THE THETEAN
A STUDENT JOURNAL FOR SCHOLARLY HISTORICAL WRITING

EDITOR IN CHIEF
Joseph Seeley

ASSOCIATE EDITORS
Mickell Summerhays
Emily Willis

EDITORIAL STAFF
Scott Bakowski
Rachael Howe
Dallan Petersen
Miriam Shumway
Michael Hoopes
Joseph Le Bel
Lark Plessinger

COPY EDITORS
Cameron Nielsen
Miriam Shumway
Mickell Summerhays

LAYOUT & DESIGN
Miriam Shumway
Mickell Summerhays

FACULTY ADVISOR: Dr. Rebecca de Schweinitz

The Thetean is a scholarly student journal representing historical essays written by students at Brigham Young University. Manuscripts dealing with historical topics are considered and evaluated according to originality, standards of scholarly historical method, and writing style. Submissions can be submitted to the editor in chief through the Department of History office (JFSB 2130) and must have a cover sheet including the author’s name, address, telephone number, and email address. For more specific information, contact the editor in chief through the Department of History secretary.

Material in this issue is the sole responsibility of the authors and does not necessarily represent the views of the editors, Phi Alpha Theta, the Department of History, Brigham Young University, or The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. All copyrights are retained by the individual authors.
STEPHANIE BERGESON
Changes in German Holocaust Memorials

BRANDON HELLEWELL
Reed Smoot and the League of Nations: Duty to Church and Party

BRADLEY KIME
Masonic Motifs in Willy Wonka and the Chocolate Factory

CAMERON C. NIELSEN
Contradictions Among the People: Mao Zedong and the Aims of the Hundred Flowers Policy

LARK PLESSINGER
"Damn the tyrant’s cause!": Primary Source Analysis of the Morris Family Letters from 1829 to 1846

KELSEY SAMUELSEN
“The End is Near”: Pop Culture Adaptations of Premillennial Themes

CARLYLE SCHMOLLINGER
An Enduring Force: The Photography of Laura Gilpin among the Twentieth-Century Navajo

ANNIE PENROD WALKER
“Take Every Good”: A Study of the Hidden Trends in the Latter-Day Saint Indian Placement Program

KATHERINE WHITE

EMILY WILLIS
Reading Disasters: Science, Literary Devices, and the Culture of Reassurance in Children’s Nonfiction Literature on Natural Disasters

BRADLEY KIME
Human Nature and the Integration of Faith and Reason
Winner of the 2012 Faith and Reason Essay Competition

DEPARTMENT AWARDS

Published by BYU ScholarsArchive, 2013
PREFACE

The ancient Chinese philosopher Confucius once said, "I was not born to wisdom: I loved the past, and sought it earnestly there." Though many students of history would agree with this Eastern sage about the benefits of seeking wisdom in the past, in an era where information is often conveyed in thirty minute episodes and 140-character tweets, the meticulous study of the past preferred by both Confucius and BYU history majors may seem as dated as the figures and events they research.

The student historians represented in this journal have embraced the challenges and opportunities presented by the digital era with vigor. A compelling film may distract us from completing a history paper, but these same films also provide excellent lenses through which ambitious scholars can track historical change and continuity. The Internet distracts, but also provides access to previously unobtainable primary sources. Thanks to the technological advances of our media age, the opportunities to learn from the past have never been greater.

The student essays selected for publication in this year’s journal use a wide variety of both traditional and non-traditional sources to extract meaning from the past. Stephanie Bergeson’s essay on Holocaust memorials in modern Germany demonstrates how monuments reveal as much about public attitudes towards the past as they do the events they commemorate. Brandon Hellewell’s essay on Reed Smoot’s involvement with the League of Nations uses traditional written sources to understand the conflict that occurs when individual convictions clash with the ideals of one’s community. Bradley Kime’s essay on Masonic rituals in Roald Dahl’s Charlie and the Chocolate Factory sheds light on the potential Masonic influences on this well-beloved children’s story, illustrating how centuries-old ritual and symbolism can permeate even the most unlikely of sources.

Continuing on to Cameron Nielsen’s essay on Mao Zedong and the Hundred Flowers Movement, we see political speeches being used to reconstruct the internal motivations of an important historical figure whose fateful decisions influenced the lives of millions. Lark Plessinger’s analysis of written correspondence between English immigrants to nineteenth-century Ohio and their

brother in England reminds us, however, that significant meaning can also be derived from studying the lives of less prominent historical figures.

Kelsey Samuelsen’s work on premillenial dispensationalism in modern apocalyptic media uses a wide variety of contemporary sources to demonstrate how modern concerns about a catastrophic future pay unconscious tribute to the past. Carlyle Schmollinger’s essay on photographer Laura Gilpin’s work among the Navajo shows us the power of images to relate a fascinating story as well as advocate for the welfare of a marginalized people.

In another essay that explores Native American issues, Annie Walker uses oral interviews to piece together and draw conclusions from the experiences of Native Americans in the LDS Church-sponsored Indian Placement Program. Oral interviews also are among the many primary sources in Katherine White’s essay about the WWII-era Japanese Language School in Boulder, Colorado, an institution that sought to make language a weapon but inadvertently helped it become a tool for empathy and understanding. The journal concludes with the essay of Emily Willis, which uses a very unconventional source—children’s literature on natural disasters—to demonstrate how society seeks to protect its most vulnerable members by fostering an illusion of control over the powerful forces of nature.

The essays in this journal represent hours of dedicated research, writing, and rewriting on the part of their talented student authors. In their quests to “earnestly” seek wisdom from the past, many of these authors endured late nights and looming deadlines to produce works worthy of inclusion in The Thetean. The contributions of the history department faculty also deserve recognition. Many of these essays would not have made it past the rough draft stage had it not been for the guiding hands of experienced scholars.

I hope this finished journal becomes a source of pride for both the student writers and their faculty mentors. I also extend my earnest appreciation to the talented editors who helped prepare this journal for publication. Preparation for this year’s Thetean issue was a collective process, and I am grateful that among spirited debate and a chocolate chip cookie or two we were able to produce a student journal worthy of representing our history department.

In conclusion, I dedicate this journal to all those whose effort has allowed this year’s issue to come to fruition. The future is bright for the newest generation of history scholars at Brigham Young University. I also dedicate it to the earnest scholar anywhere whose love for history leads them to seek wisdom in the past. Best wishes in your pursuits.

Joseph Seeley
Editor in Chief
Changes in German Holocaust Memorials

Germany's desire to be rid of this part of the past is understandable. The relationship Germany has to the Holocaust is complicated because it's the land of the Nazi perpetrators. The question of memorialisation is, therefore, a very difficult one, nurtured about this problem as well as its accepted solutions have changed markedly since the early postwar period. By following these changes from Germany's initial statements to the completion of the Memorial for the Murdered Jews of Europe in 2005, it becomes clear that German Holocaust memorials have transformed in appearance and purpose from existent and memorial attempts at escaping the past toward a bold and permanent perpetuation of memory. This shift has largely been due to changes in individual, national, and international factors affecting Germany and its citizens. The Memorial for the Murdered Jews of Europe located in Berlin represents a culmination of a variety of influences and symbolizes the change in focus from escaping the past toward keeping the difficult issues and questions of the Holocaust alive. An analysis
Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, Berlin

Photo by Stephanie Bergeson
Changes in German Holocaust Memorials

Stephanie Bergeson

SINCE WORLD WAR II, Holocaust memorials have been built in many countries for a variety of reasons. Many memorials have been erected as places to remember and mourn the loss of those who were its victims. Some are built mainly to raise difficult but important moral and ethical questions in a world of increasing globalization and relativism. Others have been built to distance a country’s association with the Holocaust and the Nazi government. Still others, as was the case with early Holocaust memorials in West Germany, were built in an attempt to forget or bury the past.

Germany’s desire to be rid of this part of the past is understandable. The relationship Germany has to the Holocaust is complicated because it is the land of the main perpetrators. The question of memorialization is, therefore, a very difficult one. Attitudes about this problem as well as its accepted solutions have changed markedly since the early postwar period. By following these changes from Germany’s earliest monuments to the completion of the Memorial for the Murdered Jews of Europe in 2005, it becomes clear that German Holocaust memorials have transformed in appearance and purpose from obscure and marginal attempts at escaping the past toward a bold and personal preservation of memory. This shift has largely been due to changes in individual, national, and international factors affecting Germany and its citizens. The Memorial for the Murdered Jews of Europe located in Berlin represents a culmination of a variety of influences and epitomizes the change in focus from escaping the past to one of keeping the difficult issues and questions of the Holocaust alive. An analysis
of the ideas and trends which led to the creation of the Berlin memorial and an examination of the debate surrounding its creation makes it clear what a significant change this monument represents and how this change was possible.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

In order to understand the significance of the changes in Holocaust memorials in Germany, it is important to understand the general purposes and importance of memorials. Memorials are generally seen as a way of keeping the people and events of the past an extant part of the present. They often become a very important part of both collective memory and cultural or national identity. According to the widely accepted theories of Maurice Halbwachs, memory is normally triggered by something outside ourselves which we associate with the memory, rather than by our own thoughts. Memory is recalled and preserved through these outside triggers, such as people, places, and objects. Halbwachs further explains that there are two ways one comes to associate an outside trigger with a particular memory. Autobiographical memory, the first process, occurs through personal experience, which comes to be associated with an outside trigger. The second process occurs through some form of social construction, such as a monument or a holiday, and this is usually how historical memory is created and perpetuated. Based on this theory, outside triggers, such as monuments and other commemorative events, are very useful and important in constructing and preserving public memory, as well as creating a cohesive national identity, because, as Halbwachs also points out, sharing similar memories with others promotes unity within a nation or group.

In light of this idea that memorials are critical in promoting national identity and unity, the problematic nature of Holocaust memorials in Germany can more easily be seen. Normally the memorialization of victories and sacrifices, or even the injustices suffered by a nation, can become rallying points, inspiring unity, pride, and patriotism; a memorialization of past crimes, however, does not promote these same feelings. As James Young, an expert on Holocaust memorials put it, "in effect, the initial impulse to memorialize events like the Holocaust may actually spring from an opposite and equal desire to forget them." Through

3 Ibid, 5.
memorialization, events and issues can, in some ways, be confined to the past. Once something is memorialized there is a sense of resolution; the event as well as the question of how to remember the event is taken care of once a memorial is built. In this way it can also become a storage compartment for memory, so that people do not have to feel responsible for remembering. James Young also cautions against this possibility, arguing that the building of a monument or memorial alone is not enough to ensure memory. In order to become an important part of collective memory, it is important for a memorial to be located, designed, and used in such a way as to keep its function as a reminder of the past.

Along with this desire to use memorials to forget the past, there can also be a temptation to use memorials to distort the past, making it more favorable or conducive to promoting national unity as well as shaping a desirable identity. This distortion can include exaggerating strengths exhibited or injustices suffered, and ignoring or down-playing involvement in shameful or immoral situations. This can be seen in some of the memorials in the countries surrounding Germany where there were both collaborators and resisters or victims of the Nazi regime. In these countries, like France, Hungary, and Austria, memorials tend to focus on those who suffered or resisted rather than focusing on those who collaborated. This desire to remember positive contributions to history, especially while creating collective memory and national identity is understandable; however, it is also one-sided and therefore inaccurate. Thus, memorials, which are generally thought of as tools of preserving historical memory, can also be used to distort history or enable forgetting. The idea of creating this kind of a memorial can be very appealing when a country is expected to create a memorial for something the majority of its citizens are not proud of.

**HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: EAST GERMANY**

Not surprisingly, both of these trends can be seen in the memorials of post-World War II Germany. Although there were many good reasons to remember the Holocaust, other than inspiring national unity, the threat that memorialization posed to national identity and unity put both East and West Germany in a difficult position in confronting this part of their history, especially in the public sphere. Caroline Wiedmer explains that there was a trend during the post-war era among some of the Holocaust memorials in Germany to “down-play

---

5 Ibid, 2.

the trauma inflicted on others by crafting the cracked figure of a hero from the shards of national defeat." This was especially true of the Holocaust memorials constructed in the East by the German Democratic Republic (GDR). From the 1950s through the 1990s, there was little development or change in memorials under Communist rule in East Germany. As a rule, monuments created under Communist rule were monuments to anti-Fascists; they helped to construct a history where the East Germans saw themselves as the heroes, the resisters of the Nazis. Such memorials are an excellent example of how the past can be distorted in order to promote national unity and pride. They became rallying points for the new Communist government, while responsibility for the crimes and the suffering of the victims of the Holocaust were forgotten to the collective memory.

One example of an anti-Fascist memorial built in Eastern Germany is the Sachsenhausen memorial tower. It was built by the GDR in 1961 in what remained of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. It was originally designed as a national “memorial site that would symbolize the victory of anti-Fascism over Fascism.” This memorial tower consists of a pillar 35–40 meters tall with orange triangles near the top, symbolizing the political prisoners of the Nazis, who were identified with this mark. Interestingly the decision to memorialize the political prisoners exclusively, which included many Communists, also meant that those prisoners who were defined by the National Socialists as racially or biologically inferior were ignored. In this way, the government of the GDR distorted the history of the camp, memorializing Communist suffering and resistance to the Nazis while avoiding any responsibility for other victim groups. The memorial also features a 4–5 meter sculpture by René Graetz at its base, known as “liberation.”

The base of the sculpture has a list of the countries of origin of the prisoners who were held in that camp, including Germany. This aided East Germany in cultivating a collective memory in which East-German citizens were also the victims and resisters to the Nazis, despite the fact that no such regional differences had existed at the time. This sculpture, through its name and content, also celebrates the “liberation” of the camp by the Soviet Union. This is also a distortion of history. One of the reasons the monument was not built until the 1960s is because the Communist government of the GDR was still using the camp for political prisoners as

---

7 Ibid, 9.
8 Ibid, 80.
well as arbitrarily arrested citizens. These facts certainly do not fit well with the heroic image the GDR used the memorial to create. Such distortions for the sake of national image and unity were fairly typical of Holocaust memorials in the East for the duration of the GDR, which began to collapse in 1989.

**HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: WEST GERMANY**

While in the East they dealt with the problems of German identity and the Holocaust by distorting Holocaust history, the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) chose a different approach, that of using memorials to inspire or allow forgetting. Jürgen Dittberner argues that the trend in the West was to build much more historically accurate monuments, but to create them on the fringes of society, not attaching much public significance to them. These memorials could be visited by those who wanted to mourn the loss of family and friends, and those who took special interest in the topic. For the typical German however, a school trip might bring them there, but for the most part these places functioned as unvisited storage compartments for uncomfortable memories. This attitude toward initial early memorials in the West can be seen not only through the lack of public significance attached to them, but also through the building process and design of each monument. Some of the earliest examples of this include a Jewish memorial erected by survivors in Belsen in 1946, a memorial in Neuengamme built by the city government in 1953 to appease requests made by survivors for a memorial, and a 1946 memorial in the town of Flossenbürg. There are a few things these as well as most early memorials had in common. First of all, most early memorials in Germany were built by survivors, or at least at the request of survivors. They were also usually classical forms such as pyramids, obelisks, or tall pylons used to classify a site as meaningful, without specifying what that meaning was. The fact that the form chosen was often so unspecific is evidence of the general desire in Germany to forget the Holocaust. A non-specific memorial could allow for the appeasement of survivors without providing a constant reminder to the German people of the crimes of the past. This idea that the memorials were really created by and for the survivors is also evidenced by the fact that the 1946 Belsen memorial is inscribed with Hebrew on the side where visitors would enter

---

13 Marcuse, 65,67,70.
the area. These memorials were also usually located in remote areas, usually close to the camps where prisoners had been held. Such locations are evidence of their place in German society, on the fringes. This also contributed to their isolation and inspired forgetting among those who were not driven to go a great distance out of their way to remember the Holocaust.


During the 1960s, global awareness of and preoccupation with the Holocaust rose somewhat, inspiring an increase in the building of memorials in a variety of countries. The '60s marked some changes to Holocaust memorials in Germany as well. One of the main changes in Holocaust memorials at this time occurred in the size and design of memorials. More memorials were built and they were usually larger in size. In 1965 the 7.5-meter-high-pillar in Neugamme was replaced with a 27-meter-high pillar and included a sculpture at the bottom.14 Large monuments were completed in Dachau and Birkenau in 1968 and 1967, respectively.15 The memorials also began, in some cases, to change somewhat in style, becoming more abstract. This is especially the case with the Dachau memorial. Part of the reason for this change was that some artists and even some cities began to feel that the classical style of memorials that were normally built resembled too closely the classic style that had been so frequently idolized and employed by the Nazis.16 A style with such suggestive connection to Nazi values was certainly not appropriate for memorialization of the Holocaust. Despite these changes, there was still a tendency to build even these larger memorials in remote and unpopulated areas, allowing them to remain somewhat marginal within collective memory.

This trend began to change somewhat in the 1980s, at least in some isolated cases, among individual artists and cities. Memorials began to be erected, which more boldly challenged previous ideas and styles; James Young calls these Holocaust memorials counter-monuments.17 These monuments departed from traditional monuments in many ways including style, location, and use. Instead of the old serious or dramatic styles, antiheroic, ironic, and self-effacing styles and

14 Ibid, 69.
17 Young, The Texture of Memory, 27.
techniques began to be used. These new styles were typical of the post modernist movement in art at the end of the twentieth century. Individual artists and groups began to experiment with such forms and techniques within the realm of Holocaust memorials, creating a new style and genre of Holocaust memorials. These memorials were better able to prevent the feeling of resolution previous memorials had often embodied, which had been one of the main factors which led to forgetting. They worked instead to raise the difficult questions of the Holocaust and leave the viewers with an unresolved feeling, which would increase the likelihood of continued thought and remembrance in the viewer. On a smaller, more individual scale, artists in Germany began to use these changes in style along with changes in location and use of the memorials in order to achieve this goal of remembrance.

One such counter-monument was designed by Berlin-born Jochen Gerz and his wife Esther Gerz. They had been invited by the city of Hamburg to create it in 1986. “I was particularly impressed by what the city wanted,” commented Jochen in an interview with Stephan Schmidt-Wulffen, “they wanted something that brought social issues into play and displayed them.” The Gerzes were determined to give the city of Hamburg just that, and had some ideas of their own about how this would best be accomplished. “The city wanted to erect the monument in a ‘creative corner,’ in a park somewhere,” explained Gerz, but the Gerzes had an “ugly spot” in mind. This ugly spot is located in an area “packed with buildings, a heavily trafficked central crossing.” The Gerzes wanted the memorial to reach the people and utilized this location to help facilitate their objective. Aside from using a central location to promote the perpetuation of memory, this monument was also designed to invite participation of the individual viewers. It was a simple, aesthetically dull pillar coated in a layer of soft lead on every side. Viewers were invited to inscribe their name on the pillar as a statement against Fascism. This design was used to emphasize the importance of individual responsibility in active remembering. As the reachable part of the monument filled up with signatures, the monument was sunk into the ground bit by bit, until it eventually disappeared leaving only a memory with its viewers. This goal was achieved in 1993 as it was lowered for the last time. The structure of this monu-

18 Young, At Memory’s Edge, 93.
19 Young, The Texture of Memory, 28.
21 Ibid.
22 Ibid, 70.
ment challenged the permanent nature of a monument and was supposed to help prevent it from becoming a storage compartment that would hold people's uncomfortable memories for them. Its disappearance, along with the personal experiences of the viewers' interactions with it, was hoped to encourage them to take the responsibility for remembering upon themselves. 23

Another example of a counter-monument is Horst Hoheisel's Aschrott-Brunnen Memorial in Kassel. It was built in 1987 to remember a forty foot high fountain which had been donated in 1908 to the city by Sigmund Aschrott, a local Jewish entrepreneur. It was then destroyed by the Nazis. 24 Hoheisel determined that the best way to remember the destruction and absence of this fountain was to construct a negative space version of it that would be sunk below the ground where the old one stood, upside-down. He explained: "I have designed the new fountain as a mirror image of the old one, sunk beneath the old place in order to rescue the history of this place as a wound and as an open question, to penetrate the consciousness of the Kassel citizens so that such things never happen again." 25 This idea of using memorials to reflect upon and represent the absence and loss as consequences of the Holocaust for Germany is one way in which the attitude toward memorials changed. This showed a change toward more serious reflection on the Holocaust's effect on the country as well as a greater focus on regret about the losses of the Holocaust. This became a way to look at the past which condemned but still acknowledged some responsibility for the tragedy. These changes in focus and attitude about Holocaust memorials in Germany, brought about by individual artists within their own spheres of influence, paved the way for later representations of such absence and loss to be erected on a much larger scale.

THE BERLIN MEMORIAL: CASE STUDY

Despite the innovations of counter-monuments, Holocaust monuments in the West were generally still very limited when it came to national scope and influence. At the same time, monuments in the East remained relatively unaltered and continued to be distorted reflections of the past used as rallying points for the Communist government. Shortly after the reunification of Germany, the planning and creation of a central national Holocaust memorial became a large priority, as East and West came together for the first time in nearly fifty years. This has largely been attributed to the national politics of the time, especially

23 Ibid, 69.
24 Young, At Memory's Edge, 99.
25 Ibid, 98.
the international pressures which accompanied the reunification of Germany.26 And while it is true that these circumstances greatly facilitated the planning and construction of the Memorial to the Murdered Jews in Europe, as will be discussed in greater detail later, this limited view of linear cause and effect is too simplistic. It does not account for the fact that the original idea and plan for the monument began even before reunification occurred, or the ten years of controversy and debate that preceded the memorial’s creation. It also fails to provide a good explanation about how the seeds which were planted by individual artists came to have such a large effect on final design and purpose of the monument in Berlin. If the memorial had been solely planned and motivated as a response to international pressures on the newly unified Germany, it could have easily taken on a purpose and form similar to those of the early monuments in the west, something nonspecific that could serve to appease demands for a memorial without becoming an effective reminder of the crimes of Germany’s past. As the country was united again for the first time in years, a memorial that could serve as a storage compartment for uncomfortable memory—providing a feeling of resolution—was very tempting. There were some who argued for such a monument during the debate surrounding the monument’s completion. Through a careful examination of the planning of the project and the way the controversial issues surrounding it were resolved, however, it becomes clear that the monument follows more closely the design and purpose of the counter-monuments, trying to raise the difficult questions of the Holocaust, prevent resolution, and keep the memory alive among individuals.27 Its creation therefore effectively projected the ideas and innovations discussed earlier to a national level. Through looking at the many factors which influenced the creation of the memorial in Berlin, the great changes the monument embodies and how these changes occurred, can be seen more accurately and completely.

The roots of this memorial project began with the dream and efforts of a German television journalist from West Berlin, Lea Rosh. After visiting Yad Vashem, the Holocaust memorial in Israel, Rosh began to push for a national Holocaust memorial for the Federal Republic of Germany to be built within West Berlin. Rosh’s first appeals on this subject were made as a part of her involvement in another site in Berlin called Topography of Terror.28 She first suggested the

26 Wiedmer, 142.


idea in one of their meetings on August 24, 1988. She later became leader of the group Perspektive Berlin, which was organized to promote and plan the memorial project and included prominent members of German society such as Günter Gras, Willy Brandt, and herself. These initial phases of the Holocaust memorial in Berlin show that the motivation behind building a central memorial was much more complex than merely a political desire to appease international pressures and improve the country’s image, as is often argued. Some motivation to build the memorial existed among individual citizens even before these pressures arose.

Some of these motivations resulted from less direct international pressures which already existed and affected German citizens individually. In a public statement Rosh made advocating the project, she displayed some evidence of this. Undoubtedly influenced by her trip to Yad Vashem in Israel, she argued that many other countries have national Holocaust memorials, including Israel and the United States, and that it is shameful that Germany does not have a similarly centralized monument. Through this statement it becomes clear that there were international pressures felt by individuals in Germany, such as herself, to recognize and remember the Holocaust in similar ways to other countries. Even though some people in Germany felt that there were already enough memorials, in the form of the actual historical sites like the concentration camps or burned down synagogues, there was still a pressure to remember the Holocaust with a memorial similar to those in other countries, in both style and purpose. The central memorials in Israel and the United States were built in a new, experiential style. The experiential style of the monuments generally involved a large area that the viewer was invited to enter and experience. Such memorials were usually very large and promoted memory through creating specific emotional responses and memories in the viewer through their interaction. This style had recently become popular among Holocaust memorials in many countries. It is somewhat reminiscent of the Gerzes’ desire to encourage individual participation and thereby inspire lasting memory in the individual viewers instead of storing it away.

This international artistic influence is coupled, however, with a perhaps even more powerful internal pressure. Again, evidence of this motivation is also present in Rosh’s newspaper article. In the article she mentions the importance of German citizens finally going through “Vergangenheitsbewältigung” or the process of coming to terms with one’s past.\(^{32}\) This particular pressure is complex and has a couple of different possible meanings. In its mildest forms it includes the idea that German citizens need to acknowledge and remember what happened in the past, just like the rest of the world remembers, so that it will not happen again. There is also another more complicated side to it, which demands that Germans recognize their responsibility for the tragedy of the Holocaust and work through this past, allowing it to be a part of German identity, rather than moving on and leaving the past behind them. Although the question of responsibility and guilt for the Holocaust is a controversial and difficult problem to deal with, especially when it concerns German identity, this idea also lends itself to the kind of memorial that will ensure the Holocaust is remembered, and not stored away on the outskirts of the city and subsequently the outskirts of collective memory.\(^{33}\) According to these pressures evidenced by her article, Lea Rosh’s goals and attitudes about Holocaust memorials do fit in with the continuation or at least a complement of the changes that the independent artists had been experimenting with previous to her vision for a central monument. Her influence on this project is therefore a key component in understanding the reason for the resemblances between the counter-monuments and the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe. The fact that the memorial gained support from other German citizens, like the members of Perspektive Berlin and those who donated money so that it could be built, also shows that she was not the only one who felt these pressures and motivations to carry out the project.

Fortunately for Lea Rosh and this project, the political events and international pressures combined at an opportune time to create a wider demand for the completion of the project. The project, which had already gathered some momentum and stirred some controversy by the time of German reunification, became very important to the government of freshly united Germany for a few reasons. The fall of the Berlin Wall and the subsequent unification of Germany, although met with much rejoicing because of its highly symbolic connection to the decline of Iron Curtain and Communist power, was met with some apprehension. The way European history had generally been told at that time portrayed Germany as traditionally expansionist. This image placed the guilt for both world wars on

---

\(^{32}\) Rosh, Vorwärts Nr. 45 in Der Denkmalstreit–das Denkmal, 27.

\(^{33}\) Wiedmer, 150.
Germany. Thus, in its relatively short history as a united country, it had been seen to be quite aggressive and powerful. Many in the international community were nervous about whether or not this identity would be changed or perpetuated as the country was united again. It did not help alleviate this situation that the fall of the Berlin Wall came very close to the fifty-year anniversary of the fall of the Third Reich and marked the first time Germany had been unified since it had been ruled by Hitler, also headquartered in Berlin.34 The sentiments raised by these circumstances led to a pressure on the new German government to prove that it was a changed country, that it condemned its predecessors, and that it was determined to pursue a new and better direction as a country. As violence against minorities broke out in cities such as Rostock, Hoyerswerda, and Solingen, the pressure on Germany increased further.35 This brought German identity and its relation to its Nazi history into greater question.

The memorial project moved forward with increased importance and publicity. A competition to design the monument garnered hundreds of submissions.36 The specifications for this competition were published and remained true to the original goals set out first by Rosh in her article. As such, the specifications for the competition also reflected the shift in focus toward perpetuating the memory of the Holocaust. While leaving the form of the monument quite open for artistic creation and interpretation, the specifications outlined in the competition made important goals and focal points clear to the artists involved. They first described the historical significance of the site chosen for the memorial, stressing its closeness to the Reichskanzlei, Hitler’s headquarters, and former location of part of the Berlin Wall which had separated Germany for forty years.37 The artists were then given instructions that artistic power should be used to symbolically incorporate mourning, unsettledness (Erschütterung), and a warning not to reflect shame and guilt. They were also instructed that it should encourage the ideals

34 Ibid, 142.
of peace, freedom, equality, and tolerance—now and in the future.\(^{38}\) In effect the artists were asked to incorporate the horrible, shameful nature of the Holocaust, as well as the enormous and individual tragedy of the victims, all while warning against such events in the future. This certainly is evidence of the desire to communicate and proliferate awareness of the societal issues and questions raised by the Holocaust instead of trying to cover it up, downplay it, or hide it away.

The winning submissions of the competition, chosen by the panel of judges, also support this idea. Even though the two designs, which were chosen in the initial competition, were rejected by the government due to a few symbolic difficulties and a lack of popular acceptance, the choice of the council members and their rationale for their choice does reveal a great deal about the goals and motivations of the project. One of the winning submissions consisted of a very large, off-center, rectangular platform. This design was chosen for a variety of reasons, one of which was the way it prevented the anonymity of previous memorials through the inscription of names of Jewish victims who died in the Holocaust.\(^{39}\) This was supposed to make it more emotionally stirring and personal.\(^{40}\) The design is also praised because of its off-centeredness. The rectangular form was to be raised well off the ground on one side and sunk into the ground on the other.\(^{41}\) This was to represent and cause a feeling of unsettledness, preventing the feeling of resolution that could lead to forgetting. The entry it was to be combined with also incorporated another similarly large and square design which was praised for its inclusion of the names of concentration camps and for the freedom viewers would have to interact with it and forge their own path through it.\(^{42}\) This was more typical of the experiential style mentioned earlier and therefore was also designed and praised for its ability to create personal memories in the viewers, increasing the perpetuation of memory.

The increased importance of the competition, as well as the plans and goals outlined for the project, spurred much discussion and controversy as the German people had many varying opinions. Some questioned and argued about the goals themselves, and others debated how best to achieve the goals outlined. These varying opinions are well documented both through newspapers and a variety of essays written during the almost decade-long debate.\(^ {43}\) An examination of the

---

\(^{38}\) Ibid, 215.

\(^{39}\) Ibid, 215.

\(^{40}\) Unfortunately this was one portion of the design which was rejected because of the difficulty of getting accurate records of all of the victims.

\(^{41}\) "Wettbewerbsbeiträge," in Der Denkmalstreit—das Denkmal, 275.

\(^{42}\) Ibid, 274.

\(^{43}\) Hemrod, Ute. Der Denkmalstreit—das Denkmal.
issues that the monument faced, using these sources, reveals a lot about the attitude of German citizens and scholars at the time. There is evidence of both the desire to use the memorial to help forget or resolve the Holocaust and move on, as early Holocaust memorials had done in Germany, as well as the desire to carry forward the goals of counter-monuments, keeping Holocaust memories and issues present in Germany. Through an examination of these debates, it becomes clear that the decisions about style, location, and purpose were made very consciously, in favor of creating a monument that would perpetuate the goals and ideas of counter-monuments, thus carrying forward this smaller-scale movement to the national level.

One aspect of the proposed memorial project, which was widely and hotly criticized, was the narrowness of its subject. It was to be dedicated to only the murdered Jews of Europe, despite the many other groups and individuals murdered by Nazi Germany. Konrad Schuller argued in a newspaper article for the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung that the Roma and Sinti victims should be included in the memorial. He stated that, as a percentage of the Gypsy population, their casualties were just as significant. Others, such as Reinhart Koselleck, who wrote about it in an essay titled “Die falsche Ungeduld” (false impatience), saw the exclusively Jewish nature of the memorial as an attempt to hierarchize the victims, giving Jewish victims greater worth and preferred status. This, aside from being terribly offensive, would weaken the monument’s credibility as a symbol of peace and equality.

The responses to these criticisms, however, help shed new light on the advantages dedicating the monument solely to the Jewish victims could have for German collective memory. Lea Rosh, as well as other proponents of the idea (like Jakob Schulze-Rohr), responded to these criticisms with assurances that it was not an attempt to hierarchize the victims, but that the experience of the Jewish victims was different from that of the other groups, and it is therefore fitting that they are remembered with their own unique monument.

CHANGES IN GERMAN HOLOCAUST MEMORIALS

laws right from the beginning of the Third Reich, and later forced into ghettos. The desire to memorialize Jewish history separately from that of other groups is evidence of a desire to portray the complexities and problems of history as accurately as possible, instead of trying for a generic, one-size-fits-all kind of memorial, which would be more prone to distortion of the history. The specifications for the second competition to design the monument also brought up the point that the more the memorial is supposed to represent, the less likely it becomes that it will be able to achieve its goals of representation successfully. By no means does the monument to the Jewish victims of the Holocaust prevent the building of other monuments to other groups. In fact, another advantage to this idea of making the monument specific is the avoidance of building an "absolute" Holocaust memorial that Salomon Korn, an architect involved in the Holocaust memorial debate, warned against. The fact that it only memorializes one group, and therefore inspires the creation of other memorials, ensures that it does not give the whole issue the feeling of resolution which can quickly lead to forgetting. Because of this decision, national memorials continued to be built in Germany to other victim groups. A memorial to the gays and lesbians targeted by the Nazis was completed in 2008, and one for the Roma and Sinti was inaugurated in 2012. This design and goal therefore can be seen as an extension of the strategy of using memorials to portray history more accurately, while inspiring continued memory.

Another debate centered on the size of the monument set forth in the specifications of the competition. Some argued that it was too large and reminiscent of the kind of monuments favored under National Socialism. Although it is true that, according to the specifications of the competition, the monument was to be much larger and more permanent than most of the counter-monuments already discussed, this does not necessarily signify a regression toward the style of monuments built by the Nazis. There was a lot more to the Nazi style of monument than its size. More importantly than the size was the attitude portrayed in the form and style. The monuments of the National Socialist era were based upon classic style and were built to aggrandize Germany.

48 Ibid, 55–56.
50 Korn, 60.
Although the monument was intended from the outset to be large and very permanent, these qualities do not necessarily lead to forgetting. There is a clear trend in the evaluation of possible designs by the judges to value and favor monuments which invite more active interaction and experience by the viewer. Both of the first-place monuments of the initial competition as well as some of the runners-up involved entering the monument in some way, and this entry was often also accompanied by either ascending or descending. The fifth-place proposal was to have names of victims cut into the ceiling of the monument, which would then cast the names in light and shadow on to the bodies of the visitors below. These designs were favored by the judges because of their ability to help the viewers experience the monument more deeply and personally, which would inspire the absorption of memory into the viewer. The experiential idea is reminiscent both of the Gerzes’ monument in Hamburg, which invited its viewers to sign it, therefore participating personally in the act of remembrance as well as the experiential monuments which inspired Rosh initially, like Yad Vashem.

Eike Geisel, a journalist, also voiced a similar concern, although it was focused on another aspect of the project. In an article published in the Tagespiegel in January of 1995, Geisel argued that the memorial project was an attempt to inspire a renewed German nationality out of the ashes of the Holocaust. His main concern was the way the project was to be financed. Half of the sixteen million marks originally budgeted for its construction were to come from donations collected by the “Förderkreis zur Errichtung eines Denkmals für die ermordeten Juden Europas” (Society for the Promotion of Raising a Monument to the Murdered Jews of Europe). The idea that the building of this monument was a duty of the German nation reminded Geisel too much of the national effort to exterminate the Jews in the first place. In his opinion this project was just another tool to encourage German nationalism, which would be an extremely inappropriate, and a distorting use of Holocaust memory, just as had been the trend in East Germany before reunification.

However, there are a few problems with this argument. In order to understand the reason for the idea that half of the funds be raised through donations from the German people, it is important to look at how the project developed.

54 “Künstlerischer Wettbewerb: Kurzdokumentation,” in Der Denkmalstreit—das Denkmal, 279.
As mentioned, it initially came as a grassroots movement, led by Rosh, and supported by others, such as historian Eberhard Jackel. Rosh lobbied for the government's support of the project and as plans were being negotiated each side agreed to pay half. Given the way this developed, it is extremely unlikely that ulterior motives came into play. The very debate regarding the creation of the memorial is another powerful piece of evidence against the idea that it was being used as a tool to create national unity. In fact, the questions the project raised about how best to portray the nation's own guilt and shame as well as its victims was criticized by others as having a divisive influence on the nation. Konrad Schuller, writing for the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, observed regretfully that, despite the usual function of a monument or memorial to stand for unity and reconciliation, this memorial that was to stand in the heart of the capital city occasioned new disputes and divisions.

The very existence of this debate was, in the opinion of James Young, a great force in accomplishing the goals set forth by the monument—promoting the proliferation of Holocaust memory. The unsettled nature of the question of how to represent the Holocaust as a memorial in the heart of the capital city encouraged contemplation of the Holocaust and the social and moral issues it raises. Young even felt in the early stages of the debate that the indefinite perpetuation of the controversy would be preferable to any final solution, because it would prevent the feeling that the Holocaust had been resolved. He did later concede, however, that this was not a realistic option. He began to feel that if the monument could be created to embody the difficult issues as best as possible, embodying the controversy physically instead of resolving it, then the monument could, in fact, effectively keep the memory alive. The experience of the debate could also be seen as a force facilitating the development of collective memory in regard to the issues of the Holocaust, which would then be triggered by the actual monument, a process outlined in Halbwachs' work and generally accepted as effective.

The debate finally did come to a close when the Findungskomission (of which Young had been invited to be a member), charged with choosing an appropriate design after the first competition proved inconclusive, was able to agree.

57 Wiedmer, 145.
58 Schuller in Der Denkmalstreit—das Denkmal, 226.
60 Young, "Germany's Holocaust Memorial Problem," 71.
61 Ibid, 71.
62 Halbwachs, 38.
upon a winner of the second competition. This time they had made it clear in the description of the competition that the memorial was to "embody the intractable questions at the heart of German Holocaust memory rather than claiming to answer them." This would help to ensure the encouragement of memory, and the prevention of a feeling of resolution of the issue, despite the resolution of the memorial debate, just as Young had hoped. In the end, Peter Eisenman's design, which he had revised somewhat, was chosen and built. It was completed in 2005. There are many aspects of this design that were seen as true to the intended goals of the memorial project, to perpetuate memory and raise the complicated social and moral issues of the Holocaust, thus carrying forward this change, seen initially in isolated instances, to the national level.

Eisenman's design resisted the redemptory nature of answering the questions of the Holocaust in one form. Instead he used a field of thousands of pillars to symbolize its complexity. Because of this design, each viewer has to navigate the memorial, and with it the memory of the Holocaust and its inherent questions. This idea is further facilitated by the undefined nature of the pillars. They are unmarked, and although obviously somewhat reminiscent of tombstones, they can also be read differently by different viewers. This idea of tombstones is somewhat reminiscent of Hoheisl's fountain monument, as it reflects upon the loss and absence of the victims. The large field of closely placed pillars is also thought to create a possible sense of danger in the viewers, a feeling of being lost, or surrounded. This not only embodies, to a small degree, some of the emotions that are associated with the memory of the Holocaust, but also helps the viewer internalize the memory through the experience. There is also enough space planned in the Plaza for public commemorative activities, an important part of extending collective memory. As Young wrote years before this memorial was designed, "By themselves, monuments are of little value, mere stones in the landscape. But as part of a nation's rites or the objects of a people's national pilgrimage, they are invested with national soul and memory." This design is very much a continuation of the kinds of designs and goals of artists like the Gerzes and Hoheisel, to keep the memory of the Holocaust alive.

63 Young, "Germany's Holocaust Memorial Problem," 73.
64 Ibid, 71.
65 Ibid, 76.
66 Young, "Germany's Holocaust Memorial Problem," 78.
67 Ibid, 76.
68 Ibid, 76.
69 Young, The Texture of Memory, 2.
Through a combination of individual, artistic, and political forces, Holocaust memorials in Germany were drastically changed in style, location, and function. International pressures clearly played a role in each of these forces, placing varying degrees of pressure on artists and other individuals in Germany as well as on the German government. The influence of all of these forces and pressures can be seen in the creation of a large, central Holocaust memorial in Berlin. Despite the many reasons Germans had to build a memorial that could have attempted to reconcile, distort, or quietly store memory, the way Holocaust memorials initially had done in Germany, they built a very different memorial. The standard for Holocaust memorials changed on a national level with this project toward the type of memorial that would help Germany remember the uncomfortable past. Through the Memorial for the Murdered Jews of Europe, the self-conscious effort to make the difficult questions and realities of past crimes can be seen, keeping the Holocaust an extant part of the German identity.

Stephanie Bergeson is currently in her senior year of studies at BYU. She will be graduating with an undergraduate degree in history with a secondary major in German studies in August 2013. This paper was written for the History 490 Capstone Research Seminar, taught by Professor Craig Harline. Stephanie is particularly interested in German history as recently she was able to spend a year and a half there as a missionary. She is also very interested in the way history remembered publicly through public history projects such as memorials and national holidays. To some extent, both of these subjects are dealt with in this paper. Outside of her studies, Stephanie loves to read and sketch portraits. She also enjoys any time she can spend outdoors hiking or jogging with her husband. She is an avid rock climber both outdoors and in the gym.
Reed Smoot and the League of Nations: Duty to Church and Party

Brandon Hellewell

Senator Reed Smoot (R-UT) lived his life with two great devotions, the Republican Party and The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. In 1919, he held high positions in both. At that time, and in his seventeenth year as a senator, Smoot served as a member of the Senate Finance Committee. He also served as an Apostle of the LDS Church. These two parts of Smoot's life created tensions at several junctures, including 1919 when the Republican Party and LDS Church took opposing sides in the battle over United States membership in the League of Nations. The Church supported League membership, commending President Woodrow Wilson's program as the answer for peace. The Republican Party believed membership in the League would sacrifice portions of American sovereignty. For over a year, from February 1919 to March 1920, what contemporaries called "the League fight" raged across the United States and especially in Utah. The treaty ultimately failed to reach the necessary two-thirds majority for ratification for a second and final time on March 19, 1920.

This article will explore the conflict between Smoot's loyalty to the Republican Party and to the LDS Church for the duration of the League fight. It argues that Smoot's personal religious convictions, political beliefs, and loyalty to the Republican Party trumped his loyalty to the LDS Church, as he chose to oppose the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations. Smoot believed that Mormon scripture and prophecy clearly stated that peace would not reign on the earth until Jesus Christ returned to establish his kingdom again on the earth.
Therefore, membership in a peace league could never make good on its promises, because inevitable wars would continue until the Savior’s coming. Smoot did not want to join a league that would fail. Smoot also believed that America was a chosen land that God had ordained to be free from all nations. To join the League of Nations would place American sovereignty under the jurisdiction of a council of nations rather than the freedom America currently enjoyed. Smoot’s political objections to the League were straightforward. He did not want to give up the Monroe Doctrine, as it had proven rather effective, and he would not consent to have American armed forces be dictated to, even slightly, by any other nation. The LDS Church, on the other hand, saw the League as part of a solution for world peace. Smoot’s loyalty to the Republican Party, combined with his personal religious feelings, was strong, so he went against the LDS Church in voting for the reservations to the Treaty of Versailles and refusing ratification without them. In the broader sense, this article serves as an example of how foreign policy decisions are greatly affected by both religious beliefs and domestic politics.

Only two scholarly works explore Smoot’s role in the League fight. Milton R. Merrill’s political biography of Smoot, Reed Smoot: Apostle in Politics, is the most complete work on Smoot’s political life but includes only sixteen pages on Smoot and the League of Nations out of the 401 pages on his political career. One of the greatest shortcomings of Merrill’s work is that he did not have access to Smoot’s personal diaries when he finished his work on the Senator in 1957, as the diaries were not made available until 1964. This article makes extensive use of the diaries to provide additional insight into the senator and Apostle’s deepest thoughts. The most glaring omissions in Merrill’s work regarding Smoot’s role in League fight deal with his efforts in the Senate to get the Lodge Reservations passed. Much of that work was not through written communication contained in the Smoot Papers, but recorded in Smoot’s journal. The other published commentary on Smoot’s role in the League fight is a BYU Studies article entitled, “Personal Faith and Public Policy: Some Timely Observations on the League of Nations Controversy in Utah” by James B. Allen. Allen’s purpose is to demonstrate that members of the Mormon hierarchy have at times disagreed on political issues. Even with those disagreements, they kept their conversation civil. As such, the article only scratches the surface of Smoot’s dilemma and focuses on how he and other Church members cordially disagreed rather than the reasons behind those disagreements.
ORIGINS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The League of Nations idea originated with former President Theodore Roosevelt in 1910. While accepting the Nobel Peace Prize for his work in negotiating a peaceful end to the Russo-Japanese War, Roosevelt called for the great powers of the world dedicated to peace to form a "League of Peace, not only to keep the peace among themselves, but to prevent, by force if necessary, its being broken by others." Peace would be achieved when the great nations of the world with no desires for aggression worked together to temper the aggression of nations that did.¹ Five years later a group of veterans, lawyers, professors, and editors founded a group called the League to Enforce Peace (LEP) to advocate and lobby for the realization of Roosevelt’s idea. With former President William Howard Taft serving as its president, the LEP quickly became the strongest advocate for American membership in the League. The LEP made extensive use of publications to help sway public opinion and lobbied to gather support in Washington.²

Woodrow Wilson was initially quiet on the League idea while the Republicans and the LEP began endorsing it. The Democratic Party had not come forth with an official stance, although William Jennings Bryan, former presidential candidate and Wilson’s former secretary of state, was opposed to the League idea on the grounds that it relinquished American sovereignty.³ It was not until May 1916 that Wilson threw his support behind the League idea in a speech to the LEP. He said, “The United States is willing to become a partner in any feasible association of nations formed in order to realize” open diplomacy among nations, freedom for all countries to choose their own sovereignty, and the right to be free from all forms of aggression.⁴ After his reelection in 1916, Wilson began to take a much bolder stand on the League of Nations. He began seeking a negotiated peace and began offering American membership in a League of Nations as an attempt to entice Germany and the Allies to reach a peace agreement.⁵

⁵ Cooper, 19.
Senator Henry Cabot Lodge (R-MA), who would later become the major opponent to Wilson’s League and author of the Lodge Reservations, was the first elected official to put his support behind the League idea in June 1915. Lodge endorsed the League idea in a speech when he said, “peace can only be maintained by putting behind it the force of united nations determined to uphold it and prevent war.” He would later regret his strong endorsement of the LEP when Wilson began endorsing the negotiated peace between Germany and the Allies with a League of Nations as part of that peace. Lodge felt the general call to peace was easy but the implementation was too difficult. Smoot would follow the lead of Lodge who was the Senate majority leader in opposition to Wilson during the League fight.

Smoot’s feelings on the League are unknown during the early phases of the League’s transforming from an idea to an integral part of the Treaty of Versailles. Even though Smoot had deep convictions and a great interest in foreign policy, his personal area of expertise was on financial measures involving taxes, tariffs, and appropriations. It would have been out of character for Smoot to speak out or even spend much time writing to anyone about foreign policy issues before they became an issue that warranted his attention and vote in the Senate.

Immediately following the end of World War I on November 11, conflict over the peace negotiations between Republicans and Democrats began with Wilson’s appointments to the peace commission. As expected, Wilson appointed himself as the head delegate, believing that no one else could adequately represent him. His other appointments angered the Republicans. Wilson did not include a single senator, figure of national stature, or prominent Republican. The exclusion of any individuals from these groups was not an oversight on Wilson’s part, but a carefully calculated decision. He chose relatively weak companions to avoid any opposition within his own commission so that he could negotiate on his own terms upon his arrival in Paris.

Wilson’s announcement that he would attend the peace negotiations incited the first comments Smoot would make on the League in his diary on

8 Henry Cabot Lodge in Congressional Record, 64th Cong., 2nd Sess. (Feb 7, 1917), 2364–2370.
10 Cooper, 33–37.
November 18. He wrote, “I felt sure he would [go to the peace conference] for he thinks it can make the American people believe he would be the one person to dictate the terms. He wants the formation of a League of nations with himself as President.”

A few weeks later President Wilson gave a speech to the Senate. Smoot describes the president’s reception as “very cold” with “very little applauding during his reading his message.” Smoot’s initial opposition was probably no surprise to anyone. Merrill explains that because of Smoot’s political interest in protecting America through the tariff, it was a foregone conclusion that Smoot would either oppose the League completely or at least seek reservations to it.

A day after his first diary entry critiquing Wilson’s League, Smoot received a telegram that would change the whole complexion of the League fight in Utah and for Smoot. President Joseph F. Smith—Smoot’s best friend and closest, most powerful ally—passed away. Taking his place was the staunch Democrat and vocal League supporter, Heber J. Grant. That night Smoot wrote in his diary that Smith’s death would “make a mighty change in the affairs of the Church and Utah.” Smith had been a powerful ally for Smoot. President Smith believed that Reed Smoot was of more use in Washington than in Salt Lake City. A major part of his mission as an Apostle was to use his connections in the Capitol to further the work of the Lord and the Church. It was Smith who accepted and encouraged the resignations of two Apostles who had performed polygamous marriages post-Manifesto in order to ensure Smoot’s seating in the Senate.

Smith, a Republican, had supported Smoot on every issue he faced in the Senate. Smoot was not as close to Grant as he had been to Smith. Grant was a Democrat and had been especially hostile towards Smoot in 1909 during a push for Prohibition in Utah. Grant had been especially zealous in pushing forward the Prohibition movement while Smoot feared backlash from non-Mormon voters if he were to push Mormon policies upon them. Smoot communicated his objections to Prohibition to President Smith, who fully supported Smoot in his actions privately while staying quiet publicly. While Smoot and Grant did differ politically, they shared a mutual respect and love for each other. When Smoot was asked by George D. Pyper, Sunday School General President, about Grant, he said:

11 Smoot Diaries November 18, 1918, Reed Smoot Papers in the L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Brigham Young University Library, Provo Utah. (hereafter: Smoot Papers).
12 Merrill, 251.
13 Smoot Diaries Nov. 19, 1918, Smoot Papers.
14 Merrill, 57–59.
15 Ibid, 194.
No man living is blessed with a greater degree of charity than he, as thousands can testify having received assistance from him and at a time when assistance meant everything to them. No trouble of another was ever too great or small to command his attention. His willingness to take the troubles of others seemingly has no limit... Hypocrisy is a thing abhorrent to him.\textsuperscript{16}

For the first time in his career, the man who Smoot saw as the mouthpiece of God on Earth had different political views than his own.

The Republicans responded to Wilson’s choice of delegates by contacting Allied leaders directly. Lodge wrote to Arthur Balfour, the British former secretary, to explain that Republicans sought for the unconditional surrender of Germany and absolute loyalty to England and France.\textsuperscript{17} Lodge’s other weapon to fight Wilson emerged within the Senate. Lodge drafted a document, later dubbed the “Round Robin” that had thirty-seven signatures from Republican senators, including Smoot, expressing opposition to the League of Nations as a part of the peace agreement. The nearly forty signatures were more than enough to effectively kill the treaty and prevent ratification. The League fight was on.

**REED SMOOT AND THE LEAGUE FIGHT**

The Round Robin was the first time Smoot’s feelings on the League issue were made public. The decision to sign it was not easy. In his personal journal he describes himself as “very much disturbed” as to what he should do because he “knew how the people of Utah felt” on the League but he ultimately concluded that the action was correct and signed it.\textsuperscript{18} This is the first instance where Smoot’s loyalties begin to pull him in different directions. Smoot’s disturbance does not appear to be a moment of reflection on the correct policy, but rather the negative effects that might befall him if he were to sign it. His constituents in Utah were overwhelmingly supportive of the League. During an LEP meeting in Salt Lake City following Wilson’s presentation of the first draft of the League of Nations, there were 9,999 votes for the League of Nations and only one against it.\textsuperscript{19} In a letter to RNC Chairman Will Hays, Smoot estimated that about 95 percent of Utah was in favor of the League.\textsuperscript{20}

\textsuperscript{16} Smoot to George D. Pyper, Dec 1, 1919, Smoot Papers.
\textsuperscript{17} Cooper, 39.
\textsuperscript{18} Smoot Diaries, March 4, 1919, Smoot Papers.
\textsuperscript{19} Salt Lake Tribune February 23, 1919.
\textsuperscript{20} Smoot to Will Hays, November 24, 1919, Smoot Papers.
With such overwhelming support for the League, the senator could not ignore the voters' demands. He was up for reelection in November 1920 and victory was hardly guaranteed, if not improbable. Utah, a Republican stronghold since admittance to the Union in 1896, had recently undergone a radical shift towards the Democratic Party. Up until 1915, Joseph L. Rawlins, who served one term in the Senate before being ousted by Smoot, was the only Democrat to serve as a US Senator, US Representative, or governor of Utah. Utah had been one of only two states to vote to reelect Taft in the 1912 election when Wilson beat Taft and the Bull Moose Roosevelt. The shift began in 1914 when James Henry Mays was elected to the House of Representatives. That year Smoot was reelected by a mere 3,000 votes. Utah elected Democrats to the other House seat, the Senate, and governorship in 1916. Smoot was already discussing reelection with LDS Church Presiding Bishop C. W. Nibley, a trusted friend and advisor, before the end of World War I.

Despite these worries about his constituents in Utah, Smoot signed the Round Robin. The reasons for this are embedded in the foundation of Smoot's political views. Smoot was first and foremost a loyal adherent to the Republican Party platform. Summarizing Smoot's political beliefs, Merrill wrote that Smoot believed Republicanism was the "closest approximation to revealed truth that the human mind could produce. There might be weaknesses, often in men, occasionally in minor principles, but they were like the human frailties of a well-loved friend or a revered parent." Smoot saw little reason for political independence. The best way to promote change was through a united party platform. Smoot explained the importance of following the party line in a letter during his first Senate campaign in 1902.

I much prefer to run on straight party lines and if we get whipped all well and good, we then have the satisfaction knowing that no one could say that we thought more of an office than our principles. When we win on straight party lines we always know how it was accomplished and on what platform. I would a thousand times rather lose a fight on what I knew to be right that to win it and have even a chance for reflection on my motives or character.

---

21 Merrill, 132.
22 C.W. Nibley to Reed Smoot, 12 November 1918, Smoot Papers. The correspondence between Smoot and Nibley was constant during the League fight and thereafter continued on a regular basis throughout Smoot's tenure in Washington. Nibley was Smoot's chief informant on the inner-workings of the other Apostles and advised him on the best course to take regarding public opinion.
23 Merrill, 200.
24 Reed Smoot to Horton F. Harder, July 16, 1902, Smoot Papers.
In addition to the philosophical reasons to remain loyal to his party, Smoot had benefitted directly from party loyalty. Having been elected by the Utah Legislature in 1902, Smoot stood trial before the US Senate, bringing the LDS Church with him. Given the Church’s history of breaking laws and fighting the federal government, the Senate debated whether or not Smoot, as an apostle, should be allowed to take his seat. Smoot was ultimately allowed to take his seat with the backing of fellow Republicans, especially President Theodore Roosevelt, who hoped the Apostle could make Utah a Republican stronghold in the West. Following his seating, Smoot took up any task asked of him by his party, serving on many committees and through hard work became a loyal, trusted party member, earning a place on the prestigious Senate Finance Committee.

Three days after signing the Round Robin, Smoot wrote a letter to explain his actions to his constituents that were certain to disapprove. Portions of the letter were published in an article in the Salt Lake Tribune on March 17. Smoot explains that the League Covenant as presently written was “repugnant to the traditions of the American people and the constitution of the United States” and that it would cause “more than one future war.” The League would force America to give up the Monroe Doctrine, which gave them sole guardianship of the western hemisphere and force them to be part of a group in guarding both. As such the United States could be stopped by France, Italy, and Japan from interfering in matters of national security interest to the United States that would have little effect on those European and Asian countries. If America needed to pacify anarchy in Mexico or revolt in Cuba, the League could be prevent America from doing so. If America were needed in another international conflict, it would not shirk its responsibility because “America has never failed in her duty to the world and she never will.” The League of Nations was a direct attack on American sovereignty, and Smoot would not consent to giving up any portion of that sovereignty.

About a month after Smoot’s explanation was published in the Tribune, the First Presidency of the Church published the Church’s first official stance in the Deseret News (owned and operated by the LDS Church) advising that all Latter-day Saints living in Utah should gather on Sunday, April 13, to better

25 Kathleen Flake, The Politics of American Religious Identity: The Seating of Senator Reed Smoot, Mormon Apostle, (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004) 35. The best coverage of Smoot’s Senate Hearing is available in Flake’s book. She discusses how the trial shaped American and Mormon religion post 1900. She argues that Smoot and Joseph F. Smith, Mormon prophet, helped transform Mormonism from defining itself through its polygamous marriage structure to the use of Joseph Smith’s vision of God the Father and Jesus Christ that modern Mormons emphasize.

26 Salt Lake Tribune March 17, 1919.
inform themselves on the League of Nations "so that they may form sound views and crystallize sentiment throughout the State in favor of the establishment of a League of Nations that will be effectual in making war as nearly impossible as may be for all time to come." This publication would have a profound effect on the complexion of the League fight in Utah because of Smoot's position as Apostle and due to the rather large portion of the population that adhered to the LDS Church (over seventy percent). Before the publication in the Deseret News, Smoot disagreed with a large portion of his constituents in Utah, but now he disagreed with the Church. With the Church involved, it was bound to become a religious issue as much as it was political.

While LDS Church leaders got involved with the League of Nations, the Senate separated itself into three factions over the spring and summer months of 1919: irreconcilables, reservationists, and supporters. The irreconcilables were a mixed group of Republicans and Democrats (though a majority were Republicans) who opposed any form of the Treaty of Versailles with or without amendments, reservations, or both. They were a rather diverse lot from all regions of the country. Most of them were isolationists. Some simply had an extreme partisan distaste for Democrats and a loathing of Wilson. They had many different reasons to oppose the treaty but were united in opposition to the treaty in any form—no matter which amendments or reservations were attached to it. Smoot and the reservationists, led by Lodge, were willing to ratify the treaty with the Lodge Reservations attached. The most important reservation dealt with Article X of the League of Nations Covenant. Nearly all of the reservationists were Republicans. Wilson's supporters wanted the treaty ratified without reservation or amendment, and many of them opposed any form of ratification with the Lodge Reservations attached. Most Democrats fell into this category, joined by only one Republican.

Lodge best articulated the reservationist view in a debate with Harvard University President Lawrence Lowell. Lodge argued that he was not specifically against a League of Nations but rather questioned if Wilson's League was the best way to establish peace while protecting American sovereignty. The main disagreement for Lodge, Smoot, and the other reservationists stemmed from

27 Deseret News April 12, 1919.
28 Richard D. Poll, et al., ed., Utah's History. (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1989), 692. Roughly seven in ten residents were Mormons although some of them had little to do with the Church. Another 20 percent or more of the population belonged to no Church. Roman Catholics made up about 3 percent of all Utahns and members of Greek Orthodox Church made up a little over 1 percent. Other Churches made up well under 1 percent of the population.
29 Cooper, 127-129.
Article X of the League Covenant, which guaranteed territorial integrity and freedom from aggression for every member nation. Did America really want “to send the best of our youth forth into the world on that errand?” Lodge made an impassioned plea for peace based upon the League of Nations under an altered covenant separate from the peace treaty—a league that would preserve American sovereignty. Article X of the Covenant would have to be altered to receive his support. Lowell admitted there were faults in the covenant, but the imperfect document was a step in the right direction in order to help prevent another great war.30 John Milton Cooper explains that the group of reservationists emerged out of the Lodge-Lowell debate not because it was groundbreaking intellectually but that it shifted the balance of “middle-of-the-road opinion, especially among Republicans.” Lodge’s impassioned words for peace and support for a League that was organized differently helped unite most Republicans, including Smoot, under the same banner. They pushed for reservations to the treaty and the League.31 The reservationists wanted peace but would not sacrifice American sovereignty to do it. Reed Smoot was completely on board.

The public stance of the First Presidency was only the beginning of the religious opposition on the League for Smoot. In June during the general conference of the Church, where the leaders of the Church impart the word of God, Apostle Anthony W. Ivins gave an address calling for support of Wilson and the League of Nations.32 In his address, Ivins said that many men had wrongly criticized President Wilson who “stood as the representative of the American people, and American ideals.” He insisted that Wilson had been confronted with the greatest and most difficult questions “which have ever confronted a President of the United States,” and that “the Lord be praised that he has managed them as well as he has.”33 Ivins and fellow Apostle George F. Richards would speak at a stake conference the following month, endorsing the League as “inspired.”34 Ivins’s and Richards’s words in the conference combined with the First Presidency notice given in April created a picture of a unified front of support for the League within the Church hierarchy.

31 Cooper, 77.
32 The conference is usually held in April and October each year but due to the spread of the Spanish influenza as troops returned home from Europe the conference was delayed until June. Smoot was not in attendance.
Following that general conference, Smoot received many letters from Utah Republicans complaining of his opposition to the League of Nations, demonstrating the strong sentiment of support for the League. One such letter arrived in Smoot’s mailbox on July 18 from C. N. Lund, the editor of a local newspaper in Ogden, Utah. Lund accused Smoot of strong political bias and urged him to pay closer attention to his beliefs in Jesus Christ. He asked Smoot, “Why do you not see the hand of Providence in this mighty effort in our own day and time to bring about peace to a war weary world? Why can you not see the same God who inspired Washington and Jefferson and Lincoln does also inspire Woodrow Wilson in this the greatest step ever contemplated by the human race?” Lund then warned that failure to support the League would bring a solid repudiation from voters in the next election. Lund assumed that the League would establish peace for the entire world, and the only motive the opposition could have would be partisan. The Lund letter’s harsh form of questioning was very similar to many other letters the senator received. This particular letter received a twenty-page response from the Apostle-senator. Smoot’s response to the Lund letter would define his position on the League of Nations for the remaining months of the League fight on both political and religious grounds. Smoot began his letter asserting that he was not basing his vote upon “prejudice or political bias” but that “certain reservations” were needed in order to “maintain our present form of government and enable America to fulfill her destiny as God intended her to do.” He follows with familiar arguments dealing with the Monroe Doctrine and the possibility of being pulled into a war in some obscure part of the world that would have no bearing on American interests. The most controversial portion of the letter, and what separated him from the rest of the Senate, was Smoot’s religious explanation for his opposition. Smoot wrote:

I cannot understand why you take it for granted that the League of Nations will do more for the world than the teachings of the Saviour have been able to do. I ask you to read the many passages in the Book of Mormon referring to this nation as well as to the many revelations given to the Prophet Joseph Smith as to the destiny of the same...I am doing what I believe to be my duty to my God, my country and my Church. I would not do otherwise if it cost me every vote in the state of Utah (italics added).

This letter was the first time Smoot publicly expressed a religious opposition toward the League. Smoot later clarified that the scriptures he was specifically

---

35 Smoot Diaries, June 14, 1919, Smoot Papers.
36 Salt Lake Tribune August 24, 1919.
37 Ibid.
referring to were 2 Nephi 10:11-2, Ether 2:12, Ether 8:22, and D&C 87:1-6. These scriptures explain two simple beliefs common to the Mormon faith. First, North America and specifically the United States is a land founded under God’s direction, and thus no other nation should rule over it (which the League of Nations, in Smoot’s opinion, would do). Second, there will be a series of wars that plague the Earth until the return of Christ and his Millennial reign. Thus, the League of Nations would undoubtedly fail.

With such a large portion of his electorate solidly against him on the League issue, Smoot sought to have his reply to Lund published in the local papers in order to let his opinion change the minds of the people. This was easier said than done. The lack of a solid Republican newspaper in Utah friendly to Smoot had been an obstacle for the senator from the beginning of his political career. The one friendly newspaper in Salt Lake City, the Salt Lake Herald-Republican, had such a small number of clients that it failed to turn a profit. Smoot declared that the Herald had cost him personally $35,000. In 1920, President Grant, the good Democrat that he was, withheld Church funding to the Herald-Republican, and it was sold at a great loss to the shareholders. The Salt Lake Tribune and the Church-owned Deseret News, the largest newspapers in the state, were not friendly towards Smoot. The Tribune was owned by former Republican Senator Thomas Kearns, who had had a personal falling out with Smoot over the direction of the party in Utah. Kearns failed reelection because Smoot supported another candidate to take his place in the Senate. The Tribune was highly critical of the senator for the duration of his career and originally planned not to publish the Lund letter until the editors reconsidered.

The task of publication in the Deseret News was especially difficult. The Deseret News had never been pro-Smoot, despite his position as Apostle, because the editors were usually Democrats, and as non-partisan as one would expect. Bishop Nibley explained in a letter to Smoot that he had a “rather strenuous time in getting our side of the League controversy before the brethren” because most of them were Democrats who had actively urged the people to “swallow what President Wilson had prepared and also to swallow President Wilson with

39 Merrill, 137–138.
40 Ibid, 60. This was the election of 1904. At the time the state legislatures elected the Senators and Smoot had stacked the legislature with his own supporters who followed his lead in ousting Kearns from his seat. A more complete explanation of the election is found in Merrill’s book.
41 Ibid, 139.
it, as the one raised up to save the peace of the world." Smoot, Joseph Fielding Smith, and David O. McKay were the only reservationists in the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles or First Presidency, thus making them outnumbered 12–3 by supporters of the League. 42 With pressure from the other Apostles, the News decided it would be unwise to publish Smoot's reply. After Nibley argued with the brethren for over an hour, they finally agreed to publish Smoot's letter. 43 A week later on September 6, the Deseret News heartily endorsed the League of Nations as "the best remedy that has ever yet been prepared by the hands of men" to prevent war and called for the Treaty of Versailles's ratification "without an hour more of delay than is necessary." 44

B. H. Roberts, a member of the First Council of the Seventy, best defined the views shared by the Apostles who were Democrats regarding the League of Nations. He declared that the League of Nations did not guarantee peace but that it was the "world's best hope for peace" and as such it "ought to be given a trial." Indeed anything that offered a "reasonable promise of preserving the world's peace" was acceptable enough to be tried and implemented. Roberts did not share Smoot's fear of giving up American sovereignty because the United States would have a veto power to prevent the League from declaring war on the offending country. In the event such a decree passed through the League Council, it was only a recommendation. 45 Roberts responded to Smoot's use of scripture by offering alternative interpretations. One of Smoot's references was D&C 1:35–36 where the Lord states that peace would be taken from the earth. Smoot interpreted that peace would never come until the return of Christ. Roberts, however, stated that the prophecy was already fulfilled when the peace had been taken from the whole earth during World War I and that "that revelation is in no way against a league of nations to insure peace." 46

The Lund letter also brought a response from Apostle Joseph Fielding Smith, son of the recently deceased President Smith. Smith, like his father, was a Republican and agreed wholeheartedly with Smoot's religious and political arguments as presented in the Lund letter. Smith wrote two very similar letters on August 26 to both Smoot and Grant outlining his religious views on the League. Smith explains to Grant that "With me it is not a matter of politics nor

42 Joseph Fielding Smith to Reed Smoot, September 13, 1919, Smoot Papers. There is no explanation of McKay's views in the Smoot Papers, only the hint that he was aligned with Smith and Smoot in this letter.
43 Nibley to Smoot, August 26, 1919.
44 Deseret News September 6, 1919.
45 Salt Lake Tribune September 13, 1919.
46 Ibid.
party affiliation, but of crying ‘Peace, peace, when there is no peace,’ the Lord himself having declared that such a thing cannot come until his second coming’ to earth. This argument was very similar to the prophecies quoted by Smoot in the newspapers. Smith then expressed worry about how many of the Apostles were out teaching that the League would bring on “the long expected day of universal brotherhood and good will.” Since Smith did not agree with the premise, he asked the President to either correct him or to tell the other Apostles that such was not the case. Smith then expanded upon Smoot’s use of scripture to include more prophesies given in the Doctrine and Covenants by former leaders Joseph Smith, Jedediah Grant, Wilford Woodruff, John Taylor, and from Matthew 24 that spoke of the inevitability of war in the last days leading up to the Savior’s return.47 In a rather shrewd move, Smith used an extensive quote from the former Apostle Jedediah Grant, Grant’s father, discussing the end of the world. He quoted Jedediah as having said:

Treaties and peace may be made and war will stop for a season, but there are certain decrees of the Gods, and certain bounds fixed, and laws and edicts passed in the high courts of heaven beyond which the nations cannot pass; and when the Almighty decrees the wicked may become ripe in the world and exert their influence to sheath the sword of war, and make treaties of peace to calm the troubled surface heavens darkening the earth and threatening the world with desolation . . . the Gods in yonder heavens have something to do with these revolutions...these mighty revolutions and convulsions that shake creation almost to its center.48

This was the strongest case Smoot, Nibley, or Smith would make regarding the religious opposition towards the League. If treaties would “threaten the world with desolation” why should the United States become a member of the League of Nations? Smoot and Smith believed it should not. Smoot replied to Smith’s letter to thank him for his support and asked that Smith send him any additional references in defense of their reservationist stance on the League that he might find in further research.49 There is no record of a reply from Grant.

With Smith’s support, Smoot now had an ally within the Quorum of the Twelve to fight for him and for the reservations to the Treaty of Versailles. As

47 Joseph Fielding Smith to Heber J. Grant, August 26, 1919, Smoot Papers. The letter written to Smoot the same day was much shorter because Smith tried to be more tactful in speaking with President Grant. In the letter to Smoot, Smith congratulated him on the Lund reply and listed the same references to Mormon prophecy. The specific references in the LDS Doctrine and Covenants were 1:35–36, 97:22–23, 29:17, 45:68–69, and 97:21.
48 Jedediah Grant Speech, General Conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints April 2, 1854, in Joseph Fielding Smith to Heber J. Grant August 26, 1919, Smoot Papers.
49 Reed Smoot to Joseph Fielding Smith September 8, 1919, Smoot Papers.
helpful as Nibley had been, his place as Presiding Bishop precluded him from attending many meetings reserved for Apostles. Smith wrote another letter to Smoot describing the opposition within the quorum. Many of the Apostles felt that Smoot should be heavily censured for his use of scripture passages in opposition to the League. They felt Smoot’s actions created the appearance of a “great division among the General Authorities regarding the interpretation of scripture.” There was a proposal for the First Presidency to issue a statement saying that the standard works of the Church could not be used in opposition to the League. Smith moved for an amendment that scripture could not be used to support the League either, which caused a “vigorouss discussion” and brought Smith “severe criticism” from many of the other Apostles. The argument was never settled and the decision was left to the First Presidency to decide how to proceed. 50

The outrage many of the Apostles had towards Smoot stemmed from his correspondence with a “newspaper man” a few days after the Lund correspondence was published. The reporter asked Smoot for the specific references to scripture Smoot had implied in his letter to Lund. Smoot gave him the passages (listed previously) and a few days later an article entitled “Mormon Bible Becomes Issue in League of Nations Fight” outlined Lund and Smoot’s letters and listed the passages of scripture Smoot had given the newspaper man was published in the San Francisco Chronicle. 51 A huge conflict brewed between Smoot and the other Apostles. They had started the scriptural debate through their speeches in Church meetings. Now, thousands of miles away, in Washington D.C., Smoot used the national press to fight back. The same story was published in multiple newspapers across the country, receiving enough widespread publication to gain the attention and disapproval of President Grant.

It is difficult to ascertain from the arguments—both religious and political—that Smoot presented why he was a reservationist and not an irreconcilable. All of the religious arguments he presented are equally valid within the irreconcilable and reservationist arguments. Some of the Apostles even tried to show that Smoot was really an irreconcilable disguising as a reservationist. 52 While Smoot never declares why he is a reservationist as opposed to an irreconcilable, Smith does. Smith hoped the Senate would approve of the treaty, with or without reservations, and the League of Nations because “if they fail to do so and war and bloodshed come, which they will, then the good people everywhere would

50 Joseph Fielding Smith to Reed Smoot, September 13, 1919, Smoot Papers.
52 Joseph Fielding Smith to Reed Smoot, September 13, 1919, Smoot Papers.
say if the league had not been rejected the result would be otherwise.” However, if approval were given for the League, war and trouble would “come just the same, and perhaps even quicker” because the prophecies of the Lord would be fulfilled.\textsuperscript{53}

Smith’s beliefs likely had little to no influence on changing Smoot’s stance, as Smoot was already entrenched in his arguments before beginning his correspondence with Smith. Smith’s support likely strengthened Smoot’s resolve. Knowing he had another Apostle to defend him was probably very comforting and relieving. Smith’s beliefs, however, do not provide a clear answer to why Smoot voted as a reservationist rather than an irreconcilable. In his diaries Smoot praised the speeches offered by Borah (a leading irreconcilable) and Lodge with equally great fervor. Smoot did not seem to believe that one was better than the other. One can only infer from the lack of disappointment he showed when the Treaty failed to be ratified that Smoot chose to be a reservationist based on his history of party loyalty. This idea will be expanded upon later in this article.

Despite Wilson’s best efforts to convince Republicans to support the treaty, he was nowhere close to the two-thirds majority needed for ratification. Wilson was unwilling to compromise with the Republicans, especially on Article X. By late summer, the American people grew less interested in foreign policy and more concerned about domestic issues. Wilson decided to tour the country. He would travel from Washington to Los Angeles and back, speaking at stops along the way. By appealing to the American people, he hoped to galvanize popular support for the League and improve his bargaining arrangement with Lodge.\textsuperscript{54}

Wilson began the tour by giving wide-ranging surveys of the peace settlement, but after receiving lukewarm responses from his audiences he began to attack his detractors aggressively. His forceful style invigorated the crowds in California but hurt his chances for compromise in the Senate.\textsuperscript{55} Senator Poindexter criticized the president for his attacks on his opponents, and Smoot reported that the president was “indulging in vituperation” against his Republican opponents.\textsuperscript{56}

On the day Wilson left on his tour, the reservationists agreed on the drafts of the Lodge Reservations. The wording of the reservations would be altered slightly over the course of the next two months leading up to the vote on the treaty, but the main tenets of Lodge’s four reservations relating to the League Covenant remained intact. The four resolutions asserted (1) the right to withdraw

\begin{footnotes}
\item[53] Joseph Fielding Smith to Reed Smoot, September 13, 1919, Smoot Papers.
\item[54] Cooper, 153.
\item[56] Smoot Diaries, September 8, 1919, Smoot Papers.
\end{footnotes}
from the League at any time, (2) immunity from League interference in domestic affairs such as immigration and the tariff, (3) removal of the Monroe Doctrine from League jurisdiction, and (4) that the United States would not be under any of the obligations of Article X to ensure the territorial integrity of other nations without the approval of Congress.57 The League fight had been going on for well over six months and the arguments remained the same. The reservationists' (and thus Smoot's) major issue with the League of Nations Covenant was still the loss of American sovereignty that might come with League membership.

Even with the reservations outlined, Lodge did not have adequate support in the Senate to push them through. He began negotiations with other senators, seeking to get the necessary number of votes to attach the reservations to the treaty and then ratify it. The task was not easy. A small group of Republicans started to soften on the reservations and were considered "mild reservationists." There were enough of them that the passage of the reservations was in jeopardy when they were combined with the irreconcilables that opposed any form of the treaty. Wilson's absence complicated the matter because the mild reservationists and Lodge could not adequately communicate with the Democratic leadership because they did not know what Wilson wanted.58 Smoot played a critical role in trying to bridge the gap between the reservationists and the other factions within the Republican Party. When seeking to work with the mild reservationists, Lodge asked Smoot to speak with Taft while he was lobbying in Washington and inform him of the exact situation in the Senate and convince him to use his influence as LEP president to get the reservations passed with the warning that "He [Taft] had better use his influence to the passage of the reservations if he wants a League of Nations."59 Smoot was also instrumental in efforts to get the irreconcilables to vote for the reservations. Lodge held a meeting at his home in Washington where he and Smoot tried to convince five irreconcilables to vote for the reservations. Smoot explained to them that "if the treaty was defeated as proposed" with the Republican reservations, the "mild reservations prepared by the Democrats would be adopted and ratified" with help from the mild reservationist Republicans. Smoot "would not stand for such a program."60 Smoot's comments in his diary show that Smoot was much closer to being an irreconcilable than a mild reservationist. He would see the treaty killed before he would stand for the weak reservations to be passed. Smoot was remaining

---

57 Cooper, 165-166.
58 Ibid, 178.
59 Smoot Diaries, October 1, 1919, Smoot Papers.
60 Smoot Diaries, November 6, 1919, Smoot Papers.
loyal to his party and working hard to support Lodge’s leadership in furthering the party agenda.

To add to Smoot’s difficulty in getting votes in the Senate, President Grant finally decided to respond to Smoot’s use of scripture to oppose the League with a public statement one day before Wilson was to speak in Salt Lake City on his tour. Grant made a speech in the Tabernacle where he regretted that the standard works of the Church were brought into the partisan controversy. He then responded directly to Smoot’s use of scripture outlined in the newspaper article and stated, “The position of the Church . . . is that the standard works of the Church are not opposed to the League of Nations.” Grant had specifically invalidated Smoot’s use of scripture, but he stopped short of saying the standard works were in favor of the league, thus leaving the option for resistance to the League on other grounds. Had he said the standard works directly supported the League, Smoot might have been forced into a moment of intense reevaluation of his personal beliefs.

Smoot received a telegram the same day from J. P. Casey informing him that Grant had criticized his use of the scriptures against the League of Nations. Smoot showed little worry in the diary about the consequences of the action, but the next day he predicted that Wilson would “receive a great reception” during his speech in the Mormon Tabernacle. The meeting was everything Smoot hoped it would not be. Utahns were extremely excited to see Wilson. Fifteen thousand people packed themselves into the unventilated Tabernacle. Wilson focused this particular address on the Lodge Reservations and responded to each one. First he addressed the reservation to be able to leave the League at any time. Wilson said that the current policy of leaving after two years notice was adequate and that when embarking into a new agreement the focus should not be on how to escape the agreement but how to continue to fulfill it. The second reservation Wilson discredited was the demand that the League not meddle in domestic affairs, something Wilson contended that the current draft of the League Covenant already did not allow. When discussing the current draft of the League on the question of the Monroe Doctrine he said that the League did not do away with it but rather that it adopted “the Monroe Doctrine as the principle of the whole world.”

61 Smoot to Grant, September 29, 1919, Smoot papers. The only appearance of this talk in the Smoot papers is found quoted in Smoot’s response to Grant’s speech.
62 Smoot Diaries, September 22, 1919, Smoot Papers.
63 Smoot Diaries, September 23, 1919, Smoot Papers.
64 Wilson speech at Salt Lake city, September 23, 1919, in Link, ed., Papers of Wilson, LXIII, 449-463.
The most substantial portion of the speech dealt with Article X. Wilson described and explained the necessity for Article X:

This is the heart of the Covenant and what are these gentlemen afraid of? Nothing can be done under that article of the treaty without the consent of the United States. I challenge them to draw any other deduction from the provisions of the Covenant itself. In every case where the League takes action, the unanimous vote of the Council of the League is necessary. The United States is a permanent member of the Council of the League. Its affirmative vote is in every case necessary for every affirmative, or for that matter, every negative action.

Any reservation that would weaken Article X would effectively erase the moral obligation of the United States and play into Germany’s hands. Wilson was interrupted on multiple occasions to raucous applause, and the crowd was highly engaged, responding to his questions with shouts of “No! No!” and “Yes! Yes!” The reports back to Smoot state that the President had been “well received” by an “unusually large” gathering in the Tabernacle. Support for Wilson in the Mormon heartland was still strong. Wilson’s speech and denunciation of the reservation to Article X enraged Smoot. He told Senator Karger that he had planned to vote for the reservations but not the amendments before Wilson’s speech in Salt Lake City, but that now he intended to vote for all of them. Smoot’s reaction is less than surprising, based on his unfavorable opinion of Wilson. Defeating Wilson’s version of the treaty in the League fight would only add to the incentive to support the reservations.

The tour was an extremely tiring trip for Wilson, who was suffering serious bouts of headaches and asthmatic attacks. These headaches developed into a stroke a week after the president’s speech in Utah. The tour ended prematurely, and Wilson was shipped back to Washington to recuperate. The type of stroke that Wilson suffered occurred gradually over the course of several hours. He was left paralyzed on his left side and suffered double vision. He did not leave his bed and could not pay attention to anything for more than a few minutes. The White House was able to effectively keep the exact details of Wilson’s condition from the Senate, but rumors constantly circled around the Legislature. Smoot

65 Ibid.
66 Telegram from Nibley to Smoot, September 24, 1919, Smoot Papers.
67 Cooper, 194.
68 Ibid, 188–189.
69 Ibid, 199.
recorded the updates in his journal on a regular basis. Wilson’s condition only made it more difficult to negotiate.

Democrats in Utah had a heyday trying to present Smoot as an Apostle in bad standing with the rest of the Church. Nibley wrote to Smoot, “The Democrats are very busy trying to make this League of Nations a Church question. Some of them are claiming that . . . President Grant and other leading officials have declared for the League, and that you and I . . . are in opposition to the Church. Of course, the Democrats are making the most of it.” When B. H. Roberts gave his sermon in the Tabernacle on September 8, President Grant “appeared to be in complete agreement with everything Roberts said, clapping vigorously and often.” This public display of allegiance from President Grant held considerable sway within the Mormon community. The Democrats, like Roberts, were able to effectively use that support to project the image that Smoot had fallen out of favor with the rest of the Brethren on the League issue.

The discord between Smoot and the Democratic Apostles would never be more striking than in the 1919 October General Conference. The conference could easily have been mistaken for an LEP rally. Speaker after speaker and Apostle after Apostle supported the League of Nations. Nibley, too, lamented that more politics had been discussed in the past six months at general conference under Grant than had happened in the previous seventeen years under President Smith. Apostle Orson F. Whitney offered a prayer on Wilson’s behalf asking the Lord to “raise [Wilson] up to continue the mighty work unto which Thou has called him.” Unlike the past conference where Ivins had not mentioned Smoot specifically, the other Apostles showed no such restraint. Charles Penrose took the first jab at Smoot when he said, “I take great pleasure in announcing that so far as I know, all our close associates, the First Presidency, the Council of the Twelve who are here at home—some of them are away [implying Smoot, who was in Washington]—are in accord with” Grant’s censure of Smoot’s use of scripture to oppose the League. George F. Richards remarked that God was instrumental in forming the peace treaty. The most unfavorable speech towards the reservationists was given by Apostle Richard Lyman. He shared a positive review of the League and then expressed hesitation to speak

70 See Smoot Diaries from October 2, 1919 through February 14, 1920, Smoot Papers. The entries dealing with Wilson’s health report the rumors that circulate, changing on a regular basis from reporting Wilson’s great improvement one day to saying that his mind has been greatly affected a few days later.
71 C.W. Nibley to Reed Smoot, September 6, 1919, Smoot Papers.
72 David A Smith to C. W. Nibley, September 9, 1919, Smoot Papers.
73 C. W. Nibley to Reed Smoot, October 12, 1919, Smoot Papers.
out on the League "because my views do not agree with those of my lifelong friend the Honorable Reed Smoot, whom I have admired from my childhood."74 The actions by Smoot's colleagues here show the great extent that the League fight divided the LDS Church. Unfortunately for Smoot he found himself in the minority among his brethren and was unable to defend himself due to his absence from the conference. The League fight had become so hostile that the Apostles were willing to throw one of their own under the bus for political gain. In ultimate irony, the day following the conference Smoot received a telegram from Grant asking Smoot to sign and deliver a message to Wilson that included Orson Whitney's prayer and a strong endorsement for the League from Grant. Both Smoot and Senator King (D-UT) felt that "it was not in very good taste."75 Smoot was the messenger boy for the Church he loved, delivering a message he violently opposed, to his hated rival. Smoot's loyalties to his personal beliefs, his Church, and his party came crashing together in the delivery of that message to President Wilson.

As Wilson returned home, his stroke had an extremely negative effect on Lodge's efforts for compromise. The stroke prevented Wilson from making well-informed judgments. The stroke's most damaging effect to Wilson was the effect on his psychological balance, a typical symptom of that type of stroke. Wilson was unable to adapt to changing circumstances and became the greatest obstacle to his own treaty.76 Lodge gathered enough support from the Republicans and the Democrats to attach his reservations to the treaty, as only a 50 percent majority was required, but the treaty with the reservations attached failed to reach the two-thirds majority required for ratification. The main reason for the failure was Wilson's insistence that the Democrats should not compromise on Article X.77

The second round of the League fight began immediately after the treaty failed to be ratified in the Senate, but the outcome of the second round was eerily similar to that of the first. Wilson was still suffering the effects of his stroke. Wilson's inability to adapt to change made him believe that public opinion was still with him, as it had been before the stroke six months earlier.78 The reservationists had hoped to get more irreconcilables to move over to their side and achieve some form of compromise. Smoot held a conference discussing

75 Smoot Diaries, October 4, 1919, Smoot Papers.
76 Cooper, 264.
77 Ibid, 262.
78 Ibid, 317.
compromise on the reservations but he had little success because “The Senators opposed to any kind of league are making trouble for Lodge and are opposed to any kind of a compromise. They think they can prevent ratification in any form.” Smoot’s willingness to hold meetings and conferences illustrate his strong commitment to the party platform. He worked hard to get the reservations passed. This was in direct line with his strong party loyalty. He no doubt wanted to support the party and also expected more prestige within the party as he gained even more of Lodge’s trust as a senator who would work tirelessly to support the party platform.

A decisive blow to the validity of Wilson’s uncompromising attitude came on January 31, 1920 from England. The British foreign secretary, Lord Grey, released a letter supporting the actions of the Senate Republicans and suggested that the United States adopt the Lodge Reservations and that the rest of the world would be happy to admit them to the League of Nations even with the reservations. When Wilson heard about Grey’s letter he went on an angry tirade and did not want to hear what was going on, clearly because of the imbalance caused by his stroke. President Woodrow Wilson, a man of renowned intellect and political savvy, could no longer adequately serve as the leader of his country. Compromise never materialized over the next month and a half to the satisfaction of enough Democrats, and the vote to ratify the treaty fell short by seven votes on March 19, 1920.

**CONCLUSIONS**

Smoot’s decision to vote as a reservationist was influenced mostly by loyalty to his party, with a strong influence from his personal religious convictions and political beliefs. Smoot believed that Article X of the League Covenant threatened to dissolve the sovereignty of the United States, binding the country to the will and whims of foreign countries. It deprived the United States from acting in its own best interests by forcing it to conform to the policies of the other member nations. The word of God as given in holy scripture and from the mouth of his holy prophets declared that peace would not come on earth until the return of the Savior to the earth and that America was to remain free from all other nations. To support membership in such a compact was out of the question. Why then was Smoot a reservationist and not an irreconcilable? All of Smoot’s arguments, religious or political, could be transferred to the irreconcilable school

---

79 Smoot Diaries, December 27, 1919, Smoot Papers.
80 Cooper, 321.
of thought with no alteration. Smoot’s religious arguments are a more accurate representation of the isolationist sentiment expressed by the irreconcilables.

Smoot never provided an argument as to why the reservationist stance was superior to that of an irreconcilable. The Lodge Reservations effectively weakened the very core of the League Covenant, Article X. With the Lodge Reservations, Article X no longer bound the United States to act in any way, and thus preserved American sovereignty. The League was weakened enough that Smoot would not object to being a member. If the situation were ever to become undesirable, the United States could withdraw and would never be committed to a course of action that was not deemed in its best interest by Congress. Without Article X, the League was a weak debate group that gave advice rather than a policing force. Another possible explanation for Smoot’s belief as a reservationist is that he agreed with Joseph Fielding Smith’s view that the treaty should be ratified so that Smoot could avoid the blame when the inevitable war and bloodshed came. Smoot never gave an indication that he felt this way but the impetus for the belief was present.

Since he had no strong feelings of opposition to membership in the weakened League, Smoot followed the party line as a reservationist. Smoot must have been aware of the political advantage to being a reservationist. With the majority of his constituents in favor of the League, Smoot could spin that he was also in favor of the League but disagreed with Wilson’s structure to it. With some modifications he would whole heartedly support it. To choose the other path of complete opposition to any form of the League would have further isolated him from the voters and his fellow Apostles. Smoot was also aware of the political advantage passing the reservations could have. The Republican Party would be able to thwart Wilson’s incredibly popular peace treaty and appear as the winners of the League fight. The Republicans had placed themselves in a win-win situation. If the treaty failed, Wilson looked the part of a fool. If the treaty did pass with the reservations, Wilson had given in to their demands and they were the winners. Had they been vehemently opposed to any form of the League, they would not have had such an advantageous position.

The LDS Church also held a substantial sway in Smoot’s decision, though not in the way that most Mormons would have liked. While the majority of the Church supported the League for religious reasons, Smoot’s personal interpretations of scripture and prophecy led him to believe that the League of Nations would ultimately fail and was not correct for the United States. Smoot valued his own interpretations more than those of his fellow Apostles, the majority of whom were League supporters. Smoot survived the controversy between himself and the other Apostles much like he had done before on the issue of
Prohibition. Smoot’s loyalty to the Church was not strong enough to overcome his own interpretation of scripture and prophecy.

Brandon Hellewell, the oldest of five children, grew up in Indiana. Due to his Hoosier upbringing, he is an avid basketball fan. Brandon attributes his love for history to conversations he had as a child with his father and believes that no story is better than a true story. His research interests include religion, Mormonism, and US politics and foreign policy. Brandon’s other hobbies include hiking, biking, piano, guitar, and especially running. He currently works as a track coach at Canyon View Junior High in Orem, Utah. In the fall Brandon will start his first job as a math teacher in Phoenix through the Teach for America program. Brandon thanks his wife for her understanding and support of his research. This essay was written for Dr. Andrew Johns’ History Capstone class.
Masonic Motifs in
Willy Wonka and the Chocolate Factory

...
Roald Dahl, author of
Willy Wonka and the Chocolate Factory
Masonic Motifs in
Willy Wonka and the Chocolate Factory

Bradley Kime

In Roald Dahl's classic story, Charlie Bucket is one of five lucky children allowed to tour Willy Wonka's mysterious chocolate factory. The tour is designed to test the character and integrity of each child. Ultimately only Charlie proves his virtue and commitment to keeping the secrets of the factory, while the tour itself reveals the character flaws of the other four children. Charlie's reward is to learn all of Wonka's "most precious candy-making secrets"1 and to eventually preserve and operate the factory as the candy-maker's heir.

There is more going on in this children's story than is readily apparent, as many scholars have argued.2 Though June Pulliam, in an essay titled, "Charlie's

1 Willy Wonka and the Chocolate Factory, DVD, Directed by Mel Stuart (Munich, Germany: Warner Bros., 1971).

Evolving Moral Universe,” concluded that the novel “is a fairly straightforward morality tale . . . that clearly defines the differences between good and bad children.” Others have not found Dahl’s unique construction of morality entirely straightforward. Robert M. Kachur and Vincent J. Cleary have speculated about the means Dahl uses to order Charlie’s “moral universe.” Kachur has explored Dahl’s use of biblical imagery and approached the text and the film as a Christian meta-narrative of paradisiacal creation, collective fall, and personal redemption. In Kachur’s reading, the biblical motifs framing the story promote and maintain “conformity to . . . approved patterns of behavior” and proscribe “undesirable behavior,” to clearly differentiate good and bad.6 Cleary, in contrast, has explored the parallels between Dahl’s Chocolate Factory and Vergil’s Aeneid 6 and concluded that mythological motifs, not biblical motifs, are intentionally borrowed to provide the overarching moral framework. “Both works,” wrote Cleary, use a similar mythological model “to create a moral order in which the good are rewarded, the evil punished.”5

While Kachur and Cleary have both explored the motifs Dahl uses to create an unambiguous moral universe, there is too much ritual structure to reduce Willy Wonka to narrative mythology or Christian allegory. Beyond myth and Biblicism, Wonka’s factory tour can be read as an elaborate rite of passage.6 Such a reading more fully explains Dahl’s distinctive construction of moral immediacy and points to the remarkable parallels between the factory tour and a rite of passage prevalent in Dahl’s cultural milieu—Masonic initiation. Though Dahl himself was not a Freemason, it is possible that the society and its ceremonies captured, or were captured by, his powerful imagination. This article will trace his use of Masonic motifs through Wonka’s factory and explore how they function in the story according to their ritual purposes—to test integrity, to instill virtue, to reveal gnosis, to initiate the worthy candidate into a new role and fraternity, and to create an overarching “moral order” where virtue is rewarded and

---


6 Arnold van Gennep’s seminal work defined rites of passage as involving 1) preliminal rites of separation, 2) a transitional stage or liminal rites often involving danger and testing, and 3) postliminal rites of re-incorporation into the world in a new state of knowledge and/or being. See The Rites of Passage, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960).
vice swiftly punished. In addition, I will pose the historical question of whether Dahl’s proximity and connections to Freemasonry might account for the presence of Masonic motifs in his story.\(^7\)

The initiation ceremony of the United Grand Lodge of England throughout Dahl’s life was the *Emulation Ritual*. It was the result of a significant standardization of ceremonies that followed the Grand Lodge’s formation in 1813.\(^8\) The *Emulation Ritual* was nearly unchanged throughout Dahl’s life, with the only significant amendments taking place in 1964 and 1986.\(^9\) The associated Emulation Lodge of Improvement, from which the ritual takes its name,\(^10\) exists for the express purpose of preserving the ritual as established by the United Grand Lodge.\(^11\) I will draw my comparisons primarily from official publications of the *Emulation Ritual* as it is the most immediate to Dahl’s life (1916–1990) and relevant experiences.\(^12\) For the other side of the comparison, I will be focusing on the 1971 film version of the story, *Willy Wonka and the Chocolate Factory*, for which Dahl wrote the screenplay.\(^13\)

---

7 The question of intent and origin is not mentioned by Kachur. Cleary acknowledged the question but dismissed it without argument: “The question to be raised is not whether this patterning is an intentional imitation on Dahl’s part. It certainly seems to be.” See Cleary, *Aeneid*, 22.


9 See Hamill, *The Craft*, 59. Both changes were to the bloody penalties attached to the oaths of secrecy.


12 I will also draw from Walter Leslie Wilmshurst (1867–1939), a noted English Freemason who published four books on Masonic ceremonies (especially the *Emulation Ritual*) and philosophy, in many ways as a response to the enormous growth of English Freemasonry that surrounded Dahl during his school days.

13 Dahl was intimately involved in the making of the film as both screenwriter and collaborator. Despite additional literary allusions and other minor changes introduced by director Mel Stuart and screenwriter David Seltzer, drafts of the book and the screenplay suggest that the film is not a departure from Dahl’s work but rather the final stage in Dahl’s own long evolutionary creative process. It is therefore the most appropriate place to start making comparisons to Freemasonry. Dahl wrote five drafts of the book and three drafts of the screenplay. The changes he made between the first and last were extensive but maintained the ritual framework discussed in this article. PDF copies of the drafts are in my possession. The unpublished manuscripts are housed by the Roald Dahl Story Centre and Museum in Buckinghamshire, England.
Dahl uses the first half of the film to lay the groundwork for the tour. He establishes the secrecy and setting-apart of the factory and its workers early on. Its gates and society were once open but in a past era factory workers broke their contracts with Wonka and revealed his secrets to rival candy-makers. Wonka sealed the gates out of necessity and openness was then replaced by a closed circle of workers who could be trusted to keep the secrets of the factory. His reaction echoes the statement made by Vienna’s Master Mason, Ignaz von Born, in 1784: “We . . . reveal to the initiate, as soon as he has seen the light, that we were not meant to be a secret and hidden society, but as tyranny and vices increased, we secretly united to oppose that growing influence.”\(^\text{14}\) In addition, no one knows how the new workers (the Oompa-Loompas) got into the factory or who they are. “That is the biggest mystery of them all,”\(^\text{15}\) says Grandpa Joe. They all entered the factory, as Wonka explains, “with the greatest of secrecy,”\(^\text{16}\) just as secrecy surrounds each initiate’s entrance into the Masonic Lodge.

Like the workers who betrayed Wonka in the past, each child is offered a bribe by rival candy-maker, Mr. Slugworth, before entering the factory. He offers each child $10,000 to help him steal the secret formula for Wonka’s greatest invention yet—the Everlasting Gobstopper. On the day of the tour, crowds of people are left pressed up against the gates as only those who are “well and worthily recommended”\(^\text{17}\) hand Wonka their golden tickets, leave the world behind, and enter the factory. Just inside its doors Wonka’s workers remove his guests’ outerwear before they are allowed to begin the tour. “Now: hats, coats, galoshes, over here,” Wonka instructs, “As soon as your outer vestments are in hand we’ll begin.”\(^\text{18}\) In a similar fashion, candidates for initiation are partially unclothed at the beginning of the *Emulation Ritual* to signal their separation from the world.\(^\text{19}\)

Each child is then required to sign a contract on which the entire tour hinges. Wonka is insistent: “My Veruca don’t sign anything,” says Mr. Salt. “Then she


\(^{15}\) Willy Wonka.

\(^{16}\) Ibid.

\(^{17}\) Emulation Lodge, *Emulation Ritual*, 38.

\(^{18}\) Willy Wonka. This is the first of several places where Wonka emphasizes order. As in the *Emulation Ritual*, each step must precede the next. See for example footnotes 20 and 36.

\(^{19}\) Wilmshurst discusses a symbolic meaning of the removal of clothing in the introduction to *The Ceremony of Initiation* (New Orleans: Cornerstone Book Publishers, 2008), 5. It is to remove the mental clothing of the “conventions and orthodoxies of the world without” in preparation for new ideas and new ways of thinking—hence, a part of the preliminal rites of separation.
don’t go in,” Wonka tersely responds. “I’m sorry, rules of the house.”20 The contract contains the rules of the factory tour and a vow of secrecy, both of which Wonka expounds and reiterates throughout the tour—in each room he clearly explains what is allowed and what is not and in the Inventing Room Wonka reiterates the vow of secrecy before giving each child an Everlasting Gobstopper: “I can only give them to you if you solemnly swear to keep them for yourselves and never show them to another living soul as long as you all shall live. Agreed?”21 The children must sign the contract before seeing or learning any of the factory’s secrets.22 Then at each stage of the tour, as they move from one fantastic room to the next, Wonka reveals more of his factory and his candy-making craft only to the children who have kept the contract thus far.23

Oaths in the Emulation Ritual perform the same functions. They are not optional. They include a pledge of submission to the order of the ritual24 and, most emphatically, a “Solemn Oath, founded on the principles [of Freemasonry] to keep inviolate the secrets and mysteries of the Order,”25 both of which are explained and reiterated throughout the ritual.26 Candidates “sincerely and solemnly promise” that they “will always... conceal, and never reveal any... of the secrets or mysteries of... Masonry.”27 Only after having sworn this solemn oath do initiates receive any of the secrets of Freemasonry. A guide informs initiates that because they “have[en] taken the Great and Solemn Oath of a Mason,” he is “now permitted to inform” them about the various degrees.28 The mysteries and secrets of each subsequent degree are thereafter only entrusted to initiates who have kept their previous oaths.

20 Willy Wonka.
21 Ibid.
22 See footnote 36.
23 To open the door to the first sealed room in the factory, Wonka plays a Mozart tune (which Mrs. Teevee mistakes for Rachmaninoff) on a small keyboard. A seemingly magical flute acts as Wonka’s key to proceeding through each sealed room thereafter. Mozart’s singspiel, The Magic Flute, made pervasive use of Masonic motifs, including many of the same motifs apparent in Willy Wonka. Mozart’s protagonists proceeded through a ritual route toward initiation into a temple community. See Paul E. Kerry, “Modelling the late German Enlightenment in Die Zauberflöte,” Oxford German Studies, 34:1 (2005): 47–64. Mozart was a Freemason and knew and respected Ignaz Von Born.
24 See footnote 33. See also Emulation Lodge, Emulation Ritual, 74.
26 For example, see Emulation Lodge, Emulation Ritual, 53–55 for reiteration of secrecy and 73–74 for reiteration of obedience and submission to ritual order.
27 Emulation Lodge, Emulation Ritual, 48.
After signing the contract and embarking on the tour, a series of punishments follows the disobedience and disloyalty of the four bad children, all of whom intend to reveal Wonka’s secrets to Mr. Slugworth. In each room, as Pulliam has written, “Wonka instructs the children about what they can and cannot do, and each is eliminated through willful disobedience”\(^29\) by a violent and corresponding punishment. For example, Augustus Gloop recklessly drinks from the chocolate river that “must never be touched by human hands.”\(^30\) His punishment is to nearly drown in the chocolate river and, it is darkly hinted, to be boiled into fudge. Violet Beauregarde likewise recklessly eats the three-course-meal chewing gum despite Wonka’s warnings. When she gets to the dessert—blueberry pie—she swells into a giant blueberry. Oompa Loompas then roll her away to be de-juiced as her horrified father follows after them. In each case the penalty is physical and corresponds to the act itself. Even more importantly, the penalties are didactic. Hence, the worst punishment is what the physical penalties are clearly intended to communicate to us about the children—that they are bad kids, unfit for the factory or the society of Wonka and the Oompa Loompas.

Penalties are likewise attached to the oaths of the *Emulation Ritual*. They are startlingly violent and correspond to the specific act of disobedience or disloyalty. For example, the candidate pledges “on the violation” of his oath of secrecy to receive, correspondingly, “no less a penalty” than to have his tongue cut out for his inability to keep silence.\(^31\) In addition to the physical punishments however, just as in Wonka’s factory tour, “the more effective punishment” is “being branded as . . . void of all moral worth, and totally unfit to be received into this worshipful Lodge . . . or society of men who prize honour and virtue above . . . external advantages.”\(^32\) While physical punishments are most striking, in both the story and in Freemasonry they communicate a weightier social punishment.

Intertwined with the oaths and penalties of the *Emulation Ritual* is the requirement of both perseverance and patience. Candidates must progress at the proper pace without retreat or haste. Each is asked before beginning the ceremony, “Do you seriously declare on your honour that, avoiding fear on the

\(^{29}\) Pulliam, “Moral Universe,” 112.

\(^{30}\) *Willy Wonka*.

\(^{31}\) Emulation Lodge, *Emulation Ritual*, 49. See 49, 55, and 92-93 for other examples of violent penalties. It is worth noting that in 1964 many parents were vocal in their opposition to the violence in *Charlie and the Chocolate Factory* and that, also in 1964, the question of “the physical penalties in the obligations of the three degrees” was brought up for debate in the United Grand Lodge of England. It was “one of the most important debates in its history,” and was instigated by a group led by Bishop Herbert because of his distaste for the “barbaric penalties.” See Hamill, *The Craft*, 59.

one hand, and rashness on the other, you will steadily persevere through the ceremony of your Initiation.” As reinforcement of this oath, while the candidate is still blindfolded, a sword is presented to his naked left breast so that if he were to “rashly attempt to rush forward” he would be “accessory” to his own death. Likewise a noose is placed around his neck which would render “any attempt at retreat equally fatal.”

Wonka similarly emphasizes perseverance once the children have signed the contract and begun the tour. After the first unsettling surprises, the Beauregardes fearfully try to go back and leave. “Oh you can’t get out backwards,” Wonka says. “You’ve gotta go forwards to go back. Better press on.” After each child’s unfortunate demise the group becomes more fearful and reluctant to continue. Yet Wonka urges them onward: “Come along. Come along.” “Hurry, please. Long way to go yet.” Later Mrs. Teevee pleads, “Mr. Wonka, can’t we sit down for a minute? The pace is killing me,” but there is no stopping or going back once the tour has begun.

The factory tour also holds grave consequences for impatience and rashness, which Wonka tries to restrain. “Let’s go in. Come on!” Veruca shouts as the last children are signing the contract. “Patience, patience,” Wonka responds, “everything must be in order.” It is by “rushing forward,” heedless of Wonka’s cautions, that each child becomes an “accessory” to his or her own violent fate and subsequent expulsion from the factory. Augustus rushes into the chocolate river, Violet chews Wonka’s new gum before it is ready, Veruca rushes toward the Golden Geese and drops into the garbage incinerator, and Mike Teevee shrinks himself by rushing onto the television teleporter. Just as in the Emulation Ritual, no responsive action is required by the guide to eliminate unworthy candidates from the factory. Punishments are not inflicted after acts of disobedience; they are built in to the tour. In the words of Emerson, “These laws execute themselves.” Hence, the factory’s moral order is immanent—everywhere rewarding virtue and immediately punishing vice.

Physically rushing forward in the Emulation Ritual symbolizes a lack of spiritual preparation. The corresponding inherent punishments reveal the inner character of the candidate. As Wilmshurst wrote, “A drawn sword is always

33 Emulation Lodge, Emulation Ritual, 45.
34 Ibid, 52–53.
35 Willy Wonka.
36 Ibid.
37 Mike then has to be stretched, rack-like, to be restored to his natural height.
38 Ralph Waldo Emerson, “An Address,” In The Essential Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson, ed. by Brooks Atkinson (New York: The Modern Library, 2000), 64.
threatening in front of him. . . . Danger, indeed, awaits the candidate who would rush precipitately and in a state of moral unfitness into the deeper mysteries." 39

In the same way, the danger each child rushes into is not gratuitous (Wonka’s feigned sadism notwithstanding); rather, the punishments they bring upon themselves reveal that they are morally unfit to receive the deeper secrets of Wonka’s factory, which he eventually shares with Charlie.

The factory tour, like the Emulation Ritual, is not only intended to test moral character but also to instill it. Hence, the ritual-like sequence of events repeated in each room 40 is always consummated by moral instruction. After each child’s elimination from the factory, the Oompa-Loompas enter the scene and sing about “moral and social virtue” 41 to us and the remaining children. Their theme is always the specific vice that led to the child’s downfall—gluttony, pride, greed, television consumption, etc.—and the specific virtue that should replace it. Most notable among the virtues extolled are temperance, integrity, and the type of benevolence that Charlie is ultimately commended for.

Similarly, each degree of the Emulation Ritual concludes with a lecture on moral virtues. For example, at the close of the first degree, initiates are instructed to practice “every domestic as well as public virtue: let Prudence direct you, Temperance chasten you, Fortitude support you, and Justice be the guide of all your actions. Be especially careful to maintain . . . Benevolence and Charity.” Other “excellences of character” should include “Fidelity and Obedience.” 42 Hence, the themes, methods, and order of the ritual’s moral instruction parallel that of Wonka’s factory tour.

After this sequence is repeated in each of four rooms, Charlie and Grandpa Joe are the only pair left. Seemingly omnipotent, Wonka curtly dismisses them because earlier in the tour they stole a taste of Wonka’s Fizzy-lifting Drink. 43 Grandpa Joe is furious and urges Charlie to take Slugworth’s bribe to get even. But Charlie meekly turns back to Wonka and returns the Everlasting Gobstopper. “So shines a good deed in a weary world,” Wonka quotes softly to himself. Finally dropping all guises of bored sadism or outrage, Wonka reveals his

40 In each room Wonka shows new wonders and inventions to the thus-far obedient children, he gives specific instructions, one child transgresses, he or she is immediately ejected, and the Oompa-Loompas start singing.
41 Emulation Lodge, Emulation Ritual, 71.
42 Ibid, 73.
43 Charlie’s culpability for this transgression is perhaps lessened by the fact that Grandpa Joe encouraged him, unlike the four parents who tried to restrain their kids from their respective transgressions. More importantly however, the tour is designed to reveal inner character and Charlie’s true character is revealed not in the fizzy-lifting drink room but in this final scene.
paternalistic pedagogy. He joyfully and lovingly embraces Charlie, explains that Mr. Slugworth was working for him all along, and announces that Charlie has won the grand prize: "I had to test you Charlie. And you passed the test." 44

This scene is reminiscent of the third degree of the Emulation Ritual in which the drama of Hiram Abiff is reenacted. The candidate plays the role of Hiram and is tested by members of the Lodge who urge him to reveal the secrets of the Craft. According to legend, Hiram suffered a violent death rather than break his oath of secrecy. By reenacting that death, the candidate demonstrates his determination to keep the secrets of the Lodge through a staged ritual drama. 45 Charlie’s final test of integrity is similarly a ritual drama staged by Wonka, in which he proves that he would rather go back to poverty and starvation than break his vow of secrecy.

Because Charlie passes this final test of integrity, in the final climactic scene Wonka promises him full initiation into the factory’s secrets and society:

“How did you like the chocolate factory, Charlie?

“I think it’s the most wonderful place in the whole world.”

“I’m very pleased to hear you say that because I’m giving it to you. . . . I can’t go on forever, and I don’t really want to try. So, who can I trust to run the factory when I leave and take care of the Oompa Loompas for me? Not a grownup. A grownup would want to do everything his own way, not mine. That’s why I decided a long time ago I had to find a child—a very honest, loving child to whom I can tell all my most precious candy making secrets.” 46

Having successfully navigated his rite of passage, Charlie will enter a new brotherhood, the Oompa Loompas, and a new role and status as keeper of the factory’s craft. A similar experience forms the climax of a successful candidate’s initiation in the Emulation Ritual. He is accepted into the Lodge’s fraternity and emerges from the last degree of the ceremony as a Master Mason. The “Ceremony of Initiation . . . is meant to mark the beginning (initium) of a new order of personal life and consciousness,” 47 as it clearly will for Charlie. His new role will create a new order of life and his new knowledge will provide a new order of consciousness. As a successful initiate is entrusted with all the craft secrets of Freemasonry, so Charlie is to be entrusted with all of the secret mysteries of Wonka’s candy-making craft.

In addition to the ability to guard secrets, Wonka requires and finds in Charlie three other vital characteristics. He is helplessly indigent and consequently

44 Willy Wonka.
45 Emulation Lodge, Emulation Ritual, 140–146.
46 Willy Wonka.
47 Wilmshurst, Ceremony of Initiation, 3.
humble and charitable. He is also not only a child, but also child-like. As a result, he is receptive to new truths and uniquely able to leave behind society’s way of perceiving reality. While others are offended at Wonka’s world of imagination and quickly question his sanity, Charlie sees eye to eye with his guide. Finally, Charlie becomes owner of the factory because he can be trusted to preserve and continue Wonka’s craft rather than altering it.

These same characteristics are required or inculcated in the *Emulation Ritual*. Candidates are divested of all material wealth and possessions in order to enter the ceremony in a state of humble indigence like Charlie.\(^48\) Candidates must also become like little children in order to think in new ways and receive new knowledge. Wilmshurst wrote that “from earliest times the candidate has been called a ‘child’ and taught to regard himself as such.”\(^49\) He must “with childlike meekness and docility, surrender his mind to the reception of some perhaps novel and unexpected truths which Initiation promises to impart.”\(^50\) Finally, the Emulation Lodge of Improvement’s stated purpose is to preserve the *Emulation Ritual* from being altered. When a Master Mason is instilled as Master of a Lodge, he vows: “I will not, either during my Mastership, or at any time that the Lodge may be under my direction, permit or suffer any deviation from the established Landmarks of the Order.”\(^51\) He is entrusted with the Lodge because he can be trusted to preserve the Craft.

The final scene completes the tour’s progressive architectural ascension. The first rooms are deep underground. Each room progresses toward ground-level where the final integrity test takes place. From there the group ascends through and beyond the glass veil of the factory ceiling. Wonka’s final revelation to Charlie comes in a glass elevator, filled with light, high above the factory. In addition to reflecting architectural motifs that permeate Masonic ceremonies,\(^52\) this final image of ascension calls to mind the very last words of the *Emulation Ritual*: “when we shall be summoned from this sublunary abode, we may ascend to the Grand Lodge above, where the world’s Great Architect lives and reigns forever.”\(^53\)

\(^49\) Wilmshurst, *Ceremony of Initiation*, II.
\(^51\) Emulation Lodge, *Emulation Ritual*, 166.
ROALD DAHL AND FREEMASONRY

These similarities between Charlie’s rite of passage and the Emulation Ritual beg the question: was the use of Masonic motifs intentional? And if so, is Willy Wonka an illustration of Freemasonry’s cultural penetration? While the parallels are clear, intention is difficult to measure. As one scholar has often noted in a similar context, “parallels” do not “prove provenance.”54 Rather than trying to prove intention, what I suggest here is plausible evidence that Freemasonry was present in Dahl’s personal life and that, consequently, when Dahl needed scaffolding for his core idea, the Masonic materials would have been available to him, whether he used them to construct Wonka’s world intentionally or not.

Dahl’s own description of his creative process supports the reasonableness of such an approach. He explained to a group of children in 1975 that he first thought of not the story but the idea of Charlie Bucket and his love for chocolate. Then he had to see if it was “possible to build a story around it.” So “the little tentacles kept shooting out from my head,” Dahl wrote, “searching for new ideas, and at last one of them came back with Mr. Willy Wonka and his marvelous chocolate factory . . . and all the rest.”55 Dahl’s proximity to Freemasonry and his connection to a famous Freemason named Geoffrey Fisher during such moments in the story’s creative process suggest that Masonic thought and ritual would have been available for his mental “tentacles” to draw from as he constructed an imaginative universe around Charlie.

The experiences that inspired Wonka’s chocolate factory took place while Dahl attended Repton, a respected Derbyshire public school, from 1929 to 1934. In the same 1975 speech for a group of children Dahl reflected on those experiences:

The idea for “Charlie and the Chocolate Factory” came I am quite sure, from something that used to happen to us at school at Repton. Once a term each boy was given free of charge a small brown box. Inside the box there were eight chocolate bars, a present from Cadburys. Seven of the bars were new inventions not on the market. The eighth was one that even in those days, we all knew well, the glorious Dairy Milk Flake. And in return for this gift we were required to taste and give our expert opinions on each new invention, giving it points from 0 to 10 and making carefully considered comments. We also marked the eighth bar, which then served as a control. So there I was actually helping this famous chocolate factory to

judge whether its new inventions were good or bad. And it was then that I began to become aware of the fact that somewhere deep inside the factory itself there must be a secret place, an inventing room where serious fully-grown men in white overalls spend their entire day struggling to create new and delicious concoctions for the children of the world.56

While Dahl’s delicious imagination was cooking up what would one day become Willy Wonka, his Headmaster was a committed Freemason. Geoffrey Fisher (1887–1972) became Headmaster of Repton in 1914 and was initiated into the Old Reptonian Lodge No. 3725 in 1916. He received his M.A. from Exeter College, Oxford, in 1913 and was ordained a priest in the Church of England that same year. He became the Bishop of London in 1939, and in 1945 he became one of the youngest primates of England in modern times when he was enthroned as the Archbishop of Canterbury. All the while he remained a well-known and committed Freemason, serving as grand chaplain of the Grand Lodge of England in 1937 and 1939 and also serving as the provincial grand master for Norfolk.57 “He took to Freemasonry, as he did to all aspects of his life, with gusto, joined Orders beyond the Craft and participated in its affairs to his dying day.”58 As his impressive resume indicates, Geoffrey Fisher was not only famous, but also a famous Freemason, a fact which likely would not have escaped Dahl’s notice.

Dahl’s letters to his mother suggest his closeness to Fisher at Repton. During his school years Dahl wrote hundreds of letters, mostly filled with requests for and assessments of various foods. He did, however, mention a few people repeatedly and Fisher was one of them.59 By his second school year, Dahl had nicknamed him “the Boss.” For example, in June 1931 Dahl shared an anecdote from a cricket match with his mother that illustrated his familiarity with Fisher:

Watching the match I took a photo of the Boss, cracking a joke with someone, and laughing you know how he does, with his tongue curled round his mouth. He came up to me, and laughing, said ‘you should have warned me, then I wouldn’t have had my tongue out. If it is ribald , you’ll suppress it!!’ I hope it comes out well.60

59 A few noteworthy unpublished examples include 02/23/30–RD 13/1/5/27, May 1930–RD 13/1/6/37, and 05/15/32–RD 13/1/7/42. All letters housed by the Dahl Museum and Story Centre, Buckinghamshire, England.
Biographer Donald Sturrock adds that thirty years later Dahl enclosed a copy of the photo when he sent Fisher a collection of his short stories and alluded warmly to the incident. That Fisher had been a familiar part of Dahl's life during his school years was clearly something he remembered just as well as he remembered the taste of free Cadbury chocolates.

Fisher was not the only Freemason at Repton. In 1909, the Standing Committee of the Public School Lodges had been founded to promote and disseminate Public School Freemasonry. Consequently, the Old Reptonian Lodge, the school's own affiliated Lodge made up of Repton alumni, was founded the same year Fisher became Headmaster in 1914. Lodge membership was principally Old Reptonians and Lodge leadership often overlapped with Repton school leadership. The Lodge has managed a trust fund to help needy students at Repton and has held an annual meeting and dinner with the School and the Headmaster each year to stay in touch with developments at their alma mater. The close association of the Lodge with the school suggests that Freemasonry would have been a noticeable part of the scenery at a small school in a village of only a couple thousand people. While Dahl was imagining "serious fully-grown men in white overalls" inventing new candies in a "secret place," some of the only full-grown men in his life were active Freemasons.

Fisher was also a part of Dahl's life when he wrote the story down thirty years later. In 1962 Dahl was revising the first manuscript of Charlie's Chocolate Boy. That November his seven-year-old daughter Olivia died suddenly of measles encephalitis. Dahl and his wife were devastated and at a loss for any kind of consolation. Less than a month later he wrote to Geoffrey Fisher, recently retired from his position as Archbishop, and asked if he could provide them with any spiritual guidance. A visit was arranged by Dahl's old French teacher who was now secretary of the Old Reptonian Society. At Fisher's home in the countryside he discussed with the Dahls the difficult path to overcoming their loss and

65 Besides the fact that Repton was an all-male school, Dahl's father died when he was three years old.
66 Sturrock, Storyteller, 380.
assured them that Olivia was waiting in paradise. They wrote warmly to Fisher afterwards, thanking him for his help and including some short stories and the photograph of Fisher laughing at the Repton cricket match.

In 1963, when Dahl had sufficiently recovered from Olivia’s death, he returned to the mysterious world of Willy Wonka. The story had been through several revisions and a renaming just before the tragedy that interrupted its completion and would go through several more afterwards. Charlie and the Chocolate Factory was finally published after a nearly four-year gestation in September of 1964. 67 Fisher’s place in Dahl’s personal life during that gestation suggests once again that thoughts and memories of the famous Freemason could have provided some of the needed scaffolding to complete the story, which at the time was still embryonic.

The question of intentionality remains uncertain but Freemasonry was certainly present in Dahl’s environment and personal life. In addition to being surrounded as a student by one of English Freemasonry’s greatest periods of growth (in which hundreds of new lodges were being set up) his Headmaster provides a direct connection to Freemasonry. Whether or not the eclectic story-teller intentionally utilized Masonic motifs, the motifs are present in his story. Willy Wonka may be a previously unexplored example of the penetration of Freemasonry into the realm of popular culture.

CONCLUSION

Dahl’s construction of Charlie’s rite of passage involves not just sporadic Masonic motifs but a cohesive framework echoing the Emulation Ritual from beginning to end. The motifs are Masonic not only in form but also in function. The oaths and trials test each child’s integrity, lectures instill virtue, the guide reveals hidden knowledge to the virtuous, and the successful initiate enters new mysteries, a new fraternity, and a new role. All of these, together with the physical penalties and social stigmas that permeate the tour, create the other-worldliness of Willy Wonka’s factory, where the “limits of good and evil” 68 are so sharply defined. Gene Wilder’s unforgettable character is known as a “music-maker,” a “dreamer of dreams,” the “Candy Man,” and the “legendary magician.” Perhaps to this list of titles we can now add “Worshipful Master.”


68 Emulation Lodge, Emulation Ritual, 161.
Bradley Kime is from Bountiful, Utah. He has focused his studies at BYU on American religious history. This fall he will enter a master's program in History and Religious Studies at Utah State University. From there he plans on doing a PhD in Religious Studies and Mormon Studies. He expresses thanks to Dr. Paul E. Kerry for his thought-provoking lectures on Die Zauberflöte, for allowing him to run with this project in his Modern Germany class, and for his exhaustive reading, critiquing, and encouragement along the way. This essay was written in History of Modern Germany taught by Dr. Paul Kerry.
Chinese anti-rightist movement

CONCLUSION

Dashi Johnson's construction of Clarice's life of passage involves not just random

memories, moments but a deliberate framework echoing the formation. From

beginning to end, the events are haphazard not only in form but also in

sequence. The events and ends are each child's journey. Feature, material virtue, the guide

seems hidden knowledge to the vicious, and the successful initiate enter new

memories, a new fraternity, and a new role. All of these together with the physical

perversity and social stigma that permeate the text, create the otherworldliness

of Willy Wonka's factory, where the "limits of good and evil" are so sharply

defined. Gene Wilder's unforgettable character is known as a "carnivalizer," a

"dreamer of dreams," the "Scary Man," and the "legendary magician." Perhaps

to this list of titles we now add "Worshipful Masons".

67. Blocker, p. 89.
Contradictions Among the People: Mao Zedong and the Aims of the Hundred Flowers Policy

Cameron C. Nielsen

As the year 1956 dawned, the People's Republic of China (PRC) was at a crossroads. After a mere six years in power, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) had successfully consolidated its control of mainland China, stabilized and reformed the economy, won the hearts of the peasants through land redistribution, fought the United States to a standstill in Korea, and silenced dissent through re-education campaigns. However, questions began to arise over where to go from there. To the surprise of many, at this moment of the Party's uncertainty, Mao Zedong began to push for greater openness to critical voices. Known as the "Hundred Flowers Campaign" after the slogan Mao used to describe it, this policy began in 1956 as a slight loosening of restrictions on China's educated classes. By the early summer of 1957, it had grown to an all but mandatory call for intellectuals to criticize the CCP and help "rectify" its "working style." But after only six weeks of heady protest and dissent (including much that called for the removal of the CCP from power), Mao and the Party reversed course, announced a new "Anti-Rightist Campaign," and repressed those who had spoken out.

This odd chain of events has puzzled historians ever since. Why would Mao encourage the expression of dissent he was not prepared to tolerate? Why would he turn to China's intellectuals, of all people, to correct his own party, then reverse course? These events made sense to Mao at the time, however, so if they do not make sense to us our models must be inadequate. China-watchers have floated a number of theories over the years, but most of them focus primarily on
possible external stimuli of the Hundred Flowers policy. This has led to a sense of Mao’s actions as having been irrational, because these explanations fail to address fully his internal reasons. Mao was guided far more by his experimental social theories than by actual events, and in the case of the Hundred Flowers he was simply testing out his philosophy of “contradictions,” and all China was his laboratory.

Contradictions are ideological conflicts within society that had to be fought out, one way or another. To Mao the former guerrilla, finding and manipulating these hot spots represented the highest form of problem-solving, and he fancied he was quite good at it. Mao saw three main contradictions in 1956 China: those between intellectuals and the realities of the single-party system, between his role as secular leader of a diverse China and his status as ideological prophet of the Communist faithful, and between himself and those in his party who were uncomfortable with his growing personal power. The Hundred Flowers campaign was a response to these contradictions, and the results of the policy in turn shaped Mao’s attitudes toward these three issues. The resulting shift in Mao’s approach to government after the disappointment of these events would have unfortunate consequences for China’s future, culminating in the violence of the Cultural Revolution.

**LET A HUNDRED THEORIES BLOOM**

Before we can examine the issues that came into play during the Hundred Flowers, however, we must understand how the actual events unfolded and how those events have been interpreted by historians since. The Hundred Flowers campaign had two main phases: a period of general “thaw” starting with the special party conference on intellectuals held mid-January 1956, and the more uninhibited summer of “blooming and contending” that lasted for five weeks from May 1, 1957.¹ At the January conference, both Zhou Enlai and Mao Zedong spoke about the need to be more inclusive and tolerant towards intellectuals; in the following months numerous other signals were given by top officials that social policy in general was to become more lenient, with effects as wide-ranging as a new trend towards cheerier clothing styles.² This was part of a phase of consolidation and increased focus on economic—as opposed to ideological—development that the Party now felt comfortable entering due to the success of

---

collectivization and the security of its own power. But it was soon given a new significance with the event of “de-Stalinization” in the Soviet Union and its attending “thaw.”

Reactions within the CCP to Khrushchev’s denunciation of Stalin were mixed to say the least. On the one hand, CCP leaders (especially Mao) felt vindicated in their previous disputes with Stalinist policy; on the other, they felt threatened by the sudden attack on the “personality cult” of Stalin, which they had supported and tried to emulate in the case of their own chairman. There is considerable disagreement among analysts as to how much of a real threat de-Stalinization posed to Mao’s power. Two historians, Rice and Teiwes, who have both written exhaustive and reputable histories of Communist China, exemplify this. Rice portrays the CCP Politburo (without Mao) consciously planning to gradually ease out Mao without harming his prestige, but Mao fearing being ousted altogether. Teiwes says it was Mao who was confident enough “in his own ultimate power and the loyalty of his Politburo colleagues” to plan his possible retirement. Whatever the exact ramifications might have been, other CCP leaders did take symbolic action to reduce Mao’s status at the eighth Party Congress that September by removing a statement on the importance of the “thought of Mao Zedong” from the new constitution. Significant complaints had also been heard about the Hundred Flowers policy and other reforms that Mao had been promoting over the summer. This contributed to Mao’s increasing impression that the party itself was one of his biggest obstacles to modernizing China.

Onto this scene bursts the Hungarian Revolution of October 1956. This attempted overthrow of Hungary’s Soviet client government and its subsequent forceful putdown by the USSR seemed like a warning to the CCP, but a warning which inspired divergent solutions. Many were convinced that liberalization was the culprit, and that the mild Hundred Flowers policy they had been experimenting with risked creating a similar uprising. But Mao and some others felt that the Hungarian revolt had partially been caused by Communist corruption and misrule, thus the party needed to loosen up and reform itself even further to avoid provoking a similar backlash. A new government like theirs could hardly afford to have a tin ear. This would mean a new “rectification” campaign within the party itself, to shape up the lower levels of cadres. Rectifications had become a tried-and-true means for party leadership to educate on ideology, root out abuses, and enforce policy changes, but the process had usually involved only

---

5 MacFarquhar, Origins, 1:100–102
internal debate and self-correction. This time, while there was some broad feeling that many bureaucrats did indeed need reining in, apparently Mao encountered significant opposition within the party to his idea of inviting rectifying influences from outside groups.6 This is why discussion of the Hundred Flowers focuses so much on Mao personally—it would never have happened without his efforts. Over the winter of 1956–57 he became convinced that party rectification was necessary, and that expanding the Hundred Flowers policy was the best way to do it. He then spent much of the spring campaigning for the idea single-handed, presenting it as the best solution to the questions raised by the Hungary incident.

What role the Hungary incident really played in Mao’s thinking is unclear. Some historians and Mao himself affirmed that it was a significant motivation. According to these theories, he wanted to somehow prevent Hungarian-style unrest by using a small quantity of dissent as a sort of vaccination. According to this theory, the idea was to make minor concessions that would pacify any unhappy elements enough to head off any real disturbance, and certainly this is what Mao told party people at the time.7 As other historians have pointed out, however, Mao cannot always be trusted to tell the unvarnished truth about his policies. The vaccination theory has obvious flaws, such as the scarcity of any signs of actual potential rebellion in China during the mid-50s.8 Mao later changed his story to make himself look more sagacious in retrospect, stating that it had all been a trap to lure out “rightist” elements—an idea which, while not exactly plausible nor endearing, did enhance the image of godlike control over events that Mao liked to project.

Some clarity, perhaps, may come from further study of new documents from the Soviet Archives, which show that Mao and the CCP were directly involved in Soviet decision-making process over Hungary. Apparently, when the Politburo first considered armed intervention in Poland and Hungary, the Chinese vetoed it. Only after the revolt in Hungary turned against the Communists toward the restoration of a “bourgeois” government did Mao urge suppressing it.9 Mao felt that this need not to have happened,10 which suggests that the timing, at least,

10 Pantsov, Mao, 437–438.
of the “Hundred Flowers” may have been influenced by an urge to show the Russians the right way to handle “contradictions among the people.” Mao and senior party leaders had previously planned to begin party-wide rectification in 1958, but it was soon decided that it would start immediately in spring 1957, and Mao was determined that it would happen his way, with “blooming and contending.”

OPENING WIDE AND CLAMPING DOWN

It is indicative of Mao’s broad aims for his campaign as well as his low expectations for party support, that he chose to give his landmark speech, “On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People,” before a meeting of the Supreme State Conference. This was an assembly that he could call in his role as China’s head of state, not that of CCP Chairman, and it included many non-Communists. In this rambling four-hour discourse, Mao reflected on current events, digressed onto tangents like birth control and singing, called out to famous members of the audience, used folksy traditional aphorisms, admitted to “mistakes,” and joked irreverently about himself and other prominent figures. But what mattered was the open way he talked about the expression of critical or even counterrevolutionary ideas. He said that there could be both “antagonistic” and “non-antagonistic” contradictions in socialist society; and that, since the dangerous, antagonistic contradictions in Chinese society had been mostly eradicated by the revolution already, broad tolerance towards remaining dissidents should now be employed. Using the metaphor of flowers blooming, in keeping with the slogan that had been in use for almost a year, he pointed out that “poisonous weeds” were to be expected when growing a crop, but that one could not clamp down on all plants as a result.

This had all been heard before, but what made this speech different was the public scope of its application and the forceful way in which Mao expressed it. At one point, he gave some generalized figures about the size and diversity of China’s population of 600 million and its numerous politically unreliable classes, and then asked a rhetorical question:

You want all these people not to express opinions, to have them completely gagged, only letting [the gag] off a little when they eat, and as soon as they’ve eaten gag them

11 MacFarquhar, Origins, 1:180–82.
12 Ibid, 1:184.
up again. How can that work? . . . We cannot use coercive methods to stop them from expressing [themselves]; we can only debate with them at the time of the expression.

But Mao faced an uphill battle both to convince party members that this was in their best interest and to convince potential critics that he meant what he was saying. However, after several more speeches that grew even more strident on the necessity of “opening wide,” an official directive was issued declaring a “campaign to rectify working style.”14 This document stated that “this campaign should be guided ideologically” by Mao’s speeches, and party members were instructed to study them. Criticism was to be moderate: “This campaign should be a movement of ideological education carried out seriously, yet as gently as a breeze or mild rain.” But the truly game-changing part of the directive was the statement that “non-party people who wish to participate in the rectification campaign should be welcomed.”15 With this, the summer of blooming and contending began in earnest.

As soon as Mao got his wish, however, he discovered that this new openness was not to his liking. The opinions that began airing definitely did not come “gently as a breeze or mild rain.” As Li Zhisui, one of Mao’s doctors at the time, later recalled:

As days went on, the “mistakes” of the party were subjected to increasingly ruthless criticism. Finally, the very right of the party to rule was questioned . . . . In the end, Mao’s own leadership was criticized. The Communist party was likened to a Buddhist monastery where the abbot (Mao) dictated the “scriptures” that were then echoed by the monks—the leaders under Mao.

Mao of course was shocked. He had never intended that any of the criticisms be directed against him.16

The period of “blooming and contending” ended with an editorial in People’s Daily, most likely written by Mao, bearing the aggrieved title of “What Is This For?” In it, he iterated a suitably Maoist explanation for what was happening—“rightists.”

Under the pretext of “helping the Communist Party in its rectification,” this small minority of Rightists is challenging the leadership of the Communist Party and the

14 MacFarquhar, Origins, 1:193.
working class, or even blatantly clamoring for the Communist party to "step down." They attempt to seize this opportunity to overthrow the Communist Party and the working class, and to topple the great cause of socialism.\(^\text{17}\)

Mao had been sincere enough about wanting some criticism, but only within certain limits. Ignoring these limits turned out to be dangerous, as many people soon discovered once Mao announced it was time to "repel the attacks of the bourgeois Rightists."\(^\text{18}\)

There are numerous contrasting opinions on what exactly the Anti-Rightist Campaign meant.\(^\text{19}\) To some Sinologists, such as Roderick MacFarquhar, it was "a major defeat" of Mao's plans: "His vision of a benevolently-run communist society had to be abandoned in yet another assault on the luckless bourgeoisie and unwary party members."\(^\text{20}\) More cynical historians see this reversal as another example of Mao's arbitrary and totalitarian leadership style, which frequently involved pitting groups of people against each other, then purging those who made the wrong step.\(^\text{21}\) However, we do know that Mao made a point of imposing relatively gentle punishments on "rightists," compared to what the party usually did to people accused of such evil motivations in similar purges.\(^\text{22}\) These people had followed what Mao had said, and though they needed to be "corrected," he implicitly recognized that they could not be blamed much. Whichever way one looks at it, the whole thing was an embarrassment to Mao in the eyes of other party leaders.\(^\text{23}\) Mao recovered quickly, but the events of the Hundred Flowers were transformational for Mao's ideology and his relations with key groups, such as intellectuals and the party itself. The events of the Hundred Flowers were shaped by and in turn helped determine Mao's thinking on these important "contradictions." The remainder of this essay will deal with what these were and how they figured in these events.

---

17 Mao, "What Is This For?" (June 8, 1957), in Leung, Writings, 2:566-7.
18 Mao, "Repel the Attacks of the Bourgeois Rightists" (July 9, 1957), in Leung, Writings, 2:620.
19 For some excellent further discussion of these theories, see Maurice Meisner, Mao's China and After: A History of the People's Republic (New York: Free Press, 1986), 195-9.
21 Benjamin I. Schwartz, "Thoughts on the Late Mao—Between Total Redemption and Utter Frustration," in MacFarquhar, Secret Speeches, 19-38.
22 Teiwes, Politics and Purges, 222-3. Also in many of his speeches before, during, and after the Hundred Flowers, Mao spoke against executing subversive elements, signaling a more lenient approach in general as compared to during the Revolution.
23 Schwartz, "Thoughts on the Late Mao," in MacFarquhar, Secret Speeches, 31.
Mao was fascinated by contradictions. To him, they embodied something of a universal law of opposition, such that, as he said in one speech, "without contradictions there would be no world." In his mind, seeming chaos and destruction became creative forces, required to bring about needed change.

He had developed this philosophical outlook in his extensive earlier writing on Marxist class conflict and revolution, in which (coming as he was from a Chinese cultural and philosophical background) he had iterated a new and uniquely Chinese Marxism. As a past master of revolution, the highest form of contradiction, he felt himself uniquely qualified to diagnose and treat "contradictions among the people." Mao saw contradictions everywhere, and many of those he saw in Chinese society were reflections of contradictions within his own ideas. Mao's solution to these tensions was born of his revolutionary experience and his concept of the Marxist doctrine of "struggle"—simply to have society fight out its antagonisms in public debate. His goal was to have a comfortable level of strife in the ideological sphere, a goal he was to return to again and again throughout his rule of China, though with mixed results. Understanding this helps us to see why, when confronted by contradictions between his roles, intellectuals, and the party, he turned to the idea of "contending" as the solution to the problem.

However, the boundary Mao mentioned in his original "Contradictions Among the People" speech between "antagonistic" and "non-antagonistic" contradictions is essential. Mao, despite his idealistic rhetoric, was not a tolerant person—especially if he saw a threat to socialism or his own power. The original speech, given when Mao was feeling secure and expansive, did not give much explanation as to where this boundary lay. But it implied that any criticisms

25 Lueng, Writings, 2:176, note 33.
26 Nick Knight, Rethinking Mao: Explorations in Mao Zedong's Thought (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007), 159–64.
27 Lieberthal, Governing China, 68–9. "Time and again Mao created situations in which his subjects would have to engage in personal struggle, perhaps even at the risk of their lives. Whereas most political leaders around the globe have tried to ensure their people peaceful lives, Mao constantly stirred up the social pot as a calculated part of his rule."
28 Even after the seemingly negative experience of the Hundred Flowers, Mao could say of this kind of strife, "We should 'set fires' regularly. How should things be handled from now on?...In each five-year plan we can have at least two [fires]." (Mao, "Repel the Attacks of the Bourgeois Rightists" (July 9, 1957), in Leung, Writings, 2:622.)
arising from loyal Chinese would be non-antagonistic, and that such people could never be treated like the enemy.29 However, when the speech was actually published—near the beginning of the Anti-Rightist campaign—it appeared in a significantly altered form, with a new and restrictive list of criteria for acceptable criticisms.30 Two of the points on this list stated that criticisms must be “beneficial” to socialism and not “undermine or weaken” the party’s “democratic dictatorship,” and the following paragraph re-emphasized the same two as the “most important” points in keeping criticism “on the right track.”31 The addition of this list was regarded by those now branded “rightists” as a betrayal by Mao. However, it is likely that this list represented Mao’s expectations at the time of his original speech as well. The tenor of the “new” restrictions is consistent with Mao’s other statements and actions throughout his career, while his seeming embrace of free speech is not. Whether he simply did not think that any hard-and-fast restrictions needed to be given or purposely chose to downplay them is something that may never be known.

Nor can we let Mao’s apparent policy shift dissuade us of his sincerity in asking. As long as it did not become dangerous to his regime, Mao desperately wanted to see “struggle” occurring in Chinese society, even going so far as to encourage seemingly intolerable events such as strikes.32 Much of the rest of the party, involved as it was in the practical bureaucratic matters of maintaining order and stability, was less enthusiastic. Mao sensed this, and frequently lectured party cadres on the importance of allowing uncontrolled activity within the ranks of the people.

The correct attitude should be one of allowing people to make revolution. When people commit errors, we must adopt the policy of learning from past mistakes in order to avoid future ones and curing the illness in order to save the patient so as to help them to correct their mistakes.33

As an example of this evil, he mentioned some early CCP leaders he had disagreed with, accusing them of having “always arbitrarily charged people who were not to their taste with having committed such and such a mistake and barred them from the revolution. . . . We must learn this lesson well.”34 Of course, it was the fact that Mao did exactly the same thing himself that made

30 Tiewes, Politics and Purges, 220.
34 Ibid.
working with him so dangerous—and made many people so reluctant to rebel in the way he urged. In a system where ultimately the only acceptable course was whatever Mao felt like at the moment, it was simply too easy to misstep.

One of the methods Mao used to rationalize his inconsistent policy of struggle was to equate loyalty to the party line he laid down with patriotism. He wanted a suitably mild form of opposition, but once the CCP made a decision, he wanted non-party groups to show their loyalty and immediately “proceed from being in opposition to not being in opposition.”35 The CCP followed this “policy of both uniting and struggling” with the democratic parties it allowed to exist at this time; in promoting the Hundred Flowers, Mao probably wanted to take this paradigm and use it as a model for the whole country.36 Certainly this is what the party’s oft-repeated rectification mantra of “unity-criticism-unity” meant: unifying behind the party line after discussion had led to Mao approving it. This opens the question of whether, if the critics who spoke up during the summer of “blooming and contending” had exercised more restraint and followed the pattern Mao expected, they might have been able to influence policy without being persecuted for it. It is possible that the answer to this question would be yes, as Mao did adopt some of the concerns raised during the period as his own later, despite the offense he took at the way the campaign played out.37 In the end, the policy of encouraging “struggle” worked quite well for Mao, if for no one else. It kept his subjects on their toes, revealed enemies, and supplied him with fresh ideas to plagiarize. The Hundred Flowers campaign was simply another product of this strategy to jump-start what Mao viewed as a natural process of resolving contradictions through conflict.

**Contradictions Between Mao’s Own Roles**

It is difficult to talk about Mao and Maoism without using quasi-religious imagery, whether it was the dogmas and doctrines he preached as revealed truth to his followers or the personality cult of believers devoted to the god-like figure of the Chairman.38 During more intense periods of Mao-worship, even miracles were attributed to the diligent application of Mao Zedong Thought or some

36 Ibid.
37 Meisner, Mao’s China, 190-92.
other influence of his.39 While this “cult of Mao” was not as prominent during the Hundred Flowers period as it would be later, the fact that it existed does demonstrate that Mao had two contradicting roles: that of secular leader of the government of China and that of ideological leader of the party faithful.40 The Hundred Flowers period could be viewed as a conflict between these two roles, during which Mao’s secular concern for the welfare of the country’s economy temporarily overrode his usual love of ideological purity.

That this relaxation was unnatural for him can be seen from his speeches, for even while encouraging criticism of the Party when speaking to general audiences, he had to affirm the party’s grip on truth. When speaking to the Communist Youth League, obviously a prime audience of impressionable future faithful, he reminded them that “all words and actions that depart from socialism are completely mistaken.”41 He recognized that there was a question in party members’ minds about his new stance:

Some people ask: “Is there any inconsistency between upholding the policy of ‘letting a hundred flowers bloom and letting a hundred schools contend’ and recognizing Marxism’s leading position in the realm of ideology?”

For Mao, these two approaches did not at first conflict, because he was absolutely confident that, once they had been exposed to all points of view, the superiority of Marxism would be obvious to the people.

The leadership of Marxism . . . is demanded and determined by objective existence. . . . Needless to say, the leadership of Marxism accepts the existence of non-Marxist ideas as a basic premise. . . . Therefore, to educate the people with Marxism not only means not to rely on violence to “liquidate” non-Marxist ideas among the people; it also allows for, even requires, the conducting of discussion from various different ideological viewpoints among the people, so as to allow the people to arrive consciously at accurate conclusions through such discussion.

His encouragement of discussion took on a sort of proselytizing zeal:

This bestows upon the Marxist the tremendous responsibility of propagating Marxism. We can be sure that, since Marxism is objective scientific truth, and because the scientific truth of Marxism will win and win again, there will be more and more

---

40 Mao’s actions could thus be more fruitfully evaluated by comparing him with absolute theocratic rulers—such as the Supreme Leaders/Ayatollahs of Iran—than with secular dictators, as historians have usually done.
41 MacFarquhar, Origins, 1:220.
people who will come to believe in Marxism, and the numbers of true Marxists will increase. 42

To properly interpret this material in light of the events of the Hundred Flowers, it is important to realize that Mao was a true believer himself. For him, Marxism was not empty rhetoric. His actions in initiating the “blooming and contending” were certainly not motivated by any love of liberal theories like free speech, but because he believed his ideology was immune to attack. He hoped to both gain converts to and revitalize the original idealistic vigor of the party by taking down the stifling walls it had built around itself. Apparently, when his assumptions did not prove correct, and he saw that socialism and even he were vulnerable to attack, the balance shifted. Discovering that he still faced a hostile public, Mao turned to his orthodox, revolutionary side for solutions to China’s problems. As his colleagues purged the “rightists” who dared oppose him, little did they know that they were laying the groundwork for the disaster of the Great Leap Forward by removing the counterbalances to Mao’s frightening radical tendencies. 43

CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN MAO AND INTELLECTUALS

Of course, whether or not China’s intellectuals would have been effective in warning about the impracticality of Mao’s future policies if they had not been terrorized into silence by the Anti-Rightist Campaign is a matter of speculation. Communist governments tend to regard intellectuals as a “problem,” both because of their ideological independence and because they do not belong to a proper Marxist “class.” But before the start of the Hundred Flowers, at least, the political situation was looking extremely promising for Chinese intellectuals. The CCP had consolidated its power and was looking to build China into a more modern, industrial nation. To do this, they realized, they had “to deal with the question of the intellectuals correctly, in a way that [would] stimulate their activity and enable them to apply their energies more fully to serve our great work of Socialist construction,” as Premier Zhou Enlai put it in a ground breaking speech on the subject in 1956. 44 To understand what went wrong, we must

43 Schwartz, “Thoughts on the Late Mao,” in MacFarquhar, Secret Speeches, 32.
understand the contradictions present in Mao's attitude towards intellectuals, whom he both admired and despised.

Zhou's generous stance toward intellectuals included proposing they be included within the ranks of Marxism's most favored class—workers. He rationalized this by saying that "the overwhelming majority of the intellectuals have become government workers in the service of Socialism and are already part of the working class." To back up this optimistic assessment, Zhou had some equally optimistic statistics that claimed that only ten percent of "higher" intellectuals were opposed to the Communist enterprise. This probably influenced Mao's expectations going into the Hundred Flowers, though he was generally less sanguine about intellectuals than Zhou and was reputed to be "deeply suspicious" of them. This was due partially to his envy of the challenge they posed to his own intellectual pretensions. However, he also had a different group in mind than Zhou did; Zhou focused on scientists and professionals in his remarks, but to Mao the most important groups were the literary and scholarly establishments. Mao was less concerned with scientists and professionals because their work was not as politically charged:

Art is different from natural science. For example, medical treatments such as appendectomies and taking aspirin do not have a national form. But art is different; art involves a question of national form. This is because art is the expression of the way of life, thought, and feelings of the people and is closely related to the national custom and language.

As MacFarquhar put it, "as a poet and man of letters he [Mao] continue[d] as in the past to assign an extraordinary weight to literature as a force in human society." Mao may have sensed that authors and thinkers had been stifled under Communist rule, and he may have intended the Hundred Flowers to help reinvigorate China's artistic scene. This is something we can guess he would have liked to see—even if some "poisonous weeds" had to be tolerated—both for political reasons (to show that socialism could produce great cultural achievements) and for his own personal enjoyment (he enjoyed reading novels he himself had banned as "reactionary"). Despite his admiration for literature and his own participation in pursuits such as writing traditional poetry, however, Mao became more and more anti-intellectual as he grew older.

46 Li, Private Life, 198.
47 Mao, "Talk with Music Workers" (August 24, 1956), in Leung, Writings, 2:95.
48 Schwartz, "Thoughts on the Late Mao," in MacFarquhar, Secret Speeches, 26.
49 Lieberthal, Governing China, 70–72.
This anti-intellectual trend in Mao’s thought (and therefore in the party line) came about because politics was uppermost with Mao. The intellectuals were the party’s natural rivals in its claim to possess “scientific” truth. Mao and his fellow revolutionaries, who had fought so hard to get where they were, resented having to take advice from these uncommitted remnants of the old order.50 But he and the party did give them a chance to “reform” themselves and treated them with tolerance until the summer of “blooming and contending” showed that many of them had not really changed. Before this, Mao had been willing to resolve the contradictions surrounding intellectuals in the People’s Republic by allowing them to take on a role in his utopian vision, despite his suspicions. The result of the Hundred Flowers experiment was to turn him “decisively in favor of the peasant cadres instead of their intellectual critics,” a shift with wide-ranging and rapid consequences for China’s economic policies.51

**CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN MAO AND THE PARTY**

Finally, one of the main motivating factors behind Mao’s course during the Hundred Flowers was the growing strain between him and the rest of the CCP. While much of this strain stemmed from the other “contradictions” already discussed, the main sticking point was Mao’s growing power in a party that presumably valued collective leadership. In the wake of “de-Stalinization” in the USSR, awkward questions over Mao’s role in the party were raised. Mao also experienced conflict with the party over the role of intellectuals. Ironically, this was because most party members felt much the same way about intellectuals that Mao did—suspicious and jealous of the threat to their authority. But this clashed with Mao’s temporary willingness to be conciliatory towards them, a là Zhou Enlai.52 This paralleled an even deeper mismatch between Mao and Party that led more directly to rectification: Mao’s philosophy of “contradictions” and “struggle.” Many in the party, including high-ranking officials like Zhou Enlai, simply did not understand Mao’s radical ideas.53 What they did know was that his philosophy was a source of unpredictable challenges to their authority as party cadres, and they resisted it. This foot-dragging attitude was condemned in turn by Mao as “bureaucratism,” and his frustration with it led him to take

50 Schwartz, “Thoughts on the Late Mao,” in MacFarquhar, Secret Speeches, 28.
51 Lieberthal, Governing China, 102.
52 Teiwes, Politics and Purges, 175. See also Schwartz, “Thoughts on the Late Mao,” in MacFarquhar, Secret Speeches, 28.
53 Pantsov, Mao, 429–430, 448.
a more extreme stance for outside criticism. Perhaps he hoped that highly educated people like college professors would be able to understand his Thought in a way that his comrades could not, and help reinforce his authority as the “great theoretician.”

One of the side effects of the Soviet system that the CCP had been copying was the creation of a large, centralized bureaucracy. To Mao, the transition the CCP had made from a revolutionary organization to an administrative one had resulted in corruption of their “working style.” This “bureaucratism” consisted of a number of problems common to any large government apparatus: out-of-touch and high-handed cadres, corruption, wastefulness, and intolerance towards non-party members. However, in his zeal to fight bureaucratism, Mao often offended his fellow Communists with his proposed solutions, which presented a threat to their positions. Suggestions by Mao that “the party and government organizations be greatly streamlined and [their personnel] cut by two-thirds,” or that the party should submit to supervision by other groups stiffened opposition to the Hundred Flowers in its early stages. Other stances Mao took during this period represented an even more direct threat to party control, such as his siding with local cadres against centralized control or siding with the people against corrupt cadres. We can see why CCP members could agree wholeheartedly when Mao said, “ours is a great, glorious, and correct party,” but when in the next breath he said, “nevertheless, we still have shortcomings” and urged criticism of bureaucratism, there was little enthusiasm. Even the party propaganda machine became subtly insubordinate. The People’s Daily resisted publicizing Mao’s speeches and even published opposing views, making Mao furious. As Mao experienced more opposition to his policies, his suspicions of

54 Meisner, Mao’s China, 168–9.
55 Mao, “Speech at the Second Plenum of the Eighth Central Committee” (Nov. 15, 1956), in Leung, Writings, 2:171. See also Teiwes, Politics and Purses, 171.
57 Mao, “Talk at Enlarged Meeting of the Political Bureau” (April 1956), in Leung, Writings, 2:69.
60 Merle Goldman, “Mao’s Obsession with the Political Role of Literature and the Intellectuals,” in MacFarquhar, Secret Speeches, 50–52. The prime example of this is Mao’s attitude toward the People’s Daily: see Mao, “Criticism of Renmin Ribao” (April 1957), in Leung, Writings, 2:515.
growing bureaucratism in the party were only confirmed. His response was to push even harder for rectification.

This conflict between Mao and the party led him into some awkward positions in defense of his policy. An example of this was the case of Wang Meng, a young writer who had been encouraged by early Hundred Flowers rhetoric to publish a story critical of CCP bureaucracy. His story was harshly attacked in an editorial in the People’s Daily, written by four high-ranking People’s Army propaganda officials. These officials tried to discredit the Hundred Flowers policy by making the story into an example of the depths to which revolutionary culture had sunk under the influence of the policy.61 Mao came to Wang’s rescue with an equally scathing editorial in which he called the propaganda officials “anti-Marxist” and their views “an extreme distortion of reality.”62 However, in his editorial, Mao attacked only the attackers, and never mentioned Wang’s story itself. That fact that he was uncomfortable with Wang’s story is shown by the confused mix of grudging approval and dangerous-sounding criticism he offered up in a more informal talk later.63 In the end, Wang became one of the targets of the Anti-Rightist campaign, though he was treated more leniently than most.64

This incident was part of a wave of party pushback against Mao’s policies over the winter of 1956–57 that made Mao turn to the idea of party rectification through criticism by intellectuals. Irritated by party opposition to the Hundred Flowers after he had made it his personal project, Mao’s knee-jerk reaction was to defend his policy against all comers, even if that meant protecting things he was actually uncomfortable with. Wang’s story illustrates how the contradictions between Mao and the party led him to promote more “blooming and contending” than he would otherwise have.

CONCLUSION

Mao’s policy decisions throughout the Hundred Flowers period can seem irrational to historians today, and many theories have been advanced to explain his motivations. The best way to understand Mao’s actions, however, is to use his own theory: that of “contradictions.” The Hundred Flowers was not initiated as a reaction to the Hungarian Revolt, “de-Stalinization,” or hidden subversives,

64 Goldman, “Political Role of Literature,” in MacFarquhar, Secret Speeches, 57.
nor did it happen because Mao was a closet libertarian. Rather, he saw contradictions—between his own roles, between himself and China’s non-Communist intellectuals, and between himself and the party bureaucracy—then sought to use his longstanding strategies of “struggle” and “rectification” to combat them and resolve them in the way he wanted.

Of course, one cannot know exactly how Mao expected the Hundred Flowers policy to achieve his aims, but a potential explanation of his reasoning is not hard to see. Perhaps by introducing free discussion and criticism, he hoped to resolve conflicts between his roles by showing that “Marxism-Leninism/Mao Zedong Thought” could stand up to free debate, and thus increase intellectuals’ acceptance of his ideological role. By allowing intellectuals to participate in party matters this way, he might have expected to make them better Maoists and jump-start China’s cultural and technological development, while also combating the threat of bureaucratism within the party. The added incentive this oversight would give the party apparatus, in turn, would help make the bureaucracy more efficient and responsive to party leaders, thus helping Mao achieve his ultimate goal of creating a Chinese socialist utopia.

None of this worked the way Mao expected it to, however. Most of China’s intellectuals had not been and did not want to be converted to Maoism, which moved Mao to the side of the party’s anti-intellectual camp. The fact that he had turned to the intellectuals at all increased distrust between Mao and the party, which drove Mao to push rectification too far, with embarrassing consequences. After the intellectuals had proven unreliable, Mao went through the motions of mending bridges with the party—but began increasingly to not trust anyone but himself to express the will of “the masses.” As one author has noted, “his joining with the ‘people’ against the party in what he perceived as party opposition to his policies began in the Hundred Flowers.”65 The contradictions between Mao and the party were not to be resolved during this period, but the Hundred Flowers was a crucial battle that set the stage for Mao’s wholesale attack on the party during the Cultural Revolution. Realizing that he could not unite everyone behind him, Mao became more unabashedly ideological, relying on only his theories to provide him with the way forward for China—no matter how divorced from reality they became. The Hundred Flowers had not turned out the way he had planned, but he had resolved many of the ideological contradictions at issue in his own mind, determining his policy directions thereafter. This had disastrous consequences as he turned to ever-more radical and ideologically pure solutions to China’s problems, such as the Great Leap Forward and Cultural Revolution.

65 Goldman, “Political Role of Literature,” in MacFarquhar, Secret Speeches, 56.
The way Mao identified and handled contradictions during the Hundred Flowers period was a precursor and portent of things to come.

Cameron Nielsen is a junior majoring in history with a minor in Asian studies. His research interests include Mormon studies, modern East Asian history, ideological history, and Communism, though he typically finds himself writing more about the latter. In his free time, he enjoys drawing and painting, poetry, indie rock, biking, and impulse-buying more books than he can possibly read and more notebooks than he could possibly fill. He aims to continue on to graduate school and a career in academia. This essay was written in History of Modern China taught by Dr. Kirk Larsen.
et al.: Full Issue
"Damn the tyrant’s cause!": Primary Source Analysis of the Morris Family Letters from 1829 to 1846

Lark Plessinger

From 1829 to 1846, members of the Morris family wrote a series of letters to their brother Jonathan Morris, who remained in Chorley, England, regarding their experiences immigrating to America. This set of letters only includes the correspondence addressed to Jonathan, but it still provides valuable insights about this transitional, frontier period of American history as witnessed by the Morris family. By analyzing the different concerns voiced in these letters, the social, economic, and political world of those who immigrated to nineteenth-century Ohio comes to life.

Work appears as a major theme in the letters. Indeed, the letters reflect a romanticized view of farm work. The Morris family clearly regarded farm labor as more desirable than factory labor. The letters’ focus on work is understandable since economic concerns motivated the family’s migration. Before the majority of the Morris family immigrated to America, the parents and children worked as handloom weavers. But this trade had became obsolete in Lancashire in the 1820s as power looms were adopted. The Morris siblings were out of work and the prospects of new job opportunities in America beckoned. Andrew, Thomas, William, Ann, and Alice, along with their families, left England and eventually bought land on the Ohio frontier. Thomas championed this idea by proudly

stating, "We live in our own house on our own land."\textsuperscript{2} Such a feat was not possible in England where they would not have been able to own their own land and would have had little opportunity for self-employment. The Morries recognized the new opportunities that living in America provided, and perceived living off the land, away from the city, as a better way to live.

The Morris family's positive view of land ownership was based on a unique perspective about the relationship between the environment and economics. The Morris family viewed their relationship with the land as one that would provide stable prosperity. The family believed the unsettled territory in Ohio was a place of freedom apart from economic uncertainties, taxation, and the harsh world of industrialization. The family correspondence reveals that the Morries saw agriculture as a way to simplify their lives and create happiness. Their ability to establish a small refuge in the wilderness soon evolved into a desire for more. Andrew wrote to Jonathan about seeking economic stability from his farm that would give him a leisurely lifestyle one-third of the year.\textsuperscript{3} Clearly, these family members were ambitious and anxious to see their farming pursuits pay-off. Thomas also built a gristmill and charged his neighbors a fee to use it.\textsuperscript{4} Such opportunities allowed these siblings to change their relationship with the environment. They could use the land to suit their needs. Farming the land was seen as an escape route from the unpredictable realities of an industrialized world. Land ownership allowed the family to create a self-sustaining lifestyle; a relationship Jonathan could not hope to cultivate in England.

Another underlying theme in the letters is the importance of family through both good and bad times. The correspondence, for instance, explores how family was essential to taking risks like immigrating to a foreign land. Jonathan said he would never leave Chorley because he did not want to trade "certainty for uncertainty."\textsuperscript{5} Andrew, William, and Thomas wrote their brother regularly for seventeen years hoping to change his mind. Despite the distance, family was clearly important to them. Their family bond was built on trust and respect for each other, as shown by opinions and personal experiences they shared—whether it was about the latest harvest or current economic conditions. The Morries

\textsuperscript{2} Letter from Thomas Morris, Aurelius Township, to Jonathan Morris, Heath Charnock, near Chorley, Lancashire; 7 February 1832, 4.

\textsuperscript{3} Letter from Andrew and Jane Morris, Aurelius Township, Jonathan Morris, Hindley, Lancashire; 13 August 1842, 2.

\textsuperscript{4} Letter from Andrew and Jane Morris, Aurelius Township, Jonathan Morris, Hindley, Lancashire; 13 August 1842, 2.

\textsuperscript{5} Letter from William Morris, Barnsville, Ohio, to Jonathan Morris, Tyldesley Banks, Lancashire; 14 July 1841, 3.

https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/thetean/vol42/iss1/14
living in Ohio continued to emphasize their belief that there was "still a better prospect in America than in England," but acknowledged it was Jonathan’s choice to join them or not. Long distances may have separated this family, but each of them recognized that family was a bond that should never be broken; it was a value revealed by the nearly two decades of surviving correspondence.

This faith in family motivated the Ohio Morries to try multiple techniques of persuasion that would appeal to Jonathan’s self-interest and convince him to immigrate. One of Jonathan’s primary concerns seems to have been equipping his family with the best life possible. Anytime one of the Morries mentioned political, social, or economic conditions in America, they emphasized the excellent “prospects for both the present and rising generation.” For instance, Thomas wrote to Jonathan that he owned 120 acres of land in Ohio and harvested cash crops like tobacco that paid for opportunities for his children. Andrew, Jane, Ann, and William also explained that they had found various opportunities such as opening a blacksmith shop, building a gristmill, and other prospects that were never within reach in England. The Morries wanted the best future they could give to the next generation and hoped all of their family could find the same success. To this end, they praised the social and economic advantages of immigrating to America and presented the country to their brother as a place where he, like they, could give their children a brighter future.

Throughout the correspondence, the Morris family also explained the political disadvantages of staying in England to their brother. They seem to have seen this as an important persuasive technique that might convince him to immigrate. They encouraged Jonathan to have faith in their opinions and experiences. Although Jonathan’s responses to his brothers about the political situation in England are lost, the persistent mention of politics in the letters demonstrates its importance to the new Americans and their assessment of their life situation. William declared to Jonathan that he needed to leave the “oppressive tyrants of the King” behind and witness the freedom of America. Ann’s husband, John, also told Jonathan, “Damn the tyrant’s cause!” that kept the poor man subject to the rich. John urged Jonathan to come to Ohio where a man could “carry his gun and shoot game of his fancy and choice,” walk where he pleased, and find

6 Letter from Andrew and Jane Morris, Aurelius Township, to his brother Jonathan Morris, Hindley, Lancashire; 13 August 1842, 1.
7 Letter from Andrew Morris, Aurelius Township, Jonathan Morris, Bolton, Lancashire; 21 February 1846, 3.
justice in the law. John and William wanted to expose the political injustices of their home country by contrasting it with the freedoms they had discovered in America. They did this in an attempt to persuade their brother to move to a place with better laws and more expansive rights for mankind. Such a move, of course, would also have brought him physically closer to them.

The information in these letters was written out of concern for the family members left behind in England and with a hope that they would one day be reunited with them. Every historical source presents unique ways to approach history and some sort of bias. However limited a particular source may be, it is still valuable to our understanding of history. Whether a family letter is boasting about acres of farmland or spouting political rhetoric like, "Damn the tyrant's cause!" it can tell us something about the past and the people who wrote it. The Morris family correspondence provides a window for scholars to gain a better view into the social, political, and economic world of immigrants on the Ohio frontier during the 1800s.

Lark Plessinger is double majoring in history and communications with a minor in political science at Brigham Young University. She grew up on a farm in Saint Thomas, Pennsylvania and has always enjoyed history and making connections across generations since her first trip to Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. Her interest in the Morris correspondence occurred while studying at King's College in Cambridge, England. Her supervisor, Dr. Peter Martland, introduced her to the letters discovered by his colleague, Dr. Charlotte Erickson. Lark continued this research to find more records indicating the Morris family's footprints in the 1800s. Although studying history remains a hobby, Lark is pursuing a career in public relations and plans to return to the East Coast.

Premillennial themes remain popular, and their presence in media actually implies a new adaptation of these ideas.
“The End is Near”: Pop Culture Adaptations of Premillennial Themes

Kelsey Samuelsen

MARCH 1997: THIRTY-NINE PEOPLE poison themselves, committing suicide in order to board an alien space ship allegedly trailing the Hale-Bopp Comet. December 2009: A failed cure for cancer sparks a pandemic which immediately kills most of the population and leaves the rest ravaged and cannibalistic. January 2000: The turn of the century threatens to crash the world’s computers, wreaking havoc on civilized society. These scenarios, a mixture of fabricated and factual, represent the variety of apocalyptic myths in American culture. The popularity of end-of-the-world themes has risen in recent years. Numerous depictions of such events in well-known books, films, and music, both reflect and perpetuate the prevalence of this theme in American culture. Movies like 2012, books like the Left Behind series, and songs like Bob Dylan’s “I’d Hate to Be You on that Dreadful Day” focus on what happens when the modern world ends. The stories of the apocalypse range from the ridiculous to the dramatic and, as many critics have noted, from the religious to the secular. Conrad Ostwalt, a prominent analyst of pop culture apocalypse depictions, has written on this last phenomenon, saying that popular media “has captured and fostered the secularization of the apocalyptic tradition.” Yet Ostwalt and others who share his opinion have overlooked the prevalence of religious themes even

in contemporary end-of-the-world media, especially as they relate to the teaching of premillennial dispensationalism, the nineteenth century movement popularized by John Nelson Darby. Darby’s ideas centered on the worsening of society until cataclysm and redemption at Jesus Christ’s second coming, all concepts which appear both overtly and subliminally in modern depictions of the apocalypse. Their prevalence in twentieth and twenty-first century culture reveals the pervasiveness of traditional apocalyptic ideals in American society.

**BRIEF HISTORY OF PREMILLENNIAL DISPENSATIONALISM**

In order to properly view the themes of premillennial dispensationalism and to trace the fluctuating presentations of its core doctrines, showing its adaptability over time, it is necessary to briefly examine the history of the movement. At the turn of the nineteenth century, rumblings of apocalyptic movements already existed in American culture. The Second Great Awakening fostered an attitude of optimistic postmillennialism, in which the world ends, but as a result of human progress and perfectability. Though optimism prevailed in popular Protestant sermons at that time, the massive bloodshed and religious strife of the Civil war era caused “much of the optimism about society’s perfectability . . . to dissipate.” Additionally, an influx of foreign immigrants threatened the hegemony of evangelicals, causing non-evangelical Protestants to revisit their eschatology and make it more selective. They found as their guide the Anglo-Irish theologian John Nelson Darby and his doctrines of premillennial dispensationalism. Darby taught of seven worldly dispensations, his time being the dispensation immediately preceding Christ’s second coming. In his dispensation, the world would progressively worsen, giving power to the Antichrist and ultimately culminating in Christ’s return, a destructive Armageddon, the salvation of the righteous, and establishment of God’s kingdom. Darby’s ideas were popularized primarily through the publication of Cyrus I. Scofield’s Reference Bible which, by including footnotes explaining passages of the Bible according to Darby’s view, “provided a dispensational template through which

---

3 Ibid., 421.
4 Ibid.
evangelicals read the scriptures." His religious postulation spread through Protestantism like the proverbial wildfire. The rapid growth of the idea was due in large part to its mode of appeal. Author Amy Frykholm states that "the dispensationalists . . . staked the power of their story with the people. They did not defer to institutions . . . but instead fostered the story of rapture and tribulation among popular belief." In other words, "they . . . offered their story to laypeople who enthusiastically embraced it." Darby's new ideas, grounded in literal interpretation of the Bible, popular typology, and numerology suited the mood of nineteenth century evangelicalism, because people no longer saw a society careening toward redemption, but rather toward judgment. Premillennial dispensationalism as preached by Darby and believed by early evangelicals evinced that shifting perspective. In the face of diminishing Protestant power, premillennialists taught division of the saved from the unsaved. In response to growing social degradation, it preached a destructive, punishing end time to remake society. By the end of the nineteenth century, Darby's interpretation—vengeful and selective—was steadily becoming the standard national narrative of the end of the world.

As the movement grew, so did its variable interpretations, often reflecting contemporary concerns. During World War II, worldly destruction seemed not only possible but inevitable. With the advent of nuclear warfare, the apocalypse assumed a certain imminence and people began to apply current events to their apocalyptic expectations. Books like The 1980s: Countdown to Armageddon connected apocalyptic signs to world events, sparking broader interest in end time beliefs. Increasingly, the apocalyptic appeal expanded beyond its denominational bounds into other religions. Historian Catherine Albanese affirms this


8 Frykholm, Rapture Culture, 18. She says that dispensationalism "emphasized evangelism over institutionalization and cast their lot with popular belief rather than church leaders," which made the movements successful on a grassroots level.

9 Balmer, "Apocalypticism in America," 422.

idea of growth, writing that "millennialism began in Protestantism, but non-Protestant religious movements came to share the millennial fervor" in the early twentieth century. Because the movement then no longer denoted a single denomination or even religion, in order to unite the movement, emphasis was placed on the overarching "Americanness" of the idea, infusing it with a sense of patriotism. Pop culture historian Mervyn Bendle writes: "beliefs about the special role and destiny of the U.S. [are] associated with the long-standing civil religion underpinning American civilization with its historical associations and with millenialist ideas."

Subsequently, apocalyptic attitudes became increasingly central to American religiosity. But American apocalypticism still centered on traditional religious ideas of growing sin, Christ's return followed by Armageddon, and the righteous establishing God's new kingdom. The only difference was that, in their iteration, Americans led the cause of righteousness. After the war, new fringe groups emerged, shifting the definition to include numerous supernatural ideas. In 1946, with the sighting of the first recorded UFO, religious movements like the Cosmic Circle of Fellowship and Heaven's Gate sprang up. They introduced popularly the doctrine of rapture or salvation of the righteous before tribulation—a belief espoused by some dispensationalists—in a way that cited alien abduction rather than God's direct hand as the means of rescue. These movements instilled in apocalypticism an element of technology and neomysticism. Since then, belief in the technological apocalypse has also manifested itself in fear of incidents like Y2K. The technological aspect of millenial beliefs


12 Bendle, "The Apocalyptic Imagination and Popular Culture."


14 Susan J. Palmer and Thomas Robbins, "Introduction," in Millennium, Messiahs, and Mayhems: Contemporary Apocalyptic Movements, ed. Susan J. Palmer and Thomas Robbins (New York: Routledge, 1997), 6-7. Palmer and Robbins here discuss each of these traits. Historicism denotes that it is a collective end, the culmination of the world's existence, the climax of history. It is dualistic in its nature of good versus evil. It is pervasive in that the entire world explodes with it.

15 Lewis, Doomsday Prophecies, 106, 156, 193. He details numerous movements, including both the two mentioned above and Raelianism. Each of these stories includes some sort of idea of aliens representing a higher power, and a course of them freeing humans from their bodies through various methods. Raelianism even included prophets like Buddha, Mohammed, and Jesus as offspring of an alien figure and a mortal woman. For greater detail on these, see Lewis.
took the deconstruction of contemporary earth to a new level, recasting ideas of space, time, and communication between earth and heaven. These restructurings became an important part of pop culture apocalyptic dialogue but did not displace Darby’s foundational ideas of cataclysm, salvation, and creation of a new world, implicit in premillennial dispensationalism. These concepts simply expanded to accommodate new concerns. From the turn of the century to the modern day, apocalypticism seems to have superseded what Darby taught, replacing it with increasingly secular interpretations. However, each new development simply introduced a more inclusive appeal. This era has been one of broadening and politicizing the idea of end time, not secularizing it.

Popular culture is a gauge of public belief. This is certainly true for popular media on the apocalypse. Literature, cinema, and music exhibit varied views of apocalypticism, implying an increasingly evolving view of the end of the world, while still maintaining the traditional themes of premillennialism. As Norman Cohn outlines in his book, The Pursuit of the Millennium, traditional apocalypticism often includes a collective, terrestrial, imminent, total, and miraculous narrative. These characteristics originate in Darby’s ideas: the world will worsen in sin, Christ will come, good will face evil in a final battle, and good will win. No matter the specific definition, end time belief always maintains punishment of evil, salvation of good by a Messiah figure, and some form of renewal. Though modern apocalypse stories range from war to terrorism, science fiction, horror, and drama, all hold meaning beyond just catastrophe. The variety shows that not only is the apocalyptic mode “infinitely adaptable,” but that “the images and themes from the biblical apocalyptic writings permeate secular apocalypse, demonstrating a lasting legacy and congruence with the visions in the Bible.”

Surface-level divergences in plot, characters, or dialogue aside, the trend in modern apocalyptic presentations remains tied to premillennialism.

17 Lewis, Doomsday Prophecies, 19.
18 Albanese, America: Religions and Religion, 265.
PREMILLENNIALISM PRESENT IN POPULAR LITERATURE

Popular apocalyptic literature began with Hal Lindsey, author of *The Late Great Planet Earth*. Published in 1970, this book uncovered eschatological signs of the Millennium in current world events and developed ideas of what earth's inhabitants could expect in the future. It made a splash, appealing first to an evangelical audience, but slowly growing more popular among the non-evangelical Christian audience. University of Wisconsin-Madison professor Robert Glenn Howard states that the book "courted a large non-denominational audience by playing its emphasis on an overtly emotional personal relationship with the divine and simple relatively literal interpretations of the Bible . . . this evangelical media spread a coherent narrative interpretation of Biblical prophecy across institutional lines." The *Late Great Planet Earth* sold over ten million copies to religious and non-religious readers in only its first seven years and became the bestselling non-fiction book of the decade, paving the way for popular understanding of end times. But the credit for making Christian end time perceptions an explosive literary phenomenon goes to Tim LaHaye and Jerry Jenkins, the authors of the extremely popular series *Left Behind*. These books stepped away from nonfiction commentary and into the apocalyptic imagination with their story of the people left on earth after the righteous are raptured. The book certainly benefitted from the popularity of Hal Lindsey's work, but the power of the *Left Behind* story is in its wide allure. The book has sold millions of copies to Christian evangelicals, but it has also sold millions outside of evangelicalism. Even though it intersperses plot with a religious message that "has in no way been blunted," its success asserts that American premillennialism is by no means dead or dying. The *Left Behind* movement disproves statements that

---


21 Ibid., 202–3.


23 Ibid., 162.

24 Ibid., 151.

modern American millennialism is marginal, instead proposing that it prompts all who recognize it "to re-evaluate the ways in which [they] think and speak about popular culture, religion, and the complex and often fraught relationship between the two."\(^\text{26}\) But even beyond how this book intertwines faith and popular culture, the book reshapes the nation's premillennial leanings, broadening interpretations beyond fringe conservatives to fit mainstream culture.

Despite the runaway success of *Left Behind*, American apocalypse literature reaches beyond the overtly religious, while still exuding religious themes. Cormac McCarthy's Pulitzer-winning book *The Road* (2006) explores scenes of post-apocalyptic desperation that fit traditional themes.\(^\text{27}\) This book and others, such as young adult author Susan Beth Pfeiffer's series *The Last Survivors*, confront fears of the end of the world, intermingling themes of biblical cataclysm. The science fiction genre in particular picks up these themes. For example, tales of alien invasion and abduction imply traditional belief in rapture, since they denote narratives of the end time where humans "commune with other worlds, even to the point of being physically transported there."\(^\text{28}\) But the apocalyptic story has embedded itself in the science fiction genre on an even broader scale. Roslyn Weaver, analyst of popular culture and apocalypticism, writes that "the basic plot of science fiction disaster literature follows the sequence of events in Revelation, with four stages: first, dystopia; second, the warning or experience of a disaster; third, life post-disaster; and finally, the establishment of a new world." She argues that even secular science fiction writers with no interest in divine entities adapt this sequence, simply because the events of Revelation are malleable, even without theistic foundations.\(^\text{29}\) A book like *Ender's Game* (1985), for example, includes Ender's disturbed early life, conscription into earth's army of military geniuses, annihilation of an entire alien species, and the subsequent political and personal turmoil, ending in Ender's departure for a new world. Examining the sequence, the book displays dystopia, threat of disaster, life after genocide, and the political renewal, all the traits Weaver lists.\(^\text{30}\) Though the references in this and other books are not obvious, they still evoke apocalyptic sequences, showing
how easily the narrative fits varied genres. Apocalyptic fiction spans multiple sub-genres, including extending into new technological forms of writing, such as websites and blogs. These media illustrate the ubiquity of the premillennial apocalypse, imparted in every form from alien to zombie.

CINEMATIC REPRESENTATIONS OF PREMILLENNIALIST THEMES

The most visual vehicle of pop culture, as well as arguably the most popular, is the field of cinema. Apocalyptic films tackle numerous ways of treating the end of the world, first among them movies with themes of nuclear warfare. Several films concern themselves with threats of nuclear annihilation because it is "a convenient impetus for end-of-the-world scenarios." Movies like On the Beach (1959), Threads (1984), and The Day After (1983) explore this take on the millennium. In these films, Mervyn Bendle says, "the principal notion . . . is that the present world is facing imminent destruction, anarchy, and violence." He links these ideas to religious premillennialism, which argues the same thing. These films came out in the Cold War era, when nuclear fallout threatened moreominently, but as the technological age developed, stories of warfare became less global and more interplanetary, involving not just earth, but civilizations beyond it. Revisiting the themes of science fiction literature, movies like Dune (1984), War of the Worlds (1953, 2005), and Signs (2002) highlighted this fear. This last film took on a particular eschatological tone, because of its eponymous emphasis on the perception and interpretation of signs, a sort of prophetic warning. Additionally, Signs is "an emblematic case study of apocalyptic dread, because it brings together the nuclear family, religion, and a feeling that the world is about to end." But even beyond Signs, the Heaven's Gate type

31 Howard devotes several pages to these resources, 205–213.
32 Ostwalt, "Hollywood and Armageddon," 58. Ostwalt's primary example is the film Apocalypse Now, which he says does this very specifically, and Francis Ford Coppola, director, employed other methods to make this clear, specifically using the song "The End" by The Doors during the opening credits. Frances Carey, "The Apocalyptic Imagination: Between Tradition and Modernity," in The Apocalypse and the Shape of Things to Come, ed. Francis Carey (Toronto: British Museum Press, 1999), 270–1.
33 Bendle, "The Apocalyptic Imagination and Popular Culture."
34 Kristen Moana Thompson, Apocalyptic Dread: American Film at the Turn of the Millennium (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2007), 127.
35 Thompson, Apocalyptic Dread, 128. In the film, the main character, Graham Hess (Mel Gibson) is a lapsed reverend who lost his faith after his wife died in a freak car accident. The film interweaves his religiosity with an alien invasion, and results in the restoration of his belief, as well as the salvation of the world.
of doctrine of aliens as divine harbingers of destruction displays a sense of an otherworldly power which ultimately controls the fate of the planet—a central premillennial theme—as well as an Armageddon-like battle and victory for the righteous. In all of these films, cataclysm caused by the evil of war recreates society, reiterating Darby’s themes.

Aside from war or invasion narratives, apocalypse movies employ numerous other plots to show that the end is near. The film The Seventh Sign (1988) focuses on a plotline where the interpretation of signs forces intervention to prevent the world’s end. By interpreting the seven seals discussed in the Biblical book of Revelation, pregnant Abby Quinn (Demi Moore), sees the imminent end of the world and realizes that her own unborn child will play a tragic role in it. She races to stop the signs, but at the last moment, must sacrifice her own life to save her son and, vicariously, the planet.36 This film deals with Biblical themes overtly, incorporating scripture and Christian history, even though the narrative of dispensationalism approaches Armageddon and final renewal differently. In other films, the message is more hidden. In the movie Pale Rider (1985), Clint Eastwood plays a man called “Preacher” who returns from the grave to confront a group of thugs persecuting a small mining town. Throughout the movie, “Preacher” demonstrates his strength and wisdom, which finally culminates in a last battle where he defeats the evil gang and then leaves the town, finally achieving tranquility.37 Though the title is a direct reference to the Book of Revelation 6:8,38 the rest of the movie deals with apocalypse more subtly, displaying themes of Armageddon and a community of the righteous without centering the plot on grand catastrophe. It still develops Weaver’s themes of dystopia, threat of destruction, life after the end, and final renewal, simply on a smaller scale.


36 Ostwalt, “Hollywood and Armageddon,” 59–60; Thompson 15–26. Ostwalt points out that various other Biblical representations exist in this movie. The character David (played by Jurgen-Prochnow) symbolizes Jesus, and Father Lucci (Peter Friedman) becomes the mythical Cartaphilus, the Jew who struck Jesus and was doomed to wander the earth eternally.

37 Ibid., 56–7.

38 This verse reads “And I looked, and behold a pale horse: and his name that sat on him was Death, and Hell followed with him. And power was given unto them over the fourth part of the earth, to kill with sword, and with hunger, and with death, and with the beasts of the earth.” (King James Version).
influences, delve into the panic of earth-wide calamity. These films demonstrate both the traditional apocalyptic narrative of good battling evil with good winning, while also including contemporary concerns. For these reasons, they achieved great popularity. Waterworld features conflict between the hero and villain, resulting in the villain’s demise and hero’s finding of a Utopia, but also turn-of-the-century anxieties over global warming. I Am Legend shows themes of post-apocalyptic resurrection, both physical and metaphysical, but displays concerns about experimental medicine and its global reach. Technologically-oriented films like Terminator 2 presents ultimate salvation, but only after the threats of modern science are destroyed. This last theme has become uniquely central to apocalypse movies within the last couple of decades, particularly as the year 2000 approached. In films with strong elements of premillennialism, such as 28 Days Later (2002) and On the Beach (1959), science and technology resolve cataclysms, but they are more commonly also the causes. Thus, even in narratives where salvation is modern, the message of rapture and tribulation is often antimodern. Scholars see this as a continuing trend from the era of premillennialism’s inception. Mervyn Bendle assures that it is the pattern of premillennialism to exhibit such ambivalence about technological progress. He says that the shift “involved the eclipse of progressivist Postmillennialism and the victory of ultra-reactionary Premillennialism, while . . . it entailed a shift from . . . faith in humanity and the values of progress, reason, and technology towards a darkly pessimistic view that deeply distrusts humanity.” These films, which blend action, horror, and disaster, ushered in what cinematic connoisseur Geoff King calls, “the millennial fear of Judgment Day [in] the high-tech present.” They represent a new foray into adapting the apocalypse narrative to an audience that identifies itself first not as evangelical or even religious but as part of the technological age. They capture modern fears, feeding them back in recognizable, Biblical, apocalyptic form.

One of the most prominent ideas of premillennialism is that of a Messiah who saves the world at the last moment through the forces of good. In some


40 The zombies in the film represent in a horrific fashion the belief in physical resurrection. The more spiritual side comes in as Will Smith’s character attempts to revive or cure the zombies, resurrecting them to their previous state of humanity. The fact that the protagonist also must wash away his tracks with water also evokes a sort of daily baptism, which is symbolic of resurrection.

41 Frykholm, Rapture Culture, 34.

42 Bendle, “The Apocalyptic Imagination and Popular Culture.”

43 quoted in Thompson, Apocalyptic Dread, 12.
films, the Messiah figure is one person (like Abby in *The Seventh Sign*) easily identified by their saving role. The Messiah type in these movies "is usually a hero figure who rises to the occasion by preventing the end from coming or by defeating the forces of evil." However, the messianic role has changed over time. Ostwalt states that "in a . . . contemporary world, we have difficulty conceptualizing world destruction from the hands of a sovereign God." As a result, he says that humanity has raised itself to the sovereign level in popular apocalypses. Herein lays the centerpiece of the shifting Messiah of modern apocalypses. Instead of earth's salvation being in the hands of one person, modern people wish to see themselves as determiners of the future. They then, with qualities of good, can become saviors. Savior people fight for the righteous causes of family and community and are typically the outcasts or fringes of society, and thus are types of Christ, the Messiah of the Biblical narrative. Part of the messianic work includes redemption of society. So, while apocalypse films often begin by depicting people as misanthropic, by the end, society is improved. Films like *Deep Impact* (1998) and *The Postman* (1997) display that overarching goal. In America, where premillennialism took deep root, societal redemption is "notably nationalistic," displaying yet another theme of American premillennial dispensationalism. *Independence Day* (1996), *The Day After Tomorrow*, and even the recent film 2012 (2008) portray strong, American heroes. Due to the nation's unique emphasis on the tradition of end-time belief, this variation is hardly surprising and shows the premillennial leanings of cinema. Overall, the belief in judgment, but also in redemption with the help of righteous forces supports the idea that modern film has not done away with traditional modes of apocalyptic beliefs, but has simply altered them to fit a broader narrative and a world with new concerns. Looking at several depictions of the end of the world in American film, this theory can be upheld.

45 Ostwalt, "Visions of the End."
46 Bendle, "The Apocalyptic Imagination and Popular Culture."
47 Bendle, "The Apocalyptic Imagination and Popular Culture."
PREMILLENNIALISM IN POPULAR MUSIC

Apocalyptic themes in music are different from those in literature and film. The media of the latter two lend themselves to development of a long narrative, whereas the former has typically under four minutes to send a message. Instead of expanding a number of themes or doctrines, apocalyptic music asserts quick emotion. Many artists’ music invokes a redemptive narrative of the apocalypse. This type of music first appeared in the wake of nuclear warfare. The music of the Cold War era evoked powerful apocalyptic imagery in the dropping of nuclear bombs, but also preached faith at the last day. The Buchanan Brothers, a group of 1950s country artists, sing these sentiments in their song “Atomic Power,” saying that “Atomic power, atomic power/It was given by the mighty hand of God” and directly quoting scripture with the words “On that day of judgment when comes a greater power/We will not know the minute and we’ll not know the hour.”

The song is only one of many which pairs piety with millennialism. Lowell Blanchard’s “Jesus Hits like an Atom Bomb” laments that “everyone’s worried about the atom bomb/but nobody’s worried ’bout the day my Lord will come.” Bradley Kincaid’s “Brush the Dust from that Old Bible” preaches that the atom bomb itself will usher in Judgment Day. All of these use the narrative of dispensationalism, complete with sin, impending destruction, and Christ’s coming. Other songs delve further into Darby’s premillennial beliefs by mentioning Rapture. Dexter Logan and Darrell Edwards sing “The Song of the Atom Bomb” in which they are raised up before the bombs fall, and the Louvin Brothers “Great Atomic Power” explicitly says that “God will save His children from that awful, awful fate.”

Clear doctrines of premillennialism are expounded, namely apocalypse involving warfare, triumph of the righteous, and rapture. Additionally, these artists call the world to repentance, serving a prophetic function. They are not simply storytelling, but advocating adherence to their beliefs, demonstrating the power and popularity of the premillennial message.

49 Fred Kirby, Atomic Power, performed by the Buchanan Brothers, RCA Victor, 1946.
50 Lee V. McCullum, Jesus Hits like an Atom Bomb, performed by Lowell Blanchard, 1950.
51 Bradley Kincaid, Brush the Dust from that Old Bible, performed by Bradley Kincaid, Capitol 1276, 1950.
Popular artists later reiterated these doctrines. One such premillennial musician is Bob Dylan. In the 1970s, following a decade of inner turbulence, Dylan became a born-again Christian. His music reflected his new-found faith and began invoking religious symbols and themes. Out of this era came several songs with apocalyptic messages. His piece “I’d Hate to Be You on that Dreadful Day” included numerous references to the tribulations of the wicked at the last day. “Are You Ready?” asked its listeners about their own preparedness, posing the questions “Are you ready for the judgment? Are you ready for that terrible swift sword? Are you ready for Armageddon? Are you ready for the day of the Lord?”

Even the song “All Along the Watchtower” evokes Isaiah’s millennial imagery and warnings. Many have written that Dylan’s music has “a universal provenance that connects with his audiences.” They maintain that he adapted apocalyptic references to a general public, thus popularizing the evangelical message without excluding non-evangelical fans. Put in other words, “Dylan’s apocalypse might make specific allusions to biblical eschatology, but it [was] as likely to be used generically.” Dylan’s adaptation of apocalyptic doctrines increased the popularity and expanded the reach of basic premillennial dogmas.

Dylan’s popularization of millennialism was felt in other areas of music. Surprisingly, and demonstrative of the message’s adaptability, one of the other musical movements to include the doctrine was reggae. Christopher Partridge, apocalyptic music expert, comments that “like much Christian premillenarian discourse, reggae, especially during the 1970s and the 1980s, focused on biblical signs of the end.” As the civil rights movement desegregated black and white Protestant congregations, the doctrines of premillennialism which featured strongly in white congregations seeped into African American racial identity. Reggae reflected that change. Bunny Wailer’s piece called “Armagideon

54 Bob Dylan, All Along the Watchtower, performed by Bob Dylan, Columbia, 1967.
56 Baines, “Songs of Fate, Hope, and Oblivion,” 10.
(Armageddon)" includes mention of spiritual battle, fulfillment of signs, and rhetoric of redemption, all of which is based in Darby's premillennial teaching and Protestant scripture. While staying on doctrine, this genre's version of the end time also incorporated racial sentiments. For African Americans as a group, "while the white, Christian God was the African's eschatological hope, the white people of the world were destined for destruction." Thus, whites would be the harbingers of the end. Deejay Prince Far I's song "Armageddon" exhibits this, hailing his black skin and saying that "black skin lead the way" amid Biblical calamity. An interesting song by Johnny Clarke titled "None Shall Escape the Judgment" speaks to all mankind, but then switches voices to say "Arise black man, Jehovah has come." Clarke goes on to depict the consequences of Armageddon and says that he will be saved because he always lives to serve "Lord God JahRasTafari." Millennialism in these examples is infused with African-Jamaican nationalism and simultaneously with white Protestant conceptions of the end of the world. Though reggae as a popular musical movement has suffered a degree of decline in recent years, its influence still lingers, showing how millenarianism easily adapts to numerous cultures, taking on new developments while maintaining its theological foundations.

While Bob Dylan and Bunny Wailer show the apocalyptic mindset as a mode of encouraging human goodness, many artists went a different route. Particularly in rock and roll, lyrics and music assume an overtly antagonistic, "eat, drink, and be merry" attitude toward the end of the world. Yet, even in rebelling against the repentance doctrine and asserting their own condemnation, these musicians support premillennial beliefs of end time. For some, rock and roll embodies apocalyptic fear. As one writer put it, "rock and roll music is part of man's attempt to drive from his mind the consequences of his evil living ... to divert man's attention from the nearness of the second coming of Jesus Christ." This view, though quite conservative, brings up the question of the genre as a backlash against traditional religion. This backlash spreads into apocalyptic depictions in rock, which are frequently more pessimistic than in other genres. There are a few examples of this. The song "Blackened" by Metallica talks about the death of the world in premillennial terms: "Smoldering decay/ Take your breath away/ Millions of our years/ In minutes disappears." Slayer's "Raining

58 Partridge, "Babylon's Burning," 60.
61 Johnny Clarke, None Shall Escape the Judgment, performed by Johnny Clarke, Total Sounds, 1974.
Blood” continues the vivid description by singing that the sky will turn red and bloody as the Millennium opens. The song “Number of the Beast” by Iron Maiden mentions the end’s imminence with the lyrics: “Woe to you oh Earth and Sea/for the Devil sends the beast with wrath/because he knows the time is short.”63 These examples showcase the progression of belief that the impending Millennium is not necessarily a reason for hope, but that even in dread the same doctrines of calamity and salvation of the righteous appear. This evidences that “apocalyptic terms of reference are so deeply ingrained in Western culture that they have taken on an archetypal function” and that though the mode and even the sentiment toward the end of the world has changed, the fundamentals of the belief in it remain.64

In the quest to measure the popularity of premillennial themes in media, one of the best places to look is economics. Apocalyptic books and films have sold incredibly well since the second half of the twentieth century. The Late Great Planet Earth has sold over fifteen million copies and its author was named the 1970s bestselling author by The New York Times.65 The Left Behind books have sold over 50 million copies and spawned three movies, each of which has made millions of dollars.66 Tyndale House, the books’ publisher, saw an annual sales increase of $135 million between 1998 and 2001,67 while its spin-off products like CDs, comics, and computer games, have placed author Tim LaHaye on the list of Entertainment Weekly’s “most powerful entertainers.”68 To many, the popularity of this series shows that “interest in the End Times is no fringe phenomenon . . . . There is a broader audience of people who are having this conversation.”69 This is true not just of Left Behind, but of apocalyptic literature in general. The revenues of apocalypse movies also support that statement. The movie Signs made over $408 million in opening weekend, Terminator 2: Judgment Day has brought in $519 million, and even the relative flop that was the film 2012 has made about $769 million dollars worldwide.70 Looking at these statis-

63 Jeff Hanneman and Kerry King, Raining Blood, performed by Slayer, Def Jam, 1986; Steve Harris, Number of the Beast, performed by Iron Maiden, EMI, 1982; James Hetfield, Jason Newsted, and Lars Ulrich, Blackened, performed by Metallica, Elektra, 1988.
64 Carey, “The Apocalyptic Imagination,” 270.
65 Balmer, “Apocalypticism in America,” 423.
66 Bendle, “The Apocalyptic Imagination and Popular Culture.”
67 Monahan, “Marketing the Beast,” 818.
68 Ibid., 817.
The Thetean: A Student Journal for Scholarly Historical Writing, Vol. 42 [2013], Iss. 1, Art. 14

CONCLUSIONS

Modern emphasis on traditional ideas of premillennialism represents a shift back to tradition that both elucidates the present and counters secularization. Conrad Ostwalt pointed out that “the apocalyptic model allows us to make sense of our lives by providing a means by which to order time. By placing the life drama in relation to a beginning, a middle, and an end, the apocalypse provides coherence and consonance.” Thomas Robbins and Susan J. Palmer agree, saying that “present events and tensions are seen as an image or prototype of the ultimate decisive struggle between good and evil and its final resolution at the end for time.” Many find solace in premillennial teachings, because they express the fear and misery found in the modern world. Moreover, end time discourse makes sense of current events, so even people who consider themselves non-religious may ascribe to the doctrines. Threats of terrorism and war have especially taken the warnings of the Book of Revelation into the mainstream by making them more plausible than before. As theologian Catherine Keller...
phrases it, "We are in apocalypse: we are in it as a script that we enact habitually when we find ourselves at an edge, and we are in it as the recipients of the history of social and environmental effects of that script."\(^\text{76}\) This view of being involved in the apocalypse seems obvious to the religious and has become more apparent to the public through modern depictions of the apocalypse, bringing the words of the Book of Revelation to a new light.

Of course, there are many divergences in American apocalyptic belief, and many argue that this is secularizing the axioms of the end time. There are certainly examples where the movement has become more a point of mockery than of serious consideration. For example, famed talk-show host Stephen Colbert aired a segment entitled the "Four Horsemen of the A-Pop-Calypse," joking about apocalyptic predictions,\(^\text{77}\) and the popular show Parks and Recreation aired an episode called "The End of the World" in the wake of the Harold Camping millennium prediction which not-so-subtly marked his followers as cultic and simple-minded.\(^\text{78}\) Yet the fact that these jokes are comprehensible demonstrates that these ideas are pervasive. Others believe in different methods of secularization. Liverpool's Dr. John Walliss argues that modern displays of the apocalypse allow for human intervention, eliminate a savior, and save the world by use of technology, not by a miracle.\(^\text{79}\) While the critics argue that this broadening encapsulates that lack of theology which threatens religious eschatological belief, they forget that modern perspectives of many religious concepts are the result of changes over time, particularly changes caused by an ever-shifting society. The presentations of a typical Messiah, of God's reestablished kingdom, and even of Armageddon are not precise illustrations of Biblical doctrine, but they cannot be in order to grab a large audience. Instead, premillennialism must be deftly crafted to strike modern chords of fear and rid the doctrine of its denominational associations, thereby expanding its pull.\(^\text{80}\) By sublimating its religiosity, "premillennial dispensationalism exceeds the boundaries of the religious communities in which it was conceived and becomes a part of widespread popular belief."\(^\text{81}\) Part of this expansion involves the blurring of the boundary between secular and religious. There is a growing intermingling of these categories, so

---


79 Walliss, "Apocalypse at the Millennium," 74-75.

80 Ostwalt, "Visions of the End."

81 Rykholm, Rapture Culture, 28.
much so that secularists "can adopt apocalyptic imagery and ideas to frame their belief and actions . . . and religious movements can adopt secular ideas by interpreting current events through the prism of the classical myth that Revelation, for example provides." 82 For those who take this approach, secularization is a myth, a narrative for people too caught up in literality to realize that the message of premillennial dispensationalism is thriving by adaptation, and who are unable to see that modern depictions of the apocalypse are simply a new development, not a fundamental shift.

Writer Catherine Keller tells this story: "Waiting for a train in the third week of a record-breaking heat wave, I noticed a headline among the cheesier papers: 'Bible Predicts Worst-Ever Weather—Scriptures Forecast Dark Days Before World Ends' . . . Edified by the prophetic perspective on my perspiration, I thumbed through the paper, only to come upon a quite different application of the apocalypse—the pastor of the new First Church of Elvis, Presleyterian, predicting that 'Elvis will make his second coming at the end of the millennium.'" 83 Keller's tale humorously epitomizes the adaptability of the apocalypse narrative, a doctrine that has changed its depictions over time, though its fundamentals remain unchanged. Its ideas proceeded from ancient eschatology and reached full force in Protestant preacher John Nelson Darby's nineteenth century teachings. Since that time, the apocalypse has fluctuated, both in its popularity and in its vehicle, proceeding from a warning of the dangers of nuclear warfare to a commentary on mankind's ability to self-destruct, and to a fear of technological disaster. But while the plots of the apocalypse have changed, the premillennial doctrines of the nineteenth century linger, infusing all of the narratives with forms of cataclysm, assistance, salvation, and renewal. These themes have increased in popularity because they encapsulate contemporary fears about the downward spiral of society, and demonstrate that, though long thought to be dead or even designated as part of "the lunatic fringe," evangelical prophecy continues to make inroads in the "mainstream," altering the very nature of the definition of what "mainstream" is. 84 The doctrines of premillennialism continue to define American perceptions of the end of the world, particularly through popular media, showing that even in a world that considers itself the height of inventive modernity, tradition can still be the basis of belief.

Kelsey Samuelsen is a history student who has been at Brigham Young University since 2009. Her areas of interest within history include religious history and material culture. She has enjoyed supplementing her education with a number of internships, including with The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Church History Museum and the Historic Mayowood mansion in Rochester, Minnesota. Kelsey is from a small bucolic paradise in southern Arizona named Vail, complete with one stoplight and a Walgreens. Kelsey is the third child in her family to attend BYU. In her free time, Kelsey usually tries to catch up on sleep, but if she's feeling well-rested she will read or watch her favorite television shows. After graduation in April, Kelsey plans to attend graduate school in an undecided location, pursuing a master's degree in the history of material culture. This essay was written in History of Ideas taught by Dr. Paul Kerry.
The Thetean: A Student Journal for Scholarly Historical Writing, Vol. 42 [2013], Iss. 1, Art. 14

https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/thetean/vol42/iss1/14

118
An Enduring Force: The Photography of Laura Gilpin among the Twentieth-Century Navajo

Carlyle Schmollinger

While some artists travel the world in search of inspiration, Laura Gilpin found hers in the arid, desert landscape of the southwestern United States. Gilpin had an affinity for the Navajo. In 1968, eleven years before her death, she published the first edition of her seminal work, *The Enduring Navaho*.1 A feat in its own right, the collection of photographs and accompanying text was the product of many years spent among the peoples located in the Southwest region of the United States. In the epilogue to her book, Gilpin boldly proclaims her love of the Navajo when talking about the white man’s influence: “Some are simply leading a new kind of life, while many still continue their traditional way. Most young Navajo face this great change with sureness and confidence.”2 Gilpin lived among the Navajo at various points throughout her life; each time she documented different, but equally invaluable perspectives of daily life on the reservation.

An accomplished and relatively well-known photographer in her day, Gilpin drew attention to the resilient Navajo people and their culture through her work. Other photographers who traveled to Indian reservations, particularly during the nineteenth century, depicted local indigenous peoples as part of a

vanishing race. Edward Curtis, the most well-known of these earlier photographers, journeyed to the Southwest because he believed the Indians faced an imminent extinction (Figure 1). The most recognizable qualities of his work include representations of the stoic Indian chief, the noble savage, and the somber warrior riding off into an even more foreboding distance. Curtis captured images of what he believed were the remnants of an entire race; Gilpin, on the other hand, viewed the opposite. To the determined photographer Gilpin, the Navajo exhibited a desire to live and persevere greater than any other group of peoples she knew. Although some critics accused her of perpetuating stereotypes of Indian peoples, Gilpin's creative images, especially of the Navajo, reveal the inherent beauty of the peoples of the Southwest as viewed through their habitations, arts and crafts, and ceremonies.

The Navajo reservation, located in the Four Corners region, provided Gilpin a dichotomy of stark, geological formations and organic, earthen structures. The desert held a continuous and significant lure to Gilpin, who was born and raised in Colorado. Prior to venturing out and remaining indefinitely among the Navajo, Gilpin made several other personal and professional photographic expeditions throughout the West. Throughout her career, Gilpin used the landscape to create interesting compositions, whether it figured as the primary subject or as a captivating backdrop for other figures. For example, she photographed the ancient ruins and adobe homes of the Pueblo Indians, creating deeply contrasted areas with intense lighting and dense shadows (Figure 2). She succeeded in establishing a sense of grandeur not readily apparent in the dirt and rocks of the desert. As manifested in her photographs, Gilpin explored the relationship between individual and land. With considerable personal access to the peoples on the Navajo Nation, Gilpin captured intimate scenes of life in the home (Figure 3). Grandmothers caring for grandchildren, figures working in newly irrigated fields, men herding sheep against a seemingly vast background—these scenes comprise just a fraction of Gilpin's works showcasing the abundance and splendor of the land. Connecting the Navajo to the land seemed almost necessary for Gilpin. She began her final publication relating how the Navajo have endured after centuries of abuse: "The People felt a surge of hope as

---

4 Gilpin, The Enduring Navaho, 250.
5 Faris, Navajo and Photography, 138.
6 Forster and Gilpin, Denizens of the Desert, 6.
8 Gilpin, The Enduring Navaho, 79–104.

https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/thetean/vol42/iss1/14
they began to till new fields, to start new flocks, to build new hogans, and to live the free life which was the very essence of their being." Gilpin documented this intimate relationship with the land, in a manner impossible to accomplish without her unquestionable talent and skill. She created extraordinary photographs from decidedly ordinary activities. To her, the Navajo did not simply live in huts on a barren wasteland; they laid claim to each vista, canyon, and tree lying within their midst. They utilized every resource, as evidenced by the magnificent arts and crafts produced on the reservation.

Perhaps the most intriguing aspect of the Navajo—at least for fellow artist Gilpin—presented itself in the form of hand-woven textiles, tooled jewelry, and exquisitely-crafted vessels. Women assigned to the task of creating the exceptional tapestries assumed the central focus in Gilpin’s images involving the loom. Though the women may seem figuratively trapped in their role to the uninformed outsider, Gilpin’s photographs depict the contrary. The indelible skill exhibited by the weavers resonates throughout Gilpin’s images, with the women appearing content, even happy (Figure 4). In a letter to a friend, Gilpin’s longtime companion Elizabeth Forster expressed the following, which also adequately represented her partner’s ideas: “Some time ago I decided that I would get my friends to teach me to card, spin, and weave as all Navaho women do. . . . Each of my friends has to show me her own particular method and all must laugh at my awkward efforts.” The laborious process employed in textile production renders Forster’s assessment easily justifiable. Beginning with shearing the sheep, the women then engaged in washing, spinning, dyeing, and finally, weaving. The actual weaving of blankets, rugs, and other pieces of clothing required exceptional patience; not only did the women remain in a sitting position throughout the entirety of the process—of which completion time for a single piece ranged anywhere from a couple months to over a year—but they also memorized and retained numerous types of designs and patterns in order to create a variety of styles. Gilpin photographed the weavers approaching not as a stranger but as a close friend and confidant. She glorified the female weaver, showcasing the delicate movements of the hands, attention to detail, and enjoyment she derived from her occupation.

Gilpin exhibited the same care and creativity in her images of jewelry-makers. The focus of these photographs rests on the expertise of the silversmiths and the intricacy of their designs. By documenting both the artist at work and examples of the finished product, Gilpin promoted the long-established artistic traditions

9 Ibid., 19.
10 Forster and Gilpin, Denizens of the Desert, 82.
11 Gilpin, The Enduring Navaho, 134.
of the Navajo. The strategic placement of lighting softens features of individuals which thereby aids in creating a bond between subject and viewer (Figure 5). Gilpin’s admiration and respect for those she photographed reverberates especially in her images of artists, including potters and basket-makers. Though the art of pottery and basket-making continues to rapidly diminish among the Navajo, Gilpin sought to emphasize the importance of the awe-inspiring crafts. The beauty of the simple yet incredibly detailed forms, thoughtfully captured by Gilpin, is magnified in her photographs. Her considerate attitude toward the subject encourages a desire in the viewer to gather around the artist, learn more, and delight in the privilege of witnessing such an event. Gilpin documented not only Navajo potters, but also Pueblo Indian potters along the Rio Grande.12 Her careful attention to composition is evident in her work among the serene potters and basket-makers.

The intense focus demonstrated by the basket-makers derives from the special nature of the baskets’ use in ceremonies. Ceremonies, an integral part of the Navajo way of life, often elicit feelings of confusion and apprehension among those in the non-Native community, yet, those feelings dissipate when viewing Gilpin’s photographs. Rather than elaborating on the already mystical nature of the various ceremonies, she captured her subjects in such a way that makes them relatable to an otherwise ignorant audience. The medicine man or woman—an individual of significant importance on the reservation—appears not as a distant figure but an approachable, friendly person. Gilpin granted these individuals a human quality long absent in the collections of other photographers: emotion (Figure 6). The manner in which she framed the figure, allowing him or her to physically center the image and pushed the foreground even further towards the viewer, thereby fostering the connection between Native subject and non-Native observer. A smiling medicine man seems almost a contradiction to an ignorant public. The smile belies the importance of the figure; the medicine man assumed responsibility for the numerous ceremonies conducted on the reservation. As the caregiver and healer of the physical, mental, and spiritual ailments of the tribe, the medicine man or woman participated in all of the various ceremonies, committing to memory the required chants and blessings.13 Gilpin’s companion Forster proclaimed the following while witnessing the Yeibichai Chant: “The ‘stage’ illumined by the rosy light of many fires, the painted bodies and strange costumes of the dancers, their weird rhythmic and unmelodic song...and the

13 Gilpin, The Enduring Navaho, 213.
audience a dark mysterious mass on either side."

The scene described by Forster generally represented all Navajo ceremonies; excitement among the crowd quickly built at the thought of witnessing such a spectacle. However, though Gilpin attended several such ceremonies, her camera remained idle. Her refusal to photograph the sacred events of the Navajo stands as a testament of her respect for the peoples living on the reservation. The resulting images from her time at the ceremonies depict seemingly mundane activities; yet, true to her style, Gilpin managed to find the special in everyday life. She searched for the opportunity to photograph clusters of peoples as much as, if not more than, individuals. Women making fry bread at the ceremony became the focus rather than the ceremony itself. The dynamic of the figures frying bread, talking, and laughing with one another renders itself a captivating sight. Gilpin maneuvered her way into the circle, taking photographs as a friend rather than outsider. Like her compositions of landscape and artisans, Gilpin’s images of women gathered at ceremonies beckon the viewer to come closer, to experience the scene as though an invited guest. Gilpin’s ability to establish a sense of camaraderie with her subjects encouraged a relaxed, carefree demeanor for all involved, much unlike the stiff poses found in the images of earlier photographer Edward Curtis.

Part of Curtis’s campaign among the American Indians included trying to document all aspects of daily life, yet his attempts only furthered stereotypes of Native peoples. Curtis manipulated his Navajo subjects to reflect his pre-existing beliefs about their imminent extinction. Grim and lifeless portrayals of headdress-wearing, blanket-clad figures comprise the bulk of his collection. Along with blatantly taking advantage of the Navajo—at least regarding their physical appearances—Curtis staged the scenes, bringing in props and other excess items to create romantic portrayals of the indigenous peoples. The solitary Indian riding towards a fading sunset—a familiar trope of Curtis—symbolized the impending doom facing the Native peoples. A predecessor to pictorialism, characterized by blurred images, mystical themes, and the desire to express mood, Curtis’s photographs similarly feature seemingly otherworldly figures held static in the past. His photographs have a mysterious, almost spiritual quality to them; that mystery, or manipulation in this case, encouraged the perpetuation of stereotypes about Indians. Many have argued Gilpin’s photographs lie in the same vein, primarily due to her early years of working in the pictorialist style.

---

14 Forster and Gilpin, Denizens of the Desert, 49.
hearken back to the mystical, contrived photographs of Curtis. Yet, with the passage of time her style changed remarkably.

Gilpin abandoned the once-popular pictorialist style—particularly evident among the earlier photographic depictions of the Navajo—in exchange for clearer, sharper images. Gilpin’s primary objective during the course of her time on the reservation remained the same—depict the Navajo as enduring beings, not as members of a vanishing race. Her focus on the three aforementioned areas, habitation, arts and crafts, and ceremonies, identify her as a proponent of tradition as well as vitality. Living, breathing individuals appear in the majority of her works, with no place for the somber warrior and stoic chief (Figure 7). People endure, and the Navajo will endure. As Gilpin stated her epilogue to The Enduring Navaho: “We can but hope that those essential qualities that are the birthright of the Dinéh... will never be lost. Song and singing are the very essence of Navaho being, and as long as the Navaho keep singing, their tradition will endure.”

Laura Gilpin deserves a significant and respected position in the history of American art. She photographed the personal and intimate lives of the Navajo, only possible because of her genuine respect for the peoples of the Southwest. Her creative compositions and attention to detail have aided in destroying stereotypes of American Indians. Yet, her greatest achievement will forever be her photographic collection of an enduring people: the Navajo.

Carlyle Schmollinger is currently a senior graduating with a degree in art history and curatorial studies. While she is passionate about many aspects of art and art history, she is especially interested in Native American artists. She hopes to one day work in an environment that seeks out and supports Native art by Native artists. Photography particularly inspires her, as she is now trying to understand her own identity through using the camera. Her senior thesis is focused on the work of contemporary Native American photographer Zig Jackson. This essay was written in Twentieth-Century American Indian History taught by Dr. Jay Buckley.

16 Martha Sandweiss, Laura Gilpin: An Enduring Grace (Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum, 1986), 44.
17 Gilpin, The Enduring Navaho, 250.
Figure 1. Edward Curtis, “The Vanishing Race,” 1904, gelatin silver print.

Figure 2. Laura Gilpin, “At the San Ildefonso Pueblo, New Mexico,” 1927, platinum print, Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth, Texas.
Figure 3. Laura Gilpin, “Navaho Twins [Edith’s Babies]”
[Near Betatakin, Arizona], September 1953, gelatin silver print.
Figure 4. Laura Gilpin, “Old Lady Song Salt, Spinning, Navaho Mountain Area,” 1954, gelatin silver print.
Figure 5. Laura Gilpin, "A Navaho Silversmith," 1934, gelatin silver print.
Figure 6. Edward Curtis, "Hastobíga, Navaho Medicine-man," prior to 1930, photogravure.
Figure 7. Laura Gilpin, "Navaho Hands," 1953, gelatin silver print, Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth, Texas.
"Take Every Good": A Study of the Hidden Trends in the Latter-day Saint Indian Placement Program

Annie Penrod Walker

The Latter-day Saint Indian Placement Program unofficially started in 1947 when a seventeen-year-old Navajo girl named Helen John was having anger issues with her family in Richfield, Utah. Helen had been attending school on the Navajo reservation in Arizona for years, but that summer her father told her that once they returned to the reservation, she would have to stay home and work, allowing her younger siblings to have a chance at school. Upset and disappointed, Helen ran off in tears and was overheard by Amy Avery, the wife of the former Helen’s family was working for. Helen revealed her desire to be educated, to learn how to read and to continue going to school. Amy Avery called Gordon Buchanan, who had recently been called as the area coordinator of Latter-day Saints affairs in Richfield and Anasazi, how they could help Helen stay in Utah and attend school. After a surprise visit from Spencer W. Kimball, who had been adopted since by the Church among the Lamanites and was traveling home from a visit to Arizona, Buchanan and his family were asked if they would take Helen John in as one of their own. This began the first trial run of the LDS Indian Placement program.


"Take Every Good": A Study of the Hidden Trends in the Latter-day Saint Indian Placement Program

Annie Penrod Walker

The Latter-day Saint Indian Placement Program unofficially started in 1947 when a seventeen-year-old Navajo girl named Helen John was harvesting sugar beets with her family in Richfield, Utah. Helen had been attending school on the Navajo reservation in Arizona for years, but that summer her father told her that once they returned to the reservation she would have to stay home and work, allowing her younger siblings to have a turn at school. Upset and disappointed, Helen ran off in tears and was overheard by Amy Avery, the wife of the farmer Helen’s family was working for. Helen revealed her desire to be educated, to learn how to read, and to continue going to school.\(^1\) Amy Avery called Golden Buchanan, who had recently been called as the stake coordinator of Lamanite\(^2\) affairs in Richfield and discussed how they could help Helen stay in Utah and attend school. After a surprise visit from Spencer W. Kimball, who had been assigned to oversee the Church among the Lamanites and was traveling home from a visit to Arizona, Buchanan and his family were asked if they would take Helen John in as one of their own. Thus began the first trial run of the LDS Indian Placement program.

---


2 Mormons believed that the descendants of the Lamanites were the Native Americans, and therefore called the Indians Lamanites.
A quick study of the Latter-day Saint Placement Program reveals historical arguments over cultural assimilation, the loss of Indian culture, and the morality of the program. Going deeper into the study of the Placement Program, however, does not clarify these arguments, but instead the topic becomes more and more muddied, making it difficult to take a stand on whether the placement program was helpful or hurtful for Native Americans. Insight from a more recent source helps bring understanding to the conflicts of the program.

The main body of sources this paper uses come from a collection of approximately 160 Native American oral histories gathered from 1989 to 1991 by Farina King and other employees of the Charles Redd Center for Western Studies. Interviewees were members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, with the majority from the Navajo or Dine tribe, and all from Utah, Arizona, Nebraska, New Mexico, or Washington. The Redd Center sampled a range of lifestyles, including those who returned to the reservation, those who stayed in Utah, and even those who worked at Brigham Young University. Studying this recent source of Native American oral history interviews, three themes repeatedly surfaced that have been undervalued in current historiography. First is the number of Native Americans who were primarily baptized in order to go on placement, but with no desire to understand the Mormon religion. Secondly, that most Indians who went on placement became more appreciative of their culture and found correlations between Mormonism and their native Navajo religion. Lastly, the oral histories revealed the idea that placement was generational—that it fulfilled its duty to the generations of older participants who needed it and has since become unnecessary.

**CONTEXT AND HISTORIOGRAPHY**

Golden Buchanan and Spencer W. Kimball worked to transform Helen’s experiment into an entire program for the placement of Indian children, hoping to address the growing poverty and lack of effective education on Indian reservations. The Placement Program fit nicely into the greater national context of the time, as the federal government was making efforts to “‘Americanize’ Native Americans. This meant, in effect, replacing their “old ways” and cultural traditions with all the attributes of modern America’s economic and social system.” Native Americans had previously been exposed to the idea of their children

---

leaving the reservation, as federal boarding schools and foster programs had already been in place throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Some Indian families willingly sent their children to schools or programs, hoping to offer them the best opportunities, while other families had their children forcefully taken from them by eager Indian agents. In either instance, the main goal of these institutions was to "Kill the Indian, and save the man," by any means possible.

Some programs, however, declared their desire for acculturation rather than assimilation, trying to find a balance between two cultures rather than allowing one to dominate the other. Even in religious and federal Indian programs striving for assimilation, however, "Teachers expected students to conform by accepting white behavior patterns and attitudes, thus negating the children's own belief systems. This attitude implied the superiority of white culture and left some students ashamed of their heritage." These patterns of white superiority resulted in a complicated self-image for the Native Americans who participated in the Indian Placement Program.

Similar to the federal programs, the Latter-day Saint Program was meant to educate and civilize the Indian. LDS placement was unique in some ways, however, and must be viewed through the Mormon context in order to better understand the program. Mormons taught that the Book of Mormon, a book of scripture revealed to their prophet Joseph Smith, was written specifically for the Lamanites, who were seen as the ancestors of Native Americans, but who lost their way and fell into wickedness. Thus "Mormons have traditionally believed that they have a special responsibility for the welfare and conversion of all American Indian peoples." The early pioneers who migrated to Utah in the 1840's and 50's tried different ways to relate to their Indian neighbors, "They first combined their religiosity with various church programs including feeding and clothing the less fortunate natives," they also sought to establish special Indian farms, like the one Helen John's family worked on, and "the third approach was proselyting." These friendly efforts were not always practiced or well received,
but the doctrine they embodied would help lay the seeds for the acceptance of the placement program by Mormons and by Native Americans.

Even with the efforts of these Latter-day Saint programs, the needs of the Indians were not being met. Spencer W. Kimball, one of the early champions of the Indian Placement Program, became president of the Church in 1972, which brought the doctrine of the Lamanite even more into the spotlight. As awareness of the poor conditions on Indian reservations grew Latter-day Saint leaders began to respond "more institutionally to the needs of native Americans beginning in the late 1940s and 1950s. Building on earlier approaches, the Indian Placement Program came to address more modern needs and circumstances of reservation Indians."

Often in relation to the program, Kimball gave countless addresses about the Lamanites and the members' duty to aid them. In the Church's 1953 general conference Kimball offered an address entitled "The Lamanites are Progressing," stating:

The Lord bless the Lamanite people. They are a great people. They are intelligent, and I repeat my theme song: The difference between them and us is opportunity. It is your privilege and mine through education, through employment and every other means, and particularly through bringing the gospel of Jesus Christ in all kindness and brotherliness to them, to give them that opportunity which will make of them enlightened, faithful sons and daughters of God with all of the blessings which are promised to them.

Kimball argued that white members of the Church who had the financial means should offer educational and religious opportunities to the Indians through the program. Many members felt it was their duty to sacrifice and take in foster children, and in 1970 the Indian Placement Program hit its peak, serving about five thousand Indian students ranging from sixty-three different tribes. Spencer W. Kimball was a unique individual whose personality sheds light on some of the debates surrounding the program. Kimball believed, along with most members of the church, the Lamanites had fallen into sin, forgotten the true doctrine of the forefathers, and needed to be re-converted to restore their promised blessings. At the same time however, Kimball strongly believed that some aspects of Native culture were beautiful and should be celebrated,

---

8 Whitaker, 39.
as they were the promised royal people, hence he advocated pride in being a "Lamanite."  

Historians have been more mixed than Kimball in their studies of the program. The few studies that exist from the beginning and into the height of the program are general overviews or histories of the program. As criticisms of the morality of the program emerged, however, the historiography began to focus on the effects of the program, both the positive and negative for Indians and Mormons. Recent reviews of the program investigate the criticism that placement has resulted in negative psychological effects on Indians who participated, complicating the process of adolescent development as it "set an unrealistic expectation for a life that doesn’t exist on the reservation."  

Some of the literature argues that forcing adolescents to choose one culture over the other, by living with white families, was devastating to Indians, that it forced them "to think of themselves as good only when thinking that their families and heritage were bad." These are the common perceptions of placement, that it caused major issues among Native American identity. Other studies conclude, however, that placement was generally a success, that it achieved its goals and aided in furthering the Native American’s opportunities. The studies that view placement as positive conclude that negative feelings were generally due to a lack of information, or a lack of understanding of the goals and objectives of the program by both white foster families and Native Americans.

One of the most influential works of scholarship on the program provided a more defined evaluation of the long-term effects of placement by interviewing 138 placement students and comparing them to 85 who did not go on placement. Bruce A. Chadwick and his team compared religiosity, overall happiness, educational attainments, economic success, and psychological state. He found that, overall, placement participants had achieved a higher level of high school graduation and higher education than the non-placement group. They did not have a significantly more satisfying family life, but did seem to be more social and to have more friends. The difference in religiosity was only modest, and the "claims that serious psychological problems are caused by placement


13 Morgan, 209.

14 Howard Rainer, "An Analysis of attitudes Navajo community leaders have toward a religion sponsored program based upon membership of the faith and amount of information attained," (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1976).
participation were not supported in this study. . . . All things considered, participation in the ISPS had a modestly positive, long-term influence on the lives of Indian young people. In only rare instances, such as arrest rate, did participation prove to be a liability.”

The scholarship on the LDS Indian Placement Program aids in increasing understanding of the program and its effects, but also reveals the thinness of the historiography and the need for future studies to fill in the missing pieces. My study of the program aims to help this process by presenting arguments that have yet to be thoroughly discussed or considered. In addition, my body of sources has not been extensively used in any work on the program, thus providing new perspectives to the experiences of the Native Americans. The Charles Redd Center interviews were not strictly about placement, but were general life histories, asking about family, school, and life on the reservation. They also focused on cultural clashes between Mormons and Native Americans, especially regarding missionary work on reservations and any discrimination Indians felt within the Mormon Church. The fact that the placement program came up in the majority of these interviews, more than half had participated in the program and more knew people who had, suggests its significance in the life of these Navajo Indians. A few of the individual interviews are found in present scholarship, but most of the interviews have not been used in any study of the placement program.

Studying this neglected source of interviews revealed important holes in the history of the program that have not been emphasized in previous scholarship. Understanding the culture of baptizing as a ticket out of the boarding schools or off the reservation helps reveal why many Native Americans struggled on placement. Second, previous studies have not emphasized the fact that placement actually helped some students understand their Indian identity and come closer to their native culture. And though the program suffered severe criticism towards the end of the twentieth century, the idea of placement as generational—fulfilling its duty to the generations it was meant for and then slowly becoming irrelevant—suggests another key reason for its eventual disappearance.

**Placement by Rapid Immersion**

Two years after Spencer W. Kimball officially announced the program in 1954, complaints from the Hualapai Indians in Arizona were brought to the

Bureau of Indian Affairs, claiming that Mormon missionaries were using the Indian Placement Program as a proselyting tool to conduct mass baptisms.\textsuperscript{16} These complaints not only foreshadowed some of the problems and criticisms the program faced in the future, but they revealed the important culture that developed from rapid baptisms on reservations in connection with placement. Because placement students were required to be members of the Church, the age of acceptance was set at eight—the age of baptism for Latter-day Saints. Early in the program these eight-year-olds made up the majority of students, but the age requirement came under strong criticism in the late 1970s for two major reasons. The first was that these children were leaving their native homes at a very young age, usually before they had the opportunity to understand their own culture. Because of this, the age of acceptance was changed to eleven in 1984 and eventually fourteen in 1986. The second major criticism harked back to the Hualapai’s initial concerns—that the missionaries on Indian reservations were using placement as a proselyting tool as a reward for anyone who was baptized. President Kimball and the program directors tried to address these concerns by re-training missionaries and involving caseworkers in the recruiting process. Despite their efforts, however, the placement program created a unique baptism culture among Native Americans.

Many children who got baptized to go on placement without any understanding of the Mormon religion, and who did not experience any true conversion while on placement, usually returned to the reservation disengaged from the Mormon religion. Jimmy Benally, a Navajo who grew up near Shiprock, New Mexico, discussed how he was baptized to go on placement, and how he witnessed so many others get baptized, go on placement, then come back and have nothing to do with the Church. After placement, Jimmy went inactive in the Church, but eventually decided to serve a Latter-day Saint mission and was called to the Southwest Indian Mission, which included Arizona and New Mexico. He says that as a missionary he discovered the quota rule, “we just signed up kids and baptized them to go on placement. You’ll just find that a lot of kids that were on the LDS Placement Program really weren’t converted to the church. They just went to attend a school. When they quit the placement program, they just became regular people.”\textsuperscript{17} This phenomenon, the quick rush to get baptized for school without a desire to learn of the Church or continue as a member after placement, added to the numbers who participated in placement but eventually no longer identified as Mormons. It also created difficult cultural and religious

\textsuperscript{16} Allen, 95.

\textsuperscript{17} Jimmy N. Benally, interview by Odessa Neamn, transcript, 18 July 1990, LDS Native American Oral History Project, Charles Redd Center for Western Studies, Brigham Young University, 3.
clashes for the children, as they were unaware of the demands or expectations that their active Mormon foster families would have for the Indians who were supposed to be converted.

Though a large number of students were ignorant of the religious demands they would face in the placement program when they were baptized, others thrived as new Latter-day Saints in their foster homes. Wallace Brown, who attended school in five different Utah cities, including Taylorsville and Trenton, recalls being baptized before being placed, “Apparently they had to baptize us before we could go. There was no testimony or anything involved in this. We were hustled into the program.” Through the Indian Placement Program and his foster families, Brown came to an understanding of the doctrine of the Church and has remained a strong and active member, but laments the many who were ignorantly baptized.

Though there were some children on the reservations who were truly converted before their baptism, their example often gave other children a reason to follow ignorantly. Olivia Ben, who was born in Shanto, Arizona, recalls how her older brother read The Book of Mormon and asked to be baptized because he felt it was true. Olivia remembers him going to Lake Powell with a group of kids from the reservation, “getting dunked,” and coming back baptized. From then on, “every time it rained the little puddles, we’d all get baptized.” This became a common culture on the reservations, that every time there was some water, everyone was “getting baptized.” After her two older brothers went on placement to California, Olivia begged her mother for a chance to go. She claims, “I went through the whole missionary lessons, and I didn’t really understand what was going on. I just knew that if I got baptized that was my ticket to California.”

This idea of seeing baptism as either a ticket out of reservation life or a ticket to a new and exciting place, the program created a culture of quick reservation baptisms. Unfortunately, these quick baptisms did not always reap positive benefits. Edouardo Zondajas, a Navajo from Omaha, Nebraska, who was baptized before he knew about placement, attributes the rush into baptism as one of the major reasons so many students returned home with a disdain for the program.

Students not only dealt with the cultural shock of leaving their native homeland.

18 Wallace Brown, interview by Farina King, 10 November 2007, LDS Native American Oral History Project, BYU, 10.
20 Olivia Ben, 3.
and joining a white society, but they also entered into a major religious change and were expected to follow certain rules.

**FINDING RATHER THAN LOSING IDENTITY**

Though some Native Americans struggled with balancing two cultures and religions, one of which they knew very little about, others were able to strengthen their identity as both a Native American and a Mormon through the program. As they experienced the outside world, they became more appreciative of their culture and found correlations between Mormonism and their native religion, ultimately strengthening their belief and understanding of both cultures.

One of the misconceptions of the placement program is that its goal was to stamp out any traditional culture, religion, or language of Indians. Though not always practiced, the theory of the program was in fact to allow students to find the best in both cultures. Unlike most federal Indian boarding schools, Native Americans in the program were allowed, and even encouraged, to speak their native language when appropriate. The Indian Student Guide states “refrain from speaking in your Indian language with other students when there is someone present who does not understand, unless you are trying to teach them the language. We encourage you to speak in your own language when the situation is such that no one will be hurt.” It goes on to say, “Feel free to talk with people about your home and family so they will understand you and your people.” The goals of placement were clearly not to rid the Indian entirely of language and culture, but instead to encourage a mutual understanding between Native Americans and foster families.

The program also put a focus on the foster family’s role in creating this mutual understanding, but could not ensure success in every situation. The guide for foster parents states “The Indian students and foster family can benefit from each other by accepting the best of both cultures.” It also implores foster families to “help your Indian student be proud of his home, parent, and heritage. He should be helped in accepting the best of both cultures.” Unfortunately foster families did not always know how to connect with their Indian students, nor were they comfortable talking about a culture they did not

understand. Most Indian students started out quiet and passive, unsure of how to express themselves in this foreign society that valued competition, punctuality, and self-importance—values looked down upon in their traditional society. Audrey Boone struggled forming a relationship with her foster mother who tried to pry conversation out of her, even spanking her to get Audrey to talk. But most students, including Audrey, had an easier time relating to their foster siblings, who Audrey explains was a “kid just like me . . . I could play and talk with them.” These relationships aided in helping Indian students adjust to their new home, and eventually many were able to find a beneficial relationship with their foster families.

One of the breakdowns in the communication of the placement program’s goal to “accept the best of both cultures” came in the confusing Mormon doctrine of Native Americans as Lamanites. In the Book of Mormon the Lamanites are seen as “wicked people” and are cursed with dark skin, though they can become white again when they repent of their sins. Though the ‘Lamanites’ change from good to bad throughout the book “Lamanite thus carries a potentially pejorative meaning in Mormon thought. It seems to equate white skin with goodness and dark skin with wickedness and savagery. The imagery has helped create a view of contemporary native Americans as inferior.” A proclamation in 1845 by the Twelve Apostles of the LDS Church described the state of the Lamanite people as the “despised and degraded son of the forest.” Many Mormons struggled to get over this conditioned prejudice, and to not just pity or tolerate the Native Americans but to accept them as their own brother, sister, and even children. Some Indians struggled too, knowing they were viewed as lost or fallen people, but others were able to find parallels between their traditional Navajo religion and the doctrine of Mormonism. The Book of Mormon also states that the gospel of Jesus Christ will be taught to the descendants of the Lamanites, believed to be the Native Americans, and that they will become clean and powerful, restored to their previous state as God’s chosen people. In the Book of Mormon, Native Americans found “an explanation for their low social and economic status” while also finding hope in “the ultimate promise of salvation and honored status.”

Better understanding their history as a people and “their inherent position in

27 Whitaker, 34.
28 “Proclamation of the Twelve Apostles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints,” April, 6, 1845.
Church Scripture provide[d] them with a sense of acceptance, belonging, and importance”⁴⁹ both in the Mormon world and in the traditional society.

Though the students did not always understand the program’s objective of having Native Americans and foster families benefit from one another, the exposure to mainstream education and a strong Mormon home created an environment where both cultures were giving and receiving. Brenda Beyal had no desire to go on placement, but intended to continue living with her mother and grandmother on the reservation. Her mother, however, pushed her into placement telling her “Go and learn. Go and glean what you can. Bring the very best back with you. We’re sending you because we love you.” Her mother knew the importance of her children gaining what education they could and bringing it back with them. When asked if she struggled between feeling white or Indian, Brenda said, “I don’t think I had a problem with wanting to be white; I just knew that the white people had something to offer and I was willing to take what I could.”³⁰ Though not always successful, this collaborative learning was the main goal of the program, and many were able to use it to their advantage.

Besides a greater knowledge of white society and the Mormon religion, those who went on placement tended to respect their traditional culture much more than those who had remained at home.³¹ Stephanie Chiquito who was placed in Preston, Idaho, was asked about her Indian culture and she responded, “I’m proud of it, I think being on placement program and being away from home made me appreciate my culture more and made me become more aware of it. I don’t think I would have been aware of it if I had stayed at home on the reservation. I think I took it for granted in a lot of ways. Now I see how important it is.”³² Many interviewees revealed that when they returned home for the summers, those who had not participated in placement tended to be more ashamed of some of the Indian ways, especially religious or traditional ceremonies, whereas those from placement valued these ceremonies more.

Though there were some major cultural differences between whites and Indians, for example competitiveness, punctuality, and self-value, some Indians were able to recognize similarities between the cultures and religions. Daisy

---

Baptisto recognized that the Mormon culture of the family and the church often worked together just as the Native Americans did. Wallace Brown also saw similarities: “Knowing what I know about the traditional and cultural teachings of the Dine, if the Dine people knew for sure the ceremonials, the songs, and the prayers for real, they would understand that [the Mormon religion] was the only way that our people could preserve the teachings and prophecies that were going to come to pass.” Olivia Ben remembered traditional Navajo stories like the man in a big fish and made connections to the lessons of the gospel, like Jonah and the whale. She stressed the importance of reconciling the two religions: “there’s so much to grasp from the Navajo culture . . . . There is so much similarity. In a lot of ways there’s no way to really interpret it into English. You just have to know how to speak it [Navajo] and what it means. This relates to the temple ceremony when they’re telling the creation story. It has deep personal meaning that cannot be said during the summer months.” Emery Bowman had a similar experience after returning home one summer. He sat down with his father to ask about some of the Mormon doctrines and how they connected to Navajo traditions. Bowman came away from placement not just having pride in his Indian heritage, but better understanding of the role of the Native Americans and the sacredness of his culture. His identity had not been taken from him, but rather he had found his identity through placement.

As much as possible, President Spencer W. Kimball tried to reinforce this celebration of Indian identity and culture. In a newspaper article entitled “Lord Calls you His Own: ’A Special Promise to Lamanite Youth,” he states “The Lord calls you His own. The word Lamanite is a glorious appellation. Be proud of your heritage. Never hang your head, but be proud you’re a Lamanite.” The article quotes a girl who’s Indian name is Yellow Horse, stating:

Six years ago I didn’t want to even tell anyone my name. I hated it, and probably my people. Now through the gospel of Jesus Christ and a study of The Book of Mormon I am proud to tell people my name and I say loudly, “I Love my People.” As I read

33 Daisy Baptisto, interview by Deborah Lewis, 1 January 1990, LDS Native American Oral History Project, BYU.
34 Wallace Brown, 18.
35 Olivia Ben, 4.
36 Emery Bowman, interview by Deborah Lewis, 27 January 1990, LDS Native American Oral History Project, BYU.
37 “‘Lord calls you his own’ A special promise to lamanite youth,” The Deseret News May 10, 1975.
The Book of Mormon I can see the people who lived then, and there are people today who are living like those did. I love my own family and my foster family. 38

Though not everyone's story went like this, there were many who finally understood their place in the world, or between two worlds, through the help of the Indian Placement Program. So what was so different about these students that helped them have such positive experiences? Of course there are many answers, from the environment of their natural home, to their foster home, to the influence of siblings, and their ability to adapt and change. Emery Bowman, for example, explains how people would think he was white because of his personality. He quickly learned that white society did not value quietness and humility the way Native American culture did. He became more outspoken and was willing to try new things. Bowman and others, like Florence Billy who attended school in Salem, Utah, decided early on to not let racism bother them. They accepted who they were and said, “This is what’s what,” anyone who thinks differently that is their problem, not mine. 39 Of course not every student could easily set aside their feelings of isolation or misunderstanding, and adapt to their new surroundings, but those who could were able to make great gains through the program.

Many critics of the program blame the discrimination that Emery Bowman and Florence Billy avoided as a lasting negative consequence on Indians that went through the program. Surprisingly, the white students were generally supportive of the placement students; rather, it was the Indians remaining on the reservation who became a major cause of strife in the placement program. James Lee Dandy tells of his experiences in Tremonton where his fellow white students treated him like a king, carrying his books from class to class and fighting over who would help him with homework. 40 Audrey Boone, who attended school in West Jordan, Utah, discussed how the ward took her in instantly, and some even favored her. 41 Arguably, these examples could be seen as racist as the students were treated differently, whether better or worse, because of their race. The students were sure to feel some distinction either way, but oppressive discrimination was not as rampant as one would think.

Some of the biggest problems actually came when the placement students returned home to the reservation for the summers. James Dandy tells how friends and family at home took some time to re-adjust to returning placement

38 Ibid.
40 James Lee Dandy, 7.
41 Audrey Boone, 5.
kids. Those on the reservation thought the placement kids were "too good, too Anglo, or too Mormon" but Edouardo Zendejas says that idea wore off pretty quickly and soon it was as if the kids had never left, soon reverting to their native ways. When placement students came home and their friends and family were not attending church, they would quickly get out of the habit and "take the summer off." Some reservations students however, after hearing stories about foster homes and schools from the placement kids, decided they wanted to go have a good time on placement. This caused problems between the student and foster families when they realized it was not all just a good time, and most of these students did not return the next year.

The strife among Indians on the reservation, and the struggle some students had in balancing their Native culture with white society, brought the program under attack in the 1970s. Critics argued that the traditions, cultures, and psychological well being of Native Americans were being sacrificed at the expense of increasing the number of Mormons in the West. The Indian Child Welfare Act of 1976 shut down Indian foster programs throughout the country, but allowed for the LDS program to continue as it required the consent of the student and the Native Parents and because it had the students returning home at the end of each school year. The Indian Child Welfare Act however did raise questions asking, "does the program prepare Indians for leadership positions in Indian communities or provide escape from reservation life through integration into non-Indian society? Is education or acculturation to Mormon beliefs and lifestyles the major purpose of the program?" These questions called for a review of the major goals of the program.

James B. Allen states "the major goals of the placement program were to help LDS students gain the education needed to succeed in the modern world and to help them understand and live more fully the religious principles of the church." George P. Lee, the famous Native American General Authority who went through the Indian Placement Program, expressed an additional implicit goal in the Parent's Guide to the Indian Student Placement Program: "I learned that I could be proud of my heritage and rise above the problems that have kept my people from progressing. One of my greatest discoveries was that the gap separating Indians from whites could be bridged and that I could compete, excel, and be accepted in a white community while retaining my uniqueness and

42 James Lee Dandy, 7.
44 Allen, 112.
identity as an Indian." President Kimball had planned on Native Americans receiving education and instruction in the LDS Church and then teaching their children and families in that way, building up and strengthening the American Indian. But even with the clear understanding of its goals, many despise the program, believing it stamped out the Native culture of the Indian and tore apart Indian families.

**Placement as Generational**

One of the most interesting ways President Kimball’s goals for education and instruction were assessed was when the interviewers asked whether the interviewee would send his or her own children on placement. Each Native American said no, but not because of negative experiences, they simply believed it was unnecessary now. They argued that because they (the parents) had gone on placement, they were prepared to teach their own children lessons of the gospel and of white society and had no need of placement. They had learned all that they needed to teach and raise their own children in a successful, and often Mormon way. This idea that placement was generational, that it fulfilled its duty to the generations who needed it and was now unnecessary, aids in explaining the decline of the program. Most of the literature claims that the program ended (though it never "officially" ended) because people realized how immoral it was. Though this was part of it, the idea that the Indian Placement Program was a generational program greatly adds to the understanding of its dissolution.

Also, as education on reservations and surrounding areas improved and placement students brought their knowledge back to improve their families, the placement program became irrelevant. When asked if she would send her children on placement, Brenda Beyal also said no, that their generation, the generation of today, has enough opportunities. She claims that now parents have “tools in our little parent tool bag to raise our children in the gospel and raise our children to value education. I think that time [when children went on placement] is passed.” During Brenda’s generation, education was not valued on the reservation as much as working in their native agricultural societies. The presence of the placement program helped families understand the advantages a strong education could give Indians. Brenda’s statement clearly references the two main goals of placement, to help raise children in the gospel and to value

---

46 Brenda Beyal, 4.
education. In her interview, Olivia Ben references a quote by President Gordon B. Hinckley that states, “take every good that you have and let the church build upon it.” Through the generations of placement participants, there were many who followed that call, finding the best of both cultures and no longer needing placement to provide their families greater opportunities.

With the changing generation, American philosophy towards Native Americans also began to change. As the Native American was seen as adaptable and strong, boarding schools were better regulated and funded, and reservation schools improved. This improvement in education and the ability of the Indian to better interact with white society reduced the need for Indians to work through foster families. Many of the oral history interviews suggest that eventually reservation schools became more effective and students would first choose to stay at home and attend school rather than leave their home. Some historians attribute the decline of the Indian Placement Program to the Mormon Church’s 1972 decision to remove missionaries as recruiting agents and the 1984 decision to limit the program to children from ages eleven to eighteen. By the 1980s the program was cut in half, serving about 2,500 students and by 1992 it was only serving about 400 students. The last student graduated in 2000, when the program unofficially ended. Instead of the Church officially ending the program due to criticism, Native Americans controlled the ending through their levels of participation. With better educated parents and improved schools, Indians quickly decreased their involvement with placement, revealing its irrelevance. With mounting criticism and the changing procedures in the 1980s, the placement program was definitely dwindling, but it clearly aligns with the idea that the generations among the Church and Native Americans were moving away from placement.

Though the program no longer exists, the positive and negative effects are still widely felt. One of the biggest questions critics still ask concern ethnic identity and the loss of native culture among placement participants. Bruce A. Chadwick’s study revealed, “participation was associated with higher general happiness and a stronger perception of being at ease in the white world. It was also related to a modest lessening of Indian identity.” As the Native Americans became more competent in the white world, and the more years they spent on placement, the less comfortable they felt in the Indian world. Ninety-one percent of placement participants in Chadwick’s study stated they felt they “completely” fit in or fit in “pretty well,” whereas almost the entire control group felt

47 Allen, 117.
48 Chadwick, 303.
they "completely" fit in. The question that cannot be universally answered is whether this uncomfortable feeling was worth the gains from the program.

From the start of Helen John's desire for education and the sacrifices made by the Buchanan family, the Indian Placement Program lasted for fifty years and served over 15,000 Indian students. The sacrifices made by foster families and the natural parents caused many stresses and tensions between the two cultures. Though each individual's experience was personal, the more information revealed about the program increases the understanding and reconciliation of long lasting effects on individuals involved, the LDS Church, and the United States. By uncovering neglected sources and comparing them to current historiography, the themes of rapid baptism, strength in a dual identity, appreciation of culture, and the generational transition of placement are highlighted and expand our understanding of the program's beginning, effects, and ultimate decline.

Annie Walker is a history teaching major who plans to teach history and dance to high school students, helping develop young minds and inspiring them to learn and grow. She has a deep passion for history and the cultures, contradictions, and personalities of the past. She is one of six children from southern California, five of which attend BYU. She has danced on the BYU Ballroom Dance Company for the past three years and has taught ballroom dance at BYU for two years. She is married and loves traveling with her husband, who fortunately loves history just as much as she does. This essay was written for the History Capstone taught by Dr. Craig Harline.
Students at the Navy Japanese Language School at Boulder, Colorado.

Katherine White

On their last day of class at the US Navy Japanese Language School (USNJLS or JLS), Captain Roger Pineau and his fellow classmates waited in a room on the second floor of the University of Colorado library. They had spent the last eleven months immersed in a rigorous study of the Japanese language, and today their teachers had promised a sample of what they would experience as Japanese-language officers in the Pacific War. The six students sat intently as their conversation sensei (teacher) entered the classroom, removed a Japanese newspaper from his briefcase, placed his pocket watch on the table, and began a fifty-five minute reading, without pause.¹

Sweat began seeping "from every pore" as Pineau realized he understood only about a quarter of the words.² When the sensei finished, he folded the paper into his briefcase, pocketed his watch, wished the students go-kigen'yo (good luck), and departed. "We sat there in a state of communal shock," Pineau explained, "We rose, moving out of the room and down the stairs, in a sort of zombie-like trance. I suppose we were all conjuring up the horror of being confronted with a combat situation."³

2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
When the students reached the open air, a fellow classmate turned to Pineau. "Rog, if I were on a flagship and was summoned by the admiral to listen to a Japanese radio broadcast like that, I know just what I'd do," he declared. "I'd sit down in front of the radio speaker, and listen intently for about half a minute. If what I heard was coming out like Sensei's reading, I'd stand up, look the admiral square in the eye and say, 'Sir, the dirty bastards have switched to Korean.'"4

Roger Pineau was one of over 1,600 Navy, Marine, and WAVES (Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service) officers trained in written and spoken Japanese at the Navy's language school in Boulder, Colorado. The Boulder school was but one of fourteen similar wartime military language programs, but in many ways it was unique. Unlike the Army, who chose to employ Japanese-American officers, the Navy program was restricted to Caucasian applicants. This meant that the majority of JLS students had to learn the language mostly, if not all, from scratch, which they somehow did more quickly and in greater numbers than Army Caucasian linguists—and with remarkable success.5 By its closing in late 1946, the JLS had produced over 1600 graduates, ninety percent of whom left as commissioned officers. These graduates would go on to intercept, decrypt, translate, and interpret Japanese radio traffic; translate captured Japanese documents; and interrogate Japanese POWs. Their roles in the Pacific, however, went beyond life-taking to life-saving. When the fighting stopped, they became instruments of surrender and agents of occupation in a country and empire whose defeat had seemed inevitable, but at a cost no one could have imagined in 1941. Boulderites—as USNJLS graduates were known amongst their military peers—were instrumental in creating clinics for wounded Japanese prisoners, negotiating the surrender of Japanese units, and arranging the repatriation of prisoners. As one scholar explains, "The behavior of Navy and Marine Japanese-language officers toward Japanese prisoners and civilians has been described as sympathetic, sensitive, and through their knowledge of the culture and society, extremely effective. Former Japanese POWs kept up long friendships or spent lifetimes seeking out their former captors in order to offer thanks."6 Their stories show us that the Pacific was not pure savagery but was also an arena for great humanity.7

4 Ibid.
5 Dingman, 233.
7 Carole E. and Irwin L. Sleznick, Kanji and Codes: Learning Japanese for World War II (Self Published).
For many years, the details of the interrogation, translation, and cryptanalysis performed by Japanese-language intelligence officers were largely unknown. Because the JLS was conducted with the regulations and conditions of a war-time project, certain events were not recorded or publicized when they occurred; other data were withheld from public knowledge by the Navy Department. Even when the State Department declassified WWII military documents in 1972, researchers found that many U.S. Marine Corps, Navy, and Army units had destroyed records of Japanese-language military intelligence service in their outfits.

In an effort to remedy these deficiencies, in the mid-nineties several JLS graduates began collecting documents related to the school, feeling strongly that their stories were important to WWII history. The University of Colorado soon joined in, initiating a broad effort to document the program and the careers and contributions of its participants, instructors, and administrators.

Since then only a few major projects have dealt with the collection, many the work of JLS graduates for memoirs and autobiographies—like Roger Dingham’s Deciphering the Rising Sun: Navy and Marine Codebreakers, Translators, and Interpreters in the Pacific War and Irwin L. Sleznick’s Kanji and Codes: Learning Japanese for World War II—that largely focus on the linguists’ experiences in active duty. Their stories, Dingham argues, are telling evidences to the importance of the armed services maintaining effective foreign language training programs in peace and war. Donald Irish’s sociological study “Reactions of Residents of Boulder, Colorado to the Introduction of Japanese into the Community” also drew heavily from the collection. Irish focuses mainly on the Boulder community and their perspective of the school’s Japanese and Japanese American instructors. Drawing from local newspaper articles, Irish chronicles an extensive PR campaign designed by the military to ensure the sensei’s safe reception in Boulder. The campaign, he argues,
was ultimately successful. Despite early tensions, he concludes, residents eventually put aside prejudice for patriotism as welcoming the sensei became Boulder’s “war work.”

Together these theses, articles, and books constitute an extensive new chapter in WWII intelligence historiography, but they have by no means exhausted the possibilities for meaningful inquiry into the contributions of the JLS. Archival texts documenting the development, organization, and curriculum of the Boulder school illustrate a far deeper legacy than mere wartime utility. As 1940s American propaganda trumpeted anti-Japanese rhetoric and flashed racist stereotypes of subhuman fanatics, the Boulder school became a focal point for cross-cultural exchange between white American students and Japanese-American sensei that resulted in a unique atmosphere of acceptance and understanding. JLS students read Japanese poetry, history, and literature, participated in Japanese festivals, and engaged in weekly screenings and discussions of Japanese cinematic masterpieces. In true historical irony, the school built to “weaponize” the Japanese language engendered a humanized image of Japan that changed the way naval language officers saw the war and their role in it.

When fighting ended, academics across the country took advantage of the program’s success by adopting the pedagogical methods developed by naval and academic administrators in Boulder. Leading this movement were JLS graduates whose experiences in the context of war begat a lifelong interest in and appreciation for Japan. Many returned to civilian life and went on to illustrious careers in Asian languages, humanities, and the social sciences. The resumes of other graduates reveal that their war experiences opened doors outside of academia. They became international lawyers, businessmen, art dealers, authors, and ambassadors. For these graduates, Boulder gave their lives new purpose, inspiring them to play an active and ongoing role in building a global community through education.

**History and Development of the Navy’s Japanese Language Schools**

United States win the war.” Arntson’s work thus provides a unique example of the contradictions and complexities of race on the American home front.


14 Pineau, “Words at War.”

https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/thetean/vol42/iss1/14
Japanese-language training in American military branches began in 1905. After Japan's unexpected victory over the powerful Russian Empire that same year, U.S. officials quickly noticed significant deficiencies in American intelligence capabilities concerning the island nation. In early spring of 1906, the US State Department began educating a small number of Foreign Service, Army, and Navy officers in a Japanese-language course in Tokyo. Selection of these early students was often haphazard and the instruction casual, often left to the initiative of the student. Needless to say, their progress was sluggish. By early 1940, concerns about America's preparedness for war with Japan grew as amiable relations gave way to diplomatic tensions. A 1941 review of naval forces reported that sixty-five percent of the few dozen trained by the military had lost their language competence. Final tallies determined that only twelve officers in the U.S. Navy were adequately proficient in spoken and written Japanese.

Seeking to remedy the situation, the Army and Navy began scrambling to design courses for training officers in writing, reading, and speaking Japanese. In February of 1941 the Navy called upon A. E. Hindmarsh, assistant professor of international law at Harvard and previous attaché in Japan. Hindmarsh's first step was to develop a curriculum capable of meeting the Navy's formidable demands for language specialists of both quality and quantity. He naturally looked to the philosophies of Naoe Naganuma, an aging teacher he had met while an attaché. In the early 1920s, Naganuma had become popular among many U.S. Army, Navy, and State Department students for his scientific approach to the teaching of Japanese. As a fellow teacher remarked in 1931, Naganuma's ultimate goal was for his students to "frame [their] thoughts and actions through, in, and with that foreign language, not merely to learn about that foreign language." In application, this philosophy meant that the study of Japanese grammar was minimized, if taught at all. Speaking skills were taught primarily through context, and students were encouraged to look to situational cues for appropriate speech patterns. When one student asked "Why is the language constructed this way?" Naganuma tellingly responded, "Because that the way we say it!" It was not enough for students to talk like the Japanese, he argued; they had to think like the Japanese. In 1929, Navy funding allowed Naganuma to compile the first three volumes

16 Pineau. Words at War, 8.
17 Roger Pineau, "Officer Training in Naval Intelligence." Roger Pineau Collection. Norlin Library, University of Colorado, Boulder, CO.
18 Harold E. Palmer, Forward to Hyojun Nihongo Tokuhon (June 1931), xi.
19 Ibid.
of a meticulously planned course. His *Hyojun Nihongo Tokuhon*, or “Standard Japanese Reader,” relied on a combination of traditional Japanese folktales and histories, as well as practical conversation exercises that placed students in the middle of a Japanese store, train station, or classroom. This was exactly the type of practicality Hindmarsh wanted for the Navy’s program.

The Naganuma course, however, normally required three years for students immersed in Tokyo, where they had ample opportunity to hear and practice the language. The pressures of encroaching war, however, deprived Hindmarsh of such luxuries. In July of 1941, Hindmarsh proposed to his superiors a plan that would shorten the Tokyo course by 24 months. Students at the JLS were thus required to learn in one year what had taken pre-war language officers to learn in three. This adaptation was possible, he believed, under ruthlessly specific conditions. All “easy-roads,” gadgets, shortcuts, and extraneous academic theory—the “tommy-rot which had characterized the teaching of language in the US for generations”—were rejected. The standards for admission to the program were also intensified. Hindmarsh turned to top universities and academic institutions; there, he believed, genius awaited. Between March and June of 1941, Hindmarsh located fifty-six Caucasian persons with a knowledge of Japanese sufficient enough to form the nucleus of the new naval Japanese-language course. On August 1, 1941, he submitted his Naganuma-based curriculum to his superiors and recommended establishing two training centers, one at Harvard University and the other at the University of California, Berkeley. A few months later the Director of Naval Intelligence and the Chief of the Bureau of Navigation approved Hindmarsh’s plan, and on October 1, 1941 the US Navy Japanese Language Schools at Harvard and Berkeley opened their doors to the first class of scholars.

Initial experiments in Cambridge, however, did not go as smoothly as Commander Hindmarsh had hoped. Problems immediately surfaced when established professors refused to alter their teaching methods to fit the curriculum outlined in the Navy contract. Harvard had long used an abstract, theory-based approach to language learning. Professors focused on antiquated written characters and vocabulary, suitable in the world of academics but less than ideal when it came to producing graduates with a practical command of the spoken language. This was exactly the type of impracticality Hindmarsh had hoped to avoid. One of the first lessons in the Harvard text, for example, taught the proverb, “An ogress at

21 Hindmarsh, 6.
22 Ibid.
23 Hindmarsh, 7.
eighteen—second-grade tea in its first infusion,” meaning, “Even an ugly woman is beautiful at a tender age.” An amusing anecdote, perhaps, but Hindmarsh knew lusty proverbs would be of little use on the battlefield. When several of these Harvard students failed their midterm evaluations in November of 1941, Hindmarsh decided not to renew the Harvard contract. In 1942, the Navy Japanese language school in Cambridge came to a close.

Berkeley, by contrast, was in Hindmarsh’s eyes an unblemished success. There, Japanese-language professor Florence Walne developed a program true to the philosophies espoused by Naganuma, and thoroughly in line with the Navy’s aims. An early draft of her course proposal emphasized precisely the kind of immersion the Navy wanted its students to experience. She suggested teaching the class in San Francisco’s Japan town, where students’ eyes and ears would be trained by interactions with Japanese on the streets. Arguing that “possession of a language” meant nothing unless accompanied by knowledge of the civilization it expressed, Walne wanted the students not only to “command the vocabulary” but to understand the social context in which words were used. This, Walne believed, would parallel what she herself had experienced as the daughter of a missionary in Japan.

These pedagogical theories applied to the Navy’s search for instructors as well. As of December 1940, the Navy did not have an up-to-date list of American civilians who were competent in Japanese, and the prospects seemed bleak. The average American knew little of Japan outside of sensationalized images in popular culture and military propaganda, and maybe a few words—samurai, geisha, banzai—that had penetrated the English language. Initially, Hindmarsh sought the expertise of academics. After difficulties at Harvard, however, Hindmarsh dismissed the use of academics, preferring instead to recruit bilingual Japanese-American professionals for the Berkeley program. Only native speakers experienced in the practical application of the language, he came to believe, had the skills necessary for instruction in an immersion setting. Susumu Nakamura, a thirty-three-year-old Japanese-American teaching assistant, was Hindmarsh’s first recruit. Another individual, an expert on Tibetan Buddhism, had only recently

25 Pineau, 15.
27 Pineau, 8.
28 Hays, “Enduring Communities.”
come to Berkeley from Japan. Other sensei were pulled from Nakamura's acquaintances in the Bay Area and Walne's contacts at Berkeley's International House, a hub for international students. Kibei, second-generation immigrants with three or more years of study in Japan, were especially valuable. While their upbringing at times elicited questions of loyalty, at the JLS their experience made them valuable guides to the mysteries of Japan's society and culture. Few in the group had teaching experience, but pedagogy, they surmised, could be taught. The same could not be said of the insight a bicultural staff would provide.

Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor in December of 1941, however, cast a shadow over the victories of the Berkeley program. President Roosevelt wasted no time in signing Executive Order 9066, authorizing the removal of all people of Japanese decent living on the West Coast. Despite the pleas of JLS administrators, the government refused to grant an exception for the instructors at Berkeley. Hindmarsh and Walne were nonetheless resolved to salvage what they could of the program. They decided to relocate the school inland, where ethnic Japanese were considered less of a threat to national security. The University of Colorado, Boulder stood out as one of the few mid-western institutions willing to accept Japanese-American students during the war. By March of 1942, Hindmarsh had already begun negotiations with the university. On May 31, university president Robert L. Stearns signed a contract virtually identical to the one concluded in Berkeley, with an added proviso that protected the Japanese and Japanese-American sensei from further removal. Classes were slated to begin in July of that same year.

JLS IN BOULDER

Conditions in Colorado when the JLS opened made the success of the Boulder school all the more remarkable. As Jessica Arnston explains, "Despite the breathtaking views of the Rocky Mountains and relatively good relations between Whites and Japanese in [Colorado], anti-Japanese sentiment experienced a resurgence during the West Coast evacuation." An exposé of conditions in Wyoming's Heart Mountain internment camp in the Denver Post claimed that the

29 Dingman, 18
31 Roger Daniels, American Concentration Camps: A Documentary of the Relocation and Incarceration. (Berkeley: University of California, 1989).
33 Hindmarsh, 8.
34 Arnston, 181.
internees were living better than most Americans. It also charged that seventy percent of all internees were disloyal to the US. In reaction, a perturbed Colorado legislature tried to pass a constitutional amendment that prohibited Japanese aliens from being allowed to own land. The measure passed the Colorado House of Representatives by a landslide, but narrowly failed to gain a simple majority in the state Senate with a vote of twelve to fifteen. It was, Arnston explains, a time when little effort was made to distinguish between people of Japanese ancestry and subjects of an imperial regime.

Coloradoans, of course, were not alone in their mistrust of Japanese. Similar episodes could be seen throughout the country, and JLS recruits were not immune to this wartime prejudice, even when it came to their sensei. On the first day of class, Katsura Sensei began conversation class by saying, “Ohayo’ means ‘Good Morning’ . . . ‘Ohayo’ is same as name of state.” Students snickered, and many found it easy to racially caricature his broken speech. In his journal, James Durbin wrote “Mr. Katsura: stereotypical nihonjin [Japanese person]. Terrible English.” Another sensei was given the nickname “Tommy the Sandpiper,” because he was so short that “every time he sneezed he blew sand in his Shoes.”

Also present was the more serious concern that they were being taught by the enemy race. After all, hadn’t these Japanese and Japanese Americans been interned for the very reason that their loyalty could not be determined? It is understandable that these contradictions puzzled the students of Boulder and complicated their initial reception of the ethnic Japanese men and women chosen to be their sensei. Soon, however, a remarkable synergy took place. Early preconceptions faded as students came to admire the dedication, concern, and professionalism with which the sensei approached their duties. Working in and outside of the classroom, Boulder sensei became singularly effective in imbuing students with both knowledge of and appreciation for the enemy’s culture. The result was a climate of understanding and cooperation that set Boulder, its teachers, and its students, apart from much of the country. It was, as sensei Kaya Kitagawa would later posit, as though the “community didn’t even know there was a war.”

35 Ibid., 182.
36 Ibid.
37 Spiegel, 132.
38 Sleznick, 101.
39 Spiegel, 120.
41 Kitagawa, 2.
Standards for acceptance into the JLS were strict; according to a 1942 report written by Hindmarsh, applicants were to be between twenty and thirty years old, have had at least three years of college work, and preferably some training in Oriental languages. R.S. Hummel, for example, came to Boulder highly proficient in both written and spoken Chinese. Before joining the Boulderites, Hummel graduated from the University of California, Berkeley in political science and international relations with an emphasis in Chinese. Most valuable, however, were students with considerable exposure to the Japanese language. About one in five of the 1,200 total students to go through the JLS were those born in Japan to missionary or merchant parents—known colloquially as “born in Japans” (BJJs). Tad Vanbrunt, who was perhaps the most fluent of all, bragged that he had a degree from “Yoshiwara University,” referring to Tokyo’s red-light district. The group was, as one student remarked, the most “polyglot army ever assembled in one spot.”

Others got into the program because they were “bright as hell.” Members of Phi Beta Kappa qualified without “oriental” language training. One student remarked that “Are you Phi Beta Kappa?” was the only question Hindmarsh asked before granting admission. Most recruits were from the top of their class at top-tier universities, Neal F. Jenson and William J. Hudson Jr. from Princeton, Hart H. Spiegal and Theodore Jackson from Yale. The number of these elite recruits was such that the JLS acquired the same stereotypes of wealth and arrogance associated with many ivy-league schools. In a play written by the students for a class party, one solo parodied the well-to-do backgrounds of many of the students. It went: “When I was a member of the idle rich / I spent my time in playing bridge / and soon I learned the art complex / of becoming an expert of shuffling decks. Oh I was such a shuffling fool / that I became a member of the Japanese school!” To be sure, brilliance did not always mean privilege, and not all JLS members fit this mold. Hindmarsh was surprised to find one student who had reportedly

---

42 Hindmarsh, 5.
45 “Our New Weapon—Japanese.”
learned Japanese while working as a taxi driver; another became interested in Japanese Buddhism and employed a tutor, whom he paid with the salary he made as the clerk of a liquor store. When the first class assembled in 1941, Hindmarsh had certainly gathered a batch of men more socially and intellectually diverse than he had originally envisioned.

Whatever their backgrounds, the men of Boulder were clearly not chosen for their physical prowess. Poor eyesight was a common problem. One student sardonically remarked that “the best features of the whole lot would not have sufficed to produce a single good pilot.” 48 Another student, who the examiner thought was blind, retorted that he “had one good eye.” The medic replied, “I’m going to give you a waiver . . . but if a seagull shits in your good eye, don’t come back and blame me.” 49 When several of the men were rejected after the military’s physical examination, Hindmarsh pressured the Navy to ease its strict physical requirements. Unlike other naval programs, the JLS’s success hinged upon brains, not brawn.

The school’s demographic changed even more remarkably in 1943. That year, the Navy announced that WAVES “whose educational and intellectual qualifications were equal to the men” would also be accepted. 50 From a pool of 600 applicants, Hindmarsh chose eighty-eight women whose backgrounds varied as widely as their male counterparts. A large percentage were recent college graduates; some came from secretarial or teaching positions. Betty Billet had been a chemist for the Food and Drug Administration. Three other women who had been working as military censors had been charged with opening, reading, and editing all mail sent to and from the battlefield to make sure military secrets were not being revealed. 51 From these various backgrounds, the WAVES had no choice but to quickly assimilate into the JLS life. Some struggled with the rigorous demands of the program, but others did so well that the men became worried they were being surpassed. 52 Overall the WAVES did remarkably well; an impressive sixty-eight of the eighty-eight women graduated in November of 1944. That same year, however, the military’s official position changed. From 1944 on, women were no longer permitted to serve outside of the United States. The need for WAVE linguists

49 Spiegol, 9,11.
51 Ibid.
52 Dingham, 55.
subsequently dwindled, and, after only one graduating class, the WAVES' time at Boulder came to an end.\textsuperscript{53}

\section*{LIFE IN BOULDER}

Once in Boulder, JLS students faced something quite different from their past educational experiences. Under a rigorous schedule, Boulderites worked fourteen hours a day, six days a week, fifty weeks per year for two years. Students took stiff comprehensive examinations weekly to monitor their progress for an annual total of nearly 250 hours of examinations. This, according to Hindmarsh, "was far more than even a Harvard student would get in four years."\textsuperscript{54} The most extensive exams were given every Saturday morning and students referred to Friday’s cramming sessions as "Friday Night Hell."\textsuperscript{55} A popular JLS song expressed their plight well. Sung to the tune of the University’s fight song "On the Range of the Buffalo," it went:

With Kanji cards and \textit{tokuhon} our troubles they began
With muttered curse and swear word, our fevers highly ran
Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, it doesn’t pay to know
It’s what you learn on Friday
On the range of the buffalo.\textsuperscript{56}

Judgment for those who could not keep up with Navy demands was swift and harsh. Hindmarsh requested that teachers be unrelenting in weeding out students who failed to meet the school’s standards, "regardless of status, regardless of time, regardless of effort. Hard work without aptitude," he wrote, "is not enough, nor is good character, good education, or sincerity."\textsuperscript{57} In the beginning a student needed a score of seventy out of one hundred to pass. (Later, the threshold was raised to eighty). With two scores below seventy, a student knew to start packing his bags. Within the first semester, five of the ninety enrollees were dismissed for failure to meet minimum requirements, three from Harvard and two from Berkeley.\textsuperscript{58} The country was at war, after all, and Hindmarsh had neither the time nor the patience to coddle those who could not deliver.

\textsuperscript{53} Betty Kretch, Quotations from letters from home, Roger Pineau Collection. Norlin Library, University of Colorado, Boulder, CO.
\textsuperscript{54} Hindmarsh, 6.
\textsuperscript{55} Slesnick, 103.
\textsuperscript{56} Spiegel, "War Years and Better Days." 12-13.
\textsuperscript{57} Hindmarsh, 6.
\textsuperscript{58} Dingham, 57.
Immersion demanded more than a cut-throat pace. After a brief grace period, Hindmarsh instructed the sensei to eliminate all classroom discussion in English. He curtly reminded the sensei that their task was to teach Japanese, not to “show off” their own English skills. “Any teacher who tries to parade his mastery of English is [to be] discharged,” he warned. Communication difficulties thus became a daunting reality, even for students with prior study of Japanese. Those without exposure were left to decipher what they could from a whirlwind of odd sounds and shapes. For many, the first reading class was a “complete bust.” Not knowing that the pages of a Japanese book turned from left to right, they opened to the index rather than to the first chapter. The Boulder students were, for all intents and purposes, strangers in a foreign land.

Hindmarsh’s language restrictions extended beyond the classroom. All student newspapers, school songs, radio broadcasts, notices, and bulletins had to be in Japanese. Signs reading Nihongo dake (“Japanese Only”) covered the hallways, reminding students that conversation at meals and in public corridors was restricted to Japanese. Many JLS instructors took up walking to afternoon meals with their students, exchanging simple comments in Japanese about the weather or food. For some students these conversations were painfully intimidating. WAVE Betty Knecht wrote to her family, “At each [lunch] table are three Japanese teachers, and conversation is supposed to be entirely in Japanese. One of the teachers at our table chatters all the time at a great rate of speed. Usually I don’t know what he is talking about. One day three of us had quite an intelligent conversation about books. Mostly there are strained silences.” Some took to the challenge well. Partway through Book II, James Durbin became aware of his improving Japanese. He realized he understood more and more of the Japanese movies he watched each week and he consistently scored well when translating radio news broadcasts from Japanese to English. One “classy looking,” attractive Japanese-American girl working in the cafeteria showed students that speaking Japanese could actually be fun.

Outside of class, teachers and students worked to embrace Hindmarsh’s immersion mandate. The first step was to develop extracurricular programs that mirrored “in-country” study as closely as possible. The student newspaper, Sono hi no uwasa, (“The Day’s Gossip”) included weekly book reviews of great Japanese

59 Hindmarsh, 8.
60 Spiegel, “War Years and Better Days,” 122.
61 Hindmarsh.
62 Knecht.
63 Sleznick, 104.
64 Dingham, 33.
classics, like *The Tale of Genji*. Noting the book's cultural significance, the reviewer praised *Genji* as being of "paramount importance to anyone wishing to become acquainted with the classical background of Japan."

The review continues with an admiring commentary on the cultural elements of Japan's Heian period, calling it "a time when court etiquette had become so detailed and exquisite that the daily life of courtiers approximates a series of dances, whose every movement and responses are rigidly prescribed, yet always harmonious."

All reviewed texts were made available in the campus faculty club. By the end of the first term it was said the Navy JSL library looked more like a "Japanese lit class" than a military collection.

The newsletter also included more light-hearted content. One section provided functional translations for classic English expressions, like, "*Hi no nai tokoro ni kemuri wa tatanu,*" "Where there's smoke there's fire," and "*Go ni itte wa, go ni shitagae,*" or "When in Rome, do as the Romans do." Japanese jokes, puns, and cartoons became popular additions to *Uwasa*. One of the most used puns among the men was the homonymic "*Naiyo wa naiyo!*"—"There's no meaning!"

These phrases, while of no use on the battlefield, were meant to maximize Boulderites' ability to creatively use Japanese in everyday conversation. An early *Uwasa* publication also included the text of what would become the school's "Fight Song," written by fellow student J. B. Kremer, III.

It was not uncommon to hear a rousing chorus (in Japanese, of course) echo throughout the halls, "*March on, march on, our stalwart men/Endeavor to your utmost for your country's sake/Until its glory extends to the world!*" sung irreverently to the tune of "Onward Christian Soldiers." More and more, the students' lives—even sense of humor—were becoming closely tied to the Japanese language.

A few weeks into the semester, administrators began broadcasting short-wave radio readings to the dorms, as per Hindmarsh's recommendations. Every Tuesday and Thursday evening students could listen to readings of Japanese folktales and "Far East" news updates, entirely in Japanese. One of the most popular broadcasts was the "47 Ronin," a feudal-era tale centered on a band of samurai who set out to avenge the unjust death of their master. At its heart, "Ronin" is a glorification of the samurai class and *bushido* (warrior code) values of loyalty, honor, and

65 Ibid.

66 *Uwasa*, 4.

67 Hummel, 53.

68 *Uwasa*, 2.

THE MEN WHO COULD SPEAK JAPANESE

sacrifice. Goketsu ichidai otoko (Episode of a Swashbuckler) is set in the midst of civil-war Japan and recounts the exploits of Tokugawa Ieyasu, one of Japan’s three great unifiers. The story ends with a scene of the Battle of Sekigahara, the site of Tokugawa’s historic victory that brought 200 years of peaceful, hegemonic rule to Japan. More sentimental was Chichi Kaeru (“Father Returns”), the tale of a man who left his family for another woman. The film’s bittersweet portrayal of the trials of modern family life was enough to convince Durbin, a self-proclaimed culture snob, of the merits of Japanese cinematography. He quickly developed “a new respect for Japanese film and culture.”

Students carried out a more formal study of Japanese history, politics, and geography in class. The emperor was a frequent topic of study. One test question asked students to translate sentences like “In the center of the city of Tokyo is the Imperial Palace. The imperial palace is the place where His Majesty the Emperor and Her Majesty the Empress reside.” Embedded in this language instruction was an emphasis on the emperor as a symbol of Japan’s divinity and a powerful source of unity, pride, and identity for the Japanese people. Fittingly, the Constitution of the Empire of Japan (also known as the Meiji Constitution) was required reading. As the governing document of Japan’s government, administrators believed the constitution was the key to decrypting the Japanese mind and its motives. Later classes even had to memorize its tenets.

Early chapters in the Naganuma readers relied heavily on Japanese folklore, like the famous story of Momotaro, or “Peach Boy.” The story begins as a child, Momotaro, emerges from a giant egg found by an aged couple near the river bank. As Momotaro grows, he exhibits superhuman strength and stamina. When his village is terrorized by a group of marauding demons, Momotaro assembles a band of creatures and victoriously subdues the threat. Momotaro was significant, as one student explained, not only because it was easy to read, but “because [it] offered insight into the Japanese character.” According to historian John Dower, Momotaro exemplifies traditional Japanese values. During the war, the “Peach Boy” became a powerful symbol of Japanese national identity. The story, he argues, reinforces the belief that Japan is of divine origin but that it is suscept-

70 Uwasa, 3.
72 Sleznick, 104.
74 Uwasa.
75 Sleznick, xiii.
76 Ibid.
ble to outside threats, and upholds Japan’s cultural mandate that its people unite as a single force to achieve its national objectives, and, if necessary, surrender their very lives.\textsuperscript{77} This “Peach Boy” lesson would later serve JLS graduates as they struggled to understand some Japanese soldiers’ fanatical loyalty to their nation and emperor. Like Momotaro, they found Japanese often willing to sacrifice all for the sake of their homeland.

\section*{Extracurricular Activities}

Despite the incredible demands of their education, the JLS students still managed to have fun. The sensei played a key role in organizing extracurricular activities that synthesized work and play. Japanese games like majong became a popular pastime, and both student and sensei would play it “every chance they could get.”\textsuperscript{78} As friendships formed, teachers invited students to their houses for tea, parties, and traditional Japanese celebrations.\textsuperscript{79} One photo in the Boulder archives shows a sensei and his wife standing with two WAVE officers, all dressed in traditional Japanese kimono.\textsuperscript{80} When another group of students arrived at a sensei’s house for a thanksgiving celebration, they were disappointed to learn there was no Japanese food. The students, in turn, developed a passion for the culture their sensei represented, so much so that JLS staff frequently had to remind the students they were “not there to love the Japanese, but to study them.”\textsuperscript{81} War, after all, was close at hand.

\section*{JLS at War}

Within a year of completing the JLS course, the Boulderites were scattered to fight and work, die and triumph in places they had never imagined they would see. Little more than a month after Pearl Harbor, Elmer Stone sweated in American Samoa; Hart Spiegel scavenged Japanese corpses in search of maps and diaries on the Pacific island of Bougainville. In Okinawa, Donald Keene was tasked with

\textsuperscript{77} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{78} Kaya Kitagawa, interviewed by Jessica Arntson, November 2, 2002. Jessica Arntson Collection. Norlin Library, University of Colorado, Boulder, CO.

\textsuperscript{79} Interview with Seito Hirabayashi. Jessica Arntson Collection. Norlin Library, University of Colorado, Boulder, CO.

\textsuperscript{80} Image from the WAVES Reunion Scrapbook. US Navy Japanese/Oriental language School Collection. Norlin Library, University of Colorado, Boulder, CO.

\textsuperscript{81} Sleznick, 109.
clearing enemy soldiers and civilians out of caves and tombs. These young JLS graduates, the nation for which they fought, and the empire that attacked it were forever changed by the war. But what began as a life-and-death struggle between America and Japan eventually set the two countries on a course toward permanent peace and friendship.\textsuperscript{82} The graduates of the Navy Japanese Language School were integral in bring about these changes.

JLS graduates' assignments during the war had much to do with their specialty at Boulder and the posts that the Office of Navy Intelligence deemed most needy. Several hundred were sent to radio intercept stations for signal intelligence. Most JLS officers cycled through the Joint Intelligence Center Pacific Ocean Area (JICPOA), a large facility overlooking Pearl Harbor, at one time or another.\textsuperscript{83} Although desk work had its rewards, the tasks were often boring and the work load ebbed and flowed. Many intelligence officers, longing for adventure, asked to be transferred into active Navy and Marine units. In combat, more than ever, JLS grads employed what they learned in Boulder. Their training gave them the ability to look beyond the immediate horrors of war to see the common humanity they shared with the enemy.

Irwin L. Sleznick was assigned to the 2nd Battalion of the 22nd Marine Regiment as a Japanese-language interpreter.\textsuperscript{84} On April 1, 1945, Sleznick arrived on the Island of Okinawa carrying, in addition to his backpack of food, clothing, and tools, four dictionaries weighing fourteen pounds. His memoir, published in 2006, recounts his fears as he faced the daunting tasks ahead. "I didn’t just wonder if I’d be capable of doing the work assigned to me,” he wrote, “I also wondered if I would have the opportunity.”\textsuperscript{85} Since the war began, Japanese-language interpreters and their overeager comrades argued over the importance of taking Japanese prisoners for interrogation. Man after man informed Sleznick that he would be wasting his time on Okinawa because there would be no prisoners to interrogate. “They did not plan to take any,” he explained. “Moral arguments do not sway men inflamed with hatred and hungry for blood.”\textsuperscript{86}

From the beginning, Sleznick’s commanders kept him busy with thousands of terrorized civilians. “Whenever they found a native of interest or a babbling child, they would call for me,” he wrote. These natives often provided vital information about the whereabouts and size of Japanese units hiding on the island. Moreover, Sleznick’s ability to discern between combatant and civilian in the dark

\textsuperscript{82} Dingham, xii.
\textsuperscript{83} Sleznick, 128.
\textsuperscript{84} Ibid., xi.
\textsuperscript{85} Ibid., xiii
\textsuperscript{86} Sleznick, xii.
of night proved indispensable. Because American troops could not tell the difference between civilians and combatants in the dark, noncombatants were sometimes shot as they tried to move to safety. As a result, Marines often faced the horror of waking up to dead bodies of women, children, and the aged. Sleznick’s language skills provided a much needed solution.87

Sleznick’s value in distinguishing between soldier and civilian became apparent on the fifth night of his deployment in Okinawa. When the men heard shuffling feet, Sleznick yelled to his fellow soldiers, “Don’t shoot! I will tell these people in Japanese to stop, be silent, and sit down... if they appear to be civilian refugees, I will move them outside of our perimeter and stay with them until morning.” To his relief, the scheme worked remarkably well. With the refugees facing him in a semi-circle, Sleznick blurted out a few traditional Japanese greetings, expressed hope for their health and safety, and warned them not to leave the nest for any reason. Unsure what to say next, Sleznick thought of Momotaro, the Japanese folktale every student at the JLS had been required to memorize. Starting at the beginning, he recited the story word for word: “Mukashi mukashi...” Once upon a time...88

That was the first time Sleznick told the story, but it would not be the last. “I would tell it many more times before the campaign was over—always with excellent results,” he explained.89 Most Japanese had heard the story of Momotaro and his exploits since childhood; its characters, plot, and themes were familiar and comforting to the refugees. Hearing the tale in their own language, they could participate and ask questions, all the while taking comfort in the fact that this enemy of the Japanese nation could understand them, their language, and their culture. As he told the story for the first time that night on Okinawa, “the families around [him] set aside their own miseries and fears... As the story unfolded, he recalled, a calm spread throughout the group.”90

Not all interactions between language officers and Japanese were so successful. An interpreter assigned to the 1st Marine Division on the Pacific island of Peleliu remembers an order he was given to “shout commands” to a group of Japanese soldiers firing on the unit from nearby hills. “I was given a loudspeaker run by batteries and I shouted up to the hills telling the Japanese men up there that they were surrounded and that they should come down and surrender and that

87 Ibid.
88 Sleznick, xi.
89 Ibid.
90 Sleznick, xii.
they would not be harmed if they did.” 91 No one moved; the Japanese just continued firing as he shouted. A week or so later, the same officer was sent to a series of caves to coax civilians and soldiers out of hiding. This second attempt yielded similar results, and put him at great risk. He believed these high-danger, low-reward missions were a misuse of his skills. “It seems to me,” he later explained, “that our Marine Corps leaders should have had a talk with the Japanese Language Officers so that we could know what to expect from each other. . . . It was my feeling that shouting from a loud speaker at men who were firing at you is a waste of time.” 92

Away from the front line, some language officers found a more practical use of their language skills. After transferring to Okinawa from JIPCOA, in June of 1945 Robert Thorton persuaded the Army to let him establish a small hospital to treat the Japanese. He was unable to bring in any American physicians or medics, but because of his language ability he was allowed to recruit a Japanese POW medic to assist him in surgery. 93 This concern for the well-being of Japanese soldiers complicated language officers’ already strained relationships with their fellow Marines. Another JLS soldier in Okinawa spent some time with American doctors who were working on casualties. “They left the Jap casualties to the last, so I offered to try to treat some of them,” he explained. “I sprinkled sulfa powder and put on bandages and tried to talk to them. This enraged the Marines, to see an officer being helpful to a Jap, so I had to stop.” 94

At times, language officers felt the need to intervene on behalf of the Japanese. One of the oldest language officers, Sherwood “Pappy” Moran, was a sixty-five-year-old missionary who had first gone to Japan in 1916. On Guadalcanal, where hardened Marines were loath to take prisoners, Moran was able to persuade a general to offer front-line Marines a three-day break if they could bring in live prisoners. 95 Moran also revamped Marine interrogation procedures. “Tough guy” tactics would not work, he argued; instead, humane treatment, or even “wooing a captive by evoking memories of home” would lead to greater cooperation. The interpreter, he explained, “should be a man of culture, insight, and resourcefulness, and with real conversation ability.” 96 Drawing on his knowledge of Japanese

91 Edward Van Der Rhoer, Deadly Magic: A Personal Account of Communications Intelligence in World War II in the Pacific (New York: Scribner, 1978), 44.
92 Ibid.
93 Sleznick, 131.
94 Van Der Rhoer, 45.
96 Ibid.
history, culture, and society, Moran himself would often sit for hours with a captive, talking about sports, religion, and philosophy.\textsuperscript{97}

Moran also tried to help other Marines understand the character of the Japanese troops. In the first of several papers he wrote for the Marine Corps, Moran stressed that Japanese and Americans were genetically and physiologically alike. He encouraged soldiers not to buy into stereotypical generalization about Japanese temperament and behavior. “There is great danger,” he warned, “in thinking that all Japanese are alike in thought and behavior.” Instead, he encouraged soldiers to learn about each individual’s social status, political affiliation, and home life. This, he believed, was the key to understanding their character and intentions. Moran’s motives were of course not completely altruistic. Once he had the prisoners’ trust, Moran would begin questioning them about their ship movements, the size of their forces, and other items of military significance. Using these tactics, he reported, “Prisoners told [him] what he wanted to know.”\textsuperscript{98}

As the war came to a close, the role of JLS graduates turned even more toward lifesaving and bridge building. The contributions they made during the occupation have been told elsewhere; Japanese-language officers played a unique role in smoothing the way for American presence in Japan. As Roger Dingman explains, “The language officers in Japan turned out to be point men for peace. . . . They traveled throughout the country and occupied its capital region, laying the foundation for the establishment of a permanent American naval presence and the restoration of good relations with its elites and ordinary citizens alike.”\textsuperscript{99} For many, Japan became a strong and constant theme in their post-military careers as well. Their journey toward knowing the enemy may have been over, but their journey toward knowing Japan had only begun.

**Post-War Legacy**

When the fighting stopped in 1945, the US and Japan struggled to build a peace-time relationship. Slowly, corporations and law firms with offices in both countries began to flourish. Industrial trade increased; student, teacher, and scientist exchanges flowered like never before. Men like JLS graduate Reed Irvine built personal bridges between themselves and their former enemies. After leaving Boulder in March 1944, Irvine was assigned to the 2nd Marine Division in

\textsuperscript{97} Ibid., 97.

\textsuperscript{98} Vernon Crenshaw, Unpublished memoir, Roger Pineau Collection. Norlin Library, University of Colorado, Boulder, CO.

\textsuperscript{99} Dingman, 219.
time to participate in the invasion of Saipan and Tinian. During the occupation, Irvine was sent with his division to work on the southern island of Kyushu. He was discharged soon thereafter, but, wanting more time in Japan, he returned in the spring of 1946 as a War Department civilian employee. There he met and married his Japanese wife, Kay, a survivor of the Nagasaki bombing of 1945. When he returned from Japan in 1946, Irvine joined the Federal Reserve Board’s Division of International Finance where he eventually served as the head of the Board’s Asia section. Glenn Nelson of the 2nd Marine Division similarly decided to return to Japan once his service was over. In late 1947, Glenn took a position in Tokyo with the US State Department. He and his wife ended up staying for twenty years, raising five of his children in Nihon [Japan]. After the war, Orville Lefko began working as a CPA. While his career had little to do with Japan, he raised his children on stories of his wartime service. In the early 1990s his daughter Tami received a degree in Japanese Language and Culture at the University of Michigan, continuing the legacy her father had begun fifty years prior.

At this time, the opportunities for Japanese-language specialists also began to grow, and the JLS graduates in particular found their language training secured them certain advantages over other veterans. As language officers, JLS grads were eligible for sixteen semester hours of college level credit in Japanese that could be combined with credits earned in basic training and special schooling. This meant language officers could reduce their time in college to one year and still graduate with a major in Japanese. Building off what they learned in Boulder, many graduates of the JLS left higher education primed to be pioneers in the field of Japanese cultural and linguistic studies. James Morley admitted that before 1941 he could not have found Japan on a map. When he arrived in Japan during the occupation, however, the devastation he saw convinced him to “devote his life to trying to build a better relationship between Japan and America.” When he returned home, Morley began studying modern Japanese history under the famed Tsunoda Ryusaku of the University of Columbia. Morley went on to become one of the foremost post-war scholars of Japan, writing prolifically on the subject of Japan’s modern military exploits. Several other JLS graduates also found their calling in academia. After his 1976 retirement, D. Norton Williams spent thirteen years as an economics teacher at Choate Rosemary Hall School in Wallingford. There he and his wife Marylou (also a JLS graduate) provided a study course in Japanese for

100 Ibid., 62.
101 Ibid.
103 Ibid.
interested students. With the help of several Japanese attendees who were eager to teach, the Williamses developed accredited courses for three years of study.\textsuperscript{104} He and his wife taught successfully for many years, imbuing future generations with the lessons they themselves had learned both in and outside the classrooms of the Boulder JLS.\textsuperscript{105}

Perhaps no one better exemplifies the impact of the JLS on the lives of its graduates than Donald Keene, today one of the world’s most acclaimed Japanologists. Before the war, Keene had only a vague image of the exotic island nation. “The thought of eating raw fish” he recalls, “terrified him.”\textsuperscript{106} When he stumbled on a box of blood-stained diaries of deceased Japanese soldiers in Okinawa, Keene felt he had been given an authentic glimpse into the heart and mind of the Japanese. This changed his perspective of the country and its people and shifted his post-war career path towards Japanese literature. When he returned from war, Keene returned to Columbia University to complete his graduate studies under Ryusaku Tsunoda, a scholar of Japanese classics. As Keene became increasingly proficient in the Japanese language, he began writing books and articles in English and Japanese, and to give lectures and seminars to Japanese audiences. Reflecting this path from student to soldier to scholar, the path of many JLS graduates, Keene writes “There is now something within me that craves expression in Japanese and makes me respond eagerly to opportunities to use the Japanese language. It is hard to define what that something is, and perhaps, as experts have stated, a person can think only in his native language. But whatever the level may be at which my Japanese exists within me, I feel sure that it is permanently installed and that it will remain with me as the source of much that has made my life worthwhile.”\textsuperscript{107}

\textbf{CONCLUSION}

On March 2, 1946, the staff of the now peacetime Navy Japanese Language School met in the “Old Gym” for the annual Spring Festival, a celebration of the art, literature, and music of Japan. During the festival, sensei recited \textit{wa} (traditional Japanese poetry), sang popular Japanese songs, and performed ritual dances based on the country’s most ancient legends. One dance, \textit{Ume ni mo haru},

\textsuperscript{104} “Japanese Language School: 50-Year Reunion, August 7-9, 1992.” 34, 35.
\textsuperscript{105} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{107} Ibid.
was said to "symbolize the beauty of the first plum blossom in spring," a classic motif throughout Japanese culture. Another, which told the story of an aged mother who made a pilgrimage to visit the temple where her only son is buried, was accompanied by a sakuhachi, a Japanese flute virtually unknown to American audiences at the time. The program fittingly ended with Matsu no midori, a classical ceremonial dance traditionally performed at the opening of happy occasions. The Spring Festival marked the completion of the students' studies, and the closing of the JLS at Boulder. With American military presences in the Pacific receding, the Navy's need for Japanese linguists dwindled. Hindmarsh and his administrator determined that the Boulder school should be absorbed into the University of Colorado's civilian language program. In June of 1946, the JLS at Boulder closed the doors of its military operations.

The legacies of the program and its graduates, however, continued. These men and women were not only skilled in the Japanese language, but they also left Boulder with an understanding of and respect for Japanese culture and history that transcended the classroom. In the field, Japanese-language officers encouraged their fellow soldiers to see beyond wartime hate to the common humanity they shared with the Japanese. After the war, they applied this same principle to their careers. As diplomats, translators, and academics, the Boulder graduates devoted their lives to rebuilding the damaged ties between Japan and the US. Whatever their contributions, the story of JLS graduates evidences the importance of shared understanding and cross-cultural exchange in war and peace.

109 Ibid.
110 Ibid.
Katherine White grew up hearing stories of her grandfathers’ experiences in WWII from her parents. These anecdotes would be the inspiration of her love of history and her eventual decision to become a history major. It was at BYU that she decided to expand her understanding and perspective of the war by studying the experiences of the Japanese people, those whom her grandfathers had seen as their enemy. She has been able to pursue this specific interest with the aid of numerous extracurricular opportunities, scholarship awards, and faculty mentors. She received two Foreign Language and Area Studies fellowships that she first used to participate in the eight week Middlebury Japanese Language Intensive program in Oakland, California, and later to study abroad in Japan. That same year Katherine worked as a research assistant for Dr. Aaron Skabelund in the preparation for his book, Empire of Dogs: Canines, Japan, and the Making of the Modern Imperial World. Katherine graduated from BYU with a degree in History and Asian Studies in Winter of 2012 and is currently planning on returning to Japan with the Japan Exchange Program to teach English in a Japanese school, after which she plans on returning to her study of Japanese history in a graduate school program. This essay was written for the History Capstone taught by Dr. Rebecca de Schweinitz.
Reading Disasters: Science, Literary Devices,
and the Culture of Reassurance in Children's 
Nonfiction Literature on Natural Disasters

Emily Willie

S

astermote 31, 1938, pouring daily but vain on the Northeast coast of the
United States. Weather forecasts indicated the possibility for rain and high
winds from a storm brewing somewhere over the Atlantic Ocean, but noth-
ing predicted a Northeastern fall for the eighteen that would be upon them that
afternoon. By three o'clock, it all, the "Long Island Express," a category three
hurricane, battered across New York and other parts of the New England area,
causing nearly $400 million in damages.1 While forecasters attempted to give
one step ahead of the storm, they were caught off guard.2 "New York Times' in
a signature on the hurricane written in the magazine "Harper's". According to
this side, a lack of science that properly interpreted the storms's potential to
little warning and ultimately led to the deaths of over one hundred people. "With
the passing of the storm" writes children's non-fiction author Patricia Foster,
"weather scientists began trying to understand what had happened. How and
why had this monster of a storm reached Long Island and New England?"3


Published by BYU ScholarsArchive, 2013
Kathleen White grew up hearing stories of her grandparents’ experiences in WWII from her parents. Their stories would fuel her understanding of her love of history and her eventual decision to pursue a history minor. It was at BYU that she decided to expand her understanding and perspective of the world by studying the experiences of the Japanese people, that their history is not only in their past. She has been able to pursue this specific interest with the aid of numerous extracurricular opportunities, scholarships, internships, and faculty mentorship. She received two Bridges Language and Area Studies Fellowships that allowed her to participate in the eight-week Mandela Washington Leadership Fellowship program in Oakland, California, and later to study abroad in Japan. That summer, Kathleen worked as a research assistant for Dr. Armin Shideler on the副秘书长 for the Empires of East: China, Japan, and Korea: Making of the Modern Imperial World. Kathleen graduated from BYU with a degree in History and Asian Studies in Winter 2012 and is currently planning on returning to Japan with the Japan Exchange Program to teach English in a Japanese school, after which she plans on returning to her study of Japanese history in a graduate school program. This may not end her journey, History Consultant taught by Dr. Rebecca de Tocqueville.
Reading Disasters: Science, Literary Devices, and the Culture of Reassurance in Children’s Nonfiction Literature on Natural Disasters

Emily Willis

SEPTEMBER 21, 1938, DAWNED chilly but calm on the Northeast coast of the United States. Weather forecasts indicated the possibility for rain and high tides from a storm brewing somewhere over the Atlantic Ocean, but nothing prepared Northeasterners for the nightmare that would be upon them that afternoon. By three o’clock p.m., the “Long Island Express,” a category three hurricane, barreled across New York and other parts of the New England coast, causing nearly $400 million in damages.1 “While forecasters attempted to stay one step ahead of the storm, they were caught off-guard,” states Sean Potter in a vignette on the hurricane written in the magazine Weatherwise.2 According to this view, a lack of science that properly interpreted the storm’s path resulted in little warning and ultimately led to the deaths of over six hundred people. “With the passing of the storm,” writes children’s nonfiction author Patricia Lauber, “weather scientists began trying to understand what had happened. How and why had this monster of a storm reached Long Island and New England?”3

Lauber's frank analysis of how the storm encouraged scientists to search for a logical explanation exposes America's obsession with using science to protect people from disasters—an attitude I refer to as the "culture of reassurance."4 The "culture of reassurance" is the belief that scientific knowledge will one day fully protect us from disasters, and that until that day it is still our best bet at keeping safe during disasters.5

Children's nonfiction literature is an excellent source for studying adult attitudes toward natural disasters. Adults write children's nonfiction with the intent of educating their young readers.6 However, because children's literature is traditionally shorter than adult books on the same topic, authors must distill the information to include only what they feel is most important for a child to learn, making children's books an excellent source for ascertaining what adults think children should understand about disasters.7 After surveying fifty-one

4 Ted Steinberg, Acts of God: The Unnatural History of Natural Disasters in America (Oxford: Oxford University, 2000). Steinberg offers a critique of the culture of disasters in the US. He argues that there is nothing inherently "natural" about how disasters occur in America; rather they result from the inequalities and deficiencies inherent in our political, social, and economic systems.

5 I developed the term "culture of reassurance" largely in response to themes I observed in children's nonfiction literature. It can be interpreted as one component of what historian J. Charles Schenking described as the "culture of catastrophe," which he defined as "a mindset, discourse, and set of actions intimately shaped by . . . disaster[s] and [their] aftermath" (296). See J. Charles Schenking, "The Great Kanto Earthquake and the Culture of Catastrophe and Reconstruction in 1920s Japan," Journal of Japanese Studies 34, no. 2 (2008), http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/jjs/summary/v034/34.2.schencking.html (accessed October 26, 2012).

6 Jo Carr, ed., Beyond Fact: Nonfiction for Children and Young People. (Chicago: American Library Association, 1982). According to Carr, "The term [nonfiction] is useful simply because most of us assume it refers only to factual writing" (x). This is the definition used in this paper.

7 While some might consider children's nonfiction literature to dilute facts and, therefore, be below serious academic consideration, Jo Carr, editor of Beyond Fact: Nonfiction for Children and Young People, argues the opposite. She writes that adults "might be surprised to find that a book written for children is livelier than an adult book on the same subject, and with no sacrifice in scholarship" (x). If this is the case, factuality is actually a strength of children's literature, and the genre cannot be disregarded on these grounds. Children's literature is by nature shorter and more concise than adult literature, meaning that what authors choose to include is a reflection of what adults consider most important for children to take away from the book. In this way, children's literature reveals more about adult culture than children's culture. However, there are some drawbacks to children's literature. For example, many scholars argue that children's literature is only valid if it actually makes it into the hands of the intended audience. See M.O. Grenby and Kimberley Reynolds, ed., Children's Literature Studies: A Research Handbook, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 99. This study does not take into account whether or not the surveyed texts were popular among children. In addition, the texts were obtained from the Harold B. Lee Library at Brigham Young University rather than a public library that might be more responsive to the books popular among children at a given time. Another limitation is that only nonfiction books were surveyed. Despite Carr's insistence that
children’s books on hurricanes, tornadoes, earthquakes, and volcanoes, I argue that authors of children’s books use a variety of means to teach their readers to trust the culture of reassurance.8

**HISTORIOGRAPHY OF NATURAL DISASTERS AND CHILDREN’S LITERATURE**

In December 1987, the United Nations General Assembly declared the 1990s the “International Decade for Natural Disaster Reduction” and set up research and review committees made of disaster experts in the social and physical sciences.9 This move helped make disasters a legitimate area of study for numerous disciplines, and they continue to be an area of focus in the 2000s.

History lagged slightly behind many other social sciences in studying natural disasters. In 2000, Ted Steinberg, an environmental historian, branched into disasters with one of the first serious historical studies of disasters in the United States. His book, *Acts of God: The Unnatural History of Natural Disasters in America*, remains one of the best historical works on disasters.10 However, as J. Charles Schenking, a historian of modern Japan, notes, there are now a number of historians from various fields—environmental, political, cultural, and more—who recognize that disasters offer unique insights into the intricacies of society.11 Yet most of these studies focus on the impact disasters have (or more often, do not have) on policies. Few study the culture that Americans have created nonfiction is just as viable a form of literature as fiction works, the fact remains that fiction books tend to be more popular. No consideration of fiction is taken into account in this work.

8 I chose to focus on these four disasters types for a number of reasons. First, each threatens at least one area in the United States and, therefore, each is part of America’s disaster paradigm. Second, they can be grouped according to their genesis—volcanoes and earthquakes are geologic disasters and tornadoes and hurricanes are meteorological disasters—and I assumed this would have a major impact on the way they are presented in children’s literature; I discovered, however, that predictability played a much more significant role than genesis. Not all fifty-one books are referenced in this paper.


11 Schenking, “The Great Kanto Earthquake,” 297–299. Schenking cites one of the most common justifications for studying disasters. “In a way few other events can,” he wrote, “natural disasters compel states, societies, and individuals not only to respond to the immediate needs of an unnatural state of affairs but to also, over the longer term, reflect on the past and envisage the future” (296–297).

Published by BYU ScholarsArchive, 2013
around disasters. This is where children’s literature offers a different perspective. No historical study has taken children’s literature into consideration when trying to reconstruct America’s version of what Schenking calls the “culture of catastrophe.” The culture of reassurance fits well within the framework of the culture of catastrophe.

Researchers of children’s literature—whether fiction or nonfiction—agree that these books are indispensable yet often overlooked sources for studying the cultures in which they were created. While there are no studies specifically looking at disasters, some researchers have written on how authors have presented other aspects of nature in children’s books and how those presentations have changed over time. One of the best examples of this is Debra Mitts-Smith’s book Picturing the Wolf in Children’s Literature. Mitts-Smith investigated how the wolf has been depicted in everything from the classic story of Little Red Riding Hood to photographic picture books of wolves sold in visitor’s center bookstores. In the introduction to her book she wrote, “Scientific understandings of nature are dynamic and biased, shaped and altered by ideological and political as well as technological and economic factors. Changes in research methods along with changes in technology often displace or modify earlier ‘facts’ and raise new questions.” Such is the case with disasters. Authors often employ science, whether or not it is backed by sufficient evidence, to assuage fears about disasters. While the goal remains the same over the years, changes in science certainly influence the content by providing more modern ways to reassure.

In social science literature on human interactions with disasters, researchers have criticized Western society’s tendency to give the largest share of responsibility

12 Historiography on natural disasters in America has tended to focus on specific events rather than general social trends. For example, there are numerous works on the 1900 Galveston Hurricane, the 1906 San Francisco disaster, the 2005 Hurricane Katrina, and other massive and unique events. See the following for examples of such works: LaKisha Michelle Simmons, “Justice Mocked: Violence and Accountability in New Orleans,” American Quarterly 61, no. 3 (2009): 477-498, http://muse.jhu.edu (accessed November 14, 2012); Erik Larson, Isaac’s Storm: A Man, A Time, and the Deadliest Hurricane in History (New York: Crown Publishers, 1999); and Dennis Smith, San Francisco is Burning: The Untold Story of the 1906 Earthquake and Fires (New York: Viking, 2005). Interestingly, children’s books tend to take a more general approach—what are disasters and what do we know about them—rather than focusing on specific disasters. In hurricane literature, for example, only Hurricane Katrina was singled out as important enough to have a few books focused solely on it.

13 Schenking, 296.


16 Mitts-Smith, 12.
to an ambiguous "nature" and little to humans.\textsuperscript{17} This approach emphasizes humanity's desire to "forget" that the disaster ever occurred and to quickly return to "normalcy" as the dominant coping method.\textsuperscript{18} However, Viviana Castelli argues in "Lest We Forget: A Preliminary Map of the Collective Earthquake Rituals of Italy" that there are two kinds of coping methods: those that encourage forgetting and those that encourage remembering. The method that dominates in a particular society is not a programmed human response; rather it is largely determined by the cultural context in which the disaster occurs. Castelli notes that in Italy, for example, eighty villages used in the study had each developed distinct cultural practices that actually preserved the memory of disasters and the way the events impacted that particular village.\textsuperscript{19} In modern America, children's disaster books can be seen as a bridge between these two coping methods as they offer children and adults the opportunity to remember disasters, although the memory is skewed in favor of scientific control and understanding rather than human frailty.

### DISASTERS IN THE POPULAR CONSCIENCE

How adults portray disasters in children's literature is of little importance unless disasters matter to the American people. A query on the online library database WorldCat shows publication trends that imply an increase in the importance of disasters in the American conscience. Before 1970, books published on hurricanes, tornadoes, earthquakes, and volcanoes were few and far between; after 1970, the number increased in a nonlinear fashion.\textsuperscript{20} As might be

\textsuperscript{17} Steinberg, 24, 47, 68; John Lidstone, "Disaster Education: Where We Are and Where We Should Be," in International Perspectives on Teaching about Hazards and Disasters, ed. John Lidstone (Philadelphia: Channel View Publications, 1996), 7. According to geographer John Lidstone, responses to disasters can be broken into three major categories. First, disasters are caused by nature and are outside human influence. Second, disasters are nature-caused but can be positively influenced with proper mitigation or negatively influenced by unequal societies. Third, vulnerability to disasters is solely the responsibility of human-controlled processes, such as economics.

\textsuperscript{18} Steinberg, 79.

\textsuperscript{19} Viviana Castelli, "Lest We Forget: A Preliminary Map of the Collective Earthquake Rituals of Italy" (paper presented at the First European Conference on Earthquake Engineering and Seismology, Geneva, Switzerland, September 3–8, 2006), 1–2. Castelli's argument seems ironic in the face of the L'Aquila earthquake and lawsuit since in at least one area the Italians forgot their seismic history.

\textsuperscript{20} The upward trend in the number of disaster books published after 1970 is probably linked to television's ability to place immediate—and often gruesome—footage in family's homes. Television made disasters such as the Good Friday Earthquake in 1964 and Hurricane Camille in 1969 into
expected, there are spikes in the number of books published within two or three years after a major disaster. For example, in 2004, the year before Hurricane Katrina, WorldCat lists only seventeen books under the search terms “children’s literature” and “hurricane.” That number almost doubles for 2005 and 2006 when the list contains thirty-one books each; it more than doubles in 2007 when the number is forty.\(^{21}\)

Some of the variation in availability of disaster books over the last forty years can be attributed to a rise in the total number of all books being published. However, this explanation does not account for the spikes seen after a major disaster is publicized. This means that whether or not these books are being read by children, adults find it important to tell the stories of the disasters, typically in a way that remolds them into events about which reassurance can be easily offered.\(^{22}\)

**THE CULTURE OF REASSURANCE**

The culture of reassurance dominates children’s nonfiction literature about natural disasters as authors employ a variety of means to help readers feel that we truly understand disasters. This permeates every aspect of the books, even the general structure and the illustrations used to define the boundaries of disasters. The historical accounts of disasters that authors include are presented not to remind readers of lessons learned but to emphasize the science-aided progress we have made toward being safe. Reassurance crosses boundaries between types of disasters, and differences in their depiction are influenced by the disaster’s level of predictability rather than its genesis (meteorological versus geological). Although the science behind each disaster varies, the goal remains the same: to remind readers that what is understood about disasters far outweighs what still needs to be learned.

national and international events in ways never before imaginable. The culture of reassurance was probably an almost direct result of this.


BOOK STRUCTURE

The culture of reassurance is visible even at the most basic level, including the books’ organization and structure. A majority of the books follow the same basic outline, interweaving the culture of reassurance with shocking facts and details. This approach not only keeps readers interested, but also balances the frightening facts of disasters by juxtaposing them with ways that humans can control nature, helping children cope with the fear that accompanies such events.23

There are six major elements that make up the books. First, they open with some kind of shocking truth, whether an alarming fact or a personal account of an experience during a disaster. The stories employed by the authors are typically sensational in some manner, often because the specific event is so extreme. This grabs the reader’s attention and pulls them in as they respond to the fear the story evokes.24 The initial shock and fear can either be intense, as in Patricia Lauber’s book Hurricanes: Earth’s Mightiest Storms’ terrifying description of the 1938 New England hurricane, or more mild, as in the generalized description of a tornado day in Franklyn Mansfield Branley’s Tornado Alert.25

The book quickly moves beyond this initial shock to the second element, focused on the science that is understood about the disaster. The science section takes up a majority of the book, emphasizing the power and extent of human knowledge.26 In this manner, the panic that exceptional stories evoke is balanced by the rational science that enables humans to control nature. The discussion of science also hedges the third element, which mentions limitations to our knowledge. This third section tends to be very brief in comparison to the discussion of what is understood.27 In Lauber’s book on hurricanes, for example, the caption to a computer-generated graphic of the potential paths of a hurricane plotted against the actual path begins by celebrating the advancements in science that made such data analysis possible. It then admits that even these high-tech computer programs cannot predict with certainty where the hurricane will make
landfall.\textsuperscript{28} In this way, the second and third elements combine within the same explanation so that science and technology, rather than the unpredictable nature of the storms, is highlighted.

As if in an effort to keep children from being frightened by a lack of knowledge, the fourth subtopic describes prediction methods, and the fifth instigates a closely related discussion of mitigation and preparation practices on both community and individual scales. \textit{Forces of Nature} by Catherine O'Neill Grace describes a day in the life of scientists who study volcanoes, earthquakes, and tornadoes. Grace ends each of the three sections with a page called "How to Survive a [Volcanic Eruption, Earthquake, or Tornado]."\textsuperscript{29} The lists, comprised of suggestions from each of the experts, instruct readers on what they can do to personally prepare for and survive a given disaster while the scientists work with governments and others to give timely warnings and build disaster-resistant communities.\textsuperscript{30} Inherent in the personal safety instructions and community preparedness plans is the idea that if they heed what the experts say, the readers will be safe.

The books, then, end in one of three ways: a return to the shock factor used at the beginning, a reemphasis on how much safer we are or soon will be thanks to science, or a combination of these endings.\textsuperscript{31} Almost half of the books end with some variation of the last lines to Lucille Recht Penner's \textit{Twisters!}, "Scientists, hurricane hunters, and storm chasers are learning the secrets of twisters and hurricanes. And the more we know, the safer we will be."\textsuperscript{32} Readers are thus left with a sense of reassurance that even though nature is out of control, we need not fear if we properly wield science both now and in the future. Through these six elements, the writing style hedges between the shocking and scary aspects of disasters and the comforting theories about science and preparation.

\textbf{Bounded by History}

Geographic boundaries are commonly used to support the culture of reassurance by limiting the areas of the nation where each disaster might hit. Seventy

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{28} Lauber, \textit{Hurricanes}, 33.
  \item \textsuperscript{30} Grace, \textit{Forces of Nature}, 27, 45, 57.
  \item \textsuperscript{32} Penner, \textit{Twisters!}, last page.
\end{itemize}
percent of the books contain some kind of map and textual description of disaster boundaries. Maps and boundaries are found in books on all four disasters. In books on earthquakes, for instance, the most common map is that of plate boundaries along which, the authors explain, most earthquakes take place. Science, it would seem, has enabled humans to plot where earthquakes will likely strike even though we cannot yet predict when. However, the earthquake maps can be misleading because they downplay or even exclude areas where earthquakes have occurred away from plate boundaries. Perhaps illustrators avoid mapping these earthquakes because little is understood about the science behind them, a reality that does not fit well within the belief that science can keep us safe.

In hurricane books, satellite imagery often takes the place of maps. Because it seems so high-tech and is based entirely on scientific data, the satellite imagery carries more authority and makes readers feel confident that science is protecting us more than brightly colored and simplified maps do. Examples include those found in Do Tornadoes Really Twist?: Questions and Answers About Tornadoes and Hurricanes and the image on the cover of Jules Archer’s Hurricane.

Maps are particularly common in tornado books since there is a generally accepted definition of Tornado Alley. However, a comparison of the maps found in two tornado books indicates the truly variable nature of any disaster suggesting the fragility of the culture of reassurance when it is scrutinized. In Tornado Alert by Franklyn Mansfield Branley, the Tornado Alley map is geographically limited, showing only the Midwestern states and Florida. This reassures readers that if they do not live in these areas, they are not at risk from tornadoes. In Do Tornadoes Really Twist?, however, the map extends far beyond the Midwest into the Northeast and even indicates an area of higher tornado probability in Arizona. Although the map in Do Tornadoes Really Twist? is titled “Tornado Alley,” the legend informs readers that it actually reports other areas of the United States where a relatively large number of tornadoes have been reported. The misleading title may encourage those living outside the most tornado-prone areas to be more concerned about the disaster than might be appropriate for

36 Grace, Forces of Nature,52.
37 Branley, Tornado Alert, 8.
38 Berger, Do Tornadoes Really Twist?, 13.
their area, particularly because they might be aware that the warning systems set up in other parts of the country do not exist in their home town. On the other hand, providing a more historically accurate definition of tornado country may inspire people to prepare for a disaster about which they would otherwise be uninformed and unconcerned, thus increasing reassurance through better preparation and awareness.

**HISTORIC NARRATIVE**

Although knowing the history of disastrous events can broaden people’s conception of the impacts of disasters, authors of children’s nonfiction books limit history’s value to its ability to substantiate the culture of reassurance. “Weather scientists learned a lot as they worked out what had happened on September 21, 1938. They also set a goal: to make sure that no big storm would ever again come as a terrifying surprise. In time, they would succeed. But first they needed a better understanding of hurricanes and better tools for studying the storms.” In these words, Patricia Lauber summed up how the historical narrative of disasters is used in nonfiction children’s literature. History’s value comes not in its ability to help readers remember the disasters and the lessons earlier generations learned about living and building in disaster-prone areas, but in its capacity to show how scientific advancement has carried us beyond the possibility for similar disasters to occur.

Isaac Asimov follows the culture of reassurance in his book *How Did We Find Out About Volcanoes?* by using historic accounts of volcanoes to explain developments in volcanology. Although ancient Greeks and Romans explained volcanoes as the power of the god of fire or the rumblings of angry giants, through careful observation over thousands of years, modern societies have made huge strides in science that provide a more rational definition: volcanoes are weaknesses in the earth’s crust where the heated magma seeps through. Recognizing volcanoes as processes of the natural world has allowed scientists to develop tools that can measure changes in volcanic activity, supposedly making it possible for the modern world to prevent another Pompeii from occurring. Asimov uses the 1980 eruption of Mount St. Helens to illustrate this idea. Despite the force of the eruption, which Asimov describes in full detail, only fifty-seven deaths occurred compared to the entire villages that were annihilated by the AD 69 eruption of

---

39 Berger, 13.
41 Asimov, *How Did We Find Out About Volcanoes?*, 52–55.
Mount Vesuvius. In Asimov’s opinion, the significantly different outcomes were a direct result of greater understanding of the science behind volcanoes. He does admit that there are limitations to our knowledge—specifically our ability to predict both the when and the where of the next disaster. Still, he leaves readers confident in the culture of reassurance, reminding them that while volcanic predictions are limited there is “no substitute for knowledge.”

**Predictability**

In regards to predictability, the culture of reassurance must deal with the fact that not all disasters are created equal; earthquakes are more difficult to predict than volcanoes, and tornadoes strike with less warning than hurricanes. In children’s literature, the goal of developing the ability to predict disasters is presented almost as an obsession for those involved with disaster research and writing. All of the fifty-one books discuss predicting disasters in some form or another. For hurricanes and tornadoes, it is often in terms of the progress that has been made with warning systems, although each author also admits that not even these disasters can be predicted with exactness. Volcano predictability is discussed in terms of plate tectonics that allow scientists to identify active volcanoes as well as the technology used to measure variations in volcanic activity.

Humans’ inability to predict anything about earthquakes, except a general understanding of where the faults are and how frequently quakes have occurred in the geologic record, sets earthquakes apart from the other disasters in the culture of reassurance. Particularly in books written between 1980 and 2000, authors cite any way that scientists had potentially predicted earthquakes. One commonly cited example was an earthquake supposedly predicted by Chinese seismologists in the mid-1970s. *Earthquake*, written in 1980 by John Gabriel Navarra, devotes an entire subheading to the discussion of the Chinese ability to predict earthquakes. The enthusiasm seismologists displayed in potentially being able to crack the earthquake question and the enthusiasm with which children’s nonfiction authors reported these exciting possibilities provides

---

42 Asimov, 40-44.
43 Asimov, 55.
insight into the concern both groups felt about humanity’s inability to “tame earthquakes.”

*Earthquake*, written in 1991 by Jules Archer, is perhaps the most extreme example of the search for the culture of reassurance through earthquake predictions. Although Archer is typically credited with being a level-headed biographer and historian, his book on earthquakes suggests a deep desire to reassure his audience that human ingenuity will come up with some way to predict earthquakes. He cites every means by which earthquakes could possibly be predicted, including claims that there are more quakes during the winter, when the moon is closest to the earth, and during solar flares. He ends this hodge-podge list of correlations with the caveat, “These are not surefire indications. . . . Many earthquakes occur suddenly, without warning.” In many ways, Archer’s approach to earthquakes is like the culture of reassurance run rampant.

Although the examples used in Archer’s book are on the extreme, the themes and ideas are similar to what other authors have written about earthquakes and other disasters. In all of the books, prediction is painted as the ultimate end of scientific research into disasters. As tornado chaser Dr. Josh Wurman stated, “I am working on problems that can be solved, and it won’t take a hundred years to do it.” Not only is prediction the goal, but scientists and others are sure that it can be achieved, a confidence gained from decades of living within the culture of reassurance.

**CONCLUSION**

Children’s nonfiction books on tornadoes, hurricanes, volcanoes, and earthquakes portray Americans’ desire to feel confident about the ability of science to overcome disasters. Authors use literary devices and scientific knowledge to assuage readers’ fears, emphasizing the culture of reassurance—a culture with real-life implications as seen in a recent tropical storm that hit the Northeast.

Late in October 2012, nearly seventy-five years after the Long Island Express hurricane, the Northeastern United States was once again threatened by a post-tropical storm. This time, unlike the earlier storm, the science to track the hurricane’s progression had long been in place. As a result, most people were able to

---

51 Grace, *Forces of Nature*, 57.
escape from the fury of Hurricane Sandy and the death toll was below three hundred people in the United States, a decrease of approximately five hundred people from the earlier storm despite the fact that the population in the region experienced substantial growth in the last seven decades. In this instance, the culture of reassurance worked to protect people. However, as the $65.6 billion of property damage attributed to Sandy suggests, many people developed an over-reliance on science and continued building in areas which a lesson in history would teach people to avoid. 52

Of the 1938 New England hurricane, Patricia Lauber wrote, “Weather scientists... set a goal: to make sure that no big storm would ever again come as a terrifying surprise. In time, they would succeed.” 53 And so they did. Hurricanes no longer make landfall in the United States without some advance notice thanks to new science and technologies. It remains to be seen whether or not Hurricane Sandy will have a similar impact on discouraging sole reliance on science and technology and encouraging people to build in less disaster-prone areas. But history would suggest that that lesson is yet to be learned as Americans continue to live by the culture of reassurance.

Emily Willis is a senior at BYU pursuing a major in history and a minor in environmental science. She has always been fascinated by both history and science and loves researching the history of natural disasters as a way to combine the disciplines. Emily first became interested in the history of natural disasters as a sophomore at BYU; since that time, she has written numerous original research papers on some aspect of natural disasters. In 2008, she received an ORCA (Office of Research and Creative Activities) Undergraduate Research Grant to research the role of women in natural disasters. Versions of the resulting paper, “Calamity Jane: LDS Women and the Teton Dam Disaster of 1976,” were published in the Thetean and The Rocky Mountain Undergraduate Review in 2009. She recently presented “Reading Disasters” at the Phi Alpha Theta regional conference. The paper was also awarded the BYU History Department’s LeRoy R. Hafen award for North American History. After graduating from BYU, she plans to attend graduate school where she will pursue a master’s degree and PhD in environmental history. This essay was written for the History Capstone taught by Dr. Shawn Miller.

Human Nature and the Integration of Faith and Reason

Bradley Kime

In his 1838 Divinity School address, Ralph Waldo Emerson said that "every man is an inlet into the deeps of Reason."¹ Heavily influenced by Hindu Monism, Emerson believed human beings were one with the universal soul—the immanent divinity of the natural universe. Because of humanity's divine nature, Emerson saw reason as an intuitive revelation springing from within every individual, while faith was simply a recognition of one's innate intuition. Faith and reason were two sides of the same coin.² Emerson's Transcendentalism illustrates how conceptions of faith, reason, and their relationship often rest on underlying beliefs about human nature.

This essay discusses faith and reason in the context of three philosophical anthropologies. Calvinist and Enlightenment thought, broadly-speaking, represented extremes in their estimations of human nature. Both consequently envisioned conflict between faith and reason.³ The restored gospel's insights into human nature navigated and transcended reformed theology and the Enlightenment, illuminating the possibilities for the integration of faith and reason. In

2 For more on Emerson's concept of "Reason" see Patrick J. Keane, Emerson, Romanticism, and Intuitive Reason (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2005).
3 Calvinism and the Enlightenment were arguably the two most powerful shaping forces in the two centuries of American religious thought that preceded Joseph Smith. See E. Brooks Holifield, Theology in America (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).
my own experience, the Holy Ghost has drawn on the epistemological capacities inherent in human nature to enable a practical implementation of those possibilities in scholarship.

Such an integration of faith and reason was not something John Calvin’s view of human nature imagined. In Book II of his Institutes of the Christian Religion, Calvin defined original sin as “an hereditary pravity and corruption of our nature, diffused through all parts of the soul.” After explaining the universality and totality of our depraved human nature, Calvin emphasized that this condition extended to our reasoning capacities in particular. The corruption was “not solely in the sensual part of the soul, but even in the mind itself.” Such a mind, unless regenerated by a predestined election of grace, was wholly corrupt. Unaided reason, in this light, could have no integrated relationship to faith. When detractors argued that the tenets of Calvin’s faith contradicted reason, his standard response was that faith “transcend[ed] our powers of discernment” and should not be “subjected to our understanding.” Just as salvation was determined by God’s will regardless of human choice, knowledge—to Calvin—was obtained by faith independent of human reason.

Two centuries after Calvin and surrounded by religious wars, intolerance, and superstition, enlightened philosophes traced nearly every problem plaguing society to the disparaging of human nature and human reason. According to Baron d’Holbach, “The human mind, confused with its theological opinions, forgot itself, doubted its own powers, mistrusted experience, feared truth, disdained its reason, and abandoned her direction.” The neglect of reason, in other words, was a natural result of dogma that denigrated human nature. In contrast to Calvinist thought, Enlightenment thinkers saw human nature as inherently good and self-sufficient. From this understanding of human nature flowed their conviction that reason was a panacea: “Men have no need of theology, of revelation, or gods,” continued d’Holbach, “They have need only of reason. They have only to enter into themselves, to reflect upon their own nature.” Whereas in Calvinist thought, humanity was wholly corrupt, in the Age of Reason, man was the measure of all things. But both estimations of human nature placed faith and reason in conflict.

4 John Allen, trans., The Institutes of the Christian Religion by John Calvin (Philadelphia: Nicklin and Howe, 1816), 266.
5 Allen, Institutes, 305.
6 Hillerbrand, Protestant Reformation, 231.
8 Kramnick, Enlightenment Reader, 144.
Transcending Calvinism and the Enlightenment, Joseph Smith Jr. taught that human nature was neither utterly depraved nor self-sufficient. It was human and divine, imperfect but perfectible. It was infinitely malleable according to human freedom and divine grace. It was a product of choices—both human and divine. As immortal beings with freedom and intelligence, men and women were, to Joseph Smith, capable of obtaining knowledge by both faith and reason. The fullest use of either required the integration of both. Temporary separation from God and the need for experiential development necessitated such an integrated epistemology. The integration depended on the agency of humans and the agency of God working in dynamic synergy. From an understanding of men and women as co-eternal with God, intelligent and free, but only midway through their eternal progression, flowed an affirming and reconciling view of faith and reason.

In his 1855 *Key to the Science of Theology*, Parley P. Pratt built on Joseph Smith’s insights. In Pratt’s view, human nature was developmentally divine, and our innate, divine capacity for reason could be unlocked through the influence of the Holy Ghost. “An intelligent being,” Pratt wrote, is “in the image of God” and “possesses every . . . attribute . . . which is possessed by God Himself,” but “these attributes are in embryo, and are to be gradually developed.” Pratt continued: “The gift of the Holy Spirit adapts itself to all these . . . attributes.” In particular, “It quickens all the intellectual faculties. . . . It develops and invigorates all the faculties of the . . . intellectual man.” To Pratt, reason—intellect—was in our divine genetics, and faith facilitated its development and utilization through the influence of the Holy Ghost.9

My own experiences in scholarship have verified this view of human nature, faith, and reason. Neither Calvinistic pessimism nor Enlightenment hubris has dominated my epistemic outlook, and faith in the power of the Holy Ghost has enlivened my innate intellectual capacities. I have relied on the quickening effects of that faith in tandem with my reason and intellect as I have pursued knowledge and rigorous scholarship. For me, that process has blurred the epistemic line between faith and reason, even in academic contexts. Human nature allows for the integration of faith and reason, the Holy Ghost enables that integration, and scholarship is enhanced by the quiet, careful discernment that such integration produces.

---

DEPARTMENT PAPER AWARDS
AWARDS FOR OUTSTANDING PAPERS WRITTEN IN 2012

Women’s History Award
Emily Davis, “A Favorite of My Mistress’: The Female Domestic Slave’s Search for Connection.” Written for Mary Richards, Hist 490.

LeRoy R. Hafen Award in North American History

Eugene E. Campbell Award in Utah History

De Lamar and Mary Jensen Award in European History

Sechin Jagchid Award in Non-Western History

Fred R. Gowans Award in 19th C. Western US History

Carol Cornwall Madsen Award in Mormon Women’s History
Annie Penrod Walker, “‘Take Every Good’: A Study of the Hidden Trends in the Latter-day Saint Indian Placement Program.” Written for Craig Harline, Hist 490.
History of Science, Medicine and Technology

History of the Family Award

Personal Family History Award

William J. Snow Award in Western or Mormon History
Brandon Hellewell, “Reed Smoot and the League of Nations.” Written for Andrew Johns, Hist 490.

Latin American History Award

Cultural History Award
Stephanie Bergeson, “Changes in German Holocaust Memorials.” Written for Craig Harline, Hist 490.

Native American Studies Award
Joseph Le Bel, “Termination or Education?: Senator Watkins’ Move to Americanize the Native American.” Written for Jay Buckley, 20th C. American Indian History Course, Hist 387.

2013 Faith and Reason Essay Competition
Jade Stocks, “Al-Ghazali’s Deliverance from Error and Mormonism.”