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"Murder and Mystery Mormon Style": Violence as Mediation in American Popular Culture

Terryl Givens
University of Richmond, tgivens@richmond.edu

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"Is there any group you wouldn't pick on?"
"Mormons. You don't pick on Mormons. They've been picked on enough. I mean look at Marie Osmond. She's a Mormon."

—Interview with Andrew Dice Clay

Nineteenth-Century Popular Fiction: Heresy and Violence

In the late nineteenth century, when anti-Mormon hysteria was at a fevered pitch, a U.S. senator rose to suggest that Mormon barbarism now extended to the offering of human sacrifices in their temple,[1] and a prominent preacher accused Mormons of masterminding evils ranging from the destruction of the Christian home to the assassination of President Garfield.[2] Providing constant fuel to the fires of animosity was a wide array of popular fiction writers. Beginning in the 1850s and continuing into the present century, the list of ready users and abusers of the Mormon image in fiction would eventually include such notables as Arthur Conan Doyle and Robert Louis Stevenson abroad, and Artemus Ward, Jack London, and Zane Grey at home. All told, perhaps two hundred novels and short stories featured Mormon villains prominently in the first hundred years of the Church's existence (1830–1930).[3] Two features of these fictional representations were noteworthy, and contrast significantly with the ways that popular culture has come to mediate cultural conflict today.

First, it was clear that a primary challenge that early Mormonism represented to the culture of Jacksonian America was that of the hereti-

cal. Theocratic ambitions, rhetoric of empire building, and an unsettling tendency of the Mormons to vote en bloc and wield their collective ballot like a weapon were certainly compounding factors in anti-Mormon violence, but the initial conflicts were doctrinal. Just as the fires of the Inquisition burned the deviant Christian but spared (often by way of expulsion) the professing Jew, so has America's fiercest religious intolerance been reserved for those who stake a claim to Christian affiliation while remaining outside the consensual orthodoxy that even as pluralistic a society as that of the nineteenth century managed to sustain. It is perhaps obvious that the threat posed by the heretical is particularly severe because contamination is always already silently at work. And because the heretic shares a common origin with the orthodox, his presence is more difficult to detect than that of the infidel.

Heterodoxy proliferated wildly in the nineteenth century. Lieutenant-Colonel A. M. Maxwell was a British officer who toured the United States in 1840. One of his first observations was that "there seems to be no lack of churches nor of persuasions, and church-going seems to be all the rage."[4] But after some time in the States, he had had his fill. He found the Episcopalians and Presbyterians, even the Universalists, respectable enough. But a Shaker service left him "sick and indignant" (I:98), and he passed near a meeting of "about 4000 mountebank Methodists, commonly called Campers," which he found a "sauntering sect." In exasperation, he finally complained that he was "really sick and tired of hearing of the Mathiasites and Mormonites, Jumpers, Shakers, Lynchers, Saturday Saints," and others (I:246). No doubt it was hard to keep track. The 1844 American edition of *History of All Christian Sects* lists as some of the denominations then current (in addition to more orthodox varieties) Dunkers, Sabbatarians, Hicksites, Shakers, Sandemanians, Swedenborgians, Campbellites, Bereans, Come-Outers, Millenarians, Millerites, Wilkinsonians, and Mormonites.[5] An 1849 almanac adds River Brethren and Schwenkfelders to the list.[6] Numerous others were too shortlived to make it into print, like the Bowery Hill followers of the remarkable Robert Matthews, "Matthias," a New York neighbor of Joseph Smith who in 1830 proclaimed himself a messiah but ended his career incarcerated for feeding arsenic-laced blackberries to some of his flock.[7]

Indeed, so many were the outbreaks of religious nonconformity in Joseph Smith's neighborhood alone that David Reese published in 1838 a volume called *Humbugs of New York: Being a Remonstrance against Popular Delusion; Whether in Science, Philosophy, or Religion.* Mormonism merited barely a mention, given the "kindred enormities of Matthias" and the "multitudes who believe in 'Animal Magnetism,' subscribe to

'Phrenology,' are the willing victims of every form of 'Quackery,' and have adopted the creed and practice of 'ultraism.' "[8]

Nevertheless, while these other religions created hardly a blip on the political scene, Mormonism, from its founding in 1830 to the turn of the century, was to become the subject of persecutions, mobbing, a state extermination order, editorials, religious pamphleteering, Congressional committee hearings, federal legislation, and several national political platforms. A recent bibliography lists almost 1,500 government documents pertaining to Mormonism in the first 100 years of its existence.[9]

The reason is not hard to fathom. Compounding Mormonism's status as heretical was its ambivalent cultural identity. On one hand, with its communalism, autocratic theocracy, and polygamy, Mormonism was clearly far outside the mainstream of American culture. On the other hand, writers as disparate as Tolstoy and Harold Bloom have considered Mormonism, in spite of its radical unorthodoxy, the quintessentially American religion.[10] This paradox is well captured by sociologist Thomas O'Dea, who goes to the heart of the peculiar challenge Mormonism represents. The religion is, he writes, "the clearest example to be found in our national history of the evolution of a native and indigenously developed ethnic minority."[11] In the case of Mormonism, then, we have a body of religious, social, economic, and political beliefs and practices which are perceived to be out of sync with mainstream American values. But the group holding them is, historically and ethnically, American to the core. The Amish, to mention another example of heterodoxy, manifest a similar degree of group solidarity. But they are bounded both by distinctive, visible markers and by a self-imposed isolation. The Spiritualists, to pose a much larger example, numbered in the hundreds of thousands by the time of the Civil War and were well outside Christian orthodoxy, but they were not characterized by anything approaching the group cohesion, let alone the ethnicity, that O'Dea imputes to the Mormons. The Mormons' lack of self-manifesting characteristics, common ties of blood and history, the cosmopolitanism of their members, the ordinariness of their cultural and intellectual composition[12]—these features, in combination with a burgeoning convert pool which knew no boundaries, create a secular counterpart to the crisis provoked by the heretical.

In a nativist, Jacksonian period especially, the confluence of religious heresy with a kind of cultural heresy was fatal. Unlike Catholics, Jews, Irish immigrants, or African-Americans, the Mormons could not be easily categorized or identified in terms of foreign origins and thus be as readily exorcised from the body politic (though their "gathering" and

eventual flight to Utah made this nearly possible). A certain uneasiness with revolutionary religious or social practices being exhibited within the American heartland is itself understandable enough, especially if they are deemed abhorrent and immoral by mainstream Anglo-American Protestants. Such was surely the response to claims of supernatural visitations, a profoundly authoritarian church government, and such practices as communalism and, eventually, polygamy. But such practices and beliefs are doubly threatening if they cannot be relegated to a foreign culture or "otherness." Potential converts to Mormonism shared with the adherents ethnic, political, racial, and geographic realms. Few tangible signs of distinctness were available as a hedge against contamination. It was for this reason that Mormonism presented a particularly devilish challenge for psychic distancing. Hindus practicing suttee in faraway India may have been but a curiosity to a nineteenth-century American; watching kinsmen and neighbors fallen prey to what was thought to be at a safe remove is downright disturbing.

Insofar as Mormonism was merely a heretical "other," its appropriation as a stock source of villainy was shaped by the stereotypes their peculiar practices and beliefs generated, the literary genres into which the characters were written, and the ideological investment which purveyors of popular fiction had as self-fashioning Americans. In this regard, the case of Mormons in fiction may be seen to share much with representations of the Other generally. But unlike the subjects usually chosen for exemplary otherness, Mormons represented a virtually unique case of an Other which was, with ultimately and profoundly disturbing implications, an ethnic community not subject to the same means of exorcism as communities racially or geographically distinctive. This dilemma is the most recurrent plot device in early anti-Mormon fiction. The dread of assimilation, the anxiety of seduction, whether sexual, religious, or political, is unmistakable in scores of fictive accounts.

The case is perhaps best put forth by one of the first of the anti-Mormon novels to appear, *The Mormoness; or the Trials of Mary Maverick*, by John Russell (1853). This novel, which purports to be "a narrative of real events," is fraught with a highly ambiguous voice and a perpetually deferred resolution of vilification and indulgence. Ostensibly, the work is a generous-hearted condemnation of anti-Mormon intolerance. The action unfolds in a small community known as Sixteen Mile Prairie. There, religious liberty is the order of the day, except when it comes to Mormonism. Such is the "state of public opinion" concerning this "deluded" religion that "hundreds . . . would gladly have exterminated the whole sect."[13] In fact, Russell does chronicle an actual massacre perpe-

trated against the Mormons in Missouri, the one at Haun's Mill.[14] Narrating the gruesome details, Russell laments with lofty moral indignation that "our institutions, which guarantee the freedom of religious opinion to the Jew, the Mahometan, the Pagan, and even to the atheist, afforded no protection to the Mormon"(55). The Mormoness, widowed by the tragedy, goes on to become a sister of charity and dies in saintly service.

The generous voice of indignation that constitutes the ostensible narrative is inconsonant with a much more troubling, counterpoint narrative unfolding at the level of psychological drama. The hero of the story is the good "gentile" James Maverick, whose worthiness "no phrenologist accustomed to the study of human character would have doubted" (39). He is "deadly hostile" to the Mormons, but with good reason—the casualties of the Mormon missionary effort are striking closer and closer to home. "Men he had known from childhood . . . had fallen into the fatal snare of Joe Smith"(42). When a Mormon preacher comes to town, James scrupulously refuses to attend his sermons. With chilling suggestiveness, we are informed that his wife has "too much gentleness and goodness in her heart to find room for such [cynicism], even against the vilest of the human race" (42). Her innocence is, of course, her downfall. She attends the meetings and is gradually swayed by the preacher's "ingenious sophistry" (53). Respite from James's anxiety seemingly appears in the form of a stranger who calls unexpectedly one day:

> For an instant Maverick gazed upon him with speechless surprise, then, uttering the exclamation, "Why! Mr. Wilmer!" sprang from his seat, seized the hand of the stranger, and shook it with the most cordial gratification. He was in the act of introducing the newcomer to his wife, when he learned, to his overwhelming astonishment, that this was no other than the Mormon preacher who had held forth to the people of the settlement the night before, at the school house. . . . [T]he thought had not once struck him as possible that Mr. Wilmer, of all others, could be deluded into a belief of Mormonism. (49)

At this point, the horror of the inevitable is palpable. James himself, left without gentile friend, wife, or refuge from the allure of Mormonism, succumbs within a matter of pages.

The text is thus a curious blend of moralistic flag waving in defense of religious toleration, a spirited condemnation of the "mobs and lynch law" Russell chronicles on one hand, and, on the other, a novel of

psychological horror, the drama of a relentlessly encroaching menace that spiritually devours James's neighbors, his wife, an old friend, and, inevitably, himself as well. Thus, while protesting the injustice of anti-Mormon violence with one voice, Russell is, with another, projecting onto the character of James an anxiety sufficiently disturbing—and warranted—to excuse the most extreme measures imaginable for self-preservation.

The example of this author divided against himself may serve as a paradigm of the peculiar anxiety of seduction provoked by Mormonism, a consequence of factors that distinguish Mormonism and its effects from other social conflicts and their literary treatments. One other example will suffice to introduce most of the themes typical of anti-Mormon literature, while echoing the agonized self-contradictions of *The Mormoness*. In a Frank Merriwell adventure by Burt Standish, published in the nickel *Tip Top Weekly* (1897), the cyclist hero from Yale finds himself in "the lost valley of Bethasda" where a band of Mormons "have built up a town that is shut off from the rest of the world—a town of which few outside its boundaries know anything at all."[15] Once in the valley, the cyclist and his friend are called upon by a Mormon youth to save his lover from being forced into plural marriage with an aged lecher. Frank agrees to help out. They are themselves caught, but rescue the couple and make good their escape from the community.

The "author of Frank Merriwell" appears torn between the sensationalism to which Mormonism so readily lends itself (polygamy and secret temple rites) and his self-appointment as a moral instructor of youth (he digresses for several paragraphs when his heroes drink at a well, to lecture on the virtues of spring water and the evils of the bottle). So even as the hero's alter ego is proclaiming "I am getting a different opinion of the Mormons than I once had. . . . I believe some of the wild stories told about their religion, and their ways are a mess of lies" (9), they are on their way to an encounter that gives the lie to such lofty toleration:

> They came to a square chamber, which was lighted by flaring, smoking torches. In a semi-circle at one end of the chamber sat twelve cloaked and cowled figures, their garments of somber black. . . . Then the figure that wore the bear's head . . . stood and read a passage from the . . . Mormon Bible.(24)

And while the hero anticipates their execution by means of "the pit of fire" (a grisly fate reminiscent of Poe's work), this same companion is

repeatedly insisting that "These men are not Mormons! . . . At their worst, the Mormons never destroyed their enemies in such a manner" (26). The point, of course, is that such incredulity proves suicidal. After Frank and Jack effect their escape, they are warned by a wise old hermit to tell no man their tale, as it will never be believed. We see here an author clearly at cross-purposes with himself. Inclined on one hand to dismiss fantastical representations of Mormon outrages through the voice of the reasonable Jack, his character ultimately comes to represent naiveté, not reason, as the fantastical has vividly been made actual before our very eyes. Disarming tolerance through the fictive defeat of skepticism, and preempting disbelief through the metafictive warning of the old hermit, the author fulfills the function of the guardians at the gates of Bethasda. As Mormonism remains a foreign realm impenetrable by the railroad or the gentile culture it represents, so will representations of Mormonism remain forearmed against the assaults of reason or skepticism.

Capitulation to the "Mormon menace" or its annihilation by an intolerant populace do not, however, represent the only options, metaphors of Mormonism as a moral cancer notwithstanding. Fiction offers a way of mediating such contending imperatives. History, it has been said, is written by the victors. But in the same sense, so is "Literature." Consequently, mainstream notions of what it means to be African-Amerian or Jewish or Chinese have traditionally been shaped not as a result of reading slave narratives, the Talmud, or Confucius. Rather, the West's traditional canon of ethnic education would more likely include *Uncle Tom's Cabin, The Merchant of Venice,* and Charlie Chan mysteries. Caricature, of course, is the exaggeration of particular identifiers, often with comic effect. But in literary representations of other cultures, the author has the power to choose those characteristics that will be considered fundamental, definitive, of that cultural identity. Those characteristics chosen for exaggeration or focus generally serve the function of emphasizing difference. Racial features, linguistic patterns, dietary identifiers, or other areas of cultural distinctness are seized upon and exploited to secure and solidify a sense of otherness. Such caricature often assumes a relatively benign face, secure in the bubble of identity, of selfhood, which the very exaggeration of the "other" has served to cast into relief. Such has often been the case, for example, with Orientalism. From Marco Polo to the Impressionists, Asia served as the stuff of curiosity and amusement. Oriental motifs were popular in design and architecture, the harem recurs as a realm in which sexual fantasy may safely find unbridled expression, and the Moslem is, if anything, useful

as a narrative mask through which Western, not Eastern, culture is critiqued (Montesquieu's *Persian Letters* and Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World* for example).

Almost contemporaneous with the rise of Mormonism as a distinct religious community is a tendency to caricature the new religion. Not coincidentally, one of the most pervasive forms this caricature took was the Orientalization of Mormonism. Superficial parallels provided the basis for a depiction that seemed to relegate Mormonism to the safe realms of the primitive, the pagan. Even a casual perusal of American fiction about Mormons reveals a pervasive appeal to comparisons with Oriental religion. Sydney Bell paints a vivid portrait of "Joe Smith" ruling his "tens of thousands like an oriental despot."[16] Charles Clark claims that the Mormon city of Salt Lake "wears a distinctly Oriental appearance,"[17] and Jennie Switzer compares the "cruel wickedness of the Mormon church" with Hindu practices.[18] Arthur Conan Doyle is one of many who refer to Mormon harems, and James Oliver Curwood calls one of his villains an "Attila of the Mormon kingdom."[19] Joseph Smith and, later, Brigham Young are but "American Mohammeds"; even a popular text on the religion entitled *Mormonism: The Islam of America* bears out this widespread practice.[20]

Science would participate in this same ethnic construction that fiction did. In a meeting of the New Orleans Academy of Sciences in 1861, Dr. Samuel Cartwright and Prof. C.G. Forshey gave a paper using parts of a report made by Assistant Surgeon Robert Barthelow of the U.S. Army, "The Effects and Tendencies of Mormon Polygamy in the Territory of Utah." The findings described characteristics of the new racial type:

> The yellow, sunken, cadaverous visage; the greenish-colored eye; the thick, protuberant lips; the low forehead; the light, yellowish hair, and the lank, angular person, constitute an appearance so characteristic of the new race, the production of polygamy, as to distinguish them at a glance. The older men and women present all the physical peculiarities of the nationalities to which they belong; but these peculiarities are not propagated and continued in the new race; they are lost in the prevailing type.[21]

In the case of Mormonism, however, such strategies of caricature prove ineffective. For it is hardly consoling to construct the enemy as alien if, as O'Dea reminds us, that enemy is indigenous. This situation, I argue, has the consequence that this Orientalizing exhibits none of the benign associations that have been often part of more traditional forms

of Orientalism. The pejorative nature of the comparison rather bespeaks a sense of outrage that what presents itself as "us" (Mormonism is, after all, a religion laying claim to being quintessentially American and Christian) is in reality more like "them," meaning Oriental in precisely those ways which are un-American and un-Christian.

By themselves, then, such strategies of caricature and physical containment are insufficient. The distance suggested by Orientalizing or otherwise reconfiguring the "other" is not, ultimately, a convincing one in the case of a group that continues to subvert or seduce its members from among the "us." It is my argument that Orientalizing the Mormons proves insufficient as a device to allay the dread of assimilation which motivates much anti-Mormon representation.

Violence as Mediation

Because heresy is contagion, options for dealing with the Mormon menace were usually seen as fairly absolute; "Exterminate—or be exterminated" reads the preface to one ant-Mormon work of the nineteenth century.[22] But as Richard Hofstadter has pointed out, even the paranoid style is usually employed by reasonable people who prefer other options.[23] So we find that even narrators of such vehemently anti-Mormon works as *The Mormoness*(1853) and *Frank Merriwell*(1897) are marked by a bizarrely conflicted voice, which depicts with horror and sympathy the anti-Mormon atrocities but exhibits an equal degree of consternation about the consequences of toleration. As well as being morally problematic, the recourse to violence against the Mormons was ultimately ineffective. Persecution and pogroms finally drove the Saints out of the United States in 1847, but the Church continued to thrive, missionaries spread throughout America and Europe, and the "Mormon Problem" became a social and political preoccupation for the next generation or two. In lieu of the solutions persecution and banishment offered, a rendering of Mormonism more efficacious than mere Orientalizing was employed to allay the anxiety of seduction so evident in works like the two mentioned above. Not surprisingly, both Russell and Standish find such a middle way, by which cultural conflict comes to be mediated by a particular fictive representation of violence.

One alternative to the construction of a comforting distance through attempted displacement (represented above by Orientalizing), is to insist that participation in the alien system could never be the result of the exercise of free will. And it is at this point that virtually all versions of the Mormon menace employ a generic structure that resolves this anxiety of conversion. Mesmerism, hypnotism, captivity, en-

slavement, bondage, kidnapping, coercion—these words and images pervade virtually the entire range of works in which Mormons figure as characters.

Switzer chronicles the Mormons' ill-defined "power over women,"[24] and Dan Coolidge portrays one of many victims "swayed [by a Mormon] . . . against her will by the touch of his hands and the power of his masterful eyes."[25] Standish and Coolidge concur in imputing to the Mormon leaders hypnotic power over women and men.[26]

Maria Ward's "true narrative" of her captivity among the Mormons explains that Joseph Smith "exerted a mystical magical influence over me—a sort of sorcery that deprived me of the unrestricted use of free will."[27] In fact, she claims, all Mormon elders were practitioners of this mesmeric technique, which had been obtained by Smith "from a German peddler, who, notwithstanding his reduced circumstances, was a man of distinguished intellect and extensive erudition. Smith paid him handsomely, and the German promised to keep the secret."[28] Maria Ward thereby spilled the beans on Mormonism's German peddler connection to an audience of more than 60,000 readers by 1866 (417).

Gazes of the serpent-charmer and mysterious influences abound, but even more frequent is out-and-out violence. Curwood describes an island kingdom is which the women are kept in line by whips and slave hounds. Zane Grey and Arthur Conan Doyle both draw Utah as a vast prison guarded over by avenging angels who track down escaping women.[29] And an early nickel-weekly paints Brigham Young as a despot who dispatches his minions on raids to provide Mormon harems with white slaves.[30]

The list is endless, and the psychology, I think, fairly transparent. The distance suggested by Orientalizing the "Other" is not, ultimately, a convincing one in the case of a group which continues to subvert or seduce its members from among the "Us." If identification with what is anathema is not precluded ethnically or geographically, one's sense of a stable, uncontaminated self can at least be assured by denying the function of choice in whatever assimilation by the "other" does occur. Supplementing the denial of such ongoing absorption by means of artfully contrived barriers, we find the insistence that those very practices which threaten to engulf (or seduce) us could never be the result of conscious choice.

The result is a representation of Mormonism in popular American fiction that functions rather like the lawyer's argument by alternative. Don't worry about Mormonism—it's too exotic to touch us. And even if it does claim a few victims, at least they don't go willingly. Ironically, then, violence becomes the fictive way of mediating radical difference,

and caricature disarms anxiety by pretending to exacerbate it. We thus see a persistent erasure of agency, the elimination of will, in early representations of the Mormon experience. Only in the absence of volition was the phenomenon of conversion to such otherness thinkable.[31] Into the vacuum thus created, those familiar plot devices of mesmerism and bondage unfold. These literary practices, attempts to evoke the exotic and invoke the violent, represent two strategies to contain a threatening Other which proves resistant to both extermination and assimilation.

Contemporary Caricature: Genre as Mediation

Among contemporary works of fiction, some of the old Mormon caricatures continue to resurface in fairly generic ways. Popular romance writer Jennifer Blake, for example, can always invoke the foil of a "fanatic Elder Greer, who called his wanton desires the 'will of God,' " to contrast with her slightly more monogamous hero Ward Dunbar.[32] Mystery writer Tony Hillerman can exploit the Mormon figure in equally melodramatic ways. The mysterious entity behind strange happenings in *The Thief of Time* turns out to be Brigham (!) Houk, a schizophrenic triple murderer (of his mother and siblings) who tortures frogs and babbles about the devil and the angel Moroni.[33]

Perhaps surprisingly, in the academic world as well—as books like Paul Fussell's recent work remind us—selective bigotry continues to find intellectual respectability if the target is Mormons, fundamentalists, or other groups not yet beneficiaries of the "new tolerance." In his *BAD: The Dumbing of America,* Fussell suggests that "the creeping nincompoopism" that threatens to engulf our culture had its origins in the rise of Mormonism![34] One explanation for such continuing bigotry is offered by religious historian Martin Marty. "Fundamentalists," he notes, "seem to be one of the few groups that have no effective anti-defamation lobby."[35] (Ironically, he has himself been cited as an example of "the blatant prejudice against fundamentalists in American academe.")[36]

In the case of Mormonism, at least, an additional explanation offers itself. Through the nineteenth century, Mormonism lent itself readily to a political discourse largely preoccupied with questions of American identity. What values made the Union worth preserving? What criteria were relevant in the admission of a territory to statehood? How would the new Republican party define itself? Likening polygamy to slavery, as the first Republican Party platform did, comparing Brigham Young to an Asian despot, representing Mormon women as victims and frontier heroes from Captain Plum to Buffalo Bill as their saviors, accounting for the Prophet Joseph Smith's martyrdom as the

penalty for his violation of the right to a free press—in these and many other scenes, Mormonism made available to the playwrights of the Great American Saga the heroes and antiheroes, the virtues and vices, of that dramatic self-creation.

The Center Doesn't Hold

Today the Mormon caricature has changed considerably, but so has the plot. Beginning in the 1950s, Mormonism entered a new era of respectability. Klaus Hansen has made a case for the "bourgeoisification" of Mormon culture,[37] evidence of which might be alleged in a variety of examples: Howard Hughes choosing Mormons as his personal aides, since they exemplify clean living and trustworthiness; the tendency of the FBI and the CIA to recruit heavily among the LDS population, exploiting their reputation for moral standards, patriotism, and family values; Mariott exemplifies the successful Mormon business ethic, and a Mormon apostle (Ezra Taft Benson) becomes one of the most popular cabinet members of President Eisenhower's administration. In 1992, two of Bush's most visible aides were prominent Mormons.

A perusal of contemporary novels reveals that the Mormon image in fiction has swung accordingly. Two writers dealing most explicitly with Mormon characters and setting reflect the new ambiguities and dilemmas facing modern caricaturists of Mormonism. Like many of his nineteenth-century predecessors, Edgar Award nominee Robert Irvine's perspective is shaped by his past affiliation with the church ("He comes from a prominent pioneer family," the book jacket advertises). Indeed, the most salient—and salacious—features of early anti-Mormon fiction are also present in his works; he has written several successful "Moroni Traveler" mysteries set in contemporary Utah, which presumably "give the reader a very compelling glimpse into this fascinating subculture" and reveal "telling details of its church-dominated region."[38] And what a subculture it is!

Church security is Orwellian, involving spies as young as twelve years old. Even public payphones are monitored by the church, hidden TV cameras are everywhere, and computers keep detailed records on all aspects of members' lives. And when Mormons aren't glutting their lust in polygamy, they're joining celibate male cults: "fifteen or twenty men dressed in black trousers and white home-spun shirts. All wore straggly beards that made them look like Orthodox Jews."[39] They don't wear zippered pants, since "They're an invention of the devil" (107). They are antiwomen and antisex, and engage in bizarre "touching" rituals.

Like Hillerman and Blake, Irvine makes a token gesture of distancing himself from anti-Mormonism by imputing the evils in his fic-

tion to fringe groups. Ultimately, however, he ignores his own disclaimers. Not only do the fundamentalist cults practice polygamy, but in fact "a lot of Mormons around here, Mormons in good standing, have more wives than the law allows."[40] When heinous murders occur, the distinction between cultists and mainstream Mormons again evaporates: "She'd been strung up by her feet and butchered. The Mormon way" (*CH* 134). As with Zane Grey and Conan Doyle, the Danites, a secret Mormon terrorist organization with alleged ties to the church hierarchy, are suggested as likely suspects ("whatever their present-day duties, membership was a closely guarded secret") (*CH* 14).

With the fiction of Cleo Jones, also self-advertised as "an ex-Mormon," the setting is equally horrific. In addition to deranged fanatics, totalitarian church government, intrusive surveillance, and pervasive polygamy, we find a cover-up of church involvement in Watergate, the Bay of Pigs, and Kennedy's assassination.[41] To top it off, Mormons have "five times the child murder rate!" and vividly described rampant child abuse ("Her stomach was all puffed up and yellow and trembling like—like . . . " [195]). Jones sees Mormon obsessiveness with sex reaching as far as their famous icon, which she calls "the great phallic tabernacle organ" (164).

So far, these novelists sound like dredged-up hate mongers from the Jacksonian period, writing in the familiar paranoid style. But these modern caricatures of Mormonism are not without some surprising permutations. For in the nineteenth century, heresy was self-explanatory as an etiology of evil. Difference, especially radical difference, carried with it its own taint of transgression. In contemporary representations, difference and evil are not at all synonymous; in a changed moral climate, new grounds for censure clash jarringly with mechanically employed stereotypes. Not surprisingly, novels like Irvine's and Jones's are riddled with traces of this dissonance. Thus, we have Traveler's flash of insight: "For the first time, he truly understood . . . why Mormons still swore temple oaths against the federal government" (*CH* 134). Unfortunately, the resurrection of this frequent nineteenth-century allegation collides with a depiction of a society that he has already characterized as patriotic to a fault. The Mormons, he reminds us in every one of his novels, have taken over the once Catholic-dominated FBI; and as Jones is at such pains to point out, BYU is the third largest supplier of army officers (73), and the current prophet is dismissed as that "John Birch Society President" (192).

Similarly, and even more revealingly, Jones and Irvine run into difficulties when they revive the single most ubiquitous charge against Mormonism, in the face of their otherwise decidedly modern critique. Both are fond of depicting polygamy in the traditional way—a thinly

veiled "justification for [Mormon] lust" (*GG* 25). Mormon villainy in another of his novels takes the form of a conspiracy between two men to drug and systematically rape virtually every woman in an entire community (*Called Home*). But when it comes to exploring the causes of Mormon depravity, Irvine and Jones fall into similar contradiction. An excessive devotion to conservative notions about sexual morality turns out to be the problem. Thus, in *Angel's Share,* we have the case of a crazed serial killer who thinks he is the reincarnation of Jack the Ripper. He hunts down and sexually mutilates his young victims. The culprit is known to be the head Mormon Apostle's son, but the explanation is discovered by the non-Mormon detective: "It's all my fault," confesses the fiancée of the murderer's friend. "I wouldn't sleep with Heber before he left for England. . . . But I now see that I was wrong" (*AS* 187). Such sexual deprivation makes Heber and his companion easy prey to a prostitute seductress, and the ensuing guilt drives one to celibacy and the other to madness.

In like fashion, in *Prophet Motive* ("Murder and Mystery—*Mormon Style,*" as the cover blurb states), Jones depicts another deranged Mormon missionary, who she intimates is pushed over the brink by strict sexual standards and resultant sexual paranoia. Our "gentile" protagonist listens sympathetically to the lunatic's ravings: "I remember those missionary days when you weren't allowed to think of women" (26). By contrast, this same healthy, neurosis-free (and non-Mormon) chief of police knows enough to get out of these sexually repressed relationships. He leaves his Mormon wife because "you can sure get tired of being on top of a praying woman" (41). So Mormon polygamy is the institutionalization of unbridled lust, while at the same time the institutional repression of passion is ruining marriages, unhingeing missionaries, and creating serial killers.

Most telling of all, however, is Jones's explicit assessment of Mormonism's corruptive power. As her hero zeroes in on the crazed killer (who has, with fairly transparent symbolism, murdered her husband and concealed his body in a Mormon food storage bin), he describes the climactic confrontation:

> This is the true face of evil, I thought. But I knew immediately that that wasn't true either—that she was just a pudgy housewife before the high shelves of canned raspberries that told of her valiant effort to do right and strive for perfection.(186)

As the cover blurb makes clear, this book is marketed as an examination of "the extremes to which guilt and the quest for purity can drive ordi-

nary people." And there we have the irony of such contemporary caricatures. For if such people are meant to be taken as "ordinary," then obviously it is the norm itself that is in need of a vigorous reexamination. And that is precisely the point. In the nineteenth century, any transgression of a sexual morality derived from Puritans was unquestionably evil. To persist in depicting Mormons as sexually voracious carries little or none of the original moral blemish in an era that has seen the politics of AIDS move debate from sexual behavior to "homophobia" and, as a consequence, attach a greater stigma to moralizing than to sexually transmitted disease. The persistence of the stereotype shows the tenacity of literary paternity, but the contradictions it involves reveal a simple truth about caricature. The malleable features of any caricature must be reconfigured anew as value systems change, if they are to elicit the same derision as the early formulations. The above two authors, then, are clear examples of caricature caught in anachronism. Funny hats and unorthodox living arrangements no longer a villain make. But as they also suggested, in however confused a fashion, the wrong kind of conformity may. And thus a new paradigm of caricature is now possible in which too much, rather than too little, accommodation becomes a negative value.

It was once a simple matter to assume a norm for American culture and situate the Mormon well outside of it. But today, the Mormon businessman not only has been assimilated into American society, he has become American society. To borrow from Jones herself again, "BYU is the third largest supplier of army officers. Mormons were Howard Hughes's right-hand men. And so on. . . ." (73). Successful, white, Anglo-Saxon, middle-class, suburban, one working parent in a traditional family with stay-at-home mother and five children. If Tom Clancy wants a shorthand way of creating a young, clean-cut, and patriotic guy-next-door he may simply refer to him as LDS, as he does with Randall Tait in *The Hunt for Red October*. (The fact that the Russians consider him "a religious fanatic"[42] is presumably to his credit.) Similarly, his hero in *Clear and Present Danger* refers to Mormons as "honest and hard-working, and fiercely loyal to their country, because they believed in what America stood for."[43] Once the target of a federal expeditionary force under President Buchanan, charged with rebellion and sedition, the Mormons are now the embodiment of public-spiritedness and "traditional values."

The meaning of this new role, however, is especially dubious in today's intellectual climate. It is now because Mormons occupy what used to be the center that they fall into contempt. The embrace of ultraconservative values, not their flagrant rejection, is now construed as the

source of Mormon perfidy. For since Vietnam at least, employment in covert activities can suggest criminality as readily as it can be read by others as loyalty (as the case of Oliver North demonstrates), the nuclear family seems a distant relic (as Murphy Brown replaces Ozzie and Harriet),[44] and multiculturalism rather than melting pot is now the ruling paradigm. The repercussions of these developments for the Mormons are suggested by a 1971 *Ramparts* article by Frances Lang which faulted the church for providing to the FBI and CIA a steady supply of reliably conservative defenders of capitalist interests.[45] John LeCarré, from a British novelist's perspective, captures the irony, the simultaneous gain and loss, of Mormonism's new place in American society. When the CIA sends two agents to assist in a British operation, they are viewed as faceless twins, "Americans, so slight, so trim, so characterless," whose "Mormon cleanliness I found slightly revolting."[46]

It is as if Mormons had effaced all traces of otherness only to discover that the model of "Americanism" they now appear to embrace has become the new antihero of the Great American Saga currently playing. This is because we have now reached a point in contemporary intellectual culture where the politics of the periphery are working to devalue the center. Indeed, the politics of marginalization and collective guilt as they operate today make it clear that status as an oppressed group is not without its political advantages.[47] The furious storm of opposition to Hirsch's "Cultural Literacy" project, the desperation and rejection of Pat Buchanan's 1992 Republican National Convention speech in which a beleaguered, fading majority sought to consolidate its stewardship of cultural values, suggest that a word like "mainstream" may soon be as obsolete as it is already becoming opprobrious.

In this new climate where the center seems to be fading and the margins acquire new vitality and worth, difference acquires new value. If we return briefly to Russell's account of Mormonism, we see the way in which a particular value system is almost immediately invoked as the context for the action about to unfold. Russell, torn between hostility and toleration, revealed the self-interested nature of both when he framed his critique of Mormonism in the context of repeated references to "our institutions" (55, 69, 71) and to the themes of American toleration and pluralism, yet such toleration is only demonstrable in the face of acutely felt difference: "the Jew, the Mahometan, the Pagan, and even the atheist" are its beneficiaries. The precondition for one's claim to this American virtue is therefore the designation of an unorthodoxy which is situated outside of it. In other words, the values that constitute the ground of narrative authority emerge in the context of an "other" they presume to embrace. Therefore, to exaggerate difference, to demonize

the other, is necessarily and by the same degree to valorize one's tolerance as the generous embrace of such difference. This is the root of the tension characteristic of that nineteenth-century literature of the hostile imagination which does not entirely capitulate to the paranoid style, caught as it is between xenophobia and the need for self-presentation as a tolerant, law-respecting American.

As diversity becomes more highly valued than conformity, and multiculturalism rather than melting pot the ruling paradigm of American society, the ideological investment in exaggerating difference becomes even more important than it was for Russell. Thus we have the case of a recent television episode that featured a Mormon seemingly caught in an incestuous liaison with his daughter.[48] The case unfolds to reveal not incest but clandestine polygamy as the aberration. One horror is substituted for another, and the dramatic interest is thereby heightened by the fictive transgression of not one but two societal taboos. With shock and repugnance at an appropriately high level, the ensuing courtroom scene plumbs the complexities of this conflict of religious conscience and law, challenging the viewer to reconsider this sympathetically portrayed "difference."

Two Mormon-affiliated stations, in Utah and Washington, pulled the series in protest, even though the writers had incorporated a disclaimer that made clear the Mormon church no longer officially sanctions polygamy. So the piece could not be accused of misrepresenting the Church, and the Mormon was in fact a fairly likable character; what was the problem? The point, of course, is not merely that juxtaposing Mormonism and polygamy has a semiotic force that no disclaimer can really temper. More seriously, the network, like Russell, used deviance as a mirror in which the viewer's tolerance and generosity of spirit may be reflected—or at least interrogated. Difference has not, however, really been embraced—it has been prostituted to the parading of pluralism.

Genre as Mediation

In the nineteenth century, literature could be deliberately and irresponsibly inflammatory and provocative. Often, however, it enacted violence in such a way as to effectively mediate irreconcilable difference. At present, the higher cultural value assigned to diversity, as well as the movement of Mormonism toward the mainstream, have disarmed much of the anti-Mormon rhetoric typical of the nineteenth century. In addition, the mediational function which the represention of violence had in the fiction we have surveyed has now come to be served, to some extent, by generic categories themselves. Rhetoric and representation

are constrained by the way in which culture has come to divide up discourse generally. In 1890, Zane Grey could get in his shots against the Mormons, newspapers from New York to California could call for their extermination, and Senator Noell could cite Artemus Ward in Congressional testimony to the same end, without this strange melange of sources and forums devoted to a common political end jarring anyone's sensibilities. It may be no easier today than in the nineteenth century to sort out hysterical hate mongering from objective reporting of the facts when a new and threatening presence appears on the American cultural or religious scene. But if fact and fiction are still slippery labels, we find a kind of intellectual refuge in generic distinctions, and control discourse that way.

To measure the distance we have come, we could examine the novelette *Bessie Baine* (1876), about a young Quaker girl who is desired as Elder Russell's fifth wife. When she declines, she is kidnapped, drugged, and dragged to Utah, with the "husband" explaining to curious witnesses that he is returning his daughter to an asylum. The horror eventually weakens her mind, and by the time she arrives at the institution, she is trying to convince herself she is not insane.[49] Still resistant to Elder Russell's advances, she is admitted to a regimen of head shavings, whippings and beatings, torture, and the unremitting echoes of cries and screams through the labyrinthine passages. The narrator informs us that this punishment lasts until the inmates "promise obedience or [are] driven insane" and is "still used by the Mormon leaders as a prison for refractory women"(20).

This author's insistence on the veracity of her story's horrors is typical of most of those novelizing the Mormon theme. That they were taken at their word is evident from that fact that such an important debate as that surrounding the Cummins Bill was largely informed by "facts" garnered from "reliable sources" that turn out, on inspection, to be the novels and exposeés we are examining. In his testimony of 18 May 1870, Senator Cragin quotes liberally from works by John Hyde (*Mormonism: Its Leaders and Designs* [1857]), Catherine Waite (*The Mormon Prophet and His Harem* [1866]), and numerous others he does not name ("I have read of some women . . . ") to impute to the Mormons corruption, licentiousness, and occasional assassinations. Some of the charges he recites appear to have been too bizarre for novelists to even attempt adapting (human sacrifice and a system of polyandry "only privately talked of in secret circles").

Reciprocally, many of the undocumented themes he introduces into his testimony are by that time already or soon to become mainstays

of anti-Mormon fiction for the next generation. He alleges that women were driven insane by the "plurality," that others were "hunted" down for rebelling; he alleges private passageways and secret subterranean torture chambers in Brigham Young's apartments (where he "punishes his refractory wives"), a white slave trade, and thousands of officially sanctioned murders. Analogies as well as charges will resurface in fictive accounts. His evocation of Juggernaut, infant sacrifice, and suttee, for example, will be echoed in Switzer's *Elder Northfield's Home* (1882).

Even blatant satire was taken at face value. In February of 1867, the House was debating women's suffrage. Some critics of Mormonism felt that the vote would give the women of Utah Territory a weapon with which to free themselves from the burden of polygamy. In lending his support to the bill, Representative T. E. Noell never mentions such a motive explicitly. But he does represent a humorous anecdote about Mormon polygamy from Artemus Ward's *Travels* as having been an actual experience of Ward while in Utah. In his account, a group of polygamous widows propose en masse to a wealthy bachelor. The point of Noell's reference is more comic relief ("they were pretty enough, . . . it was the muchness of the thing that he objected to") than persuasive evidence of the "base prostitution" he is alleging.[50] But the use to which he puts the story is beside the point. It is the status accorded the account that is striking. "When Artemus Ward was in Utah . . . " may serve to introduce a tall tale or a deadly serious episode, and maybe politicians are especially vulnerable to confusing the two. But the pervasiveness of this disregard for generic distinctions gives a universalizing quality to anti-Mormon rhetoric that is especially resistant to rebuttal. How does one refute a joke? What discourse is appropriate to challenge a plot structure that transcends any particular text?

No wonder, then, that "documented" case histories found credible audiences, such as happened with *The Fate of Madame La Tour*.[51] A novelized account of life in Utah, its impressive format included an appendix with affidavits alleging the discovery of mass-burial pits containing "rawhide thongs" and the battered skulls of large numbers of children, as well as numerous other atrocities perpetrated against rebellious members.

Such legalistic accoutrements might win popular belief even today. But frequently these "affidavits" have a rather dubious twist to them. In 1872, for instance, citizens opposed to Utah's petition for statehood filed with Congress a "Memorial . . . Against the admission of that Territory as a State." Dozens of affidavits were included, attributing all manner of crime and criminality to the Mormon people. But the fol-

lowing phraseology is typical of the line before the signature: "About the endowment house oaths and the rest she sincerely believes to be true" (70); "Affiant further says that he has read Bill Hickman's book about murders and other crimes, and he believes it true, . . . Affiant believes that Brigham Young and the leaders commanded murders and robbery" (61); "Affiant further says that he has read the affidavits of Abraham Taylor, James Ashman, and John P. Lloyd, on Mormon matters, and he knows the contents thereof, and he believes each one to be true" (72); "Affiant further says that he has read 'Bill Hickman, the Danite Chief's Book,' and he believes it true; also, Beadle's book, and he believes that true: also Mrs. Ward's book, and he believes that true" (79).

We may wonder if such a reading list is meant to substantiate or discredit the force of the complaint, if the testimony is buttressed by or merely parroted from such accounts. Affidavits cite affidavits, memoirs cite affidavits, and affidavits cite memoirs. But the contrast with today's generic scrupulousness is unmistakable. It is not merely that genres have proliferated. For clearly old forms fade out (satyr plays, epic poetry, and sonnets) as new forms develop (sitcoms, sound bites, and the academic novel). Perhaps what *has* changed is the extent to which generic distinctions have come to pervade public discourse in general, and not so much to demarcate *how* an object is represented as to constrain the claim such a representation makes upon us. Such discursive categories serve more as functional indices of authorization than as guides to form. Thus, authority and legitimacy displace nineteenth-century persuasiveness and moral fervor as operative rhetorical criteria. Credentials are more important than eloquence; a kind of propriety in the author–audience and author–subject matter relationships assumes an importance not known since Horace.

As a consequence, literature of intolerance currently finds its institutional forum almost uniquely in sectarian publishing houses and fringe hate groups. Newspapers have become elaborate reports on crime and economic indicators which relegate controversial editorializing to a clearly demarcated section. Pulp fiction is quite happy to occupy its niche of profitability and intellectual disrespectability, with neither inclination nor credibility enough to engage in social polemics. (And the omnipresent formulaic disclaimer about names and events would be necessary even in a less legalistic milieu.)

Certainly, persistent forms of prejudice and stereotyping will invariably trickle through the media, from television sitcoms to Harlequin romances to letters to the editor. But whether or not history is likely to repeat itself, the appropriation of, say, the popular novel to wage a campaign of disinformation and hate-mongering against a new ethnic group

or religious sect is improbable simply because fiction has lost its stature as moral champion and arbiter of American values to televangelists and political grandstanders (and, increasingly, prime-time television).

There are, of course, exceptions. Contemporary satire, for example, certainly blurs the gates of ivory and of horn, but, like the *roman à clef*, this very obfuscation is its *raison d'être*, not an incidental blemish. Historical fiction forewarns by its very label that the poet "nothing affirmeth." When fiction presumes to claim the authority of history, as when Hollywood increasingly usurps the role of journalism, a category like "docudrama" immediately emerges to contain the new area of transgression.

These distinctions can, of course, cut both ways. In the observance, they mediate cultural violence as we have argued. But in the breach, they become a rhetorical ploy by which fiction is endowed with an unwarranted claim to referential validity. And we have seen, in fact, the persistence of anti-Mormon fiction which *does* make a claim to historical truth. The Moroni Traveler mysteries are marketed as "a very compelling glimpse into this fascinating subculture" revealing "telling details of its church-dominated region." Therefore, the channeling of cultural violence into particular forums has not disabled such violence altogether. But in the absence of a literary counterpart to "docudrama" which would generically condone such dabbling, new grounds must be invented to constitute narrative authority when moral fervor alone is no longer sufficient. The latest strategy for such a move is made possible under the aegis of the postmodern turn to ethnography. From Black Studies to Women's Studies to multicultural curricula, fiction has been embraced as the key to newfound appreciation for diversity and difference. Political morality, the embrace of diversity, and a new academic cosmopolitanism thus become means of empowering discourse with a referential value it would otherwise lack. And so we are not so far removed from the basis for nineteenth-century representations after all. Moral fervor again becomes the ground for trespassing discursive categories that would work to restrain representation. Whether we read the novelist Chinua Achebe to understand Ibo culture or watch an episode of *Picket Fences* to catch an appreciative glimpse of a heterodox religious group, whether clad in the lofty liberalism of a prime-time television show or the well-intentioned multiculturalism that too often can invite pseudo-anthropology, representing the other-fashioning will continue to be the road to self-fashioning.

In all of this, we hear the eerily familiar ring of a nineteenth-century author who revealed the close kinship of those representations which demonize the other to relieve cultural anxieties and those which

appropriate the other with more benevolent intentions. In *John Brent* (1862), two male heroes are stymied when they learn the Mormoness they wish to free is not seeking a liberator.

> [She was] clutched by this foul ogre [the Church], and locked up in an impregnable prison. And we two were baffled. Of what use was our loyalty to woman? What vain words . . . our knightly vow to succor all distressed damsels. . . . did [they] wish to escape? No.[52]

So they respond in a way that echoes the efforts of nineteenth-century antipolygamy crusaders trying to galvanize the uninterested Utah women: "She must be saved, sooner or later, whether she will or no" (185). But not because *her* welfare demands it. The author makes clear what is at stake—what, in fact, has been at stake all along in these renderings of the Mormon as alien. The liberation of the nineteenth-century Mormons, like their acceptance within a pluralistic culture in the twentieth, are but different means to the same end—*America's* self-definition. As the not-to-be-thwarted heroes of *John Brent* remind their audience, it is America, after all, that has given to the "Old World . . . tobacco, woman's rights, the potato" (313).

Notes

1. Sen. Aaron Harrison Cragin (New Hampshire), Debate on the Cummins Bill, *Congressional Globe*, 41st Congress, 2d session, 18 May 1870, 3577.

2. Thomas deWitt Talmage, *The Brooklyn Tabernacle, A Collection of 104 Sermons* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1884), 37.

3. Although they are not grouped together by category, most occurences of the Mormon character in fiction will be found in the Chad Flake's comprehensive *Mormon Bibliography 1830–1930* (Salt Lake: University of Utah, 1978).

4. Archibald Maxwell, *A Run through the United States during the Autumn of 1840* (London: H. Colburn, 1841), I: 24. Further references cited parenthetically.

5. John Evans, *History of All Christian Sects and Denominations; Their Origin, Peculiar Tenets, and Present Condition*, 2d ed. (New York: James Mowatt, 1844).

6. John Winebrenner, *History of All the Religious Denominations in the United States*, 2d ed. (Harrisburg, PA: 1848), table of contents.

7. For his remarkable story, see William L. Stone, *Matthias and His Impostures: Or, The Progress of Fanaticism* (New York: Harper, 1835).

8. David Meredith Reese, *Humbugs of New York: Being a Remonstrance against Popular Delusion; Whether in Science, Philosophy, or Religion* (New York: Taylor, 1838), 265.

9. Susan L. Fales and Chad J. Flake, *Mormons and Mormonism in U.S. Government Documents* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989).

10. Leo Tolstoy's reputed opinion that Mormonism was the quintessentially American religion is cited second hand in a number of Mormon sources, as well as by Harold Bloom (*The American Religion: The Emergence of the Post-Christian Nation* [New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992]), who claims "there is something of Joseph Smith's spirit in every manifestation of American religion" (43). See also Leland A. Fetzer, "Tolstoy and Mormonism," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 6.1 (1971), 13–29.

11. Thomas O'Dea, "Mormons," *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, ed. Stephan Thernstrom (Cambridge: Harvard University Press), 720.

12. One of the most prevalent of the many stereotypes of Mormon converts held that they were drawn from the dregs of American and European society. Objective accounts of such observers as Charles Dickens were quite to the contrary. The novelist visited an emigrant ship about to sail for America, and wrote of the Mormons, "I should have said they were, in their degree, the pick and flower of England" (William Mulder and A. Russell Mortensen, *Among the Mormons* [New York: Knopf, 1958], 337).

13. John Russell, *The Mormoness; or, The Trials of Mary Maverick* (Alton, Il.: Courier Steam Press, 1853), 38. Further references will be cited parenthetically.

14. Following an extermination order by Missouri Governor Lilburn Boggs, an armed mob massacred eighteen or nineteen men and boys at the small Mormon settlement of Haun's Mill in October 1838. The standard LDS account is that of survivor Joseph Young, recounted in volume 3 (183–186) of Joseph Smith's *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints* (Salt Lake: Deseret, 1973).

15. "Author of Frank Merriwell" [Burt L. Standish], "Frank Merriwell among the Mormons: or, The Lost Tribes of Israel," *Tip Top Weekly* (19 June 1897), 2. Further references cited parenthetically.

16. Sydney Bell, *Wives of the Prophet* (New York: Macaulay, 1935), iv.

17. Max Adeler [Charles Heber Clark], *The Tragedy of Thompson Dunbar, A Tale of Salt Lake City* (Philadelphia: Stoddart, 1879), 10.

18. Jennie (Bartlett) Switzer, *Elder Northfield's Home: or, Sacrificed on the Mormon altar* (New York: J. Howard Brown, 1882), 115.

19. Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, *A Study in Scarlet* (New York: Burt, n.d. [London, 1888]), 129; James Oliver Curwood, *The Courage of Captain Plum* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1908), 97,261.

20. Bruce Kinney, *Mormonism: The Islam of America* (New York: Revell 1912).

21. Stanley Ives, "Notes on Mormon Polygamy," *Western Humanities Review* 10 (Summer 1956), 238.

22. Such is the remedy suggested by "An American" [William Loring Spencer], author of *Salt Lake Fruit: A Latter-Day Romance* (Boston: Rand, Avery, 1884). In his preface, he insists that anti-Mormon legislation (such as the Cummins Bill) is not the solution. Hope will come only if, "in her might, Liberty puts her heel on the serpent's head, and crushes it. No intermediate legislation will avail. Exterminate, or be exterminated" (iii, v). This, we have seen, was governor Bogg's exact prescription.

23. Richard Hofstadter, *The Paranoid Style in American Politics and Other Essays* (New York: Knopf, 1965).

24. Switzer, *Elder Northfield's Home*, 274.

25. Dan Coolidge, *The Fighting Danites* (New York: Dutton, 1934), 182.

26. Standish, "Frank Merriwell," 12; Coolidge, *Fighting Danites*, 131–32.

27. Maria Ward [pseud.], *Female Life among the Mormons. A Narrative of Many Years' Experience among the Mormons* . . . (London: Clarke, 1855), 65.

28. Ward, *Female Life among the Mormons*, 417.

29. See, for example, Zane Grey, *Riders of the Purple Sage* (New York: Harper, 1910); and Doyle, *A Study in Scarlet*.

30. "Author of Buffalo Bill" [Prentiss Ingraham], "Buffalo Bill and the Danite Kidnappers; or, The Green River Massacre," *The Buffalo Bill Stories: A Weekly Devoted to Border History* (1 February 1902).

31. A similar strategy seems to operate today with those sects that have displaced Mormonism as a threatening "cult," such as the Unification Church and Scientology. Opponents of both groups have charged that coercive persuasion deprives members of any choice in their conversion. The Supreme Court of California, in *Molko vs. Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity* (252 California Reporter [Calif. Supreme Ct. 1989], 122–156), went so far as to validate one such allegation that "brainwashing" rendered its members "incapable of exercising their own will" (122). Similarly, the 1993 confrontation with Branch Davidian "cultist" David Koresh spawned news coverage that referred to his "wizardry," the "mystic spell" he cast over members, and his "magnetism." See "Intimidation, Wizardry Marked Tiny Cult's Rule," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 3 March 1993, A8.

32. Jennifer Blake, *Golden Fancy* (New York: Fawcett, 1980), cover blurb.

33. Tony Hillerman, *A Thief of Time* (New York: Harper Row, 1988), 196.

34. Paul Fussell, *BAD: The Dumbing of America* (New York: Summit, 1991), 197.

35. Martin E. Marty, "Explaining the Rise of Fundamentalism," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 28 October 1992, A56.

36. Terry J. Christlieb, letter, *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 2 December 1992, B5. The criticism was a response to Marty's essay on Fundamentalism.

37. Klaus J. Hansen, *Quest for Empire: The Political Kingdom of God and the Council of Fifty in Mormon History* (Ann Arbor: Michigan State University Press, 1967), 247.

38. Gerald Petievich and an anonymous critic describing Irvine's work, cited in the blurb to Robert Irvine, *Called Home* (New York: St. Martin's, 1991). *Called Home* henceforth cited parenthetically, by page number, as *CH*.

39. Robert Irvine, *The Angel's Share* (New York: St. Martin's, 1989), 105. Henceforth cited parenthetically as *AS*.

40. Robert Irvine, *Gone to Glory* (New York: St. Martin's, 1990), 135. Henceforth cited parenthetically as *GG*.

41. Cleo Jones, *Prophet Motive* (New York: St. Martin's, 1984), 73. Henceforth cited parenthetically.

42. Tom Clancy, *The Hunt for Red October* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1984), 200.

43. Tom Clancy, *Clear and Present Danger* (New York: Putnam's Sons, 1989), 480.

44. According to a report by the Population Reference Bureau, "The 'Ozzie and Harriet' model of 1950's television fame—a breadwinning husband and a wife who stayed home with the children—once was the dominant pattern in America. Now, one in five married couples with children fits in." Cited in an AP story in the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 25 August 1992, A2.

45. Frances Lang, "The Mormon Empire," *Ramparts* 10 (September 1971), 40.

46. John LeCarré, *The Russia House* (New York: Bantam, 1989), 211.

47. A recent *Time* editorial makes the same point: "The assimilation of Hispanics is news because two allied groups of political operators are trying to pretend that it isn't happening. Leaders of ethnic communities fear the success of their communities because it makes special favors unnecessary and deprives leaders of their status as favor brokers." See Richard Brookhiser, "The Melting Pot Is Still Simmering," *Time*, March 1993, 72.

48. *Picket Fences*, CBS (originally aired 22 January 1993).

49. M. Quad, *Bessie Baine: The Mormon's Victim* (Boston: G. W. Studley, 1898 [1876]), 13.

50. T. E. Noell (Missouri), "Equality of Suffrage" *Appendix to The Congressional Globe*. 39th Congress, 2d session, 11 and 18 February 1867, 111.

51. Mrs. A. G. Paddock, *The Fate of Madame La Tour* (New York: Fords, Howard, Hulbert, 1881).

52. Theodore Winthrop, *John Brent* (New York: Lovell, 1862), 177, 164.