that actually determines the structure of the book. Utilizing a technique of interspersing historical essays, a few individual profiles, and some current Utah businesses' histories, the publication attempts to tie past to present. Although, there is an emphasis on the contemporary Utah scene, which genuinely hampers the historical integrity of the book, the purpose of the book is to demonstrate Utah's economic vitality in 1996.

Inclusion of corporate stories is apparently based on each business's opportunity or willingness to contribute to the book's publication. Consequently, the volume is, in some respects, paid advertising for those who are included. For whatever reason, several important Utah businesses such as Huntsman Chemical, Nu-Skin International, Geneva Steel, and Pacific-corps are given little mention, limiting the statewide coverage of this publication.

The book is a welcome addition to the centennial feast of Utah books. The color photographs in the historical essays create a worthy framework for the publication. Centennial Utah definitely adds to the knowledge of what Utah is in 1996 and provides useful sketches that call for greater study of Utah's contemporary business community.

—F. Ross Peterson


This eighth volume in The Restored Gospel and Applied Christianity series is an even better read than its predecessors. As word has gotten out over the past decade about O. C. and Grace Tanner's generous prize bequest to the McKay Contest, the student writing competition's quantitative leaps in submissions have stimulated a steady increase in the quality of the best essays—these eleven were the cream of almost two hundred entries.

There's a lot to like in this collection of student essays examining the application of the gospel to life. Matthew Kennington's "Mud," for example, illuminates the
miracles God can work with the meanest, muddiest materials—not only with lowlifes like Matthew’s friend Frank, but with us. The essay challenges whether we can “look up to God at that day with a pure heart and clean hands” (Alma 5:19). I, with the author and muddy Frank, would “kinda like to get cleaned up first” (70). This vivid essay sticks in the mud of my conscience with the probing persistence of those “pesky foxtails that burrowed into my socks and scratched my ankles all the way home” (76).

And that’s just one of the dishes in this smorgasbord of moral readings. “A Big Enough Umbrella for Singing in the Rain” convinces me that God’s love is “big enough to cover all his children” (67). I am moved by the moral of “Te Necesito, Si”: “If you tell everybody else that God loves them, then He has to love you” (84). “Of Heart and Hand” focuses me vividly on the cracked and inadequate hands of a nurse that must stand in for the hands of the Savior. “Joy Trip” persuades me of its profound premise about the painful but promising costs of living fully: “The price of joy is feeling everything” (77). I resonate with the moral of “Living Leftovers”: God won’t forget us—not protagonist Gary, not the author, not any of us will remain leftovers in the great refrigerator of our Father.

Sure, there’s some unevenness, but I suspect that the determination of just which essays are most valuable will depend upon individual readers. The collection’s motley inclusiveness may turn out to be a strength for its readership: there should be something here for everyone. If you haven’t yet found something in this 1995 volume to like, you haven’t read far enough.

The volume is available through the BYU Center for the Study of Christian Values in Literature, and the BYU Religious Studies Center, as well as LDS bookstores.

—Steven C. Walker

*Prepare to Be Healed*, by Milly Day and Richard Neitzel Holzapfel (Bookcraft, 1995)

With this 109-page volume, what you read is what you get. It seems to say, “On your mark, get set . . .” but leaves the “go” to others. This isn’t about how to gain emotional strength, but how to prepare to get it.

The obvious need for this volume cries out. Both mental health professionals (such as Day, a licensed marriage and family counselor) and ecclesiastical counselors (such as Holzpfel, a former bishop and institute director) often decry the lack of preparation people bring to the counseling session. The cliche “You can lead a horse to water, but you can’t make ‘em drink” is apt; people come for counseling but are not always prepared to accept or to implement the help offered.

Still, the sheer simplicity of this volume might leave some disappointed. The two authors alternate in presenting chapters which explain why people might need professional counseling, how to find
it, and how to prepare to take the advice and assignments given. Their advice is sound and thoroughly grounded in gospel principles, but it may leave the reader standing on the starting line wondering where to go once the starting gun goes off.

—Patricia Mann Alto


The Latter-day Saints: A Study of the Mormons in the Light of Economic Conditions, which originally appeared in London in 1912, was the work of two Marxian socialists from America. It was particularly significant in the context of the intense anti-Mormonism in England in the early twentieth century, for it was the first full-blown Marxist interpretation of Mormon history to be published. At heart, however, it was also an indictment of American capitalism, which, the authors charge, eventually took over and dominated the Church.

The first five chapters sketchily cover the American setting, the origin of the Church, the Martyrdom, the exodus to the Great Basin, and the creation of the Mormon “empire” in Utah. They are written in a strident tone and avoid no opportunity for snide remarks clearly intended to show that if Mormonism ever had a spiritual foundation it rapidly disappeared as the Church became more involved in economic enterprise. The fierce desire by the Mormons for economic control of the Great Basin, the authors claim, led directly to the Mountain Meadows Massacre and the Mormon War. Such spurious interpretations have long been discredited by responsible Mormon and non-Mormon historians, but they were clearly the kind of thing anti-Mormons in England and elsewhere wanted to hear in 1912.

The authors also charge that the crusade against the Mormons was not a moral crusade against polygamy, but rather a crusade against the economic and political power of the Church in the Territory of Utah. In this they were partly right, but the modern reader will recognize many distortions. The same thing is true with the discussions of Mormon doctrine, the practice of polygamy, and Mormon economic enterprise around the turn of the century.

While the book is highly distorted historically, it does contain a variety of reasonably documented but little-known facts. However, its value lies chiefly in what it reveals about the kind of “scholarly” literature about the Mormons that once circulated in England and elsewhere. At least the reader will understand why readers of that time looked at the Church with a high degree of suspicion, especially if this kind of literature was all they had access to.
The republished book is introduced by John S. McCormick and John R. Sillito, who have both worked in socialist history and themselves adopt an economic interpretation of history. Their interesting introduction has value partly because of what it tells about the Kauffmans.

In their concluding chapter on "The Future of Mormonism," the Kauffmans summarize their conviction that religious forms are the results of economic conditions and that the economic conditions of the early nineteenth century produced Mormonism. Moreover, they say, parroting the typical Marxian view of the evolution of society, when capitalism finally expires in the United States, then all Christian "'Science' will end . . . [and] Mormonism, in which the hierarchy is already exploiting instead of benefiting the laity, will pass away. . . . Until that time, it [Mormonism] will in one form or another remain" (346). I think the Kauffmans would be very surprised at the present form of both Marxian socialism and Mormonism.

—James B. Allen
Meyers all the way down

Emmy’s on
Ben’s back and Ben’s
on Dave’s—Dave’s on
Uncle Reynold’s
and Aunt Michele slides
between his sagging t-shirt
and the floor:
everyone rides the rainbow
of another’s spine and
the whole pile gyres a little
as the ceiling fan swirls Emmy’s
hair atop a stack of Meyers—

it reminds me of the story
of this woman who said the earth
rests on a turtle’s back,
and the turtle rests
on another turtle’s back
and so on, forever.
Of course she was wrong—
I know what really holds the world up:
it’s Meyers all the way down

—Casualene Meyer