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BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY BULLETIN

Brigham
Young
University

STUDIES

SPRING-SUMMER 1964

In Memoriam (Harvey Darrel Taylor,
1917-1963)

Polymorphism and High Pressure
Correspondences, *A Poem by Charles
Baudelaire*

Early Mormon Troubles in Mexico

Just for a Moment, *A Poem*

Spanish Academies of the Golden Age

Humor in Lazarillo de Tormes

Political Motto

The Relationship Between *Partonopeus
de Blois* and the Cupid and Psyche
Tradition

The Anti-Christian Background of
German Literary Naturalism

Carlyle and Ruskin: An Influential
Friendship

Stump-Orator

Mysteries of the Kingdom: More or
Less

Mormon Bibliography 1963

Rose Street, *A Poem*

Book Reviews

Index, Volume V

H. Tracy Hall

Irene Spears (trans.)

Karl Young

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H. Kay Moon

Joseph Smith, Jr.

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Thomas Carlyle

William L. Knecht

Carma de Jong Anderson

**Brigham
Young
University**

STUDIES

Volume V

Numbers 3-4

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Special Note. Problems incident to publishing a periodical have delayed the appearance of *Brigham Young University Studies* so that Volume V, Number 2, is the Winter 1964 number. The immediately preceding number, Volume V, Number 1, is the Autumn 1962 number. This issue, the combined Spring-Summer 1964 issue, completes Volume V.

Printed by Brigham Young University Press

In Memoriam

HARVEY DARREL TAYLOR
(1917-1963)

In recognition of his devoted service as editorial board member of *Brigham Young University Studies* this issue is gratefully dedicated to Harvey Darrel Taylor, who lost his life as an Explorer leader of the Pleasant View Ward of Provo, Utah, in a tragic accident between Escalante, Utah, and Hole-in-the-Rock June 10, 1963.

Dr. Taylor became a teacher of Spanish at Brigham Young University in 1948 and served as chairman of the Department of Languages from 1959 to the time of his death. He was a remarkable teacher and scholar, loved and respected by both students and colleagues.

The Gospel of Jesus Christ was the foundation of his life. In addition to his academic career he served over five years as bishop in student wards at B.Y.U. His commitment to a calling was never partial. Each activity received the full force of his creative intelligence. As a teacher he was also a bishop, and as a bishop he was also a teacher. He did not, nor could he, separate truth from truth nor virtue from virtue; he saw the arts as manifest support for testimony, and testimony as manifest support for the arts. His aim was to synthesize experience into meaning. His life was outstanding as a life of service, each distinction and attainment only increasing his ability to serve.

Son of the distinguished educator and administrator Dr. Harvey L. Taylor and Lucelle Rhees Taylor, he is also survived by his wonderful wife Barbara Brossard Taylor and by his five children, James Harvey, Susan, Stephen, Margaret, and Daniel.

*Polymorphism and High Pressure**

H. TRACY HALL

I. INTRODUCTION

All matter upon this earth is made of the elements (listed in the standard periodic table), singly or in combination. Combinations of the elements are called compounds, and millions of compounds are known.

Elements and compounds often exist in more than one solid form. The different solid forms of the same compound or element are called polymorphs. A classic pair of polymorphs are the substances graphite and diamond. These materials have radically different properties. Diamond is the hardest substance known, is transparent, does not conduct electricity, and has a density 36 percent greater than graphite. It is also rare and in its least costly form, that of industrial diamond grit, is valued at \$6,000 per pound. Graphite, on the other hand, is soft and unctuous, is black and opaque, conducts electricity, is relatively common (the primary ingredient in the so-called lead-pencil is graphite), and costs but a few cents per pound. In spite of these gross differences, diamond and graphite are both composed of the element carbon. This singular fact was discovered by the French chemist, Antoine Lavoisier, in the year 1792. From that time forth scientists set about to find a way to transform the inexpensive graphite into the expensive diamond. As many of you know, it was my fortune to first effect this polymorphic change. Since the December day in 1954 when the first tiny, sparkling, man-made crystals were observed, more than 10,000 pounds (over 22,000,000 carats) of diamond grit have been manufactured for industrial consumption.

II. CRYSTALS

At this point the important question could be asked, "Since graphite and diamond are both made of carbon, what is it that

*First Annual Faculty Lecture, Brigham Young University, April 8, 1964. Dr. Hall is professor of chemistry and director of the Research Division at Brigham Young University.

makes them so different?" The answer is, "The arrangements of carbon atoms in the two substances are different." Polymorphs differ from each other only in the spatial arrangement of their constituent atoms. This fact, long theorized to be true by mineralogists from their studies of crystals, remained unproved until the advent of the science of x-ray crystallography about 1912. In x-ray crystallography matter is probed with a tiny beam of x-rays. This beam is diffracted in a complex manner by the atoms. Proper interpretation of the diffraction pattern can reveal the arrangement of the atoms in a solid substance. The use of x-ray diffraction to study substances has shown that the majority of solids are crystalline. The distinguishing feature of a crystal is its orderly periodic arrangement of atoms. Some substances may consist of a single large crystal. On the other hand, many substances consist of myriads of microscopic interlocking crystals. Steel and most metals are so constituted and are said to be polycrystalline. A few substances do not possess an ordered arrangement of atoms and are, consequently, noncrystalline or amorphous. Glass is noncrystalline. Some substances are partially amorphous and partially crystalline. Plastics are generally of this nature and consist of tiny, intermixed amorphous and crystalline regions.

III. PATTERNS

Before giving further attention to the matter of atomic arrangements in crystals, it will be instructive to pursue the interesting subject of patterns. Periodic patterns are to be seen everywhere. They appear in wallpaper, tiling, architecture, lacework, rugs, tapestries, etc. Two observations can be made concerning any periodic pattern: (1) The pattern consists of a motif; (2) the motif is repeated in a systematic way to produce the entire pattern. An infinity of motifs is possible. Any limitation here is imposed only by the artist's or designer's imagination. It may be surprising, however, to learn that there are a limited number of ways in which a motif may be repeated to produce a pattern. In two dimensions there are only seventeen possible ways that a motif can be systematically repeated.

IV. SYMMETRY

The limitation in the number of ways that a motif can be repeated is imposed by considerations of symmetry. Everyone

is familiar with the ordinary symmetry of right and left handedness. This type of symmetry is called *mirror symmetry*. A left hand reflected in a mirror becomes a right hand; consequently, the right hand is said to be a mirror image of the left. Other types of symmetry are possible but are not generally as well known as mirror symmetry.

Rotational symmetry is that kind of symmetry in which the motif is symmetrically disposed around an axis like the spokes around a wheel. For producing patterns, rotational symmetry is limited to four kinds: two-, three-, four-, and sixfold rotational symmetry. A two-bladed aeroplane propeller possesses twofold rotational symmetry about its hub. A three-leaf clover possesses threefold symmetry about its stem, while a four-leaf clover possesses fourfold symmetry and so on.

Translational symmetry is present in all patterns. It is present when a motif is periodically repeated at regular intervals to form an ordered array.

Glide symmetry occurs when a motif is repeated by a two-step process in which a mirror image of the motif is first formed and then is translated a distance equal to one-half the motif repeat distance. Glide symmetry is present in the third pattern from the left top row of Figure 1.

There are other types of symmetry, but those enumerated above (mirror, rotation, translation, and glide) when used in combination are capable of producing all other types that are possible on a flat surface. When a motif is repeated in such a way that all possible combinations of the above symmetries are utilized, seventeen plane patterns are produced. These patterns, with the simple motif of the lower case letter "d," are presented in Figure 1. Note that the letters "b," "d," "p," and "q," are related to each other through mirror and twofold rotational symmetry.

Turning from the two-dimensional world of flat surfaces to the three-dimensional world of space, additional types of symmetry become possible. These additional symmetries make it possible to repeat a three-dimensional object (motif) in space in exactly 230 different ways. There are, then, 230 *space patterns* as compared to only 17 *plane patterns*.

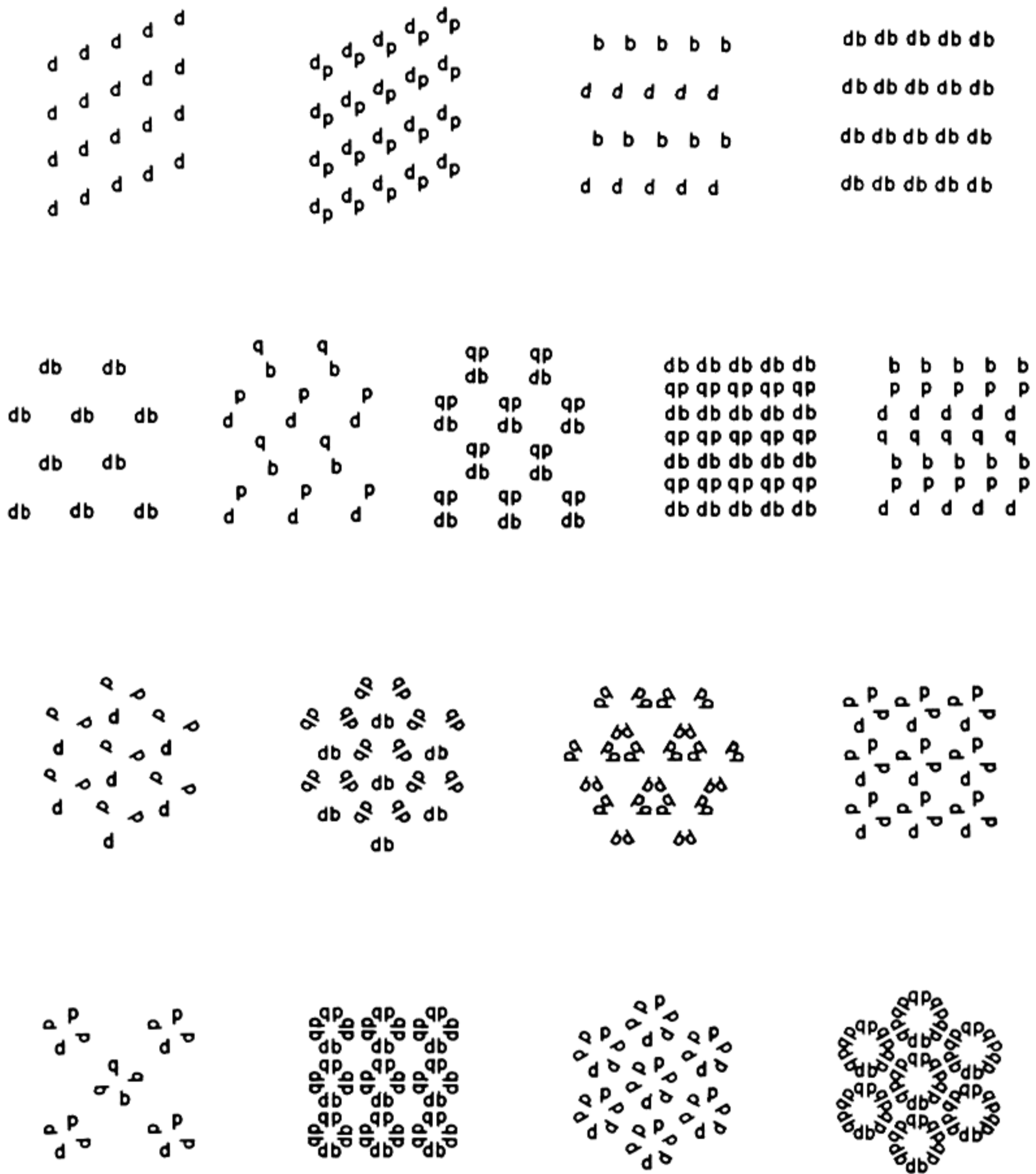


Figure 1. The seventeen possible plane patterns.

V. APPLICATION TO ATOMIC SYSTEMS

What has all this to do with atoms? Simply this: Atoms combine in various ways to form motifs. Atomic motifs organize themselves into any of the possible 230 space patterns to form crystals. Crystals have been found in nature corresponding to all of the possible 230 space patterns.

In determining the internal arrangement of atoms in crystals by means of x-ray techniques, two tasks must be accomplished: (1) the space pattern must be determined; (2) the shape of the motif must be determined; i.e., the number and kinds of atoms and their arrangement in the motif must be found. Both of these tasks can be difficult. However, the problem of determining the nature of the motif is usually much more difficult than the problem of determining the space pattern.

Parenthetically, a few additional remarks concerning symmetry seem appropriate before proceeding further in the sub-microscopic world of atoms. Patterns are evident in all fields of human endeavor, as may be seen from the titles of a few books from the library card file: *The Pattern of Hardy's Poetry*, *The Pattern of God's Truth*, *The Pattern of Authority*, *The Pattern of the Past*, *Patterns of Success*, *Patterns of Industrial Growth*, and so on. All patterns, regardless of subject matter, result from the systematic repetition of a motif, and the mode of repetition is based on considerations of symmetry! Symmetry is a basic unifying concept common to the arts, sciences, humanities or any other discipline one would care to mention.

Knowing the spatial arrangement of atoms in crystals is a necessary first step in obtaining an understanding of any property such as hardness, electrical conductivity, transparency, solubility, melting point, density, malleability and so forth. In most metallic elements (two-thirds of the elements in the periodic table are metals) the repeating motif in the crystal is a single, spherical atom. If such an atom were magnified one billion times it would become about the size of an orange. Using oranges for atoms, four atomic space patterns are demonstrated in Figures 2, 3, and 4. Figure 2 shows the motif arranged in a square array. If additional oranges are placed directly over the oranges in this square array and the process is repeated until several layers are stacked over the bottom layer, a simple three-dimensional space pattern results. This pattern

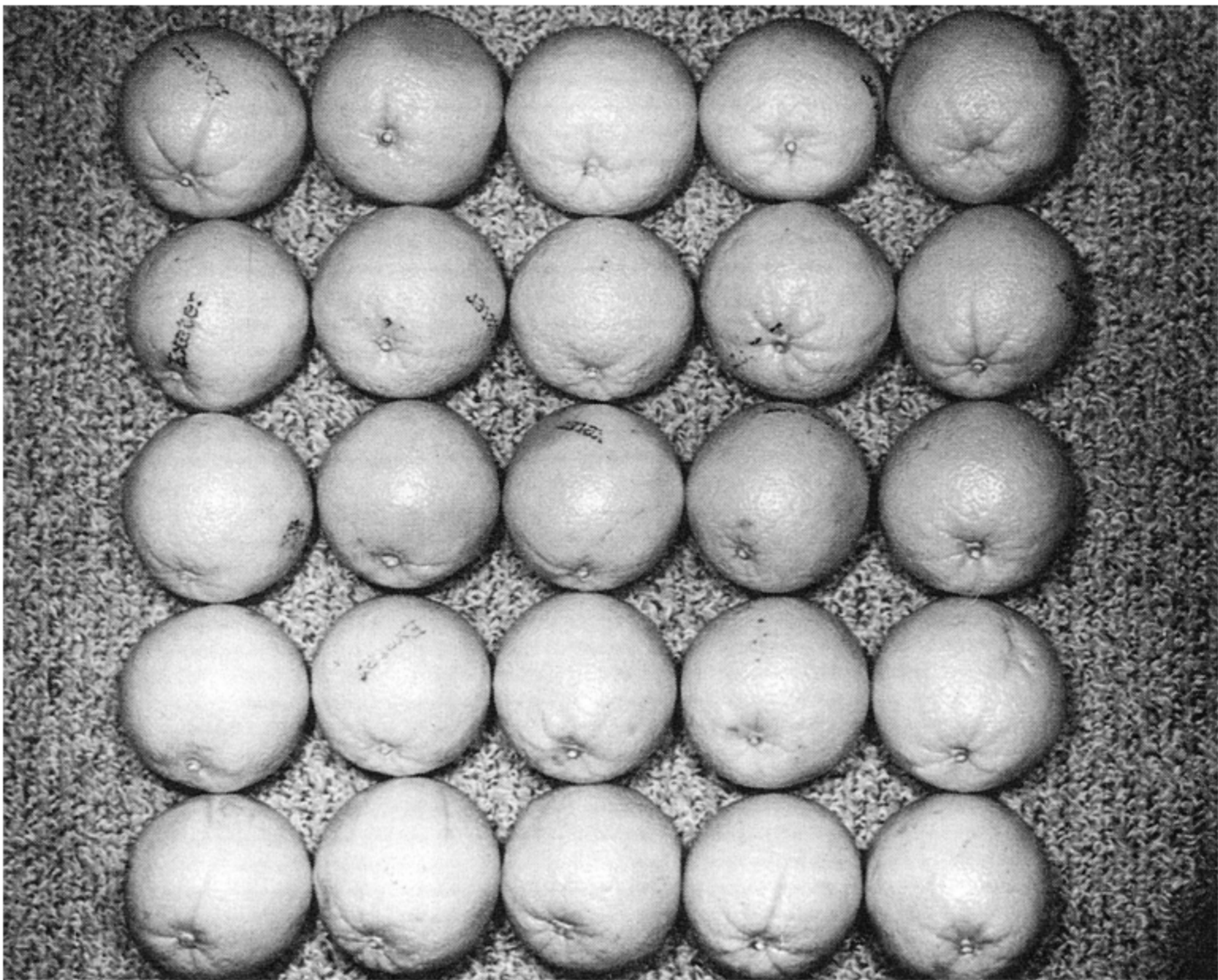


Figure 2. Simple cubic space pattern (53% voids).

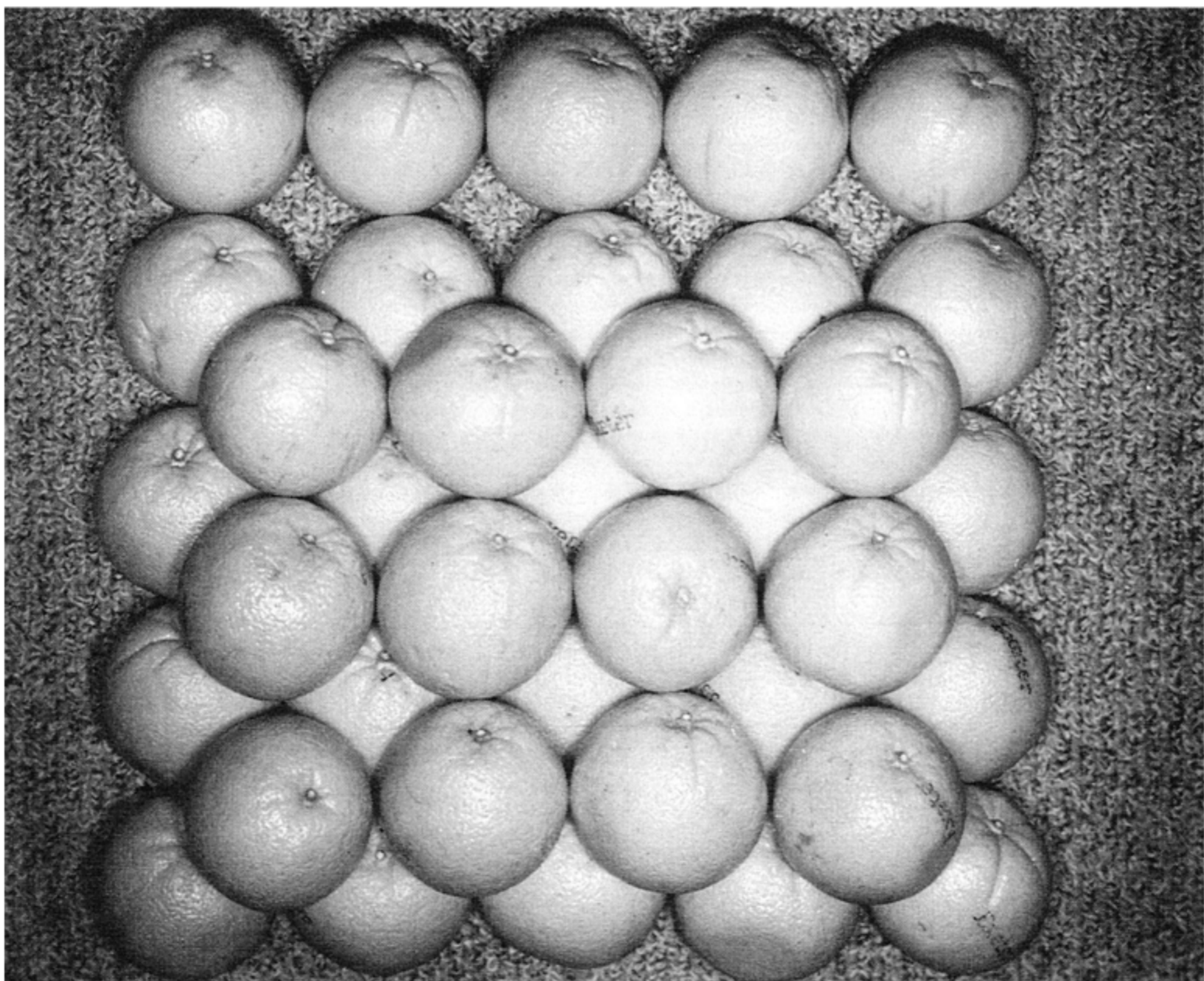


Figure 3. Body-centered cubic arrangement of oranges (32% voids).

has been given the name *simple cubic* because lines drawn between the centers of any eight, appropriately chosen oranges define a cube. Oranges or atoms arranged in such a fashion do not occupy all the available space. (Note the somewhat square "holes" centered in the midst of any four oranges in Figure 2. These holes occupy 53 percent of the total volume in this pattern.)

A somewhat more compact pattern can be obtained by placing oranges over the holes visible in Figure 2 to form a second layer as shown in Figure 3. This layer has the same square-array appearance as the first layer but is shifted with respect to it. A third layer is now added with each orange located over a hole in the second layer and so on. The resultant space pattern is called *body-centered cubic*. The name is derived from the fact that eight oranges, with centers at the apexes of a cube, enclose an orange centrally located within the body of this cube. This arrangement still contains voids, but only to the extent of 32 percent.

A pattern of even greater compactness can be obtained by arranging oranges as shown in Figure 4. As the bottom layer of

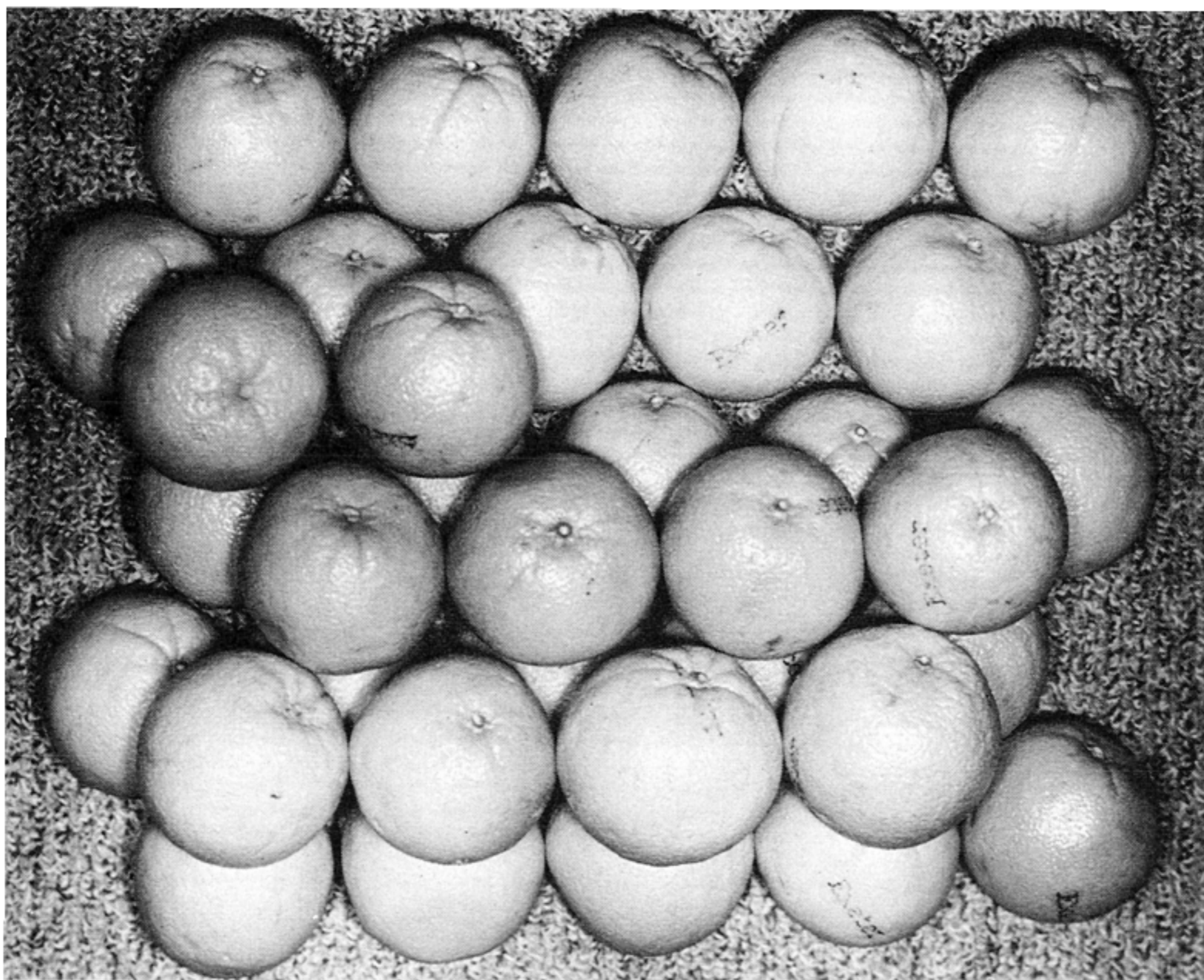


Figure 4. Close-packed oranges (26% voids).

oranges is viewed from above, two types of triangular voids are noted. Alternate rows contain triangular voids with apexes pointing up. The in-between rows have apexes pointing down. If a second layer of oranges is placed over the up-pointing voids as shown in the figure, the second layer will have the same appearance as the first but will be shifted with respect to it. In placing a third layer over the second, a choice is available for placing oranges over up-pointing or down-pointing triangles. Should up-pointing triangles be chosen for this and all succeeding layers, a pattern is developed that is called *hexagonal close-packed*.

If the third layer of oranges (above) had been placed over down-pointing voids, the fourth layer over up-pointing voids, and so on to give an up-down-up-down sequence throughout the structure, a pattern would develop that is called *face-centered cubic*. Its overall symmetry is different from that of hexagonal close-packed. Consequently its x-ray diffraction pattern is different and its properties are different. Interestingly enough, however, the percentage of voids in hexagonal close-packed and face-centered cubic patterns is an identical 26 percent. These two patterns give the closest (densest) packing of spheres that is possible. Arranged in any other pattern the percentage of empty space exceeds 26 percent.

When I was a young man of about sixteen years, an officer of the meat-cutters union hired several neighborhood boys to picket some grocery stores in Ogden, Utah. Wages were low considering that the job turned out to be hazardous to life and limb, but some of us needed money and continued to picket until the butchers and grocers settled their differences. One early morning, while I was picketing a store near 28th and Washington, a farmer arrived with a load of tomatoes and sold six bushels to the store manager. After the farmer departed, the manager brought over some empty bushel baskets and proceeded to repack all the tomatoes. When he finished there were seven bushels, and each looked as full as any in the original six. I was unable to figure out how the store manager accomplished this remarkable feat, and the event passed from conscious memory. Years later, though, as a graduate student, I encountered the subject of the packing of atoms. Suddenly, my mind was illuminated, and in a flash-back to the tomato-repacking incident, I felt as one who had just glimpsed a deep,

dark secret—a secret that, in its practical aspects, surely was known to the merchant long before it came to the attention of the scientist. Returning to the data on the density of packing, note that in simple cubic patterns 53 percent of the total space is empty compared with only 26 percent in hexagonal close-packed or face-centered cubic patterns. If the farmer had packed his six bushels of tomatoes in a perfect closest-packed pattern and the merchant had repacked them in a perfect simple cubic pattern, nine bushels would have been obtained.

VI. HIGH-TEMPERATURE POLYMORPHS

Polymorphs were first produced in the laboratory by applying heat to substances. Usually the new forms exist only at the elevated temperature and revert to the normal forms when the temperature is reduced. However, in some instances, particularly if the substance is cooled rapidly (a process known as *quenching*), the high temperature polymorph is retained at room temperature. High strength steel is made by heating an iron alloy until a high temperature polymorph is produced. The alloy is then quenched to room temperature, high temperature polymorph is retained, and a hard, strong steel results. If the iron alloy is cooled slowly, however, the high temperature polymorph reverts to the normal, room temperature form which is relatively soft and weak.

VII. HIGH-PRESSURE POLYMORPHS

In recent years high pressure has been found to be a more effective means for producing polymorphs than high temperature. For example, fifty-three metallic elements when subjected to high temperatures have produced a total of only twenty-one new polymorphs. But the same metals, subjected to high-pressure, have yielded forty new polymorphs. It has also been found that the combined action of high pressure and high temperature is more effective than either agent used alone. For instance, ice subjected to high or low temperature produces no new polymorphs. High pressure produces one. The combined action of high pressure and temperature, however, produces five new forms of ice.

Pressure is a concept that is not quite as familiar as temperature. It is possible, though, by use of the imagination, to obtain some feeling for the tremendous pressures used in today's research. To do this, imagine the pressure that must exist at the

bottom of the Washington Monument where it rests on its base. (The monument is a granite shaft one-tenth of a mile high.) Now, stack 2,000 Washington Monuments one atop another until they reach into the sky for 200 miles. The pressure at the bottom of this Tower of Babel will now approximate the pressures dealt with daily at Brigham Young University. Concurrent with pressures of this magnitude, temperatures greater than those required to melt steel can also be generated.

Upwards of fifty polymorphs that retain their identity following reduction of pressure and temperature have now been produced. After ten years of high-pressure, high-temperature research, however, diamond is still the only commercial polymorph, though some of the new polymorphs show promise of becoming commercially important, and all of them are of scientific interest.

Under the pressure discussed above, all known liquids turn into solids. Gasoline, water, alcohol, oil or any other material that is normally a liquid becomes a solid under the action of high pressure. Nevertheless, most liquids that have been caused to solidify by pressure return to their normal liquid form on release of pressure. Most solidified liquids can also be re-liquefied while under pressure by increasing the temperature. But occasionally other things happen. For example, carbon disulfide, which normally is a clear, volatile liquid, becomes a white, crystalline solid on application of pressure. On release of pressure, this white solid reverts to the normal liquid. If, however, this solid is heated while under pressure, it does not melt but converts to a new polymorphic form. This new polymorph can be quenched to room temperature and retains its identity when pressure is released. It is black and is a semiconductor of electricity. Consequently, it could be made into transistors for use in electronic devices.

The common form of the compound SiO_2 (silicon dioxide) is known as quartz. Most grains of sand are small quartz crystals, and many large rock masses contain quartz as a major constituent. In recent years two most interesting polymorphs of quartz have been prepared by high-pressure, high-temperature techniques. Both polymorphs retain their identity after quenching and release of pressure. One polymorph is named coesite, the other stishovite. Coesite has a greater density than quartz, has a higher refractive index and is harder. Its most unusual

property, however, is its exceptional resistance to attack by hydrofluoric acid, which will dissolve quartz. Coesite was the first mineral to be synthesized in the laboratory *before* it was discovered in nature. Several years after the laboratory synthesis coesite was found to be present in large meteor craters and has now been shown to form as a result of the high pressure and temperature generated by a meteor upon impact with the earth. Stishovite was also made in the laboratory before it was discovered in nature. It, too, is present in meteor craters. Stishovite requires a much higher pressure for its formation and is 45 percent denser than coesite, which is already 13 percent denser than quartz. It also has a higher refractive index and is harder than coesite. It is the first silicate mineral known in which six oxygen atoms surround each silicon atom in the space pattern. In all other minerals, no more than four oxygen atoms are coordinated about a silicon atom. The presence of stishovite or coesite in a depression in the earth now gives the geologist conclusive evidence that the depression was formed by a meteor.

Often it is possible by high-pressure, high-temperature means to form compounds in which atoms are combined in ratios never before observed. For example, it has been possible to cause equal numbers of boron and sulfur atoms to unite to form the compound BS (boron monosulfide). Previously, the only known boron-sulfur compounds had the composition B_2S_3 (two atoms of boron for every three atoms of sulfur) or B_2S_5 (two atoms of boron for every five atoms of sulfur). The boron monosulfide can be produced in two polymorphic forms. In one form the space pattern has sixfold rotational symmetry; in the other, the space pattern is related to the pattern of carbon atoms in diamond. The first form is of interest for its thermoelectric properties; i.e., its ability to generate electricity when heated. Heated to a given temperature, it generates a higher voltage than any other known substance.

Boron and oxygen have also been joined in a hitherto unknown combination to form a compound of composition B_2O . This material has a space pattern and properties similar to graphite. Attempts are underway to synthesize a diamond-like polymorph of B_2O which should be nearly as hard as diamond. In this connection a boron-nitrogen compound of composition BN has been made, again by high-pressure, high-temperature techniques, with a diamond-like space pattern. It stands, at the

present time, next to diamond in hardness. A current goal of high pressure researchers is to synthesize a material that will exceed the diamond in hardness. The discovery of a substance substantially harder than diamond could cause a minor industrial revolution.

Other polymorphs produced by high-pressure and temperature include a form of ice that sinks in water (normal ice floats), black phosphorus (normal phosphorus exists as either a white or a red polymorph), and new forms of germanium and silicon. Many new oxides and silicates have also been produced.

The new polymorphs discussed above are retrievable by quenching procedures and do not decompose or revert to their original forms on release of pressure. Consequently, these materials can be studied and their properties determined under normal circumstances. Most polymorphs formed under high pressure-temperature conditions, however, exist in the new form only as long as pressure and temperature are maintained. Consequently, they can be studied only while being subjected to the high pressure and temperature required for their formation. This is a difficult assignment because the structural members required to withstand the tremendous pressures are large and heavy and do not readily admit access to the confined materials within. Any kind of "window" or "conduit" providing for the passage of light, x-rays, electrical signals or the like to the interior must withstand the full pressure and temperature being developed. These problems seemed insurmountable in the early days of high-pressure research but are now gradually being overcome. For example, it is now possible to provide windows for the entrance of a primary beam of x-rays and exit for the diffracted rays. It thus becomes possible to determine the arrangement of atoms in polymorphs under the actual high pressures and temperatures required for their formation. A photograph of an apparatus for this purpose is shown in Figure 5. This apparatus, located at Brigham Young University, is the only one in existence at the moment, but a duplicate, now under construction, will soon be placed in the Paris laboratory of the French Atomic Energy Commission. These machines are expensive; the Frenchmen are paying \$166,000 for theirs.

This apparatus has opened new doors to the further understanding of the behavior of atoms and molecules and has proven

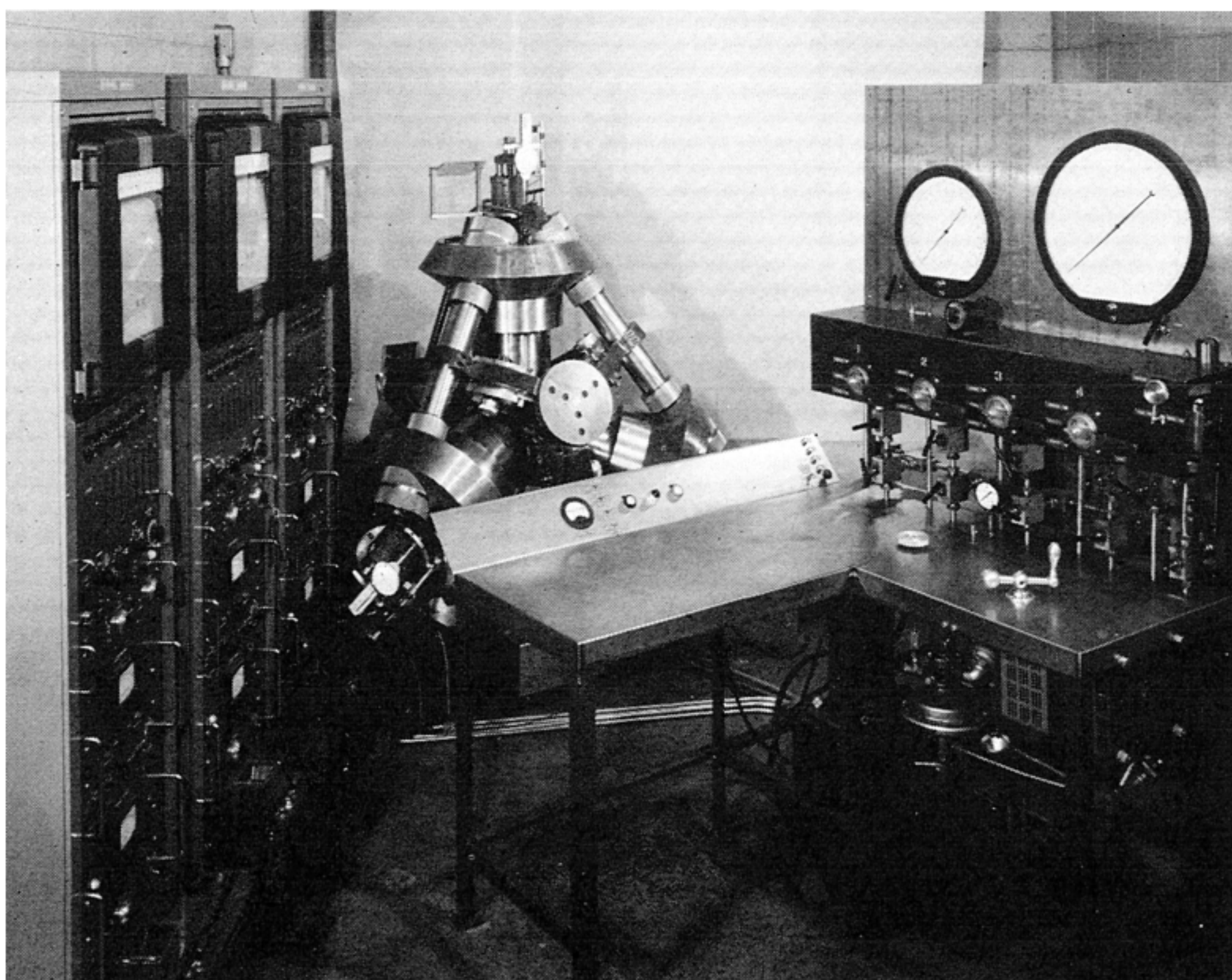


Figure 5. Tetrahedral x-ray diffraction press.

some prognostications to be in error. For example, it had been predicted that substances with simple cubic and body-centered cubic space patterns would eventually convert to closest-packed polymorphs under the action of a sufficiently high pressure. Once the closest-packed pattern was achieved, the substance was then supposed to stay in this pattern as pressure was raised indefinitely. These predictions were refuted, however, by high-pressure, x-ray diffraction studies on the element ytterbium (Yb). This metallic element already exists, under normal conditions, in a closest-packed pattern; namely, face-centered cubic and according to the prediction should remain in a closest-packed pattern regardless of any volume changes that may occur due to pressure. X-ray diffraction studies at 600,000 pounds per square inch, however, revealed the startling fact that the atomic arrangement, at this pressure, changes to the more loosely packed arrangement of body-centered cubic. The gross volume, during this transformation, decreases only 2 percent but the x-ray data indicate that the individual atoms suffer an 11 percent reduction in volume. Thus there is ample room for the

smaller atoms to rearrange into the more loosely packed pattern. Since the discovery of this polymorphic change in Yb, similar transformations from closest-packed to nonclosest-packed atomic arrangements have been observed in other substances.

Many other interesting effects have been observed in high-pressure research, but space does not permit their consideration. Suffice it to mention that high pressure has turned nonmetals into metals and metals into nonmetals, has increased the melting points of some materials and decreased the melting points of others, and has both accelerated and slowed the rates of chemical reactions.

In 1957 there were only two places where extreme pressure-temperature research was being conducted: Schenectady, New York, where the General Electric Company was using my "Belt" apparatus and Provo, Utah, where my "tetrahedral press" was in use at B.Y.U. The tetrahedral press was invented to circumvent the fact that G.E.'s proprietary interests and a U.S. Department of Commerce secrecy order prevented me from using my own invention for research purposes here. Since 1957 hundreds of scientists from around the world have visited the high-pressure facilities at B.Y.U. Interest in this work has mushroomed so that there are today more than 150 high-pressure research laboratories in the United States alone.

At first it proved difficult to interest others at B.Y.U. in this new field. With time, however, enthusiasm developed, and there are now twelve faculty members and eighteen graduate students engaged in high-pressure research at this institution.

VIII. SUMMARY

Polymorphs are different crystalline forms of the same substance and are characterized by different interior arrangements of their constituent atoms. Polymorphs usually have widely different properties. Atoms in crystals are organized into motifs, which, in turn, are arranged in periodic, three-dimensional space patterns according to the laws of symmetry. Only 230 space patterns are possible. The ways in which an atomic motif in a crystal may be arranged has a counterpart in the number of ways an artistic motif may be repeated in a wallpaper pattern. Polymorphs may be formed by the agencies of heat or pressure, the latter being the newest and most

effective means for causing their formation. However, the combined action of heat and pressure is more effective in producing polymorphs than either agent used alone. High-pressure, high-temperature research is yielding new information concerning the behavior of atoms and molecules. High-pressure research has spawned one new and highly important industry, the manufacture of industrial diamonds, and it is expected that many more important products and processes will yet come from continued research in this field.

Correspondences

Nature stands as a temple in which living columns
 Will release now and then words' confused interplay,
 As through forests of symbols mankind makes his way
 Which observe him with glances familiar and solemn.
 Thin-drawn echoes from far interblendings will reach
 And through shadowy depths into oneness unite,
 As immense as pure brightness, as vast as the night,
 Colors, sounds and aromas respond each to each.
 Some sweet odors there be cool as flesh of a babe,
 Gentle as plaining oboes, with bright meadow green,
 And still other corrupted, triumphant and brave,
 Possessed of expansion of objects unseen,
 Benjamin, amber light and music, incense,
 That sing ecstasies of the spirit and sense.

Charles Baudelaire
 Translated by Irene Spears*

Correspondances

La Nature est un temple où de vivants piliers
 Laissent parfois sortir de confuses paroles;
 L'homme y passe à travers des forêts de symboles
 Qui l'observent avec des regards familiers.
 Comme de longs échos qui de loin se confondent
 Dans une ténébreuse et profonde unité,
 Vaste comme la nuit et comme la clarté,
 Les parfums, les couleurs et les sons se répondent.
 Il est des parfums frais comme des chairs d'enfants,
 Doux comme les hautbois, verts comme les prairies,
 —Et d'autres, corrompus, riches et triomphants,
 Ayant l'expansion des choses infinies,
 Comme l'ambre, le musc, le benjoin et l'encens,
 Qui chantent les transports de l'esprit et des sens.

Charles Baudelaire

*Dr. Spears is professor of English and comparative literature at Brigham Young University.

Early Mormon Troubles in Mexico

KARL YOUNG*

The tales of hardship and privation endured by the first Mormon colonists who went to Mexico read like those of frontiersmen everywhere. They spell out most painfully hunger, scant clothing, wretched dwellings (scarcely adequate for beasts), disease without medicine, sickness without doctors, labor unremitting, none of the amenities of civilization. Even the simplest elements of living were sometimes almost nonexistent. Thus Annie Richardson Johnson tells how when her polygamist father took his two wives to Mexico, where Annie was born in 1889, they were so poor that her "two mothers had only three dresses between them, and each borrowed the extra dress while she washed the one she had been wearing." And she remembers "how the whole neighborhood circulated a bacon rind for greasing bread pans."¹

Fortunately, the colonists in Chihuahua during those last fifteen years of the nineteenth century were resilient enough to be able to make jokes about their hardships. Annie's brother, Edmund W. Richardson, who had made out many a meal on pigweed or redroot greens, remembered hearing a man ask how Joe James, who had four wives with many children each, could feed so many hungry mouths. James replied that he fed them all dried peaches for breakfast, gave them a drink of water for dinner, and let the peaches swell for supper. Edmund said that he liked the plan, adopted it, and whenever anyone asked how his family was, he simply replied, "Oh we live like the Joe James folks."²

Oftentimes the work of daily life was performed under miserable circumstances. Edmund remembers watching his father mix mud with his feet for an adobe house for Grandpa Adams when he had to break ice to get the water to mix it. The child Edmund had to help by washing the wood molds in ice water. He probably performed this work barefooted, as

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¹Memoirs of Annie Richardson Johnson, related to the author, Feb. 1962, Mesa, Ariz.

²Memoirs of Edmund W. Richardson, related to the author, Feb. 1962, Thatcher, Ariz.

he can not remember having a pair of shoes until he was fourteen. His father built a flour mill in 1891-92, and Edmund had to carry food cooked at home two and a half miles to the mill for lunch for his father and the other workmen. Sometimes his mother and Aunt Becky would help carry it, and their shoes were so badly worn that he often saw tracks of blood on the snow and hard ground.³

To go back to the beginning, one must see the tedium and toil of the trip down to Mexico from Utah. A.L. Pierce recalls that it took his parents three months to go from Richfield in central Utah to Colonia Diaz about sixty-five miles south of the Mexican border. They had to make floats and rafts to ferry their families over the big rivers, and they were always in danger of arrest, as his father was fleeing the marshals, who were trying to enforce the laws against polygamy. Despite the anxieties occasioned by the necessity of dodging the officers, Pierce had to stop frequently to find jobs in order to get enough cash to be able to buy supplies.⁴

After the frustrations of passing through customs at Palomas, the immigrants who arrived at Colonia Diaz had to lay up the adobes for their homes like the natives about them. But they did not know how to build dirt roofs that would shed the water, and after rain storms, the sodden roofs would drip water for hours together onto the dirt floors below.

Yet such things can be borne and were borne without much complaint. The sharper thorns of adverse circumstance were such as Levi M. Savage records in his diary about a Colonia Diaz mother, who entered in her journal the note that she had contracted whooping cough a month before the child she was carrying was to be born.⁵ The baby was delivered on July 15 in the midst of a torrential rain. The roof leaked, and buckets, pans, tubs, every sort of available container that would hold water was set up over her to keep her dry. She was weak and coughed a lot, but was proud of her newborn son. But the baby evidently was afflicted with whooping cough at birth and lived only three weeks. The young mother did not feel that she could bury her baby in the foreign cemetery among strangers. Yet the

³*Ibid.*

⁴Memoirs of Arwell L. Pierce, related to the author, Feb. 1962, El Paso, Texas.

⁵From the diary of Levi M. Savage as quoted in J. H. Martineau, "History of the Mormon Colonies in Mexico," an unpublished ms. No. 4, p. 31. The story has been retold by the author.

Mormons did not have a cemetery of their own. Therefore in the evening, when village people were indoors, a wagon drove into her yard. Two men sat on the spring seat with shovels and a pile of hay in the back, as if they were prepared to drive away from the settlement to work. The baby's casket, wrapped in quilts so that it looked like a roll of bedding, was brought out of the house and stowed near the hay on the wagon bed. Then the men drove off to hide the infant in a lonely grave, without a headboard or even a stone to mark the spot.

The adobe hut with its leaky roof may have contributed to the death of the child, but enterprising people can always improve their living quarters, and it did not take long for the Mormons to get better walls up and slanted roofs over them. Food, however, was another matter, especially for the people who settled in the mountain colonies. There the growing season was short, not nearly long enough for some of the crops that might flourish at lower elevations, and what field crops did mature were in constant danger of ruin by hailstorms or by untimely frosts. Sometimes there was no wheat flour in the whole community. "I remember times between harvests when it was almost impossible to get a sack of flour at any price, and corn was almost as scarce," says Stanley Martineau.⁶ Such must have been the times to which Arwell L. Pierce referred when he said that for a whole year his family had no white flour in the house for bread. They were even reduced to buying yellow corn, which was harder and less expensive than white corn. It was good food for burros and would fatten hogs, but it made wretched bread, and you couldn't make good gravy out of it at all. His mother made vinegar gravy. To a gruel of corn meal she would add vinegar and molasses until she had a mixture that made corn meal mush a little more palatable than when served straight.

Some families had milk with their corn bread, but Nelle Hatch remembers when times were so hard at their Strawberry Ranch, twenty-five miles up in the mountains above Colonia Juarez, that in order to save milk, the family would eat bread and milk with a fork.⁷ And Nelle's sister, Blanche Hurst, re-

⁶Memoirs of Stanley Martineau, related to the author, December 1962, Mesa, Ariz.

⁷Private papers of Nelle Spilsbury Hatch, Colonia Juarez, Chihuahua, Mexico. All references to the Spilsbury women in this article come from the same collection of papers.

marked that she could still see that old round iron kettle with the cornmeal mush bubbling in it, which was all that they had for supper. Parents had to tell stubborn children, sick of the same old thing for supper every night, to eat it or go without.

Like pioneer folk everywhere, all members of the family worked hard. The Spilsbury girls hoed corn all day long in the Tinaja Wash just like a family of boys. And their father charmed them at noon with his skill in roasting fat, milky ears of corn on a bed of coals from a burned-down pile of dry oak limbs. He had a long stick for a poker to turn the ears, and he fed the smallest children first. Sometimes he served store crackers and sardines, but his roasting ears with mother's homemade butter were always the best.

Corn was not only a staple in the kitchen and in the feed bins out at the barn, but brought comfort to the family's rest at night. Everyone slept on shuck ticks at first. The ticks were made out of factory or floursacks sewed together. They had a slit in the middle so that you could put your hand in and stir up the shucks. Every fall the girls took the ticks out behind the house and emptied the mashed down, ground up, powdered shucks to burn while they washed the ticks and aired them, then filled them with fresh, clean, crunchy, sweet-smelling shucks. Many a tub had to be filled with gleaming ears of shucked corn before there were enough shucks to fill one tick. For from experience the girls knew that every tick would have to be crammed and stuffed until it stood four or five feet high before they lugged it into the house and put it on the bed. And with the mattresses filled so full and standing so high, each child was sure she would roll off and break her neck during one of the first few nights. But no one ever did. A person couldn't blink an eye without rattling the shucks, but somehow they induced wonderful deep sleep, at least in the younger members of the family.⁸

As in most frontier communities medical care was the business of practical nurses with home remedies. Sometimes doctors were available, but usually a person wondered what was the matter with a doctor who chose the area to practice in. Sick people usually depended upon a few resolute souls like Maud T. Bentley. For practically ten years, she says, she was a

⁸Retold from account by Ruby Spilsbury Brown, as recorded by Nelle S. Hatch, *op. cit.*

nurse in Colonia Juarez, and she went from one end of the town to the other doctoring Anglos and Mexicans alike." She treated people prostrate with pneumonia or weakened with dysentery, and she furnished all of her medicines free. When epidemics came, she was up night after night, but she confesses candidly that she thought if she helped other people out, perhaps the Lord would spare her own children. Yet Roland, her eight-year-old, died of the flu after suffering convulsions for thirty-six hours straight.

Highly contagious diseases ravaged the communities. Smallpox, scarlet fever, and typhoid were common. John Jacob Walser made a revealing entry in his journal on November 30, 1890 . . . "on arriving at home (Colonia Juarez) we found the smallpox in town. . . . My whole family, eighteen in number, were compelled to live together for the time being in a room fourteen by sixteen feet and a tent ten by twelve. But I hurried with the other house as quickly as possible."¹⁰

Sometimes more ominous situations were recorded, as when, many years later, Lem Spilsbury was working as a scout for the Punitive Expedition headed by General Pershing. "One day," said Lem, "a Mexican came into camp with a pair of government shoes on, and when Patton (the later famous General Patton of W.W. II) saw them, he said, 'Lem, ask him where he got those shoes.' Then Patton continued, 'Ask him where he lives.' "

When the Mexican gave Lem his answer, Patton said, "Let's go down and search his house." But the Mexican interrupted Lem and said, "You better not go down there." Nevertheless, they went, and when the car pulled up in front of the hovel, Patton waited where he sat and sent Lem into the house. "As soon as I entered the house," said Lem, "I knew what the Mexican had meant. I went back to the car and said, 'Pat, you can go in there if you want to, but I've seen all I care to see—five Mexican women, all lying in that one room with smallpox.' Patton replied, 'Well, that will do for me too!'"¹¹

Typhoid fever also swept the villages. Maud Bentley says that at one time she and her brother Loren were just two of sixty cases in Colonia Juarez alone. Loren, she says, pulled the

⁹Private papers of Maud Taylor Bentley, El Paso, Texas, pp. 40-41.

¹⁰John Jacob Walser, "Family Record," a typewritten account, p. 16.

¹¹Memoirs of Lemuel H. Spilsbury, related to the author, Colonia Juarez, Chihuahua, Mexico, March 1962.

covers up to his chin and just lay there. But she insisted on getting up. Sometimes it would take her an hour to dress, but she made it. "They told me I had walking typhoid," she says, "because I wouldn't stay in bed." And later, when she was a married woman with four small children, her husband suffered so violently from an attack of typhoid and was so weakened by the siege that he was sent off to a friend in California to recuperate and left Maud with her small family to face the opening year of the Revolution, 1911, alone.¹²

With polygamy so far behind the Mormons now, the straits into which one family could be forced with paralyzing suddenness by unchecked disease in 1896 may seem somewhat ludicrous today, but it was no laughing matter to Joseph Albert Farnsworth's father at that time. Mr. Farnsworth was supposed to go out to El Paso for a conference on church matters, but he was obliged to send a message explaining that he could not make the appointment as he had twenty children down in bed, all sick with the measles. It took a valiant man to be a polygamist.¹³

If, in those same early days in Mexico, you were stricken with a raging toothache, you rode in a buggy over to Lester B. Farnsworth, who pulled teeth for everybody and set broken limbs without charge. Sometimes you did not have to go to him. He pulled a tooth for Bishop Marion Wilson's wife every time he went by her house. Hoping for better health, the poor lady wanted to have all her teeth out, but she could not stand to have more than one pulled at a time. Nobody could have been kinder and more sympathetic than Brother Farnsworth, and he obligingly deferred to the good lady's preference to die inch by inch rather than all once if it would please her better.¹⁴

Occasionally sickness called for desperate remedies. When Alma P. Spilsbury's children reached school age, he moved the family down from the mountain ranch to Colonia Juarez where the children could have opportunities of education. But he himself had to be away from home a good part of the time, freighting or hauling lumber. During one of his absences Mrs. Spilsbury's infant son, Monroe, became critically ill in the middle

¹²Maud Taylor Bentley, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-25.

¹³Memoirs of Joseph Albert Farnsworth, related to the author, December 1962, Mesa, Ariz.

¹⁴Memoirs of Lester B. Farnsworth, related to the author, December 1962, Mesa, Ariz.

of the night. She called her small son Lem out of bed to see if he thought he could get across the river on a horse and bring some medicine for the baby. Lem ran out to the barn and bridled up a big strong pinto, which he rode out through the blackness directly into the swift stream. The water was high, and the current took them far down, but the pinto was a regular water dog, and Lem clung to his mane and made the trip over and back. The medicine was an aid in saving the baby that night, though he did not survive many days beyond.¹⁵

Such were a few of the troubles faced by the Mormon colonists in their early years in Mexico. But there were more serious ones. Even today, as one drives between Colonia Juarez and Casas Grandes, one may see, padding along the edge of the smooth asphalt, a figure or two that make a driver hit the brake pedal for a closer look. One sees half-naked thighs, uncombed hair hanging loosely about the shoulders, a dirty band of cloth around the forehead, and defiant eyes that challenge one's own—Indians from remote mountain villages, and their culture extends much farther into the past than their presence would indicate. They are not much removed from the stone age. If in 1964 they are still wild as hawks, what might they have been in 1885? The old journals give you the answers, and you can see fear between the leaves. Teresa Leavitt Richardson recorded the events of one trip in 1886.¹⁶

Six families were travelling together on their way to Mexico. As they passed Fort Apache in Arizona, they caught rumors of Indians on the warpath through the deserts ahead. Yet they pushed on slowly, driving a small herd of cattle before them. At dusk they made camp, fed their horses, set their cattle to grazing, and prepared supper over the open fires. As they paused before eating, to kneel in family prayers, a strange dog came out of the gathering darkness, sniffed around them, and then ran off again into the gloom.

"It looks as if we are going to have company tonight," said Charles Whiting. Then he and Elmer Cardon looked at each other and rose and walked off in the direction taken by the dog. They walked slowly, carefully, peering ahead into the mesquite thicket. And they barely missed stumbling right onto a small

¹⁵Nelle S. Hatch, *op. cit.*

¹⁶Retold from an account by Teresa Leavitt Richardson in J. H. Martineau, *op. cit.* No. 4, pp. 26-27.

band of Indians, who were standing with their heads close together in tense discussion. The two Mormons sank flat to the ground and lay motionless. Then, as they watched, the council broke up and the Indians turned and walked away. They halted once for more talk, but soon continued to walk on and out of sight. Whiting and Cardon returned to their camp, where they found that nobody had touched a morsel of food, all having stood straining to listen for sounds of danger.

The men gathered in the horses and cattle and stood guard over them all night. And still many of the group felt no urge to eat, as fear gripped the camp. Just before dawn the guards heard the distant booming of rifles off in the direction in which the Indians had disappeared. Next day as the party moved on, they learned that Indians had raided an isolated ranch and killed two men during the night. The Mormon group felt sure that the Indians had seen all the members of their own party on their knees appealing for protection to the Great Spirit and had decided that this medicine might be very powerful and that they should not risk an attack. But for a full week the camp was without fires at night, and the wagons and herd were always driven off the road and hidden as carefully as possible.

But sometimes in those early days the crushing blows delivered by Nature made the raps of men seem easy to bear. Settlers in Colonia Diaz got a taste of what could happen when they built their town too close to the river bed. Apostle Teasdale foresaw the danger and dedicated a spot for settlement two miles west of the one on which the people had already begun to locate. His advice was sound, but no one wanted to tear down and commence over again in a land where every improvement, however inconsequential, seemed to be a skirmish won in the fight against hunger and destitution.¹⁷

Then when the spring floods began coming down the river, the whole town remembered the apostle's words. They had to work prodigiously to build a levee to keep the water out of their homes, and many a night's sleep was broken by the call of the guard who patrolled the town. "Everybody, everybody out with your shovels! Water is running over the levee!" Sully Richardson remembered that so frequently did this call come that the children used to chant the alarm in play because it had created so much excitement in their darkened homes at night

¹⁷J. H. Martineau, *op. cit.* No. 4, pp. 65-66.

when the ominous, rhythmic call had gone echoing down sleeping streets.

The threats to Colonia Diaz became devastating realities in Colonia Oaxaca. This colony had been established in 1892 after an arduous trek over a very rough and rugged mountain on a road, part of which they had been obliged to gouge out themselves. Then they had to dig a long canal and put in a dam, which was soon washed out by a flood. To cap their troubles, they almost lost their land in a battle over titles and payments due. One might think that having survived these trials together, the people would be united and amicable. Instead, they were torn by strife and antagonisms.¹⁸

As months passed, their differences increased, until the Church sent Apostle John W. Taylor and some other authorities down to try to straighten things out. Taylor gave them a stern rebuke and a prophecy. "Now I say unto you unless you repent of your sins and become united, this land will become desolate and unfit for Latter-day Saints to live in and this very house in which we are holding this service will be used as a ranch house and a place for strangers to camp in."

For a few months thereafter things went smoothly. But the discovery of a rich gold deposit in nearby mountains created a market for their crops and plenty of jobs. And within a short time the quarrelling and animosity came to life again. The rifts widened between families until the weather delivered them a blow which leveled them all.

Ethel Hawkins Mangum (daughter of Alma Hawkins), who was one of the girls living in Oaxaca at the time, told the story of what happened to Joel H. Martineau.¹⁹ In November of 1905, an unusually heavy snow storm fell in the mountain country about Chuichupa, the area where the headwaters of the Bavispe River rise. The snow lay two feet deep around the colony, but at higher elevations the snowfall was doubled. The storm had been very general, covering the whole drainage basin of the upper Bavispe River. Immediately following the snow storm came a spell of extremely unseasonable warm weather, which soon filled creeks, hollows, dry gullies—every depression to overflowing with melted snow water. Then came a prolonged, heavy rainstorm, a downpour that melted all of the

¹⁸J. H. Martineau, *op. cit.* No. 15, p. 11.

¹⁹J. H. Martineau, *op. cit.* No. 15 pp. 10-20 passim.

remaining snow and sent canyons full of water rushing into the lowly Bavispe. The swiftly rising stream reached a height forty feet above normal, and this mighty current came swirling down on Colonia Oaxaca.

The town had been laid out on a slope gradually rising from the river bank to an elevation of fifty feet or more near the hill. The river bed was naturally wide, as the channel wound sinuously past large groves of cottonwood, chino, catclaw, sycamore, and black willows. The bottom lands also grew thickets of mesquite, mulberries, and squaw berries. The fruits of these bushes had often supplied the colonists with food when times had been rough in their early days. The first homes on the slope had been built chiefly of the materials at hand, stockades with dirt floors and roofs.

Moroni Martineau had built one such house for a summer home, expecting to cut logs for a more permanent home before winter came. One night this house collapsed on the sleeping family under the stress of unusually heavy rain. Mrs. Hawkins, a neighbor, was awakened by a thin, high call for help, which was repeated. She roused her husband and the two of them hurried to the aid of the Martineaus. The roof with its burden of wet dirt had fallen on them as they slept. Miraculously they had not been brained by falling poles, but all of them were almost smothered with wet mud plastered over their faces and pressing them down.

The Hawkineses worked like demons to rescue the trapped family, straining at the tangle of poles and scraping mud away from them. But they did get them out, and the miserable group spent the remainder of the night huddled in the Hawkins lean-to, where there was scarce room enough to stand.

How the big flood came down the river is the stuff of which nightmares are composed. When the colonists went to bed the water was well within the old channel, but as the rain began to drive, the river rose rapidly. By nine the next morning it was boiling above high water mark. Everybody met on the river bank, visited, gossiped a little while, went home, and then came back for another look. At ten the water was outside its banks and flowing through the yards of the closest houses. Mrs. Hawkins sent Alma to get a team, and she drove with him over to Bettie Echols' place, where the water was lapping at her kitchen door. Bettie had just had a baby three days before.

They loaded Bettie and her baby into the wagon with what household furniture they could carry out and moved her to higher ground.

By this time Aunt Ella Haynie's home was almost surrounded by water. Neighbors moved her as quickly as possible in order to be ready for the next family whose house was threatened. The water moved dark and ominous. Before noon those people who had moved first were obliged to move again. As in a nightmare all watched the water rise up the walls of a house, reach the eaves, and pause. Then the roof would begin to tremble, droop on one side, crash, turn over, and float away. Almost all of the houses followed that pattern, one after another. Aunt Pauline Naegle with her tiny, motherless granddaughter clasped in her arms, sat determinedly in her home refusing to leave it. But the water continued to rise all around her house, until finally two men picked her up and carried her out through a current waist deep. She had to watch her beautiful house crumble in its turn. Days later her piano was excavated from the rubble and mud. Like her lovely flower garden, it was gone. Only a hulk remained.

As the afternoon wore on, people stood, exhausted and stunned, in front of the school house up on the hill, watching that awesome, brown flood roll past, carrying trees, roofs of houses, and barns, floating giddily along. They saw a box with a cat with kittens clinging to it. Now it dipped under, then bobbed up again, with the cats still clinging as it drifted out of sight. Here came a chicken house, and watchers could hear a game little rooster crowing defiance as his house slid on the current down the valley.

Just before darkness fell, someone remembered that there had been no flour among things salvaged from the store. Since the building was still standing, some of the men waded over to it with a little yellow pony and loaded him up, then returned with all each one could carry. They kept on making these trips until the water got so deep that the pony would have had to swim. But they saved enough flour to tide the community over.

No one was lost or seriously injured, though a small Nichols child, who had fallen asleep on a feather bed, was rescued just as the bed was about to float away. The water rose to within a few inches of the school house door, but the build-

ing remained intact and provided the homeless with a roof for the night. Everyone had made a bundle of blankets and food, just what could be carried on his back, and settled down to wait, watching to see if he would have to move to safety on still higher ground. People were all too exhausted to try to save furniture now.

Babies cried with hunger. Mothers hunted their children and had trouble keeping tab on restless little ones. Then Hawkins' old cow, Star, lowed in the brush near by. She was a godsend, for Mrs. Hawkins milked her and had a drink for many a hungry infant whose mother could not feed it that night.

As the darkness wore on, inch by inch the water receded. Across the valley on the opposite side of the wide-swollen river, one could see a pinpoint of light made by a fire where the warehouse keeper had gone for safety with his family. Families finally spread their blankets on the schoolhouse floor, and looked at each other and waited. Then Brother Haynie said, "Now, ladies, when you are ready to go to bed, just say so, and we men will turn our backs to the wall." (He must have meant "faces.")

Morning found the danger gone. The water had dropped down into its channel again and only a muddy, discouraged stream slid by. Where the Hawkins house had stood, even the soil was gone, and sixteen feet of pump pipe stood in the air. Mr. Hawkins' young orchard had completely disappeared, his alfalfa was under yards of sand. The store building had not washed away, but all of the goods were damaged. Nichols' pigs were taken down from the branches of trees where they had lodged and clung all night.

At the time of this flood most of the men of the village were away from home with their teams on the primary occupation of the area, hauling ore from the mountains to Casas Grandes. And those who were not out hauling ore were off on a cattle round-up. When all of these poor fellows returned, they were stunned to find, not homes, but beds of muddy gravel. Their homes, fields, fences, ditches, trees, and berry patches had all been washed away. They could hardly tell where their own hearths had lain. No one had the heart to try to rebuild the town. Indeed, the location was now worthless. Only the schoolhouse and a few isolated buildings were left, and Brother

Taylor's prophecy seemed to be fulfilled. The place was now a lonely camping spot for travelers. The colony was no more.

After surviving the devastations of floods, the anguish and privation attendant upon crop failures, the fear and loss of lives from Indian raids, the ravages of disease, and the bone-wearying toil of building homes, schools, churches, businesses, and all the rest that it takes to make self-sufficient communities rise out of the prairie sod, the Mormon settlers at last began to enjoy security, and, one might say, even a good measure of prosperity. But then the ironies of existence fell heavily across their lives once again. For the Mexican revolution, which began to stir in 1910, blasted their peace in 1912 and caused most of the colonists to abandon practically all they possessed as they returned once more to the United States, to begin life anew under the protection of the government which they had fled twenty-seven years before. Many of those refugees, however, drifted back to their homes in Chihuahua, and the hardships of the second decade of the 1900's constitute another story which deserves to be told. The author of this account intends to present that story in a book, *Ordeal in Mexico*.

Just for a Moment

To a friend with, I hope, understanding:
 Just for a moment let me come in.
 Let me not have to stand here on the porch,
 The lobby of your love,
 Peering through windows frosted
 And nearly opaque,
 Stretching tiptoe
 For merely a peek into a part of my own heart:
 Flesh of my flesh, blood of my blood
 Soul of my Soul!
 I—closest of kin, no relation at all—
 Stand on the rim of my used-to-be world
 Sighing for a single sight of genuine recognition.
 Oh, I realize your perplexity.
 What is the function of a parent parted?
 How does one greet a father who left?
 How can one say, "Though relations are strained,
 Kith is kind"?

But think of my position, too.
 Yes, I left. Long ago I left,
 Leaving a large lump of me
 And carrying you, a neat little package of pain,
 Tucked tightly away in my chest.
 And except for now-and-then visits—
 Uncomfortable interviews pointedly polished—
 We didn't meet, didn't mix,
 Didn't share more than our common name.

Except in my brain!
 Except in my brain when the memory
 Hurling its hurt
 Thrust itself upon me
 And began to consume me till I visibly winced
 And mechanically sought diverting thought
 Which never erased
 The constant nudge of you.
 Well, here I stand, an inside-outer looking in,
 Wanting, Oh wanting to cry, "Child!"
 And daring scarcely ask more than "Friend?"

John B. Harris

Spanish Academies of the Golden Age

M. CARL GIBSON*

Although the *Real Academia Española* was not founded officially until 1714, this "founding" was merely an official sanctioning of a long tradition of *academias* which flourished all through the previous century. Most of the great writers, poets, and artists of the Golden Age belonged to or took part in one or more of the then small, informal gatherings known as *academias*, which were not unlike the *salon* so popular in France during the same period, from which the official French Academy grew. Lope de Vega, Quevedo, Cervantes, Calderón de la Barca, and Guillén de Castro all took active part in one or more of these groups. For example, in some extant letters written by Lope de Vega, we find numerous references to these *academias* and to his part in them. He also included scenes in his *comedias* which either parody or reflect the *academia* of his day. Reference will be made to some of these later.

It seems likely that the Spanish tradition of *academias* of this early period was the result of a convergence of three distinct influences or traditions: (1) the Italian *accademia* which had its beginnings in the fifteenth century, (2) the Jesuit schools of poetry to which secular students were admitted, and (3) the very early custom common among the Moors of holding gatherings where poetry was cultivated. These Moorish academies were either revived in Spain during the Renaissance or never really ceased to exist.

The word *academy* is of Greek origin, coming from the word *Akademeia*, the name of a grove on the Cephissus near Athens, sacred to the hero Academus, and containing a gymnasium. It was here that Plato, whose country home was nearby, delivered his lectures, hence the school of philosophy which he founded took on the name of the "Academy."

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In Renaissance Italy there were three main centers where the *accademie* flourished: Florence, Naples, and Rome. The ancient custom of celebrating the memory of Plato by an annual banquet, after an interval of 1200 years, was revived in Florence by Lorenzo di Medici (1469-92). Nine men were invited to the villa at Careggi, where, at the end of the banquet, Ficino read his translation of all the seven speeches in the *Symposium* and they were discussed by five of the guests.

In the meetings of this Florentine Academy, lectures and discussions were presented on a variety of classical and modern writers: Plato, Petrarch, Dante, Horace, Virgil, Pliny, Plotinus, Aristotle, Homer, Ovid, Terence, Cicero. In 1522 the Academy was suppressed, but was restored in 1540, its new aim being solely the study of the Italian language..

The Academy at Naples came into existence during the reign of Alfonso of Aragon (1442-58), the magnanimous patron of learning. The center of the Academy was the poet Antonio of Palermo, better known as Beccadelli (1394-1471). Its place of meeting was an open colonnade looking out on the street of Tribunals. When Alfonso died the Neapolitan Academy was organized as a club under the influence of the poet Pontano (1426-1503). One of the ablest members of the Academy was Sannazaro (1458-1530). Most of the members were poets.

The Academy at Rome owed its origin to Pomponius Laetus (1425-1498), a pupil of Valla. He was the ruling spirit of the Academy. The members of that body assumed Latin names, and celebrated the foundation of Rome on the annual festival of the *Palilia*. They revived the plays of Plautus. The members of the Academy included Platina, who later became the librarian of the Vatican, and Sabellicus, who became the praefect of the Library of San Marco in Venice.

In 1468 the Roman Academy was suppressed by Paul II on the grounds of its political aims and pagan spirit. It was revived under Sixtus IV in 1482, and it flourished under Julius II when it was given a *Dictator* and a *Comitia*. Under Leo X it included the most brilliant members of the literary society of Rome: Bembo, Sadoleto, Paolo Giovio, and Castiglione. Meetings were held in the Circus Maximus or on the Quirinal, where a simple repast would be followed by the delivery of Latin speeches and the recitation of Latin poems.

By the first part of the sixteenth century there were many academies in Italy. Among the most famous was the *Accademia della Crusca* in Florence, its purpose being the purification of the language. As its motto it had: "Il più bel fiore ne recogli." In 1612 it published a vocabulary which still has much authority in Italy.

Another famous one was that of the *Arcades*, founded in Rome in 1690 by Gravina. It issued a monthly bulletin and cultivated history, archaeology, and literature. It had correspondents in many places in Europe, especially Spain, and its members used strange Arcadian names. Moratín called himself Inarco Celenio and Ramón de la Cruz, Larisio.

The Italian academies often adopted distinguishing names. Some of the names used in various cities in Italy include Sena, *Intronati* (the enthroned ones); Ferrara, *Elevati* (the elevated ones); Genova, *Oziosi* (the lazy ones); Padua, *Dormenti* (those asleep) and *Infiamati* (those inflamed); Venice, *Uniti* (the united ones); Parma, *Innominati* (the unnamed); Milan, *Sconditi* (the hidden); Perugia, *Insensati* (the senseless); Luca, *Oscuri* (the dark ones); Naples, *Ardenti* (the ardent ones); and in Palermo, *Accesi* (the lighted ones).

Literary academies were also known to the Spaniards of the Renaissance, for Alfonso X had assembled similar literary gatherings in Toledo and in Seville. The Spanish Arabs also had academies in Cordoba, Seville, Valencia, Granada, and other cities, in which not only poetry, but history, philosophy, medicine, and other sciences were cultivated. The famous *Consistorio de la Gaya Ciencia* presided over by D. Enrique de Villena in Barcelona for the ancient troubadours of the fifteenth century was nothing more or less than a big academy. Moreover, Juan Andrés claimed that the Arabs in Spain had poetic academies even before modern Spain, Italy, or France:

Italia celebra por fundador de las Academias poéticas a Jaime Allegretti de Forli; pero los Arabes la tenían mucho antes, no solo de poesía, donde unicamente se versificaba, sino tambien de buenas letras en general, donde encontraban honrosa acogida versos, prosas y quanto pertenece a la amena literatura. Las Academias de Cufa y Bassora fueron las más famosas entre todas; y quantos libros hablan de las cosas arábicas están llenos de sus alabanzas. Y por consiguiente no solo las academias poéticas de Italia, sino también la célebre academia francesa, la española y otras semejantes

que tanta fama han dado a la literatura moderna, pudieron tomar por modelo a las arábicas tan anteriores a ellas.¹

Notwithstanding the great academic activity in Italy and the earlier Arabic gatherings, Karl Vossler, in his *Lope de Vega y su Tiempo*, associates the development of the academy in modern Spain with the religious schools of the Jesuits. In the year 1560, the Jesuits began admitting secular students into their establishments, among whom was Lope de Vega, and in these institutions, systematic schools of poetry were cultivated. In describing the academy, he states:

Eran curiosas entidades, medio eclesiásticas, medio mundanas, en las que se seguía cultivando el arte del verso cortesano y de escuela, caballeresco, humanístico y teológico. . . . En las cortes de los príncipes y en las escuelas de religiosos, principalmente las regentadas por Jesuitas, es donde en España verdaderamente se nutre la academia en tiempo de Lope. . . .

Son los Jesuitas los primeros que someten a un cultivo sistemático la llamada poesía de escuela, y en su desarrollo posterior a los torneos poéticos y a las llamadas academias. La academia escolar de los colegios jesuíticos es, según lo prescrito en la *ratio studiorum*, una asociación científica de estudiantes especialmente dotados que en determinados momentos se reúne bajo la presidencia de un maestro para ejercicios científicos privados. De aquí procede la academia española privada del siglo XVII y fines del XVI, cuyo ejemplo más conocido es la Academia de los Nocturnos de Valencia.²

¹"Italy honors as the founder of the poetic academies James Allegretti di Forli; but the Arabs had academies much earlier, not only poetic, where they only composed poetry, but also academies of literature in general, where poetry, prose, and all other forms of creative literature were cultivated. The academies of Cufa and Bassora were the most famous of all; and all books which deal with Arabic culture are full of praise for them. And therefore not only the poetic academies of Italy, but also the famous French Academy, the Spanish, and other similar ones that have given so much fame to modern literature, could take as a model the Arabic academies which were so much earlier than they." Juan Andrés, *Origen, Progresos y estado actual de toda la literatura*, (Madrid: Antonia de Sancha, 1784), I, 461-2.

²"They were curious entities, half ecclesiastic, half secular, in which they cultivated the art of courtly, scholarly, chivalric, humanistic, and theological poetry. In the courts of the princes and in the schools of the religious orders, especially those sponsored by the Jesuits is where the academy was nurtured in Spain during the era of Lope. . . .

The Jesuits are the first to develop a systematic cultivation of what is termed scholarly poetry, and in its development are prior to the poetic tourneys and academies. The scholastic academy of the Jesuit schools is, according to what is written in the *Ratio Studiorum*, a scientific association of especially gifted students which at determined times meet under the auspices of a teacher for private scientific exercises. From this comes the private Spanish academy of the late sixteenth and seventeenth century, whose most well-known example is the Academy of the Nocturnos of Valencia." Karl Vossler, *Lope de Vega y su Tiempo*, (Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1933), p. 86.

Besides these *academias escolares*, says Vossler, were the academies which were formed in imitation of the Italian *Accademie*, the first one being founded in Madrid in 1585.

However great the influence of the Arabic academies and Jesuit "academias escolares" may have been, it is evident that the biggest growth of Spanish academies in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was due to the Italian influence.

The most famous and most important Spanish academy outside of those of Madrid were the *Nocturnos* of Valencia (which Vossler says came from the Jesuit tradition), founded by D. Bernardo Catalán de Valeriola in October of 1591. Between 1591 and 1594 this academy met 88 times, and 805 compositions were read in verse, 85 in prose, composed by 50 different authors. All members adopted names which had allusion to the night and its phenomena. The president was called *Silencio* (silence), Gaspar de Aguilar took the name *Sombra* (shadow), Guillén de Castro, *Secreto* (secret).

The academy usually met weekly, generally on Wednesday, and in the meetings the poets would read eight or ten poems, there would be a discourse in prose, and maybe some improvised oral dissertations. Such subjects as medicine, mathematics, blindness, the left hand, the laurel, ignorance, melancholy, cholera, madness, carnival, the hands, cowardice, fat men and women, the life of a *pícaro* (rogue), etc. were treated in terms of praise. Sometimes the members directed negative works against court life, women, secrets, beauty, liberty, honor, etc. Other times they touched on such strange subjects as *Secreto's* discourse on "como se ha da granjear un galán a una dama" (how a suitor should win his lady), or on horsemanship, or "averiguando la historia del Papa Juan VIII" (verifying the history of Pope John VIII). Ofttimes the subject was paradoxical, such as "de las excelencias y provechos de la enfermedad" (concerning the benefits and advantages of sickness), or "probando que los pobres son más liberales que los ricos" (proving that the poor are more generous than the rich). The poetry, written in all known forms, dealt with both religious and profane subjects, particularly love casuistry.

Although very little is known concerning some of the academies in other parts of Spain, we do have references to some of them. There are a few vague bits of information on the *Academia de los Ociosos* (Academy of the Idle Ones) which

was established in the capital of Aragon in 1608. We know, for example, that those attending the first meeting were: Galcerio, Anfriso, Felino, Africano, Marsio, Fileno, Silvano, Montoso, El Deseoso Caminante, Redolino, El Indeterminado, and Sireno. Similar academies were established later in Huesca, Seville, and Toledo.

In Madrid, the earliest academies of which we have record were those called the *Academia de los Humildes* and the *Imitatoria*, the names being about the only thing that is known about them. The latter, evidently known also as the *Academia de los Imitadores*, is referred to by Cervantes in *Coloquio de Cipión y Berganza*, where Berganza makes reference to Mauleón, "poeta tonto y académico de burla de la Academia de los Imitadores." The first ones about which there is any more information were those established in 1611 by Diego Gómez de Sandoval and in 1612 by D. Francisco de Silva.

The first of these was organized on the occasion of the death of Queen Margarita in November of 1611, when a distinguished group of poets and writers met at the home of the Count of Saldaña for the purpose of "plañir en verso el suceso lutuoso" (lamenting in verse the mournful event). Lope de Vega was among them, and contributed with his *Canción a la muerte de la Reina doña Margarita*. He was made the secretary of the group but did not attend for too long a time. We have bits of news concerning the academy from his letters. In a letter dated November 19, 1611, he wrote:

El de Saldaña ha hecho una academia, y ésta es la primera noche. Todo cuanto se ha escrito es a las honras de la Reyna, que Dios tiene. Voy a llevar mi canción, que me han obligado a escribir, bien que temeroso de mi ignorancia entre tales ingenios. El ordinario que verá V. Ex^a lo que hubiera más digno³

And in a later letter:

No he podido, Sr. Exmo., cobrar las canciones de Hortensio (Fr. Hortensio Félix Paravicino y Arteaga), y assi van en su lugar esas mías: . . . Yo las escribí para la academia del Sr. Conde de Saldaña; fué la primera el sábado pasado,

³"Count Saldaña has formed an academy, and this is the first night. Everything that has been written is in honor of the queen, whom God has taken. I am going to take my *canción*, which they have obligated me to write, although I am fearful of my ignorance among such geniuses. You will see the most worthy of those that are presented. . ."

llamamos a las seis y vino a las diez; salieron tales poemas, de hambre, cansancio, frío, lodos y quejas, que no sé si habrá segunda; aunque me hicieron secretario y repartieron sujetos.⁴

In a letter dated November 30:

La academia del sábado fué razonable; sólo tuvo mala para mí salir a hora que no lo fué de escribir a V. Ex^a. . . . En ella estuvieron Feria, Pastrana, D. Antonio de Avila y otros de menor jerarchía. No se disputó nada, porque era fiscal el de Saldaña, y es más bien intencionado que el Rector de Villahermosa. . . . Esos sonetos llevé yo a la academia; fué el sujeto a una dama Cloris, a quien por tener enfermos los ojos, mandó el médico que la cortasen los cabellos⁵

And in December he wrote:

La Academia vive todavía y los señores la hacen honor. Pero yo no voy ya, sino que envió mis sonetos a la Santísima Virgen, que es la verdadera dama para un hombre de mi edad. Pluguiera a Dios lo hubiera sido siempre.⁶

It seems that this academy failed shortly afterwards, but in 1612 the second one mentioned came into existence which was more famous. It was founded by the brother of the Duke of Pastrana, Francisco de Silva y Mendoza, and was at first called *El Parnaso*, but this name was later changed to *Academia Selvaje* after the name of its founder. Besides Lope de Vega, who was known by the name of *El Ardiente*, others who attended were Cervantes, Vélez de Guevara, and Pedro Soto de Rojas. It became the custom, after the model of an academic discourse by Torquato Tasso, to open the sessions with a Latin oration on the art of Spanish versification. From time to time musical numbers were presented by the musician Vicente

⁴"I have not been able, your Highness, to recover the *canciones* of Hortensio (Fr. Hortensio Félix Paravicino y Arteaga), and so in their place I am sending these of mine: . . . I wrote them for the academy of the Count of Saldaña; last Saturday was the first meeting. We went at six and he came at ten; such poems were presented, about hunger, fatigue, cold, mud, and complaints, that I don't know whether there will be a second meeting; although they made me the secretary and handed out subjects."

⁵"The academy of Saturday was reasonable; the only inconvenience it caused me was to have to go out instead of writing to you. At the meeting were Feria, Pastrana, Antonio de Avila, and others of lesser hierarchy. There were no arguments because Saldaña was fiscal, and his intentions are as good as those of the Rector of Villahermosa. . . . I took these sonnets to the academy; the subject was a lady named Gloria, who, because of having eye trouble, was ordered by the doctor to have her hair cut. . . ."

⁶"The academy still lives, and the gentlemen do it honor. But I no longer go, but instead send my sonnets to the most holy Virgin, who is the proper lady for a man of my age. I wish she had always been."

Espinel and the other musicians who attended. But in March the learned academicians became querulous, and as Lope writes:

Las Academias están furiosas; en la pasada se tiraron los bonetes dos Licenciados; yo leí unos versos con antojos de Cervantes, que parecían huevos estrellados malhechos.⁷

The incursion of Mars into the kingdom of the Muses (as Lope expressed it) put an end to the Selvaje Academy.

It is supposed that Lope also participated in many other academic organizations of which we know nothing. The novelist Alonso de Castillo Solórzano tells of an Academy of Madrid, called at first *La Peregrina*, which met at the home of Sebastián Francisco de Medrano during the years 1617 and 1618, which Lope attended, as did most of the best known poets of the court, including the king himself, Felipe IV. This academy ceased to exist in 1622 when its founder and president was ordained a priest. It then passed into the hands of Francisco de Mendoza and was known as the *Academia Mantuana*. According to Cotarelo⁸, it was this academy that Lope favored with the reading of his *Nuevo Arte de hacer comedias*, but Morel-Fatio disagrees:

On ne sait à quelle académie Lope a voulu faire l'exposé du nouveau système dramatique; pour ma part je ne serais pas éloigné de croire que le poète n'a pas entendu s'adresser à aucune compagnie en particulier, mais qu'il parle aux lettrés en général, à ceux qui avaient coutume de se réunir en *academias* pour se lire leurs vers.⁹

This organization endured until the middle of the century, when its name was changed to *Academia Castellana*. It was from these humble beginnings that Felipe V, in 1714, following the example of his grandfather, Louis XIII, made an official Spanish Academy.

The Academy played an important part in the lives of many of the Golden Age poets. Quevedo took part in some of them,

⁷"The academies are furious; in the last one two licentiates threw their caps; I read some verses with Cervantes glasses, which looked like badly fried eggs."

⁸Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, "La fundación de la academia española" in *Boletín de la Academia Española*, I, 14.

⁹"It is not known at which academy Lope made the exposition of his new dramatic system; as for me, I shall not give up thinking that the poet did not intend to address any particular group, but that he spoke to the learned in general, to those who were accustomed to meet in academies to read their verses." Morel-Fatio, *L'Espagne au XVI^e et au XVII^e siècle*, (Heilbron: 1878), p. 29.

and we have some of his works which they inspired. He also attended the *Selvaje* and presented a *Memorial* to that group. It was the custom in the academies to gloss versés extemporaneously, to write *romances* on predetermined subjects, to define a familiar object in a brief prose passage, utilizing both imagination and genius. For example, the *Alabanzas de la moneda* by Quevedo:

El dinero para hermoso tiene blanco y amarillo, para galán tiene claridad y refulgencia, para enamorado tiene saetas como el Dios Cupido, para avasallar las gentes tiene jugo y coyundas, para defensor tiene castillos; para noble, león; para fuerte, colunas; para grave, coronas; y al fin, para honra y provecho lo tiene todo.

El dinero tiene tres nombres: el uno por fuerte, el otro por útil, el otro por perfecto. Por fuerte se llama moneda, que quiere decir munición y fortaleza; por útil se llama pecunia, que quiere decir pegujal o granjería gananciosa; y por perfecto se llama dinero, tomando su apellido del número deceno que es el más perfecto.¹⁰

Another composition by Quevedo, but with a little more vulgar flavor, is his *Gracias y desgracias* . . . the contents of which do not lend themselves to a paper of this nature.

One of the pleasures of the academy which spread into the various courts and salons was to pose and answer riddle questions. This was not only amusing to the participants, but helped consume the long idle hours of the non-working nobility. The riddles fell into numerous categories, examples of which are the following:

I. Concerning the water in the sea:

1. How much water is there in the sea?
2. How deep is the sea?

II. Pertaining to time and space:

1. How many stars are there in the sky?

¹⁰“Money has white and yellow for the beautiful, it has clarity and refulgence for the gallant, it has arrows like the god Cupid for the lover, in order to conquer peoples it has a yoke and yoke-straps, for the defender it has castles; for the noble, a lion; for the strong, columns; for the serious, crowns; and finally, for honor and progress it has everything.

“Money has three names: one for strength, another for utility, and another for perfection. For strength it is called *moneda* which means munition and fortification; for utility it is called *pecunia*, which means a small fund or profitable husbandry; and for perfection it is called *dinero*, taking its name from the number ten which is the most perfect.”

2. How many seconds in eternity?
3. How much time has lapsed since Adam?
4. How many people in the world?
5. How many leaves on a particular tree?

III. The value of a thing or of a person:

1. What is my worth?
2. What is the king's beard worth?
3. What is the world's worth?

IV. Questions on miscellaneous subjects:

1. What is the distance to poverty?
2. To whom is fortune nearest?
3. What am I thinking?
4. What are they doing in hell?

Although the academy was attended primarily by members of the idle nobility, and particularly by poets, artists, and musicians they were known and enjoyed by the lower classes as well, and any opportunity to take part in them, even vicariously, was welcomed by these classes. Since Lope de Vega cultivated the taste of the masses, the academy was for him a rich source of inspiration, especially for his plays. He refers to them constantly, both to specific academies and to academies in general. In the pastoral novel *La Arcadia* the shepherds and shepherdesses hold an academy (Book II) in which music and verses are presented:

Presidía en estas juntas el sabio Benalcio, y el discreto Tirsi, y ayudaban con su música y versos Celso el poeta, Danteo el historiador, y Gaseno, el esposo de Amarilis: el Rústico las alegraba con sus donaires y Frondoso con sus agudezas; Alcino y Menalca las honraban, el uno durmiendo y el otro contemplando; Melibeo, Silvio y Enareto escuchaban, y la hermosa Isabella, Lucinda, Leonisa, Celia, Anarda y Julia eran los extremados sujetos a quienes las academias se dirigían.¹¹

¹¹"The wise Benalcio and the discreet Tirsi presided at these gatherings, and Celso the poet, Danteo the historian, and Gaseno the husband of Amarilis helped with their music: Rustico entertained with his witticisms and Frondoso with his cleverness; Alcino and Menalca honored them, the one by sleeping and the other through contemplation; Melibeo, Silvio, and Enareto listened, and the lovely Isabella, Lucinda, Leonisa, Celia, Anarda, and Julia were the ones to whom the academies were directed."

At the very end of Book V, Belardo, speaking to the *Zampoña* mentions the "academias de cortesanos sutiles, donde el ornamento del hablar casto desprecia la utilidad de la sentencia."¹²

Lope refers to a real academy in act one, scene three, of *La Dama Boba*:

Otabio: Ayer sus librillos vi,
papeles y escritos varios;
pensé que debozionarios
y desta suerte le hí:
Historia de dos amantes
sacada de lengua griega;
Rimas de Lope de Vega,
Galatea de Cervantes,
el Camões de Lisboa,
los pastores de Belén,
Comedias de don Guillén
de Castro, Liras de Ochoa,
Canzión que Luis Vélez dijo
en la *Academia del Duque* (2126)
de Pastrana¹³

This Duque de Pastrana is Ruy Gómez de Silva y Mendoza (1588-1626). Espinel describes him in *Marcos de Obregón* (part II, descanso XI) and he is praised by Cervantes in his *Viaje del Parnaso* (Chapter VIII, near the end).¹⁴ He was Ambassador in Paris and Rome under Philip III and IV. The academy here mentioned was doubtless the *Academia Selvaje*, which Lope himself had attended.

Another specific mention of an actual academy is found in his dedication of the *Laurel de Apolo*, where he refers to the *Academia de Madrid*.

Lope's plays abound in references to academies. In *La niña de plata* (Act III, scene iv) the author enlivens a dull moment with an academic discussion on poetry between D. Juan and his *lacayo*. In *La moza de cántaro* (II, iii) we find an academic scene of the type to be found in the salons. An amusing squabble begins, which is reminiscent of some of the meet-

¹²"The academies of subtle courtiers, where the ornamentation of speech scorns the usefulness of the sentence."

¹³"Yesterday I saw his little books, various papers and writings; I thought they were prayer books and so I read: the *Story of Two Lovers* taken from Greek; *Rimes* of Lope de Vega, *Galatea* by Cervantes, *Camões* of Lisbon's *Pastores de Belén*, comedies by Guillén de Castro, *Liras* by Ochoa, a *canzión* which Luis Vélez presented in the Academy of the Duke of Pastrana."

¹⁴Rudolph Schevill, *The Dramatic Art of Lope de Vega*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1918), p. 314.

ings of the real academies. In *El guante de doña Blanca* (Act II, scene i et passim) the palace is transformed into an academy and the courtiers recite in honor of the successful retrieving of doña Blanca's glove.

There are numerous other plays which have academic scenes. In *El Perseo* Lope presents three sonnets to "una dama Cloris, a quien por tener enfermos los ojos, mandó el médico que la cortasen los cabellos," which were recited in a pastoral academy. This is an interesting treatment, for these poems had been used in a real academy by the poet himself, as we read in one of his letters. He is taking an actual academic presentation and placing it into an imaginary setting.

In *La viuda valenciana* (III, viii), three men, in order to pass the time, discuss, in an academic manner, whether they will sing, or compose offhand satire or a poem on lovers. In *Si no vieran las mujeres* (I, vii) there is an academic discussion on what is the greatest passion. A prince in prison in *Lo que ha de ser* (I, viii) conducts an academy with his friends. Their session includes music, verses, witty criticisms, etc. In *El saber puede danar* (II, xvii and xxi) a prince holds an impromptu academy, proposing such riddle questions as "What is the most hateful thing?" and "What do men desire most?" All those present attempt a solution. Lope is careful, in this case, to let the audience know that a real academy is in session and they are witnessing it.

In *La Doncella Teodor*. Teodor proves that she is the wisest person in the kingdom by emerging victorious from a series of questions.

Q. ¿Y la más fiera?

A. La verdad.

Q. ¿Cuál es la cosa más fuerte?

A. La muerte.

Q. ¿Cuál buena y mala?

A. La lengua es mala y es buena.¹⁵

El milagro por los celos, *El paraíso de Laura*, and *Los amores de Albano y Sismenia* all have an academic atmosphere.

¹⁵Q. What is the strongest thing?

A. Truth.

Q. And the cruelest?

A. Death.

Q. What is both good and bad?

A. The tongue is bad and good.

But the comedy which is based, perhaps more than any other, on an academy is *El mayor imposible*. Queen Antonia, the wife of the king of Aragón, is in Italy with her court while her husband the king is at the wars in Flanders. She is lonely and sick with the *quartana* (a recurring ague). Hopeful that entertainment will cure her and help pass the time, she proposes an academy where there is music, poetry, glossing of verses, and riddles. The question arises: "What is the most impossible thing?" and the queen maintains it is to guard a woman who does not want to be guarded. Roberto disagrees, saying that it is not impossible, but easy, for he has been guarding his sister for these many years. Lisardo, who is secretly in love with the sister, Diana, determines to help the queen prove her claim. The play concerns itself with the methods which Lisardo uses to get into Roberto's home through guarded entrances, with how Diana, also in love with him, aids him, how they live together in Roberto's home for many days, though in complete innocence, and how Lisardo, when discovered escapes the servants.

Finally Lisardo kidnaps (the victim being more than willing) Diana, enlisting the aid of Roberto(!) to conduct her through the streets to his home. At a final session of the academy, Roberto, who realizes too late that Lisardo has his sister, clamors for revenge at the feet of the king. The plot is then explained to him. Lisardo has brought the chaste Diana to the queen, where she has lived in luxury, and the whole plan shows Roberto that the queen was right. Roberto is finally forced to admit that the "mayor imposible" is to guard a woman. Lisardo and Diana get married, of course.

The comedy is completely dominated by the academy. It begins with a session and ends with a session. The whole action of the play revolves around the riddle question posed in the first session. In using the academy, Lope was appealing to the people, for he was giving them material from actual life: something they knew about and liked. It gave the lower classes a chance to participate in and enjoy a leisure which pertained mostly to nobility.

It is possible that literally hundreds of groups met in various cities and in various homes about which we know nothing. We are fortunate that Lope de Vega, Cervantes, and others made reference to the ones they were connected with in their letters and in their artistic productions. And although these

academies were private enterprises, and did not have any official function until 1714, they were a very important part of Golden Age culture and literature. From the academies and the salons came the literary criticism which helped establish the literary trends of the period. Most writers found it most convenient to make concessions to prevailing academic taste.

Spain was particularly favored by being the recipient of the various academic traditions, and this without doubt contributed to the richness of her literary output of the Golden Age. The Italianate influence brought her the best in Renaissance thought and form, the Arabic influence contributed the philosophy, the maturity, and the learning of the East, and the Jesuit influence brought a tradition of scholarship and perfection.

Humor in *Lazarillo de Tormes*

H. KAY MOON*

Social shifts may have altered many of the elements that have made *Lazarillo de Tormes* a delightful reading experience, but its principal characteristic, humor, is as pertinent to our aesthetic enjoyment today as it was in the sixteenth century.

The word humor has devolved from its originally exclusive use as a term for the four humors of the body (blood, phlegm, choler, black bile), the predominance of any one determining the temper of the mind or body, to its present meaning as it applies to everything that appeals to man's disposition toward comic laughter. Laughter, according to some psychologists, is ascribed to surprise; "we laugh at the new and unexpected."¹ Thus, if one is able to explain why a situation is new or unexpected, he may by the same method explain why it is humorous. Such categorizing seems rigidly arbitrary, as indeed are most attempts at categorizing. Perhaps a brief review of the most pertinent theories regarding humor is apropos to mitigate, if possible, the tendency toward arbitrariness in dealing with the problem as it relates to *Lazarillo de Tormes*.

Some authorities maintain that laughter is instinctive,² or even to be classed among the emotions.³ Conflicts arise between the opinion of Henri Bergson and C. A. Claremont, Bergson maintaining that the appeal of humor "is to the intelligence pure and simple,"⁴ while Claremont maintains that laughter is associated with lack of intelligent understanding.⁵ Floyd H. Allport regards laughter as preeminently a response to a social situation,⁶ and other authorities, such as Gardner and Lois Murphy, agree that "laughter is in itself a certain index of

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¹J. Y. T. Greig, *The Psychology of Laughter* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1923), p. 77.

²Robert S. Woodworth, *Psychology, A Study of Mental Life* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1921), p. 157.

³Stephen S. Colvin, "The Educational Value of Humor," *Pedagogical Seminary*, XIV, p. 517.

⁴*Laughter, An Essay on the Meaning of the Comic* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1911), p. 4.

⁵*Intelligence and Mental Growth* (New York: Norton and Co., 1928), p. 72.

⁶*Social Psychology* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924), p. 252.

social perception."⁷ Certainly, as Bergson indicates, "the comic does not exist outside the pale of what is strictly human."⁸ The concept of humor as an attribute of social consciousness is especially significant in *Lazarillo de Tormes*, particularly in the light of one of the theories regarding *causes* of humor, viz., that "the comic is always that which enhances one's own superiority."⁹ This is an opinion of rather wide vogue which may be traced to Thomas Hobbes' seventeenth century explanation of humor as evidence of "sudden glory."¹⁰ Perhaps it is a feeling of social superiority and a comfortable assurance that we are above such involvements that permit us to laugh at Lázaro's misfortunes and the general debasement of dignity of all the characters throughout the narrative.

Stephen Leacock in "Humor As I See It" maintains that there is in all of us a vein of the demoniacal humor or joy in the misfortune of others.¹¹ C. A. Claremont further authenticates this idea: "Till sympathy prevents us, we tend to laugh at the deformed. First it was a physical deformity, but this kind of joke is now out of date. In a later period, idiots were laughed at, and now we find ourselves amused by defects in intelligence."¹² This channel of thinking is shared by Knight Dunlap, who insists that the first and probably the most primitive type of the comic includes bodily suffering and pain. Such situations "appeal especially to savages . . . although probably none of us are unresponsive to them."¹³ Mr. Dunlap classifies other types of humor according to the nature of the suffering or humiliation involved. He affirms that the ideal comic is that type of humor which enables one to laugh at himself. This is a high type of humor, not found among primitive peoples.

The author of *Lazarillo de Tormes* did not need our modern analysts to advise him of these elements of humor. He used human misfortune as a springboard for laughter several centuries before their advent. In fact, it is his protagonist's con-

⁷*Experimental Social Psychology* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1931), p. 276.

⁸Bergson, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

⁹Knight Dunlap, *Old and New View Points in Psychology* (St. Louis: C. V. Mosby Co., 1925), p. 36.

¹⁰Thomas Hobbes, *The English Works of Thomas Hobbes* (London: J. Bohn, 1840), IV, pp. 45-46.

¹¹From *The Leacock Roundabout* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1956), p. 3.

¹²Claremont, *op. cit.*, p. 517.

¹³Dunlap, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

stant effort to escape his misery that supplies the point of departure for all the comic elements of the story. But though the laughter involved is due to a primitive type of appeal, the reader's admiration of Lázaro's ability to laugh at his own misfortunes—and to make us laugh with him—is always keen.

The humor involving pain and humiliation is frequently allied with humor resulting from admiration of cleverness and a display of stupidity or naïveté, and often with a satisfaction over justice done.

Within the framework now established regarding the causes of laughter, let us for convenience classify the types of humor in *Lazarillo de Tormes*:

Satire is the principal element in the work in question, and to be sure, humor is a basic—or specifically, *the* basic element of satire. The various types of humor employed serve the purpose of the satirical element. If there were no humor, the author's attack on society would necessarily take the form of a direct invective, but the good satirist will make his attack without seeming to let the problem occupy him *seriously*. He will not allow his victim the honor of anything more than distant amusement at his foibles. Satire is the mistress which all other humorous elements serve to embellish in *Lazarillo de Tormes*.

As has been stated, human misfortune supplies the basis for virtually all the humor in the novel. If there is any humor in the blind man's trick of smashing Lázaro's head against the stone bull, it must stem from admiration for the beggar's cleverness in a brutal, practical joke, and scorn for Lázaro's naïveté in falling for it, but at the basis of this comicality is Lázaro's pain. The subsequent abuses of the blind man and the final revenge on the part of Lázaro are comic only on the basis of these characters' misfortune, and our *superiority* in being removed from it as observers and not participators. Even the clever jockeying of words in Lázaro's expression, "Holgábame a mí de quebrar un ojo por quebrar dos al que ninguno tenía,"¹⁴ is de-

¹⁴Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, *La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sopena Argentina, 1958), p. 30. Subsequent references will be from this source and will appear in the text, between parentheses. Page numbers only will be given.

"I was obliged to lose an eye in order to put out two for him who had none." Where the language supplies a large measure of the comic impact, much of the humor is sacrificed in translation. Such is the case here. "Quebrar un ojo por quebrar dos" is a common Spanish idiom, for which there is no direct counterpart in English.

pendent for its humor upon the misfortunes of the blind man.

Lázaro's revenge may seem comic to us because we feel justice has been done, but this is brutal justice. An element of pathos, however feeble, is extant in all of this type of humor. This mild sympathy is perhaps the note we sound to justify laughing at misfortune. There is a comic situation, almost slapstick in nature, which involves very little sympathy; that is the situation into which the blind man plunges himself in thrusting his "long, sharp nose" into Lázaro's mouth in order to detect the odor of the *longaniza*. A rustic, but impeccable choice of words describes the result to rather revolting perfection: "Con el destiento de la complídissima nariz medio quasi ahogándome, todas estas cosas se juntaron y fueron causa que el hecho y golosina se manifestasse y lo suyo fuesse buelto a su dueño" (pp. 40-42).¹⁵

Another brutal slapstick situation is the miserly priest's vicious clubbing of the sleeping Lázaro. There is a combination of rather dubious justice with stupidity involved here—justice executed for Lázaro's theft and the display of stupidity on the part of the priest in thinking that he was killing a snake. Examples of this sort abound.

The blind man, Lázaro's first master, introduces to the reader one of the major elements of comic amusement in the narrative, *i.e.*, the humor which springs from admiration of cleverness. The example already cited of his joke on Lázaro in smashing the latter's head against the stone bull more or less sets the tone of clever brutality which is apparent throughout the rest of the story, though not all of the cleverness is brutal.

Lázaro's cleverness in obtaining food from the blind man is not comic in contrast to stupidity or naïveté as are most of the examples of cleverness, but indeed is only possible because the blind man, far from being stupid, is deprived of visual perception—actually a physical handicap and not a lack of initiation or mental acuteness. The cleverness he displays in obtaining alms and in perceiving Lázaro's schemes is indicative of a very sharp mentality, and actually arouses admiration. The episode of the cluster of grapes is a case in point. But Lázaro is likewise admirable in this respect, particularly considering his youth. His inventiveness in procuring food, and particularly

¹⁵"With the probing of that fully extended nose half choking me, all these things joined together and were the cause that my crime and the delicacy were at once manifest, and the latter was returned to its owner."

in filching wine from the old beggar, demonstrates an acuteness born of necessity which does adequate justice to the old man's tutelage.

The prime example of Lázaro's cleverness is contrasted to the stupidity of the priest, his second master. The only evidence of perspicacity on the part of the latter is his tenacious vigilance over his meagre possessions and the offerings he receives from his flock. Lázaro is able to get around this with nimble mental dexterity. The priest's ludicrous belief in the "phantom" snake is almost as comic as his exaggerated avarice. He finally discovers Lázaro's craft only by accident, not through any admirable mental agility of his own.

Lázaro provides some quite delightful humor with his naïveté regarding the fine points of honor as professed by his third master, the *escudero*, and thus exposes the ridiculousness and complete lack of practicality in such exaggerated obeisance to the demands of society. The *escudero* maintains ". . .ni sufriré a hombre del mundo, de el rey abaxo, que: 'mantengaos Dios', me diga."¹⁶ Lázaro's response is, "Pecador de mí, por esso tiene tan poco cuydado de mantenerte, pues no sufres que nadie se lo ruegue" (p. 122).¹⁷

The cleverness of Lázaro's fourth master, the *buldero* (peddler of indulgences), provokes some amusement in contrast to the stupidity of his duped victims. This type of cleverness we have already seen in the old *ciego*. It is the type most common in the person of Pedro de Segovia in Quevedo's *El Buscón*, and quite common in Mateo Aleman's *Guzmán de Alfarache*, though the *buldero* is more malicious, more in earnest, and less mischievous. Most of *El Buscón's* antics at the University of Alcalá are done in fun, in a spirit similar to that of the German *Till Eulenspiegel*.

Lázaro's idea of religion is delightfully naïve, and sometimes borders on a quibble on the deeper contrasts of life. His idea that God is personally interested in his desire for revenge on the *ciego* is comically naïve. "Dios le cegó . . . el entendimiento . . . por darme de él venganza" (p. 48).¹⁸ Later, his thought that God was interested in him and his prayers for the

¹⁶". . . nor shall I suffer any man, from king to peasant, to say to me 'may God keep you.'" For a person of "quality," such a salutation would represent a crass lack of respect.

¹⁷"Bless me, that's why He takes so little care in keeping you. You won't allow anyone to ask it of Him."

¹⁸"God blinded his understanding to give me my revenge."

sick—prayers *not* for their recovery, but for their death—is likewise a comic naïveté. It is a prime example of what Henri Bergson calls an “inversion of common sense.”¹⁹

Irony is no doubt the most common of the equivocal circumstances which provoke laughter. In an ironic situation, the ostensible meaning of the language involved veils thinly a deeper significance, which the initiated will not fail to apprehend. The following satirical remark is fraught with irony: “No nos marauillemos de vn clérigo ni frayle, porque el vno hurta de los pobres y el otro de casa para sus deuotas y para ayuda de otro tanto, quando a vn pobre esclauo el amor le animaua a esto” (p. 14).²⁰ Feigning benevolence, Lázaro manages a subtle thrust at some of the priestly excesses of his epoch.

His statement, speaking to his master the priest concerning the snake which was haunting their domain, “Plega a Dios que no me muerda, que harto miedo le tengo” (p. 74),²¹ is pure irony, and when he subsequently calls the priest a “matador de culebras,”²² the irony is mixed with a note of bitterness.

His meaning is not the ostensible one when he speaks to the *escudero* of how little food he requires for satisfaction. The latter’s concern for thieves cannot be taken seriously; his only reason for not wishing that anyone enter his quarters can only be to hide his misery, for he has nothing to steal. There is a pathetic note of irony in his promise to Lázaro that when the month is out, he will leave the house they are presently in because it is “de mal suelo.” He would not stay there, he asserts, if they were to give it to him. It is true that he does not stay, but it is an arrangement not of his choosing.

There are frequent quips from Lázaro, such as “el bueno de mi amo”²³ (speaking of the *ciego*), which are obviously ironic.

Dramatic irony also bounds. It differs only slightly from verbal irony. It occurs when the spectators, or readers in this case, are aware of elements in a situation of which one or more of the characters are ignorant. Lázaro’s *asides* (the “dije entre mi” speeches) represent this type of irony, since the one to whom he is silently directing them is unable to hear them, and

¹⁹Bergson, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

²⁰“Let us not wonder at a priest or friar, one robbing from the poor, the other from home for his female devotees and to help another like himself, when love is capable of exciting a poor slave to such action as this.”

²¹“God grant that it doesn’t bite me, for I’m most fearful of it.”

²²“Killer of snakes.”

²³“My good old master.”

we—the “spectators”—*are* able to “hear” them. His silent retort to the *escudero*'s theory that longevity is a result of extremely moderate eating is: “Si por essa vía es . . . nunca yo moriré, que siempre he guardado essa regla por fuerça y aun espero en mi desdicha tenella toda mi vida” (p. 94).²⁴ An identical situation occurs when the *escudero*, insisting that he has already eaten, watches Lázaro devouring the morsels he has won by solicitation, and declares that no one eats with more *gracia* than he. “Nadie te lo verá hacer que no le pongas gana aunque no la tiene,”²⁵ to which Lázaro retorts, silently of course, “La muy buena que tú tienes te hace parecer la mía hermosa” (p. 106).²⁶ Other delightful examples of this variety are numerous.

A device closely related to irony in its equivocal nature is implication, and particularly implication through understatement. A noteworthy example of this type occurs on the occasion when the *escudero* offers the wine bottle to Lázaro. Since we are already familiar with the latter's affinity for this bacchic nectar, his disappointment is more than apparent when he discovers it is water. His statement, “Entonces tomé el jarro y beví. No mucho, por que de sed no era mi congoxa” (p. 92),²⁷ is much less than his disappointment would justify. It is what is left unsaid here that makes it comic. There is likewise much more implied than expressed in the statement regarding the two “rebozadas mujeres”²⁸ with whom the *escudero* is conversing on one occasion, when Lázaro says that they are “al parecer de las que no hazen falta” (p. 100).²⁹

Subsequently, the reason he gives for leaving his master the *alguacil* is “por parecerme el oficio peligroso” (p. 164).³⁰ In light of what is further explained, this comment blandly understates the facts.

Lázaro's views on religion are decidedly those of the uninitiated, though it is evident that the author was familiar with scripture as well as dogma. Lázaro's naïve statement regarding

²⁴“If that's the way it is, I'll live forever, for that's a rule I've always kept out of necessity, and I expect, in my ill fortune, to keep it all my life.”

²⁵“No one can look upon you eating without it inspiring a desire to join you, even though he has no such desire.”

²⁶“The big fat one that you have makes mine seem beautiful.”

²⁷“So I took the jug and drank. Not much, for thirst was not my major affliction.”

²⁸“well-rounded women.” Phonically, and even semantically, there is a double meaning suggested by “rebozadas mujeres.” The full breadth of implication need not be discussed, however.

²⁹“seemingly of that type of which there are many.”

³⁰“because the position seemed dangerous to me.”

his father, "Espero en Dios que está en la gloria, pues el Evangelio los llama bienaventurados,"³¹ is for the reader full of implication, and the evangelist's idea is probably completely opposite to Lázaro's, considering his father's previous activity and the reason for his persecution.

There is a somewhat crude implication that may be considered humorous in the *ciego's* prognostications concerning Lázaro's future, especially in the portion which appears in italic type in the edition used for this study, a part obviously added after the first editing. The *ciego*, among other things, predicts that the horn Lázaro has in his hand "algún día te dará . . . alguna mala comida y cena" (p. 36).³² The implication later proves to be legitimate prophecy.

An author's basic tool in writing a humorous narrative is, of course, words, and a quibble on words represents a great many of the humorous situations to which allusion has already been made. But there is a possible essence to a word beyond its commonplace meaning. A change of the conventional function of a word may serve to tap this essence and give it greater descriptive power, and hence, greater humor (Lázaro's *parayso panal*, pp. 60-62), or it may communicate something beyond its ostensible meaning through the phonics of the word, such as Lázaro's lament, "Lacerado de mí!" (p. 40).³³

Incongruity is an element mentioned by almost all authorities as being one of the principal causes of humor. Following the beating he receives for stealing the *longaniza*,³⁴ Lázaro gives an account of his master's description of the event, and maintains that he described it so well that although he was beaten and still crying, it almost seemed an injustice not to laugh with him.

The priest's hypocrisy in telling Lázaro he has a better life than the pope is based on incongruity. Likewise his "benevolence" in giving to Lázaro the portions of bread that had been eaten by "rats." "Ratón cosa limpia es,"³⁵ he says—a slight incongruity considering the actual truth of the matter, and considering what one should be able to expect from his priestly demeanor.

³¹"I trust in God that he is in heaven, for the Gospel calls them blessed." His concept of the Lord's intent in pronouncing this beatitude is decidedly a tergiversated one.

³²"will someday give you a bad meal." The horn is the symbol of cuckoldry.

³³"Lacerated me."

³⁴*longaniza*: a type of sausage.

³⁵"A rat is a very clean animal."

It would not be impossible, by changing the attack on the problem, to ascribe almost all of the foregoing elements of humor to surprise, though they fit much more comfortably in the categories in which they are placed. But there are a few cases where surprise is the best, if not the only reason for the humor. Lázaro's surprise and ours forms the comic element in the situation with the *escudero* when he refuses the bottle of "wine," and is quickly reassured: "Agua es. . . Bien puedes beber" (p. 90).³⁶

Predicament is also a principal element. Lázaro's hunger and his master's stinginess represent an unpleasant predicament which causes frequent laughter. The predicament in which he finds himself after the *escudero* leaves him also gives rise to a brief moment of humor.

If the author of *Lazarillo de Tormes* was not able to achieve pertinence in our modern society through his lofty style and his treatment of life's insoluble problems, he was certainly a master in the art of humor, even though occasionally crude and even a little grim in his approach. His masterful use of many varieties of humor attests to this assertion. We can enjoy the humor of *Lazarillo de Tormes* today as readers undoubtedly enjoyed it during the epoch of the book's apex in popularity.

³⁶"It's water. Go ahead and drink."

*Political Motto*¹

The Constitution of our country formed by the Fathers of Liberty. Peace and good order in society. Love to God, and good will to man. All good and wholesome laws, virtue and truth above all things, and aristarchy [the rule of those who actually *are* the best], live forever. But woe to tyrants, mobs, aristocracy, anarchy, and toryism, and all those who invent or seek out unrighteous and vexatious law suits, under the pretext and color of law, or office, either religious or political. Exalt the standard of democracy. Down with that of priestcraft, and let all the people say amen! that the blood of our fathers may not cry from the ground against us. Sacred is the memory of that blood, which bought for us our liberty.

Joseph Smith, Jr.

March 1838

¹Quoted by B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, Vol. I (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1930), p. 428.

The Relationship Between Partonopeus de Blois and the Cupid and Psyche Tradition

THOMAS H. BROWN*

One of the obscure problems of French medieval literary research has to do with the origins of the anonymous Old French romance *Partonopeus de Blois*. The author of this poem fused many sources into his lengthy work. It is not our purpose to study all of the source material used by him, as others have written on this subject. We are interested in the link which seems to exist between *Partonopeus* and the ancient fable of Cupid and Psyche.

That a relationship exists between the Cupid and Psyche tradition and *Partonopeus de Blois* can scarcely be doubted, as a cursory comparison of the two stories will show. The most famous of all Cupid and Psyche stories, the tale of Apuleius in the *Metamorphoses*, may be summarized as follows:

A king had three daughters. Psyche, the youngest, was so beautiful that the populace revered and adored her as a goddess and neglected their duties to the usual gods. Venus became incensed when people no longer came to her temples and ordered her son Cupid to afflict Psyche with love for the vilest and most loathsome of living creatures. In due time Psyche's sisters were married; but because of her divine loveliness, no suitor dared approach Psyche. Deeply concerned, the king went to Apollo's oracle at Miletus in order to learn the fate of the unfortunate girl. It was decreed that Psyche was to be brought to a lonely crag, there to be taken in marriage by a monster. Psyche's family received the news with great sorrow; but, nevertheless, the will of the gods had to be obeyed. Psyche was dressed and prepared for a marriage of death. When everything was ready, she was led by a funeral procession to the rock mentioned by the oracle. Left alone on the hill, Psyche wept, for

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she feared the coming events. Soon, however, a gentle west wind wafted her away to a peaceful valley where she discovered a magnificent palace. In the palace invisible servants attended her. As night came, she was visited by a mysterious lover who made her his wife and departed before dawn. Psyche was admonished by her husband not to communicate with her sisters. She was urged further not to question him concerning his appearance and bodily form. Poor Psyche violated all the wishes of her lover. Her sisters came to visit her, made inquiries concerning the nature of her husband, and finally convinced the unwitting Psyche that her husband was a horrible snake. Armed with lamp and dagger, Psyche set out to kill her husband. She was stopped in the act, however, for the lamp revealed to her astonished eyes the gentlest and sweetest of creatures, Cupid, the beautiful Lovegod himself. Burned by a drop of oil from the lamp which Psyche carried, Cupid awakened, realized he had been disobeyed, and fled from Psyche.

The rest of the story deals with Psyche's search for Cupid. When Venus was apprised of the affair that her son had had with her earthly rival, she was furious. She reprimanded her wayward son and confined him to his room as if he were a wilful, mischievous child. After much wandering, Psyche finally arrived at Venus' palace. The goddess' anger knew no bounds. In her attempt to appease Venus, Psyche was obliged to carry out four very difficult tasks, wherein Venus hoped she would be destroyed. At length, having overcome all obstacles, Psyche was reunited with Cupid, became immortalized, and was received by the gods into the Olympic circle. In due time, she gave birth to a daughter whom the parents named Pleasure.

We give now an account of the anonymous Old French romance, *Partonopeus de Blois*:

Hunting one day, Partonopeus was separated from his companions and became lost. After some wandering, he came to a bay in which a ship was lying. He embarked on the ship and was transported to the fairy castle of Chief d'Oire. He entered the castle, drank, ate, and finally went to bed. After retiring, he reflected upon the strangeness of the day's happenings.

Atant une arme vint al lit,
 Pas por pas, petit et petit;
 Mais il ne set que ce puet estre:
 Or volsist miols qu'il fust à nestre.

A une part se traist del lit,
 Defors soi en laisse petit.
 Il crient que ce ne soit maufés,
 Et dist que mal eure fu nés;
 Mais ce est une damoisele,
 Quels qu'ele soit, u laide, u bele:
 Le covertor sosliève atant,
 Si va gesir joste l'enfant;
 Mais el ne set mot que i soit:
 Car el nel ot ne ne li voit.¹

His visitor was the fairy Melior who granted the hero her love on the condition that he would not attempt to gaze upon her until they were married.

Beaus dols amis, la dame dit,
 De moi ferés vostre delit,
 Cascune nuit, tot à loisir,
 Me porés avoir et sentir;
 Mais ne volroie estre véue
 Desci que l'eure soit venue
 Que j'ai mise à cels de m'onor
 De prendre par lor los segnor,
 Et n'a que deux ans et demi
 Trosqu'à cele eure que vos di.²

During a stay in France, Partonopeus told his mother about his fairy lover. Suspecting that her son was under the spell of a wicked enchantress, she advised him to look upon his lady by means of a magic lantern which she would give him. Partonopeus returned to Chief d'Oire, lit his lantern and entered Melior's chamber:

Quant Partonopeus l'a sentue,
 Et seit qu'ele est trestote nue,
 Le covertor a lonc jeté,
 Si l'a véue od la clarté
 De la lanterne qu'il tenoit:
 A descovert nue le voit,
 Mirer le puet et véoir bien

¹*Partonopeus de Blois*, publié pour la première fois d'après le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ed. G. A. Crapelet and A. C. M. Robert, 2 vols. (Paris, 1834), I, 39. The passages in Old French have been paraphrased in English for the convenience of the reader: Suddenly someone approached Partonopeus' bed and got in with him. Since it was dark, he could not see who it was, and at first our hero was frightened.

²*Partonopeus*, I, 50. Melior told Partonopeus that he could have her love each night on condition that he refrain from looking upon her until they be married.

Qu'ainc ne vit mais tant bele rien.
 Cele se pasme et cil entent
 Qu'il a ovré moult folement.³

Melior, who was the daughter of the Emperor of Constantinople, banished Partonopeus from her presence forever. He returned to France where he upbraided his mother for having given him such foolish counsel. Grief-stricken, he left his home and wandered in the woods of the Ardennes. After many adventures, he arrived at a tournament where knights were competing for Melior's hand. Partonopeus was champion on three successive days and won his lady's favor again.

Many similarities in the stories just related have undoubtedly been noticed, of which the most obvious, perhaps, are the following: Psyche is carried to a magnificent palace by Zephyr; Partonopeus is transported by a magic ship to Melior's sumptuous castle; both are visited by mysterious lovers; Cupid enjoins a command upon Psyche to refrain from beholding his person, as does the fairy Melior upon Partonopeus; unwise counsel is given from outsiders who persuade Psyche and Partonopeus to look on their lovers by means of a lamp. When the promises are broken, swift separation ensues; trials are then required of Psyche and Partonopeus who, at length, overcome all obstacles and are finally joined again to their partners.

At first glance it would seem that Apuleius' "Cupid and Psyche" furnished the source material for the central episode of *Partonopeus*. This was the view of John Colin Dunlop who noted the similarities between the two stories and indicated that the author of *Partonopeus* merely inverted the roles of the lovers.⁴ Kawczynski felt that a host of tales (among them *Partonopeus*, *Huon de Bordeaux*, *Floire et Blancheflor*, *Berthe aus grans piés*, *Le Chevalier au Cygne*, *Cligés*) had elements which were more or less influenced by the "Cupid and Psyche" of Apuleius.⁵

This idea of a wholesale borrowing of Apuleius by medieval French writers was seriously challenged by Gédéon Huet who indicated that Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* was unknown in

³*Partonopeus*, I, 154. When Melior came to bed, Partonopeus threw back the blankets and at the same time uncovered his lantern so that he was able to see Melior who was the most beautiful woman he had ever seen. Melior fainted and Partonopeus sensed that he had behaved foolishly.

⁴*History of Prose Fiction*, 2 vols. (London, 1911), II, 409.

⁵"Ist Apuleius im Mittelalter bekannt gewesen?" *Bausteine zur romanischen Philologie, Festgabe für ad. Mussafia* (Halle, 1908), pp. 193-210.

France at the time when the French poems, supposedly based on the Latin writer's story, were written. Huet showed that the only Old French romance with close parallels to "Cupid and Psyche" is *Partonopeus*. He added that there is no mention of Apuleius' novel by early French writers, not even by the learned Jean de Meun. Vincent de Beauvais, in the middle of the thirteenth century was the first to mention the *Metamorphoses*, but Richart de Fournival, a contemporary of Vincent, who possessed a remarkable knowledge of the classics, mentioned several works of Apuleius, but did not cite the *Metamorphoses* at all. The study of manuscripts shows the same gap. We have in France no manuscript of the *Golden Ass* before the end of the fourteenth century. In place of the Apuleius theory, Huet suggested that folk tale tradition (folk stories similar in some respects to "Cupid and Psyche" cover the whole of both hemispheres) gave rise to the material used by the poet of *Partonopeus*. Huet felt also that *Partonopeus* had some relationship to the Celtic fairy tales which inspired the lays of Marie de France.⁶

S. P. Uri has recently cast aside the Celtic theory of Huet.⁷ He argues that Huet based much of his argument on his belief that Denis Piramus was the author of *Partonopeus*. Denis knew Marie de France, and Huet maintained that Marie may have furnished Denis with the Celtic material supposedly used for the writing of *Partonopeus*. Uri shows that Denis was not the original poet of *Partonopeus* (he refers to the opening lines of Denis' *Seint Edmunt le rei* in which it would seem that Denis is speaking of *Partonopeus* as the work of another); he concludes that this fact "explodes the old Celtic theory." Now this finding alone does not disprove Huet's theory, because our unknown poet could have known Marie. Surely Denis Piramus was not her only acquaintance. It could be argued further that Marie de France was not the only link between Celtic material and Old French literature. However, there are stronger arguments than Uri's against the Celtic theory of Huet. It should be remembered that we have no manuscript, nor do we have any record of any Celtic source which might have fostered the parts of *Partonopeus* which are similar to Cupid and Psyche lore. Fur-

⁶"Le Roman d'Apulée était-il connu au Moyen-Age?" *Le Moyen Age*, XIII, Serie 2 (1909), pp. 23-28.

⁷"Some Remarks on *Partonopeus de Blois*," *Neophilologus* (April 1953), pp. 83-98. All of our quotations by Mr. Uri come from this article.

thermore, Huet bases his argument on the assumption that Apuleius' "Cupid and Psyche" was unknown in France during the twelfth century. It seems very likely that the *Metamorphoses* was little known; however, the same is not true of Apuleius' "Cupid and Psyche," and we intend to demonstrate below that the central episodes of *Partonopeus* did not come from Celtic material, but from Fulgentius Planciades who presented Apuleius' "Cupid and Psyche" to Frenchmen of the Middle Ages.

Mr. Uri has his own theory concerning the immediate source used by the author of *Partonopeus*. He indicates the influence of Byzantine matter on French medieval writers and shows the important role which Eléonore d'Aquitaine played in the development of Old French literature. She had followed her husband to Byzantium and the East and thus provides a link between Byzantine material and Old French literature. He mentions her loose morals and concludes that "it was quite like her to favor a fantastic love story like that of *Partonopeus*." He alludes to Marie de Champagne's daughter, Alix, and her brilliant court of the second half of the twelfth century where many poets lived and wrote. "Perhaps this Alix," says Uri, "gave our unknown poet a manuscript in which he found the *matière de Bysance* for his *Partonopeus*." Examples are then given by Uri to show that the *trobadors* often composed a work upon the request of a lady; the *trobadors*, adds Uri, sometimes used Latin translations of Greek material. Uri argues further that *Partonopeus* is similar in some respects to Byzantine *Florimont* and *Floire et Blancheflor*, and his conclusion from all this is that it is "almost certain that the author of *Partonopeus* borrowed his material from some Byzantine romance which he read in some Latin Adaptation." Now, the only argument of Uri which is not based upon supposition is his reference to *Florimont* and *Floire et Blancheflor*. *Floire et Blancheflor* seems to be only vaguely related, if at all, to Cupid and Psyche stories. Reinhold's study of the relationship between this Old French romance and Apuleius' story seems greatly exaggerated.⁸ What is most important is that the forbidden privilege motif, the very heart of Cupid and Psyche stories, is absent in *Floire et Blancheflor*. *Florimont*, on the other hand, does offer some close parallels to Cupid and Psyche tradition. Like Psyche,

⁸M. Joachim Reinhold, *Floire et Blancheflor; étude de littérature comparée* (Paris, 1906), pp. 151-152.

Florimont is not supposed to behold his lover. When he disobeys, he is reprimanded by his *damoiselle fée* and loses her love. This fact, however, hardly justifies Uri's assertion that "it is almost certain" that Byzantine matter furnished the source for the poet of *Partonopeus*. Actually, it is not completely certain that *Florimont* was influenced by Byzantine matter. Furthermore, this romance, written in 1188, appeared later than *Partonopeus* and could have drawn its Cupid and Psyche motifs from this source.

Uri next tries to show that the poet of *Partonopeus* and Apuleius both drew from the same material in order to write their stories. Apuleius, says Uri, used a Milesian tale of Aristides of Miletus. Aristides' stories gave birth to new Greek love romances which flourished again at Byzantium, especially at the court of emperor Manuel I in the twelfth century; from there they were supposedly brought to France by the crusaders. "So," says Uri, "the Roman author Apuleius and the French poet of *Partonopeus* who lived a thousand years apart, drew their story from the same inexhaustible source: the old and new Greek literature."

Our objections to this theory are many. First of all, the source for Apuleius' "Cupid and Psyche" is unknown. There are many theories concerning its origin, but all that can be said for sure is that Apuleius' "Cupid and Psyche" belongs to the long tradition of tales of the forbidden privilege type. The tale used by Apuleius in writing "Cupid and Psyche" may have been a Milesian tale (this is Adolf Zinzow's theory⁹), but this is not certain. Furthermore, there is no evidence that a Milesian tale of Cupid-Psyche tradition existed at Manuel's court, and supposing that this had been the case, there is no proof that crusaders brought such a story from there to France. It seems unlikely that Byzantine material furnished the source material for *Partonopeus de Blois*; at best, the evidence for such a belief is scanty.

There is, I believe, a better explanation for the relationship which exists between *Partonopeus* and Cupid and Psyche lore, and it is to be found, not in Celtic nor Byzantine matter, but in the writings of Fulgentius Planciades,¹⁰ the Bishop of Carthage, who lived in the sixth century after Christ. Like other

⁹*Psyche und Eros, ein milesisches Märchen* (Halle, 1881).

¹⁰*Hyginus mythographer*, ed. J. Micyllus (London, 1578).

Catholic writers, before and after his time, Fulgentius sought to render pagan myths and stories acceptable to the Church by interpreting this material in terms of Christian dogma. One of his explanations has to do with the myth of Cupid and Psyche. To be sure, his version is very different from *Partonopeus de Blois*, for he has reworked Apuleius' story into a Christian allegory in which one finds the following symbols: The city in which Psyche dwells is the world; the king and queen are God and matter; Psyche is the soul; her sisters are flesh and free will. Venus (lust) envied Psyche and sent Cupid (desire) to destroy her; he persuaded her not to behold his face, that is, not to learn of the joys of desire. Urged by her sisters, Psyche took her lamp from under the bushel, that is, she made manifest the passion of desire hidden until then in her heart. When Psyche saw Cupid, this passion within her was quickened, and she loved this desire when she realized how delightful it could be. Cupid was burned by the oil of the lamp because the more one loves a desire, the more ardent it becomes; besides, any desire leaves its mark of sin on the skin. Psyche's trials and sufferings can be compared to Adam's misfortunes. Their situation is similar because both transgressed higher law.

Fulgentius' interpretation is not what interests us most; what is important is the résumé of Apuleius' story which Fulgentius gives as a preface to his explanation. He not only indicates the broad outline of Apuleius' tale, but gives some detail as well. It is also to be noted that what is given by Fulgentius is sufficient to supply or suggest at least the scenes and descriptions of *Partonopeus* which are similar to Apuleius' "Cupid and Psyche." The poet of *Partonopeus* dwells on the magnificence of Melior's castle; Fulgentius comments on the splendor of Cupid's golden palace, a place so luxurious, says he, that one cannot sufficiently praise it. The relationship which exists between Partonopeus and Melior is suggested by Fulgentius, for Cupid, says Fulgentius, made love to Psyche only in the dark of night, coming invisibly in the shadows of evening and departing unseen before the gray dawn. Reference is made by Fulgentius to the ban placed upon Psyche and to her elder sisters who persuade Psyche that her husband is a serpent. Following her sisters' counsel, Psyche determined to kill Cupid, and to that end, says Fulgentius, she hid a knife under the bed and a lamp under a bushel. When her husband had made an end of making love, she armed herself with knife and lamp and removed the

lamp from the bushel. At once she recognized Cupid and was so shaken by a great surge of affection that she burned him with the spitting of the shining oil from the lamp. Cupid fled, scolding the girl greatly for her curiosity. He subsequently banished her from his house and abandoned her. It is to be noted that the outline and details from these grand scenes, as told by Fulgentius, are almost identical to the corresponding ones of *Partonopeus de Blois*. Fulgentius then gives reference to Psyche's trials and her final reunion with Cupid. To be sure, Partonopeus' tasks in order to win back Melior differ from Psyche's. We expect this, for *Partonopeus* is a *roman courtois*, and it is natural that he should regain his lady's love through knightly deeds.

What conclusions can we draw from this exposé? First of all, the Celtic and Byzantine theories concerning the source material for *Partonopeus de Blois* are, at best, weak and inconclusive. It should be noted that scholars brought forth these theories as substitutes for the logical source, i.e., Apuleius' "Cupid and Psyche," only after it was assumed that the Latin writer's story was unknown to Frenchmen of the Middle Ages. We have found that Apuleius' "Cupid and Psyche" was in fact well known in France before and after the writing of *Partonopeus de Blois*. It was Fulgentius Planciades who preserved the ancient legend in France with his résumé of the story. The manuscripts in France of Fulgentius' writings begin in the seventh century and continue through the sixteenth, and almost all the catalogs of medieval libraries mention him and his interpretation of "Cupid and Psyche."¹¹ This fact suggests two possibilities concerning the poet's use of the ancient legend when writing his romance. He may have used Fulgentius' résumé of Apuleius. We have noted that Fulgentius' account gives a sufficient outline and some detail to suggest the principal scenes of *Partonopeus de Blois*. On the other hand, the author of the French romance may have used the original itself because Fulgentius refers to Apuleius and his "Cupid and Psyche" at the beginning and at the end of his résumé, and from this reference our unknown poet may have been directed to the Latin author's work. I am inclined to believe that the unknown poet of *Partonopeus de Blois* had the original by Apuleius in his possession when writing his romance. Some details appear in Apu-

¹¹H. Lemaître, *Essai sur le mythe de Psyché dans la littérature française des origines à 1890* (Paris, 194-), p. 31.

leius' "Cupid and Psyche" and *Partonopeus*, but not in Fulgentius' résumé.¹² At any rate, it can no longer be maintained, as Huet held, that the loves of Cupid and Psyche were unknown in France during the Middle Ages, and it therefore seems likely that Apuleius' fanciful tale in the original, or via the résumé of Fulgentius, did indeed, as early scholars maintained, supply the principal source material for the Old French romance, *Partonopeus de Blois*.

¹²Apuleius describes a sumptuous banquet prepared for Psyche upon her arrival at Cupid's palace. Invisible servants attend to her needs and wishes during her stay. The poet of *Partonopeus* gives a careful account of a dinner prepared for Partonopeus at Chief d'Oire, and he also makes frequent reference to the invisible servants who care for Partonopeus.

The Anti-Christian Background of German Literary Naturalism

R. MAX ROGERS*

During the last twenty years of the nineteenth century (the age of German naturalism), Christianity, assailed many times since its foundation, was once again the subject of attack. The basis of the anti-Christian attitude was, on the one hand, the contention that the historical substructure of religious beliefs had been shaken; on the other hand, it was claimed that Biblical criticism called for a revelation of the genuineness of the documentary accounts which deal with the early church, its history, and the nature and validity of its dogmas. Often, the battleground shifted to metaphysics. The existence of God, of supernatural powers, or of any supersensuous reality was denied or declared unknowable. Historians, materialistic philosophers, and scientists pressed their attack against the church and sought to destroy all Christian influence on the course of human affairs. Strong and insistent objections of a sociological nature were also advanced to prove the impotence and inefficacy of the social program of the church. Marxian doctrinaires vehemently insisted that religion was the "opiate of the people," that the church was indifferent to man's lot on earth, and that it was therefore in league with the rich and the mighty. But it was not just the history, the metaphysics, and the social doctrines and social program of the church which were being censured; it was the Christian conception of life and Christian spirituality that were assailed; it was, in short, the "whole" of Christianity that its critics hoped to destroy.

As a "Weltanschauung," naturalism is based, in great part, on positivism and materialism. As first expounded by Auguste Comte in France in 1830, positivism maintains that the only valid knowledge is "scientific" knowledge, i.e., the knowledge of what is given in sense perception and verifiable by the experimental method. The basis of Comte's whole system of philoso-

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phy is his so-called "loi de *les trois états*"¹ through which every branch of human knowledge successively passes. In the first state, "l'état théologique," the human mind was still explaining all phenomena by the wills of the deities. In the second state, "l'état métaphysique," abstract causes are substituted for gods, or for God, as an ultimate explanation of the world. The third state is then "l'état positif," which looks upon the metaphysical state as just a necessary interlude during which positive science gradually reaches complete maturity. The positive spirit is essentially the spirit of positive science, which feels no interest in gods, or in causes, because it is never concerned with the "why," but only with the "what" and the "how." Laws, not causes, are the only valid explanation for all knowable facts. All human concepts and, therefore, all human societies, have to arrive necessarily at this third and last stage in the course of their development. Comte, in view of the breakdown of the "ancien régime" in state and society, was attempting to build a new type of social order according to new principles, and by extending the spirit of positive science to social facts, he created the new science, sociology.² We can act upon matter, Comte argues, because we know its laws, and once we know fundamental social laws, we can easily act upon societies.

Being anti-metaphysical, positivism denies the value of genuinely philosophical or rational speculation and substitutes for it the methods of the mathematical and physical sciences. By its very nature, it eliminates religion interpreted as the service, adoration, and worship of God and substitutes for it a "religion de l'humanité." This positivist point of view was rather widely accepted by many German thinkers, and eventually it formed the philosophical basis of the naturalistic movement in German literature.

In regard to morality, the positivist insistence on "scientific impartiality" implies a complete indifference to qualitative distinctions of an intellectual and moral kind and consequently demands the wholesale rejection of all the traditional forms and values of thought and morals. However, in spite of Comte's positivist disavowal of the traditional forms of religion, he himself developed his "religion de l'humanité," which was inspired by his love of mankind and by the desire to achieve a new cul-

¹M. Auguste Comte, *Cours de Philosophie positive* (Paris: Imprimerie de Bachelier, 1842), VI. "law of the three states (stages)."

²*Ibid.*

tural and social unity on a scientific basis. Comte was of the opinion that our instincts cause us to work for humanity and the happiness of all mankind. His religion was then basically altruistic, its principal objective being the promotion of the general welfare and happiness of every individual.³

John Stuart Mill, a somewhat independent, yet in some respects rather close follower of Comte, objected to the latter's "religion of humanity." Mill decided finally that he would be obligated either to break with Comte or allow himself to be dragged from positive philosophy to a new "theology." Herbert Spencer, empiricist and evolutionist, likewise criticized Comte and the "anthropocentric" character of his new approach to philosophy. In his own defense, Comte argued that the strict maintenance of a complete objectivity of scientific knowledge would entail the loss of philosophy. Thus, Mill could not reject all subjectivity and still have a philosophy. Nevertheless, as Gilson points out, "men naturally chose to lose philosophy, thus opening the age of intellectual disorder and social anarchy in which we ourselves are now groping our way."⁴

In 1841 Ludwig Feuerbach published his *Das Wesen des Christentums*, which, to quote Oskar Walzel, "entgötterte die Welt durch den Versuch, allen Glauben an eine Gottheit zum Ergebnis eines blossen seelischen Bedürfnisses des Menschen zu machen."⁵ According to the argument presented by Feuerbach, "der Wunsch ist der Ursprung, ist das Wesen selbst der Religion—das Wesen der Götter nichts andres, als das Wesen des Wunsches."⁶ Therefore, God, or the gods, are considered superhuman and supernatural only because man wishes them so. Once man becomes convinced that he himself is the supreme reality, he will no longer look for happiness above himself, but

within himself. Considering himself the Absolute, man will lose all supernatural wishes; and, as Feuerbach says, "wer keine übernatürlichen Wünsche mehr hat, der hat auch keine überna-

³Auguste Comte, *The Catechism of Positivism*, trans. R. Congreve (London: J. Chapman, 1858).

⁴Etienne Gilson, *The Unity of Philosophical Experience* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946), p. 270.

⁵Oskar F. Walzel, *Die deutsche Literatur von Goethes Tod bis zur Gegenwart* (5. Auflage; Berlin: Askanischer Verlag, Carl Albert Kindle, 1929), p. 28. "deprived the world of divine influence through the attempt to make all belief in a divinity the result of a mere emotional or psychic need of man."

⁶Ludwig Feuerbach, *Das Wesen der Religion* (2. Auflage; Leipzig: Verlag von Otto Wigand, 1849), p. 36. "wish is the origin and the real essence of religion; the nature of the gods is nothing more than the nature of wish."

türlichen Wesen mehr."⁷ It is only natural that this doctrine of Feuerbach, which aimed at the destruction of all supernaturalism, should have exerted a tremendous influence on the literary world in an age which was exposed to positivism, materialism, Darwinism, and the natural sciences.

Materialism, a doctrine which regards matter, or material force, or the corporeal world, as the one and only reality, became very popular in the nineteenth century, especially through the contributions made by Karl Marx and the co-founder of communism, Friedrich Engels, in the works: *Das kommunistische Manifest* (1848) and *Das Kapital* (Vol. I: 1867; II: 1885; III: 1894). Both Marx and Engels rejected the "shallow and vulgarized" form of materialism advanced by Jacob Moleschott (*Kreislauf des Lebens*, 1852), Karl Vogt (*Köhlerglaube und Wissenschaft*, 1855), and Ludwig Büchner (*Kraft und Stoff*, 1855); they preferred to develop the limited materialism of Feuerbach, as expressed in *Das Wesen der Religion*. According to the general arguments advanced by Feuerbach in this highly influential work, all that which is, is either material by itself, or it is rooted in and strictly determined by something which is itself material.⁸ Marx was firmly convinced that Feuerbach's materialism could be extended from the mechanical interactions of matter to biological problems and even to social life, including philosophy. The material order of nature, as Marx understood it, was conceived as having a history—that is to say, as following Darwinian evolution, whose law was essentially the same as that of Hegel's dialectical idealism.⁹ The result was then a historical or dialectical materialism which presents the history of society as the history of the class struggle, a survival of the fittest, so to speak, and thus as a kind of "Darwinism" of the social and economic order. In this class struggle for survival, Marx saw the two principal opponents in the forces of capital and those of the proletariat, and he thought he could foresee the eventual "expropriation" of the capitalists by a class-conscious proletariat. With the emphasis on the importance of classes and the class struggle, the individual assumed a position of little importance; the "Gefühl für Massenhaftigkeit" grew stronger, with the result that no longer the individual, but

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 78. "whoever no longer has any supernatural wishes, also has no longer supernatural beings."

⁸*Ibid.*

⁹Gilson, *op. cit.*, p. 284.

the social group, the class, became the hero of the world drama—an idea which proved to be very popular in naturalistic literature.

The tremendous influence of Charles Darwin—his theory of the origin of man and man's biological evolution, his doctrines of natural selection and the survival of the fittest—was felt not only throughout the world of the natural sciences, but in the philosophical, religious, and literary realm as well. It was Darwin who indirectly aided in raising the natural sciences to a position of respect and influence such as they had never experienced before. Natural science and the "scientific method" began to dominate the spirit of the century and the modern "Weltanschauung." But sometimes excessive enthusiasm for a thing brings about an unwholesome result, for as Johannes Volkelt suggests, "Die Begeisterung für die Naturwissenschaft ist vielleicht zum naturwissenschaftlichen Dogmatismus . . . ausgeartet."¹⁰ The danger lay in the fact that natural science considered itself qualified and justified to encroach upon non-scientific fields and modes of life and to pass judgment on moral and religious questions. Made bold by its discoveries and exploits in the realm of matter, and deeply steeped in its materialistic presuppositions and prejudices, it often expressed its opposition to all religious dogma and even to religion as such. The natural scientist felt inclined to attribute responsibility for human action to the influence of heredity and environment and to deny the possibility of moral self-determination. Man was regarded as an irresolute "Massenwesen" that reacted to general stimuli and allowed itself to "develop" quite passively. And even today, as Oskar Walzel points out, it is often customary "jedes Verbrechen durch den Hinweis auf unwiderstehliche Naturwirkungen zu bemänteln."¹¹ This approach to life and human conduct meant, of course, an utter disregard and contempt for such principles as free will and moral absolutes. Because of this materialistic way of thinking, "Diesseitigkeit" was emphasized exclusively, and all transcendent elements of former "Weltanschauungen" were rejected. Quite naturally, the spirit of science penetrated into the realm of art, and so

¹⁰Johannes I. Volkelt, *Ästhetische Zeitfragen* (München: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Oskar Beck, 1895), p. 157. "The enthusiasm for natural science has degenerated, perhaps, into a natural science dogmatism. . ."

¹¹Oskar F. Walzel, *Die Geistesströmungen des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Quelle und Meyer, 1924), p. 49. "to cloak every crime by referring to irresistible, natural forces."

arose the notion that art needed but to adhere to the methods of the natural sciences in order to make its greatest contributions to artistic creation. Wilhelm Scherer, professor of German at the University of Berlin, was one of the first to proclaim the coming domination of science, in literature as well as in other fields, and he attempted to apply the methods of science to literary history and literary criticism. Wilhelm Bölsche made an earnest attempt to link and unite poetry and science, and in his *Die naturwissenschaftlichen Grundlagen der Poesie*, his general argument is that what mythology was for ancient poetry, the Darwinian theory should be for the literature of German naturalism.¹² Darwin's laws of heredity and environmental influences soon provided such catchwords for literature as "Vererbung," "Umgebung," and "Umwelt." The French historian and literary critic Hippolyte Taine, like Darwin, stressed the great importance of heredity and environment in the growth and development of man. To Taine, it was apparent that man lives in a universe of natural scientific law; he is not an independent spectator viewing this vast mechanism from the outside, but an integral part of the intricate network of cause and effect. Since every human act is absolutely determined by invariable primordial forces, namely, "la race," "le milieu," and "le moment," free will cannot exist and moral responsibility has no meaning. History and human life become subject to and determined by these forces. Consequently, the formative and creative powers of the human mind and heart were not recognized by Taine; concepts of talent, genius, and inspiration were discarded.¹³ This was indeed, as Walter Linden says, "die Weltanschauung der Unfreiheit, die den Willen des Menschen nicht anerkennt, da dieser Wille durch Anlage, Vererbung und Umwelt 'determiniert' . . . ist."¹⁴

In general, the determinism preached by the natural sciences ended in a rather depressing pessimism. Literature likewise respected the spirit of the time. Faith in the moral betterment of man was shattered. Fantasy found no opportunity for expres-

¹²Wilhelm Bölsche, *Die naturwissenschaftlichen Grundlagen der Poesie* (Leipzig: Reissner Verlag, 1887), pp. 67-68.

¹³Hippolyte Taine, *Histoire de la littérature anglaise* (Paris: Libraire Hachette, 1890), Introduction.

¹⁴Walter Linden, Naturalismus, in: *Literatur in Entwicklungsreihen*, Reihe 27, 1. Band (Leipzig: Verlag von Philipp Reclam jun., 1936), p. 7. "the philosophy of bondage, the refusal to acknowledge the will of man, since this will is 'determined' by natural tendencies, heredity, and environment. . ."

sion, and art was subjected to the methods of science. Literature borrowed from empiricism the tools of analytical and descriptive methods. Characters in the literary works of the naturalists were depicted as being almost entirely the result of hereditary and "milieu"; as individuals they were quite passive. Stammler tells of the great popularity of the pessimistic philosopher Schopenhauer, whose influence on literature was profound.

Seinen Schopenhauer trug damals jeder Jüngling in der Tasche und sog aus ihm die Überzeugung von der Sinnlosigkeit und Blindheit des Weltgrundes.¹⁵

According to Jethro Bithell, pessimism as a philosophic system was not definitely displaced in literature until Nietzsche's doctrine of the "superman" passed into the neo-romanticism of the impressionists.¹⁶ Eduard von Hartmann, a disciple of Schopenhauer, was likewise convinced that the world was metaphysically evil and that all efforts to improve it and its many undesirable conditions would be futile; therefore, the best one could do was to surrender stoically to the pain and suffering of life. However, some literary historians, such as Hans Naumann¹⁷ and Eduard Engel,¹⁸ fail to recognize this kind of pessimism in the writings of the young German naturalists. They argue that many of these young writers were definitely optimists, for had they been otherwise, they would not have striven so zealously and incessantly to disseminate their revolutionary ideas. There is no doubt that in most instances naturalistic writers presented in their literary works a rather dismal and pessimistic picture of contemporary social and economic conditions, but frequently this procedure was ingeniously designed to rouse society from its lethargy and torpor, to incite within each individual the desire and the firm resolve to fight for the amelioration of these inhuman social and economic conditions. Bismarck had proved the power of a strong will when possessed by a man of talent and the ability of leadership. Nietzsche too was begin-

¹⁵Wolfgang Stammler, *Deutsche Literatur vom Naturalismus bis zur Gegenwart* (2. durchgesehene Auflage; Breslau: Ferdinand Hirt, 1927), p. 15. "At that time every young man carried his Schopenhauer in his pocket and sucked from it the conviction of the senselessness and blindness of the world."

¹⁶Jethro Bithell, *Modern German Literature (1880-1938)*, (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1939), p. 3.

¹⁷Hans Naumann, *Die deutsche Dichtung der Gegenwart (1885-1924)* (2. Auflage; Stuttgart: J. S. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1924), p. 144.

¹⁸Eduard Engel, *Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung. 2. Band, Das 19. Jahrhundert und die Gegenwart* (Wien: F. Tempsky; Leipzig: G. Freytag, 1912), p. 310.

ning to make his voice heard with his doctrine of the perfectibility of man through joyous self-assertion, a self-assertion which was to lead eventually to the glorification of the "Übermensch." Certainly such optimistic views were far removed from the fundamental doctrines taught by natural science and were diametrically opposed to the pessimism of Hartmann and Schopenhauer. It is quite obvious then that both the optimism and pessimism of the "Zeitgeist" is reflected in the works of the German naturalists.

The political, economic, and social conditions of Germany after 1870 determined to a large extent the German mind. In 1871, after the Franco-Prussian War, Germany at last achieved political unity and became again an empire. The war itself exercised little influence on the literature of the day, except indirectly through the social conditions which developed as a result of it. Germany's political perspectives were broadened; a new spirit developed in industry, new enterprises sprang up everywhere, new inventions were introduced—the progress in all of the sciences was tremendous, and all phases of German life experienced a speedy modernization. One consequence of the Franco-Prussian War was the sudden affluence particularly in Berlin, where a prodigious building program was undertaken and where large-scale speculation led to a short-lived boom. It was not long until Berlin was counted as one of the most important and progressive cities of Europe. These were the so-called "Gründerjahre"; Germany was becoming a leading industrial nation. With this unparalleled expansion of German commerce and industry and the general economic and social revolution came a feeling of tension and unrest. The development of big industry and trade resulted in the rapid growth of large cities, which partially depopulated the rural areas. This depopulation, in turn, brought about the loss of some of the most precious and most substantial elements of the German past. A whole new German world was beginning to take form, politically, economically, and socially. However, the problems which frequently follow the rise of capitalism now made themselves manifest. With the great influx of workers, the labor supply on the market became greater than the demand; capital was able to dictate its terms, and the result was hardship and misery for the workers and at times impoverishment and ruin for the small business man. The growth of an industrial prole-

tariat meant the rise of city slums and the growth of destitution in urban centers. The wealth of the upper and trading classes contrasted harshly with the groveling poverty of the working population. Quite naturally this resulted in conflicts between labor and capital. Marxism and social democracy attempted to ameliorate the many social ills, which rushed in with the new order, by demanding social legislation, but even when this was enacted during the chancellorship of Bismarck, it could not check the spread of those malignant social diseases which had elsewhere characterized the growth of capitalism. Under the banner of Marxian socialism the proletarians banded together, hoping and working for social revolution.

Although the concern of the masses was the promotion of better working and living conditions and the acquisition of a decent wage standard, the "Sozialproblem" of the day was in reality much broader, for as Eugen Wolff points out, "keineswegs schliesst es nur Arbeiterfragen in sich—der Handelsstand, das Gelehrtenproletariat, Militär und Adel, Frauenfrage, Ehezustände, die öffentliche Sittlichkeit, Erziehungswesen, das Schriftstellerleben, die Judenfrage, die deutsch-böhmische Frage"¹⁹—all of these social problems weighed heavily upon the German mind and, as a result, found their way into German naturalistic literature, a literary movement that was vitally interested in all contemporaneous problems. The "soziale Frage," however, pushed all other interests into the background, with the result that art and literature were placed in the service of social reform. "Armeleutemalerei" and "Proletarierromane" became very popular among the German people. Writers now took little interest in the "Selbstzweck der Kunst"; art and literature became revolutionary, "tendenziös," and didactic.

With numerous changes taking place in the social order and with people cultivating a materialistic and deterministic outlook on life, it is not surprising that their attitudes toward Church and religion should change likewise.

Der Mensch verliert seinen metaphysischen Eigenwert,
er wird zu einem blossen Rad an diesem ungeheuren Mechanismus,
der nicht mehr der Erfüllung eines religiösen Ideals,

¹⁹Eugen Wolff, *Deutsche Literatur in der Gegenwart* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1896), pp. 31-32. "it did not, by any means, include only questions having to do with the working classes—the business classes, the scholars of the proletariat, the military and the nobility, the question of woman's rights, marriage conditions, public morality, the educational system, the life of literary people, the question of the Jews, the German-Bohemian problem."

eines ewigen Menschheitsideales dient, der aus sich selber läuft und sich selber als Ziel setzt.²⁰

There were attempts to make both the Protestant and Catholic Churches more aware of the social problems and evils of the day in the hope that they would help better social conditions and manifest the love for the poor and downtrodden that Christ himself had shown. A great work of Christian charity arose out of a deepened insight into the social needs of the time—a work in which social and Christian workers cooperated to some extent in an effort to relieve the suffering and the distress of the impoverished and destitute masses. Johann H. Wichern began the work of the “Innere Mission” with the establishment of “das rauhe Haus” in Hamburg; Pastor Theodor Fliedner laid the foundations of the “Diakonissen” Institutes; and others, such as Pastor Oberlin, Freiherr von Kottwitz, Gustav Werner, and leaders of several pietistic organizations, helped to found Christian institutions and societies whose purpose and objective was the social and spiritual welfare of man. Catholic social leaders such as Domvikar Kolping of Cologne and Bischof Emanuel von Ketteler of Mainz were well aware of the great social problems of the day. Both worked long and arduously to help organize Catholic workers into social working men’s clubs, the precursors of the Christian trade unions. Ketteler, a very influential member of the “Zentrumspartei,” was successful in furthering legislation designed to improve social conditions for the proletariat.²¹ Heinrich Weinel mentions the fact that several clergymen became Social Democrats in this time of social unrest, with the explanation that “der soziale Geist des Christentums zu sozialistischen Forderungen führe.”²² This fact was, without doubt, of great significance in influencing public opinion. However, as Weinel further points out, “je mehr man in die Tiefe steigt, desto krasser wird die sozialdemokratische

²⁰Philipp Witkop, *Deutsche Dichtung der Gegenwart* (Leipzig: H. Haessel Verlag, 1924), pp. 11-12. “The human being loses his metaphysical values, he becomes a mere wheel on this monstrous mechanism that no longer serves to bring about the fulfillment of a religious ideal, of an eternal ideal of the human race, but runs by its own power and sets itself as its goal.”

²¹Theobald Ziegler, *Die geistigen und sozialen Strömungen des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (3 umgearbeitete Auflage; Berlin: Georg Bondi, 1910), pp. 205 sqq.; pp. 278 sqq.; pp. 505 sqq.

²²Heinrich Weinel, *Jesus im 19. Jahrhundert* (3. Neubearbeitung; Tübingen: Verlag von J. D. B. Mohr, 1914), p. 159. “the social spirit of Christianity would lead to socialistic challenges.”

Kritik des Christentums und meist auch Jesu."²³ It was "ein schwärmerischer Kommunismus auf der Grundlage der christlichen Liebe" that the masses were fervently seeking and demanding, something to raise them above the misery and wretchedness of the new capitalistic world.²⁴ Most endeavors to prevent the alienation from Church dogma, which was spreading among both cultured classes and the masses, were in vain. A growing disrespect for established authorities, a hostility toward dogmatism, orthodoxy, intolerance, and hypocrisy, especially within the Protestant Church, led to a new liberalism in religious views. Ziegler suggests that one can hardly blame the Protestant laymen for losing faith in their pastors, who, in the pulpit, were not permitted to follow their own convictions or respect scientific knowledge; but who, on the contrary, "predigen sollen, was sie selbst nicht glauben." This, he says, is certainly no longer "der Geist protestantischer Gewissensfreiheit, sondern ist ein Geist der Unwahrhaftigkeit und der Lüge, wozu die Kirchenbehörde ihre Geistlichen geradezu zwingt."²⁵ Many Protestant clergymen and laymen were highly critical of the dependency of their Church on the State, for this meant, to a great extent, State control and supervision, and a subsequent loss of the autonomy previously enjoyed by the Protestant Church; soon, they felt, the Church would be little more than a political "tool" of the State, and, as such, it would be exploited to the utmost. In the Catholic world all was not well either; the Catholic Church was being criticized by clergy and layman alike for its extreme centralization and excessive emphasis on the importance of uniformity, which, it was thought, had led to an intolerable orthodoxy and dogmatism and the abrogation of free individual thought and action. The symbolism of the "Sakramentszauber" and "dingliche Gnadeneinflössungen," the propagation of new devotions and cults, "die nur der Wundersucht und Phantastik Vorschub leisten"—these and other elements of the established churches were subjected to intense criticism, but it was the religious intolerance of the day which

²³*Ibid.*, p. 154. "the more one descends into the depths, the crasser the social democratic criticisms of Christianity become, mostly of Jesus."

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 144. "an enthusiastic communism on the basis of Christian love."

²⁵Ziegler, *op. cit.*, p. 440. "are expected to preach what they themselves do not believe." "the spirit of Protestant freedom of conscience, but a spirit of insincerity and mendacity which the Church authorities actually force their clergymen into."

was most vehemently and savagely attacked.²⁶ Rudolf Eucken finds the whole nineteenth century "eine fortlaufende Gegenbewegung gegen die überkommene Form der Religion selbst."²⁷ The revolutionary developments in the field of the natural sciences, Darwin's doctrine of evolution, historical observation with its relativization of values and value judgments, and positivistic philosophy became the irreconcilable enemies of all traditional religion and static religious truth. Political, economic, and social tasks and problems increased immeasurably the interest in "Diesseitigkeit." The safety of sacred tradition and the entire realm of the supernatural were challenged by historical criticism; "überall wird das Wunder aus dem Leben vertrieben und eine natürliche Ansicht der Dinge durchgeführt."²⁸ A contribution of historical criticism was the so-called "Bibelkritik," according to which every single book in the Bible and its contents was to be studied and interpreted in the light of the time in which it was written. Therefore, the Bible was conceived of as "etwas allmählich Gewachsenes und ihr Inhalt in Einzelheiten als zeitlich Gebundenes."²⁹ Another result of this "Bibelkritik" was the opinion that dogmas are likewise conditioned by the time in which they are formulated. For this reason, all religious instruction was to be approached from the historical point of view. There were those who, like Ludwig Feuerbach and David Friedrich Strauss, had read the spirit of the time into their negative interpretation of Christianity and its central figure, Christ. Strauss, in his book *Der alte und der neue Glaube*, questions whether we actually are still Christians, for he says, "Wenn wir als ehrliche aufrichtige Menschen sprechen wollen, so müssen wir bekennen: wir sind keine Christen mehr."³⁰ However, as he suggests, this does not necessarily make us nonreligious; "wir könnten immerhin noch religiös

²⁶Ernst Troeltsch. "Aus der religiösen Bewegung der Gegenwart," *Neue Deutsche Rundschau*, 21. Jahrgang (1910), III, pp. 1170 sqq. "the magic of the sacrament and conditional infusion of grace." "which only promote the search for miracles and the fantastic."

²⁷Rudolf C. Eucken, "Der moderne Mensch und die Religion," *Neue Deutsche Rundschau*, 13. Jahrgang (1902), II, p. 681. "a continuous reaction against the traditional form of religion itself."

²⁸*Ibid.* "everywhere the miracle is being banished and a natural view of things is receiving recognition."

²⁹E. Lemke, *Die Hauptrichtungen im deutschen Geistesleben der letzten Jahrzehnte und ihr Spiegelbild in der Dichtung* (Leipzig: Quelle und Meyer, 1914), p. 50. "something that has developed gradually and its content limited to the time in which it was written."

³⁰David Friedrich Strauss, *Der alte und der neue Glaube* (10. Auflage; Bonn, Verlag von Emil Strauss, 1879), p. 94. "we are no longer Christians."

sein, wenn wir es auch nicht mehr in der Form des Christenthums wären."³¹ Friedrich Nietzsche decried the "virtues of Christianity" and exerted with his destructive criticism a tremendous influence on the intellectual and cultural life of the late nineteenth century. Because of this influence, it is, perhaps, not surprising that some of the features of the Nietzschean "Übermensch" were incorporated into the Christian "Lebensideal" of the last decade of the nineteenth century.³² Literature too felt the weight of Nietzsche's keen mind and forceful personality. Herbert Cysarz points to this influence in naturalistic works: "Der Naturalismus hält sich zunächst an Nietzsches revolutionäres Ethos, an den Willen zur Macht, und die Umwertung aller moralischen und religiösen Werte. . . ."³³ Anything that would destroy this "Will to Power," Nietzsche considered a negative, even immoral, factor; thus, he condemned Christianity as the greatest negative factor of all, for, as he alleges, it puts a ban on all man's fundamental instincts and impulses. He saw the salvation of society, not in Christian altruism, but in the domination of the "Wille zur Macht" and the brutal self-assertion of individual instincts. He felt that it was the social duty of the race, not to subordinate the individual to the group, but to create a new type of personality, the "Übermensch," who was to rise above what he regarded as the meek and self-effacing virtues of Christianity. "Nicht 'Menschheit,' sondern Übermensch ist das Ziel!"³⁴

Feuerbach, Marx, Comte, and Nietzsche were convinced that faith in God was disappearing, never to rise again, and their atheism both believed and rejoiced in its own finality. Transcendent God, the friend of man, as revealed through Jesus, was rejected by these philosophers and their adherents, while, at the same time, the Christian idea of man and his relation to God, which had been welcomed at one time as a deliverance from the bondage of matter with which fate had burdened man, was now beginning to be felt as a yoke. The afore-

³¹*Ibid.* "we could still be religious in spite of everything, even if our religion did not take the form of Christianity."

³²Wendland, *op. cit.*, p. 445.

³³Herbert Cysarz, *Von Schiller zu Nietzsche* (Halle an der Saale: M. Niemeyer, 1928), p. 302. "Naturalism clings, first of all, to Nietzsche's revolutionary ethos, the will to power, and the revaluation of all moral and religious values. . . ."

³⁴Friedrich Nietzsche, *Werke*. 15. und 16. Bände, *Der Wille zur Macht* (Leipzig: Alfred Kroner Verlag, 1911), XV, pp. 302 sqq.; XVI, pp. 341 sqq. "Not 'humanity,' but superman is the goal!"

said thinkers argued that man would forfeit his self-esteem and be unable to develop in freedom unless he broke first with the Church and then with the Transcendent Being upon whom, according to Christian tradition, he was dependent. This urge to break with God and Church increased in scope and momentum until, after several phases and vicissitudes, it came to a head in "the most daring and destructive form of atheism: absolute humanism, which claims to be the only genuine kind, and inevitably regards a Christian humanism as absurd."³⁵

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, when naturalism was beginning to fall into disrepute, there developed, in spite of the previously mentioned and still largely prevalent anti-Christian and anti-religious sentiments and trends, "ein Anschwellen der religiösen Welle"—not in the sense of a positive Christianity, which was still undergoing attack, but in the form of "Wiederkehr zur Metaphysik und Drang nach dem Ewigen."³⁶ Gradually some of the intellectual leaders were becoming aware of what seemed to them to be an important social truth: man cannot organize the world for himself without God, because an exclusive naturalistic humanism is self-defeating. Consequently, many advocated a "return to God," but some insisted that it be done on a personal basis and not through the mediation of Church or priesthood. "Modernism" in the Roman Catholic Church and the growing liberalism in the Protestant churches did not signify a dislike for religious values as such; for, as a matter of fact, both clergyman and layman "erstrebten im Gegenteil eine grössere Verinnerlichung."³⁷ They felt a need for a new expression of religious truth that would conform to the religious mood of the time, for traditional dogma and institutional religion were looked upon with disdain.

In an age in which man's primary interest centers in the cultural developments and problems of the day and hour, one can expect to find a reflection of this interest in literature. In this regard, German literary naturalism was certainly no exception. The time was ripe for a literary revolution, not only in Germany, but throughout Europe. Writers were no longer

³⁵Henri de Lubac, *The Drama of Atheist Humanism*, trans. Edith M. Riley (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1950) pp. 5 sqq.

³⁶Johannes Mumbauer, *Die deutsche Dichtung der neuesten Zeit* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder und Co., 1931), I, p. 115. "return to metaphysics and a longing for the eternal."

³⁷Lemke, *op. cit.*, p. 46. "were striving, on the contrary, for a greater intensification (of religious values)."

interested in the world of the past; they focussed their attention on the social problems of the present. There was no room for timidity and moral cowardice. In the opinion of Carl Bleibtreu, an influential German writer of this period, the first and most important task of literature is "sich der grossen Zeitfragen zu bemächtigen."³⁸ Adherence to the principle of "l'art pour l'art" was considered a capital offense against the naturalistic creed; true literature was no longer thought to be the product of an abstract love for art and aesthetic beauty as ends in themselves, but on the contrary, it had to be born of a "leidenschaftliche Theilnahme an den Schmerzen und Freuden der Mitwelt."³⁹ This new literature and art was to be naturalistic in every detail. To quote Wilhelm Dilthey:

Sie (die Literatur) will das Wirkliche sehen lassen, wie es ist, und analysieren. Sie will die Anatomie und Physiologie eines gegebenen Teils der Wirklichkeit sein. Was heute um uns menschlich, gesellschaftlich lebt, atmet und pulsiert, was jeder an seinem eigenen Leben und an seiner eigenen Seele erfährt, das will sie, solange es dem Messer der Wissenschaft noch nicht verfallen ist, unter ihr eigenes Seziermesser nehmen.⁴⁰

This was the spirit of a new age, the spirit of science making itself felt in the world of literature and art; it was what Wilhelm Bölsche had demanded in his *Die naturwissenschaftlichen Grundlagen der Poesie*.⁴¹

One can readily understand why the German people, when confronted with social and philosophical forces of the magnitude of those just mentioned, began seriously and critically to analyze their own religious beliefs. In summary, because Christianity had been attacked, some individuals attempted to bring about social and religious reforms within the Christian church; others sought to re-establish their religious faith apart from the

³⁸Carl Bleibtreu, *Revolution der Literatur* (Leipzig: Verlag von Wilhelm Friedrich, 1886), p. 13. "make oneself master of the great problems of the time."

³⁹*Ibid.* "enthusiastic interest in the sorrows and joys of that generation."

⁴⁰Wilhelm Dilthey, *Gesammelte Schriften*, 6. Band, "Die geistige Welt" (Leipzig und Berlin: Verlag von B. G. Teubner, 1914-36), p. 243. "It (literature) wants to let reality be seen, as it is, and analyze it. It wants to be the anatomy and the physiology of a given part of reality. Whatever is humanly or socially alive around us, whatever breathes and pulsates, whatever each person experiences in his own life and in his own soul, that, it (literature) wants to bring under its own dissection knife, as long as it has not yet been forfeited to the knife of science."

⁴¹Bölsche, *op. cit.*

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church and on a personal, mystical basis. Although there were people who became, or remained, indifferent to institutional religion and ecclesiastical dogmas, a great many, principally those whose faith had already ebbed or had been completely shattered by the new social and philosophical ideas, became hostile to religion as such, and particularly to Christianity. All of these attitudes are well depicted in the creative literature of German naturalism.

Carlyle and Ruskin: An Influential Friendship

CHARLES H. KEGEL*

One of the most powerful, sustained, and influential relationships between major literary figures of nineteenth century England was that which existed between Thomas Carlyle and John Ruskin. And while the relationship has not escaped the notice of scholars, its impact upon John Ruskin, the younger of the two, has yet to be described and assessed.

To the casual reader of Ruskin and Carlyle there might seem to be differences great enough to exclude any possibility of a friendship between the two men. And it might appear incongruous that the delicate Ruskin—lover of art, measurer of gothic gargoyles, sponsor of May-queen festivals, collector of colorful rocks—should become the avowed disciple of the stern Carlyle—transcendental mystic, scoffer at art, popularizer of German metaphysics.

The differences, indeed, were great. Carlyle, eldest of nine children born to a poor Ecclefechan stone mason, struggled with adversity throughout his early life. The poverty of his rude environment imposed conditions which made extremely difficult his subsequent rise to fame. A bag of oatmeal under his arm, he walked ninety miles to Edinburgh and a university education. And after years of hardship as schoolmaster, tutor, translator, and hack writer, his imposing genius transported him, via America, from Craigenputtock obscurity to London fame. No such struggles had the genius of Ruskin. Born the only son of a comfortably situated London wine merchant, Ruskin spent his early life in a sheltered atmosphere of delicacy and refinement. His doting parents, certain of their son's precocity, nurtured him carefully; contact with the rude, the sordid, and the ugly they cautiously avoided, while yearly travels both in England and on the Continent maintained his steady acquaintance with the beauties of nature and of art. His earliest writings were taken by his eager father to publisher friends

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and found their way into print. His mother took rooms at Oxford, where Ruskin had been entered as a gentleman-commoner, in order to watch carefully her frail son. And in 1843, the year after he received his degree, *Modern Painters* catapulted "a graduate of Oxford" to fame.

One could, of course, continue to point out differences between the two men. If style *is* the man, then Carlyle and Ruskin were irreconcilably foreign to each other. The rude, irregular, masculine force of Carlyle's prose, through which shines a kind of noble complexity, is the very antithesis of Ruskin's festooned and cadenced periods.¹ Also, their early intellectual interests seem widely divergent. While Carlyle's *Teufelsdröckh* waged fierce battle with *das ewige Nein*, Ruskin classified rocks and minerals, sketched flowers, and wrote sentimental Byronic poems. While Carlyle searched twelfth-century Bury St. Edmund for a social pattern to impose upon the sick society of the nineteenth century, Ruskin measured Turner's effectiveness at drawing meadows.

These differences, however, are largely on the surface, and they are somewhat unfair to Ruskin in that they take into consideration mainly his early work. The careful student, although cognizant of these superficial differences, is aware of an underlying sympathy—even biographical—between the two men. Both were of Scottish parentage; both attained an intellectual supremacy over their fathers, whom, nevertheless, they continued to respect with a kind of awe;² both were subjected maternally to a rigid, Calvinistic interpretation of God and his book; both were first intended for the ministry,³ later abandoned those hopes, and finally lost contact completely with conventional Christianity.

Similar also were their intellectual inclinations; and though I shall deal later with specific similarities, it will serve a useful purpose to generalize here. Although they abandoned the Christian ministry, both became preachers-at-large to their generation, and the sermons they preached were strong denunciations

¹This is particularly true of Ruskin's early prose style. In his later works Ruskin's style becomes harder, the purple passages fewer.

²Thomas Carlyle, *Reminiscences*, ed. James Anthony Froude (New York, 1881), pp. 3-33; John Ruskin, *The Works of John Ruskin*, ed. E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn (London, 1903-12), XXXV, 44—hereafter cited as *Works*.

³Characteristically, Ruskin's parents had hopes that he would become a bishop (*Works*, XXXV, 25).

of the existing state of society. Both sought as the solution for current social problems an ethical certitude such as had existed in the middle ages, and both thought that the way to regain that ethical certitude was through *individual* reformation and regeneration.

Setting aside for the moment similarities and differences between the two men, let us investigate the nature and extent of the relationship they did have. Just how early Ruskin met Carlyle, his senior by almost twenty-five years, is not known with certainty, though I have argued elsewhere that the first meeting probably took place during the period between September 1846 and June 1847.⁴

The friendship then started developed and strengthened with the passing years. In 1849 Ruskin seems to have spent considerable time making a serious study of Carlyle's published works.⁵ In 1851, just after the publication of the first volume of Ruskin's *Stones of Venice*, the first extant letter passed between them, in which Carlyle urged his young friend to continue his "very gratifying" work in the "quite new 'Renaissance' . . . we are getting into just now."⁶ In 1854, just one year after Ruskin had—in his famous "Nature of Gothic" chapter in the second volume of *Stones*—made manifest the social implications of his art theory, Ruskin made the first public admission of his discipleship to Carlyle.⁷ The following year he felt it necessary to explain to Carlyle that many things in his own writings which "corresponded very closely to things that you had said much better" were not deliberate plagiarisms.⁸ And in 1856, while answering in an appendix to the third volume of *Modern Painters* the general charge of plagiarism, Ruskin admitted being "quite unable to say to what extent my thoughts have been guided by Wordsworth, Carlyle, and Helps; to whom (with Dante and George Herbert, in olden time) I owe more than to any other writers;—most of all, perhaps to Carlyle, whom I

⁴Charles H. Kegel, "An Uncertain Biographical Fact," *The Victorian Newsletter*, No. 10 (Autumn 1956), p. 19. Sanders, however, suggests a later date: "The best guess which I can make is that they met at a Rogers breakfast or one of John Forster's dinners in April or May of 1850." (Charles Richard Sanders, "Carlyle's Letters to Ruskin: A Finding List with Some Unpublished Letters and Comments," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, XLI [September 1958], 208n)

⁵*Works*, IX, p. xxiii.

⁶*Works*, IX, p. xlvi.

⁷*Works*, XII, 507.

⁸*Works*, XXXVI, 184.

read so constantly, that, without wilfully setting myself to imitate him, I find myself perpetually falling into his modes of expression, and saying many things in a 'quite other,' and, I hope, stronger way than I should have adopted some years ago." Ruskin added, "I find Carlyle's stronger thinking colouring mine continually."⁹

The friendship was not without misgivings for Ruskin's parents, who were fearful that Carlyle would pervert their son.¹⁰ And they were right, if one considers perversion to mean (as they certainly did) a shift of emphasis from problems of art to problems of society. I think there can be little doubt that Carlyle's influence played a large part in quickening the shift, which started in the late fifties and was completed in 1860 with the publication in *Cornhill Magazine* of a series of essays entitled "Unto this Last."¹¹ Certainly some of the Carlyle "colouring" Ruskin had spoken of can be found in *A Joy for Ever*, a series of lectures on the political economy of art which he delivered in Manchester in 1857. The following quotation is characteristic:

I wish to plead for your several and future consideration of this one truth, that the notion of Discipline and Interference [by the government] lies at the very root of all human progress or power; that the 'let-alone' principle is, in all things which man has to do with, the principle of death; that it is the ruin to him, certain and total, if he lets his land alone—if he lets fellow-men alone—if he lets his own soul alone . . . I believe that the masses have a right to claim education from their government. . . . I believe they have a right to claim employment from their governors.¹²

Carlyle's letters, once Ruskin had manifested his interest

⁹*Works*, V, 427, 428.

¹⁰*Works*, XXXVI, 396, 460. It should be noted, however, that Ruskin's father did make some overtures of friendship in 1861. Sanders has recently published (pp. 217-220) five letters from Carlyle to the elder Ruskin thanking him for gifts of books, flowers, wine, and cigars.

¹¹Albers cautions, "Man darf auf keinen Fall Carlyle allein verantwortlich machen für Ruskins Hinwendung zu sozialökonomischen Themen." (Helma Albers, *Studien zu Ruskin's Sozialismus* [Hamburg, 1938], p. 26) She is, of course, right; for Ruskin's theory of morality in art carried the embryo of his later social criticism. However, without Carlyle's strong influence it seems likely that Ruskin would not have made the shift so early.

¹²*Works*, XVI, 26-27. That Ruskin had Carlyle in mind when he wrote this passage becomes even more apparent as one continues reading. A few lines later Ruskin alludes to Carlyle's comparison of a modern worker and an English horse in *Past and Present* (Thomas Carlyle, *The Works of Thomas Carlyle*, Centenary Edition, ed. H. D. Traill [London, 1896-99], X, 157—hereafter cited as Carlyle, *Works*).

in social matters, offered constant encouragement and urged the younger man to continue in his assault against "those unfortunate dismal-science people."¹³ After reading the first essay of *Unto this Last*, Carlyle wrote, "I have read your paper with exhilaration, exultation, often with laughter, with bravissimo! Such a thing flung suddenly into half a million dull British heads on the same day, will do a great deal of good. I marvel in parts at the lynx-eyed sharpness of your logic, at the pincer-grip (red-hot pincers) you take of certain bloated cheeks and blown-up bellies. . . . Stand to that kind of work for the next seven years, and work out then a result like what you have done in painting."¹⁴ And when *Unto this Last* was discontinued by the publishers of *Cornhill Magazine* in November 1860, it was Carlyle who encouraged his good friend and then editor of *Fraser's Magazine*, James Anthony Froude, to solicit from Ruskin something else in the political-economy line.¹⁵ The result was *Munera Pulveris*, which Ruskin significantly dedicated "to the friend and guide who has urged me to all chief labour, THOMAS CARLYLE."¹⁶

The friendship between master and disciple which had ripened in the fifties and early sixties did not diminish with time. If anything, it grew more solid, assuming, in fact, the aspects of a father-son relationship. Ruskin's father had died in 1864. Accustomed throughout his life to a strong parental tie, Ruskin cast Carlyle into the vacant position. As early as 1867, in a passage written for *Time and Tide* but removed from the book publication of that work, Ruskin had spoken of Carlyle "as a son might speak of his father."¹⁷ The first direct mention of the relationship to Carlyle occurred in a birthday letter to him in 1873. Ruskin signed it, "Ever your loving disciple—son,

¹³*Works*, XVII, p. xxxii. I am not suggesting that there had not been occasional encouragement earlier. In January 1856, for example, after receiving a copy of the third volume of *Modern Painters*, Carlyle wrote enthusiastically: "I wish you long life; and more and more power and opportunity of uttering forth, in tones of sphere-harmony mixed with thunder, these salutary messages to your poor fellow creatures,—whom (including us) may God pity." (Sanders, p. 214.)

¹⁴*Works*, XVII, pp. xxxii-xxxiii.

¹⁵*Works*, XXXVI, 382.

¹⁶*Works*, XVII, 145. This work was also ill-starred. After four parts of the work had appeared, the publishers of the magazine forced Froude to put an end to the series in April 1863.

¹⁷*Works*, XVII, 476. It should be noted, however, that the one serious quarrel between the two men occurred during May and June of 1867 (see Sanders, pp. 225-230).

I have almost now a right to say."¹⁸ In the next year, when Ruskin toured the Continent, he accelerated his correspondence to Carlyle to the point of an almost daily letter, as was his habit with his own father.¹⁹ All of these letters after that of May 21, 1874, were addressed "Dearest Papa" or "My dearest Papa."²⁰ Apparently Carlyle did not mind the new relationship, for in answering a letter from Carlyle which is no longer extant, Ruskin wrote, "I have your lovely letter, so full of pleasantness for me; chiefly in telling that I give you pleasure by putting you in the place of the poor father who used to be *so* thankful for his letter."²¹ The habit of addressing Carlyle as Papa continued until his death in 1881, and in a manuscript intended for *Fors Clavigera*, but never so used, Ruskin wrote that his relationship with Carlyle had been "as a child with its father or mother, not as friend with friend."²²

While there are references to almost all of Carlyle's works scattered throughout Ruskin's writings and diary, it was *Past and Present*, Carlyle's one great contribution to the nineteenth century's habit of contrasting the medieval with the modern, that had the most powerful impact upon him. It was one of the first of Carlyle's works with which Ruskin came in contact.²³ It continued to be the work which he prized most highly. In 1887, just a short time before ten years of mental darkness descended upon Ruskin, he sent his marked and worn copy of *Past and Present* to a friend, Alfred Macfee, with the following note: "I have sent you a book which I read no more because it has

¹⁸*Works*, XXXVII, 75. It may be significant that this first direct mention of Carlyle as father comes in a birthday letter. In was Ruskin's habit, while his own father lived, to commemorate his birthday always with a long letter, a poem, or a rhymed letter (*Works*, II, p. xxxv).

¹⁹*Works*, XXXVI, p. xcvi.

²⁰*Works*, XXXVII, 99, 115, 118, 120, 123, 124, 126, 130, 132, 148, etc.

²¹*Works*, XXXVII, 123-124.

²²*Works* XXIX, 539. There are interesting Freudian implications in this desire of Ruskin's for a father. Immediately after Carlyle's death in February 1881—ten days later, in fact—Ruskin transferred the father role to another friend, F. S. Ellis (*Works*, XXXVII, 342). From that time forward, every letter addressed to Ellis called him papa except two (*Works*, XXXVII, 346, 362), and in both those letters Carlyle is mentioned. Conversely, in none of the letters which addressed Ellis as papa is Carlyle's name mentioned.

²³In a letter which Ruskin wrote to George Richmond in February 1881, the month of Carlyle's death, he wrote, "Do you know that you were the first person who ever put a book of Carlyle's into my hand?" (*Works*, XXXVII, 341.) Another letter suggests that *Past and Present* was the book referred to (*Works*, XXXVII, 361). Yet Ruskin had read *Heroes and Hero-Worship* in 1842, the year before the publication of *Past and Present* (Sanders, p. 208).

become a part of myself, and my old marks in it are now useless, because in my heart I mark it all."²⁴

Ruskin's comment that *Past and Present* had "become a part" of him can be documented throughout his assault upon the existing economic system. Carlyle had told him in *Past and Present* that the theory of supply and demand was atheistic, that it neglected ethical considerations, that, in short, there were far more important things for England to consider than that it should undersell other nations in cotton.²⁵ And in contrast to this nineteenth century atheism Carlyle had pointed to a medieval period in which an ethical absolute governed not only religious, but economic life as well. So, "Carlyle having led the way as he does in all noble insight in this generation,"²⁶ Ruskin trained his verbal guns upon the "Science of Political Economy, . . . the most cretinous, speechless, paralysing plague that has yet touched the brains of mankind."²⁷

Ruskin's first major volley in this attack was *Unto this Last*, in which the influence of Carlyle is ever present. Ruskin attempted to demonstrate that there is more to political economy and to the relationship between worker and employer than the cash nexus. Human affections, human responsibilities also play a part. He pleads with the merchants and industrialists to accept their rightful place in the social pattern: "In his office as governor of the men employed by him, the merchant or manufacturer is invested with a distinctly paternal authority and responsibility."²⁸ This argument, of course, is almost identical with Carlyle's exhortation to industrial "captains of industry" to accept the responsibilities of the feudal lord.

The influence of *Past and Present* appears again in Ruskin's next important economic work, *Munera Pulveris*. Here he aimed at more than mere criticism of the present system. He intended it to be "an exhaustive treatise on Political Economy," one which would substitute his economic theories for the accepted economy of the day; however, Ruskin accomplished only what he called "the preface of the intended work,"²⁹ a series of definitions which were to furnish the point of departure for the

²⁴*Works*, XXVII, 179n.

²⁵In *Munera Pulveris* Ruskin borrows just this argument from *Past and Present* (*Works*, XVII, 280-281).

²⁶*Works*, XVII, p. xxiv.

²⁷*Works*, XVIII, p. lxxxii.

²⁸*Works*, XVII, 41.

²⁹*Works*, XVII, 143.

unrealized *magnum opus*. I have mentioned earlier that *Munera Pulveris* was inscribed to "the friend and guide who has urged me to all chief labour, THOMAS CARLYLE." And in an appendix to the work Ruskin disclaimed originality for the economic theories implicit in *Munera Pulveris*, Carlyle having said on the subject "all . . . that needs to be said, and far better than I shall ever say it again." Significantly, he mentions *Past and Present*.³⁰ In addition, Ruskin twice recommends that work to his readers. Carlyle's chapter upon "Permanence,"³¹ in which he had pleaded for a resumption in nineteenth century England of the sort of permanent contract which bound Cedric to Gurth, Ruskin cites in connection with his definition of "slavery."³² Again *Past and Present* is recommended and quoted in Ruskin's definition of "mastership,"³³ a definition permeated by Carlyle's demand that the modern, industrial master should assume the responsibilities of the feudal lord.

Ruskin's next major work of social import was *Time and Tide*, a series of twenty-five letters which appeared in various newspapers early in 1867. Like Carlyle, who in the same year protested the extension of the franchise with *Shooting Niagara*, Ruskin inveighed against the liberty and equality of man.³⁴ In the utopia he presents in *Time and Tide*, Ruskin will allow no clamoring by the lower classes for a voice in government. "Your voices are not worth a rat's squeak, either in Parliament or out of it," he told his laboring readers.³⁵ Even education—and state education for all is provided in his utopia—cannot erase the "divinely-appointed differences, eternal as the ranks of the everlasting hills,"³⁶ between ranks of society. It is good, it is moral to do one's work without grumbling; and in a pas-

³⁰*Works*, XVII, 287.

³¹Carlyle, *Works*, X, 277-282.

³²*Works*, XVII, 261.

³³*Works*, XVII, 280-281.

³⁴This idea was not new with *Time and Tide*. As early as 1849 Ruskin had written (*Works*, VIII, 248) of that "treacherous phantom which men call Liberty." In 1860 he wrote: "If there be any one point insisted on throughout my works more frequently than another, that one point is the impossibility of Equality. My continual aim has been to show the eternal superiority of some men to others, sometimes even of one man to all others; and to show also the advisability of appointing such persons or person to guide, to lead, or on occasion even to compel and subdue, their inferiors according to their own better knowledge and wiser will." (*Works*, XVII, 74.) One might consult also, in this respect, the entire sixth chapter of *The Cestus of Aglaia*, which is a vigorous denunciation of liberty in general and Mill's *On Liberty* in particular (*Works*, XIX, 120-134).

³⁵*Works*, XVII, 326.

³⁶*Works*, XVII, 457.

sage worthy of Carlyle, Ruskin wrote: "Yonder poor horse, calm slave in daily chains at the railroad siding, who drags the detached rear of the train to the front again, and slips aside so deftly as the buffers meet; and, within eighteen inches of death all day long, content, for eternal reward, with his night's rest, and his champed mouthful of hay;—anything more earnestly moral and beautiful one cannot image—I never see the creature without a kind of worship."³⁷ The entire series of *Time and Tide* letters, in fact, simply presents an attempt to implement Carlylean social doctrine.³⁸

The greatest tribute to *Past and Present*, however, is to be found in the *Fors Clavigera* letters and the closely associated Guild of St. George. It requires no acute literary sensitivity to agree with Cook's generalization that *Fors Clavigera* "from its first page to the last is deeply coloured by the influence of Carlyle."³⁹

Carlyle's original attitude toward the *Fors Clavigera* letters was somewhat critical. Sending an advance copy of the first letter to his brother John in December 1870, Carlyle wrote, "I think you never read a madder looking thing. I still hope (though with little confidence) that he will bethink him and drop the matter in time . . . though, alas, I fear he will plunge into it all the same."⁴⁰ However, four months later—five *Fors* letters having then been published—Carlyle spoke of them as "words winged with Empyrean wisdom, piercing as lightning."⁴¹ And a year later, in a letter to Emerson, Carlyle wrote his most eloquent tribute to the *Fors* letters: "There is nothing going on among us as notable to me as those fierce lightning-bolts Ruskin is copiously and desperately pouring into the black world of Anarchy all around him."⁴² Among those lightning-bolts is Ruskin's exhortation to his readers to "Read your Car-

³⁷*Works*, XVII, 335.

³⁸Though he was a social prophet *par excellence* of nineteenth century England. Carlyle never attempted to translate his prophecies into practice. He was content to storm and rail about the course society must take, but seldom, and then with extreme reluctance, did he ever condescend to chart that course in concrete terms. The same could not be said of Ruskin, who, like Morris after him, had a passion for practice, and that passion manifested itself in many practical experiments.

³⁹E. T. Cook, *The Life of John Ruskin* (New York, 1911), II, 320.

⁴⁰Sanders, p. 232.

⁴¹W. G. Collingwood, *The Life and Work of John Ruskin* (New York, 1894), II, 411.

⁴²*The Correspondence of Thomas Carlyle and Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. Charles Eliot Norton (London, 1883), II, 352.

lyle . . . with all your heart, and with the best of brain you can give."⁴³ Especially *Past and Present*. In the tenth *Fors* letter, published for October 1871, Ruskin pronounced:

A good law is one that holds, whether you recognize and pronounce it or not; a bad law is one that cannot hold, however much you ordain and pronounce it. That is the mighty truth which Carlyle has been telling you for a quarter of a century—once for all he told it you, and the landowners, and all whom it concerns, in the third book of *Past and Present* (1845 [sic] buy Chapman and Hall's second edition if you can, it is good print, and read it till you know it by heart) . . . I tell you once for all, Carlyle is the only living writer who has spoken the absolute and perpetual truth about yourselves and your business; and exactly in proportion to the inherent weakness of brain in your lying guides, will be their animosity against Carlyle.⁴⁴

In addition to the strong general coloring of Carlyle in the work, in addition to Ruskin's plea that his followers read their *Past and Present* until they know it by heart—in addition to these things the very frequency with which Ruskin employs a medieval-modern contrast in *Fors* demonstrates the particular impact of Carlyle's *Past and Present* upon the work. In this respect Cook has said, "*Fors Clavigera* may be described, under one aspect of it, as a resumption, at the latter part of the century, of the contrast between *Past and Present* which Carlyle had drawn three decades before."⁴⁵

Likewise, Carlyle's influence is immediately obvious in Ruskin's Guild of St. George. There can be no doubt that the Guild was to be a practical application of Carlyle's social doctrine as Ruskin understood it. In 1874, when the idea of a St. George Society was beginning to take shape in his mind, Ruskin wrote, "That it should be left to me to begin such a work, with only one man in England—Thomas Carlyle—to whom I can look for steady guidance, is alike wonderful and sorrowful to me."⁴⁶ And in 1885—the Guild had then become a feeble reality—Ruskin wrote in a "Master's Report," "The object principally and finally in my mind in founding the Guild, was the restoration, to such extent as might be possible to those who under-

⁴³*Works*, XXVII, 180.

⁴⁴*Works*, XXVII, 179. Carlyle also enforces the same truth in the first book of *Past and Present* (Carlyle, *Works*, X, 10-11).

⁴⁵*The Life of John Ruskin*, II, 321.

⁴⁶*Works*, XXVIII, 22.

stood me, of this feeling of loyalty to the Land-possessor in the peasantry with whose lives and education he was entrusted. . . . Carlyle's grander exhortation to the English landholders in *Past and Present*, I put . . . with reiterated and varied emphasis forward in connection with a definite scheme of action."⁴⁷

Carlyle's influence upon Ruskin was powerful and sustained.⁴⁸ In large part Ruskin's shift of emphasis from artistic to social problems was prompted and encouraged by his older friend, and all of his social pronouncements, which occupied the greater part of his literary life, were strongly colored, both in substance and style, with Carlylean pigments. This indebtedness Ruskin freely admitted many times in his works and in his letters. And where he went beyond Carlyle, as he often did, he viewed himself as a disciple attempting to find the means by which his acknowledged master's doctrine could be put to practice. It is perhaps fruitless to ponder literary *if's*, but one can hardly escape the speculation that without Carlyle's inspiration, encouragement, and friendship Ruskin would have been a much different—and to my mind, a less significant—writer.

⁴⁷*Works*, XXX, 94-95. Though Ruskin considered St. George's Guild a practical application of Carlylean theory, Carlyle himself was apparently indifferent to the idea. He wrote in 1878 to William Allingham, "The St. George's Company is utterly absurd. I thought it a joke at first." (*William Allingham: A Diary* [London, 1907], p. 263.)

⁴⁸Viewed from the other side, however, the friendship was not influential. I can find no evidence whatever that Ruskin ever formed or even modified any of Carlyle's thinking on an important subject. Carlyle was an independent and dogmatic thinker who had formed most of his major ideas before he met Ruskin, and those ideas he never fundamentally changed. Too, the extremely close father-son relationship which Ruskin forced upon the friendship possessed none of the belief that the child might be father to the man. Ruskin sought only guidance, love, encouragement. These Carlyle gave.

Stump-Orator

by Thomas Carlyle

Can it be doubtful that this is still the rule of human education; that the human creature needs first of all to be educated not that he may speak, but that he may have something weighty and valuable to say! If speech is the bank-note for an inward capital of culture, of insight and noble human worth, then speech is precious, and the art of speech shall be honored. But if there *is* no inward capital; if speech represent no real culture of the mind, but an imaginary culture; no bullion, but the fatal and now almost hopeless deficit of such? Alas, also said bank-note is then a *forged* one; passing freely current in the market; but bringing damages to the receiver, to the payer, and to all the world, which are in sad truth infallible, and of amount incalculable. Few think of it at present; but the truth remains forever so. In parliaments and other loud assemblages, your eloquent talk, *dis*-united from Nature and her facts, is taken as wisdom and the correct image of said facts: but Nature well knows what it is, Nature will not have it as such, and will reject your forged note one day, with huge costs. The foolish traders in the market pass it freely, nothing doubting, and rejoice in the dexterous execution of the piece: and so it circulates from hand to hand, and from class to class. . . .

from *Latter-day Pamphlets*

Mysteries of the Kingdom: More or Less

WILLIAM L. KNECHT*

It is the purpose of this note to report upon the background of a pre-1800 practice of proxy baptism in America. While interesting in itself, the matter is of especial interest to students of "Mormonism" because of that group's belief that the Spirit of Elijah moved upon the face of the land and influenced many persons to greater respect for and interest in their ancestors.

In writing of Joseph Smith,¹ Fawn M. Brodie suggests that many of the sacred things of Mormondom—the mysteries of the Kingdom—are mere borrowings, if not outright thefts, from other and prior practices. She suggests, for instance, that Joseph Smith found the color, the spectacle and the intrigue necessary to establish himself as leader in Mormondom, in the temple rites which, it is alleged, he copied freely from Masonry.² After identifying the source of his inspiration for all other parts of the temple rites,³ she summarily explains away the origin of the vicarious aspects of temple work:

Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians had made an ambiguous reference to baptism for the dead (I Cor. 15:29), and at least one German sect had practiced this ritual in Pennsylvania.⁴

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¹Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946).

²*Ibid.*, 279. A discussion of the relationships of Freemasonry and Mormonism is beyond this work. Perhaps enough has already been said. For one side, see S. H. Goodwin, *Mormonism and Masonry* (Salt Lake City: 5th printing, 1925), whom Brodie lists in her bibliography. She does not bother to cite A. W. Ivins, *The Relationship of "Mormonism" and Freemasonry* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1934) nor E. C. McGavin, *Mormonism and Masonry* (Salt Lake City: Stevens & Wallis, Enlarged Edition, 1947), or anyone else who describes the other side of the story.

³*Ibid.*, 279-282.

⁴*Ibid.*, 282. The reference to Paul may be ambiguous to Mrs. Brodie, but it seems clear enough to others. J. Hastings (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910) in reference to I Cor. 15: 29 says, "It is impossible that . . . (it) . . . can refer to anything but vicarious baptism." II, 383; Ronald Knox-Knox, *The New Testament, A New Translation* (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1953, with imprimatur: Francis J. Spellman, Archbishop, New York) says in a footnote to the same reference, that it is ". . . an allusion to the practice of vicarious baptism on behalf of those who died . . ." 370.

We will here survey the background of the "one German sect . . . in Pennsylvania." The only group which this writer can identify, who have practiced baptism for the dead,⁵ were an offshoot branch of the Dunkers (or less frequently the Tunkers or Dippers) or Brethren, by the preferred appellation.

The Dunkers grew from a meeting of mind and heart of eight men and women: George Grebi, Lucas Vetter, Alexander Mack, Andreas Bone, Johannes Kipping, Johanna Nothingerin Bone, Anna Mack and Johanna Kipping. These people met, at real risk to their persons, to say nothing of their property, at the home of Alexander Mack in Schwarzenau in Germany in the early 1700's to study and commune together, feeling that the formality and dogma of the state church denied them the liberty which should be accorded the conscience.

But be not ye called Rabbi; for one is your Master, even Christ; and all ye are Brethren. (Matt. 23:8).

From this reference these people drew their name.⁶ And from the spirit of this relationship they drew much of their church government. The Brethren trace a thread of sympathetic thought back to 1521 and the Zwickau prophets in the province of Saxony, who taught adult baptism and the second coming of Christ. Such doctrines spread through Switzerland, Franconia and Thuringia. Adherents took an active part in the Peasants' War but were overwhelmingly defeated at Frankenhausen on May 15, 1525. Though Emperor Charles V issued an edict to destroy all members of this group, some evaded the eradication order by fleeing to Holland.⁷

Independent groups kept the movement alive, chiefly in Northern Germany, Holland and Switzerland. One of the best known groups, the Mennonites, grew around Menno Simons

⁵That is to say the only group aside from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Discussion of L.D.S. practice can be found in J. E. Talmage, *The House of the Lord* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1912) 71, 89, ff.

⁶And this writer acknowledges that he drew much from the following writers, for the general narrative of the history of the Brethren: R. D. Bowman, *Church of the Brethren and War* (Elgin, Ill.: Brethren Publishing House, 1944); V. S. Fisher, *The Story of the Brethren* (Elgin, Ill.: Brethren Publishing House, 1957); F. E. Mallott, *Studies in Brethren History* (Elgin, Ill.: Brethren Publishing House, 1954); and J. E. Miller, *The Story of Our Church* (Revised & Enlarged Ed.) (Elgin, Ill.: Brethren Publishing House, 1957).

⁷T. M. Lindsay, *History of the Reformation* (2d ed.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910).

(1496-1561)⁸ of Schwarzenau. The group of eight first mentioned, studied the New Testament for some time and engaged in prayer, seeking light and knowledge. After some time passed, the group finally felt prepared and went in solitude early one morning to a nearby body of water, drew lots, and one was baptized. He baptized another, and was in turn baptized by the second, seeking, we must suppose, to reinforce the efficacy of the first baptism.⁹ Then the remaining six were immersed. All this took place in the year 1708.

Despite the persecution of officialdom the group gained adherents, many of whom joined the growing tide of immigrants to America. These immigrants presented a most diverse portrait of the humanity that was Europe. They came singly, and in groups, reinforced and strengthened by the association of neighbors and friends from the homeland. Some were known as Pietists or Enthusiasts,¹⁰ and these, with the followers of Menno Simons, came thither to live in peace with the world and worship the Almighty. Others professed Quakerism, and sought to find peace apart from the world. Some wanted not only to be left alone, but wanted freedom to practice their positive dogma. Johann Kelpius and his band of Pietists settled on the banks of the Wissahickon in 1794, and were known as the "Society of the Woman in the Wilderness." The Labadists in the latter part of the 18th century settled in the Bohemia Manor in Maryland and founded a monastic community. At this time, also, came the Mennonites and the Dunkers. The chief difference between the latter groups is that the former administered baptism by sprinkling, while the latter believed in the necessity of immersion. By the early part of the nineteenth century, these two groups had formed a substantial segment of the population of Philadelphia County in Pennsylvania.¹¹

These farmers from the old country recognized the fertility of the surrounding country, and their enthusiasm in letters to those in the "old country," plus the enticement of new emi-

⁸Cornelius Krahn, "Menno Simons," *Mennonite Encyclopedia, The*, ed. H. S. Bender and C. H. Smith, Vol. III (1947); J. Horsch, *Menno Simons, His Life, Labor and Teachings* (Scottsdale, Pa.: Mennonite Publishing House, 1916).

⁹Cf. *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1908), I, 40 ff.

¹⁰J. F. Sachse, *The German Pietists of Pennsylvania 1694-1708* (Philadelphia: Printed by the author, 1895).

¹¹*Ibid.*; and the same author's *The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania 1708-1742*, 2 vols., (Philadelphia: Printed by the author, 1899-1900).

grants by agents abroad, soon transformed eastern Pennsylvania into a "New Germany," somewhat to the alarm of the established population. To counteract this state of affairs, it was ordered in council held September 17, 1717,

. . . that all emigrants must appear within one month before some magistrate and take such oaths (or give assurances) of their being affected to his Majesty and his government.¹²

Ten years later when Patrick Gordon was governor, the council in Philadelphia ordered that because of the danger of

such numbers of Strangers daily poured in, who being ignorant of our language & laws, and settling in a body together, make, as it were, a distinct people from his Majesties [sic.] Subjects,

The Board taking the same into serious consideration, observe that as these people pretended at first that they fly hither on the Score of their religious Liberties, and come under the Protection of his Majesty, it is requisite that in the first place they should take the Oath of Allegiance, or some equivalent to it to his Majesty, and promise Fidelity to the Proprietor and obedience to our Established Constitution. . . .¹³

This form was prepared for the emigrants to sign:

We Subscribers, Natives and later Inhabitants of the Palatine upon the Rhine and Places adjacent, having transported ourselves and Families into this Province of Pennsylvania, a Colony subject to the Crown of Great Britain, in hopes and Expectations of finding Retreat & peaceable settlement therein, do solemnly promise and engage, that we will be faithful and bear true Allegiance to his present Majesty King George the Second, and his Successors Kings of Great Britain, and will be faithful to the Proprietors of this Province; and that we will demean ourselves peaceably to all his said Majesties [sic.] Subjects, and strictly observe and conform to the Laws of England and of this Province, to the utmost of our power and best of our understanding.¹⁴

¹²*Colonial Records of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: J. Steverns & Co., 1853) (being a reprint of the same title, first published, Harrisburg: T. Fenn & Co., 1851), III, 29.

¹³*Ibid.*, III, 282 f.

¹⁴*Ibid.* The result of this order and its enforcement provides for genealogical researchers today the names of many thousands of emigrants and some notes as to family organization, occupation, and town of last residence. See I. D. Rupp, *A Collection of Upwards of Thirty Thousand Names of German, Swiss, Dutch, French and Other Immigrants to Pennsylvania from 1727-1776, etc.* (Philadelphia: Leary Stuart & Co., 1856) and R. B. Strassberger, *Pennsylvania German Pioneers, a publication of the original lists of arrivals in the Port of Philadelphia from 1727 to 1818*, 3 vols. (Norristown, Penna.: German Society, 1934).

Among those whose names appear are many who were Dunkers or German Baptist Brethren. A number who had been baptized in Europe gathered to form a community of their own. Seventeen persons thus gathered, asked Peter Becker to be their leader in the absence of any of the Elders from the homeland. He consented, and six more were baptized that day, December 15, 1723, which marks the formal beginning of the church in America. It is recorded that the day was cold, but the baptism was performed out of doors by immersion, and, indeed, it was a triune baptism. No easy religion this.

An interesting phase of the church and its doctrine was reflected by the remainder of that day's service. After the baptism, and after securing dry clothing, a love feast was held. The newly chosen presiding elders washed feet¹⁵ as a sign of humility; a full feast was prepared and eaten in silence, following which the sacrament was administered.

Because of the great demands that settling a new country made upon time and energy, one of the resultant advantages of the move to the New World was that the disputations and speculations that spoiled the harmony of the Brethren in Europe faded into the background. But when winter came upon them and the work of the field was done, the fever of religious excitement returned. Politics held little interest for the German settlers in a land and time when Benjamin Franklin spoke of them in the vernacular as "Dutch."

All that was left was religion. The question of the Sabbath Day raised the issue of literal observance of all scriptural commandments; the distinction between clean and unclean foods made things particularly difficult since salt pork was the mainstay of the pioneer frontiersman of that day. The goose found itself in the middle of a great theological debate, in spite of, or in ignorance of, its great service in an earlier day. The reference in Leviticus¹⁶ was taken to include the goose, and this put many a thrifty hausfrau in a difficult situation. The goose was a most useful creature. Its feathers were in great demand to soften the hardships of that early day. Its eggs were prized. Goosegrease made easier many of the difficulties of a mechanic, and even

¹⁵Not unknown in Mormon history, either. See *History of the Church, etc.*, II, 430.

¹⁶"And these are they which ye shall have in abomination among the fowls; they shall not be eaten, they are an abomination: . . . the swan . . ." Lev. 11:13,18.

its medicinal qualities were not ignored. Last, and not least, the goose was edible.

One Conrad Beissal¹⁷ arrived on this scene from the Port of Boston, expecting to join Kelpius and the Woman of the Wilderness group in their wait for the Advent, but these people had exhausted themselves with nightly vigils from high towers, and their community had collapsed. Beissal, now at the age of 25, was to add much fuel to the fire before his career ended. He was born in 1691, two months after his dissolute father's death, and reared by his destitute mother, who died when he was eight years of age. He grew up in abject poverty, and led a free and easy life as he accompanied his baker-master to dances where both played the fiddle. In his wanderings he gathered the best and the worst of the occult philosophy of the mystics and Cabalists of the Middle Ages, as well as the severely Sabbatarian worship and tenets of the Brethren, for he had met Peter Becker in Schwarzenau.

He had joined Peter Becker in Germantown, near Philadelphia, and served as a weaver's apprentice. Brethren historians do not speak kindly of Beissal at this date, or any other, for that matter. Some deny that he was ever a member of the church, or insist that he left the group soon after.¹⁸ Some cast doubt on the efficacy of his baptism. It is clear that he was a stiff-willed and proud character, and having a quick mind and a learned background he could confuse many good people.

Beissal was chosen leader of the Brethren group at Conestoga and began at once to make innovations in the services, grafting onto the simple worship certain mystic dogmas which he picked up or invented. Quarreling followed, and finally Beissal and his followers withdrew to isolation in Cocalico. In this secluded valley in the primitive forest on the banks of the Cocalico River, they successfully established, for a time, a mystical community under the name of *Ein Orden Der Eissamen* whose chief aim was to attain spiritual and physical regeneration and purification. The Ephrata Community, as it was otherwise known, is now defunct, but its buildings are the site of a state park under a program of restoration as a monument to a unique phase of religious history in Pennsylvania.

¹⁷W. Klein, *Johann Conrad Beissal* (Philadelphia: University of Penna. Press, 1942).

¹⁸"It is important to mention . . . (Conrad Beissal and his Ephrata Society) because the Ephrata Society has been so often mistaken for the Church of the Brethren in early Pennsylvania history . . ." R. D. Bowman, *op. cit.*, 69.

Let us examine in some detail this colony, for a portion of its doings are of particular interest to Latter-day Saints. The principles of the group—the denunciation of marriage, and the general ascetic regimen—required a cloister system, and monasteries were built. The group, thus well isolated from the general stream of the Brethren group and indeed isolated by doctrine as well as geography, obtained a printing press in the Pennsylvania colony, the first with a font of German type. But even before the press was obtained, a number of pamphlets and books were published, Benjamin Franklin having been commissioned to print some of them.¹⁹

At this same stage and time, Alexander Mack arrived, as well as the widow Eckerling with her youngest son. These were the people who met in 1708 in Germany to organize the Church. The settlement site, known now as Cocalico, was the Indian-named and Indian-avoided "Den of Serpents" called Hock-Halekung, which, corrupted, became Cocalico. Some attribute a sense of justice to the name of the site. Fighting broke out between English and German settlers; the quarrel over the Sabbath Day, the strange beards and dress of the colonists fanned the fires of suspicion. Rumors of Mexican Jesuits or Jewish authority were circulated. Finally, a large fire was set which swept across the fields toward the colony. Just before it reached the homes of this group, the wind shifted, and the fire is reported to have roared down upon and consumed the homes of those who set it. This was taken, of course, as a sign by the faithful.

Rosicrucian doctrines were drawn upon to keep the people's spirits aroused. Cereal grains were eschewed for acorns. Eichelbrod replaced pumpnickel and acorns were used to make coffee, schnapps, and tonics.

Perhaps to find something that would consume excess energy and reduce any possibility of a challenge to his authority, Beissal copied Kelpius' exhausting practice, and this group, too, began to watch for the Grand Judge. Towers were built, and at first a four-hour watch after midnight was established. This was too much, and soon the schedule called for only a two-hour watch and meeting at midnight each night.

Rites claimed to be derived from the Egyptian Cult of Mystic Freemasonry were established, all with the aim that the

¹⁹*Mystische und sehr gehevma Spruceche, etc.* (Zu Philadelphia: Gedruck bey B. Franklin in Sahr, 1730).

brotherhood should obtain physical and moral regeneration. Beissal adopted the title of "Vater," which proved to be a stumbling block to many, particularly as they reviewed the scriptural reference (Matt. 23:8) from which they drew their name. It took Beissal three years to settle this dispute. Soon a tonsure was adopted, and shaven crowns appeared in public. The ire of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians was thoroughly aroused, and fears of a Jesuit revival grew. Even in Germantown it was assumed that this group was governed by popish emissaries.

The group continued in these circumstances, their buildings serving as hospitals and their members as nurses during the Revolutionary War. Typhus broke out and took the lives of many who had volunteered to dress the wounds of the injured. Saints and soldiers were buried side by side in the community burying ground.

Finally, the introduction of orthodox churches into the area deprived the community at Cocalico, the Ephrata Community, of its source of converts and new blood, and so only the most ancient waited on, to die. And the community died with them.²⁰

Thus far we have omitted reference to one of the group's most interesting excursions into the scriptures for doctrinal practices. Apparently Beissal, for all his genius at inventing things, did not usurp the field. It is reported by some scholars who have examined the history of this group²¹ that Emanuel Eckerling, one of the leaders and one-time friend of Beissal, convinced Alexander Mack that the latter's father, the patriarch at whose home the original group had met and who was a member of the original eight members baptized in 1708, had never been properly baptized. These two, Eckerling and Mack, presented themselves to Beissal and asked that they be allowed to be baptized for their deceased relatives.

²⁰As noted this particular group of Dunkers passed from the scene, but it should be noted also that the Brethren have not suffered the same fate and are still an active and practicing group of Christians. Five main branches survive: The Church of the Brethren, a conservative mid-stream group; the Old German Baptist Brethren, formed in 1881, and adhering more strictly to the principles of nonconformity to the world; the Brethren Church (Progressive) formed in 1882 and less strict than the two aforementioned in matters of dress and wearing of hair and beard; the Seventh-day German Baptists, formed in 1728 who observe the seventh day as the Sabbath and who live a communal and ascetic life; and, finally the Church of God (New Dunkers) organized in 1848 who "use Bible names for Bible things."

²¹J. F. Sachse, *The German Sectarians, etc.*, I, 365, 366.

Once the proposal was accepted, the community spared no effort to make the ceremony an impressive one.²² Thus, in 1738, a procession was formed on the set date; men, women, and those families who had not accepted the celibacy features of the group were all present. The column of worthies wandered down from their homes on the hill, passing the various buildings that sheltered the colony and across an open meadow to a pool which the river had formed in its wanderings. Special hymns were sung and invocations offered.

Conrad Beissal was the administrator. The first subject, Emanuel Eckerling, presented himself to be immersed for his deceased mother. Alexander Mack, the younger, presented himself for baptism on behalf of his deceased father.²³ The idea of thus securing blessings for deceased or absent kinfolk and friends struck popular fancy, and the custom obtained a firm foothold and was practiced for a number of years thereafter.

But its foothold was a limited one, and so far as can be determined, never spread beyond the Cocalico. The practice of baptism for the dead did indeed flourish long before Elijah formally opened the work for the dead in 1836, but there is room for doubt that the experiment was the result of the work of Elijah. There is no evidence, either, that Joseph Smith ever heard of the Ephrata Community and its experiments. The magnitude of the concept supporting the practice of baptism for the dead in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints far exceeds anything suggested by study of the group at Cocalico. And of course, Mrs. Brodie didn't state that Joseph Smith copied their practice; she just implied it. Upon the evidence available, it seems to this writer that those who will explain away the story told by Joseph Smith²⁴ must find some other

²²Cf. *History of the Church, etc.*, IV, 568-69.

²³The records of the Genealogical Society of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints indicate that Alexander Mack, Sr. (1679-1735), again had a vicarious baptism performed on his behalf, January 19, 1946.

Alexander Mack was no relation to the Macks of Lucy Mack Smith. Her family was Scotch. For their genealogy, see Anderson, Mary Audentia Smith, *Ancestry and Posterity of Joseph Smith and Emma Hale, etc.* (Independence, Mo.: Herald Publishing Co., 1929).

²⁴*History of the Church, etc.*, IV, 424-25, 568-69; V, 141, 142 ff. See also *The Doctrine and Covenants, etc.*, (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Published under various titles and in various places beginning in 1833) 1876), Sections 124, 128.

point of departure for their exercises; no German sect in Pennsylvania will do.²⁵

²⁵Of course, the real mystery of the Kingdom is not the alleged hidden origins of doctrines and plagiarisms of practices of others by Joseph Smith, but the confusions and contradictions which the authors of the three-score-and-more exposés of Joseph Smith have created and brought to print in trying to avoid the otherwise inevitable consequences of his tale.

Mormon Bibliography 1963

The 1963 Mormon bibliography again follows the pattern adopted in the previous issues of *Brigham Young University Studies*. It consists of those items listed in the 1963 (v. 4) *Mormon Americana* dealing specifically with Mormon subjects. *Mormon Americana* began in 1960 as a cooperative listing of materials concerning the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Utah, and related areas. In the following bibliography only items dealing with the Church are listed.

One of the most important publishing trends in the last few years has been the number and quality of reprints of earlier classics issued in various forms. The quality of these reprints usually depends upon the form of printing used and tends to be higher in productions of older well-established houses. Those which have been reprinted by reputable publishing companies with photo offset printing are of high quality and are of great help to the scholar of Mormonism. The reprints by private individuals tend to be less readable and therefore of less real value.

One of the finest reprints in recent years was the Brigham Young University Press reprint of B. H. Roberts' *Comprehensive History of the Church*. This was done on an offset press, is excellently printed, and follows the original with complete integrity. In 1957 a "photo lithographic" reprint was made of Edward Tullidge's *The Women of Mormondom*. This not only retained the integrity of the original printing but attempted to retain this integrity in binding. The reprint of the *Journal of Discourses* by Gartner Printing and Publishing Lithographic Company in 1956 made this extremely valuable source more readily available to scholars although the printing does not have the excellence of the books mentioned above. Yet its print is readable and maintains integrity of text due to the method of printing involved.

One of the problems involved in photographic reprints is that of reproduction of illustrations. This is demonstrated in James E. Talmage's *The House of the Lord* (Bookcraft 1962)

and James Linforth's *Route from Liverpool to Salt Lake City* (Bookcraft 1957). In both cases the plates are far inferior to the original though the text is well printed.

Undoubtedly the poorest reprints on Mormon subjects are those printed by The Modern Microfilm Company. Although these seem to be as expensive as any mentioned above, the quality of the printing bears no comparison. An interesting comparison can be made of two editions of *The Book of Commandments*. The first, published by Wilford Wood under the title *Joseph Smith Begins His Work*, v. 2, is an excellent reprint. The second, published at approximately the same time by the Modern Microfilm Company, has pages which are completely unreadable. Again the comparison can be seen between *The Seer*, published by Eugene Wagner, and the *Times and Seasons*, v. 1, published by Modern Microfilm Company. Reproductions of these early Mormon classics are invaluable to all scholars of Mormonism but only when those reproductions are faithfully and clearly reproduced.

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Chad J. Flake

Rose Street

Crutched upon its weakened walls
 An aged garden softly calls.
 Drifting grasses, shoulder high,
 Slow the children running by
 And offer, on their parching stems,
 Precious, brilliant flower gems.
 Four steps up the weathered stair:
 Empty lot, and no one there.

Seven-sister roses sweet
 Curve their branches to the street,
 Orange poppies' silken faces
 Wink and smile through ferny laces,
 Tiny, firey dahlias shoot
 From a long-neglected root.
 But no walls or gables share
 All the lot above the stair.

Sun of summer, still and hot,
 Burnishes the apricot,
 Drops it in the lonely grass
 Quite unseen by those who pass.
 No one anymore will walk
 Where the purple iris talk.
 Faintly calls the little stair;
 Empty lot, and no one there.

Inward, upward, steps inviting,
 Flowers, fruits and birds delighting,
 Welcoming to climb in vain;
 Not a roof or window pane,
 Not a door to open wide
 Beckoning to come inside.
 Wearing still their floral dress
 The stairs go up to nothingness.

Carma de Jong Anderson

Book Reviews

WILLIAM J. WHALEN. *The Latter-day Saints in the Modern-Day World*. New York: The John Day Company, Inc. 319 pp., \$5.95.

Mr. Whalen gives the following titles to the chapters of his book: "Mormonism Today"; "Joseph Smith, Jr."; "The *Book of Mormon*"; "Kirtland, Missouri, and Nauvoo"; "Brigham Young and His Successors"; "Mormon Theology"; "Are Mormons Protestants?"; "Polygamy"; "Church Organization and the Priesthood"; "Wealth of the Mormon Church"; "Temple Rites"; "Mormonism and Freemasonry"; "Family Life and Welfare Programs"; "The Word of Wisdom"; "Mission System"; "Mormonism and the Negro"; "Brigham Young University"; "Other Latter-day Saints"; and "Mormonism Faces the Future."

In his preface Mr. Whalen says: "Although this is probably not the kind of book which a Mormon missionary would loan to a prospective convert, I have tried to be objective and to sift out the fabrications and myths which characterize many anti-Mormon tracts. I did not write this book as an attack on the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints although I have explored subjects which Church authorities would rather leave unmentioned."

Although in many places he seems to achieve his goal very well, in others, regrettably, he falls far short of his stated ideal. Nevertheless, he seems to have attained a rather remarkable grasp of many contemporary aspects of the Church and its operation. Even here, however, he makes many errors of interpretation and errors of fact.

For example, on page 143 he says: "The Church also allows anyone to hold this office [bishop] who can prove he is a lineal descendant of Aaron, the first high priest of the Jews, even though he has not undergone Mormon ordination." This statement is incorrect. No one has authority to act in the name God merely by lineal descent. He must be ordained by one who is God's legal administrator. The unique aspect of a lineal descendant's being called to be bishop is that he may serve without

counselors whereas others called to that office must have counselors.

On page 144 the author says, speaking of the quorums of the priesthood, they "hold regular meetings and elect their own officers." Quorums do not elect their officers. The president is chosen by those who preside over him; then he has the prerogative of choosing his counselors. Those men who are chosen as president and counselors are subsequently presented to the other members of the particular quorum for their sustaining vote.

On page 152 the author writes unqualifiedly, "Employees of these stores [ZCMI and Deseret Book Store] find the tithe listed as a payroll deduction on their checks." This statement is untrue regarding Deseret Book Company and grossly misleading concerning ZCMI. Of ZCMI's approximately 1,000 employees about 50 *at their personal request* have their tithing withheld. Perhaps it should be understood that the Church does not control ZCMI. Although it is the largest single stockholder, it is only one of over 1,300 stockholders.

On page 165 he says, speaking of one's entering the temple, "He presents his credentials to the doorkeeper and contributes a stipend for the upkeep of the temple." Here we have a truth and a falsehood. One is obliged to present a recommend from his bishop to the doorkeeper at the temple, but there is no provision for contributing stipends or free will offerings of any kind at the temple.

The author says the Church strongly discourages mixed marriages, in which assertion he is correct. However, on page 208 he also says, "The Mormon husband in such a mixed marriage would find the road blocked if he desired to advance to the higher Mormon priesthood. . . ." If he is referring to the offices of the Melchizedek Priesthood, which is what the Mormon means by the higher priesthood, he is in error, for certainly men do hold the Melchizedek Priesthood whose wives are not members of the Church.

On page 213 Mr. Whalen says: "Indeed some grandparents and great-grandparents may be thought to have achieved the godhead so that they are entitled to a high degree of honor and reverence." The reader should by all means observe the phrase "may be thought." This idea is clearly a projection of Mr. Whalen, and certainly not a doctrine of the Church.

On page 294 he says, "but when President McKay leaves the scene, Brown [President Hugh B. Brown] will go back to his ward; he is not an apostle nor is he now in the line of succession." Any Latter-day Saint and thousands of others know this is clearly in error. President Brown was sustained as an Apostle and a member of the Council of the Twelve on April 6, 1958.

These are some of many inaccuracies contained in Mr. Whalen's book. The book's more serious defects have to do with Mr. Whalen's treatment of such chapters as those dealing with Joseph Smith, the *Book of Mormon*, Brigham Young, polygamy, temple rites, etc. Although he asserted at the outset he was not writing an attack on the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and I suppose he must be taken at his word, he nonetheless resorted to many of the "fabrications and myths which characterize many anti-Mormon tracts" in his conscious or unconscious effort to discredit the Prophet Joseph Smith and Brigham Young. One chapter is titled "Brigham Young and His Successors," and yet fourteen pages of it are devoted to Brigham Young and only three pages to his *seven* successors.

Some errors, misconceptions, innuendos, etc., might have been avoided had Mr. Whalen not attempted to compact so much into so few pages as he treated some parts of his subject matter. On the other hand, it appears that certain passages were deliberately removed from their original contexts to convey a malicious implication or that the reader may make his own unwarranted false inference. For example, on page 58 Mr. Whalen quotes Brigham Young as saying of Joseph Smith, "If he acts like a devil, he has brought forth a doctrine that will save us, if we abide by it. He may get drunk every day of his life, sleep with his neighbor's wife every night, run horses and gamble . . . but the doctrine he has produced will save you and me and the whole world." No source is given for this quotation and the reader is left to conclude that this was Brigham Young's considered opinion of Joseph Smith. However, when one reads the passage in its context in the discourse Brigham Young gave in the Tabernacle in Salt Lake City on November 9, 1856, he will find that Brigham Young was recalling an incident which had occurred many years before. Brigham Young said: "I recollect a conversation I had with a priest who was an old friend of ours, *before I was personally acquainted with the Prophet Joseph.*" The man accused the Prophet of many things. Brigham

Young continued: "I said, hold on, Brother Gillmore, here is the doctrine, here is the Bible, the Book of Mormon, and the revelations that have come through Joseph Smith the Prophet. *I have never seen him, and do not know his private character.* The doctrine he teaches is all I know about the matter, bring anything against that if you can." (Italics ours.) It was then that Brigham Young said what Mr. Whalen quotes him as having said. (See *Journal of Discourses*, Vol. 4, pp. 77-78.) Unfortunately, arrangements of passages out of context such as this, and other selected statements, and things given only in part are terribly misleading to one who does not know them.

In spite of the book's inadequacies, some of which are gross, it is interesting and written in an easy and uncomplicated style, the over-all effect of which will probably be to stimulate an even increased interest in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and the Restored Gospel. Many will no doubt be struck with the incongruity of many things attributed to Joseph Smith and Brigham Young and the obviously remarkable characteristics of the Gospel and the Church. One is compelled to agree with Mr. Whalen's concluding sentence: "The student of Mormonism who would predict an early reversal of its expansion and growth would have to anchor his judgment on evidence other than that provided by its first 130 years."

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NEW GEOLOGIC MAP OF UTAH. Available at Utah Geological Survey, c/o University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah, four sheets, \$16.00.

A new geologic map of the State of Utah is about completed. The southeast quadrant which finishes the job will be off the press shortly. The three segments now available are unusually well done, with details all readable and coloring artistically applied. It is a scientific demonstration in map accuracy and artistry as well.

The map is drawn to a scale of 1/250,000 and has a contour interval of 200 feet. This present map is a great improvement over the old 1918 B. S. Butler print, which had a horizontal scale of 1/800,000. During the interval between publication of the old 1918 map and the present, many unmapped areas have been mapped and many previously mapped areas have been remapped in greater detail. The new map is a fine example of a cooperative effort in which the Federal government, State government, universities and many private companies and individuals have pooled their material and human resources to complete a much-needed job. It should help to stimulate additional industrial and geologic work in Utah as well as demonstrate anew a pioneer spirit in accomplishment.

Dr. W. Lee Stokes, chairman of the Department of Geology at the University of Utah, coordinated the project and assumed full responsibility for the northern half of the state, while Dr. Lehi F. Hintze, chairman of the Geology Department at B.Y.U., assumed the responsibility for compilation of the southern half. Completion of this task has been a geologist's dream for many years. Many masters' theses and other research by graduate students and professors from the major Utah universities, together with several schools from other states, have contributed to the finished new map. At B.Y.U. alone, 55 theses, mostly in Western Utah areas, have contributed to the mapping effort, and represent 5,000 square miles of new mapping. Figured at a cost of \$20 per square mile (a nominal figure), it would represent a total work contribution of more than \$100,000 by B.Y.U. students alone. Similar contributions by other schools and agencies are to be credited in helping to complete the project.

Authorization for the project came through the College of Mines and Mineral Industry of the University of Utah,

with Dr. A. J. Eardley as dean, through endorsement of the State Land Board, with Mr. Frank J. Allen director, and with support of Governor George D. Clyde. The map base was prepared by the U. S. Army from air photo prints. The additional printing, compilation, and supplementary field mapping was made possible by support of the State Land Board at a cost of \$250,000.

Dr. Lehi Hintze has a natural liking for maps and map making and had long been interested in this project—even before it became a possibility. He had earlier published a small 8½" x 11" state map, and preliminary compilations of the western part of the state on a larger scale. Professors H. J. Bissell, J. Keith Rigby, Kenneth C. Bullock and Lehi Hintze guided much of the mapping by the graduate students. Many others at B.Y.U. aided directly or indirectly in the school's contribution to the over-all project and are to be congratulated for their industry and foresight.

The new geologic map is a milestone in geologic achievement and an excellent tool for the geologists and related groups in the state of Utah. It is a good job well done.

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