

Notes and references for *Variation West*

The following notes are intended to give a little historical background for some of the places, people, and events mentioned in Ardyth Kennelly's novel; to provide references for some of the quotations and phrases the author took from other works; and to highlight elements that were, or might have been, taken from Kennelly's own life or the life of people she knew. (Disclaimer: I am neither a historian nor a literary scholar.)

It should be noted that in some cases, Kennelly took circumstances or events from the lives of real people (including herself) as a starting point to help create some of her fictional characters—but the *character* of her characters is very different from that of the initial models, as are subsequent events in their fictional lives.

I welcome comments, corrections, and additions to these notes. Please send an e-mail to nancy@sunnycroftbooks.com. —Nancy Tropic

Last revised October 17, 2015

Note: Definitions from the *Oxford English Dictionary* are from the online version. Bible verses are from the King James Bible at www.biblehub.com.

Title page: Whimsically, Kennelly had “Elsie Lacey Tilley” as the book's author. But she never actually stated that she wanted the book published under a pseudonym.

p. 3: “Camp Floyd was a short-lived U.S. Army post near Fairfield, Utah,” which is about 50 miles southwest of Salt Lake City. The camp was established in July 1858 by a U.S. Army detachment consisting of more than 3,500 military and civilian employees. “This unit, the largest single troop concentration then in the United States, was sent by President James Buchanan to stop a perceived Mormon rebellion, which came to be known as the Utah War.” The camp “was abandoned in July 1861 with the military being called east for the American Civil War. Equipment and buildings were sold, destroyed or transported.” Wikipedia, “Camp Floyd / Stagecoach Inn State Park and Museum,” accessed 10-27-14.

p. 3: “metabolic” means “metamorphic” in an obsolete sense.

p. 3: Joseph Smith, Jr., the founder of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormonism), was killed by a mob in Carthage, Illinois, in 1844.

p. 4: The Lion House in Salt Lake City was a large residence built by Mormon leader Brigham Young in 1856 to house many of his wives and children.

p. 4: “Eliza Roxcy Snow (January 21, 1804 – December 5, 1887) was one of the most celebrated Latter-day Saint women of the nineteenth century. A renowned poet, she chronicled history, celebrated nature and relationships, and expounded scripture and doctrine. She was married to Joseph Smith, Jr. as a plural wife and was married openly for many years to polygamist Brigham Young, and was the second general president of the Relief Society of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints ... from 1866 until her death.” Wikipedia, “Eliza R. Snow,” accessed 10-27-14.

p. 4: The Western Approaches is a sea region west of Britain, in a military sense; “approaches” can also mean military entrenchments. (On p. 42 Kennelly mentions “white Mormons from the northern approaches,” which might perhaps refer to northern European countries.)

p. 5: “a vain illusive show...”: Sir Walter Scott, “The Bridal of Triermain.”

p. 5: “contentious storm”: *King Lear*.

p. 6: *Gentile* was a term Mormons used to refer to non-Mormons.

p. 6: Independence and Far West, Missouri, were the site of Mormon settlements from 1836 to 1838, when the Mormons were driven out of Missouri. Missouri militiamen massacred seventeen Mormons at Haun’s Mill on October 30, 1838.

p. 7: “get up in the Celestial and be the lowest of the low”: “Joseph Smith taught that the celestial kingdom itself is subdivided into three ‘heavens or degrees’. Only those individuals who are sealed in celestial marriage to a spouse while alive (or by proxy after death following a proxy baptism) will be permitted to enter into the highest degree of celestial kingdom.” Wikipedia, “Degrees of Glory,” accessed 11-22-14.

p. 8: rowan-wood: “The European rowan (*Sorbus aucuparia*) has a long tradition in European mythology and folklore. It was thought to be a magical tree and give protection against malevolent beings.” Wikipedia, “Rowan,” accessed 8-11-14.

p. 8: “spitting and then dodging”: Kennelly’s cousin William Scott Fisher, in his history of her grandparents Emil and Anna Olsen, wrote: “We know nothing of Emil’s other brothers, Carl and Christian, except that Chris was a touch ‘peculiar.’ It has been said he spent time in the Utah mental facility in Provo. The only story passed down on him is that he enjoyed lying in the grass on his back, spitting into the air, and moving out of the way before the gob returned in his direction!” Fisher, *The History of Our Olsen Family Ancestors* (1989; revised 1996), p. 12, https://dcms.lds.org/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE521650.

p. 9: “Providence don’t fire...”: Mark Twain, *Roughing It*.

p. 10: “Orson Pratt, Sr. (September 19, 1811 – October 3, 1881) was a leader in the Latter Day Saint movement and an original member of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles.” Wikipedia, “Orson Pratt,” accessed 10-27-14.

p. 12: The words of the traditional song “Long Pegging Awl” are somewhat different from the verse here. Kennelly’s original typescript had “long peganal,” which I changed to “long peggin’ awl” for clarity. See <http://mainlynorfolk.info/lloyd/songs/thepeggingawl.html>.

p. 12: “For wise men die...”: Psalm 49.

p. 14: “Deseret Banking Institution”: There was apparently no such bank, but there was indeed a Deseret National Bank in Utah in the later 19th century, and the Mormons used the term “Deseret” widely. “The State of Deseret was a provisional state of the United States, proposed in 1849 by settlers from The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS Church) in Salt Lake City. The provisional state existed for slightly over two years and was never recognized by the United States government. The name derives from the word for ‘honeybee’ in the Book of Mormon.” Wikipedia, “State of Deseret,” accessed 10-28-14.

p. 14: “Holy Nauvoo!”: “In late 1839, arriving Mormons bought the small town of Commerce [Illinois] and in April 1840 it was renamed Nauvoo by Joseph Smith, who led the Latter Day Saints to Nauvoo to escape religious persecution in Missouri. The name Nauvoo is derived from the traditional Hebrew language with an anglicized spelling ... By 1844 Nauvoo’s population had swollen to 12,000, rivaling the size of Chicago at the time. After Joseph Smith’s death in 1844, continuing violence from surrounding non-Mormons forced most Latter-Day Saints to leave Nauvoo. Most of these refugees, led by Brigham Young, eventually emigrated to the Great Salt Lake Valley.” Wikipedia, “Nauvoo, Illinois,” accessed 10-27-14.

p. 15: “the rudeness of Edam”: Mrs. Vigor probably meant “Edom.”

p. 15: “giveth the sun...”: Jeremiah 31.

p. 16: “take no thought for your life...”: Luke 12.

pp. 16-17: “undiscovered country” and “mortal coil”: *Hamlet*.

p. 20: Blue Dick Lopez: “One of the fearless gun-fighters on the Comstock was Blue Dick—few knew him by any other name. Working as a miner, a premature blast had peppered his face with gunpowder, endowing him with a remarkable blue complexion.” Wells Drury, *An Editor on the Comstock Lode* (Farrar & Rinehart, 1936), p. 248.

On “pickling” the head of a dead outlaw for the reward money, see note to p. 184.

p. 22: Fort Lemhi, in Idaho, was established by Mormon missionaries in 1855; they abandoned it in 1858.

p. 22: “Mormonee” and “Merocats” were used, at the time, to refer to Mormons and (non-Mormon) Americans, respectively.

p. 22: “Kanosh (1821 – December 24, 1884) was a nineteenth-century leader of the Pahvant band of the Ute Indians. His band had ‘a major camp at Corn Creek.’ He is remembered for having been ‘friendly toward early Mormon Pioneer settlers.’” Wikipedia, “Kanosh (Chief),” accessed 10-27-14.

“The Utes were fine archers and horsemen who thought agricultural life ‘beneath the dignity of a warrior,’ as one U.S. government agent described them.” Sally Denton, *American Massacre: The Tragedy at Mountain Meadows, September 1857* (Vintage, 2003), p. 77.

“Jondy Lee” would be John D. (Doyle) Lee. From Wikipedia, “John D. Lee,” accessed 10-27-14: “John Doyle Lee (September 6, 1812 – March 23, 1877) was a prominent early Latter-

day Saint (Mormon) who was executed for his role in the Mountain Meadows massacre.... In 1856, Lee became a US Indian Agent in the Iron County area [of southern Utah], assigned to help Native Americans establish farms.”

p. 22: “Who’s on the Lord’s Side?” is a Mormon hymn.

p. 22: The Cold Moon of the Native Americans is December.

p. 24: double chloride of gold: Dr. Leslie E. Keeley’s nineteenth-century “cure” for alcoholism.

p. 25: *Florabel’s Lover* was an 1887 novel by Laura Jean Libbey.

p. 26: “Castoria was the subject of one of the most significant campaigns in early mass advertising. Castoria ads from the 1870s through the 1920s are still visible today.” Wikipedia, “Fletcher’s Laxative,” accessed 8-11-14. This poem and the one Lisheen quotes on pp. 290-91 actually did appear in the humor section of *Frank Leslie’s Popular Monthly*, vol. 12 (1881), and some other publications in 1881 and 1882, although no author is given.

p. 28: A “mitigated affliction department” was apparently found in a department store or draper’s shop and sold clothes to women for a later stage of mourning.

p. 29: “the Vine o’er hills of ruin climbs...”: Joseph Addison, “The Campaign.”

p. 30: “President Young” refers to Brigham Young (1801-1877), president of the Mormon church after the death of Joseph Smith in 1844. Young led the Mormons in their settlement of the Salt Lake Valley beginning in 1847.

p. 31: John D. Lee had 19 wives and 56 children, according to Wikipedia (“John D. Lee,” accessed 10-27-14). Hindle Lee and her sister Lucitie are fictional, as is their mother.

p. 31: “The Mountain Meadows massacre was a series of attacks on the Baker–Fancher emigrant wagon train at Mountain Meadows in southern Utah. The attacks culminated on September 11, 1857, with the mass slaughter of most in the emigrant party by members of the [Mormon] Utah Territorial Militia from the Iron County district, together with some Paiute Native Americans.

“The wagon train—composed almost entirely of families from Arkansas—was bound for California on a route that passed through the Utah Territory during a conflict later known as the Utah War....

“Intending to leave no witnesses and thus prevent reprisals, the perpetrators killed all the adults and older children (totaling about 120 men, women, and children). Seventeen children, all younger than seven, were spared....

“Investigations, temporarily interrupted by the American Civil War, resulted in nine indictments during 1874. Of the men indicted, only John D. Lee was tried in a court of law. After two trials in the Utah Territory, Lee was convicted by a jury, sentenced to death, and executed by Utah firing squad on March 23, 1877.” Wikipedia, “Mountain Meadows Massacre,” accessed 10-27-14.

The first full and carefully researched account of the massacre—and probably Kennelly’s main source when she wrote the book, between about 1977 and 1994—was Juanita Brooks, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* (1950). Excellent later accounts are Sally Denton, *American Massacre: The Tragedy at Mountain Meadows, September 1857* (2003); Will Bagley, *Blood of the Prophets: Brigham Young and the Massacre at Mountain Meadows* (2004); and Ronald W. Walker, Richard E. Turley Jr., and Glen M. Leonard, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows* (2008).

“Today historians attribute the massacre to a combination of factors, including war hysteria about possible invasion of Mormon territory, and hyperbolic Mormon teachings against outsiders which were part of the excesses of the Mormon Reformation period.” Wikipedia, “Mountain Meadows Massacre,” accessed 10-27-14. Walker, Turley, and Leonard sum up many of the background elements of the massacre after describing John D. Lee’s five-minute speech before his execution: “Lee said nothing about the fears, the rumors, the mistaken beliefs, the bad timing, the poor communication, the leadership failures, the violent times, the perversion of religion, the concentration of authority, the unintended consequences of the Utah War—and the simple bad luck—that led to the massacre” (p. 230).

p. 32: “a man’s a man for a’ that”: From a 1795 song by Robert Burns.

p. 33: Concord coach: “Built high and wide to handle the rough, rutted roads of a new country, the design of a classic American vehicle was perfected in Concord, New Hampshire. Carriage builder J. Stephens Abbot and master wheelwright Lewis Downing built the famed stagecoaches of Wells Fargo & Co.

“The curved frame of the body gave it strength, and perhaps a little extra elbow room. Perfectly formed, fitted, and balanced wheels stood up to decades of drenching mountain storms and parching desert heat. The unique feature of these coaches was the suspension. Instead of steel springs, the coach body rested on leather ‘thoroughbraces,’ made of strips of thick bullhide. This feature spared the horses from jarring and gave the stagecoach a (sometimes) gentle rocking motion, leading Mark Twain to call it, ‘An imposing cradle on wheels.’ (*Roughing It*, 1870).” From “The Concord Coach,” <https://www.wellsfargo.com/about/history/stagecoach/concord> (see also the photo at this site, accessed 10-27-14).

p. 33: “gorgeous tragedy in scepter’d pall...”: Milton, *Il Penseroso*.

p. 34: “The Sydney Ducks was the name given to a gang of criminal immigrants from Australia in San Francisco, during the mid-19th century. ... The largest proportion (44%) were born in Ireland and migrated during the Great Irish Famine, first to Australia as laborers and then to California as part of the Gold Rush.” Wikipedia, “Sydney Ducks,” accessed 9-6-14.

p. 35: “all of a sudden BING”: This sense of *bing* only dates to the 1920s, so it’s an anachronism here.

p. 36: “poor Mrs. Lappsley...”: A Lappsley family were neighbors of the Kennellys in Salt Lake City, according to a map of the neighborhood that Kennelly drew late in life.

p. 36: Chloroform “has a pleasant odor and a burning, sweet taste. Chloroform is about 40 times as sweet as sugar.” From www.encyclopedia.com/topic/chloroform.aspx., accessed 9-6-14.

p. 37: “O Wind, / If Winter comes, can Spring be far behind?” Percy Bysshe Shelley, “Ode to the West Wind.”

p. 37: *Zion’s Watchman* (a Mormon mission periodical) was published in Sydney, Australia, beginning in 1853.

p. 38: “Mallart” is presumably a variant of “mallard.”

p. 38: “The tumultuary disorders of our passions”: Joseph Glanvill, *The Vanity of Dogmatizing*.

p. 42: “the name Mavis”: The female name “Mavis” comes from “the name of the type of bird, also called the song thrush, ultimately derived from Old French. It was first used as a given name by the British author Marie Corelli, who used it for a character in her novel ‘The Sorrows of Satan’ (1895).” <http://www.behindthename.com/name/mavis>, accessed 1-18-15. The 1926 movie *The Sorrows of Satan* is mentioned on p. 432.

p. 43: “But seeing Brigham was not so easy...”: “Young’s life in his later years was a very orderly one, although he was not methodical in arranging his office hours and attending to his many duties. Rising before eight A.m., he was usually in his office at nine, transacting business with his secretary, and was ready to receive callers at ten. So many were the people who had occasion to see him, and so varied were the matters that could be brought to his attention, that many hours would be devoted to these callers if other engagements did not interfere. Once a year he made a sort of visit of state to all the principal settlements in the territory, accompanied by counsellors, apostles, and Bishops, and sometimes by a favorite wife. Shorter excursions of the same kind were made at other times. Each settlement was expected to give him a formal greeting, and this sometimes took the form of a procession with banners, such as might have been prepared for a conquering hero.” William Alexander Linn, *The Story of the Mormons, From the Date of Their Origin to the Year 1901* (Macmillan, 1902), chap. 22; www.gutenberg.org/files/2443/2443-h/2443-h.htm, accessed 9-13-14.

p. 43: “After evening prayers in the Lion House...”: “Young’s principal houses in Salt Lake City stood at the southeastern corner of the block adjoining the Temple block, and designated on the map as block 8. The largest building, occupying the corner, was called the Beehive House; connected with this was a smaller building in which were Young’s private offices, the tithing office, etc; and next to this was a building partly of stone, called the Lion House, taking its name from the figure of a lion sculptured on its front, representing Young’s title ‘The Lion of the Lord.’ When J. Hyde wrote [in 1857], seventeen or eighteen of Young’s wives dwelt in the Lion House, and the Beehive House became his official residence. Individual wives were provided for elsewhere. His legal wife lived in what was called the White House, a few hundred yards from his official home. His well-beloved Amelia lived in another house half a block distant; another favorite, just across the street; Emmeline, on the same block; and not far away the latest acquisition to his harem.” Linn, *Story of the Mormons*, chap. 22.

p. 44: The Growler Mountains and the Baboquivari Range are in Arizona.

p. 44: “The seventh son of a seventh son is a concept from folklore regarding special powers given to, or held by, such a son.” Wikipedia, “Seventh son of a seventh son,” accessed 9-13-14. “In Ireland, the seventh son of a seventh son is believed to possess prophetic as well as healing power.” Robert Chambers, *The Book of Days* (1864), under January 26.

p. 47: “raven mother as she was”: “*Rabenmutter* literally means ‘raven-mother,’ and connotes a ‘cruel mother’, presumably since the raven was at one time, for example in medieval bestiaries, believed to be a bird which refuses to feed its young properly until the black colour appears on their wings.” David Leopold, ed., *Stirner: The Ego and Its Own* (Cambridge University Press, 1995), note 196.

p. 50: “the picturesque manifold of life”: This phrase appears in “Giordano Bruno in England,” *The Quarterly Review* 196 (October 1902).

p. 53: Dinwoodey’s Furniture Company was established in Salt Lake City in the mid-1800s.

p. 53: “The Whore of Babylon or Babylon the Great is a Christian figure of evil mentioned in the Book of Revelation in the Bible. Her full title is given as ‘Babylon the Great, the Mother of Prostitutes and Abominations of the Earth.’” Wikipedia, “Whore of Babylon,” accessed 10-28-14.

p. 55: “skinnier than pump water”: The expression “skinnier than a yard of pump water” apparently refers to a person who is tall and thin, presumably from the height of the thin stream of water coming out of a hand pump.

p. 55: “The varsovienne, also known as the varsouvienne or varsoviana, is a slow, graceful dance in $\frac{3}{4}$ time with an accented downbeat in alternate measures. It combines elements of the waltz, mazurka, and polka. The dance originated around 1850 in Warsaw, Poland. ... The dance was popular in 19th-century America, where it was danced to the tune ‘Put Your Little Foot.’” Wikipedia, “Varsovienne,” accessed 10-28-14.

p. 55: “Black Hand ... was a type of extortion racket. ... the term as normally used in English specifically refers to the organization established by Italian immigrants in the United States during the 1880s ... By 1900, Black Hand operations were firmly established in the Italian-American communities of major cities including New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, New Orleans, Scranton, San Francisco, and Detroit. ... Typical Black Hand tactics involved sending a letter to a victim threatening bodily harm, kidnapping, arson, or murder.” Wikipedia, “Black Hand (extortion),” accessed 10-28-14. The term was not associated with Mormons; however, Minerva may have been worried about the Danites (later called the Avenging Angels or Destroying Angels), Mormon vigilantes who “developed an infamous reputation for ... intimidation of Mormon dissenters and ... warfare against anti-Mormon militia units,” according to D. Michael Quinn (quoted in Denton, *American Massacre*, p. 16). “Although the formal Danite organization [formed in Missouri] lasted only a few weeks, it created an enduring belief that the Mormons sponsored a secret brotherhood of religious terrorists.” Bagley, *Blood of the Prophets*, p. 11.

“In their homeland they [an Italian criminal element] had been a part of a ‘society of honor,’ stressing loyalty and obedience to their leaders and strict secrecy, but exhibiting cruelty and ruthlessness in their dealings.” “The Black Hand,” website of the Lawrence County (Pennsylvania) Historical Society, <http://www.lawrencechs.com/museum/collections/the-black-hand/>, accessed 12-2-14.

p. 56: “The rotten Tribune printed the story first...”: Robert Newton Baskin (1837-1918), a prominent non-Mormon official in Utah, includes in his *Reminiscences of Early Utah* (1914) a report by a deputy U.S. attorney, Charles S. Varian, on an 1885 case of entrapment of federal officials by Mormon officials, led by Brigham Young Hampton. Varian quoted from the 1885 report of the grand jury:

“Sometime in April or May last, an officer of the city government ... entered into a conspiracy to open houses of assignation and ill-fame within the city limits, for the avowed purpose of entrapping weak and vicious people into the commission of offenses against chastity and morality, in order that all such might be exposed and punished in the courts. This scheme involved the renting and fitting up of houses for the purpose, the employment of public and private prostitutes, the conversion of the police bureau into a nest of spotters and spies, and the expenditure of a large sum of money....

“... In pursuance of this scheme, houses were rented and furnished on West Temple street, and women placed in possession thereof. These houses were so altered and arranged in their interior that persons could be placed to observe all that transpired within, and every member of the police force of Salt Lake City, with two honorable exceptions, John Y. Smith and William Calder, volunteered his services as a spy and informer in aid of the conspiracy. The women were hired to perform their parts, and their exertions stimulated by the promise of exorbitant sums for their success in entrapping high officials. One of these creatures was promised \$1,000 in the event of her being able to draw the governor of the Territory into her toils.

“In the course of their operations, these women conveyed notes of invitation to many prominent officials and citizens, requesting interviews on business at the places designated. The following, leaving the names blank, is a sample of these notes, delivered by messenger boys:

‘Salt Lake City, July 25, 1885.

Dear Sir: If convenient, I would be pleased to have you call to see me this afternoon or about dusk this evening. I want to see you on particular business. Please send answer by messenger boy when you will call.

Respectfully, _____’

“When the exposure of this conspiracy was at hand the houses were closed. One woman was sent to California up on a ticket furnished her. Another was driven to Francklyn by a police officer, who had previously purchased her a ticket, and then took the train for Denver under an assumed name. One of these women was paid by the city official above refer red to, \$300 or \$400, and the other, \$700 for her services. When the women were safe out of the Territory, complaints were filed, warrants issued and arrests made, and the community thrown into a state of excitement and alarm. The money employed in this scheme, we are told by its prime mover, was paid by one of the high officials of Salt Lake City. It is claimed that the money was raised by private subscription. We have been unable to ascertain that any part of it came from the public treasury. ... We have promptly indicted all persons connected with this unlawful and criminal undertaking against whom we could procure evidence....

“We do not understand that the criminal law of the Territory was designed to aid scoundrelly spies, sneaks and informers in enticing and encouraging well-disposed persons to commit crime, nor to tempt weak and wicked persons to disobey the law.”

p. 56: “The rod of Brother B. Y. Hampton...”: “Aaron’s rod refers to any of the staves carried by Moses’ brother, Aaron, in the Old Testament of the Bible. ... According to tradition, the rod of Aaron bore sweet almonds on one side and bitter on the other; if the Israelites followed the Lord, the sweet almonds would be ripe and edible, but if they were to forsake the path of the Lord, the bitter almonds would predominate.” Wikipedia, “Aaron’s rod,” accessed 10-28-14.

p. 56: “General Authorities”: “In The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS Church), a general authority is a member of the highest levels of leadership in the church who has administrative and ecclesiastical authority over the church.” Wikipedia, “General Authority,” accessed 10-28-14.

p. 57: “slop jar full of filth”: Baskin, in *Reminiscences of Early Utah*, quotes from vol. 3 (1898) of Orson Ferguson Whitney’s *History of Utah* (a strongly pro-Mormon account that Baskin wrote his *Reminiscences* to refute): “Between midnight and daybreak, on September 13, 1885, the residences of United States Attorney Dickson, Assistant United States Attorney Varian, and United States Commissioner McKay, were visited by certain individuals armed with improvised grenades—slop jars filled with filth (human excrement), which were thrown through the windows and shattered against the (inside) walls of their dwellings, alarming the sleeping inmates, damaging furniture and other property to some extent, but inflicting no personal injury.”

p. 58: “wearisome by continuance”: under “tedious” in Samuel Johnson’s *Dictionary of the English Language*, citing Milton.

“they also serve who only stand and wait”: Milton, “On His Blindness.”

p. 61: “Doctor had in mind to build a resort or hospital”: “Dr. J. King Robinson...had been a surgeon with the California Volunteers and arrived [in Utah] with Colonel Connor’s Army in 1861. He was discharged in 1865. Dr. Robinson filed a claim on some property located in the north part of Salt Lake City. The property had a hot springs on it (today this location is known as Wasatch Springs) and then he intended to build a hospital, using the hot springs to treat his patients.” Louwane VanSoolen, in *Vedette* (Fort Douglas Military Museum Association newsletter), fall 2011.

p. 62: “to cease upon the midnight with no pain”: Keats, “Ode to a Nightingale.”

p. 65: “a javelin in Gath”: Goliath, of Gath, was armed with a javelin.

p. 66: “the doctor bashed and battered by his enemies”: From Baskin, *Reminiscences of Early Utah*: “Dr. Robinson was assassinated on October 22, 1866. At that time there were no public or private hospitals in Salt Lake City. He decided to build one, and began by erecting in the vicinity of the Warm Springs, upon unoccupied land situated a considerable distance beyond any habitation of the city, a small frame house to be used as a workshop in the construction of the hospital. Shortly after the workshop was finished a police force tore it down and warned the

doctor that it would not be healthy for him to renew his operations there. The doctor subsequently came to my office, and after stating what had occurred, announced that he contemplated bringing suit to recover damages for the destruction of his property and enjoining further interference by the police. . . .

“ . . . A few weeks after the suit was instituted he was called from his bed at midnight by some unknown person, who stated that an acquaintance of the doctor had been severely injured by being thrown from a mule, and that his services were immediately required. Disregarding the dissuasion of his wife, he proceeded with the unknown person, and upon reaching a point near where the Walker dry goods store is now situated, at the corner of Main and Third South streets, he was brutally murdered. At the inquest held it appeared that seven persons were seen running from the place at the time the crime was committed. . . .

“Doctor Robinson was an educated gentleman of courteous manners and affable disposition. His deportment was in every respect exemplary. He was superintendent of the first Gentile Sunday school in Salt Lake City; was a skillful physician and surgeon; had an extensive practice, and it was generally known that his attendance could always be obtained by anyone, even when compensation was out of the question. He was charitable, and humane motives alone induced him to begin erecting a hospital. He was exceptionally popular, had no known enemy, nor quarrel with anyone except the city authorities. He had done nothing, so far as known, calculated to subject him to any hostility except that of occupying the land before mentioned, which was against the settled policy of Brigham Young respecting the acquisition of property in Utah by Gentiles.”

From Orson Ferguson Whitney, in *Popular History of Utah* (“complete in one volume”; The Deseret News, 1916): “The doctor had been involved in a legal contest with [the municipal] authorities for the possession of the Warm Springs property, a piece of ground built upon and owned by the City for many years, but claimed by the surgeon and a fellow practitioner as ‘unoccupied land,’ a portion of the public domain. They designed erecting a hospital there. Their claim to the property was based upon the alleged invalidity of the new City Charter, which they had been made to believe was defective because it did not appear from the Congressional records that the acts of the Utah Legislature for 1859-1860, containing the charter, had been submitted to Congress, as required by the Organic Act. The litigation followed the removal, by the police, of a shanty and a fence which the two surgeons had caused to be built upon the land, in assertion of their claim. But the case went against them in the District Court; Chief Justice Titus, before whom it was tried, ruling in favor of the City. Three days later Dr. Robinson met his death.” Whitney and other Mormons, including Brigham Young, claimed that the murder must have been perpetrated by non-Mormons wishing to discredit the church.

From VanSoolen, in Fort Douglas Military Museum Association newsletter: “[Dr. Robinson’s] tombstone can be found in the Fort Douglas Cemetery and it reads, ‘In Memory of Dr. J. King Robinson who was assassinated Oct. 22, 1866, Aged 50 years, Vengeance is mine: I will repay, saith the Lord.’”

p. 66: “There is no terror, Cassius, in your threats”: *Julius Caesar*.

p. 67: “The mind I sway by...”: *Macbeth*.

p. 69: Urim and Thummim: “In the Hebrew Bible, the Urim and Thummim...are associated with the hoshen (High Priest’s breastplate), divination in general, and cleromancy in particular. Most scholars suspect that the phrase refers to specific objects involved in the divination....

“Joseph Smith, founder of the Latter Day Saint movement, said that he used interpreters in order to translate the Book of Mormon from the golden plates. The interpreters he described as a pair of stones, fastened to a breastplate joined in a form similar to that of a large pair of spectacles. Smith later referred to this object as the Urim and Thummim. In 1823, Smith said that the angel Moroni, who had told him about the golden plates, also told him about the Urim and Thummim, ‘two stones in silver bows’ fastened to a breastplate, and the angel intimated that they had been prepared by God to aid in the translation of the plate.” Wikipedia, “Urim and Thummim,” accessed 11-9-14.

p. 70: “parfit gentil knight” is from Chaucer; the (apparently common) misspelling is probably intentional.

p. 70: Arthur Perkins Heffernan was arrested for a saloon shooting and suspicion of arson in Virginia City, Nevada (in the Comstock-lode area) in 1871 and taken out and hanged by vigilantes known as a 601 committee. “Whiskey Bill” (William Graves) and Joe Pizanthia were hanged by vigilantes in Montana in 1864. “Whiskey Bill Pizanthia” appears to be a conflation of the two.

p. 71: “a punctual relation of all the circumstances”: The seventeenth-century historian James Howell, visiting Paris, “met with a French Gentleman, who, amongst other curiosities, which he pleas’d to shew me up and down Paris, brought me to that Place where the late King was slain, and to that where the Marquis of Ancre was shot; and so made me a punctual Relation of all the Circumstances of those two Acts.” Letter to Sir James Crofts, May 12, 1620, in Howell’s *Epistolae Ho-Eliaanae* (Familiar Letters). The “late King” was Henry IV of France, assassinated in 1610; the Marquis of Ancre was the Italian Concino Concini, a minister of Henry IV who was murdered by order of Louis XIII in 1617.

p. 71: “those crooks working in Salt Lake”: John D. Lee was made a scapegoat for the massacre by the Mormon leadership; he himself stated before his execution that he had been “sacrificed in a cowardly, dastardly manner.”

p. 72: “the moon in dim Eclipse disastrous twilight sheds”: Milton, *Paradise Lost*.

p. 73: “What Was Your Name in the States?” was a California gold-rush song, with various sets of lyrics.

p. 73: “in these parts a good excuse for shooting a man would be for him to ask a question”: “Nobody asked anybody’s name in them days; it wasn’t courtesy. If a fellow stayed around awhile, somebody’d give him a name—’Slick’ or ‘Skillet’ maybe.” Paul Gray, in *The Westerners: A Roundup of Pioneer Reminiscences*, compiled by John Myers Myers (University of Nebraska Press, 1997; first published 1969), p. 7.

“People didn’t inquire into your business in them days like they do now. Hell, they’ll ask you anything now! But in them days, if they didn’t know your name, they didn’t ask it. . . .

You'd never ask a man his name. That was one thing they'd actually beat us kids for. If fellows come along the road by our house and us kids talked to 'em, as soon as they left, Mama'd call us in. And the first thing she'd ask was, 'You didn't ask any of 'em their names, did you?'" Eugene Higgins, in *The Westerners*, pp. 73–74.

"The American West, with its loosely organized communities of strangers, its scarcity of women and its mixing of people from all over the world, produced its own behavioral norms which, while they had their roots in Victorian America, also had their own unique character. One of the most striking features was the Westerner's obsession with minding his own business. Given the dubious backgrounds of many of the people who had felt compelled to leave everything behind and move out West, it became a particular point of etiquette to leave people alone and never pester them with questions about where they came from, what they were called or what they did before they left 'the States'. 'We ate dinner and then I joined my older brother in asking the stranger what his name was. "Jones is the name" he said. As soon as he rode off, our mother laid us boys out for being so ill mannered as to ask any man his name'. Quoted in the Time Life Book *Cowboys*." From "The Code of the West," <http://walternelson.com/dr/code-of-the-west>, accessed 11-22-14.

p. 74: "Between the dates of [Lee's] conviction and execution, two identical petitions addressed to Governor G. W. Emery and asking that the death sentence be stayed were circulated in southern Utah, one in the Beaver area and one in Panguitch. . . . These petitions bore the signatures of more than five hundred people." Brooks, *The Mountain Meadow Massacre* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1991; first published 1950), pp. 205–6. Kennelly appears to have paraphrased excerpts from the petition; the original can be seen here: <http://archives.utah.gov/research/missing/241/pages/5984.htm>, accessed 11-22-14.

p. 74: "shot at sunrise": Lee was actually executed at 11:00 a.m., March 23, 1877, at the Mountain Meadow, after trials in 1875 and 1876.

p. 74: "fought at Thebes and Ilium": Milton, *Paradise Lost*.

p. 74: The Fairplay Flume (newspaper) was established in Colorado in 1879.

p. 75: Sancho Panza, Figaro, and Leporello are all servants, in (respectively) *Don Quixote*, *The Marriage of Figaro*, and *Don Giovanni*.

p. 75: "Pretty Shadow": Charles M. Russell (1864–1926), an artist and storyteller of the Old West, described such a cowboy through his narrator, Rawhide Rawlins, as Raphael James Christy tells us: "As patterns [in the quickly evolving cattle cultures of Montana in the 1870s and early 1880s] set in, so did fashion, an element that Russell found to be humorous. A few punchers soon became as self-preoccupied in their appearance as the cowboy known as 'Pretty Shadow.'" Christy, *Charles M. Russell: The Storyteller's Art* (University of New Mexico Press, 2004), p. 153. A shadow rider is a "buckaroo with fancy equipment and clothes who rides along looking at his own shadow," according to Lawrence Clayton, Jim Hoy, and Jerald Underwood, *Vaqueros, Cowboys, and Buckaroos* (University of Texas Press, 2001), p. 240.

p. 75: “a sight for sore eyes”: Kennelly uses this phrase to mean someone very pretty or handsome, instead of the standard meaning “a welcome sight.”

p. 79: “Conference in October”: “General Conference is a semiannual gathering of members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS Church), held every April and October” in Salt Lake City. Wikipedia, “General Conference (LDS Church),” accessed 11-22-14.

p. 80: “business like tea, coffee, whiskey, smoking...”: “The ‘Word of Wisdom’ is the common name of a section of the [Mormon] Doctrine and Covenants. . . . It is also the name of a health code based on this scripture. . . . The text discourages ‘hot drinks,’ the non-medicinal use of tobacco, the consumption of wine (excluding sacramental wine) or ‘strong drinks,’ and encourages using meat sparingly.” Wikipedia, “Word of Wisdom,” accessed 11-22-14.

p. 81: “travelers from Arkansas and Missouri”: I added “Arkansas” here; Kennelly’s original text read only “travelers from Missouri,” which was likely an oversight. Early accounts of the wagon train indicated that it included a group of “ruffians” who called themselves the Missouri Wildcats (see, for example, Bagley, *Blood of the Prophets*, p. 280; and Walker, Turley, and Leonard, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows*, pp. 87–88). Brooks, probably one of Kennelly’s main sources, mentions “this twofold nature of the company” (*Mountain Meadows Massacre*, p. 46). Later in the book Kennelly does refer to the wagon train as being from Arkansas, so she was clearly aware of its true origin.

p. 81: “some dragoons passing through...”: Dragoons (cavalrymen) under Captain R. P. Campbell from Camp Floyd (some 50 miles south of Salt Lake City) and Major James H. Carleton from California rendezvoused at the site of the massacre in the spring of 1859, buried (or re-buried) the victims, and built a rock cairn at the site with a wooden cross above it. Brigham Young visited the cairn in 1861 and had it destroyed. See Bagley, *Blood of the Prophets*, pp. 225–29, 247. The cairn was rebuilt and destroyed again several times until 1932, when a new memorial was built.

p. 82: “Melchizedek priest”: “In The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints . . . , the Melchizedek priesthood is one of two governing priesthoods, which is typically given as a matter of course to worthy male members 18 years and older.” Wikipedia, “Melchizedek priesthood (Latter Day Saints),” accessed 11-22-14.

p. 85: “punish the wicked...” is from Isaiah, but it should be “the *haughtiness* of the terrible.” Probably Kennelly intended this as Aunt Ruth’s mistake.

p. 86: George Q. Cannon (1827–1901) was a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles of Mormon church.

p. 86: “July Twenty-fourth celebrations”: Pioneer Day in Utah “commemorates the entry of Brigham Young and the first group of Mormon pioneers into the Salt Lake Valley on July 24, 1847, where the Latter-day Saints settled after being forced from Nauvoo, Illinois, and other locations in the eastern United States. . . . Pioneer Day is considered a special occasion by many members of [the church]. On Pioneer Day, some Latter-day Saints walk portions of the Mormon

Trail or reenact entering the Salt Lake Valley by handcart.” Wikipedia, “Pioneer Day (Utah),” accessed 11-22-14.

p. 87: “Richest outfit ever to cross the plains”: In April 1857, “the richest wagon train ever to enter Utah Territory was gathering in northwest Arkansas.” Denton, *American Massacre*, p. 90. “The total worth of the emigrants’ property is difficult to calculate, but a good guess at 1857 prices would be about fifty thousand dollars. Adjusting for inflation, that amount would be more than a million dollars in 2007, a century and a half later. William Carey, who later prosecuted John D. Lee, described the train as reputedly ‘the best equipped and richest that had ever crossed the Rocky Mountains,’ an overstatement even for the emigration of 1857. Still, the emigrants’ property made the train ‘exceptionally well to do.’ The poor people in southern Utah, struggling to carve out an existence in their frontier settlements, must have looked upon the train with wonder, and some even with envy.” Walker, Turley, and Leonard, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows*, p. 105.

p. 88: Apostle George A. Smith made a trip to southern Utah in August 1857, on a “mission to alert the settlements of southern Utah to the coming confrontation” with U.S. Army troops. “On his way south, Apostle Smith fanned war hysteria and hostility toward outsiders in a series of militant sermons.” Bagley, *Blood of the Prophets*, pp. 83–84.

p. 88: “He wouldn’t do what they told him to”: “A legend is told of young Tom Pierce, who refused to have anything to do with the affair and turned to walk away. When his own father, who was an officer, ordered him into the ranks and he still did not return, the father shot at him. The bullet grazed the side of Tom’s head, leaving a permanent scar just above his ear.” Brooks, *Mountain Meadows Massacre*, p. 90.

p. 88: “That oath, never to tell!”: Denton (*American Massacre*, p. 141) quotes from Lee’s autobiography, *Mormonism Unveiled, or Life and Confessions of John D. Lee* (2001 edition, p. 251): “We ‘made speeches, and ordered the people to keep the matter a secret from the entire world,’ Lee said. ‘Not to tell their wives, or their most intimate friends, and we pledged ourselves to keep everything relating to the affair a secret during life. We also took the most binding oaths to stand by each other, and to always insist that the massacre was committed by Indians alone. This was the advice of Brigham Young too.’”

p. 88: “melted down like wax”: A ballad of the Mountain Meadows massacre, presumably composed by Army soldiers in the months or years after the event, says that the emigrants, as they were murdered, “melted down with one accord like wax before the flame.” For more about the ballad, see note to p. 527.

p. 89: Charley Ross, age 4, was kidnapped for ransom in 1874 in Pennsylvania; the case received widespread publicity.

p. 90: “sleeping with one’s fathers,” in a biblical sense, apparently refers to death.

p. 90: “hurled his father’s entrails...”: Dryden’s translation of Virgil’s *Georgics* includes the line “when Deucalion hurled his mother’s entrails on the desert world.”

p. 93: “Bear Dance time”: “The Bear Dance and the Sun Dance (*adm. 25¢*) are annual events on the [Uintah and Ouray] reservation. The four-day Bear Dance, which celebrates the advent of spring, is held at Whiterocks, Ouray, and Myton, late in March or early in April, and is performed in a brush enclosure, the women choosing partners. The partners face each other, take a few steps forward, then a few steps backward, repeating indefinitely. The musical accompaniment is supplied by placing a notched stick on a resonator—usually a piece of tin or an old tub—and rubbing it with a smooth stick. Marriages are often consummated at the Bear Dance, by rolling the couple in a blanket overnight.” *Utah: A Guide to the State*, American Guide Series, compiled by workers of the Writers’ Program of the Work Projects Administration for the State of Utah (1941), p. 375. For more about the WPA Writers’ Project and Kennelly’s participation in it, see note to p. 523.

p. 93: “Elohim throwing back the Virgin’s covers”: From Wikipedia, “Mormon Cosmology” (accessed 11-22-14): “*Origin of Elohim (God the Father)*: According to Mormon theology, God the Father is a physical being of ‘flesh and bones.’ Mormons identify him as the Biblical god Elohim. Latter-day Saint leaders have also taught that God the Father was once a mortal man who has completed the process of becoming an exalted being. According to Joseph Smith, God ‘once was a man like one of us and . . . once dwelled on an earth the same as Jesus Christ himself did in the flesh and like us.’ *Origin of Jehovah (Jesus)*: According to Mormon belief, Jesus is identified as the god Jehovah, or Yahweh. Jehovah received a body when he was born to the Virgin Mary and was named Jesus. Jesus was the Son of God—the literal father of his physical body was God the Father.”

p. 94: “the thrones, kingdoms. . .”: “If a man marry a wife by my word . . . Ye shall . . . inherit thrones, kingdoms, principalities, and powers, dominions, all heights and depths . . .” From the (Mormon) Doctrine and Covenants, section 32, <https://www.lds.org/scriptures/dc-testament/dc/132.19?lang=eng>.

p. 94: Parley P. Pratt, a Mormon apostle, was murdered by the jealous legal husband of one of his wives in 1857 in Arkansas.

p. 96: “Loup Indians”: Pawnee living on the Loup River.

p. 97: “Blood Atonement”: This doctrine, advocated by church leaders especially during the 1856–57 Mormon Reformation (a period of increased religious fervor), held that some sins, such as adultery, required that the perpetrator have his or her throat slit, with the blood spilled on the ground, in order to save their soul.

p. 98: “Zions Cooperative Mercantile Institution, known as ZCMI, the ‘People’s Store,’ is what one historian called America’s First Department Store, and was founded in March 1868. . . . Brigham Young gathered a group of community and business leaders to form an organization of community-owned merchandising dedicated to the support of home manufacturing and to sell goods ‘as low as they can possibly be sold, and let the profits be divided among the people at large.’ . . . Although ZCMI was itself never a true cooperative, it spawned a region wide system of local cooperatives owned and operated by the people. . . . The store sold a wide variety of

goods including clothing, wagons, machinery, sewing machines and carpets, all available to member cooperatives at the same price as in Salt Lake City. ZCMI served as an outlet for the products produced by the Saints themselves as well as ‘states’ goods. . . . In 1876 many of the several departments were consolidated under a single roof. The impressive three-story brick-and-iron facade of ZCMI stretched long down Salt Lake City’s Main Street.” Martha Sonntag Bradley, “ZCMI,” in *Utah History Encyclopedia*, http://historytogo.utah.gov/utah_chapters/pioneers_and_cowboys/zcmi.html, accessed 12-26-14.

p. 98: “four-square to all the winds that blew”: Tennyson, “Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington.”

p. 100: “Englebrecht’s Wholesale Liquors”: Baskin, in *Reminiscences of Early Utah*, mentions an 1870 legal case involving Paul Englebrecht and Christian Rehemke, wholesale liquor dealers.

p. 101: “Lord Byron handled a similar situation. . . .”: Byron’s illegitimate daughter by Claire Clairmont, Mary Shelley’s stepsister, died in Italy at age five, attended by three doctors (as was the fictional Miss Gabriel). “Allegra’s tiny body was sent back to England—the body is embarked—in what ship—I know not’—and a ghoulish rumour circulated that the child was sent back to England in two parts to save money.” From “The Short Tragic Life of Allegra Byron,” <http://darkestlondon.com/2012/10/19/the-short-tragic-life-of-allegra-byron/>, accessed 11-22-14.

p. 105: A Marquis de Beaurepaire was on the list of the “ninety-three peers of France who have been disqualified from taking their seats under the new government” after the revolution of 1830, according to James Swaim and Columbus C. Conwell, *History of the French Revolution of 1830* (Philadelphia, 1830).

p. 106: “eyebrows made out of pieces of mouse-skin, and plumpers of cork for mouths that had fallen in”: In the eighteenth century, “the fashion for gray powdered hair created a desire for gray eyebrows. Women shaved their own eyebrows and replaced them with false eyebrows made of gray mouse hair. . . . Missing teeth caused many people’s cheeks to look hollow. To give themselves a healthy full-looking face, many people stuffed plumpers, or cork balls, between their gums and cheeks. Plumpers caused people to speak in a funny way, but so many people used them that the funny way of speaking became fashionable, too.” From “Eighteenth-Century Body Decorations,” http://www.fashionencyclopedia.com/fashion_costume_culture/European-Culture-18th-Century/Eighteenth-Century-Body-Decorations.html (accessed 11-24-14).

p. 106: permanganate of potash: A 1915 book, *Hairdressing and Tinting*, mentions permanganate of potash as a hair dye, to give a “light brown auburn to dark brown.” When mixed with distilled water, it gives a “dark violet solution.”

p. 108: “the convert named Brother Larkin”: From the website of Larkin Mortuary in Salt Lake City (accessed 11-24-14): “Larkin’s pioneer founder, George William Larkin, arrived in the Salt Lake Valley in 1863, having emigrated from Cambridge, England.”

p. 109: “the meanest artisan...”: This is actually a paraphrase from Samuel Johnson—another example of a quotation from a famous person being passed off as one’s own (as Lisheen claimed credit for a quotation from Keats on p. 62).

p. 113: “cursed in his basket and his stores”: Deuteronomy 28:5: “Blessed shall be thy basket and thy store.”

p. 113: The Emma Silver Mine, in Utah’s Little Cottonwood Canyon, was “most famous for an attempt in 1871 by two American business promoters, including Senator William M. Stewart and James E. Lyon, to make a profit by promoting the depleted silver mine to British investors.” Wikipedia, “Emma Silver Mine,” accessed 11-25-14.

p. 114: Emperor Maximilian of Mexico was executed (shot) in 1867, ten years earlier.

p. 114: “Salt Lake and Los Angeles Railway”: “The development of the railway line that became the LA&SL began in 1871 when the Utah Southern Railroad began laying track southward from Salt Lake City.” It was “incorporated in Utah in 1901 as the San Pedro, Los Angeles and Salt Lake Railroad.” Wikipedia, “Los Angeles and Salt Lake Railroad,” accessed 11-25-14.

p. 114: “Mr. Blatchford”: Blatchford was the maiden name of Kennelly’s stepfather’s (Hiram Parker’s) sister-in-law. Edith Blatchford and her parents moved from Ontario, Canada, to Linn County, Oregon, so the Parker/Kennelly and Blatchford families were well acquainted.

p. 115: “Black Hand Society”: See note to p. 55.

p. 116: “*O Zion, Dear Zion...*”: The song Hindle remembers is “O Ye Mountains High,” an LDS hymn.

p. 116: “Then said the trees said unto the vine...”: Judges 9:12.

p. 116: “Those who think must govern those that toil”: Oliver Goldsmith (1728–1774), “The Traveller, Or, a Prospect of Society.”

p. 117: “great day of His wrath...black as sackcloth of hair...”: Revelation 6:17, 12.

p. 117: “by the flames...”: Paraphrased from Revelation 9:18.

p. 119: “*sometimes it breathes life into a stone*”: “I have seen a medicine / That’s able to breathe life into a stone”: From *All’s Well That Ends Well*.

p. 120: “the Five Predictables”: The ancient Greek philosopher Porphyry “famously [broke] down the philosophical concept of substance into the five components *genus, species, difference, property, accident*.” Wikipedia, “Porphyry (philosopher),” accessed 11-25-14.

p. 120: “the original Garden of Eden...”: Adam-ondi-Ahman . . . is a historic site in Daviess County, Missouri about five miles south of Jameson. . . . Contemporaries of [Joseph] Smith

stated that he taught that the Garden of Eden was located in the vicinity of Independence, Missouri, and that after Adam and Eve were banished from the garden, they went to Adam-ondi-Ahman.” Wikipedia, “Adam-ondi-Ahman,” accessed 11-25-14.

p. 123: “Wives, submit yourselves...”: Ephesians 5:22.

p. 124: “The angel Michael?”: “In Catholic tradition, on Judgment Day Saint Michael weighs souls based on their deeds during their life on earth. Saint Michael is often portrayed in art with scales as he weighs souls.” Wikipedia, “Saint Michael in the Catholic Church,” accessed 11-25-14.

p. 124: “*Death of the Seer and Revelator!*”: Brigham Young died August 29, 1877.

p. 124: Mount Timpanogos is in the Wasatch Range; Antelope Island is in the Great Salt Lake.

p. 124: “Had someone poisoned *Brigham Young?*”: “Rumors circulated in Salt Lake City that two of Lee’s sons had poisoned [Young], but the stories gained no lasting purchase.” Denton, *American Massacre*, p. 238.

p. 124: “gormandizing on the ripe fruit of the *Amygdalus persica* tree”: “The peach (*Prunus persica*) is a deciduous tree. . . . The species name *persica* refers to its widespread cultivation in Persia, whence it was transplanted to Europe. . . . The peach is classified with the almond in the subgenus *Amygdalus*.” Wikipedia, “Peach,” accessed 11-25-14.

“On August 23—three months to the day after Lee’s killing—Young gorged himself on green corn and peaches and fell deathly ill. Over the next six days he languished from what was believed to be cholera morbus, though later medical experts determined it to be an appendicitis attack.” Denton, *American Massacre*, p. 238. (August 23 was actually five months, not three, since Lee’s execution.)

p. 125: “a strong, healthy man of only seventy-seven”: Brigham Young was actually seventy-six when he died.

p. 125: “his apron’s gorgeous”: Mormons are buried in their “temple garments,” including fig-leaf aprons.

pp. 126–27: “...going all night and into tomorrow morning and into the afternoon til the funeral starts!”: This appears to be spoken the day after Young’s death, which was August 29, but in fact his funeral was not held under September 2.

p. 127: “the great wall of Salt Lake”: Apparently this wall was no more than twelve feet high. Will Bagley wrote in “A Great Wall Once Circled Salt Lake City,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, Nov. 25, 2001: “Conflicts with Utah’s original inhabitants increased as settlers pushed Indians away from their food sources and off the best land. The Utes soon realized ‘the whites want everything,’ and by 1853 open warfare led Brigham Young to implement a new strategy called ‘forting up.’ This unpopular policy concentrated farms and small settlements into larger forts. . . . ‘We shall commence making a substantial ditch & wall around the whole city,’ Brigham Young informed

Orson Pratt on Aug. 31, 1853, and the wall would be 12 feet high with gates and bastions. The wall was to run for some 16 miles—from the Jordan River up today’s 900 South to 900 East, north to Fourth Avenue, due west to State Street, northwest along Wall Street to 700 North and then back to the river. . . . Salt Lakers completed about six miles of the wall.”
http://historytogo.utah.gov/salt_lake_tribune/history_matters/112501.html, accessed 11-25-14.

p. 128: “Dead lights” refers to lights seen above corpses or in connection with death; also called corpse candles and by other names (*ignis fatuus*).

p. 128: “goat-shanked”: The Greek god Pan is described in some sources as “goat-shanked”; he was known for chasing nymphs and was associated with shepherds and the wilds. Dugger indeed accosted Hindle out in a wilderness, and he “pastured cattle and ran sheep” in the hills (p. 90).

p. 129: “Baskin was in his office late one night...”: “Richardson” and his story seem to be purely fictional, but Sam Gilson did bring William Hickman to R. N. Baskin. From Baskin’s *Reminiscences of Early Utah*: “One evening in 1872, Samuel Gilson, who discovered the gilsonite deposits in eastern Utah, came to my office and informed me that the United States marshal held a warrant for the arrest of Bill Hickman, and that he was hiding to avoid arrest by the marshal and escape assassination by members of the Danite organization of which he had formerly been an active member. That having piloted General Connor’s soldiers into Utah, and having severed his connection with that organization, his former Danite associates had become suspicious of him, and were seeking his life, and that he wanted to employ me as his attorney. I most positively refused to become Hickman’s attorney. Mr. Gilson then stated that Hickman had expressed a desire to make a confession, and that even if I did not accept the offer of employment, that if I would agree to meet him he thought Hickman was in such a state of mind that he would tell me what he knew regarding the numerous murders which had been committed in the Territory. As I was desirous of ascertaining whether such an organization as the Danites or ‘Destroying Angels’—which was so much talked about and feared, especially by apostate Mormons—actually existed, and as Hickman—if it did exist—would know, I consented to meet him and instructed Mr. Gilson to inform him of that fact. In a short time afterward Mr. Gilson returned to my office and said that Hickman was ready to meet me if I would promise not to have him arrested. This I promised. Hickman, about eleven o’clock at night, in company with Mr. Gilson, came to my office. I had never seen Hickman before. After we had been formally introduced by Gilson, I stated to Hickman what Gilson had told me respecting his inclination to tell what he knew about the matters before mentioned. He hesitated, and I said to him that if, as generally asserted, he was or had been a member of such an organization, and had participated in the numerous murders which had been committed in the Territory, that the only atonement now within his power was to reveal the facts, as it might aid in preventing the commission of other like crimes. After deliberating for about a minute, he said that during his seclusion his mind had been greatly disturbed by the matter, and that he had finally concluded to reveal the facts to me, although in doing so he would acknowledge his own guilt.”

p. 130: “Well done, good and faithful servants”: Matthew 25:23.

p. 130: “fag-end”: “The useless, dreary, or extreme end of something. . . . [O]ne early sense of *fag* was ‘end, dragging end,’ and in the earliest dated example *fag end* means ‘ass end’.” Robert L. Chapman, ed., *American Slang* (2nd ed., 1998).

p. 130: “And up came the tree that grew the fatal peaches?”: While this story is fictitious, it’s possible Kennelly could have read this excerpt from J. I. Lighthall’s *Indian Household Medicine Guide* (2nd ed., 1883): “I shall now give you a description of something remarkably strange, that was told by the Rev. R. E. Hera, in the pulpit of the Baptist church in Amelia, Ohio. It appeared marvelous to me, but I have no right to dispute it. ‘There was a man that gave a great deal of attention to the growing of fine peach trees. He had a very fine peach orchard and one day when walking through it, seeing a very large peach he plucked it and ate it. In nine days he was taken with hydrophobia and died. It aroused curiosity, and they took the leaves of the tree and bark and had them examined They then dug the tree up by the roots, and mingled with the roots they found the skeleton of a dog. Then one of the hired hands remembered of burying a mad dog there. It was decided that the poison was carried by the roots through the tree into the peach.’”

p. 133: “‘Begin it, and the work will be completed’”: This quotation is often attributed to Goethe, but apparently he did not actually write it. “The lines are attributed to John Anster in a ‘very free translation’ of Faust from 1835.” See “Popular Quotes: Commitment,” on the website of the Goethe Society of North America, <http://www.goethesociety.org/pages/quotescom.html>, accessed 11-29-14.

p. 133: “A Dame school was an early form of a private elementary school in English-speaking countries. They were usually taught by women and were often located in the home of the teacher.” Wikipedia, “Dame school,” accessed 11-29-14.

p. 133: Auerbach’s: Frederick Auerbach, in the 1860s, established what became one of Salt Lake City’s leading department stores. For some background and photos, see <http://www.deseretnews.com/article/705369128/A-kindly-gentleman-Herbert-S-Auerbach-was-a-Utah-pioneer-of-business-arts-history.html?pg=all>; <http://departmentstoremuseum.blogspot.com/2010/06/auerbachs-salt-lake-city-utah.html>; and <http://heritage.uen.org/companies/Wce9497793b471.htm>.

p. 134: “How sweet the moonlight sleeps upon this bank”: *The Merchant of Venice*.

p. 135: Mrs Beeton’s Cookbook was a bestseller, first published in 1861.

p. 135: “the Anatomy, Gynecology, Pharmacopeia...”: Most of the names of the medical books that Hindle mentions here and later seem to be fictional, but Kennelly may well have looked through some of the medical books belonging to her husband, Egon Victor Ullman (1894–1962), who was an eye, ear, nose and throat doctor from Vienna. Kennelly undoubtedly also learned a great deal about medicine in the Old West from her own reading and research.

p. 136: “Eclectic Practitioner”: “Eclectic medicine was a branch of American medicine which made use of botanical remedies along with other substances and physical therapy practices,

popular in the latter half of the 19th and first half of the 20th centuries. . . . The movement peaked in the 1880s and 1890s.” Wikipedia, “Eclectic Medicine,” accessed 11-29-14.

p. 136: “Hydrotherapy, formerly called hydropathy, is a part of medicine . . . that involves the use of water for pain relief and treatment. . . . The first U.S. hydropathic facilities were established by Joel Shew and R.T. Trall in the 1840s. . . . At its height, there were over 200 water-cure establishments in the United States, most located in the northeast. Few of these lasted into the postbellum years, although some survived into the 20th century.” Wikipedia, “Hydrotherapy,” accessed 11-29-14.

p. 136: “Galvanism is the contraction of a muscle that is stimulated by an electric current. . . . The effect was named after the scientist Luigi Galvani. . . . The modern study of galvanic effects in biology is called *electrophysiology*, the term *galvanism* being used only in historical contexts.” Wikipedia, “Galvanism,” accessed 11-29-14.

p. 136: “Brunoism”: “The Brunonian system of medicine is a theory of medicine which regards and treats disorders as caused by defective or excessive excitation. It was developed by the Scottish physician John Brown and is outlined in his 1780 publication *Elementa Medicinae*. Although Brown’s theory never became very popular in Britain, it had temporary success in America, Italy, and the German-speaking part of Europe.” Wikipedia, “Brunonian system of medicine,” accessed 11-29-14.

p. 136: “allopathy”: “Practitioners of alternative medicine have used the term ‘allopathic medicine’ to refer to the practice of conventional medicine in both Europe and the United States since the 19th century. The term *allopathic* was used throughout the 19th century as a derogatory term for the practitioners of heroic medicine, a precursor to modern medicine that did not rely on evidence.” Wikipedia, “Allopathic medicine,” accessed 11-29-14.

p. 140: King Frederick the Seventh of Denmark ruled 1848–63. In making Stig a painter who attended the “Royal Academy of Copenhagen” (p. 140) or the “Royal Danish Art Academy” (p. 235), who was commissioned to produce a series of paintings, and who had a connection to Mormonism, Kennelly may possibly have been thinking of Carl Heinrich Bloch (1834–1890). Bloch “was born in Copenhagen, Denmark and studied with Wilhelm Marstrand at the Royal Danish Academy of Art. . . . He was . . . commissioned to produce 23 paintings for the Chapel at Frederiksborg Palace. These were all scenes from the life of Christ which have become very popular as illustrations. . . . For over 40 years The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has made heavy use of Carl Bloch’s paintings, mostly from the Frederiksborg Palace collection, in its church buildings and printed media.” Wikipedia, “Carl Bloch,” accessed 11-29-14.

p. 141: “he’s from San Bernardino”: “Mormon leader Brigham Young saw Southern California as a supply source for Utah, and as an immigration and mail stop between Salt Lake City and San Pedro, California. A group of almost 500 Mormons left Utah for California in 1851. . . . The Mormons built Fort San Bernardino at the site of the present county courthouse. Inside the fort, they had small stores, and outside, they grew wheat and other crops. They later moved outside the walls of the fort. . . . The City of San Bernardino was first incorporated on April 1, 1854. . . . At incorporation, there were approximately 1,200 residents, 900 of them Mormons. They

dominated local politics and forbade drinking and gambling.” Wikipedia, “History of San Bernardino, California,” accessed 11-29-14.

p. 146: “the Knight who crossed frozen Lake Constance...”: In Gustav Schwab’s early-nineteenth-century ballad “The Horseman and the Lake of Constance,” a rider hurrying to find the ferry across the lake before nightfall rides across the frozen lake without realizing it, and when a maiden on the other side tells him he has just crossed the lake (“Great God! thou hast ridden across the lake”), he falls off his horse, dead of fright. English translation at <http://www.bartleby.com/270/7/35.html>, accessed 11-29-14.

p. 151: “Ripeness is all”: *King Lear*. (In her memoir *New York on Five Dollars a Day* [forthcoming from Sunnycroft Books, 2015], Kennelly describes meeting the writer Anzia Yeziarska in about 1964: “She didn’t seem like too interesting an old bent-over, white-haired lady to start with, but in the bank when we were standing in line she suddenly said ‘Ripeness is all,’ and I thought well, Shakespeare, you know.”)

p. 152: The Eastman family were neighbors of the Parkers and Olsens in North Albany, Oregon. Mary Catherine Umphrey Parker, Kennelly’s step-grandmother, crossed the plains in the mid-1850s and died at nearly age 90, in 1926. She lived her last years with her son Hiram Parker, his wife Lula (Olsen Kennelly) Parker (whom he married in 1923), and his stepdaughters Ardyth and Marion Kennelly; the girls thus had the chance to become acquainted with an Oregon Trail pioneer.

p. 153: “mortifying mischief”: *Much Ado about Nothing*.

p. 161: “serpent-tailed, goat-bodied, lion-headed beast”: This is the chimera.

p. 165: “Pope Manufacturing Company was founded by Albert Augustus Pope in 1877 in Boston, Massachusetts. . . . Pope manufactured bicycles, under the Columbia brand, motorcycles, and automobiles.” Wikipedia, “Pope Manufacturing Company,” accessed 11-29-14.

p. 166: “marasmus” is chronic undernourishment; “gyrencephalate” means “having a convoluted brain,” as in humans. (Hindle clearly learned from Doctor how to obfuscate.)

p. 166: “*The Sympathetic and Natural...*”: “Albertus Magnus, O.P. (before 1200 – November 15, 1280), also known as Albert the Great and Albert of Cologne, is a Catholic saint. He was a German Dominican friar and a Catholic bishop. . . . Scholars . . . have referred to him as the greatest German philosopher and theologian of the Middle Ages.” Wikipedia, “Albertus Magnus,” accessed 11-29-14. The full title of his book is *Albertus Magnus: Being the Approved, Verified, Sympathetic and Natural Egyptian Secrets, Or, White and Black Art for Man and Beast: The Book of Nature and the Hidden Secrets and Mysteries of Life Unveiled, Being the Forbidden Knowledge of Ancient Philosophers*. Albert advises us that for “bites of rabid dogs,” one should “write these words upon a letter, and hang the same around the neck of man or beast: † Paga † Chaga † Pagula † Chagula † Pagula.”

p. 169: “Haze Blatchford”: In her last revision of the manuscript, Kennelly changed “Haze Teaford” to “Haze Blatchford.” The character had originally been called Watson Teaford. Kennelly wrote in a 1993 postcard to her nephew H. G. Olsen: “Thanks also for the Aimee MacPherson crap if you don’t mind my referring to it in ecclesiastical terms. Ver-ry inter-resting and must have set those witnesses up for life. But what I must almost weep with gratitude about (like Aunt Edith) is the wonderful name of your correspondent: WATSON TEAFORD. It went into my magnum opus immediately & Watson has become quite an interesting character. Of course if the book ever comes out the real Watson Teaford won’t have to stand up as I’m sure he won’t read it.” Watson Teaford (1907–2001) was “Minister in the Foursquare Church and was Dean of L.I.F.E. Bible College (Lighthouse of International Foursquare Evangelism), which was associated with Angelus Temple, Los Angeles, California, at the time of the death of Sister Aimee Semple McPherson. He gave the eulogy at her funeral service.” From Find-a-Grave, <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=85947634>, accessed 11-29-14.

p. 171: “the Mandan doctor . . . old Duck Legs”: George Catlin (1796–1872) was known for his portraits of Native Americans of the Plains; one of his best-known portraits is that of Mah-tó-he-hah (Old Bear), a Mandan medicine man, in full regalia. See <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3000707/>. “Duck legs” means having short legs, but it’s not clear why Haze called his medicine man by that term.

p. 171: “wily beguily”: The *Oxford English Dictionary* lists *wily beguile* as an obsolete term “also freq. in jingling form *wily beguily* . . . : to act wilyly in such a way as to be oneself beguiled, to be entrapped by one’s own craftiness; hence *wily beguily*,” which can also mean “a person who acts thus, or (simply) who acts wilyly or craftily.”

p. 172: “the means justifies the end”: No doubt Hindle meant “the end justifies the means.”

p. 174: “*belief cures and belief kills*”: The usual expression is “belief kills and belief cures.”

p. 175: “all my sins efface”: From a Methodist hymn with words by Charles Wesley.

p. 175: “Man thinks, God laughs”: a Jewish proverb.

p. 176: “bingo, it’s dead”: *Bingo* in this meaning only dates to the 1920s, so it’s an anachronism here.

p. 182: “Black Hand Society”: See note to p. 55.

p. 184: “Three-Fingered Jake”: Kennelly may have been thinking of (or made up a name inspired by) Three-Fingered Jack. Apparently there were at least two Old West outlaws known by that name. (1) “Jack Dunlop, also known as John Dunlop, Jess Dunlop, John Patterson, and most commonly Three Fingered Jack (c. 1872 – February 24, 1900) was an outlaw in the closing days of the Old West, best known for being a train robber. Whether he had just three fingers on one of his hands is not confirmed.” Wikipedia, “Jack Dunlop,” accessed 12-2-14. (2) “[Joaquin] Murrieta’s right hand man was Three Finger Jack (Manuel Garcia) . . . who . . . is credited with numerous atrocious murders. . . . In July 1853 it was announced that . . . a specially formed

company of State Rangers led by Captain Harry Love had killed both Joaquin Murrieta and Three Fingered Jack at Ponoche Pass in Tulare Valley. In order to prove their deaths, Murrieta was decapitated and Three Fingered Jack's hand was amputated. These items were then placed in bottles, embalmed in alcohol, and taken back to the State Capitol where a reward was paid to Love." "Biographical Notes: Joaquin Murrieta," <http://www.inn-california.com/articles/biographic/murrietabionotes.html>, accessed 12-2-14.

p. 184: "all these billions and trillions of atoms": Atomic theory was already developed by Doctor's time.

p. 190: "*By this faith I take my stand*": The proverb "Knowledge is most excellent to win the lands that's gone and spent" was "probably taken from the old book inscription:

'John Merton aught this book,
God give grace therein to look;
Not only to look, but to understand,
For learning is better than houses and lands,
For when houses and land all is spent
Then learning is most excellent.'"

From *Curiosities in Proverbs*, compiled by Dwight Edwards Marvin (1916), <http://www.bartleby.com/346/19.html>, accessed 12-2-14.

p. 191: "knowable relations of unknown things": From *Observations on Man, his Frame, his Duty, and his Expectations*, by eighteenth-century philosopher David Hartley.

p. 191: "*The Organ of Sight in Man...*": See note to p. 135.

p. 191: "a siren form of foetus": "Sirenomelia, alternatively known as Mermaid Syndrome, is a very rare congenital deformity in which the legs are fused together, giving them the appearance of a mermaid's tail. This condition is found in approximately one out of every 100,000 live births (about as rare as conjoined twins) and is usually fatal within a day or two of birth because of complications associated with abnormal kidney and urinary bladder development and function." Wikipedia, "Sirenomelia," accessed 12-2-14. In a March 1995 interview with Nancy Tropic, Kennelly said that the story of the "misshapen baby" was true (along with many other stories in the book, told to her by her mother or grandmother). Typically Kennelly takes a true story and fictionalizes and expands upon it.

The wording of the excerpt Hindle reads is very similar to that found in *Encyclopaedia Britannica: A Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and General Literature*, vol. 16 (1888), p. 791: "Another curious result of defective separation of symmetrical parts is the siren form of foetus, in which the lower limbs occur as a single tapering prolongation of the trunk like the hinder part of a dolphin at the end of which a foot (or both feet) may or may not be visible."

p. 192: "Clerk of the Works" is defined by the *Oxford English Dictionary* as "an officer who superintends the erection of buildings, etc., to secure the proper quality of materials and execution of the work."

p. 192: The “uppity Goddess” is Thetis, who transformed herself into a hundred things to try to escape the hold of Peleus. The poet Stevie Smith wrote, “Poetry is like the goddess Thetis who turned herself into a crab with silver feet, that Peleus sought for and held. Then in his hands she became first a fire, then a serpent, then a suffocating stench. But Peleus put sand on his hands and wrapped his body in sodden sacking and so held her through all her changes, till she became Thetis again, and so he married her, and an unhappy marriage it was.” Quoted in *A History of Twentieth-Century British Women’s Poetry*, ed. Jane Dowson and Alice Entwistle (Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 233. This must have been Kennelly’s source, as others don’t mention these specific transformations. The rest of Kennelly’s story about Thetis doesn’t seem to fit with sources; Thetis did indeed marry Peleus.

p. 193: “*nobody lifted the lid...*”: Kennelly writes in her memoir *Bodies Adjacent* (forthcoming from Sunnycroft Books, 2015) about the idea that the deceased person who is supposed to be in a casket may not actually be there if no one opened the lid to check, in this case her husband: “I didn’t see my dear one dead, I didn’t see him lying in state (if he *did* ‘lie in state,’ I had given orders no one was to see him), I didn’t see him at the funeral, I didn’t see his casket lowered into the ground, I didn’t see it come up and be buried next door a week later, I didn’t see it brought up again four years later, I didn’t see it buried again in Albany. I never saw him, you see, anywhere along the line. The casket could have been empty, somebody else could have been in there, an impostor, a total stranger, you read things like that in the paper all the time. God only knows where he could be.”

p. 195: “For who can fly the feathered fates?”: “And hissing fly the feathered fates below” is from the *Iliad*, translation by Pope.

p. 199: “fumed oak”: Defined by the *Oxford English Dictionary* as “oak which has been darkened by exposure to ammonia vapour.”

p. 201: “The British .577 Snider-Enfield was a breech loading rifle. The American Jacob Snider invented the firearm action, and the Snider-Enfield was one of the most widely used of the Snider varieties. The British Army adopted it in 1866 as a conversion system for its ubiquitous Pattern 1853 Enfield muzzle-loading rifles, and used it until 1871.” Wikipedia, “Snider-Enfield,” accessed 12-3-14. Dugger mistakenly seems to believe that “Enfield” was a person, when in fact it is a location near London where small arms were manufactured.

p. 201: “mark of *Cain* on her”: “Like many Americans of the era, Mormons of the 19th century commonly assumed that Cain’s ‘mark’ was black skin.” Wikipedia, “Curse and mark of Cain,” accessed 12-3-14.

p. 202: “like a lion rangeth abroad”: “Be sober, be vigilant; because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour”: 1 Peter 5:8. Dugger presumably added “virtue and valor” on his own, having heard the phrase somewhere.

p. 202: “Illinois Mounted Volunteers”: This must be a reference to the Black Hawk War, “a brief 1832 conflict between the United States and Native Americans led by Black Hawk, a Sauk leader.” Wikipedia, “Black Hawk War,” accessed 12-4-14. John D. Lee did indeed fight in this war.

p. 202: “They lightered together on the river”: A *lighter* is “a large usually flat-bottomed barge used especially in unloading or loading ships” (Merriam-Webster). Lee’s autobiography relates an episode in which he had to transfer passengers and cargo from the Mississippi steamboat on which he was employed, the *Warrior*, to a second steamboat twelve miles away, under difficult circumstances.

p. 203: “in Independence, Missouri, on election day”: Lee joined the Mormons in Far West, Missouri, in 1838. The Mormons formed a private army amid tensions with the non-Mormon residents, and “the bad blood came to a head at a Daviess County election on August 6, 1838, when three hundred Missourians confronted LDS voters at the small town of Gallatin. A Mormon gave the Danite sign of distress, and eight comrades grabbed oak-heart clubs and used them to beat the non-Mormons. ‘In the battle, which was spirited, but short in duration,’ John D. Lee wrote, ‘nine men had their skulls broken.’” Bagley, *Blood of the Prophets*, p. 11.

p. 203: “Destroying Angels. Danites”: See note to p. 55.

p. 206: “The Father incomprehensible...”: From the Athanasian Creed, “a Christian statement of belief focused on Trinitarian doctrine and Christology.” Wikipedia, “Athanasian Creed,” accessed 12-4-14.

p. 207: “when the earth’s foundations...”: God asks Job, “Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth? . . . When the morning stars sang together and all the sons of God shouted for joy?” (Job 38:4, 7).

p. 218: “swinish squalor . . . and oblivion”: Paraphrased from Aldous Huxley’s 1952 *The Devils of Loudun*, “a historical narrative of supposed demonic possession, religious fanaticism, sexual repression, and mass hysteria which occurred in 17th century France.” Wikipedia, “*The Devils of Loudun*,” accessed 12-4-14.

p. 219: “Bulgarian atrocities”: “The April Uprising . . . was an insurrection organised by the Bulgarians in the Ottoman Empire from April to May 1876.” The Ottomans “brutally suppressed the rebels, leading to a public outcry in Europe and the United States, with many famous intellectuals condemning the Ottoman atrocities.” Wikipedia, “April Uprising,” accessed 12-4-14.

p. 222: “beasts of the field...”: “So that the fishes of the sea, and the fowls of the heaven, and the beasts of the field...”: Ezekiel 38:20.

p. 223: “*sinning their mercies*”: The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines *to sin one’s mercies* as “to be ungrateful for one’s blessings or good fortune.”

p. 224: “Territorial Exposition”: A history of the Utah State Fair doesn’t mention hairdressing contests, but the “annual expositions” did feature a large variety of entry categories: “The exhibits in early fairs were meager, but . . . the public showed keen interest and eagerly sought space to exhibit the products of their homes, shops, and fields. The records from the 1863 Fair show this interest from the following awards: ‘Best boar, ornamental basket, ladies’ straw hat,

best work table, picture frame, pair of woolen hose, bull 4 years old, patch-work quilt, best bread, sample cotton, door lock, mare colt, six brooms, six carrots, red cabbages, best map of Utah, best collection garden seeds, best shoe laces, best white gooseberries, best acre of flax, best Enfield rifle, best plaid flannel, best brown mare, best gross matches, best shoe blacking, two weaver's reeds, best sample soap, best early peaches, best quart turpentine, best peck potatoes, best penmanship, 2 ewes, ornamental needle work, best fall pear, best verbena, best phlox, best butter, best sign painting, best Jersey, best baby chair, best sweet potato, best cotton gingham, best 100 pounds flour." From "The First Years," website of the Utah State Fair, <http://www.utahstatefair.com/info/history/early>, accessed 12-4-14.

p. 227: "a violet by a mossy stone": Wordsworth, "She Dwelt among the Untrodden Ways."

p. 228: "The duellists were two dance-hall ladies": I cannot find any reference to such a duel, nor a place called Sweet Rest, Nevada, but there was indeed a duel between two women in Denver in 1881, the brothel owner Mattie Silks and Katie Fulton: "Mattie's duel with Katie Fulton was for the favors of a Denver tout named Cort Thompson and took place on the banks of the Platte at a resort known as the Olympic Gardens, owned by the Denver Brewery. Every no-gooder in Denver's half-world was on hand for the event: shills and shell men, monte throwers, tappers, roulette dealers, con artists, pimps, bartenders and sports promoters. The disputants were armed with revolvers and marched to their appointed positions as thousands cheered. The guns blazed simultaneously and there was an outraged scream from the spectators' gallery. Cort Thompson had caught Mattie's slug just behind the ear. The next day *The Rocky Mountain News* ran a stern editorial calling on the Denver Brewery to prevent the repetition of such sporting events on its premises." From "Belles and Madams," <http://www.jcs-group.com/oldwest/women/belles.html>, accessed 12-4-14. Another account is similar: "In 1881, Mattie and Kate wound up in the only known pistol duel between two women. But the fight was over love, not money. They stood a few feet apart on the west bank of the South Platte River near the spot where the Larimer Street viaduct would later cross. They both fired, and only Cort Thomson fell, via Mattie's lousy aim. He recovered, because records show he and Mattie were married three years later." Joey Bunch, "Denver's 'Queen of the Night Life' helped make cow town a roost for soiled doves," *Denver Post*, Nov. 15, 2012; <http://blogs.denverpost.com/library/2012/11/15/mattie-silks-queen-denver-nightlife-ruled-kingdom-grace-force/4782/>.

p. 229: "a land called Ruthenia": "The name Carpathian Ruthenia is sometimes used for a contiguous cross-border area of Ukraine, Slovakia and Poland occupied by members of the Rusyn minority. . . . For urban European readers in the 19th century, Ruthenia was one origin of the 19th century's imaginary 'Ruritania,' the most rural, most rustic and deeply provincial tiny province lost in forested mountains that could be imagined. Conceived sometimes as a kingdom of central Europe, Ruritania was the setting of several novels by Anthony Hope, especially *The Prisoner of Zenda* (1894)." Wikipedia, "Carpathian Ruthenia," accessed 12-4-14.

p. 231: "President Taylor": John Taylor followed Brigham Young as the Mormon president, from 1880 to 1887. The passage of the federal Edmunds Act of 1882 made polygamy a felony, forcing polygamists into hiding, and some went to Mexico: "The Mormon colonies in Mexico are settlements located near the Sierra Madre mountains in northern Mexico which were established by members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints beginning in 1885.

Many of the original colonists came to Mexico due to federal attempts to curb and prosecute polygamy in the United States.” Wikipedia, “Mormon colonies in Mexico,” accessed 12-4-14. Taylor himself apparently did not hide out in Mexico: “In 1885 the First Presidency withdrew from public view because of persecution for the practice of plural marriage. They continued to lead the Church from various locations in Utah.” “John Taylor—Third President of the Church,” <https://www.lds.org/manual/presidents-of-the-church-teacher-manual-religion-345/john-taylor-third-president-of-the-church?lang=eng>, accessed 12-4-14.

p. 232: “a whole *army* marched out here...”: “The Utah War . . . was an armed confrontation between Mormon settlers in the Utah Territory and the armed forces of the United States government. The confrontation lasted from May 1857–July 1858. There were some casualties, mostly non-Mormon civilians, and the war had few notable battles, generally being resolved through negotiation.” Wikipedia, “Utah War,” accessed 12-4-14.

p. 236: “Lamanite”: “The Book of Mormon portrays the Lamanites as usually dark-skinned, wicked rivals to the usually lighter-skinned, righteous Nephites, both of whom are portrayed as descendants of Israelites who traveled to the New World by boat circa 600 BCE. . . . Historically, Mormons have identified the Lamanites as the indigenous peoples of the Americas and the Polynesians, or some part of their ancestors.” Wikipedia, “Lamanite,” accessed 12-4-14.

p. 236: “Nothing human...”: The ancient Roman playwright Terence wrote in *Heauton Timorumenos*, “I am a human being; nothing human is strange to me.”

p. 236: “Dr. Beauchamp?”: Frank Erasmus Beauchamp (1877–1942) was a physician known to Kennelly’s stepfamily, the Parkers, in Albany, Oregon.

p. 237: “discharge your function or get off the article”: The *Oxford English Dictionary* gives “chamber pot” as one (colloquial) definition of *article*.

p. 242: “Father, clarify thy name”: John 12:28.

p. 243: “for complete armor fit”: From *Tamburlaine*, by Christopher Marlowe.

p. 245: “Professor Ford’s *Question Book without Answers*”: Dr. B. A. Owens-Adair, in her *Some of Her Life Experiences* (1906), mentions “Professor Ford’s Question-Book. It was a book of questions without answers, on anatomy.” *Gunn’s Family Physician* was apparently published as early as 1869.

p. 245: Potassium permanganate is an antidote to strychnine poisoning; magnesium sulphate is an anticonvulsant.

p. 246: “Decoy Girls”: See note to p. 56.

p. 248: “*I was well...*”:
Stavo bene; per star meglio, sto qui.
I was well, I would be better; I am here.

—Addison’s translation of the epitaph on the monument of an Italian Valetudinarian. *Spectator*, No. 25. *Boswell’s Johnson*, April 7, 1775.

From *Hoyt’s New Cyclopedia of Practical Quotations*, compiled by J. K. Hoyt and K. L. Roberts (Funk & Wagnalls, 1922), <http://www.bartleby.com/78/271.html>.

p. 250: “going to go up the flume”: From the *Oxford English Dictionary*: U.S. slang. *to go or be up the flume*: to ‘come to grief’, ‘be done for’; to die.

p. 251: “And carol loud of love, and love’s delight”: From *Piscatory Eclogues*, by the Scottish-English poet Phineas Fletcher (1582–1650).

p. 251: “Lalla Rookh Coiffure”: *Lalla Rookh* is an Oriental romance by Thomas Moore, published in 1817. Possibly Albert’s coiffure was inspired by illustrations of this tale, some of which feature veils and headdresses on the women.

p. 251: *Godey’s Lady’s Book* was a magazine “published by Louis A. Godey from Philadelphia for 48 years (1830–1878). Godey intended to take advantage of the popularity of gift books, many of which were marketed specifically to women. Each issue contained poetry, articles, and engravings created by prominent writers and other artists of the time. Sarah Josepha Hale . . . was its editor from 1837 until 1877. . . . It was the most popular journal in its day. . . . Hale took advantage of her role and became influential as an arbiter of American taste. She used some of her influence to further several causes for women.” Wikipedia, “*Godey’s Lady’s Book*,” accessed 12-4-14.

p. 255: Marechal was a hair powder popular in the nineteenth century.

p. 256: “For without friendship, society is but meeting”: Francis Bacon.

p. 259: “bronze boy and girl statues on the newel posts”: This description indicates that Kennelly’s model for the Clarendon mansion was the Thomas Kearns residence in Salt Lake City (now the Utah Governor’s Mansion, at 603 East South Temple). Among Kennelly’s papers were reproductions of 20 black-and-white photographs of the interior and exterior of the mansion; the reproductions carry no captions or other identification, but they match the 1907 photos of the Kearns mansion held at the J. Willard Marriott Library at the University of Utah. One of the photos shows the foot of a great staircase whose newel posts indeed appear to have statues holding up branches with light globes:

http://content.lib.utah.edu/cdm/ref/collection/UU_Photo_Archives/id/23207. A modern photo shows the staircase with the globes lit: <http://culpc.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/08/Gov-mansion4.jpg>. Kennelly’s collection also included a photo of the Kearns family (see this photo at <http://www.utahheritagefoundation.org/kearnsgame/index.html>, accessed 12-4-14).

Like Thomas Kearns, the fictional Jim Clarendon started out working in mines and eventually became wealthy; and the Kearns, like the Clarendons, bought furnishings in Europe and held an elaborate housewarming party. From the website of the Utah Governor’s Mansion: “Thomas Kearns was born in Canada, but his family emigrated to Nebraska when he was a child. At the age of 17, he left the family farm to seek his fortune out West. He reached Park City in 1883 and worked his way up from mucker—the lowest paying job in the mine—to owner of the

Silver King Mine which made him a millionaire. Thomas Kearns married Jennie Judge, became an influential businessman in Salt Lake City, was part owner of the Salt Lake Tribune and, eventually, was elected a U.S. Senator. The Kearns spared no expense in building their elaborate new home. They shopped for furnishings in Europe and employed many European craftsmen. When the mansion was completed in 1902 at a cost of \$350,000, the Kearns opened their home to 800 people for two evenings of parties. Guests marveled at elaborate fresh flower and palm decorations, and they danced to the music of a live orchestra.” “Kearns Family: The Mansion’s First Residents,” http://www.utah.gov/governor/mansion/mansion_kearns.html, accessed 12-4-14.

p. 259: “Ophir ore”: This probably refers to the Ophir mine, part of the rich Comstock lode at Virginia City, Nevada (which was at that time—the 1850s—part of Utah Territory).

p. 259: “bécasses et bécassines”: Woodcocks or snipes (small game birds).

p. 260: “Lighthorse Lee”: “Henry Lee III (January 29, 1756 – March 25, 1818), also known as Light-Horse Harry Lee, was an early American patriot who served as the ninth Governor of Virginia and as the Virginia Representative to the United States Congress. During the American Revolution, Lee served as a cavalry officer in the Continental Army and earned the nickname ‘Light-Horse Harry.’” Wikipedia, “Henry Lee III,” accessed 12-10-14.

The “Globe-walker” likely refers to Mademoiselle Florence, who walked atop a large globe (ball) from London to Brighton in 1903. See “Walking the Globe from London to Brighton,” http://www.mybrightonandhove.org.uk/page_id__9179_path__0p116p181p438p.aspx, accessed 12-10-14.

p. 260: Niall of the Nine Hostages, Loiquire, and Toirdelbach Ua Conchobair were all Irish kings. Kennelly had spelled the third king’s name “Toirdelbach no Conchubair.”

p. 261: “my love, my dove, my undefiled...comfort me with flagons...”: Song of Solomon, 5:2 and 2:5. (Verse 2:5, “Stay me with flagons, comfort me with apples: for I am sick of love” [meaning sick with love, or lovesick], is echoed in Kennelly’s collage “Comfort me with diamonds, for I am sick of love”—although in the collage, “sick of” might have been meant in the common modern sense, as it shows a woman “vomiting” these words along a man’s tie into a purse. Verse 5:1 also appears in Kennelly’s writing: in *Good Morning, Young Lady*, Teige Desmond is thinking of “I am come into my garden, my sister, my bride” as he prepares to meet Dorney Leaf again at the end of the book.)

p. 261: “shooting her vivid ray”: “All stones of lustre shoot their vivid ray”: From Thomas Gray’s translation of Torquato Tasso’s *La Gerusalemme liberata* (Jerusalem Delivered, 1581).

p. 261: “Bartholomäus Zeitblom (c. 1450 – c. 1519) was a German painter, the chief master of the school of Ulm. . . . Zeitblom’s paintings are distinguished by artistic feeling and clear, cool, delicate color. His single figures are restrained and often beautiful. . . . His principal works include . . . the great altarpiece with ‘Scenes from the Passion’ and the ‘History of St. John the Baptist,’ in the church at Blaubeuren.” Wikipedia, “Bartholomäus Zeitblom,” accessed 12-11-14.

p. 261: “march out under arms...”: *Chandler’s Encyclopedia* (1898) defines “honors of war” as “terms conceded to an enemy whose gallant defense of a fortress has induced the victor to allow the evacuating force to march out under arms, with colors flying, drums beating, or similar concessions.”

p. 264: “Willy” in this sense is likely an anachronism; Merriam-Webster and the *Oxford English Dictionary* give its earliest use as being around 1905.

p. 265: “manure is very healing”: There doesn’t seem to have been any such incident at the Battle of Culloden; however, according to at least one source, “cow manure (dung) from pastured animals raised on a natural diet (grass) and untreated with antibiotics or hormones is not only non-toxic, but actually has antimicrobial properties.” From <http://montecitowellness.com/cow-dung-as-medicine-really/>.

p. 266: “the buttons the Lamanites chewed sometimes”: Probably referring to mescaline, a hallucinatory drug; this must have been the Indian’s “medicine” that Stig mentioned on p. 236, under the influence of which, presumably, he committed his “self-inflicted mayhem.”

p. 266: “Blood Atonement”: See note to p. 97.

p. 267: “hidden like fairy gold in the Hill Cumorah”: “Cumorah . . . is a drumlin in Manchester, New York, where Joseph Smith said he found a set of golden plates which he translated into English and published as the Book of Mormon.” Wikipedia, “Cumorah,” accessed 12-11-14.

p. 268: “eternal fitness...”: The idea of “the eternal fitness of things” comes from the English philosopher Samuel Clarke (1675–1729).

p. 268: “like as the arrows in the hand of a giant”: Psalm 127:4.

p. 269: “Blackfellows” is a now-offensive term for Australian aborigines.

p. 270: “I want no more of you”: A Mormon hymn contains this line:
Farewell, all earthly honors, I bid you all adieu;
Farewell, all earthly pleasures, I want no more of you:
I want my union grounded in the eternal soil,
Beyond the pow’rs of Satan, where sin can ne’er defile.

p. 271: “she is my joy and comfort”: From *Erec and Enide*, by the twelfth-century poet Chrétien De Troyes.

p. 275: Provo was the site of the Territorial Insane Asylum, opened in 1885.

p. 276: “My land is before thee...”: Genesis 20:15.

p. 277: “raven mother”: See note to p. 47. Apparently the term “raven mother” is used as an insult in Germany (at least in modern times), for mothers who desert their children for careers. (In her memoir *Bodies Adjacent*, Kennelly says, regarding her and her husband’s decision not to have children, “Egon and I decided we would be each other’s baby, and he kept his part of the bargain but I didn’t. To him, as to my books and to many other things in this world, I was a raven mother.”)

p. 277: “missal thrush” is a variant of “missel thrush” or “mistle thrush,” a bird that feeds on mistletoe—a parasitic plant that grows on tree branches, not in the ground.

p. 278: “The gaping fissures to receive the rains”: From “Autumn,” by James Thomson (1700–1748).

p. 278: “the dust and drouth of life”: From “To a Brook,” by James Benjamin Kenyon (1858–1924).

p. 279: “a bill the President signed into law”: “The Edmunds Act, also known as the Edmunds Anti-Polygamy Act of 1882, is a United States federal statute, signed into law on March 23, 1882 by President Chester A. Arthur, on March 23, 1882, declaring polygamy a felony. . . . It was passed in a wave of Victorian-era reaction to the perceived immorality of polygamy, or at least polygyny, which was often compared to slavery. . . . More than 1,300 men were imprisoned under the terms of the Edmunds Act.” Wikipedia, “Edmunds Act,” accessed 12-12-14.

A family-history book by Kennelly’s cousin William Scott Fisher tells the story of Kennelly’s maternal grandfather Emil Oscar Olsen (a tailor and polygamist, like the fictional Lennart Palmstedt). The year the Edmunds Act was passed, Emil returned to Salt Lake City after having lived in the town of Echo, about 40 miles away: “In returning to Salt Lake City in 1882, Emil was unaware that he was leading his family back to the most difficult crises of their lives. As he went about the task of building up his tailoring business, United States Federal agents were monitoring his movements and documenting the facts surrounding his and other polygamists’ marriages. The surveillance of the Olsens began on May 1, 1883, and culminated with his arrest on charges of ‘illegal cohabitation’ around 6 pm on the evening of Friday, April 17, 1885 at his tailor shop. The charge was made under the authority of the Edmunds Law of 1882, which had made polygamy a crime. . . . Emil was tried and found guilty on Saturday, October 3, 1885. He was sentenced to six months in prison with a fine of \$300.” *The History of Our Olsen Family Ancestors* (1989; revised 1996), p. 8, https://dcms.lds.org/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE521650.

Fisher also provides an amusing anecdote about a photo of the polygamist prisoners, who wore black-and-white-striped uniforms: “A photo of the highly-regarded prisoners was taken during the time Emil was in the prison, and he had a copy of it brought home. He had it framed and hung in Anna’s [Emil’s second wife’s] place. Much of Emil’s pride in the picture stemmed from the fact that many high-ranking Church officials were with him in the photo. Matilda [Emil’s first wife] wanted nothing to do with it. An English visitor, upon seeing it, once commented about how at home she felt in the United States, seeing as we had cricket teams, too!” (p. 8).

p. 280: “formless voids of primordial matter”: The definition of *chaos* in the *Oxford English Dictionary* includes as one meaning “the ‘formless void’ of primordial matter, the ‘great deep’ or

‘abyss’ out of which the cosmos or order of the universe was evolved.” From the New Revised Standard Version of the Bible, Genesis 1:2: “The earth was a formless void and darkness covered the face of the deep . . .”

p. 280: “in my Father’s house...”: John 14:2.

p. 280: “Blondin going over Niagara Falls”: “Charles Blondin . . . was a French tightrope walker and acrobat. . . . He especially owed his celebrity and fortune to his idea of crossing the Niagara Gorge . . . on a tightrope. . . . This he did on 30 June 1859, and a number of times thereafter, always with different theatrical variations: blindfolded, in a sack, trundling a wheelbarrow, on stilts, carrying a man (his manager, Harry Colcord) on his back, sitting down midway while he cooked and ate an omelet and standing on a chair with only one chair leg on the rope.” Wikipedia, “Charles Blondin,” accessed 12-12-14.

Kennelly’s original read “Blondin going over Niagara Falls in a barrel,” but since it appears that he didn’t go over (presumably down) the falls in a barrel, I deleted the last three words from the text.

p. 284: “Blind Man’s Buff”: “The traditional name of the game is ‘blind man’s buff’, wherein the word *buff* is used in its older sense of a small push. The game later also became known as ‘blind man’s bluff.’” Wikipedia, “Blind man’s buff,” accessed 12-12-14.

p. 284: “a General all dressed up, up on a big white horse...” Probably referring to Joseph Smith reviewing the Nauvoo Legion. Smith became lieutenant-general of the legion in 1841.

p. 284: Joseph Smith campaigned as an independent for the U.S. presidency in 1844, before he was assassinated on June 27 of that year.

p. 290: *Leslie’s Magazine*: See note to p. 26.

p. 292: “Titusville”: Probably Titusville, Pennsylvania, where oil was found and caused a boom in the 1860s.

p. 293: “Billy the Kid” (born William McCarty Jr.): “According to legend, he killed twenty-one men, but it is generally believed he killed eight.” McCarty was killed by Sheriff Pat Garrett in July 1881 in Fort Sumner, New Mexico. Apparently it was not uncommon for dead outlaws of the Old West to be displayed in store windows, but this was not actually the case with McCarty’s body. “Garrett allowed the Kid’s friends to take his body across the plaza to the carpenter’s shop to give him a wake. . . . The Kid’s body was then prepared for burial, and at noon was buried at the Fort Sumner cemetery.” Wikipedia, “Billy the Kid,” accessed 12-12-14.

p. 293: The Yellow Jacket Mine fire was in 1869.

p. 295: “wild men of Borneo”: “The Wild Men of Borneo, Waino and Plutanor, were a pair of exceptionally strong dwarf brothers who were most famously associated with P. T. Barnum and his freak show exhibitions. Waino and Plutanor were actually Hiram W. and Barney Davis, two mentally disabled brothers from a Pleasant Township, Knox County, Ohio farm, born in 1825 in

New York and 1827 in Ohio, respectively. They were each 40 inches tall and weighed about 45 pounds, yet could perform feats of great strength such as lifting heavy weights and wrestling with audience members on stage. Discovered and subsequently promoted by a traveling showman known as Doctor Warner in 1852, Hiram and Barney were given new names, Waino and Plutanor, and a sensational back story - they were said to be from the island of Borneo, where they had been captured after a great struggle with armed sailors. . . . By 1882 Waino and Plutanor became involved with P. T. Barnum and his traveling exhibitions.” Wikipedia, “Wild Men of Borneo,” accessed 12-13-14.

p. 295: “this Society...sent ministers and mission workers to...towns like Wellsville”: From the Wellsville City, Utah, website: “In 1881 a Presbyterian day school was opened and functioned until 1907 in an exceedingly strong Mormon town.”
<http://www.wellsvillecity.com/about/history/history-of-wellsville/>.

Another source describes how Presbyterian schools came to be established in Utah and Idaho: “Apart from the ubiquitous Sheldon Jackson, no individual made a more significant impact on early Utah Presbyterianism than Duncan J. McMillan. Although his Utah ministry lasted only eight years (1875–1883), McMillan played a pivotal role in establishing an extensive network of denominational mission schools and churches which, at one time, stretched from St. George, Utah in the south, to Malad, Idaho in the north. . . . Influenced by successful local day schools already established by Episcopalians and Methodists in Salt Lake City, McMillan envisaged a network of Presbyterian day and boarding schools in Utah that would provide high quality education at a minimal cost. With no free public school system in Utah Territory, McMillan reasoned that denominational schools would bridge cultural gaps and attract Mormon children who in turn would draw their siblings and parents.” R. Douglas Brackenridge, “Duncan James McMillan: Missionary to the Mormons,” in *Festschrift in Honor of Charles Speel*, ed. Thomas J. Sienkewicz and James E. Betts (Monmouth [Ill.] College, 1997),
http://department.monm.edu/classics/Speel_Festschrift/brackenridge.htm., accessed 12-13-14.

p. 296: “Moonbeam Fairy Folding Bed Manufacturing Company”: “A lesser-known item of furniture, but very popular in the last quarter of the 19th century, folding beds were manufactured by many US companies.” <http://www.historygrandrapids.org/audio/2592/folding-beds>, accessed 12-13-14.

p. 298: “Hornitos’ thirty-second year since gold was discovered celebration”: Hornitos, California, was a town that prospered during the 1849 gold rush.

p. 299: “The paths of glory lead but to the grave”: From Thomas Gray, “Elegy Written in a Country Church-Yard.”

p. 300: “The stereopticon is an ingenious contraption that creates the optical illusion of three-dimensional photography. It is a wooden structure with two specially ground lenses, held with one hand close to the viewer’s eyes, while the other hand slides a focal rack, loaded with a special viewing card, back and forth to adjust the correct distance to create an astonishing illusion of three-dimension space. Every new stereopticon came with a small selection of viewing cards, which are mounted with two specially prepared photographs, but the owner was encouraged to buy many more viewing cards for a nominal sum.... The stereopticon was the

hottest-selling souvenir item at the 1900 International Exposition in Paris.” David Saunders, “Joseph Cornell’s Stereopticon,” <http://www.turtlepointpress.com/traveltainted/joseph-cornells-stereopticon/>, accessed 12-13-14.

p. 301: “Jack Mormon is a slang term originating in nineteenth-century America. It was originally used to describe a person who was not a baptized member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints but who was friendly to Church members and Mormonism, sympathized with them, and/or took an active interest in their belief system. Sometime in the early- to mid-twentieth century, however, the term began to refer to an individual deemed by adherents . . . to be an inactive or lapsed member of the LDS Church.” Wikipedia, “Jack Mormon,” accessed 12-13-14.

p. 302: “Episcopal Missionary Society of New York”: An Internet search reveals a few nineteenth-century references to a “Protestant Episcopal Missionary Society of New York” and a “Methodist Episcopal Missionary Society of New York.”

p. 302: “Valley Tan”: “The name valley tan originally meant the leather made by the Mormon pioneers—eventually it applied to anything not imported from the States, in other words ‘homemade.’ The local homemade whiskey was also called Valley Tan.” <http://www.highwest.com/spirits/valley-tan/>, accessed 12-13-14.

“Mark Twain wrote this about the whiskey the early pioneers made: ‘the exclusive Mormon refresher; valley tan is a kind of whisky, or first cousin to it; is of Mormon invention and manufactured only in Utah. Tradition says it is made of [imported] fire and brimstone. If I remember rightly, no public drinking saloons were allowed in the kingdom by Brigham Young, and no private drinking permitted among the faithful, except they confined themselves to Valley Tan.’ (from ‘Roughing It’, Mark Twain, 1871),” <http://www.highwest.com/our-story/utahs-distilling-history/>, accessed 12-13-14.

p. 307: “falling into such duck soup”: This expression seems to be an anachronism here; its earliest date as given in Merriam-Webster and the *Oxford English Dictionary* is 1912. Also, Kennelly seems to be using the expression to mean a lucky situation, in contrast to its standard meaning of something easy to do.

p. 310: “Bind up the law . . .”: From the Mormon *Doctrine and Covenants*, 88:84: “Therefore, tarry ye, and labor diligently, that you may be perfected in your ministry to go forth among the Gentiles for the last time, as many as the mouth of the Lord shall name, to bind up the law and seal up the testimony, and to prepare the saints for the hour of judgment which is to come.”

p. 310: “neuroarthropathy” is defined in the *Oxford English Dictionary* as “arthropathy resulting from or associated with neurological disease, esp. peripheral neuropathy.”

p. 310: Thomsonian: Samuel Thomson was an herbalist whose “system” was popular in nineteenth-century America; one substance that he used was lobelia inflata—also known as pukeweed, heaveleaf, retchwort, and vomitwort.

p. 312: “she knew there was no more chance of joining the Medical Society...”: Ellen Curtis Gage, M.D., wrote to the editors of the *Journal of the American Medical Association* in 1893 to complain that women were being kept out of the Salt Lake Medical Society: “I have been a member of the American Medical Association for seven years. . . . When I came to Utah, almost six years ago, I was, so far as I was able to learn, the only member of the parent society in this Territory. The profession turned a cold shoulder to me, but I insisted upon thriving. In course of time, a well meaning man presented my name to the local society for admission and I was turned down, one noble exponent of the art of medicine saying, ‘if I were admitted (he admitting that my claims to fellowship were beyond controversy) ‘all the d— hags in town would want in’— he referred to the women practitioners among the Mormons.” Gage asked in her letter why she should pay dues to the AMA if it admitted women but would not “champion” them by demanding they be admitted to local medical societies. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, vol. 21 (July–Dec. 1893), p. 949.

p. 312: Shagnasty Joe was a “camp bully” in the mining town of Candelaria, a “black-browed buccaneer” who was a “hanger-on at the Northern Belle mine and the Roaring Gimlet saloon on Main Street.” Drury, *An Editor on the Comstock Lode*, p. 248.

“Dave Sponsalier was there [in Creede, Colorado]. He ran a dance hall and theater. . . . This theater was—I don’t know exactly what you’d call it, but the girls’ nightlife wasn’t over when they finished on the stage. They still had work to do between then and morning.” Reminiscences of Edwin Bennett, in Myers, *The Westerners*, pp. 108–9.

p. 313: “the awful crabs’ claws...”: “The term ‘Cancer’ is derived from the Latin word for ‘crab,’ ‘Cancrī.’ . . . Many types of cancer can stimulate blood vessel growth to provide them with the food they need. It was thought by the ancients that the large blood vessels surrounding a tumor mass looked like a crab’s claws and feet.” From “Cancer Types and Treatment,” American Oncology Institute, <http://americanoncology.com/cancer-types-treatment/>, accessed 12-14-14.

p. 314: “*Trailed to His Doom*”: The story *Prairie Prince, the Boy Outlaw; or, Trailed to His Doom*, by William F. Cody (Buffalo Bill), appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post* on October 16, 1875.

p. 314: “thrones, kingdoms...”: See note to p. 94.

p. 316: “what I have feared has come upon me”: Job 3:25.

p. 317: “since all animal instincts...”: From Louise von Salomé, *The Erotic*.

p. 318: “virulent diphtheria”: Kennelly herself had diphtheria, when she was about eight years old, according to her sister Marion Kennelly Brownell (interview with Nancy Tropic, June 28, 2011).

p. 320: “chaos and old night”: from *Paradise Lost*.

p. 321: “When house is gone and money spent...”: See note to p. 190.

p. 329: “La esperanza es la última hez que apuramos en el fondo del cáliz de la amargura”: From *El Personalismo* (1855), by the Spanish poet and philosopher Ramón de Campoamor. “Hope is the last of the dregs that we strain out of the bottom of the cup of sorrows” (translation from *Dictionary of Foreign Phrases and Classical Quotations* [1908], ed. Hugh Percy Jones).

p. 329: “*Claviceps purpurea*” (an ergot fungus): “Since the Middle Ages, controlled doses of ergot were used to induce abortions and to stop maternal bleeding after childbirth.” Wikipedia, “*Claviceps purpurea*,” accessed 12-14-14.

p. 332: “Whatever is, is right”: Alexander Pope, *An Essay on Man*.

p. 332: “Baron Venables of Kinderton”: There was a family of Baron Venables of Kinderton, but the last one died in 1679. “Venables Ancestry,” <http://venablesancestry.wordpress.com/introduction/peter-venables-last-baron-venables/>, accessed 12-14-14.

p. 334: “vile, sorry Bodie”: The former mining boomtown of Bodie is in Mono County, California, about 75 miles southeast of Lake Tahoe. Bodie was “one of the West’s wildest boomtowns, earning the nascent community a reputation for frontier violence that rivaled Tombstone, Deadwood, and Dodge City. ‘Saloons and gambling halls abound,’ reported San Francisco’s *Daily Alta California* in June 1879. ‘There are at least sixty saloons in the place and not a single church.’ Tall tales about ‘The Bad Man from Bodie’ entertained readers nationwide, while seemingly daily stories of stagecoach holdups, shootouts, saloon brawls and other forms of deadly mayhem almost eclipsed reports of developments in the mines.” Michael H. Piatt, *Bodie: The Mines Are Looking Well...* (North Bay Books, 2003), excerpt at <http://www.bodiehistory.com/bodie.htm>, accessed 12-14-14.

p. 334: Panamint City, near Death Valley, California, “was regarded as a ‘bad and wicked’ town. Because of Panamint City’s lawless reputation, Wells Fargo refused to open an office there.” Wikipedia, “Panamint City, California,” accessed 12-14-14.

p. 334: “Tony Rico got arrested...”: From the *Daily Alta California*, March 2, 1852, courts report: “Indecent Exhibition. — Antonio Rice has got a music box and a magic lantern. His pictures represent members of the human family in different attitudes dressed in the Texas costume. Whilst the exhibition is going on he grinds Yankee Doodle out of the box, and charges two rials a sight. He was discharged, and the obscene pictures ordered to be destroyed.” In California Digital Newspaper Collection, <http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cdnc/cgi-bin/cdnc?a=d&d=DAC18520302.2.7&cl=CL2.1852.03&srpos=0&dliw=none&st=1&e=-----en-logical-20--1-----all--->, accessed 12-14-14.

p. 334: Tessie Wall’s: “Teresa Susan Donohue . . . , better known as Tessie Wall, was an American madam who owned and operated brothels in San Francisco from 1898 to 1917. . . . In the 1920s she was the unofficial ‘Queen’ of the annual Policeman’s Balls that were held at the Civic Auditorium.” Wikipedia, “Tessie Wall,” accessed 12-14-14. “In an era when cheap prostitution was rife in San Francisco, Tessie Wall’s brothel in the then fashionable Tenderloin district was a beacon of elegance and good taste, making her the best known and most successful

parlor-house madam in town.” Tony Quarrington, “Great San Franciscan Characters #7: Tessie Wall,” <http://tonyquarrington.wordpress.com/2011/02/17/great-san-franciscan-characters-7-tessie-wall/>, accessed 12-14-14.

p. 334: “Little Lost Chicken”: “Among the most renowned of the [Barbary] ‘Coast’s’ attractions in the 1870’s were the ‘Little Lost Chicken,’ a diminutive girl who concluded her songs by bursting into tears (and picked the pockets of her admirers). . . .” *San Francisco in the 1930s: The WPA Guide to the City by the Bay* (University of California Press, 2011), p. 215.

“The Barbary Coast was a red-light district during the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries in San Francisco which featured dance halls, concert saloons, bars, jazz clubs, variety shows, and brothels.” Wikipedia, “Barbary Coast, San Francisco,” accessed 12-18-14.

p. 335: “*The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon* was a series of highly controversial newspaper articles on child prostitution that appeared in the *Pall Mall Gazette* [London] in July 1885. Written by crusading editor W.T. Stead, . . . the *Maiden Tribute* threw respectable Victorians into a state of moral panic, and achieved, as a consequence, the implementation of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885, which raised the age of consent for girls from 13 to 16.” Wikipedia, “The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon,” accessed 12-18-14. Some of the material Kennelly quotes from the article is word for word; some of it is paraphrased (the original is at <http://www.attackingthediabol.co.uk/pmg/tribute/mt1.php>, accessed 12-18-14).

p. 336: “Your hopes and pleasing prospects. . . .”: During the California gold rush of 1849, Brigham Young wrote to church member Samuel Brannan that if he did not share with the church the vast wealth he was acquiring in California, “should you withhold when the Lord says give, ‘your hopes and pleasing prospects will be blasted in an hour you think not of—and no arm can save.’” (*Wot* is an archaic word for “know.”)

p. 336: “‘Hallelujah, I’m a Bum’ . . . is an American folk song that responds with humorous sarcasm to unhelpful moralizing about the circumstance of being a hobo. The song’s authorship is uncertain, but according to hobo poetry researcher Bud L. McKillips the words were written by an IWW member. . . . Sung to the tune of the Presbyterian hymn ‘Revive Us Again’, . . . the version published in 1908 goes: . . .

Hallelujah, I’m a bum,
Hallelujah, bum again,
Hallelujah, give us a handout
To revive us again.”

From Wikipedia, “Hallelujah, I’m a Bum,” accessed 12-18-14.

p. 337: “God knoweth our frame”: Psalm 103.

p. 337: “Lois Kinnavy (née Rogers)”: Kennelly’s paternal grandmother was Innocent Clotilde Rogers (1859–1927).

p. 338: Park City is about 30 miles southeast of Salt Lake City. Kennelly’s paternal grandparents, James Morrissey Kennelly and Innocent Clotilde Rogers, were married in Park City in 1879 and lived there for some time before moving to Salt Lake City. Kennelly’s parents, James Daniel

Kennelly and Lulu “Lula” Amanda Olsen Kennelly, lived in Park City and did some mining there early in their marriage, just after the turn of the century.

“By 1868, many prospectors had entered the area near what is now known as Park City. They found rich beds of silver and lead in the land. . . . The area quickly became famous for the quantity of precious metal that lay in the ground. Many people came to the area to work the mines and many people became tremendously wealthy from the mining.” “Historic Park City,” http://www.utah.com/culture/park_city.htm, accessed 12-20-14.

p. 338: “Park Utah Consolidated Mines Company was formed on July 1, 1925 when Park Utah Mining Company took over the assets of Park City Mining & Smelting Company.” From “Park Utah Consolidated Mines Company,” <http://utahrails.net/mining/park-utah-consolidated.php>, accessed 12-18-14.

p. 342: “she was blue...”: “The Fugates, a family that lived in the hills of Kentucky, commonly known as the ‘Blue Fugates’ or the Blue People of Kentucky, are notable for having been carriers of a genetic trait that led to the disease methemoglobinemia, which gives sufferers blue-tinged skin. . . . Descendents with the disease gene continued to live in the areas around Troublesome Creek and Ball Creek into the 20th century.” Wikipedia, “Blue Fugates,” accessed 12-18-14.

pp. 343: “a place on Last Chance Gulch...”: “With the discoveries of tremendous gold reserves at Last Chance Gulch in the mid-1860s, Helena, Montana, rapidly assumed a distinctive character. By 1874, it had outgrown its mining camp persona and replaced Virginia City as the bureaucratic and economic capital of Territorial Montana. Mirroring Helena’s prosperous aura was its extensive red light district. . . . Mollie ‘Crazy Belle Crafton’ Byrnes was [a] significant player in Helena’s red light district. . . .She financed the construction of a grand, \$12,000 bordello that soon became known as ‘the castle.’” Derek Strahn, “Tycoons in Petticoats,” *Distinctly Montana*, July 7, 2006, <http://www.distinctlymontana.com/montana-history/07/07/2006/brothel-tycoons>, accessed 12-18-14.

p. 344: “a opium den”: In Bozeman, Montana, “Sanborn Fire Insurance maps from 1889 show no less than five ‘female-boarding’ establishments in the concentrated district. Another six adjacent buildings were labeled as ‘Chinese,’ and according to police records, harbored prostitutes as well as opium dens, some of which were secretly located underground.” Strahn, “Tycoons in Petticoats.”

p. 346: “a brakeman is a pretty big Injun”: “Historically, the brakeman held one of the most dangerous occupations on the freight train, or anywhere on the railroad, being required to walk atop moving freight cars manually applying the brakes.... The brakeman was the crewman responsible for setting a freight car’s brakes individually, while the train was at speed, by using the available brake wheel. . . . This was very dangerous work and what’s worse, it had to be done in all types of weather; rain, snow, wind . . .” “The Brakeman,” <http://www.american-rails.com/brakeman.html>, accessed 12-18-14.

p. 351: “Judge Skipworth’s law books”: There was a Judge Skipworth in Ardyth’s stepfamily. George Franklin Skipworth (1873–1956) was a celebrated Lane County (Oregon) judge. His wife was Mary Grace Umphrey, a first cousin of Kennelly’s stepfather, Hiram Parker.

p. 352: “Gather not my soul with sinners...”: Psalms 26:9.

p. 352: “Is not the heart deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked?”: Jeremiah 17:9.

p. 353: “The habit of these groves” (the title of Part Two) is a line from the poem “The Old Squire,” by Wilfrid Scawen Blunt (1840-1922). The poem is an expression of devotion to one’s native fields, family home, and ancestral heritage. The stanza reads, “The hare herself no better loves / The field where she was bred, / Than I the habit of these groves, / My own inherited.” The era of Part Two forms the background into which Kennelly was born, in 1912; her family roots are all in Salt Lake City, and she clearly felt herself most at home there, having lived there until age 11.

p. 355: “gas dryer”: “The first hair dryer was invented in 1890 by a French stylist, Alexandre F. Godefroy. His invention was a large, seated version that consisted of a bonnet that attached to the chimney pipe of a gas stove. It was the first hood dryer ever made, and it was run by power cord and a hand crank.” <https://inventhelp.com/archives/04-11/inventhelp-newsletter-april-2011/blown-away-the-invention-of-the-hairdryer>, accessed 12-18-14. A picture of what it probably was (or something similar): <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:HairDryer.jpg>.

p. 356: “graduated from the eighth grade...”: Lucitie’s imagining of Wyandra’s eighth-grade graduation more or less matches many Parker-family graduation photos of the era: female graduates are wearing white (or light-colored) dresses and holding diplomas, standing or sitting beside large flower baskets. This tradition extended at least into the late 1930s.

p. 357: “Da’ “ is a “nursery and homely abbrev. of dada” (*Oxford English Dictionary*).

p. 358: “the four-year-old town of Josepha”: While the article that Albert reads appears to be partially fictitious (for example, the town was built on originally unirrigated land, only about 75 miles from Salt Lake City, and its inhabitants apparently did not become fugitives subject to arrest), Iosepa was indeed established, in 1889, as a community for immigrant Hawaiian church members. “‘Iosepa,’ meaning Joseph in Hawaiian [was] named for the Mormon prophet Joseph Smith and for Joseph F. Smith, who went to the Hawaiian Islands. . . . The first group of forty-six settlers arrived on 28 August 1889 and drew lots for the land they were to occupy. Additional settlers arrived, built houses, a schoolhouse, a general store, and an irrigation system which drew water from the Stansbury Mountains to water a variety of crops including lucern, beets, wheat, oats, barley, corn, potatoes, and squash. . . . Following a series of crop failures, many of the men began to work in the gold and silver mines which prospered in the nearby mountains during the late 1890s. In addition to economic difficulties, there were other problems for the settlement. In 1896 three cases of leprosy were discovered and the victims were isolated in a special house, although fears of the spread of leprosy were unfounded. The harsh environment—burning heat in

the summer and extreme cold in the winter—took its toll on the settlers, as witnessed by the large number of graves in the cemetery.” David L. Schirer, “Iosepa,” in *Utah History Encyclopedia*, <http://historytogo.utah.gov/places/iosepa.html>, accessed 12-18-14.

p. 359: The town of Wyandra was so named in 1896, the same year as the discovery of leprosy in Iosepa and when the little girl Wyandra is twelve years old, so her being named after the town doesn't fit chronologically. This is one of many cases where Kennelly fictionalizes the time frame of events.

p. 359: “Ambrosia Cream Company and Cold Storage”: The Ambrosia Creamery was founded in Devonshire, England, in 1917.

p. 359: Lagoon, a popular amusement park near Salt Lake City, “opened in Farmington, Utah on 12 July 1886, and included ‘Bowling, Elegant Dancing Pavilion, Fine Music, A Shady Bowery and Good Restaurants.’ In 1899, Shoot-the-Chutes, the park’s first thrill ride, was added. In 1900 guests began swimming and rowing boats in Lagoon Lake. Over time more rides were added, such as the authentic Herschell-Spillman Carousel and Cagney 12 in (305 mm) miniature gauge Miniature Railroad.” Wikipedia, “Lagoon (amusement park),” accessed 12-18-14.

p. 363: “St. George County Courthouse”: The town of St. George is *in* Washington County.

p. 365: “a chaplet of good works”: “Every day propound to yourself a rosary or chaplet of good works, to present to God at night.” Jeremy Taylor (1613–1667), an English cleric and writer.

p. 369: “it sounded like a pistol shot”: Kennelly’s caption for a photo she sent to her cousin Scott Fisher in probably the 1990s: “This is the Troy laundry, where Mother went to work at 16. Ten hour days then and *very* hard work. Once the laundry workers had a picnic out at Salt Air and one of the girls ate so much she fainted, and they had to cut her corset strings and Mother said when they did, it sounded just like a pistol shot. Pow!”

p. 369: A singing-desk (so spelled) is a lectern.

p. 372: “How sharper than a serpent’s tooth...”: *King Lear*.

p. 372: “Let our frail thoughts dally with a false surmise”: Milton, *Lycidas*.

p. 373: “To singularly dote...”: “The fairest objects and enticings proceed from men themselves, which most frequently captivate, allure, and make them dote beyond all measure upon one another, and that for many respects: first, as some suppose, by that secret force of stars (*quod me tibi temperat astrum?*) They do singularly dote on such a man, hate such again, and can give no reason for it. . . . The physicians refer this to their temperament, astrologers to trine and sextile aspects, or opposite of their several ascendants, lords of their genitures, love and hatred of planets.” Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (first published 1621). Kennelly’s original had “insuperable link,” but since the rest of the quotations follow Burton, I assumed it was a typo and changed it to Burton’s “inseparable link.”

p. 373: “the Ontario Mine’s main offices”: “In 1872, one of Park City’s silver mines called the Ontario Mine was sold to George Hearst for \$27,000. He ran the mine well and it went on to produce fifty million dollars in the following years.” “Historic Park City,” http://www.utah.com/culture/park_city.htm, accessed 12-20-14.

p. 373: “The Homestake deposit was discovered by Fred and Moses Manuel, Alex Engh and Hank Harney in April 1876, during the Black Hills Gold Rush. A trio of mining entrepreneurs, George Hearst, Lloyd Tevis, and James Ben Ali Haggin, bought it from them for \$70,000 the following year. George Hearst arrived at the mine in October 1877, and took active control of the property. . . . Hearst consolidated and enlarged the Homestake property by fair and foul means.” Wikipedia, “Homestake Mine (South Dakota),” accessed 12-20-14.

p. 375: “And as the mind, not the place...”: paraphrased slightly from Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*.

p. 375: “Society of the Descendants...”: There is actually an organization called The Descendants of the Illegitimate Sons and Daughters of the Kings of Britain.

p. 376: Charlie Ross: See note to p. 89.

p. 376: “like people in Chicago”: Probably a reference to the Great Chicago Fire of 1871.

p. 378: “President Cleveland proclaiming Utah the forty-fifth state”: Utah became a state on January 4, 1896.

p. 379: “A legend, sir!...” From Turgenev, *Literary Reminiscences and Autobiographical Fragments*.

p. 381: Colonia Juárez was one of the Mormon settlements established in Mexico in the 1880s as polygamists tried to escape prosecution under U.S. anti-polygamy laws. See note to p. 231.

p. 381: “six months in the Utah state prison”: Kennelly’s maternal grandfather, Emil Olsen, who had two wives, served six months in the Utah Penitentiary for “unlawful cohabitation.” See note to p. 279.

p. 381: “causing him to write the Manifesto”: “The ‘1890 Manifesto’ . . . is a statement which officially advised against any future plural marriage in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS Church). Issued by church president Wilford Woodruff in September 1890, the Manifesto was a response to mounting anti-polygamy pressure from the United States Congress. . . . The Manifesto was a dramatic turning point in the history of the LDS Church. It . . . made it possible for Utah to become a U.S. state.” Wikipedia, “1890 Manifesto,” accessed 12-22-14.

p. 382: “ugly as a mud fence” was apparently a Southern colloquialism, with variations adding “stuck with tadpoles,” “daubed with tadpoles,” “dabbed over with toad frogs,” “full of hop-toads,” or “stuck with bull frogs.”

p. 382: “Koch’s Patent Barber Chair”: Theodore Koch of Chicago sold “more than 35,000 [barber] chairs in the period before 1885.” Wikipedia, “Barber chair,” accessed 12-22-14.

p. 384: The Knutsford Hotel was “on the Northeast corner of State Street and 300 South. . . . Whenever prominent people came to Salt Lake City in the early 1900s, their names were listed in the newspaper’s society pages as staying at the Knutsford.” Michael De Groote, “10 Utah Buildings We Miss,” *Deseret News*, Jan. 9, 2011.

p. 384: The J. G. McDonald Candy Company in Salt Lake City was founded in the mid-1800s; it was “a well-known candy company which won five world medals.” Obituary for R. Neal McDonald, *Deseret News*, Oct. 16, 1992. There was also a Union Paper Box Company.

p. 385: “went to . . . Mutual”: From the Mormon *Guidebook for Parents and Leaders of Youth*: “Young men and young women should have a weekly activity night called Mutual, unless travel or other restrictions preclude it. Well-planned Mutual activities play an important role in the lives of youth. Mutual gives them an opportunity to meet in a social setting, apply gospel principles taught on Sunday, strengthen their testimonies, give service, develop wholesome relationships and communication skills, and reach out to less-active youth. Mutual also helps them achieve their Duty to God Award and Young Womanhood Recognition.”

p. 385: “a handcarter putting one foot before the other till the plains were crossed”: Early Mormon emigrants traveled to Salt Lake City on foot, using handcarts to transport their belongings across the Great Plains.

p. 385: Kennelly’s father, James Daniel Kennelly, was Catholic and was on the Rugby team at All Hallows College in Salt Lake City.

p. 386: “Wandamere Resort was a 65-acre amusement park that featured a large pond, boat rides, a race track, dance hall and other amenities. It was located at what is now Nibley Park Golf and operated from 1864-1921.” “A Look Back: More photos from Wandamere Resort,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, August 1, 2014. The park’s attractions also included “a merry-go-round, bridges, a large dance pavilion, a bandstand with a suspended acoustical shell, a racetrack for horses and later motorcycles, bowling lanes, a roller-skating rink, a log flume-type waterslide, and traditional playground equipment. . . . ‘Wanda’ was claimed to be of Indian origin, meaning ‘beautiful place,’ while ‘mere’ is Anglo-Saxon and signifies ‘little lake’ or ‘clear pond.’” “History of South Salt Lake, Utah,” from *Utah History Encyclopedia*, http://www.onlineutah.com/south_slc_history_02.shtml, accessed 12-22-14.

Kennelly’s uncle, George R. Olsen, named his North Albany home Wandamere “after the location of his old home in Utah.” Fisher, *History of Our Olsen Family Ancestors*, p. 59. In Utah in 1908, George Olsen and his family had “moved into a small home, a virtual shack, that George had built in a part of Salt Lake then known as Wandamere Forest Dale, site of the present-day Nibley Golf Course at 27th South and 7th East” (p. 58).

p. 386: Salt Palace: “The original historic Salt Palace was built in 1899. . . . It stood on 900 South, between State Street and Main Street in Salt Lake City. The original Salt Palace contained

a dance hall, theatre, and racing track. It was destroyed by fire on August 29, 1910, and was replaced by the Majestic Hall.” Wikipedia, “Salt Palace,” accessed 12-22-14.

p. 386: “Buffalo Bill’s Wild West Show”: “Wild West Shows were traveling vaudeville performances in the United States and Europe. The first and prototypical wild west show was Buffalo Bill’s [William F. Cody’s], formed in 1883 and lasting until 1913. The shows introduced many western performers and personalities, and a romanticized version of the American Old West, to a wide audience.” Wikipedia, “Wild West Shows,” accessed 12-22-14.

p. 386: “A six or six-day is a track cycling race that lasts six days. Six-day races started in Britain. . . . The event did not become popular until 1891 when six-day races were held in Madison Square Garden in New York City. Initially, these races were contests of raw endurance, with a single rider completing as many laps as possible.” Wikipedia, “Six-day racing,” accessed 12-22-14.

p. 387: “Sen-Sen was a type of breath freshener originally marketed as a ‘breath perfume’ in the late nineteenth century. . . . Sen-sen’s ingredients were licorice, gum arabic, maltodextrin, sugar, and natural and artificial flavors.” Wikipedia, “Sen-Sen,” accessed 12-22-14.

p. 387: “the Jubilee”: A Pioneer Jubilee took place in Salt Lake City in 1897, to commemorate the 1847 arrival of the Mormons in the area.

p. 387: “annual picnic out at Saltair”: “Saltair . . . is the name which has been given to several resorts located on the southern shore of the Great Salt Lake . . . about fifteen miles from Salt Lake City. . . . The first Saltair, completed in 1893, was jointly owned by a corporation associated with The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints . . . and the Salt Lake & Los Angeles Railway . . . which was constructed for the express purpose of serving the resort. Saltair . . . rested on over 2,000 posts and pilings, many of which remain and are still visible over 110 years later. Saltair was a family place, intended to provide a safe and wholesome atmosphere with the open supervision of Church leaders. . . . a young courting Mormon couple could visit Saltair without worrying about gossip. Trains left from Salt Lake City every 45 minutes. . . . Intended from the beginning as the Western counterpart to Coney Island, Saltair was one of the first amusement parks, and for a time was the most popular family destination west of New York. . . . The first Saltair pavilion and a few other buildings were destroyed by fire on April 22, 1925. A new pavilion was built and the resort was expanded at the same location.” Wikipedia, “Saltair,” accessed 12-22-14.

p. 387: The Oregon Short Line and the Telluride Realty were real companies.

p. 388–89: Dr. D. Jaynes: “One of the earliest and most successful patent medicine makers of the 19th century was David Jayne.” “Dr. Jayne’s Medicines,” <http://www.antiquemedicines.com/Jaynes/Jaynes.htm>, accessed 12-22-14. “Jayne’s Alterative” was advertised for “Scrofula, Goiter, Cancers, Diseases of the Skin and Bones, &c.”

p. 389: “Wine of Cardui”: An 1897 newspaper advertised McElree’s Wine of Cardui, “a harmless Bitter Wine without intoxicating qualities. Taken at the proper time it relieves pain,

corrects derangements, quiets nervousness and cures Whites, Falling of the Womb and Suppressed or too Frequent Menses. Price \$1.” From “The Quack Doctor,” <http://thequackdoctor.com/index.php/wine-of-cardui/>, accessed 12-22-14.

p. 389: “his cousin Hilma”: Kennelly’s maternal grandmother, Anna Matilda Johnson Olsen, had a sister named Hilma.

p. 389: *The Fruits of Philosophy* was written by Charles Knowlton (1800–1850), an American physician, atheist, and freethinker. By 1832, “Knowlton had written a little book called *The Fruits of Philosophy, or the Private Companion of Young Married People*, and had been showing it to his patients. It contained a summary of what was then known about the physiology of conception, listed a number of methods to treat infertility and impotence, and explained a method of birth control he had developed: to wash out the vagina after intercourse with certain chemical solutions.” He was prosecuted, fined, and imprisoned for the book. In 1877, “Charles Bradlaugh and Annie Besant were tried in London for publishing Knowlton’s *Fruits of Philosophy* there. The book had been selling in moderate numbers in the interim; the publicity of the Bradlaugh-Besant trial made it an overnight bestseller. Its circulation increased from an average of 700 per year to 125,000 in just one year. . . . The trial, and Knowlton’s *Fruits of Philosophy* are credited with reversing British population growth and popularizing contraception in Great Britain and America.” Wikipedia, “Charles Knowlton,” accessed 12-23-14.

p. 389: “By The Light of the Silvery Moon” and “Dear Old Girl” were popular songs from 1909 and 1903, respectively.

p. 390: to “sweat” gold: “Sweating Gold Coin: The Process of Stealing the Yellow Metal With Acid—One Way to Accumulate Wealth Illegally That is Practiced Extensively in the West. Sweating a coin is merely robbing it of a portion of its legal weight without in any manner altering its appearance.” *The Reading (Penn.) Eagle*, Nov. 30, 1899. “One of the commonest methods of ‘sweating’ is to shake up a number of gold coins in a chamois bag and preserve the dust and microscopical particles which have been loosened. The bag is first moistened so that the gold will adhere to it, and is afterward burned and the gold assayed.” “To Prevent ‘Sweating’ Gold,” *New York Times*, April 17, 1910.

p. 390: “A big man is a promise never kept”: “It had been a common saying among the nuns at Templemar that: ‘A tall man is a promise never kept.’” From *Tiffany Thayer’s Three Musketeers* (1939).

p. 391: Turkish corner: “Turkish style, also called Moorish style, a fashion of furniture and decorative design based on Middle Eastern styles that flourished from the latter half of the 19th century until the late 1920s. It was favoured especially for the men’s smoking rooms once found in the homes of the wealthy, then for clubs, and finally, for cafés and restaurants. . . . During this period, private homes frequently had a Turkish corner, with mats, a divan, and small tables heavily inlaid with Arabic designs. Fretted Saracenic arches, bead curtains, potted palms, and heavily sprung ottomans were other characteristic features.” “Turkish Style,” *Encyclopedia Britannica*, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/610086/Turkish-style>, accessed 12-23-14.

p. 392: *Work and Win, An Interesting Weekly for Young America*, was published between 1898 and 1925 and contained dime-novel stories. An 1899 advertisement for the periodical promised that “every number will contain a well written story, detailing the interesting, startling, and humorous adventures of FRED FEARNOT, a bright, honest, independent sort of chap, who has made up his mind to make his own way through life, and in doing so see everything to be seen, do all the good that can be done, and have all the fun possible.”

p. 392: “The Locomobile Company of America was an automobile manufacturer founded in 1899. For the first two years it was located in Watertown, Massachusetts, but production was transferred to Bridgeport, Connecticut, during 1900, where it remained until the company’s demise in 1929. The company manufactured affordable, small steam cars until 1903, then production switched entirely to internal combustion-powered luxury automobiles.” Wikipedia, “Locomobile Company of America,” accessed 12-23-14.

p. 392: “Don’t Spit on the Floor...”: “The Johnstown Flood . . . occurred on May 31, 1889, after the catastrophic failure of the South Fork Dam on the Little Conemaugh River 14 miles upstream of the town of Johnstown, Pennsylvania. . . . The flood killed 2,209 people.” Wikipedia, “Johnstown Flood,” accessed 12-23-14. “As going to the movies became more popular in the 1920s, cinemas across the nation would show a slide during intermission that read, ‘Don’t Spit on the Floor—Remember the Johnstown Flood.’” From “Johnstown Flood Museum,” <http://www.jaha.org/FloodMuseum/remembering.html>, accessed 12-23-14.

p. 394–95: “electric fluid”: Merriam-Webster defines it as “a hypothetical imponderable fluid to the presence of which electrical phenomena were formerly attributed.”

p. 395: “Lavonne”: Kennelly had a first cousin named Lavon Florentine Kennelly, who died June 28, 1910, at twelve days old, of “congestion of the lungs.”

p. 395: “Rosetta’s divergent strabismus”: Kennelly was born with amblyopia (“lazy eye”), according to her memoir *Bodies Adjacent*.

p. 400: The Hotel Utah was built in 1909–11; it is now the Joseph Smith Memorial Building. “For seventy-six years the Hotel Utah presided as ‘the Grande Dame of Hotels’ in the Intermountain West and was internationally recognized for its elegance and extraordinary service. . . . This ten-story white palace hosted legislators, Latter-day Saint conference-goers, conventioners, visitors, skiers, and every U.S. president since William Howard Taft in 1912.” http://www.uen.org/utah_history_encyclopedia/h/HOTEL_UTAH.html, accessed 12-23-14.

p. 401: “fifth day of June”: “During World War I there were three registrations. The first, on June 5, 1917, was for all men between the ages of 21 and 31.” “World War I Selective Service System Draft Registration Cards, M1509,” National Archives, <http://www.archives.gov/research/military/ww1/draft-registration/>, accessed 12-23-14.

p. 401: “*The Kaiser, the Beast of Berlin* (also known as *The Beast of Berlin* and *The Kaiser*) was a 1918 silent war propaganda melodrama film. . . . The germanophobic film contains a

propagandist view of the First World War.” Wikipedia, “*The Kaiser, the Beast of Berlin*,” accessed 12-23-14.

p. 401: Liberty measles, liberty steak, liberty cabbage, and liberty pups were all indeed terms made up and used during World War I.

p. 402: “the four great drives to sell Liberty Bonds”: “A Liberty Bond was a war bond that was sold in the United States to support the allied cause in World War I. . . . There were four issues of Liberty Bonds” between April 24, 1917 and September 28, 1918. Wikipedia, “Liberty Bond,” accessed 12-26-14.

Mary Pickford, Douglas Fairbanks, and Charlie Chaplin did travel the country to sell war bonds, but apparently their only appearance together in Salt Lake City was at the train station on April 2, 1918: “Just imagine ‘Doug’ Fairbanks, Mary Pickford and Charley Chaplin . . . personally driving for the next Liberty loan. The ‘big three’ arrived here yesterday on the way to Washington to give their services to the Liberty loan committee. . . . How many persons there were at the Union station when the Pickford-Chaplin-Fairbanks train rolled in over the Salt Lake Route tracks yesterday afternoon none can tell. But the fact remains that the crowd was so dense in the station itself and in the waiting inclosures outside that even the official station and police forces proved altogether inadequate to control it.” The stars had great difficulty getting off the train because of the enthusiastic mob of people, but finally Fairbanks led the way to the stage “through the packed mass with Miss Pickford protected behind his sturdy frame, and Chaplin following Miss Pickford. All three stars made short addresses. . . . In common with a score or more other screen artists, Miss Pickford, Charlie Chaplin, and Douglas Fairbanks are headed for Washington, D. C., where they will be instructed by the national leaders of the third Liberty loan campaign in the drive plans which interest them most. Fairbanks’s itinerary, as far as he now knows, will send him through the middle west states, as well as some sections of the east. . . . Miss Pickford will work east and somewhat south from Washington, while Chaplin will operate in the southern states.” “Film Stars Boost Liberty War Loan; Huge Crowd Welcomes Them to City,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 3, 1918.

p. 402: “the parade . . . Red Cross nurses”: Marion Kennelly Brownell, Ardyth’s younger sister, remembered watching a parade during World War I from the Constitution Building—where their grandmother had her chiropractic office—and admiring the Red Cross nurses marching in the street below. The girls’ mother made Marion, who would have been three or four years old at the time, a nurse’s head scarf out of a dish towel, with a red cross “painted” on in lipstick or perhaps strawberry jam. Interview with Nancy Tropic, May 4, 2011.

p. 402: The Utah Savings and Trust building, the Boston block, and the Constitution Building were all indeed on Main Street.

p. 402: “Old Mr. Cutler”: John Christopher Cutler (1846–1928) was governor of Utah from 1905 to 1909. “Born in Sheffield, England, Cutler immigrated to Utah with his family in 1864. A successful businessman and president of the family dry goods firm, he was also a director of several banks, insurance companies, and other businesses as well.” “John Christopher Cutler,” <http://historytogo.utah.gov/people/governors/state/cutler.html>, accessed 12-26-14. “In August, 1885, John C. Cutler purchased a portion of the Old Constitution Building, 27 feet front by 124

feet deep, and in the spring of 1886, having remodelled the store and made it one of the finest on that block, the firm of John C. Cutler & Brother moved into it.” Edward W. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City* (1886), p. 170.

p. 402: “The Constitution Building was a downtown spot...”: Kennelly’s descriptions throughout the book of the Constitution Building—its tenants, its interior architecture, amenities, and décor, etc.—are surely taken wholly or in part from her own memories of having lived there. A partial autobiographical outline she wrote in probably the 1990s shows the pull of her childhood memories: how she “fell in love with a building and never got over it. And certain streets. And a certain backdrop. And a certain cast of characters and how nothing has really been *real* since.”

Kennelly and her mother and sister moved into the Constitution Building after her father’s death in April 1921 to live with her maternal grandmother, Anna Matilda Johnson Olsen. Olsen (1858–1934) was a chiropractor and midwife with both her office and residence in the Constitution Building. Her address there, according to an ad in the *Salt Lake Telegram* of September 23, 1918, was “435 Constitution Building,” so she probably was indeed on the fourth floor. Kennelly’s sister, Marion, remembered that “a lot of people both lived and worked in the Constitution Building, having their business there. For example, one lady and her daughter made draperies, and it was that way all through the building.” Interview with Nancy Tropic, May 4, 2011.

p. 402: “the great stairwell...”: Walter Winegar, a cousin to Kennelly and William Scott Fisher, wrote to Fisher in 1984: “Your great-grandmother [Anna Matilda “Tillie” Johnson Olsen] lived in the Constitution Building. According to my memory, this building was located on the west side of Main Street between South Temple and First South. It was an old building then. I recall it had a large light well in the center of the building which provided most of the daylight for various apartments. The ventilation was such that if one family was cooking cabbage, say, it was quite apparent to anyone in the hallway.” Fisher, *History of Our Olsen Family Ancestors* (1996), p. 55.

p. 403: “the Z.C.M.P.”: See note to p. 98.

p. 403: “Culpeper herbal shampoo”: Probably referring to Nicholas Culpeper (1616–1654), “an English botanist, herbalist, physician, and astrologer.” Wikipedia, “Nicholas Culpeper,” accessed 1-13-15.

p. 406: “Columbia Touring Automobiles”: “Columbia Motors was a Detroit, Michigan, United States based automobile manufacturer that produced automobiles from 1916 to 1924. . . . A 1916 news item in the journal *Horseless Age* presents a ‘Columbia Touring Car.’” Wikipedia, “Columbia Motors,” accessed 1-13-15.

p. 406: The Hotel Utah was at the corner of Main and South Temple streets. It’s now the Joseph Smith Memorial Building, and somewhat north of it is the Kimball-Whitney cemetery.

p. 406: “Mary and Doug”: Mary Pickford “married Owen Moore, an Irish-born silent film actor, on January 7, 1911. . . . The couple had numerous marital problems, notably Moore’s alcoholism, insecurity about living in the shadow of Pickford’s fame, and bouts of domestic

violence. . . . Pickford became secretly involved in a relationship with Douglas Fairbanks. They toured the US together in 1918 to promote Liberty Bond sales for the World War I effort. . . . Pickford divorced Moore on March 2, 1920, and married Fairbanks on March 28 of the same year.” Wikipedia, “Mary Pickford,” accessed 1-13-15.

p. 407: “two iron bars across that window”: In a letter of December 11, 1937, Kennelly wrote of some childhood memories to her sister Marion, recalling “how many times you stuck your head out of the window at Grandma’s and got caught between the bars.”

p. 408: “I can’t get away to marry you today. . . .”: The line is from “Waiting at the Church,” which was “a popular British music hall song. . . . It is sung by a woman who has given her fiance all her money to buy a ring or a house only to be left ‘waiting at the church’ when she discovers that he is already married.” Wikipedia, “Waiting at the Church,” accessed 1-13-15.

p. 408: “Alice Roosevelt’s maid”: “In 1905, Alice, along with her father’s Secretary of War, William Howard Taft, led the American delegation to Japan, Hawaii, China, the Philippines, and Korea. It was the largest such diplomatic mission thus far, composed of 23 congressmen (including her future husband Nicholas Longworth), seven senators, and other diplomats and officials. Alice made headlines wherever she went, meeting with the Emperor Meiji of Japan and the Empress Dowager Cixi of China.” Wikipedia, “Alice Roosevelt Longworth,” accessed 1-13-15. “Alice set off in grand style, accompanied by her maid, Anna. . . . By the time they reached Manila, Anna had suffered what appeared to be a nervous breakdown—probably a result of endless packing and unpacking and the elaborate care that Alice’s wardrobe required.” Carol Felsenthal, *Princess Alice* (1988), p. 80.

p. 409: “Holy Rosary Hospital”: There was a Holy *Cross* Hospital in Salt Lake City; it is now Salt Lake Regional Medical Center. “Built in 1875, it was one of the first hospitals in the Salt Lake Valley. The Sisters of the Holy Cross were the original owners and they continued to operate the hospital until 1994.” From <http://www.saltlakeregional.com/about/history/>, accessed 1-13-15.

p. 409: “across South Temple. . . .”: The description of Marie’s route fits the actual location of the Hotel Utah (now the Joseph Smith Memorial Building) and the Constitution Building, which no longer exists but was located at 34–40 S. Main, on the west side of the street. Marie would have had to go south across South Temple street and west across Main to reach the Constitution Building. (The building was razed to make way for the Crossroads Plaza Mall and the ZCMI Mall, which in turn were replaced by the City Creek Center development.)

p. 412: “The vogue for bobbed hair”: “Historically, women in the west have usually worn their hair long. . . . The style was not considered generally respectable until given impetus by the inconvenience of long hair to girls engaged in war work. . . . By 1920 the style was rapidly becoming fashionable. . . . Hairdressers, whose training was mainly in arranging and curling long hair, were slow to realise that short styles for women had arrived to stay. . . . By the mid-1920s the style (in various versions, often worn with a side-parting, curled or waved, and with the hair at the nape of the neck “shingled” short), was the dominant female hairstyle in the Western world.” Wikipedia, “Bob cut,” accessed 1-13-15.

p. 412: “*Hairdressers Journal International* is a weekly glossy magazine for the hairdressing industry, published in the United Kingdom by Reed Business Information. The magazine has been in circulation since 1882.” Wikipedia, “*Hairdressers Journal International*,” accessed 1-13-15.

p. 412: “The Marcel iron”: “The first person to produce a practical thermal method was Marcel Grateau in 1872. He devised a pair of specially manufactured tongs, in which one of the arms had a circular cross-section and the other a concave one, so that one fitted inside the other when the tongs were closed. The tongs were generally heated over a gas or alcohol flame and the correct temperature was achieved by testing the tongs on a newspaper—if the paper browned slightly it was about right.” Wikipedia, “Perm (hairstyle),” accessed 1-13-15.

p. 412: “the overhead machine that did the job”: “An early alternative method for curling hair that was suitable for use on people was invented in 1905 by German hairdresser Karl Nessler. He used a mixture of cow urine and water. The first public demonstration took place on 8 October 1905. . . . His method, called the spiral heat method, was only useful for long hair. The hair was wrapped in a spiral around rods connected to a machine with an electric heating device. Sodium hydroxide (caustic soda) was applied and the hair was heated to 212 °F (100 °C) or more for an extended period of time. The process used about twelve 2-pound (0.9 kg) brass rollers and took six hours to complete. These hot rollers were kept from touching the scalp by a complex system of countering weights which were suspended from an overhead chandelier and mounted on a stand.” Wikipedia, “Perm (hairstyle),” accessed 1-13-15.

Kennelly’s sister Marion Kennelly Brownell, a beauty operator in the 1930s and later, described these permanent-wave machines as “devilish,” but believed that they gave a prettier, more natural-looking permanent than today’s methods. Interview with Nancy Tropic, May 10, 2011.

p. 413: “Mr. Larkin the undertaker”: There was a Larkin funeral home in Salt Lake City; see note to p. 108.

p. 416: Germania Lead Works was indeed the name of a company in Salt Lake City.

p. 417: *Bird of Paradise* was a 1932 American film. It “created a scandal when released due to a scene featuring Dolores del Río swimming naked. This film was made before the Production Code was strictly enforced, so nudity in American movies was still fairly common.” Wikipedia, “*Bird of Paradise* (1932 film),” accessed 1-18-15. There was also a 1912 play of the same name on which the movie was based, but it seems it was the film, not the earlier play, that was considered scandalous. In either case, it’s an exotic romance, which seems to fit with Mrs. Hinchman’s feelings about Albert.

p. 424: “Body Builders”: Bodybuilding became popular in the early part of the twentieth century. Douglas Fairbanks was known for his athleticism in his movies, although he was apparently not a bodybuilder himself.

p. 424: The Cord limousine was first sold in 1929. See

<http://www.coachbuilt.com/bui/l/limousine/limousine.htm>, accessed 1-18-15.

p. 425: Ella Haggin and the Count de Toina: The Hungarian Count Rodolphe Festetics de Tolna married Ella Haggin, daughter of a prominent New York family, in 1892; they sailed around the world in a yacht for many years, visiting, among other places, “cannibal tribes” in the South Pacific. The Countess wanted her husband to provide her with a home on land, but he refused to do so until her parents paid him the one million francs they had supposedly promised him when the couple got married. The Count reportedly left his wife stranded in Singapore after a quarrel. “A Countess Lost at Sea,” *New York Times*, April 18, 1900; “Festetics Divorce Granted,” *New York Times*, January 1, 1901.

p. 426: “Give me a child until he’s five years old...”: The Jesuit saying is “give me the child until he is seven and I will give you the man.”

p. 428: “Never seek to tell thy love / Love that never told can be...” From a poem by William Blake. Kennelly’s second line differs slightly.

p. 428: “tied to the mast...”: In Homer’s epic, Odysseus has his crew tie him to the mast of his ship so that he will not fall victim to the Sirens’ song when the ship passes by their dangerous rocks.

p. 428: “Circe’s famous cup”: Homer in *The Odyssey* tells of the goddess Circe’s enchanted cup in which she offers Odysseus’s Ithacan sailors food laced with a magical potion to turn them into swine.

p. 430: “can you believe that *rats* would be strong enough...”: Kennelly’s sister, Marion Kennelly Brownell, remembered “vividly” how, when the family lived in the Constitution Building, the rats would get the lids off the garbage cans; the lids “didn’t fit tight.” There were no garbage disposals, just “a couple of cans in the alley.” The living conditions in the building were “very primitive.” Interview with Nancy Tropic, September 21, 2011.

p. 430: “old Dr. Farr, the chiropractor”: Kennelly’s maternal grandmother, Anna Olsen, was a chiropractor and midwife with her office and residence in the Constitution Building. (See note to p. 402.)

p. 432: *The Sorrows of Satan*: A 1926 movie by D. W. Griffith, based upon the 1895 book by Marie Corelli. *Why Girls Leave Home* was a 1921 movie.

p. 434: “Bon Ami, French for ‘Good Friend’, is a brand of household cleaner products. . . . By 1896, Bon Ami was a common product in northeastern United States households. The chick and slogan ‘Hasn’t Scratched Yet!’ are textbook examples of an early American trademark. Consumers in the late 1800s understood that a newborn chick doesn’t scratch the ground for three days; thus the correlation to the non-scratching benefits of Bon Ami.” Wikipedia, “Bon Ami,” accessed 1-19-15.

p. 437: “*Kismet...*”: This and the next two titles probably refer to movies of the era. There were several film versions of *Kismet* produced, the earliest in 1920. There was no apple pie stolen in the book *Anne of Green Gables*, but perhaps there was in the 1919 film (“lost film”). *Orphans of the Storm* was a 1921 D. W. Griffith movie.

p. 438: “New York Custom Shirt Manufacturing”: Among the businesses located in the Constitution Building, according to Kennelly’s sister Marion (who as a child lived there with Kennelly and the girls’ mother), was a drapery maker, a woman with a daughter. (See note to p. 402.)

p. 438: Frances E. Willard (1839–1898) was an educator, temperance leader, and women’s suffragist. Presumably there was a statue or portrait of her in Rosetta’s school.

p. 439: “Skaggs’s store”: “In 1915 Samuel M. Skaggs founded a grocery store [in American Falls, Idaho] and operated it as Skaggs’ Cash Store, which was sold to his son Marion Barton Skaggs.” Marion Skaggs and his five brothers expanded the business, “to 191 stores by 1920, and by 1926 it had grown to 673 stores.” Wikipedia, “Skaggs Companies,” accessed 1-19-15.

p. 440: Lafayette School was located at 135 N. State St. in Salt Lake City, very near the Constitution Building, so Kennelly likely attended it. A photo shows the school (which did indeed have four floors) in 1904: “Located on State Street above North Temple, this school burned down in 1922 and was replaced by a new building with the same name. Today a parking lot occupies the site.” From Alan Barnett, *Seeing Salt Lake City*, <http://signaturebookslibrary.org/?p=19793>, accessed 1-19-15. The fire apparently occurred in January 1922, as that is the date of a photo showing the fire damage: http://content.lib.utah.edu/cdm/ref/collection/USHS_Shippler/id/8406. Kennelly and her family moved to Oregon in 1922 or early 1923, so she is very likely describing the fire’s results from firsthand knowledge.

p. 440: “Who do you doohix?” Kennelly’s sister, Marion Kennelly Brownell, explained the meaning of this word—which was apparently used only within their family—in an interview with Nancy Tropic on Nov. 1, 2011: “Doohix” meant “to put your mental marker on something,” like putting dibs on an item. What was “doohixed” could be “a poem, a hat, a refrigerator, a movie, whatever you saw that you liked or wanted.” The author herself explains the word on pp. 64–65 of *Up Home*, after Linnea’s girls have come home from touring the Salt Lake City Temple (Ardyth and Marion’s mother, Lulu—“Gertrude” in the book—did indeed go through the Temple before it was dedicated in 1893, when she was 11 years old): “Not until that night, at home in bed, did it come to Gertrude how very pretty a little room that Holy of Holies was and how unusual. A round room with a dome of colored glass! The way it sparkled, its rainbow air and floral smells came back to her, it slowly revolved before her eyes in all its grace and beauty. ‘That was the room I should of chose!’ she decided. Of course, dummy! She took hold of Stellie’s shoulder and shook her awake. Stellie mumbled. She was awake, but too close to slumber to open her eyes. ‘Which room in the temple did you doohix, Stellie? We forgot to say!’ Which room did she doohix? Which room did she put a claim on, so that it was her own and nobody else’s forever after, a long-established custom? One could doohix whatever one saw, even a sunset or the bridge across the Jordan.”

p. 440: “Kenneth Harlan (July 26, 1895 – March 6, 1967) was an American actor of the silent film era, playing mostly romantic leads or adventurer types.” Wikipedia, “Kenneth Harlan,” accessed 1-19-15.

p. 440: Dot King, of the Ziegfeld Follies chorus, was found murdered on March 15, 1923.

p. 441: Whitney Hall was at 107 North A Street, not far from the Constitution Building. A historical photo “shows the Salt Lake City 18th ward and school. The building in the foreground is Whitney Hall (still under construction), which was built to house the classrooms and recreation hall.”

http://thoth.library.utah.edu:1701/primo_library/libweb/action/dlDisplay.do?vid=MWDL&afterPDS=true&docId=digcoll_uuu_11USHS_Class/5800, accessed 1-19-15.

p. 441: “There is surely no greater wisdom than well to time the beginnings and onsets of things”: Francis Bacon, “Of Delays.”

p. 441: “Mr. Fagergren”: An “Old Man Fagergren” lived on Fifth East between Eighth South and Ninth South, near the Kennellys, according to a map of the area drawn by Kennelly late in life.

p. 445: “H.M.S. Berengaria”: This ship was originally the *Imperator*, an ocean liner built for the Hamburg America Line. “At the time of her completion in June 1913, she was the largest passenger ship in the world, superseding the RMS Olympic. . . . After the war, she was briefly commissioned into the United States Navy as USS *Imperator* (ID-4080) and employed as a transport, returning American troops from Europe. Following her U.S. Navy service, *Imperator* was handed over to Britain’s Cunard Line as part of war reparations, and she sailed as the flagship RMS Berengaria for the final decade of her career.” Wikipedia, “SS *Imperator*,” accessed 1-19-15.

p. 446: “The thing that I have feared...” : Job 3:25: “For the thing which I greatly feared is come upon me, and that which I was afraid of is come unto me.”

p. 447: *Smilin’ Through* was a 1922 movie, remade in 1932 and 1941. In it, the ghost of a dead woman communicates frequently with her fiancé, with whom she is reunited when he dies many years later.

p. 448: “Always wanting what is not”: The (apparently anonymous) verse is “As a rule a man’s a fool, / When it’s hot he wants it cool, / When it’s cool he wants it hot, / Always wanting what is not.”

p. 449: “*Tillie the Toiler* was a newspaper comic strip created by cartoonist Russ Westover who initially worked on his concept of a flapper character in a strip he titled *Rose of the Office*. With a title change, it sold to King Features Syndicate which carried the strip from 1921 to 1959. . . . Stylish working girl Tillie was employed as a stenographer, secretary and part-time model.” Wikipedia, “Tillie the Toiler,” accessed 1-19-15.

p. 449: “Magic bounded the vaporous air”: From Shelley, “Lines Written Among the Euganean Hills”: “Beneath is spread like a green sea / The waveless plain of Lombardy, / Bounded by the vaporous air / Islanded by cities fair . . .”

p. 449: “*Old St. Paul’s* . . . is a novel by William Harrison Ainsworth serially published in 1841. It is a historical romance that describes the events of the Great Plague of London and the Great Fire of London.” Wikipedia, “*Old St. Paul’s* (novel),” accessed 1-19-15.

p. 449: *Balsamo the Magician*: By Alexandre Dumas.

p. 450: “and keep a beauty shop or the Swedish Vice Consulate . . .”: The following descriptions of the people, smells, and interior of the Constitution Building are no doubt based on Kennelly’s own memories. (See note to p. 402.) Kennelly’s sister, Marion Kennelly Brownell, remembered that one of the tenants was a man who made and sold violins (interview with Nancy Troitic, September 21, 2011).

p. 452: “Rosetta’s great-grandmother Louiza”: John D. Lee’s third wife was Louisa Free, but they had one son and then divorced. Rosetta’s great-grandmother is clearly a fictional wife.

p. 452: “the fist fight that was supposed to take place between Mrs. Sharon . . . and Maggie Allen . . . in back of Ware’s Main Street Grocery”: A fragmentary and unfinished autobiographical outline that Kennelly wrote in probably the 1990s mentions “the squared-off fight between neighbors Mrs. Sharon & Maggie Allen.” According to the 1920 census record, Maggie Allen was a neighbor of the Kennellys in Salt Lake City (when Ardyth was eight years old); she worked as a seamstress in a linen-supply company and lived with her parents, although she was married and had two children. Marguerite Sherren lived two houses away from Maggie Allen and had five children in 1920. Irene and Reginald Ware had a grocery store next door to Maggie Allen’s residence; all three of these families lived on Main Street.

p. 452: “Dempsey going to fight Firpo”: “The Jack Dempsey versus Luis Ángel Firpo fight was a historical boxing fight . . . and it would be one of the defining fights of Dempsey’s career. Dempsey versus Firpo took place on September 14, 1923, at the Polo Grounds in New York City.” Wikipedia, “Jack Dempsey vs. Luis Ángel Firpo,” accessed 1-19-15.

p. 453: “bounding with magic the vaporous air”: See note to p. 449.

p. 453: “Little Boy Blue,” by Eugene Field (1850–1895), contains the lines “Now don’t you go till I come,” he said, / “And don’t you make any noise!”

p. 454: “the most famous hotel . . .”: *Utah: A Guide to the State* describes the Hotel Utah, at the corner of Main and South Temple streets, as “a ten-story hostelry of white terra-cotta brick, erected in 1911. . . . The ornate French Renaissance building is lavishly decorated with figure carvings and scrollwork, and its ornate cupola is topped with the State emblem, the beehive. The emblem is lighted with neon at night and is one of the most outstanding objects on the Salt Lake City skyline. A roof garden affords a widespread view of Great Salt Lake Valley” (p. 241). A

picture of the pergolas in the rooftop garden can be seen at <http://www.hotelutah100.com/?cat=18>.

p. 454: “the house of twenty gables”: A historic photo shows “the ten gables of the Lion House, sometimes known as the house of 20 gables. This was a family house for the many wives of Brigham Young.” http://content.lib.utah.edu/cdm/ref/collection/USHS_Class/id/17686, accessed 1-19-15.

p. 455: “the one who usually sat in it...”: “Amelia had jewelry, fine clothes, a carriage of her own and she played the piano. . . . Whenever they went to the theater, she occupied the seat of honor next to her distinguished husband in the box, while the other wives sat in the special row of chairs reserved for them in the parquet.” Hal Schindler, “Brigham Young’s Favorite Wife,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 30, 1995, http://historytogo.utah.gov/salt_lake_tribune/in_another_time/073095.html, accessed 1-19-15.

p. 455: Mary Miles Minter was an actress who appeared in silent films between 1912 and 1923.

p. 456: “fancy garters! which could be seen sometimes below young ladies’ bare knees...”: “The rolled stocking, complete with roll garter, had its heyday in the 1920s and ‘30s. . . . You’d slip on your stocking, slide the garter roll up your leg to the edge of the stocking (mid-thigh, usually) and fold the stocking edge over the garter, rolling it down your leg until it was just where you wanted it (generally below the knee). . . . Roll garters provided a real utility, safeguarding women from clothing malfunctions like finding your stockings gathered at your ankles. But rolling your stockings over a garter was also about making a fashion statement.” Emily Spivack, “Stocking Series, Part 4: The Rebellious Roll Garters,” *Smithsonian.com*, October 12, 2012, <http://blogs.smithsonianmag.com/threaded/2012/10/stocking-series-part-4-the-rebellious-roll-garters/>, accessed 1-19-15.

p. 456: “the *glass staircase* in the foyer of the American Moving Picture Theater”: In her unfinished autobiographical outline, Kennelly mentions returning to Salt Lake City in 1942, after an absence of twenty years, and finding everything the same, including “the ditches still trickling with cool clear water, the same running behind the lighted glass steps of the staircase in the movie theater next to the Z.C.M.I.”

p. 456: “The graveyard was through the Eagle Gate...”: “The Eagle Gate monument is a historical monument—more in the form of an arch than a gate—seventy-six feet across, situated at the intersection of State Street at South Temple, adjacent to Temple Square. . . . The monument was erected in 1859 and commemorates the entrance to Brigham Young’s property at the mouth of City Creek Canyon. It was originally topped by a wooden eagle, refurbished several times and eventually replaced by the current 4,000-pound, bronze eagle, with a wingspan of 20 feet.” Wikipedia, “Eagle Gate,” accessed 1-19-15.

The cemetery described here is the Brigham Young Family Memorial Cemetery, also known as the Mormon Pioneer Memorial Monument. Brigham Young and a few of his wives and children are buried here. Amelia Young is buried in the Salt Lake City Cemetery.

p. 457: Keith O’Brien’s was a department store in Salt Lake City.

p. 457: Schramm-Johnson was a drugstore in Salt Lake City.

p. 457: “Welsh names”: It’s not clear what Kennelly meant by “Welsh names,” but one (obsolete) definition of “Welsh” in the *Oxford English Dictionary* is “a foreign language; a language that is impossible to understand.”

p. 458: “canned heat”: “Sterno (‘canned heat’) is a fuel made from denatured and jellied alcohol. . . . There are many instances of people drinking Sterno to become intoxicated. . . . The practice is said to have become popular during the Great Depression in hobo camps, or ‘jungles’, when the Sterno would be squeezed through cheesecloth or a sock and the resulting liquid mixed with fruit juice to make ‘jungle juice,’ ‘sock wine,’ or ‘squeeze’.” Wikipedia, “Sterno,” accessed 1-19-15. Drinking “canned heat” was common during Prohibition, which lasted from 1920 to 1933; death could occur due to methanol poisoning.

p. 458: “in front of Larkin’s”: By 1925, the Larkin Mortuary was located at 260 East South Temple (three blocks east of Main Street). <http://larkinmortuary.com/immediate-need/our-legacy/>, accessed 1-19-15.

p. 459: “she had been dead for about fifty years”: Amelia Young’s being dead “for about fifty years” must be intended to mean in Rosetta’s imagination; Amelia Folsom Young actually died in 1910.

p. 463: “Mr. Rudart went out for a cigar and never came back”: Kennelly may have gotten the idea for Mr. Rudart’s disappearances from a case at the maternity home where her mother worked around 1908: “Mrs. Lee was another case that was odd. . . . Her husband was with some insurance company and they were pretty well broke so had telegraphed for some money from his folks. It seems it came and he went to the bank or PO to cash it” and never returned. Several months later he was found “wandering ragged and dirty” in Los Angeles and was hospitalized for some time. Lula Amanda Olsen, “Maternity Home,” manuscript, 1955. Perhaps Mr. Rudart and Mr. Lee suffered episodes of dissociative fugue, “a rare psychiatric disorder characterized by reversible amnesia for personal identity, including the memories, personality and other identifying characteristics of individuality. The state is usually short-lived (ranging from hours to days), but can last months or longer. Dissociative fugue usually involves unplanned travel or wandering.” Wikipedia, “Fugue state,” accessed 1-19-15.

p. 465: “an Atwater Kent”: “In 1925, the Atwater Kent Manufacturing Company became the largest maker of radios in the United States.” Wikipedia, “A. Atwater Kent,” accessed 1-19-15.

p. 465: “West High School”: Salt Lake High School was founded in 1891 and became West High School in 1912. It was located several blocks from the Constitution Building, on North 300 West.

p. 465: “*Bringing Up Father* was an influential American comic strip created by cartoonist George McManus (1884–1954). . . . It ran for 87 years, from January 12, 1913 to May 28, 2000. . . . The humor centers on an immigrant Irishman named Jiggs, a former hod carrier who came

into wealth in the United States by winning a million dollars in a sweepstakes.” Wikipedia, “Bringing up Father,” accessed 1-19-15.

p. 467: “Klatwa and the Philomatheans”: These are very obscure references. There were apparently Philomathean Societies—student societies devoted to learning—in Payson and Beaver, Utah, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. “Klątwa,” meaning “the curse,” was an 1899 play by the Polish painter and playwright Stanisław Wyspiański, but I can find no connection of the term with any kind of high school organization.

p. 468: “the Brahmins. . . . a class system over *here*?” During the 1920s and 1930s, when Ardyth and Marion Kennelly were growing up, they and their neighbors who graduated from North Albany School (after eighth grade) felt that they were looked upon as inferior, as “country bumpkins,” by their high school classmates who had grown up in Albany proper, on the other side of the Willamette River. Interviews by Nancy Trotic with Marion Kennelly Brownell and Jean Parker Anderson, 2011.

p. 468: “A normal school is a school created to train high school graduates to be teachers. Its purpose is to establish teaching standards or *norms*, hence its name. Most such schools are now called teachers’ colleges.” Wikipedia, “Normal school,” accessed 1-20-15.

p. 470: “But it was *too curly*”: “Stories of beauty shop mishaps and homemade disasters shaped the collective memory of a generation of women who came of age with the first permanent-wave machines and a vast array of hairstyling techniques, dyes, and solutions. For Billie Jones Kanan, disappointing results paled only in comparison to the suffering she endured from her first trip to the beauty shop [in about 1928]. . . . ‘My hair was wound up on spiral rods so tight that I thought I would never blink again [and] after the machine that looked like a milking machine was attached to the rods, I couldn’t move. [Then] it all began to steam and tears rolled down my cheeks.’ Finally, her suffering caught an operator’s attention. ‘Someone got a blower and cooled my head here and there, but my scalp was scalded.’ . . . She assumed that ‘maybe this was just a part of being beautiful.’ That notion quickly vanished, however, when she looked in the mirror and found that the closest thing her blonde hair now resembled was a ‘haystack.’ ‘Getting beautified’ for Gwen Jeschke was equally devastating. As a young girl, she repeatedly suffered at the hands of an inexperienced operator. After her first permanent wave she did everything she could ‘to keep from screaming.’ ‘It was awful,’ she remembered, because ‘it stuck out all over the place. . . . It looked like I’d stuck my finger in a light socket.’” Julie A. Willett, *Permanent Waves: The Making of the American Beauty Shop* (New York University Press, 2000), pp. 92–93.

p. 470: “*Daddy Long Legs*”: The first film version was made in 1919.

p. 471: “a flock of tall birds”: From Winifred Welles’s poem “Actual Willow,” in *Anthology of Magazine Verse for 1924 and Yearbook of American Poetry*, ed. William Stanley Braithwaite (1924).

p. 472: “Mr. Cutler, who owned the building”: John Christopher Cutler (1846–1928) was a Utah businessman and politician, serving as governor from 1905 to 1909. He committed suicide by shooting himself on July 30, 1928.

“In 1877 he became agent and later on manager of the Provo Woolen Mills, and in 1885 he and his brothers, Thomas R., Heber S., and Joseph G., formed the firm of Cutler Bros. Co. . . . In addition to his connection with the Cutler Bros. Company Governor Cutler is identified with the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company and the Deseret National Bank.” “Biography of John C. Cutler,” in *Sketches of the Inter-Mountain States, 1847–1909* (Salt Lake Tribune, 1909), <http://www.onlinebiographies.info/ut/cutler-jc.htm>, accessed 1-20-19.

“John C. Cutler, 82, second governor of the state of Utah and president of the Deseret National bank, was found in a garage at the rear of his home, 925 South West Temple street, at 10:15 a.m. Monday, suffering from a gunshot wound in the temple. He was rushed to the L. D. S. Hospital, where he died fifty-five minutes later. Mr. Cutler had been in failing health for several weeks, and of late had been distressed by imaginary reverses in his personal financial affairs.” “Former Governor Found Dying in Garage at Home,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 31, 1928.

p. 472: “Richard Cory” is an 1897 poem by Edwin Arlington Robinson.

p. 476: “*The Delineator* was an American women’s magazine of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, founded by the Butterick Publishing Company in 1869 under the name *The Metropolitan Monthly*. Its name was changed in 1875. . . . *The Delineator* featured the Butterick sewing patterns and provided an in-depth look at the fashion of the day.” Wikipedia, “*The Delineator*,” accessed 1-20-15. “Over the early 20th century the magazine flourished and became one of the top women’s magazines in the country, gaining a reputation for crusading and social housekeeping.” “Newsstand: 1925: The Delineator,” http://uwf.edu/dearle/enewsstand/enewsstand_files/page630.htm, accessed 1-20-15.

p. 476: “*La Reine*”: Sarah Bernhardt starred in the 1912 film *Les Amours de la reine Élisabeth* (*The Loves of Queen Elizabeth*).

p. 479: “But she was dead”: “One tragedy ‘receiving wide publicity’ told the story of a woman ‘under a permanent wave machine [who] fainted.’ As the story goes, ‘the hairdresser, to revive her, threw water in her face and she was electrocuted.’” Willett, quoting testimony about dangers in beauty shops, in *Permanent Waves*, p. 96.

p. 480: “The Seven Sutherland Sisters, a group of singing ladies from Lockport/Niagara, N.Y., were famous for their long hair, which they showed off in a sideshow of Barnum & Bailey’s from about 1882 to 1907. On such group photos the sisters were always placed in such a way that it seemed all of the sisters had hair reaching the floor.” “The Seven Sutherland Sisters,” <http://www.angelfire.com/art/rapunzellonghair/rapunzellonghairarchive/portrait4.htm>, accessed 1-21-15.

p. 482: “The Bamberger Electric Railway was built under the leadership of Simon Bamberger, pioneer Utah coal-mine operator and railroad entrepreneur. . . . In 1908 Ogden was connected to Salt Lake City on what was known as the Bamberger. The line was electrified on May 28, 1910 and renamed the Bamberger Electric Railway. The business of the line included commuter and

shopper travel between Ogden and Salt Lake City as well as heavy summer traffic to Lagoon resort. . . . In 1908 the Bamberger had five daily trains running both directions.” “Bamberger Railroad,” <http://utahrails.net/utahrails/bamberger.php>, accessed 1-21-15.

p. 483: “*Mother India*, published in 1927, was a polemical book by the American author Katherine Mayo. In her book, Mayo attacked society, religion and culture of the country of India. Written against the Indian demands for self-rule and independence from British rule, the book pointed to the treatment of India’s women, the untouchables, animals, dirt, and the character of its nationalistic politicians. . . . The book created an outrage across India, and it was burned along with her effigy. . . . The book prompted over fifty angry books and pamphlets to be published to highlight Mayo’s errors and false perception of Indian society, which had become a powerful influence on the American people’s view of India.” Wikipedia, “Mother India (book),” accessed 1-21-15.

p. 484: “He’s a Future Farmer”: “The National FFA Organization is an American youth organization, specifically a career and technical student organization, based on middle and high school classes that promote and support agricultural education. The organization was founded in 1928 as Future Farmers of America, but in 1988 the name was changed to the National FFA Organization, now commonly referred to as simply FFA, to recognize that the organization is for those with diverse interests in the food, fiber and natural resource industries.” Wikipedia, “National FFA Organization,” accessed 1-21-15.

p. 484: *Isaac and Archibald* is a 1902 poem by Edwin Arlington Robinson, about two old male friends. *Captain Carpenter* is a 1924 poem by John Crowe Ransom.

p. 485: “The Pantages Theatre is an historic theater in Salt Lake City. . . . It opened in 1918. . . . The theater functioned as a vaudeville venue through the 1920s, before being converted into a movie palace during the 1930s.” Wikipedia, “Pantages Theater (Salt Lake City),” accessed 1-21-15.

p. 485: “The Essex was a brand of automobile produced by the Essex Motor Company between 1918 and 1922 and by Hudson Motor Company of Detroit, Michigan between 1922 and 1932. . . . During its production run, the Essex was considered a small car and was affordably priced.” Wikipedia, “Essex (automobile),” accessed 1-21-15.

p. 487: “Lucky Strike was the top selling cigarette in the United States during the 1930s.” Wikipedia, “Lucky Strike,” accessed 1-21-15.

p. 487: “‘Sweet Sue, Just You’ was written in 1928 by Will Harris and bandleader Victor Young and has been recorded by many artists over the years. The Mills Brothers had a Top 10 hit with it in 1932.” <http://www.shapirobernstein.com/song/627/Sweet-Sue-Just-You>, accessed 1-25-15.

“‘What Is This Thing Called Love?’ is a 1929 popular song written by Cole Porter, for the musical *Wake Up and Dream*. It was first performed by Elsie Carlisle in March 1929.” Wikipedia, “What Is This Thing Called Love?” accessed 1-25-15.

“‘Diane’ is a song by Erno Rapee and Lew Pollack originally written as a theme song for the 1927 silent movie *Seventh Heaven*. In 1928, The Nat Shilkret Orchestra had a hit with the song.” Wikipedia, “Diane (1927 song),” accessed 1-25-15.

p. 490: “the law firm of Swithin and Swan”: L. L. Swan (1872–1963) was a prominent lawyer in Albany, Oregon, who had some association with the Parker family. Possibly Kennelly had heard Swan talk about Hoover, Coolidge, and Mellon in the way that Birdelle heard Mr. Swan talk on p. 491.

p. 490: Dr. Frank E. Beauchamp (1877–1942) was one of the Parker family’s physicians.

p. 490: “Let the Rest of the World Go By” was a 1919 song written by J. Keirn Brennan.

p. 491: Alma Gluck (1884–1938) was “not only one of the finest concert artists of the twentieth century but also one of the most popular. . . . Although she had a beautiful voice as a girl and learned to play piano, Gluck began vocal training only as an adult.” “Alma Gluck,” Jewish Women’s Archive Encyclopedia, <http://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/gluck-alma>, accessed 1-27-15. Her favorite recording, according to her daughter, was “L’Heure Exquise.” “Alma Gluck: Liner Notes,” http://www.marstonrecords.com/gluck/gluck_liner.htm, accessed 1-27-15.

p. 491: “the man who had fed Europe” was Herbert Hoover; the treasury secretary who believed in cutting income tax was Andrew Mellon.

p. 492: The Cartmills were a large family in North Albany, Oregon, up the road from where Ardyth and her family lived.

p. 493: The Troy Laundry (in Salt Lake City) was where Kennelly’s mother went to work at age 16. (Kennelly describes the laundry work in *Good Morning, Young Lady*.)

p. 493: The Cathedral of the Madeleine, completed in 1909, is at 331 E. South Temple, indeed only about five blocks “up the street” from the former Kearns mansion (now the Governor’s Mansion) at 603 E. South Temple.

p. 496: “the Old Mill”: “The Cottonwood Paper Mill . . . is an abandoned stone structure located at the mouth of Big Cottonwood Canyon in Cottonwood Heights, Utah.” It was built in 1883, destroyed by fire in 1893, and then “partially rebuilt in 1927 for use as an open-air dance hall, known as the Old Mill Club, and remained so until the 1940s.” Wikipedia, “Cottonwood Paper Mill,” accessed 1-27-15.

p. 498: “the starving Armenians”: “The Armenian Genocide . . . was the Ottoman government’s systematic extermination of its minority Armenian subjects from their historic homeland” during and after World War I. It involved “the wholesale killing of the able-bodied male population” and “the deportation of women, children, the elderly and infirm on death marches leading to the Syrian desert. Driven forward by military escorts, the deportees were deprived of food and water. . . . In the U.S. and the United Kingdom, children were regularly reminded to clean their plates

while eating and to ‘remember the starving Armenians.’” Wikipedia, “Armenian Genocide,” accessed 1-27-15.

p. 499: “the kids who ran things were like the Brahmins over in India”: See note to p. 468.

p. 501: “purest ultraviolet rays serene”: “Full many a gem of purest ray serene / The dark unfathom’d caves of ocean bear” are lines from “Elegy Written in a Country Church-Yard,” by Thomas Gray.

p. 501: “a certain line of poetry...”: “Beauty crowds me till I die” is a line by Emily Dickinson.

p. 502: “the Inquisitional dogs and devildoms of Spain”: From Tennyson, “The Revenge: A Ballad of the Fleet”:

Then spake Sir Richard Grenville: “I know you are no coward;
You fly them for a moment to fight with them again.
But I’ve ninety men and more that are lying sick ashore.
I should count myself the coward if I left them, my Lord Howard,
To these Inquisition dogs and the devildoms of Spain.”

p. 502: “Tosk is the southern dialect of the Albanian language. . . . *Tosk* may also refer to the Tosk-speaking Albanian population of southern Albania.” Wikipedia, “Tosk Albanian,” accessed 1-27-15. Leskovik is a municipality in southeastern Albania.

p. 502: “The Bonus Army, some 15,000 to 20,000 World War I veterans from across the country, marched on the Capitol in June 1932 to request early payment of cash bonuses due to them in 1945. The Great Depression had destroyed the economy, leaving many veterans jobless. . . . Six futile weeks of lobbying Congress raised government fears of riots, and on July 28, cavalry, infantry, tank troops and a mounted machine gun squadron commanded by General Douglas MacArthur and Major Dwight Eisenhower dispersed veterans and their families with bayonets and tear gas.” “The Bonus Army March,” American Treasures of the Library of Congress, <http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/treasures/trm203.html>, accessed 1-28-15.

p. 502: “The Manual Training movement was the precursor to the vocational training programs in our schools today. First used in the United States in the 1870’s in the training of engineers, the movement spread rapidly to general public education. Manual training emphasized the intellectual and social development associated with the practical training of the hand and the eye. In its most basic sense, manual training was the teaching of both wood and metal working, with the accompanying argument that this teaching improved perception, observation, practical judgment, visual accuracy, manual dexterity and taught students the power of doing things instead of merely thinking about them, talking about them, and writing about them.” “Manual Training Movement,” <http://www3.nd.edu/~rbarger/www7/manualtr.html>, accessed 1-28-15.

p. 502: Christmas Night (Nuit de Noel) was a perfume launched by Caron in 1922.

p. 502: Fabrikoid was a type of imitation leather widely used in the early twentieth century.

p. 502: “Brownie is the name of a long-running popular series of simple and inexpensive cameras made by Eastman Kodak. The Brownie popularized low-cost photography and introduced the concept of the snapshot.” Wikipedia, “Brownie (camera),” accessed 1-30-15.

p. 503: “Kathryn Elizabeth Smith (May 1, 1907 – June 17, 1986), known professionally as Kate Smith and The First Lady of Radio, was an American singer, a contralto, best known for her rendition of Irving Berlin’s ‘God Bless America.’ She had a radio, television, and recording career spanning five decades, which reached its pinnacle in the 1940s. Smith became known as The Songbird of the South after her enduring popularity during World War II and contribution to American culture and patriotism. . . . Her professional musical career began in 1930, when she was discovered by Columbia Records vice president Ted Collins. . . . Collins put Smith on radio in 1931. . . . Smith was a major star of radio, usually backed by Jack Miller’s Orchestra. She began with her twice-a-week NBC series, *Kate Smith Sings* (quickly expanded to six shows a week), followed by a series of shows for CBS.” Wikipedia, “Kate Smith,” accessed 1-30-15.

p. 503: “burden of Babylon”: Isaiah 13:1.

p. 503: Jimmie Lunceford was a popular bandleader in the 1930s. “By 1935 . . . Jimmie Lunceford’s Orchestra had achieved a national reputation as an outstanding black swing band.” “Jimmie Lunceford,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Jazz* (Oxford University Press), http://www.pbs.org/jazz/biography/artist_id_lunceford_jimmie.htm, accessed 1-28-15.

p. 503: “Gang Busters was an American dramatic radio program. . . . It premiered as G-Men, sponsored by Chevrolet, on July 20, 1935. . . . The series dramatized FBI cases.” Wikipedia, “Gang Busters,” accessed 1-28-15.

p. 505: “The *Pictorial Review* was a magazine based in New York and first published in September 1899. The magazine was originally designed to showcase dress patterns of German immigrant William Paul Ahnelt’s American Fashion Company. . . . By the late 1920s it was one of the largest of the ‘women’s magazines.’ . . . In 1937 it merged with *The Delineator*, another women’s magazine.” Wikipedia, “*Pictorial Review*,” accessed 1-30-15.

p. 505: “KSL is Utah’s oldest radio station and was originally designated with the call letters KZN. KSL/KZN began life as the radio arm of the *Deseret News*, a Salt Lake City newspaper also owned by the LDS Church. The station’s first broadcast aired on May 6, 1922. . . . In 1924, it changed its call letters to KFPT for one year and then adopted its current call letters in 1925 after they became available.” Wikipedia, “KSL (radio),” accessed 1-30-15.

p. 505: “Shaking the Blues Away” is from the 1927 Ziegfield Follies.

p. 507: Post Toasties, the breakfast cereal, was introduced in 1904.

p. 513: “Holloway’s Grocery”: Dayton Holloway, a relative of Kennelly’s Parker stepfamily, owned Holloway’s Market, a grocery store originally located in downtown Albany and later on Highway 20 just west of North Albany.

p. 515: “the Utah Power & Light Company”: Kennelly’s father, James Daniel Kennelly, was a lineman for the Utah Power & Light Company. He was electrocuted in an accident on April 21, 1921, shortly after returning to work following a strike, apparently due to the “scab labor’s” mistakes.

p. 515: “the Chic Salon sweatshop...Mildred...”: After high school, Kennelly’s sister Marion attended Pacific Beauty School in Portland together with a childhood friend, Mildred Goff. Marion initially went to work in a shop in Albany owned by a Mrs. Sternberg, a “mean” woman whom Marion “couldn’t stand”; she was treated “like a third-world immigrant,” particularly because “if you lived on the other side of the river [in North Albany], you were a second-class citizen.” Marion was miserable there and didn’t make any money. The other girl who worked in the shop, Marion said, “made me do all the shampooing, then she did the hair and got paid.” Marion soon tired of this treatment and one day simply picked up her belongings and walked two blocks down First Street to her friend Mildred’s beauty shop, where she stayed for several years. Interview with Nancy Tropic, May 10, 2011.

Julie A. Willett, in her book *Permanent Waves: The Making of the American Beauty Shop*, details the difficult working conditions for beauty operators in the Depression era: “Most beauty operators . . . found themselves facing a factory-like mentality. Nathaniel Colby, President of the League of Master Beauticians, believed that ‘the depressed wages . . . bring conditions for most of us down to almost coolie level,’ and ‘the inhumanly long hours and meager pay envelopes of ninety per cent of all engaged in the industry, are truly tragic.’ Besides poor wages, the New York Department of Labor found that beauty operators were working constantly on their feet from twelve to fourteen hours a day and were barely able to ‘snatch a sandwich between customers’” (pp. 97–98). Willett’s sources repeatedly use the term “sweatshop” to characterize the conditions under which many beauty operators worked (pp. 90, 91, 94, 97, 101, etc.).

p. 516: “John Pierpont Morgan’s nose”: J. P. Morgan had a large, deformed nose due to rhinophyma, which is “a large, bulbous, ruddy nose caused by granulomatous infiltration, commonly due to untreated rosacea.” Wikipedia, “Rhinophyma,” accessed 1-30-15.

p. 516: “mammas exuberant...which...began a wild spurt of growth”: Kennelly knew a woman in her hometown of Albany who experienced a similar excessive breast growth in her teenage years and had to undergo such an operation.

p. 517: “in the same eighth square”: In chess, a pawn that reaches the eighth square, at the other side of the chessboard, can be changed into a queen.

p. 518: “The Diamond Necklace” was an 1884 short story by Guy De Maupassant.

p. 518: Dorothy Dix (1861–1951) was “the forerunner of today’s popular advice columnists” and was “America’s highest paid and most widely read female journalist at the time of her death. Her advice on marriage was syndicated in newspapers around the world. . . . In addition to her newspaper columns, Dix was the author of books such as *How to Win and Hold a Husband*.” Wikipedia, “Dorothy Dix,” accessed 1-31-15.

p. 520: “improved the shining hour”: From a poem by Isaac Watts (1674–1748):

How doth the little busy bee
Improve each shining hour,
And gather honey all the day
From every opening flower!

p. 520: “*to give each man she faced whatever he needed or wanted*”: See note to p. 603 about Blodeuwedd.

p. 522: “Wings is a brand of the Brown & Williamson Tobacco Corporation. It was first introduced to American smokers in 1929 as a popular ten-cent economy brand.” Wikipedia, “Wings (cigarette),” accessed 1-31-15.

p. 522: “Thief Repulse Auto Lock”: Kennelly’s stepbrother Russell H. Parker invented and patented a “Stop Theft Lock” device for cars in 1925; it had three dials like that of a combination lock and an alarm that went off if the car was started without the correct numbers having been dialed in. He began manufacturing the device with the slogan “Make Your Car a Private Car,” but just at that time cars became enclosed, and door locks were used instead. So he did not make any money off the invention. See <http://www.google.com/patents/US1572446>.

p. 523: Makoff’s was a high-end women’s clothing store in Salt Lake City; it was “founded in 1919 by the late Samuel Makoff Sr. The first store opened as the ‘Classic Shop’ at 270 South Main St., in September of that year. In 1927, the shop moved to 60 E. South Temple, in the Medical Arts building.” *Deseret News*, September 27, 1974.

p. 523: “Kresge’s coffee shop”: “In 1912, [Sebastian S.] Kresge incorporated the S.S. Kresge Corporation with eighty-five [variety] stores. . . . Early century growth remained brisk, with 257 stores in 1924 growing to 597 stores operating in 1929. . . . S.S. Kresge Corp. opened the first Kmart store on March 1, 1962, in Garden City, Michigan. . . . A total of eighteen Kmart stores opened that year.” Wikipedia, “Kmart,” accessed 2-7-15.

p. 523: “Public Works Administration (PWA), part of the New Deal of 1933, . . . built large-scale public works such as dams, bridges, hospitals, and schools. Its goals were to . . . provide employment, stabilize purchasing power, and help revive the economy. . . . The PWA spent over \$6 billion in contracts to private construction firms that did the actual work. . . . The PWA should not be confused with its great rival the Works Progress Administration (WPA), though both were part of the New Deal. The WPA, headed by Harry Hopkins, engaged in smaller projects in close cooperation with local governments—such as building a city hall or sewers or sidewalks. The PWA projects were much larger in scope, such as giant dams. The WPA hired only people on relief who were paid directly by the federal government. The PWA gave contracts to private firms who did all the hiring on the private sector job market. The WPA also had youth programs (the NYA), projects for women, and arts projects that the PWA did not have.” Wikipedia, “Public Works Administration,” accessed 2-7-15.

“The Works Progress Administration (renamed in 1939 as the Work Projects Administration; WPA) was the largest and most ambitious New Deal agency, employing millions of unemployed people (mostly unskilled men) to carry out public works projects,

including the construction of public buildings and roads. In a much smaller but more famous project, the Federal Project Number One, the WPA employed musicians, artists, writers, actors and directors in large arts, drama, media, and literacy projects. . . . At its peak in 1938, it provided paid jobs for three million unemployed men and women.” Wikipedia, “Works Progress Administration,” accessed 2-7-15.

“The Federal Writers’ Project (FWP) was a . . . federal government project to fund written work and support writers during the Great Depression. It was part of the Works Progress Administration. . . . Established on July 27, 1935, by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the Federal Writers’ Project . . . [compiled] local histories, oral histories, ethnographies, children’s books and other works. The most well-known of these publications were the 48 state guides to America . . . known as the American Guide Series. . . . [They] contained detailed histories of each state with descriptions of every city and town. The format was uniform, comprising essays on the state’s history and culture, descriptions of its major cities, automobile tours were one of the important attractions, and a portfolio of photographs. . . . FWP was charged with employing writers, editors, historians, researchers, art critics, archaeologists, geologists and cartographers. . . . In each state a Writer’s Project non-relief staff of editors was formed, along with a much larger group of field workers drawn from local unemployment rolls. . . . Most of the Writer’s Project employees were relatively young in age, and many came from working-class backgrounds.” Wikipedia, “Federal Writers’ Project,” accessed 2-7-15.

Kennelly, under her married name, Ardyth Gibbs, worked on the Federal Writers’ Project in Portland around 1937. She contributed to *Oregon: End of the Trail*, in the American Guide Series, and she also conducted an interview with Newton McDaniel titled “Concerning Ellendale: Ghost Town.” See <http://www.offbeatoregon.com/s1304x-wpa-gibbs-mcdaniel-ellensburg.html>. Her first husband, Howard Scott Gibbs (a gay friend whom she’d married in 1935, mainly so that they could share apartment expenses), worked on the Oregon Federal Arts Project under the WPA; he is listed as having done “paintings and furniture for Tongue Point (1942).” Carolyn Howe, “The Production of Culture on the Oregon Federal Arts Project of the Works Progress Administration,” dissertation, Portland State University, 1980, p. 188, http://pdxscholar.library.pdx.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1823&context=open_access_etds, accessed 2-7-15.

p. 524: “President Grant”: Heber J. Grant was president of the Mormon church from 1918 until his death in 1945. He opposed Mormon participation in WPA programs.

p. 524: The Bureau of Information and Museum was located “just inside the south entrance” of Temple Square. *Utah: A Guide to the State*, p. 234.

p. 524: “Church Historian’s Office and Library”: “Church Historian and Recorder (usually shortened to Church Historian) is a priesthood calling in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The role of the Church Historian and Recorder is to keep an accurate and comprehensive record of the church and its activities.” Wikipedia, “Church Historian and Recorder,” accessed 2-13-15.

p. 524: “lonesome mouse-turd strangers”: This phrase appears in Tom Wolfe, *The Right Stuff* (1979).

p. 524: “one hundred and forty-three Mormon men...”: “The company included 143 men, 3 women, and 2 children. They had 72 wagons, 93 horses, 52 mules, 66 oxen, 19 cows, 17 dogs, and a number of chickens. . . . For real as well as psychological security the party carried one cannon.” *The Oregon Trail: The Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean*, compiled and written by the Federal Writers’ Project of the Works Progress Administration (Hastings House, 1939), p. 60.

“The names Green Flake, Hark Lay, and Oscar Crosby are inscribed on monuments and remembered by Utah school children as the three African American slaves who came to Utah with the first company of Mormon pioneers.” Miriam B. Murphy, “Those Pioneering African Americans,” http://historytogo.utah.gov/utah_chapters/pioneers_and_cowboys/thosepioneeringafricanamericans.html, accessed 2-13-15.

p. 525: “Theogamy”: An obscure word meaning “marriage of gods.”

p. 525: “*Utah: A Guide to the State*”: This book was one of the American Guide Series (see note to p. 523); it was published in 1941. The foreword describes the book as having “solid information interwoven with many a fascinating true story.”

p. 525: “I’ve been in every kind of fight...”: Eugene Higgins, in *The Westerners: A Roundup of Pioneer Reminiscences*, compiled by John Myers Myers (University of Nebraska Press, 1997; first published 1969), p. 77.

“We’d drink water...”: William S. Watson, *ibid.*, p. 90.

“We never knowed what was going on...”: Jake Goss, *ibid.*, p. 20.

“The robbers wouldn’t never...”: “They was the finest people in the world; they’d never bother nothin’ but only a bank or a train.” Charles A. Blake (referring to Butch Cassidy’s Wild Bunch), *ibid.*, p. 33.

“There is more rascality to be seen in Utah...”: An 1863 letter “written by a gentleman at present in Washoe to a friend in San Francisco” and “dated Virginia (N[evada] T[erritory]), October 24th” says, “I have seen more rascality, small and great, in my brief forty days sojourn in this wilderness of sage brush, sharpers and prostitutes, than in a thirteen years experience of our squeamishly moral state of California. . . . The description by Leo Africanus of the City of the Murderers in Biledulgerid, or the old Taurica Chersonesus, are the only instances which history affords of such an anthropophagous, soul-devouring state of society.” “A Blast from Washoe,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, November 3, 1863, <http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc?a=d&d=SDU18631103.2.9>, accessed 2-16-15. Washoe County was established in 1861 in Nevada Territory. Leo Africanus was a sixteenth-century “Andalusian Berber Moorish diplomat and author who is best known for his book *Descrittione dell’Africa (Description of Africa)* describing the geography of North Africa.” “Biledulgerid (Bheladal Dshered = country of dates) was formerly a country in Northern Africa.” Wikipedia, “Leo Africanus” and “Biledulgerid,” accessed 2-16-15. *The Lives of Celebrated Travellers*, vol. 1 (1831), by James Augustus St. John, includes an account of Leo Africanus; during an excursion to the “western provinces of Morocco,” Leo Africanus visited “El Eusugaghen, the ‘City of Murderers,’” and found of the inhabitants that “all their thoughts, all their desires tended towards bloodshed and war.” The city was so violent that “no man ventured to step over the threshold of his own door

into the street without carrying a dagger or a spear in his hand. . . . Cries of ‘murder!’ in the street were frequent and startling” (p. 103).

“Back then a lot of people...”: “Back then a lot of people was on their guard, you know. There was old gray-haired fellows with beards halfway down to their belts, with six-shooters buckled on. And they’d kill you, too, if you messed with ‘em. You didn’t have to mess with ‘em much, either; just ask ‘em a little question. So you never asked ‘em nothin’, and they learned us kids to keep our mouths shut.” Eugene Higgins, in *The Westerners*, p. 74.

“The Ute worshipped a bisexual deity, the He-She, represented by the sun.” *Utah: A Guide to the State*, p. 41.

“If the past were suddenly...”: “If the past were suddenly opened up to our inspection, we would be overwhelmed not only by the sheer mass of material, but by the brutality, horror, and tragedy of the centuries that lie behind us. It is one thing to read about massacres, battles, plagues, inquisitions, or to see them enacted in the movies. But what man could bear to look upon the immutable evil of the past, knowing that what he saw was real and beyond all remedy?” Arthur C. Clarke, “About Time,” in *Profiles of the Future: An Inquiry into the Limits of the Possible* (Harper & Row, 1962).

p. 526: “The first Utahn to plant a garden...”: Miles Goodyear was “the earliest white settler in Ogden,” arriving there in 1844 or 1845, and he was “probably the first in Utah to plant a garden.” *Utah: A Guide to the State*, p. 203.

“two teams of hunters...”: “The balance of Great Basin wild life was upset by the arrival of the pioneers, and a ‘competitive vermin hunt’ was organized. ‘Articles of agreement between Captains John D. Lee and John Pack’ open with the provision for a ‘social dinner to be given by the losers.’ The score was kept in ‘raven equivalents,’ as follows: ‘The right wing of a raven counting one, a hawk or owl two, the wings of an eagle five, the skin of a minx or pole cat five, the skin of a wolf, fox, wild cat, or catamount ten, the pelt of a bear or panther, fifty.’ The final count showed 14,367 ‘raven equivalents’ turned in, John D. Lee’s company of 37 hunters winning over John Pack’s 47 hunters by ‘2543 ravens majority for Lee.’” *Utah: A Guide to the State*, p. 230.

“where the state Capitol now stood...”: “Consternation was created in 1870 when two boys, practicing with a rifle, blew up the arsenal on the present site of the State Capitol, breaking nearly every window in the city; long queues of people formed outside establishments selling window glass, and there were gruesome descriptions of finding parts of the boys’ bodies.” *Utah: A Guide to the State*, p. 232. “Before the construction of the Utah State Capitol, Capitol Hill was known as Arsenal Hill. Four buildings—each serving as storage for a private explosives manufacturer—held black powder, Hercules blasting powder. On April 5, 1876, two young boys by the names of Charles Richardson and Frank Hill were herding cattle in the area, and they were seen shooting at some cranes flying overhead. The explosives detonated moments later, throwing debris and instantly killing the two boys. Destruction was devastating and widespread. All buildings within a two mile radius shook and many suffered damage. John Nicholson, a newspaper writer who witnessed the event, reported that there was an “immense shower of missiles from the size of small boulders, to rocks weighing a couple hundred pounds.” Shop windows along Main Street shattered; some buildings crumbled to the ground. Not only did the areas surrounding Arsenal Hill suffer much damage, but also human life was lost. Action was immediately taken to move the remaining explosives to a more remote location.” “About the

Grounds,” <https://utahstatecapitol.utah.gov/index.php/explorethecapitol/capitolgrounds>, accessed 2-16-15.

“The [Temple] walls were twenty feet high when Brigham Young died in 1877.” *Utah: A Guide to the State*, p. 238.

p. 526: “the WPA Orchestra”: “The cultural program of the Works Progress Administration and organization of the Utah WPA Orchestra of thirty to forty musicians in 1935” helped alleviate unemployment of musicians in the state after the “development of talking pictures caused theater orchestras to disband.” *Utah: A Guide to the State*, pp. 174–75.

p. 526: “The Utah Art Center . . . has five galleries where exhibits of arts and crafts are held; most exhibitions are those circulated by the WPA Art Program. . . . On the second floor are offices of the Utah Music Project and of the Utah Writers’ Project.” *Utah: A Guide to the State*, p. 264.

p. 526: “a ballad entitled ‘The Mountain Meadows Massacre’”: A scholarly 1953 account of versions of the ballad is given by the Utah folklorist Austin E. Fife, “A Ballad of the Mountain Meadows Massacre,” *Western Folklore* 12, no. 4 (Oct. 1953), pp. 229–41; <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1496664>.

p. 526: “a Mixmaster”: “The Hobart KitchenAid and Sunbeam Mixmaster (first produced 1910) were two very early US brands of electric mixer.” Wikipedia, “Mixer (cooking),” accessed 2-16-15.

p. 527: Newhouse Hotel: “For 71 years, the Newhouse Hotel was one of downtown Salt Lake City’s distinctive landmarks. . . . The 12-story hotel, built in 1912 on the southwest corner of 400 South and Main Street, was identified in a June 24, 1983, *Deseret News* editorial as ‘a monument to the early boom-and-bust days of mining in Utah, a story of sudden wealth, lavish spending and a lifestyle that has vanished from the American scene.’” Mark Haddock, “Newhouse Hotel—A Landmark to Explosive End,” *Deseret News*, November 9, 2009.

p. 527: “some soldiers—dragoons, he said. . . .”: “In May of 1859, [Brevet Major James H.] Carleton and K Company of the First Dragoons out of Fort Tejon, California,” rendezvoused at Mountain Meadows with an expedition from Camp Floyd, Utah, “under the command of Captain Ruben Campbell, who had arrived in the area the previous week. With orders . . . to bury the victims of the massacre that occurred in September 1857, the dragoons gathered the remains of 34 found scattered on the plain and buried them in a mass grave. A crude monument was constructed of rocks with a cross of cedar and an engraved marker.” Campbell’s men “had interred the remains of 39 in three mass graves a few days before the arrival of K Company.” Wikipedia, “James Henry Carleton,” accessed 2-16-15. The original rock cairn was indeed soon torn down by loyal Mormons.

Austin E. Fife believes that “a pretty strong case could be made for the composition of this ballad by a soldier in the Johnston’s army occupation force while in winter quarters at Camp Scott on the edge of the Utah territory in the closing months of 1857, or the first months of 1858, from two weeks to nine months following the event” (“A Ballad of the Mountain Meadows Massacre,” pp. 238–39). This would have been before the Carleton/Campbell expedition of

1859, which Legrand's co-worker Roman seems to suggest was the time that the ballad originated. John D. Lee was executed in 1877, twenty years after the massacre.

For more about the ballad, see Shaleane Gee, "Ballads of the Mountain Meadow Massacre," January 26, 2015, <http://singout.org/2015/01/26/ballads-mountain-meadow-massacre/>, accessed 2-16-15.

p. 528: "fifty-seven children": Sources vary on how many children John D. Lee had; the number may have been between 56 and 62.

p. 529: "Floyd Collins's would-be rescuers": "William Floyd Collins . . . was a cave explorer in central Kentucky. . . . On January 30, 1925, while trying to discover a new entrance to the system of underground caves that were a popular tourist attraction in Kentucky, Collins became trapped in a narrow crawlway 55 feet below the surface. The reports about efforts to save Collins became a nationwide newspaper sensation. . . . After four days during which Collins could be brought water and food, a collapse in the cave closed the entrance passageway to everything except voice contact. Collins died of exposure, thirst, and starvation after about fourteen days underground." Wikipedia, "Floyd Collins," accessed 2-17-15.

p. 529: Juanita Brooks: The books mentioned here are three of this Mormon historian's most important works.

p. 530: "a Five Foot Shelf of books": "The Harvard Classics, originally known as Dr. Eliot's Five Foot Shelf, is a 51-volume anthology of classic works from world literature, compiled and edited by Harvard University president Charles W. Eliot and first published in 1909. Eliot had stated in speeches that the elements of a liberal education could be obtained by spending 15 minutes a day reading from a collection of books that could fit on a five-foot shelf." Wikipedia, "Harvard Classics," accessed 2-17-15.

p. 530: The Western Federation of Miners, founded in 1893, was "a radical labor union that gained a reputation for militancy in the mines of the western United States and British Columbia." Wikipedia, "Western Federation of Miners," accessed 2-17-15. On the Bonus Army, see note to p. 502.

p. 530: "All on the meadow green" is a line from the "Ballad of the Mountain Meadows Massacre." Juanita Brooks, in *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* (p. 215), quotes a variant including this stanza:

*In Indian garb and colors those bloody hounds were seen
To attack the little train all on the meadow green
They were attacked in the morning, and as they got under way
Forthwith corralled their wagons and fought in blood all day.*

p. 531: "High deeds in Hungary...": From "An Immorality" (1912) by Ezra Pound:

*And I would rather have my sweet,
Though rose-leaves die of grieving,*

*Than do high deeds in Hungary
To pass all men's believing.*

p. 531: "The first thing to learn...": When asked the secret of her sex appeal, Mae West is supposed to have said, "First, you got to use what's lying around the house."

p. 531: *Riders of the Purple Sage* (1912) is a classic western novel by Zane Grey; the plot centers around a Mormon woman harassed for not wishing to marry a church elder.

p. 531: "June Mathis (1889–1927) was an American screenwriter. . . . Mathis is best remembered for discovering Rudolph Valentino and writing such films as *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* (1921). . . . Mathis was educated in Salt Lake City and San Francisco." Wikipedia, "June Mathis," accessed 2-18-15.

p. 531: The Felt Building, at 341 South Main St., was built in 1909. Kennelly's maternal grandfather, Emil Oscar Olsen ("Olaf" of *The Peaceable Kingdom*) had his tailor shop in this building.

p. 532: "that empty void...": Charles Colcock Jones, Jr. (1831–1893), wrote in a letter around the time of the Civil War, "Lately the choice of a profession has been constantly before my eyes, and every time there comes along with it that empty void, that rudderless feeling, that conscious want of some great touchstone for the trial of motives and actions, devoid of which man is but at best the creature of fancy, change, caprice, and sin." From Robert Manson Myers, *Quintet: A Five-Play Cycle Drawn from "The Children of Pride"* (University of Illinois Press, 1991), p. 92. In his 1972 book *The Children of Pride: A True Story of Georgia and the Civil War*, Manson published the letters of the family of Charles Colcock Jones, Sr., a Georgia plantation owner and clergyman, written between 1854 and 1868.

p. 532: "...go down there and see the place?": At some point, Kennelly herself visited southern Utah, including the site of the Mountain Meadows massacre, and apparently did some research there.

p. 533: "Rosenfeld...Cermak...": Anti-Semites, believing that Franklin D. Roosevelt had Jewish ancestry, sometimes referred to him as "Rosenfeld." Anton Cermak was elected mayor of Chicago in 1931; "while shaking hands with President-elect Franklin D. Roosevelt at Bayfront Park in Miami on February 15, 1933, Cermak was shot in the lung and seriously wounded when Giuseppe Zangara, who at the time was believed to have been engaged in an attempt to assassinate Roosevelt, hit Cermak instead." Cermak died on March 6. Wikipedia, "Anton Cermak," accessed 2-19-15.

p. 533: "The Old Spanish Trail is a historical trade route which connected the northern New Mexico settlements near or in Santa Fe with that of Los Angeles and southern California." "Prior the mid-1970s, US 91 was an international commerce route from Long Beach, California to the Canadian border. . . . The route has been largely replaced by Interstate 15. . . . From the [Arizona-Utah] State Line to Saint George US-91 followed a semi-circular route that is now simply called Old Highway 91. Old Highway 91 continues to Santa Clara and what is now SR-

18 to St. George.” State Route 18 “closely follows the route of the Old Spanish Trail through the extreme corner of southwestern Utah. This portion of the trail is known for the 1857 Mountain Meadows massacre, . . . which occurred just off what is now SR-18.” Wikipedia, “Old Spanish Trail (trade route),” “U.S. Route 91,” and “Utah State Route 18,” accessed 2-19-15.

p. 533: “It’s a wall about four feet high”: Several monuments or memorials have been erected at the massacre site since 1859. The one that Legrand describes, and that Kennelly would have seen when she visited, was put up in 1932 by the Utah Pioneer Trails and Landmarks Association.

p. 535: Thomas De Quincey (1785–1859) was an English essayist. “Catherine Wordsworth, aged three, died on the morning of 5 June 1812; Thomas de Quincey, an intimate of the family, was twenty-seven years old. . . . His excessive grief went beyond that expected from a friend of the family. . . . After Catherine’s death he reports that he haunts her grave, often spending all night beside it.” E. Michael Thron, “The Significance of Catherine Wordsworth’s Death to Thomas De Quincey and William Wordsworth,” *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* (Autumn 1988), pp. 559, 561.

p. 536: “a sphere-born harmonious siren”: From Milton, “At a Solemn Musick”:

*Blest pair of Sirens, pledges of Heaven’s joy,
Sphere-born harmonious Sisters, Voice, and Verse . . .*

p. 538: “broke his leg and got gangrene”: In 1930, while Kennelly was still living in her stepfather’s home, his brother-in-law and neighbor George Small fell out of a tree, broke his leg, and died of the ensuing gangrene.

p. 543: “the Abraham Lincoln Brigade”: “The Spanish Civil War broke out in July, 1936, after a group of conservative military tried to overthrow the progressive government of the Popular Front, elected in February of the same year. . . . In a matter of days, the country was split in half, with one zone controlled by the government (known as Republicans, Loyalists, or Reds), and the other by the rebels (also referred to as Nationalists, Fascists, or Whites). Three years of bloody fighting followed. . . . The war ended with a Nationalist victory on April 1, 1939; [General Francisco] Franco would rule Spain as a ruthless dictator until his death in 1975. The war quickly became internationalized. Global public opinion rallied around one of the two factions, seeing the war as either a struggle of democracy against fascism or, conversely, of Christian civilization against Communism. . . . Franco immediately requested and received extensive military support from Nazi Germany and fascist Italy. The Republic was in turn supported by the Soviet Union and, to a smaller extent, by Mexico. The other Western powers refused to stand by the embattled Republic, not even allowing it to buy arms on the international market. Nevertheless, thousands of concerned citizens from some fifty nations, ignoring their own governments’ purported neutrality, rallied to the Republic’s support. Almost forty thousand men and women, including 2,800 Americans, traveled to Spain to help fight fascism. Most of them joined the International Brigades, organized in 1936 by the Communist International. The U.S. volunteers in Spain formed several battalions and served in various units (medical, transportation) and came to be known collectively as the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.” “The

Abraham Lincoln Brigade and the Spanish Civil War,” Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archives, <http://www.alba-valb.org/history/spanish-civil-war>, accessed 2-19-15.

p. 543: “...said to be brothers”: An obituary for “Charles O’Flaherty, oldest of three brothers who fought fascism in Spain,” mentions that after being “badly wounded on the Jarama front where he served in the Lincoln infantry, Charlie was invalided home late in 1937 with a shattered arm. . . .He undertook a nation wide tour with his brother Frank, also invalided home, and walking with a cane, to raise funds for the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.” In *The Volunteer* (New York organ of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade), November 1984, posted on “Ireland and the Spanish Civil War,” <http://irelandscw.com/obit-COFlaherty.htm>, accessed 2-19-15.

p. 543: “There’s a valley in Spain...”: “The Battle of Jarama (February 6–27, 1937) was an attempt by General Francisco Franco’s Nationalists to dislodge the Republican lines along the river Jarama, just east of Madrid, during the Spanish Civil War.” “Members of the XV International Brigade adapted a song by Alex McDade to reflect the losses at the Battle of Jarama. Sung to the tune of the traditional country song *Red River Valley*, it became their anthem.” Wikipedia, “Battle of Jarama” and “Abraham Lincoln Brigade,” accessed 2-19-15.

p. 546: “losing his eyes...”: Lt. Robert Raven, an American volunteer with the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, lost his eyesight and suffered other wounds in the Spanish Civil war. “As early as the summer of 1937, wounded and disabled men [of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion] had returned in small numbers. Under the auspices of the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion, headed by David McKelvy White, a number of the early returnees toured the United States, speaking to all sorts of groups in an effort to raise money. The three O’Flaherty brothers from Boston, who had all served at Jarama, and Robert Raven, who had been blinded there, were among the most popular of the touring speakers, and the money they gathered was used to purchase cigarettes, magazines, candy, overcoats, and blankets for the men in the trenches.” Robert A. Rosenstone, *Crusade of the Left: The Lincoln Battalion in the Spanish Civil War* (Transaction Publishers, 1969), pp. 338–39. Raven, born in Pennsylvania in 1913, was Kennelly’s landlord at one of her residences in New York City in the mid-1960s.

p. 547: “‘In a Little Spanish Town’ is a popular song published in 1926. . . .The song was a 1926 hit for Paul Whiteman & his Orchestra. . . . [and] had continuing popularity for several decades.” Wikipedia, “In a Little Spanish Town,” accessed 2-21-15.

p. 550: “How sweet the moonlight...”: *The Merchant of Venice*.

p. 553: “*Charlie McCarthy* or *One Man’s Family*”: Charlie McCarthy was a character created by the actor and ventriloquist Edgar Bergen. “Charlie and Bergen began performing when Bergen was a teenager and eventually moving on to vaudeville and radio. . . . The two were on the radio from 1937 to 1956 with various sponsors.” “About Charlie McCarthy,” <http://www.charliemccarthy.org/about-charlie.html>, accessed 2-21-15.

“One Man’s Family is an American radio soap opera, heard for almost three decades, from 1932 to 1959. . . . It was the longest-running uninterrupted dramatic serial in the history of American radio.” Wikipedia, “One Man’s Family,” accessed 2-21-15.

p. 553: John Selden was a seventeenth-century English jurist and scholar. Owen Felltham was an English essayist and poet, also from the seventeenth century.

p. 553: “*The Trail of the Lonesome Pine* is a 1908 romance novel/western novel written by John Fox, Jr.. The novel became Fox’s most successful, and was included among the top ten list of bestselling novels for 1908 and 1909.” Wikipedia, “*The Trail of the Lonesome Pine* (novel),” accessed 2-21-15.

p. 554: “a big castle over there in Spain...”: During the Spanish Civil War, the American medical services there, under Dr. Edward Barsky, organized several hospitals. One of them, Villa Paz, had been a rural estate that was “the summer palace of the Spanish infantas, the daughters of the Spanish kings. Villa Paz’s last occupant had been the Infanta Eulalia, born in 1864, an intelligent and modern woman. . . . With the coming of revolution, the low, white villa with its roof of buff-colored tiles had been opened to the locals’ cattle and goats. The peasants had been too much in awe of it to occupy it themselves.” Barsky described the villa as an “enchanted place” and mentioned “huge wolf-hounds” wandering around the grounds. Richard Rhodes, *Hell and Good Company: The Spanish Civil War and the World It Made* (Simon and Schuster, 2015), p. 186. Lini de Vries, a Dutch-American nurse who served in Spain, wrote in her autobiography *Up from the Cellar* (1978) about El Castillejo, a ruined castle near Villa Paz: “I was notified that Dr Barsky wished to see me in his office. . . . He told me to take Modesta—who had joined us now—and take over at Castillejo. The hospital there had fifty patients and a Dutch doctor in charge. ‘I want you to get Castillejo organised so that it can handle three hundred convalescent patients. . . .’ Down the hill, past the tumbling trout stream alongside the ruins of an old Moorish castle, Modesta and I rode on a small truck, carrying our clothing and supplies for Castillejo. When we entered the patio, I saw that it was even larger than Villa Paz. Two beautiful Great Danes (Franco and Bruno) guarded the entrance and barked furiously at us. I wondered if they had been left behind by royalty. Modesta and I braved the dogs as we entered the patio in search of the doctor.” Quoted in “Hospitals and Medical Support for the Spanish Republic,” October 20, 2011, Porta de la Historia’s blog, <https://pdlhistoria.wordpress.com/hospitals-and-medical-support-for-the-spanish-republic/>, accessed 2-21-15.

p. 557: “premature anti-Fascists”: “In the United States, the [International Brigade] volunteers were labeled as ‘premature anti-fascists’ by the FBI, denied promotion during service in the US military during World War II, and pursued by Congressional committees during the Red Scare.” Wikipedia, “International Brigades,” accessed 2-22-15. Bernard Knox, a classics scholar, first heard the phrase in 1946 “when, fresh out of the US Army, I went up to New Haven, Connecticut for an interview with the chairman of the Yale Classics Department, to which . . . I had applied for admission to the graduate program for the Ph.D. in Classics. . . . I told him that I had fought in 1936 on the northwest sector of the Madrid front in the French Battalion of the XIth International Brigade. ‘Oh,’ he said, ‘You were a premature anti-Fascist.’ I was taken aback by the expression. . . . What I did not realize (something the professor knew perfectly well) was that ‘Premature Anti-Fascist’ was an FBI code-word for ‘Communist’. It was the label affixed to the dossiers of those Americans who had fought in the Brigades when, after Pearl Harbor (and some of them before) they enlisted in the US Army. It was the signal to assign them to non-

combat units or inactive fronts and to deny them the promotion they deserved.” From <http://www.english.illinois.edu/maps/scw/knox.htm>, accessed 2-22-15.

p. 557: “Mamita Mia” was a Spanish Civil War song recorded by Ernst Busch, a German singer and actor who “first rose to prominence as an interpreter of political songs . . . In 1937 he joined the International Brigades to fight against the Nationalists in Spain. His wartime songs were then recorded and broadcast by Radio Barcelona and Radio Madrid.” Wikipedia, “Ernst Busch (actor),” accessed 2-22-15.

p. 557: “No pasarán”: “‘They shall not pass’ (Spanish: ‘¡No pasarán!’) is a slogan used to express determination to defend a position against an enemy. It was most famously used during the Battle of Verdun in World War I by French General Robert Nivelle. . . . It was also used during the Spanish Civil War, this time at the Siege of Madrid by Dolores Ibárruri Gómez, a member of the Communist Party of Spain, in her famous ‘No Pasarán’ speech on 18 July 1936. The leader of the nationalist forces, Generalísimo Francisco Franco, upon gaining Madrid, responded to this slogan with ‘Hemos pasado’ (‘We have passed’).” Wikipedia, “They shall not pass,” accessed 2-22-15.

p. 557: “Barbara La Marr (1896–1926) was an American stage and film actress, cabaret artist, and screenwriter. La Marr was known as ‘The Girl Who Is Too Beautiful,’ after a Hearst newspaper feature writer, Adela Rogers St. Johns, saw a judge sending her home during the police beat in Los Angeles because she was too beautiful and young to be on her own in the big city. . . . By 1925, La Marr’s drug and alcohol use began to take its toll. . . . On January 30, 1926, she died of complications associated with tuberculosis and nephritis.” Wikipedia, “Barbara La Marr,” accessed 2-23-15.

p. 558: “that job with Utah Copper”: “Utah Copper Company had its start when Enos A. Wall realized the potential of copper deposits in Bingham Canyon, 15 miles southwest of Salt Lake City, Utah in 1887. . . . [Daniel C.] Jackling and Wall formed the Utah Copper Company in 1903. . . . In 1936, Kennecott acquired all the assets of the Utah Copper Company.” Wikipedia, “Kennecott Utah Copper,” accessed 2-23-15.

p. 559: “Divine Metaphysics. . .”: “The term ‘divine metaphysics’ properly applies to Christian Science, and the value of this Science is in its practical approach to disease and other human discords, not from a physical but from a metaphysical standpoint—a standpoint above and beyond the physical. In divine metaphysics, Spirit is recognized as real substance, and matter is seen to be a false sense of substance.” Ralph E. Wagers, “Divine Metaphysics,” *Christian Science Sentinel*, June 4, 1960, <http://sentinel.christianscience.com/issues/1960/6/62-23/divine-metaphysics>, accessed 2-23-15.

“She [Mary Baker Eddy, the founder of Christian Science] said, ‘I knew the Principle of all harmonious Mind-action to be God, and that cures were produced in primitive Christian healing by holy, uplifting faith; but I must know the Science of this healing, and I won my way to absolute conclusions through divine revelation, reason, and demonstration.’” C. Earle Armstrong, “Christian Science: The Science of the Possible,” *Christian Science Monitor*, July 19, 1980.

p. 560: “a John-Fredericks hat”: John P. John was a famous milliner who owned, with his business partner Fred Fredericks, the John-Fredericks hat shops between 1929 and 1948, with shops in New York, Hollywood, Miami, and Palm Beach. “John P. John,” in “Fashion Encyclopedia,” <http://www.fashionencyclopedia.com/Ja-Kh/John-John-P.html#ixzz2nF6kvziY>, accessed 2-25-15.

p. 561: “A burning glass or burning lens is a large convex lens that can concentrate the sun’s rays onto a small area, heating up the area and thus resulting in ignition of the exposed surface.” Wikipedia, “Burning glass,” accessed 2-25-15.

“the Burning Bush: “As a powerful religious symbol, the burning bush represents many things to Jews, Christians and Muslims such as God’s miraculous energy, sacred light, illumination, and the burning heart of purity, love and clarity.” Wikipedia, “Burning bush,” accessed 2-25-15.

p. 562: “Nothing but love in view” is from “Time on My Hands,” a popular song published in 1930.

p. 563: “your brothers would turn into swans”: Presumably this refers to the Brothers Grimm tale “The Six Swans.”

p. 567: “Whoever exalts himself...”: Matthew 23:12.

p. 567: “disruptive accidents, a storm of casualty”: From the introduction to Molière’s *The School for Wives and The Learned Ladies*, translated by Richard Wilbur (Harcourt, 1978), p. 4.

p. 569: Topaz was a World War II internment camp for Japanese Americans near Delta, Utah (which is actually about 130 miles from Salt Lake City).

p. 569: Dotty Dimple was a character in stories written by Rebecca Sophia Clarke in the second half of the nineteenth century.

p. 571: “the Abbey of St. Molaise on the Island of the Oxen”: “Devenish or Devinish (from Irish: *Daimhinis*, meaning ‘ox island’) is an island in Lower Lough Erne, County Fermanagh, Northern Ireland. . . . Devenish contains one of the finest monastic sites in Northern Ireland. A round tower thought to date from the 12th century is situated on the island, as are the walls of the Oratory of Saint Molaise who established the monastery in the 6th century.” Wikipedia, “Devenish Island,” accessed 2-25-15. Some earlier sources spell the saint’s name “Molaise.”

p. 579: “I am sick, I must die. Lord, have mercy on us!” Thomas Nashe, *Summer’s Last Will and Testament* (1600).

p. 579: “It Had to Be You” was first published in 1924.

p. 579: “if winter comes...” Percy Bysshe Shelley (see note to p. 37).

p. 581: “A hospital clientele...”: Kennelly’s sister Marion ran a beauty shop inside Providence St. Vincent, a Catholic hospital, in northwest Portland in the 1960s and 1970s. Kennelly, who was living in Portland most of these years, probably heard quite a bit about the hospital, the beauty shop, and its clientele.

p. 582: The Sands (hotel in Las Vegas) opened in December 1952.

p. 582: “the baseline road”: “Many communities in the United States have roads that run along survey baselines, many of which are named to reflect that fact.” Wikipedia, “Baseline (surveying),” accessed 2-25-15.

p. 585: “Royal Bakery”: There was indeed a Royal Baking Company in Salt Lake City, and apparently a bakery and café called The Royal.

p. 586: “Indians dancing the Bear Dance”: See note to p. 93.

p. 586: “She loved me for the dangers I had pass’d”: *Othello*.

p. 587: “It is tedious...”: Kennelly was familiar with the process of bleaching hair, as she had it done to her own hair in the 1930s and 1940s. Apparently her husband Egon preferred her hair bleached.

p. 588: “Come on-a my house, my house, I’m gonna give you / Peach and pear and I love your hair”: The song is “Come On-a My House,” sung by Rosemary Clooney in 1951.

p. 588: “that picture in our reader”: Some primary-school readers of the early twentieth century contained Jean François Millet’s picture “Feeding Her Birds.”

p. 588: “The glory of princes...”: Quoted in *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (1919) by Johan Huizinga, translated into English by F. Hopman (1924). The original French quotation is by George Chastellain, a fifteenth-century Burgundian chronicler and poet.

p. 588: “All men by nature desire to know”: Aristotle, *Metaphysics*.

p. 588: “*Information Please*” was an American radio quiz show . . . which aired on NBC from May 17, 1938 to April 22, 1951. The title was the contemporary phrase used to request from telephone operators what was then called ‘information’ but is now called ‘directory assistance. . . . A panel of experts would attempt to answer questions submitted by listeners.” Wikipedia, “*Information Please*,” accessed 2-25-15.

p. 589: “So what peeps from the unhewn dolmen arch?”: A *dolmen* is “a prehistoric monument of two or more upright stones supporting a horizontal stone slab found especially in Britain and France and thought to be a tomb” (*Merriam-Webster’s Collegiate Dictionary*, 11th edition). The line “Who but I peeps from the unhewn dolmen arch?” appears in Robert Graves’s translation of “The Song of Amergin” in his book *The White Goddess: A Historical Grammar of Poetic Myth* (1948). “Amergin *Glúingel* . . . is a bard and judge for the Milesians in the Irish Mythological

Cycle. . . . He took part in the Milesian conquest of Ireland from the Tuatha Dé Danann The Milesians had to win the island by engaging in battle with the three kings, their druids and warriors. . . . The Milesians agreed to leave the island and retreat a short distance back into the ocean beyond the ninth wave, a magical boundary. Upon a signal, they moved toward the beach, but the druids of the Tuatha Dé Danann raised a magical storm to keep them from reaching land. However, Amergin sang an invocation calling upon the spirit of Ireland that has come to be known as *The Song of Amergin*, and he was able to part the storm and bring the ship safely to land.” Wikipedia, “Amergin Glúingel,” accessed 2-27-15.

Graves’s version of “The Song of Amergin” reads in part:

*I am a spear: that roars for blood,
I am a salmon: in a pool,
I am a lure: from paradise,
I am a hill: where poets walk,
I am a boar: ruthless and red,
I am a breaker: threatening doom,
I am a tide: that drags to death,
I am an infant: who but I
Peeps from the unhewn dolmen arch?*

p. 591: “the same rumor of the wind. . .”: “Dust and shadows met the eye; and but for the ominous procession of the echoes, and the rumour of the wind among the garden trees, the ear of the young man was stretched in vain”: From “The Superfluous Mansion,” in Robert Louis Stevenson and Fanny Van De Grift Stevenson, *More New Arabian Nights: The Dynamiter* (1885), p. 97. The book also contains a “Story of the Destroying Angel,” about a young woman trying to escape from Mormon Utah with its “Destroying Angels” (Danites), “that unsleeping eye of Utah” (p. 32).

p. 592: “the first Abbess of Remiremont”: Remiremont Abbey was near Remiremont, Vosges, France.

p. 592: “O’Donoghue of the Glens”: Daniel O’Donoghue (1833 – 7 October 1889) was an Irish politician. . . . There is a tomb inside Muckross Abbey near Killarney in County Kerry which bears the inscription ‘O’Donoghue of the Glens’: this may be Daniel O’Donoghue’s final resting place.” Wikipedia, “Daniel O’Donoghue (Irish politician),” accessed 3-4-15.

“Nanny’s Cave”: “Between Waterfoot [in County Antrim, Northern Ireland] and Red Bay pier, on the way to Cushendall, is a series of Caves with an interesting history. ‘School Cave’ was where the children of Red Bay had clandestine lessons in the 18th century, when the penal laws forbade Catholic education. The 40ft ‘Nanny’s Cave’, the largest in the series, was the home of Ann Murray. She was a ‘shebeen queen’, a distiller of poteen, who died in 1847 aged 100 years.” Ireland & Scotland Luxury Tours, “Glenariff, County Antrim,” <http://irelandandscotlandluxurytours.com/glenariff-county-antrim/>, accessed 3-4-15.

p. 592: “ghost-bird”: The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines this as a “U.S. local” term for “‘the American yellow-breasted chat (*Icteria virens*)’ (Funk).” From Wikipedia, “Yellow-breasted chat” (accessed 3-4-15): “The yellow-breasted chat is a shy, skulking species of bird, often being only heard but not seen.”

p. 592: “by the name of Phryne”: “At a banquet the game of ‘follow-the-leader’ was inaugurated, consisting in each commanding in turn whatever he or she wished. Seeing the women’s faces painted with orcanette, white lead, and rouge, Phryne ordered ‘hands in finger bowl, touch cheek and wipe immediately with napkin.’ She began by doing it herself. The faces of the others, smeared with streaks, were made repellent, Phryne alone became more radiant—she alone possessing a natural beauty without need of detestable artifice.” Galen, *Exhortation to the Study of the Arts especially Medicine: To Menodotus*, at http://www.ucl.ac.uk/~ucgajpd/medicina%20antiqua/tr_GalExhort.html, accessed 3-4-15. *Hetaerae* were courtesans in ancient Greece.

p. 595: “her strength was...”: “My strength is as the strength of ten”: Tennyson, *Sir Galahad*.

p. 595: Arthur Murray (1895–1991) and his wife, Kathryn, started their famous dance school in 1925; by the 1930s they had expanded their business into a successful chain of dance studios.

p. 596: “Caca Dauphin”: “Marie Antoinette’s boundless appetite for sartorial novelty drove her to request brand-new, of-the-moment colors that often did not exist. She invented colors that were inspired by the most unexpected of sources. She named a dull greenish brown, *caca dauphin*, after her newborn baby boy’s soiled swaddling clothes.” From The UltraBright, “History of Color: Marie Antoinette,” <http://theultrabright.com/history-of-color/marie-antoinette>, accessed 3-4-15.

p. 596: “*Photoplay* was one of the first American film fan magazines. It was founded in 1911.... *Photoplay* began as a short-fiction magazine concerned mostly with the plots and characters of films at the time and was used as a promotional tool for those films. . . . By 1918 the editors could boast a circulation figure of 204,434, the popularity of the magazine fueled by the public’s ever increasing interest in the private lives of celebrities. It is because of this that the magazine is credited with inventing celebrity media. *Photoplay* reached its apex in the 1920s and 1930s. . . . The magazine was renowned for its artwork portraits of film stars on the cover. . . . With the advancement of color photography, the magazine began using photographs of the stars instead by 1937. . . . [*Photoplay*] also featured the health and beauty advice of Sylvia of Hollywood, arguably the first fitness guru to the stars. . . . It merged with another fan magazine, *Movie Mirror*, in 1941; and with *TV-Radio Mirror* in 1977, when the name became *Photoplay and TV Mirror*. The magazine ceased publication in 1980.” Wikipedia, “*Photoplay*,” accessed 3-4-15.

p. 597: The G.I. Bill ended in 1956.

p. 603: “They gathered the flowers of the oak tree...”: In a Welsh legend, Blodeuwedd (“flower face”) is created as a wife for the hero Lleu Llaw Gyffes, who “has been placed under a *tynged* [spell] by his mother Arianrhod that he may never have a human wife. So as to counteract this curse, the magicians Math and Gwydion ‘[take] the flowers of the oak, and the flowers of the broom, and the flowers of the meadowsweet, and from those they conjured up the fairest and most beautiful maiden anyone had ever seen.” Wikipedia, “Blodeuwedd,” accessed 3-4-15. “[Blodeuwedd] was created from the flowers of a very powerful Tree—the Oak—and from flowers of an explicitly healing nature, in order to give power to Llew and to be able to

continually heal and renew him. She is never asked whether She loves him or desires to marry him. *She was created for his purposes*, solely to assure his right to rule the land. Her Own desires are impossible to achieve while Llew lives and *She is often seen as the epitome of non-assertive femininity, fickleness and the faithless wife*” (italics mine —NT). Winter Cymraes, “Blodeuwedd,” <http://www.druidry.org/library/gods-goddesses/blodeuwedd>, accessed 3-4-15.

p. 603: “incensed with the love of finding love”: “‘Incensed’ (as he said) ‘with the love of finding love, we have sought it, and found it.’” Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, quoting presumably the French theologian André Rivet.

p. 603: “Will you walk into my parlor”: From the poem “The Spider and the Fly” (1829) by Mary Howitt.

p. 604: “A fellow by the name of Academus”: The Greek Academy, or Academe, was “the name given to the philosophic successors of Plato. The name is derived from a pleasure-garden or gymnasium situated in the suburb of the Ceramicus on the river Cephissus about a mile to the north-west of Athens from the gate called Dipylum. It was said to have belonged to the ancient Attic hero Academus. . . . It was walled in by Hipparchus and was adorned with walks, groves and fountains by Cimon, who bequeathed it as a public pleasure-ground to his fellow-citizens. Subsequently the garden became the resort of Plato, who had a small estate in the neighbourhood. Here he taught for nearly fifty years till his death in 348 B.C., and his followers continued to make it their headquarters.” Wikisource, 1911 Encyclopedia Britannica, “Academy, Greek,” http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/1911_Encyclop%C3%A6dia_Britannica/Academy,_Greek, accessed 3-6-15.

p. 605: “the Gray Ladies”: “During World War I, American Red Cross volunteer services faced rapid expansion. To delineate the lines of service, the Red Cross employed a color coding system for the uniforms and service pins. Although all the uniforms were distinctive and possessed their own special recognition factor, the Hostess and Hospital Service and Recreation corps, founded in 1918 at Walter Reed Army Hospital, became a unique and enduring symbol of Red Cross service in military and later civilian hospitals. . . . Although the hospital corps’ gray uniform with white collar and cuffs was not one of the more vibrant shades, the volunteers wearing it were affectionately known as the Gray Ladies to the wounded soldiers. The corps, composed primarily of women volunteers, acted as hostesses and provided recreational services to patients, many of whom were injured during World War I. Although their official name was changed to a more manageable Hospital and Recreation Corps in 1934, it was the Gray Lady moniker that resonated through the years and in 1947, after World War II, the name was officially changed to the Gray Lady service. . . . During World War II, the service reached its peak with almost 50,000 women serving as Gray Ladies in military and other hospitals throughout the United States.” “Red Cross Retrospective—the Gray Lady Service,” <http://www.redcross.org/news/article/Red-Cross-Retrospective-The-Gray-Lady-Service>, accessed 3-6-15.

p. 606: “a hundred-watt light globe”: The patient stories recounted here may well have been based on real ones from the hospital where Kennelly’s sister Marion worked (in the beauty

shop). Ardyth wrote a piece in probably the early 1970s called “Bawdy and Soul: In a Hospital Beauty Shop,” which contained stories very similar to these.

p. 606: “Brantôme’s *Lives of Fair and Gallant Ladies*”: “A collection of anecdotes about the amorous lives of the sixteenth-century French nobility, by an author writing frankly about the licentious world of the age he knew so well. Although the content is often of the most scandalous nature, they give a wonderfully vivid picture of the author’s times, are of high literary merit and of great historical interest.” From Goodreads, <http://www.goodreads.com/book/show/7020536-lives-of-fair-and-gallant-ladies>, accessed 3-6-15.

p. 606: “David Hume once wrote to a friend...”: The quotation is from a letter of Hume to Robert Dundas of Arniston, November 20, 1754.

p. 607: Boswell and Bonnie Prince Charlie: In his *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson* (1785), the Scottish writer James Boswell gave an account of the time Charles Edward Stuart (Bonnie Prince Charlie) spent in the Hebrides (although with no reference to “cool breezes blowing up under his kilt”). See “September 13th, 1773: Bonnie Prince Charlie’s Escape,” <http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/travellers/Boswell/9>, accessed 3-6-15.

p. 607: “out of the swing of the sea”: From Gerard Manley Hopkins, “Heaven-Haven.”

p. 607: “barbarians are a kind of solution”: “And now, what’s going to happen to us without barbarians? / They were, those people, a kind of solution.” From “Waiting for the Barbarians” (1898), by the Greek poet C. P. Cavafy, translated by Edmund Keeley and Philip Sherrard, <http://www.cavafy.com/poems/content.asp?id=119&cat=1>, accessed 3-6-15.

p. 608: “When we look at the world of past men...”: Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Journals*, vol. 2 (Riverside Press, 1909), p. 505.

p. 608: “*Sunrise Semester* is an American television series which aired on CBS from 1957 through 1982. It was produced in conjunction with New York University. . . . The program was so named because it was broadcast at 6:00 or 6:30 a.m., depending on the area. *Sunrise Semester* was one of the first examples of distance learning. . . . Lecturers presented NYU credit courses in studio on a wide range of academic subjects.” Wikipedia, “*Sunrise Semester*,” accessed 3-6-15.

p. 609: Agnes Sorel: During the Renaissance, “even as the Madonna del Latte image paintings proliferated, the erotic breast sprang into view. In the 15th century, Agnes Sorel, mistress of King Charles VII of France, was painted, like the Virgin, with one breast bared—not to suckle souls, but ‘served up like a piece of fruit for the delectation of an observer.’ . . . Eroticized breasts in paintings were often shown with a man’s proprietary hand cupped on them. ‘The hand on the breast . . . spoke for the sense of possession that men believed was their due,’ according to Ms. Yalom.” Natalie Angier, review of *A History of the Breast*, by Marilyn Yalom (Knopf, 1997), in the *New York Times*, February 23, 1997.

p. 610: “Shaw says somewhere...”: “In my childhood I demurred to the description of a certain young lady as ‘the pretty Miss So and So.’ My aunt rebuked me by saying ‘Remember always that the least plain sister is the family beauty.’” In George Bernard Shaw, *Maxims for Revolutionists* (1903).

pp. 610–12: *Captain Carpenter* is a 1924 poem by John Crowe Ransom (reprinted by permission; see copyright page of *Variation West*).

p. 612: “Christmas Night” is the name of a perfume (see note to p. 502).

p. 612: “the Kildare virgins tending St. Bridget’s sacred flame”: “Saint Brigit of Kildare (c. 451–525) is one of Ireland’s patron saints. . . . Around 480, Brigid founded a monastery at Cell Dara (Kildare), ‘Church of the Oak’, on the site of an older pagan shrine to the Celtic goddess Brigid, served by a group of young women who tended an eternal flame.” Wikipedia, “Brigit of Kildare,” accessed 3-6-15.

p. 612: “a cephalophorous saint”: “A cephalophore (from the Greek for ‘head-carrier’) is a saint who is generally depicted carrying his or her own head; in art, this was usually meant to signify that the subject in question had been martyred by beheading.” Wikipedia, “Cephalophore,” accessed 3-6-15.

p. 613: “the Belvedere”: “This New York–esque building at 29 S State Street was built in 1919 by the LDS Church as a luxury apartment-hotel for church guests and visiting dignitaries.” Salt Lake Digs, “Belvedere Condos,” <http://www.saltlakedigs.com/condo/test-condo/>, accessed 3-6-15. Kennelly and her husband, Dr. Egon Ullman, lived at the Belvedere, no. 408, in 1942 while he was stationed in Salt Lake City with the Army Air Force Medical Corps.

p. 613: The Covey Apartments, on East South Temple, were built in 1909.

p. 615: Blondex was a shampoo for blondes, as early as 1928. A 1922 ad in *Cosmopolitan* explained that Golden Glint was a “color complement” to enhance the natural beauty of your hair color.

p. 616: “Bran was an old-time Celtic hero...”: “*The Voyage of Bran* is a medieval Irish narrative. The content derives from Irish mythology, but was written in the 8th century.

“Bran mac Febail (modern spelling: Bran mac Feabhail) embarks upon a quest to the Other World. One day while Bran is walking, he hears beautiful music, so beautiful, in fact, that it lulls him to sleep. Upon awakening, he sees a beautiful silver branch in front of him. He returns to his royal house, and while his company is there, an Otherworld woman appears, and sings to him a poem about the land where the branch had grown. In this Otherworld, it is always summer, there is no want of food or water, and no sickness or despair ever touches the perfect people. She tells Bran to voyage to the Land of Women across the sea, and the next day he gathers a company of men to do so.

“After two days, he sees a man on a chariot speeding towards him. The man is Manannan mac Lir, and he tells Bran that he is not sailing upon the ocean, but upon a flowery plain. He also

reveals to Bran that there are many men riding in chariots, but that they are invisible. He tells Bran of how he is to beget his son in Ireland, and that his son will become a great warrior.

“Bran leaves Manannan mac Lir, and comes to the Isle of Joy. All the people upon the Isle of Joy laugh and stare at him, but will not answer his calls. When Bran sends a man ashore to see what the matter is, the man starts to laugh and gape just like the others. Bran leaves him and sails farther.

“He then reaches the Land of Women, but is hesitant to go ashore. However, the leader of the women throws a magical clew (ball of yarn) at him which sticks to his hand. She then pulls the boat to shore, and each man pairs off with a woman, Bran with the leader.

“For what seems to be one year, although it is in actuality many more, the men feast happily in the Land of Women until Nechtan Mac Collbran feels homesickness stir within him. The leader of the women is reluctant to let them go, and warns them not to step upon the shores of Ireland.

“Bran and his company sail back to Ireland. The people that have gathered on the shores to meet him do not recognize his name except in their legends. Nechtan Mac Collbran, upset, jumps off the boat onto the land. Immediately, Nechtan Mac Collbran turns to ashes.

“Bran and his company relate the rest of their story to the Irish, and then sail across the sea, never to be seen again.”

From Wikipedia, “The Voyage of Bran,” accessed 3-6-15.

p. 617: “Our court shall be a little Academe”: From *Love’s Labour’s Lost*.

p. 617: The Thomas Hardy quotation is from “During Wind and Rain.”

p. 621: “the same trial...”: “Trial by ordeal was an ancient judicial practice by which the guilt or innocence of the accused was determined by subjecting them to an unpleasant, usually dangerous experience. . . . Ordeal of fire typically required that the accused walk a certain distance, usually nine feet, over red-hot ploughshares or holding a red-hot iron. . . . Another form of the ordeal required that an accused remove a stone from a pot of boiling water, oil, or lead.” Wikipedia, “Trial by ordeal,” accessed 3-6-15.

p. 621: “some old Cimbri god...”: “The Cimbri were an ancient people, either Germanic or Celtic who, together with the Teutones and the Ambrones, fought the Roman Republic between 113 and 101 BC.” Wikipedia, “Cimbri,” accessed 3-6-15. “Germanic tribes including the Heruli, the Celtic Cimbri and the Goths all practiced sacrificial appeasement rites to Wodan [the Germanic god of war], including stabbing and burning. The Cimbri hung their captives over bronze caldrons while priestesses cut their throats.” Michael Jordan, *Dictionary of Gods and Goddesses* (2009), under “Wodan.”

p. 622: “How use doth breed a habit in a man!”: From *Two Gentlemen of Verona*.

p. 622: “stand in space upon a great gleaming half shell”: This no doubt refers to Botticelli’s famous *Birth of Venus* painting. (Venus was the Roman goddess of love and beauty; Aphrodite was her Greek counterpart.) Venus also appears, along with the Three Graces and other figures, in Botticelli’s *Primavera* painting.

p. 624: “people were eyeing it for the Governor’s mansion”: The Kearns mansion, the model for the Prentice mansion (see note to p. 259), did indeed become the governor’s residence after 1937, when Jennie Kearns donated it to the state.

p. 625: “*The White Sister* is a 1933 American romantic drama film. . . . Italian aristocrat Angela Chiaromonte (Helen Hayes) spurns the potential husband chosen by her father (Lewis Stone) in favor of Giovanni Severi (Clark Gable), a handsome army lieutenant. When her lover is reported killed in World War I, Hayes renounces the world to become a nun. After she takes her vows, the lieutenant shows up very much alive. He implores her to give up the order, but she refuses. The lieutenant is later injured in a bombing raid; he dies, with Angela lovingly at his side.” Wikipedia, “*The White Sister* (1933 film),” accessed 3-6-15.

p. 626: *The Magic of Believing*, by Claude Bristol, was apparently first published in 1957. The book claims that its “motivational techniques” can help people “achieve all their long- and short-term goals: a better job, an increased income, a happier marriage, or simply a good night’s sleep.” The reader can learn how to “harness the unlimited power of the subconscious mind and make your dreams come true” and “apply the power of your imagination to overcome obstacles.” From the publisher’s description as it appears on Goodreads, http://www.goodreads.com/book/show/968009.The_Magic_of_Believing, accessed 3-6-15.

p. 627: “Elaine the Lily Maid of Astolat” is the Lady of Shalott in Tennyson’s 1842 poem of that name. An excerpt (from <http://d.lib.rochester.edu/camelot/text/tennyson-lady-of-shalott-1842>):

*And moving thro’ a mirror clear
That hangs before her all the year,
Shadows of the world appear.
There she sees the highway near
 Winding down to Camelot:
There the river eddy whirls,
And there the surly village-churls,
And the red cloaks of market girls,
 Pass onward from Shalott.*

p. 629: “O dearest and sweetest and best, thou diest, and my dear love is sped like a dream”: From “The Lament for Adonis,” by the Greek poet Bion, translated by J. M. Edmonds, in *The Greek Bucolic Poets* (London: Heinemann, 1912).

p. 634: “The Montagnard bracelet, a prestigious symbol of friendship and respect, was given to U.S. Army Special Forces soldiers (‘Green Berets’) and others during the Vietnam War.” Vietnam-Surplus.com, <http://www.vietnam-surplus.com/brfrmobrii.html>, accessed 3-6-15. “The Degar, also known as the Montagnard, are the indigenous peoples of the Central Highlands of Vietnam. The term Montagnard means ‘mountain people’ in French and is a carryover from the French colonial period in Vietnam.” During the Vietnam War, “the U.S. Mission to Saigon sponsored the training of the Degar in unconventional warfare by American Special Forces,” and “roughly 40,000 [Degar] fought alongside American soldiers.” Wikipedia, “Degar,” accessed 3-

6-15. (The husband of one of Kennelly's younger cousins was a Green Beret during the Vietnam War.)

p. 635: "Postum is a powdered roasted-grain beverage once popular as a coffee substitute. The caffeine-free beverage was created by Postum Cereal Company founder C. W. Post in 1895 and marketed as a healthful alternative to coffee. . . . Postum was popular with members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and part of Mormon culture for many years because they abstain from coffee." Wikipedia, "Postum," accessed 3-6-15.

p. 639: "that remark of his to *Time* magazine": In his diary entry for 12 November 1965, composer Ned Rorem quoted from a recent *Time* magazine article: "In January he [Rorem] plans to accept a [teaching] post at the University of Utah, where he hopes to create an opera for cinema. 'Utah is such a boring state,' he explains, 'I know it will be good for my work.'" Rorem then quotes his own "letter of retraction" in *Time*: "Because I do not want to bite the hand that feeds me, I'd like to amend (or at least amplify) the phrase that 'Utah is a boring state.' No state, by definition, is in itself boring. As for The State of Boredom, to me it is synonymous with tranquillity, i.e., lack of distraction, which most artists will concur is the first requisite for getting anything done." Rorem continues his diary entry, "Yet I must still go off to live in Utah soon, and doubtless be lynched." Rorem, *The Final Diary, 1961–1972* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974), p. 155. Rorem, "one of America's most honored composers" and acknowledged as the "world's best composer of art songs," was Professor of Composition and later Composer-in-Residence at the University of Utah from late 1965 through 1967. The Ned Rorem Website, "About Ned," <http://www.nedrorem.com/index1.html>, accessed 3-6-15. (Kennelly was visiting Salt Lake City in April 1966.)

In the following pages about Jeppe Casement's first few weeks in Utah, Kennelly takes a number of details (which I have noted below) from Rorem's diaries or his biography and weaves them into the otherwise completely fictional events and characters.

p. 639: "Alice blue is a pale tint of azure that was favored by Alice Roosevelt Longworth, daughter of Theodore Roosevelt, and which sparked a fashion sensation in the United States." Wikipedia, "Alice blue," accessed 3-7-15.

p. 639: "the Valentinian thirty Gods and Aeons": "Valentinianism is a Gnostic Christian movement that was founded by Valentinus in the second century AD. . . . According to Irenaeus [of Lyons], the Valentinians believed that at the beginning there was a Pleroma (literally, a 'fullness'). At the centre of the Pleroma was the primal Father or Bythos, the beginning of all things who, after ages of silence and contemplation, projected thirty Aeons, heavenly archetypes representing fifteen syzygies or sexually complementary pairs." Wikipedia, "Valentinianism," accessed 3-7-15.

p. 640: Hans-Werner Janssen was the music director of the Utah Symphony in 1946–47; his first wife was Ann Harding. Janssen was succeeded by Maurice Abravanel, who led the Utah Symphony Orchestra until 1979.

p. 640: The International Conference of Symphony and Opera Musicians was founded in 1962.

p. 640: “what what’s his name had to say about your opera”: Rorem’s opera *Miss Julie* was first performed November 4, 1965 at the New York City Opera; it “was not a critical success, and Rorem revised the score and shortened it to a single act in 1978.” Wikipedia, “Miss Julie (opera),” accessed 3-7-15. The opera was “commissioned with the assistance of the Ford Foundation.” The Ned Rorem Website, “About Ned.”

p. 640: “I have lived long enough...”: From “Hymn to Proserpine (After the Proclamation in Rome of the Christian Faith),” by Algernon Charles Swinburne.

p. 641: “old Curtis days”: Ned Rorem studied at the Curtis Institute of Music in 1942; the institute’s director at that time was Efrem Zimbalist.

p. 641: “Eighteen thousand dollars...”: “On my arrival [in Salt Lake City] they offer me \$18,000 to teach six hours a week for eight months.” Rorem, 11 March 1965, *The Final Diary*, p. 137.

p. 641: “lemon pie glistening with meringue...”: At Yaddo (an artists’ community and retreat in Saratoga Springs, New York) in the summer of 1967, Rorem wrote: “Yaddo meals are so to my taste! During fifteen years at the best tables of France and North Africa, my culinary dreams were still not for snails in garlic, but for malteds in Schrafft’s. America’s sole contribution to world culture is bland cooking made succulent, as exemplified at our Saratoga table. Greedy for sugar, I purchase at Sutter’s a great glistening lemon meringue, bring it home and begin to glut in solitude, the doorbell rings so I hide the pie (not from guilt like the alcoholic with rum bottles, but from an unwillingness to share), impatiently hurry my visitor, find myself alone again, finish off the pastry entirely. Next day I repeat the process with Sutter’s four-pound devil’s food cake, and the following day with twelve cream puffs.” 24 July 1967, *The Final Diary*, p. 224. In an earlier diary entry (16 October 1964), Rorem mentions stopping at “the world’s most famous pastry shop, Vaudron’s,” where he “purchased orange tarts and huge cherry *clafoutis*, all of which I consumed tonight.” In his Salt Lake diary entries (at least), he frequently mentions abstaining from cigarettes, alcohol, and sex.

p. 641: “Votive Mass...”: “In six days here [in Salt Lake City] how has solitude settled? I’ve begun and completed a whole little *Votive Mass* for unison chorus and organ.” Rorem, 10 January 1966, *The Final Diary*, p. 161. In his *Paris Diary* (Braziller, 1966), Rorem mentions his intention to “finish the Third Piano Sonata” and to “write a piece for flute, and a Pindarian hymn for Nadia’s contest” (part 10, “Hyères and Italy: 1954 and 1955,” p. 186).

p. 641: “...the necessary outrage of the death we carry within us”: George Steiner, *Language and Silence* (1967).

p. 641: “...should be seen and not heard”: “The twelve-toners behave as if music should be seen and not heard.” Rorem, *The Paris Diary*, part 9, “Paris: 1954,” p. 171.

p. 641: “He only does it to annoy...”: The Duchess in Lewis Carroll’s *Alice in Wonderland*:

*Speak roughly to your little boy,
And beat him when he sneezes:*

*He only does it to annoy,
Because he knows it teases.*

p. 641: “Aye, there’s the rub”: *Hamlet*.

p. 641: “take the track home” apparently refers to winning big in horse racing.

p. 641: “Velvet-guards and Sunday citizens”: From *Henry IV, Part I*. Hotspur says to his wife, Kate (Lady Percy):

*Swear me, Kate, like a lady as thou art,
A good mouth-filling oath, and leave “in sooth,”
And such protest of pepper-gingerbread,
To velvet-guards and Sunday citizens.*

p. 642: “Maxfield Parrish (1870–1966) was an American painter and illustrator active in the first half of the 20th century. He is known for his distinctive saturated hues and idealized neo-classical imagery. . . . Androgynous nudes in fantastical settings were a recurring theme.” Wikipedia, accessed 3-14-15.

p. 642: “the *biggest Mohammedan population in America*”: “In the student cafeteria yesterday I was astonished to hear two tawny youths speaking Arabic. It seems that this state contains the largest Moslem population in America. Mormons, having found Iran to be climatically identical to Utah, made converts who returned here.” Rorem, 10 January 1966, *The Final Diary*, p. 161.

p. 642: “Hylas . . . , Dion, Abderus, Clinias, and Bathyllus”: “In classical mythology, Hylas was a youth who served as Heracles’ companion and lover.” Wikipedia, “Hylas,” accessed 3-15-15. “And not only with animals, but men have amongst themselves this business, which sin is commonly called Sodomy. . . . Hercules had Hylas, Polycletus, Dion, Pirithous, Abderus, and the Phrygian.” Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, quoted in Kenneth Borris, *Same-Sex Desire in the English Renaissance: A Sourcebook of Texts, 1470-1650* (Routledge, 2004), p. 305. Other sources describe Clinias and Bathyllus as handsome young men.

p. 642: The Radio City Lounge in Salt Lake City was a “gay neighborhood bar that opened its doors in 1948,” according to Andrew Collins; it closed in 2009. “Rockies Gay Bars - Colorado Gay Bars - Utah Gay Bars,” <http://gaytravel.about.com/od/gaynightlifegallerie1/ig/Rockies-Gay-Bars/Radio-City-Lounge.htm>, accessed 3-15-15.

p. 643: *Great Jones Street*, by Don DeLillo, was published in 1973; the quotation does appear in the book.

p. 643: “Ariel . . . interviewed Jeppe on KSL”: “Yesterday he [Maurice Abravanel, conductor of the Utah Symphony Orchestra] generously interviewed me on an hour-long program of my pieces for the local radio.” Rorem, 9 January 1966, *The Final Diary*, p. 160.

p. 643: “He is a gifted...”: Alan Rich wrote about Rorem in “Maximum Literate,” an article in *New York* magazine of December 17, 1973: “Rorem is one of the most gifted, versatile, and important composers this country has produced.” His works, Rich said, demonstrate “the continuing power of music to express beautiful and noble sentiments” and have a “sense of shape, dimension, and dramatic logic.”

p. 643: “Edgar Guest (1881–1959) was a prolific English-born American poet who was popular in the first half of the 20th century and became known as the People’s Poet. . . . Guest penned some 11,000 poems which were syndicated in some 300 newspapers.” Wikipedia, “Edgar Guest,” accessed 3-15-15. His poem “The Test” (1924) read in part:

*God won't ask if you were clever,
For I think he'll little care
When your toil is done forever,
He may question: "Were you square?
Did you do the best you could do
With the knowledge you possessed?
Did you do the things you should do?"
That will be your earthly test.*

p. 643: “hallucinated a golden turd”: “One sunny day, when Jung was twelve, he was traversing the Münsterplatz in Basel, admiring the sun shining on the newly restored glazed roof tiles of the cathedral. He then felt the approach of a terrible, sinful thought, which he pushed away. He was in a state of anguish for several days. Finally, after convincing himself that it was God who wanted him to think this thought, just as it had been God who had wanted Adam and Eve to sin, he let himself contemplate it, and saw God on his throne unleashing an almighty turd on the cathedral, shattering its new roof and smashing the cathedral. With this, Jung felt a sense of bliss and relief such as he had never experienced before.” Sonu Shamdasani, introduction to C. J. Jung, *The Red Book: Liber Novus* (Norton, 2009).

p. 643: “All paths are the same: they lead nowhere.” From Carlos Castañeda, *The Teachings of Don Juan: A Yaqui Way of Knowledge*.

p. 643: “‘Let’s Go Get Stoned’ is a song originally recorded by The Coasters in May 1965. . . . It was a 1966 #1 R&B hit for American recording artist Ray Charles. The single was released shortly after Charles was released from rehab after a sixteen-year heroin addiction.” Wikipedia, “Let’s Go Get Stoned (R&B song),” accessed 3-15-15.

p. 643: “an attitude toward circumstances of detachment, ataraxia, ‘holy indifference’”: Aldous Huxley.

p. 643: “Arthur Fiedler, Henry Mancini, . . . Nigerian Ambassador Alhaji Mahammadu”: “Last night they whisked me from this work to a concert of Arthur Fiedler. In the audience was Nigerian Ambassador Alhaji Mahammadu on a good-will tour of the U.S.A. As his midnight train for Frisco was delayed because of the blizzard, we went back to the Abravanel’s for supper

and talk.” Rorem, 10 January 1967, *The Final Diary*, p. 204. Rorem mentions having lunch with Henry Mancini and Maurice Abranavel in his entry for 9 January 1966 (p. 160).

p. 644: “Junior League”: “Junior Leagues are educational and charitable women’s organizations aimed at improving their communities through voluntarism and building their members’ civic leadership skills through training.” Wikipedia, “Junior League,” accessed 3-15-15. The Junior League seems to have had a certain reputation, as summed up by a 1999 *New York Times* article: “For at least the last decade, the Junior League has been telling anyone who will listen that it is no longer just a clique of former debutantes putting out cookbooks but a group of professional women who start shelters for drug-addicted mothers and volunteer in the 25th Police Precinct in East Harlem. By and large, that’s true. And yet the League, based on its statistical sampling of 193,000 members in 295 chapters in the United States, Mexico, Canada and Britain, is still 96 percent white, 1 percent black and 1 percent Jewish.” Elisabeth Bumiller, “Public Lives: Reshaping the Image of the Junior League,” *New York Times*, August 24, 1999. Also: “The group once known for its cookbooks, white gloves and charity balls has taken off the white gloves, opened its arms to minority members and taken on some daring and decidedly tough community projects. And yet, the Junior League image sticks. White gloves. Women driving Volvo station wagons. Tennis lessons and tea parties. Debutante balls. Even the Junior Leaguer jokes persist. Like: ‘How does a Junior Leaguer call the kids to dinner?’ ‘Get in the Volvo!’” Linda Shrieves, “Junior League Is No Tea Party: Today’s Volunteers Shake Old Stereotypes,” *Orlando Sentinel*, August 15, 1989.

p. 644: “The advantage of the emotions is that they lead us astray”: Oscar Wilde, *The Picture of Dorian Gray*.

p. 644: “like his friend Melvin Van Peebles...”: “Melvin ‘Block’ Van Peebles (born August 21, 1932) is an American actor, director, screenwriter, playwright, novelist and composer. He is most famous for creating the acclaimed film *Sweet Sweetback’s Baadasssss Song*, which heralded a new era of African-American focused films.” Wikipedia, “Melvin Van Peebles,” accessed 3-15-15. The quotation from Peebles paraphrased here apparently appeared in *Unmuzzled Ox*, “The Poet’s Encyclopedia,” 1979.

p. 644: “his friend *Frank Sullivan* invited him...”: “Frank Sullivan (1892–1976) was an American humorist, best remembered for creating the character Mr. Arbuthnot the Cliche Expert.” Wikipedia, “Frank Sullivan (writer),” accessed 3-15-15. From *The Comic Encyclopedia: A Library of the Literature and History of Humor Containing Thousands of Gags, Sayings, and Stories*, by Evan Esar (Doubleday, 1978), p. 186: “Frank Sullivan, the humorist, saved himself from a[n Alexander] Woollcott visitation to his home in Saratoga by forewarning him: ‘We only have one bathroom, so you’ll have to take pot luck.’”

p. 644: “A hideous word, maturity, and only a coward will use it”: Edward Dahlberg (1900–1977), American novelist and essayist.

p. 644: “the essence of Chanel No. 5...”: “In 1921 Coco Chanel changed the fragrance world with her ever-popular Chanel No. 5. In need of a musky base note, Coco used scrapings of sexual pheromones from the perianal (read: anal) gland of the Abyssinian civet cat– sexual pheromones

that are found in cat pee.” *Toronto Standard*, July 3, 2012, <http://torontostandard.com/daily-cable-news/is-the-secret-behind-chanel-no-5s-success-cat-pee/>, accessed 3-15-15.

p. 644: “the life forms on Jupiter...”: “‘The Gasbags of Jupiter’ sounds for all the world like the title of an early 1930s novel that would have run in a venue like *Science Wonder Stories*. In fact, as Larry Klaes tells us below, the idea grew out of Carl Sagan’s speculations about free-floating life-forms that might populate the atmospheres of gas giant planets like Jupiter. Cornell physicist Edwin Salpeter had much to do with the evolution of that concept, helping Sagan produce a paper that was a classic of informed imagination (and one that led to numerous science fiction treatments as the idea gained currency).” Paul Gilster, “Edwin Salpeter and the Gasbags of Jupiter,” February 25, 2009, at “Centauri Dreams,” <http://www.centauri-dreams.org/?p=6308>, accessed 3-15-15.

p. 644: “Greater love hath none ...”: From *Dick Deterred* (1974), by British playwright David Edgar, a parody casting Richard Nixon as Shakespeare’s Richard III. (The Bible verse reads “Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends”: John 15:13.)

p. 644: Dr. F. Avery Jones was a British gastroenterologist.

p. 645: “Since the whole of life is a folly, the best we can do is to commit it”: Edward Dahlberg (according to a note in Kennelly’s commonplace book).

p. 645: “Nunc aut nunquam” (Latin) means “now or never.”

p. 645: “For degrading practices...”: “Reference to this literature [portrayals of nudes] was of course through Ravel whose music also had us all masturbating. Yet if, as I so often now claim, music doesn’t mean anything, it produced semen then aplenty. Not in itself, perhaps, the yet-symbolic book, but through association. Saturday night with the Benny Goodman Trio wowed us. Of course, music masturbation is another esthetic, and I can’t imagine it to, say, Bach fugues or even to nonvocal Mozart.” Rorem, 31 August 1967, *The Final Diary*, p. 236.

p. 645: “The artist who is going to do something...”: “The author, to write a book, spins out of his own mind a cocoon, goes mentally into it, seals it up, and never comes out until the job is done.” Walter Prescott Webb, quoted in *Three Men in Texas: Bedichek, Webb, and Dobie*, ed. Ronnie Dugger (University of Texas Press, 1967), p. 107.

p. 645: “cold and timid souls...”: “Citizenship in a Republic is the title of a speech given by . . . Theodore Roosevelt at the Sorbonne in Paris, France on April 23, 1910. One notable passage . . . is referred to as ‘The Man in the Arena’: ‘It is not the critic who counts; not the man who points out how the strong man stumbles, or where the doer of deeds could have done them better. The credit belongs to the man who is actually in the arena, whose face is marred by dust and sweat and blood; who strives valiantly; who errs, who comes short again and again, because there is no effort without error and shortcoming; but who does actually strive to do the deeds; who knows great enthusiasms, the great devotions; who spends himself in a worthy cause; who at the best knows in the end the triumph of high achievement, and who at the worst, if he fails, at least fails

while daring greatly, so that his place shall never be with those cold and timid souls who neither know victory nor defeat.” Wikipedia, “Citizenship in a Republic,” accessed 3-16-15.

p. 645: “Gray hours blurred and merged”: For three entries in a row—15 February, 16 February, and 19 February 1966—Rorem wrote only “Another day.” 25 February: “One less day before . . .” 26 February: “Still another day.” 28 February: “Another day. Gray hours blur and merge, they *blurge* interchangeably. Said it before, will say it again.” *The Final Diary*, p. 169.

p. 645: “Knowing that nothing would come of it...”: “And of course teaching conscientiously (how they hang on my every rehearsed word! and how I give all, knowing nothing will come of it but their memories).” Rorem, 10 January 1966, *The Final Diary*, p. 161.

p. 645: “eight large, middle-aged women...”: “Late last night, alone—or so I thought—in a studio in Music Hall, I was reading through the Purcell *Fantasias* at the piano. Gradually the music grew out of focus. I grew scared, stopped playing, yet sound continued. Wasn’t I alone? Stepping into the hallway I heard more clearly what seemed a distant wheezing tuba. I peeked into the concert hall and witnessed this: eight women, each armed with a double bass, were performing unison exercises under the tutelage of a ninth. My ear had heard brass.” Rorem, 13 January 1966, *The Final Diary*, p. 161.

p. 645: “He did not smoke for nearly three weeks”: “Smoking for the first time in a fortnight.” Rorem, 5 March 1966, *The Final Diary*, p. 170.

p. 646: “Twenty-seven minutes’ worth...”: “During three weeks here I’ve written twenty-seven minutes’ worth of music. And detest every note.” Rorem, 21 January 1966, *The Final Diary*, p. 163.

p. 646: “the kidnapping of Charley Ross”: See note to p. 89.

p. 646: “a nineteenth-century concept within a twentieth-century medium”: “New sounds are not perforce more rewarding than old sounds reissued through new media. Not for nothing was *The Umbrellas of Cherbourg*, in all its corny glory, the most satisfying opera produced by any country in a decade. The breakthrough (as they say in advanced circles) lay not in the luscious melodies of Michel Legrand nor in Jacques Demy’s tear-jerking libretto, but in the function of these nineteenth-century concepts within a twentieth-century medium. To my knowledge these artists are the first to compose opera directly for film.” Rorem, *Critical Affairs: A Composer’s Journal* (Braziller, 1970), p. 89.

p. 646: “it would have everything”: “Elliott Stein and I are writing a new libretto. Maybe we should call it *Father of the Sphinx Killer*. It’s about Oedipus’ father. In the legend, Laius was banished from his native land for kidnapping a boy. He fled to Greece, and thereby introduced pederasty to that country for the first time.

“I’d like to do a third opera in the form of a comedy on Saint-Germain-des-Près with a Negro contralto singing the blues with an oboe. Also perhaps a ‘Grand-Guignol’ melodrama, ridiculously bloody. [. . .] The one on Oedipus will have only two men’s voices. [. . .] The son will be the bass and the father the tenor. Why not? The bass will sing high, the tenor low—the

tension will petrify. [. . .] A keyboard orchestra [. . .] : harmonium, organ, piano, celesta, glockenspiel, two harpsichords, three clavichords, plus four bass flutes in unison. . . I want an aria on sexuality (description of touch) sufficient to ‘erect’ the audience, an aria on cruelty (description of blood) sufficient to scare the audience, and an aria on nostalgia (description of past springs) sufficient to make the audience cry.” Rorem, *The Paris Diary*, part 5, “Marrakech, Morocco: January–February, 1952,” pp. 93–94.

p. 646: “he was sitting orchestrating, naked, at his window”: “*SIR, YOUR NUDITY DISTRESSES ME*. These words, inscribed in red Magic Marker, were slipped under my door last evening as I sat orchestrating, quite naked (as is my habit in heat waves), near an unshaded window.” Rorem, 30 May 1966, *The Final Diary*, p. 180.

p. 646: Aaron Copland and Gary Graffman: Copland (composer) and Graffman (classical pianist) both visited Salt Lake City while Rorem was there: “Tomorrow Copland arrives, bringing air of the East for which I long. This evening Gary Graffman plays a recital of a kind I’d never attend in New York. Old Home Week. To see our friends, we must leave the town we all live in.” Rorem, 21 January 1966, *The Final Diary*, p. 163. (The “jealousy” is fictional; Rorem’s diary and other sources indicate no such thing. In fact Rorem’s entry for the next day, 22 January, says that Copland was “the first person in whom I’ve been able to ‘confide’,” and Rorem wrote a piano concerto for the left hand specifically for Graffman after the latter lost the use of his right hand.)

p. 646: “It also rained. He also had a toothache”: “Raining this morning, first dark day in months. [. . .] A molar though is killing me.” Rorem, 10 April 1966, *The Final Diary*, p. 172.

p. 646: “That bitter rejoinder also of his mortality. . .”: From the Lakeland (Fla.) *Ledger*, August 25, 1978, “Leonard Bernstein Still Grappling with Split Personality,” by Irving Lowens, from the *Washington Star* (on Bernstein’s 60th birthday): “For Bernstein, Aug. 25, 1978, is a memento mori, a bitter reminder of his mortality and the inexorable forward march of time.” (Probably Kennelly had copied part of the article but inadvertently substituted “rejoinder” for “reminder.”)

p. 647: “Rain before seven, fine before eleven”: “This piece of optimism is based on the weather in Britain, where early-morning rain sometimes gives way to fine weather later in the day. The proverb is occasionally applied to other situations where it is hoped that things will improve after a bad start.” From “English Learning Resources,” <http://english.al/proverb/rain-before-seven-fine-before-eleven/>, accessed 3-18-15.

p. 647: “approbation and reprobation of the same instrument”: “Approbate and Reprobate means to accept and reject. It comes from the maxim *quod approbo non reprobo*, ‘that which I approve, I cannot disapprove.’ It is mostly used in relation to wills. For example, if a testator gives his property to A and gives A’s property to B, A is not at a liberty to approve of the will so far as the legacy is given to him and reject the part bequeathing his property to B. In other words he cannot approve and reject the will at the same time. A person taking property under an instrument such as a will must accept the whole of the instrument. A person cannot ‘approbate’ the will by accepting the benefit it confers and at the same time ‘reprobate’ it, by denying the effect of its

other terms which awards something to someone else.” USLegal Definitions, <http://definitions.uslegal.com/a/approbate-and-reprobate/>, accessed 3-18-15.

p. 647: “a Watusi dancer”: “The Watusi is a solo dance that enjoyed brief popularity during the early 1960s. It was the second-most popular dance craze in the 1960s in the United States, after the Twist.” Wikipedia, “The Watusi,” accessed 3-18-15.

p. 647: “And the world well lost!”: “*All for Love* or, the World Well Lost, is a heroic drama by John Dryden written in 1677.” Wikipedia, “All for Love (play),” accessed 3-18-15. “‘The World Well Lost’ is a science-fiction short story by Theodore Sturgeon, first published in the June 1953 issue of *Universe*. . . . The story takes its title from the subtitle of John Dryden’s verse drama *All for Love*. . . . [The story’s] sensitive treatment of homosexuality was unusual for science fiction published at that time, and it is now regarded as a milestone in science fiction’s portrayal of homosexuality.” Wikipedia, “The World Well Lost,” accessed 3-18-15.

p. 649: Brighton is a ski resort near Salt Lake City.

p. 649: “the rest of the *General Authorities*”: See note p. 56.

p. 649: “*True*, also known as *True, The Man’s Magazine*, was published by Fawcett Publications from 1937 until 1974. . . . High adventure, sports profiles and dramatic conflicts were highlighted.” Wikipedia, “*True* (magazine),” accessed 3-18-15.

p.650: “a first edition *Histoires Tragiques*”: “François de Belleforest (1530–1583) was a prolific French author, poet and translator of the Renaissance. . . . His most successful work was most likely his translation and adaptation of the ‘*histoires tragiques*’ by the Italian Matteo Bandello, which built on the work of Pierre Boaistuau and eventually amounted to seven volumes (1564–1582).” Wikipedia, “François de Belleforest,” accessed 3-18-5.

p. 650: “Mais, bon Dieu!...”: “But, good God! What huge and strange dramas!”

p. 650: “President *Fletcher*”: James Fletcher was president of the University of Utah from 1964 to 1971.

p. 650: “his art songs vibrated through her body...”: “The music vibrated through my body as if I were one of the instruments and I felt myself becoming a full percussion orchestra, becoming green, blue, orange. The waves of the sounds ran through my hair like a caress. The music ran down my back and came out of my fingertips. I was a cascade of red-blue rainfall, a rainbow.” Anaïs Nin, describing a psychedelic experience on LSD, in *The Diary of Anaïs Nin*, vol. 5 (published in 1974).

p. 650: “the Johnstown flood”: See note to p. 392.

p. 650: “the death of P. P. Bliss”: “Philip Paul Bliss (1838–1876) was an American composer, conductor, writer of hymns and a bass-baritone Gospel singer. He wrote many well-known hymns. . . . On 29 December 1876, the Pacific Express train on which Bliss and his wife were

traveling approached Ashtabula, Ohio. While the train was in the process of crossing a trestle bridge, which collapsed, all the carriages fell into the ravine below. Bliss escaped from the wreck, but the carriages caught fire and Bliss returned to try to extricate his wife. No trace of either body was discovered. Ninety-two of the 160 passengers are believed to have died in what became known as the Ashtabula River Railroad Disaster.” Wikipedia, “Philip Bliss,” accessed 3-19-15.

p. 651: “reduced to a vulture’s nose...”: “Go to, lad! slander thy equals, envy thy betters, pray for an eye which sees spots in every sun, and for a vulture’s nose to scent carrion in every rose-bed.” Captain Raleigh, in Charles Kingsley, *Westward Ho!* (1855).

p. 651: “The beautiful days of Aranjuez are now over” is the opening line of Friedrich Schiller’s historical play *Don Carlos*, written between 1783 and 1787.

p. 652: Standard Oil was broken up in 1911, but some companies retained the name—for example, Standard Oil Co. of California.

p. 655: “Marion Davies (1897–1961) was an American film actress, producer, screenwriter, and philanthropist. Davies was already building a solid reputation as a film comedienne when newspaper tycoon William Randolph Hearst, with whom she had begun a romantic relationship, took over management of her career.” Wikipedia, “Marion Davies,” accessed 3-19-15. “By the early 30s, Marion had lost her box office appeal and the downward slide began. Had she been without Hearst’s backing, she possibly could have been more successful. He was more of a hindrance than a help. . . . Hearst’s financial problems also spelled the end to her career. Although she had made the transition to sound, other stars fared better and her roles became fewer and further between. In 1937, a 40 year old Marion filmed her last movie.” Denny Jackson, “Marion Davies Biography,” IMDb, <http://www.imdb.com/name/nm0203836/>, accessed 3-19-15.

p. 656: “at the mercy of a God...”: The English poet Algernon Charles Swinburne wrote in an 1877 letter to Charles Augustus Howell: “I should have answered your friendly note some time ago had I not been prostrate for weeks beneath the double scourge of sore throat and indigestion, which have kept me days together in bed at the mercy of a God ‘whom ’twere gross flattery to call a Marquis.’”

p. 660: “with morning face and morning heart” appears, quoted, in various religious magazines and books published early in the 20th century.

p. 660: “there are few concepts...” Helen Childs Boyden, a chemistry teacher at Deerfield Academy, wrote on her blackboard: “There are few concepts so difficult that they do not yield to the repeated attack of the ordinary mind.” Quoted in John McPhee, *The Headmaster: Frank L. Boyden of Deerfield* (1992).

p. 660: “too *Ballad of Baby Doe*-ish”: *The Ballad of Baby Doe* is an American opera by the composer Douglas Moore, first performed in 1956. It is based on the life of Horace Tabor (1830–1899), who made and lost a mining fortune in Colorado and who married his beautiful second wife, Elizabeth McCourt “Baby” Doe, under scandalous circumstances. “The two lived lavishly,

albeit shunned by ‘polite’ society, for about fifteen years. They had two daughters and a stillborn son before Tabor’s seemingly inexhaustible fortune evaporated in the ‘free silver’ devaluations of the 1890s. Though Horace was employed as Denver’s postmaster when he died in the Spring of 1899, Baby Doe spent the remaining thirty-five years of her life little better than impoverished in a cabin outside the Matchless Mine in Leadville. . . . In early March of 1935, her frozen body was discovered on the floor of her cabin, her arms peacefully crossed on her chest. After a particularly cold spell, she had apparently run out of wood for her stove. By then, having been deserted by both of her daughters, she had nevertheless already become a legend; the subject of two books and a Hollywood movie. Eventually her story would find its way into two operas, a stage play (in German), a musical, a screenplay, a one-woman show and countless other books and articles.” “Elizabeth Bondeul McCourt ‘Baby’ Doe Tabor,” at “Doeheads,” <http://www.babydoe.org/babydoe.htm>, accessed 3-19-15.

p. 661: “the—Bamboo Chief, as they used to say in those days”: This term appears in several books about Montana during nineteenth-century gold-rush days, apparently meaning an important or powerful person. Thomas J. Dimsdale recounted how George Ives, one of the three men who robbed the Salt Lake mail coach in 1863, bragged about his exploit: “Ives made for Virginia City, and there told in a house of ill fame that he was the Bamboo chief that made Tom Caldwell throw up his hands.” Dimsdale, “The Robbery of the Salt Lake Mail Coach by George Ives, Bill Graves, Alias Whiskey Bill, and Bob Zachary,” in *The Vigilantes of Montana* (1866).

p. 662: “Like a Pharian king”: Egyptian (Pharian) kings often married their sisters.

p. 662: “the Republican candidate this time may be a Mormon”: Michigan governor George Romney, a Mormon (and father of Mitt Romney), was a leading candidate for the Republican presidential nomination in 1968, but he withdrew from the campaign early in the year.

p. 663: “indulging his proclivity for eclecticism. . . .”: Lowens, in “Leonard Bernstein Still Grappling with Split Personality,” says of Bernstein’s opera *Candide*: “It is a sophisticated comedy in which he indulges his proclivity for eclecticism to the utmost, parodying one style after another.” Martha Duffy’s review of the Dominick Argento opera *Miss Havisham’s Wedding Night* (“The Immolation of an Opera,” *Time* magazine, April 2, 1979) calls it “a harsh onslaught of ornamental coloratura without sufficient melody or legato line to sustain it.”

p. 663: “the grotesquerie, mannerisms and technical complexities”: The critic Winthrop Sargeant writes of Alban Berg’s opera *Wozzeck* (first performed in 1925): “Like most of the works of its era, it seems bent on demolishing the very thing people go to opera houses to hear. It marks not the beginning of a new operatic style, but the destructive finish of a great tradition—a finish in which gleams of past genius become buried in grotesquerie, mannerism, and technical complexity used as an end in itself.” Sargeant, “New Life in the Old Opera House,” *Horizon*, January 1960, p. 13. (It’s likely that Kennelly copied the passage from this article or perhaps another source; as far as I know, she didn’t have any formal musical education, but she read widely on virtually all subjects.)

p. 663: “*The Fan Man* is a cult comic novel published in 1974 by the American writer William Kotzwinkle. It is told in stream-of-consciousness style by the narrator, Horse Badorties (the

titular ‘fan man’), a down-at-the-heels hippie living a life of drug-fueled befuddlement in New York City c. 1970. The book is written in a colorful, vernacular ‘hippie-speak’ and tells the story of the main character’s hapless attempts to put together a benefit concert featuring his own hand-picked choir of 15-year-old girls. . . . The name ‘fan man’ is a reference to another of his traits: the collecting and selling of fans of all shapes and sizes.” Wikipedia, “*The Fan Man*,” accessed 3-19-15.

p. 663: Yaddo is an artists’ community and retreat in Saratoga Springs, New York.

p. 663: “Sam Weller’s book shop”: Sam Weller’s Books in Salt Lake City is now Weller Book Works. The store, founded in 1929, was originally known as Zion’s Bookstore. From “About Us,” Weller Book Works website, accessed 3-20-15.

p. 664: “that sculptor over in England. . .”: The sculptor referred to was probably Henry Moore, who was “best known for his semi-abstract monumental bronze sculptures. . . . His forms are generally pierced or contain hollow spaces.” Wikipedia, “Henry Moore,” accessed 3-20-15.

p. 664: “the hole had showed up in everything”: The “hole” Kennelly describes may be similar to that of macular degeneration, from which she herself suffered greatly in her later years.

p. 664: “Catalina Station, also known as Steward Observatory Catalina Station, is an astronomical observing facility located on Mount Bigelow in the Santa Catalina Mountains approximately 29 kilometers (18 mi) northeast of Tucson, Arizona. The site in the Coronado National Forest is used . . . by the Steward Observatory of the University of Arizona.” (It is not a “laser experimental site.”) Wikipedia, “Catalina Station,” accessed 3-20-15.

However, military laser research *is* conducted in New Mexico: “North Oscura Peak is the location of an Air Force Research Laboratory (AFRL) site in the northern portion of the White Sands Missile Range. . . . Atop 8,000-foot high North Oscura Peak, a 30-inch telescope is used to send and receive laser light to and from Salinas Peak, another site approximately 35 miles away. . . . The information gained from these tests will benefit any follow on efforts to the Airborne Laser—a large cargo aircraft, equipped with a high energy laser that can destroy theater ballistic missiles hundreds of miles away.”

Star 21: Strategic Technologies for the Army of the Twenty-first Century (National Research Council Board on Army Science and Technology, National Academies, 1993) discusses “directed energy weapons” (DEWs), including lasers and “charged-particle-beam” devices. “High-energy laser experimental systems have been developed and tested to illustrate the potential advantage of DEWs. They are exemplified by the Army mobile test unit (circa mid-1970s), the Air Force Laser Laboratory (circa 1980s), and the Navy SEALITE program (circa mid-1980s)” (pp. 297–98).

According to “Lasers and Aviation Safety” (Wikipedia, accessed 3-20-15), “there are some subjects which laser/aviation safety experts agree pose no real hazard. These include passenger exposure to laser light.” However, the danger to pilots is greater: “Though it is unlikely, high power visible or invisible (infrared, ultraviolet) laser light could cause permanent eye injury. The injury could be relatively minor, such as spots only detectable by medical exam or on the periphery of vision. At higher power levels, the spots may be in the central vision, in the same area where the original light was viewed.”

p. 664: “Fades the light...”: These lyrics to “Taps” (of which there are many different ones, none official) are from Bret Harte’s “Bugle Song,” within his poem “Cadet Grey.”

p. 664: Fundamentalism: “Mormon fundamentalism is a belief in the validity of selected fundamental aspects of Mormonism as taught and practiced in the nineteenth century, particularly during the administrations of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young, the first two presidents of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS Church). Mormon fundamentalists seek to uphold tenets and practices no longer held by mainstream Mormons. The principle most often associated with Mormon fundamentalism is plural marriage. . . . Mormon fundamentalists believe that these and other principles were wrongly abandoned or changed by the LDS Church in its efforts to become reconciled with mainstream American society. Today, the LDS Church excommunicates any of its members who practice plural marriage or who otherwise closely associate themselves with Mormon fundamentalist practices.” Wikipedia, “Mormon fundamentalism,” accessed 3-20-15.

p. 668: “fleshly principalities”: The phrase (slightly altered) is from “To Dianeme” (1648), by the English poet Robert Herrick:

*Show me thy feet; show me thy legs, thy thighs;
Show me those fleshy principalities . . .*

(Kennelly uses “fleshly” instead of “fleshy,” but the former word seems apt as well, meaning—according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*—“of or pertaining to the flesh.”)

p. 669: “the fifth essence”: The *Oxford English Dictionary* definition of “quintessence”: “In classical and medieval philosophy: a fifth essence existing in addition to the four elements, supposed to be the substance of which the celestial bodies were composed and to be latent in all things.”

p. 670: “conquer his human failings...”: Lowens, in “Leonard Bernstein Still Grappling with Split Personality,” mentions the composer’s “recent obsession with opera” and says, “Perhaps some time must pass before Bernstein can conquer his human failings and address himself totally to the solution of the problems of artistic creativity.”

p. 670: “ignorance in action”: Goethe: “There is nothing more frightful than ignorance in action.”

p. 670: “Premier Elevator Company”: There actually is a company by that name, but it was not started until 1992, and it centers its business in the southeastern states.

p. 674: “Let something happen to us!” “Mach, dass etwas uns geschieht!” From one of Rainer Maria Rilke’s “Prayers of the Maidens to Mary.”

p. 675: “the good he would do...”: The reference to Paul is from Romans 7.

p. 675: “court-impudence”: From Milton, *Eikonoklastes* (1649): “. . .that the people might no longer be abused and cajoled, as they call it, by falsities and court-impudence. . .”

p. 675: “Wake me early, Mother darling. . .”: From Tennyson, “The May Queen” (1833):

*You must wake and call me early, call me early, mother dear;
To-morrow 'll be the happiest time of all the glad new-year,—
Of all the glad new-year, mother, the maddest, merriest day;
For I'm to be Queen o' the May, mother, I'm to be Queen o' the May.*

p. 676: “stopped in at Martha Washington’s”: “The Martha Washington stores were a national chain started in the 1890s, selling ice cream and chocolates, and furnished in a pseudo-colonial motif. By their peak in the twenties, there were several hundred of these stores across the country, but the Depression hit them hard, the company founder, a candy maker named Elie Sheetz, died in 1932, and most of the stores had closed by the mid-thirties. A few lingered on into the forties, but by then they were considered dowdy and old-ladyish, a relic of another time.” Posted by LizzieMaine, February 21, 2012, at <http://www.thefederalounge.com/showthread.php?62392-Martha-Washington-Candy-Stores>, accessed 3-20-15. However, an ad in the *Salt Lake Tribune* of June 17, 1952, advertised: “Martha Washington Candies are back in town. You are cordially invited to the opening of the new store and kitchen of the Martha Washington Candies of Utah,” at 2020 South Main.

p. 680: “when upon Zion. . .”: “Out of Zion, the perfection of beauty, God hath shined”: Psalm 50:2.

p. 680: “a habitation of dragons. . .”: [Edom] shall be an habitation of dragons, and a court for owls”: Isaiah 34:14. “I will also make it [Babylon] a possession for the bittern”: Isaiah 14:23.

p. 680: “cast abroad the fitches. . .”: “When [the plowman] hath made plain the face thereof, doth he not cast abroad the fitches, and scatter the cummin, and cast in the principal wheat and the appointed barley and the rie in their place?”: Isaiah 28:25.

p. 680: “witches that peep and mutter”: “And when they shall say unto you, Seek unto them that have familiar spirits, and unto wizards that peep, and that mutter: should not a people seek unto their God? for the living to the dead?”: Isaiah 8:19.

p. 682: “Where *they* appeared . . . to President John Taylor”: Taylor was the third president of LDS church, from 1880 to 1887. “In 1882, the United States Congress enacted the Edmunds Act, which declared polygamy to be a felony. Hundreds of Mormon men and women were arrested and imprisoned for continuing to practice plural marriage. Taylor had followed Joseph Smith’s teachings on polygamy, and had at least seven wives. . . . By 1885, he and his counselors were forced to withdraw from public view to live in the ‘underground’; they were frequently on the move to avoid arrest.” Wikipedia, “John Taylor (Mormon),” accessed 3-20-15. “Between October 1886 and February 1887, [Lorin] Woolley served as a mail carrier for LDS Church leaders hiding from state authorities during the crackdown on Mormon polygamy. During this time, church authorities frequently stayed at the Woolley home in Centerville, Utah. On October

6, 1912, Woolley wrote the first known account of the reception of the 1886 Revelation, an enigmatic document in the handwriting of Church President John Taylor. The revelation . . . declared firmly that the Lord had not revoked ‘the New and Everlasting Covenant’ (plural marriage)—‘nor will I, for it is everlasting.’ According to Woolley, Taylor had written the document after being visited by the resurrected Joseph Smith, founder of the church, at his father’s home in September 1886.” Wikipedia, “Lorin C. Woolley,” accessed 3-20-15.

p. 683: Nephelococcygia is “cloud-cuckoo-land,” “the name of the realm in Aristophanes’s *Birds* built by the birds to separate the gods from mankind.” It is used to mean “a fanciful or ideal realm or domain” (*Oxford English Dictionary*).

p. 684: “his seventh or eighth wife Louisa”: John D. Lee’s third wife was Louisa Free; they had only one child, a son who died young.

p. 684: “Florence and burning of the vanities”: “A Bonfire of the Vanities is a burning of objects condemned by authorities as occasions of sin. The phrase usually refers to the bonfire of 7 February 1497, when supporters of the Dominican priest Girolamo Savonarola collected and publicly burned thousands of objects such as cosmetics, art, and books in Florence, Italy, on the Mardi Gras festival.” Wikipedia, “Bonfire of the Vanities,” accessed 3-20-15. *Cinquecento* refers to the Italian Renaissance of the sixteenth century.

p. 685: “Ladies grow handsome by looking at themselves in the glass”: William Hazlitt (1778–1830), in his essay “On the Look of a Gentleman.”

p. 685: “The White Queen of an African tribe”: This is probably a reference to *She*, a novel by Henry Rider Haggard first published in 1886–87. From the book description by Oxford University Press: “‘My empire is of the imagination.’ These are the words of Ayesha, the mysterious white queen of a Central African tribe, whose dread title, ‘She-who-must-be-obeyed’, testifies to her undying beauty and magical powers; but they serve equally well to describe the hold of her author, Henry Rider Haggard, on generations of readers. Writing ‘at white heat’, and in the flush of success after the publication of *King Solomon’s Mines*, Haggard drew again on his knowledge of Africa and of ancient legends, but also on something deeper and more disturbing. To the Englishmen who journey through shipwreck, fever, and cannibals to her hidden realm, ‘She’ is the goal of a quest bequeathed to them two thousand years before; to Haggard’s readers, ‘She’ is the embodiment of one of the most potent and ambivalent figures of Western mythology, a female who is both monstrous and desirable—and, without question, deadlier than the male.” <http://ukcatalogue.oup.com/product/9780199536429.do>, accessed 3-20-15.

p. 685: “one of the new fifty-cent pieces”: The Kennedy half dollar was first minted in 1964.

p. 685: “the cephalophoric saints in Christian epic”: See note to p. 612.

p. 686: “Now, my dear, for Christ and Kathleen ni Houlihan”: A similar phrase appears in *Ottoline at Garsington: Memoirs of Lady Ottoline Morrell, 1915-1918*: “He died with great dignity, even gaiety. The priest said, ‘Now Roger, for Christ and Kathleen ni Houlihan’, and he smiled and the smile remained on his face after death.”

“Kathleen Ni Houlihan (Irish: Caitlín Ní Uallacháin, literally, ‘Kathleen, daughter of Houlihan’) is a mythical symbol and emblem of Irish nationalism found in literature and art, sometimes representing Ireland as a personified woman. The figure of Kathleen Ni Houlihan has also been invoked in nationalist Irish politics.” Wikipedia, “Kathleen ni Houlihan,” accessed 3-20-15.

The “Roger” in Lady Ottoline Morrell’s passage (of which I was only able to see a snippet) is no doubt Roger Casement, the Irish nationalist who was hanged for treason in 1916, despite having been a hero for his crusades against slavery and human-rights abuses in Africa and South America while working for the British Foreign Office. “In 1916 after Casement’s conviction for treason, the British government circulated photographs of pages of [Casement’s] diary to individuals who were urging commutation of Casement’s death sentence. At a time of strong social conservatism, not least among Irish Catholics, publicizing of the Black Diaries and his homosexuality undermined support for Casement.” Wikipedia, “Roger Casement,” accessed 3-20-15.

p. 686: “how terrible she thought she must look without makeup!”: The idea prevalent from at least the 1940s that women should never be seen in public, or even by their husbands, without being “fixed up” with makeup, hairpieces, etc. was one drilled into Kennelly and others of her generation (to judge from her letters and memoirs). Similarly, Lavonne refused to have her operation done at Holy Rosary Hospital so that people she knew there would not discover her cosmetic secrets (pp. 619–20); and Colleen died for being unable to let her former fiancé see her without her “last brushful of mascara” (p. 512). This perceived need to be “fixed up” at all times is illustrated humorously but earnestly in “Why I Wear My False Eyelashes to Bed,” a 1968 article by Laura Cunningham reprinted in *The Cosmo Girl’s Guide to the New Etiquette* (Cosmopolitan Books, 1971):

“How do you look without your makeup? . . . No one, not even my husband, has seen my face *au naturel* for three years. Traumatic things used to happen to me when I ventured out in my naked face. Construction workers would pay scant attention to me. . . . Storekeepers addressed me as ‘ma’am’ instead of ‘miss.’ . . . If you have suffered similar disasters, take comfort in the knowledge that you are not alone. . . . We are the products of a cosmetic revolution. Ever since 1965, The Year of the Eyelash, certain cosmetics, once available only to show girls, have been transforming plain girls into beauties.

“This has been a boon and a burden. Each of us risks exposure every time we have an intimate dalliance, go to the beach, or get caught in a monsoon. . . . Here is my list of the most dangerous situations to be in, and how you and your make-up can stay completely intact through them.

“THE HOSPITAL: Hospitals insist on no makeup during childbirth and surgery. To me, this is needless cruelty. . . . If you are too timid to resist, my advice is to delay admittance until the last possible moment, even if you have to go in as an emergency case. Remember, if your condition is drastic enough, they’ll operate on you, anyway! ‘What if you are unconscious when you are brought in?’ you ask. This is a favorite nightmare of mine. In such cases, you should, upon reviving, immediately demand your possessions and put on the *essentials*. If this is impossible (they burned up with your car), or you are too weak to squeeze the tube of eyelash adhesive, you must shut your eyes, and turn your face toward the wall or into the pillow.”

p. 687: Moses and his circumcision: “Sigmund Freud, in his last book, *Moses and Monotheism* in 1939, postulated that Moses was an Egyptian nobleman who adhered to the monotheism of Akhenaten.” “Akhenaten . . . was a pharaoh of the Eighteenth dynasty of Egypt. . . . He is especially noted for abandoning traditional Egyptian polytheism and introducing worship centered on the Aten, which is sometimes described as monotheistic or henotheistic.” Wikipedia, “Moses” and “Akhenaten,” accessed 3-21-15.

“‘Zipporah at the inn’ is the name given to an episode alluded to in three verses of Exodus. It is one of the more unusual, curious, and much-debated passages of the Pentateuch. . . . New Revised Standard Version translation: ‘On the way, at a place where they spent the night, the LORD met him and tried to kill him. But Zipporah took a flint and cut off her son’s foreskin, and touched his feet with it, and said, “Truly you are a bridegroom of blood to me!” So he let him alone. It was then she said, “A bridegroom of blood by circumcision.”’ The standard interpretation of the passage is that God wanted to kill Moses for neglecting the rite of circumcision of his son. Zipporah averts disaster by reacting quickly and hastily performing the rite, thus saving her husband from God’s anger.” Wikipedia, “Zipporah at the inn,” accessed 3-21-15.

“Zipporah refers to Moses as a Bridegroom so some have suggested that this passage was originally a story of the wedding night. . . . that in an earlier version of this passage it was Moses who was circumcised by Zipporah on their wedding night as a bridal ritual.” “YHWH’s Threat to Moses,” February 21, 2010, <http://josiemoliver.wordpress.com/2012/05/06/yhwhs-threat-to-moses/>, accessed 3-21-15.

pp. 687–88: “Chang and Eng Bunker (1811–74) were Thai-American conjoined twin brothers whose condition and birthplace became the basis for the term ‘Siamese twins.’” Wikipedia, “Chang and Eng Bunker,” accessed 3-21-15. “The twins got along remarkably well considering that they had different personalities and interests. Chang drank; Eng was a teetotaler. Eng liked to sit up playing poker with friends; Chang would nod off. Chang was irritable, Eng even-tempered. A keen sense of humor in both helped them accept their predicament. Once when they got into a fight atop a hay wagon, Chang held Eng down. ‘If you don’t let go, so help me, I’ll throw you off this wagon,’ Eng threatened. Then both broke into laughter, realizing the absurdity of the statement.” “Grave of original Siamese twins,” <http://carokitty.tripod.com/firstsiamese.htm>, accessed 3-21-15.

p. 688: “There are many ways to die”: Robert Penn Warren, “Kentucky Mountain Farm.”

p. 693: “Lochinvar, fictional romantic hero of the ballad ‘Marmion’ (1808) by Sir Walter Scott. Lochinvar is a brave knight who arrives unannounced at the bridal feast of Ellen, his beloved, who is about to be married to ‘a laggard in love and a dastard in war.’ Lochinvar claims one dance with the bride and dances her out the door, swooping her up onto his horse, and they ride off together into the unknown.” Encyclopedia Britannica, “Lochinvar,” <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/1698941/Lochinvar>, accessed 3-21-15.

p. 693: “And it shall come to pass that instead of a sweet smell. . . .”: Isaiah 3:24.
“. . . and she being desolate shall sit upon the ground”: Isaiah 3:26.

p. 694: “Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord. . . .”: Exodus 20:7.

p. 695: “Little things that run and quail”: From the poem “Little Things,” by James Stephens.

p. 695: “Glen Canyon City”: Glen Canyon Dam, on the Colorado River in northern Arizona, was built between 1956 and 1966. “A townsite soon developed close to the dam site. Glen Canyon City was located in Kane County and largely developed to facilitate the smooth operation of the project, provide housing for workers, and begin an initial permanent base for recreational uses of the area.” Martha Sonntag Bradley, “Glen Canyon Dam Controversy,” in *The History of Kane County*, Utah History to Go, http://historytogo.utah.gov/utah_chapters/utah_today/glencanyondamcontroversy.html, accessed 3-21-15.

In the mid-1970s Alex Joseph, a Mormon fundamentalist in a sect he called the Church of Jesus Christ in Solemn Assembly (after he was excommunicated from the mainstream LDS church), moved to the small town with his numerous wives and children. In 1983 he was elected mayor of the town, which was renamed Big Water.

p. 695: “The Short Creek Community (now Colorado City, Arizona and Hildale, Utah), [which] was founded in 1913, began as a small ranching town in the Arizona Strip. In May 1935, members of the Council of Friends, a breakaway group from the LDS Church, sent a handful of followers to the Short Creek Community with the express purpose of building ‘a branch of the Kingdom of God.’ [John] Barlow believed that the isolated Creek could provide a place of refuge for those engaging in the covert practice of polygamy, a felony. . . . On July 26, 1953, Arizona Governor John Howard Pyle sent troops into the settlement to stop polygamy in what became known as the Short Creek raid. The two-year legal battle that followed became a public relations disaster that damaged Pyle’s political career and set a hands-off tone toward the town in Arizona for the next 50 years.” Wikipedia, “Short Creek Community,” accessed 3-21-15.

p. 695: “a restaurant called The Old Barn”: There apparently is a restaurant called The Old Barn as part of the Willow Glen Inn in Enoch, Utah, between Parowan and Cedar City. (At some point in the 1950s or 1960s, Kennelly traveled to southern Utah and the massacre site, so her descriptions of the trip here are no doubt based partly in fact.)

p. 696: “the language of the Murzuqs”: “Murzuk or Murzuq . . . is an oasis town and the capital of the Murzuq District in the Fezzan region of southwest Libya. . . . Murzuk developed around the oasis, a stop on the north-south trade route across the Sahara. In 1310 a major fort, now in ruins, was built and later the Ottoman Empire capital town of Fezzan prospered for six hundred years.” Wikipedia, “Murzuk,” accessed 3-21-15. There does not seem to have been a people or language called Murzuq; however, the Kanuri language was spoken in the town in the past: “During his visit to Murzuq in 1860, Duveyrier found a Turkish official who told him that in the times of the Awlad Muhammad clan (before 1812), the place had much resembled ‘the towns of the Blacks’: ‘The Sultan had a black guard (*ganga*), the language was virtually Kanuri, and all the names given to things and places were in that language.” B. G. Martin, “Ahmad Rasim Pasha and the Suppression of the Fazzan Slave Trade, 1881–1896,” in *The Servile Estate*, ed. John Ralph Willis, vol. 2 of *Slaves and Slavery in Muslim Africa* (Frank Cass, 1985). “Kanuri is a dialect continuum spoken by some four million people, as of 1987, in Nigeria, Niger, Chad and Cameroon, as well as small minorities in southern Libya. . . . Kanuri is the

language associated with the Kanem and Bornu empires which dominated the Lake Chad region for a thousand years.” (The Kanem empire included the Fezzan region in southwest Libya.) Wikipedia, “Kanuri language,” accessed 3-21-15.

p. 696: “somewhere between heaven and earth where the birds...”: See note to p. 683 about *Nephelococcygia* (Cloud-Cuckoo-Land).

p. 698: “and from there, off to the west...”: There is indeed a road heading west from Cedar City to Enterprise (a right turn), but from Enterprise, the Mountain Meadow Massacre site is a little to the southeast on Highway 18, not to the west.

p. 698: “the columns of Capua”: “The Arch of Hadrian . . . is an ancient Roman triumphal arch located in Santa Maria Capua Vetere (ancient Capua, now in the Province of Caserta). It was originally a triple arch, but today only three pylons and one of the lateral arches survive. . . . The arch . . . originally had an outer coating of white limestone, now lost.” Wikipedia, “Arch of Hadrian (Capua),” accessed 3-21-15.

p. 699: “Robert Graves (1895–1985) was an English poet, novelist, critic, and classicist. . . . He earned his living from writing, particularly popular historical novels such as *I, Claudius*, *King Jesus*, *The Golden Fleece* and *Count Belisarius*. He also was a prominent translator of Classical Latin and Ancient Greek texts.” Wikipedia, “Robert Graves,” accessed 3-21-15.

p. 699: “Queen Anne could touch for scrofula”: “In the Middle Ages it was believed in England and France that a touch from royalty could heal [the] skin disease known as scrofula or the ‘king’s evil’. Scrofula was usually a swelling of the lymph nodes in the neck caused by tuberculosis. The practice began with King Edward the Confessor in England (1003/4–1066) and Philip I (1052–1108) in France. . . . The last English monarch to carry out this practice was Queen Anne, who died in 1714.” “King’s Evil and the Royal Touch,” at Science Museum, “Brought to Life: Exploring the History of Medicine,” <http://www.sciencemuseum.org.uk/broughttolife/techniques/kingsevil.aspx>, accessed 3-21-15.

p. 699: “the mountain pass between whatever it’s called and Lamia”: “The Battle of Thermopylae was fought between alliances of Greek city-states, led by King Leonidas of Sparta, and the Persian Empire of Xerxes I over the course of three days. . . . The Athenian general Themistocles had proposed that the allied Greeks block the advance of the Persian army at the pass of Thermopylae. . . . A Greek force of approximately 7,000 men marched north to block the pass in the summer of 480 BC. . . . The vastly outnumbered Greeks held off the Persians for seven days (including three of battle) before the rear-guard was annihilated in one of history’s most famous last stands. . . . At the time, the pass of Thermopylae consisted of a track along the shore of the Malian Gulf [the Gulf of Lamia] so narrow that only one chariot could pass through at a time. On the southern side of the track stood the cliffs that overlooked the pass, and on the north side was the Malian Gulf.” Wikipedia, “Battle of Thermopylae,” accessed 3-21-15.

p. 699: “the strange landscape”: “The Santa Clara volcanic field is [a] volcanic area north of St. George in SW Utah, which has been active since about 4 million years ago. It contains numerous cinder cones and lava flows.” “Santa Clara Volcano,” at Volcano Discovery,

http://www.volcanodiscovery.com/santa_clara.html, accessed 3-21-15. (This volcanic field would be south of the route Rosetta and Jeppe were traveling, but western Utah generally was the site of ancient volcanic activity. The 1941 Federal Writers' Project publication *Utah: A Guide to the State* describes "two extinct black volcanic craters" on state highway 18, "their cold lava flows lying as they hardened in prehistoric times"; p. 303.)

p. 699: "the fixing frost": From "Winter," by the Scottish poet James Thomson (1700–1748).

p. 699: "In nineteen twenty-two...": "The Turkish Grand National Assembly abolished the Sultanate on 1 November 1922, and Mehmed was expelled from Constantinople. Leaving aboard the British warship *Malaya* on 17 November, he went into exile in Malta." Wikipedia, "Mehmed VI," accessed 3-21-15.

p. 700: "nacre buyers from New York": In her memoir *New York on \$5 a Day* (written in 2001; forthcoming from Sunnycroft Books), Kennelly relates a story told to her by the mother of a business partner of Egon's cousin Ernesto, who had visited Kennelly in New York and spent a day with her at the 1964 World's Fair. Ernesto and his partner lived in Vienna but were traveling around the Bosphorus area in the early 1920s, buying up nacre (mother of pearl) for a button factory that Ernesto later owned. When they got to Constantinople (Istanbul) after the Sultan was expelled, the city was "like a smashed beehive, all the people that owned and ran everything had left, everybody else too, and here these two boys were, wandering around. So they just kept going, and the next thing they knew here they were at the Sultan's palace, and what did they find but the place was deserted, the doors open, unlocked, nobody standing guard, all the rooms empty. So they went in and pretty soon here they were in the harem, where the harem ladies lived. The boys could tell that by the mess they left, the scents and everything. But the birds themselves had flown. All except two, she said, whom they discovered in a sort of sunroom, one sitting on a divan and the other at a window watching out for someone to come and get her. The news had got out and most of the ladies had been picked up by their relatives or gone somewhere. These two ladies, like all the others, had been picked for their beauty and had come from Bessarabia or ten other places, even England and Sweden." The woman at the window was soon picked up by someone, and Ernesto and his partner took the other one back to Vienna. She turned out to be pregnant; whose child it was the men did not know, but the baby girl was beautiful. The "harem lady" didn't know how to work—"she'd have fainted if you said the word," Kennelly's informant said—so the men sent her back to "Croatia or wherever she came from" and gave the baby to "their family cook or housekeeper or whatever she was" to raise. As the girl, whom he'd named Antoinette, grew up, Ernesto became like a father to her. She was with him in New York on this visit, but Kennelly did not meet her because she (Antoinette) was recovering from plastic surgery (in an attempt to preserve her beauty).

p. 701: Nedjed is a region in Saudi Arabia.

p. 701: "But they didn't dig very deep": The morning after the massacre—and the subsequent looting of the emigrants' property—the Mormons attempted to bury the dead. "Samuel Pollock described how the burial detail worked. The men found the ground 'was very hard; it was impossible for us to dig it.' . . . Most of the bodies were buried close to where they fell, in graves about three or four feet deep. . . . The bodies did not stay buried for long. The scent of rotting

flesh in the shallow graves attracted wolves, coyotes, and other scavengers. Within a day or two, many of the bodies had been pulled to the surface, torn into pieces, and scattered across the Meadows.” Walker, Turley, and Leonard, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows*, pp. 214–15.

p. 701: “Hemingway would be proud of the way John D. Lee had died”: Lee was executed by firing squad on Friday, March 23, 1877, at the Mountain Meadows, having been brought there the previous day by soldiers. Many soldiers, reporters, and others had come to observe the execution. That morning, after a sound sleep and a hearty breakfast, “Lee made out his will, dividing his property between his three remaining wives. He sent \$9.50 to Rachel [one of his wives] to defray his funeral expenses. Lee passed around a bottle of ‘bitters’ and took a last drink with a few of the men around him. When all was ready, Reverend [George] Stokes helped Lee to his coffin, where he threw off his overcoat and sat down ‘as naturally as though it was an every day business.’” He asked the official photographer to provide a copy of his portrait to each of his three wives who had remained faithful to him, “looked around calmly,” and spoke for a few minutes, stating that his conscience was clear, that he was unafraid of death, and that he remained faithful to the gospel as it was taught by Joseph Smith, though he denounced Brigham Young’s betrayal of him.

After kneeling with Stokes for a final prayer, Lee was blindfolded but asked that his arms be left untied. “Lee sat bolt upright on the end of his open coffin and raised his hands over his head. To avoid mangling his body, Lee called to the firing squad, ‘Center my heart, boys!’ . . . At exactly 11:00 a.m. the sharpshooters, hidden in three wagons, fired, and “John D. Lee fell quietly into his coffin. . . . The hostile national press agreed that Lee ‘displayed the most extraordinary courage, and met his fate either in the belief that he was a martyr or a hero.’ . . . Any reasonable accounting must reckon Lee as a profoundly tormented and evil man, but at the end he faced the consequences of his acts with simple courage while others buried their guilt under an avalanche of perjury and evasion.” Bagley, *Blood of the Prophets*, pp. 316–17.

p. 702: “*Site of the Mountain Meadows Massacre*”: Juanita Brooks, in her “Author’s Statement—II” for the fourth printing (1970) of the new edition of her book *The Mountain Meadows Massacre*, explains how visitors were discouraged from going to the site (p.xxiv): “In 1932 the local people erected the monument which still stands on the edge of the bank worn down by erosion. In April, 1966, representatives of the Mormon Church purchased from Mr. Ezra Lytle the two and one-half acres upon which the monument stands. At once the leaders adopted a policy of ‘discouraging’ visitors. On June 2, 1966, the Forest Service sign and also the Old Spanish Trail sign on the opposite side of the road disappeared. Although forest rangers at both Enterprise and Cedar City were notified, the place was still unmarked as late as December 2, which meant that for one full season, tourists searched in vain for the monument.

“Nor was any work at all done on the access road to the place, so that by January, 1967, it was totally impossible for any car to reach the site. Sometime after August 4, 1966, the picnic table in the valley was lifted out by heavy equipment and hauled away, with a report to the forest ranger at Cedar City that it had been washed down by a flood. That this report was false was amply evident to every one of the several persons who went to investigate.

“By early summer of 1967 the furor of tourist groups and traveling clubs forced the County Commission to repair the road and to keep it open and passable. This they continue to do.

“Interested persons might be able to bring pressure enough to have a new sign built near the main highway, pointing out the location and correcting the inscription on the first plaque, at least by striking the two words AS LEADER and changing the figures of the number killed.”

A photo of the 1932 marker can be seen at the Mountain Meadows Association website: http://www.mtn-meadows-assoc.com/1932_marker.htm. Under the photo are two notes: “The 1932 marker incorrectly identifies the wagon train Captain as ‘Charles’ Fancher. It should be Alexander Fancher”; and “None of the known wagon trains were from Missouri; they were all from northwestern Arkansas.”

p. 704: “The Western Approaches”: See note to p. 4.

p. 704: “It happens like that in the vicinity of churchyards...”: “Such sights are frequently seen *circa sepulchra et monasteria*, saith Lavater, in monasteries and about churchyards, *loca paludiosa, ampla aedificia, solitaria, et caede hominum notata, &c.* (marshes, great buildings, solitary places, or remarkable as the scene of some murder). Thyreus adds, *ubi gravius peccatum est commissum, impii, pauperum oppressores et nequiter insignes habitant* (where some very heinous crime was committed, there the impious and infamous generally dwell). . . . And so likewise, those which Mizaldus calls *ambulones*, that walk about midnight on great heaths and desert places, which (saith Lavater) ‘draw men out of the way, and lead them all night a bye-way, or quite bar them of their way;’ these have several names in several places; we commonly call them Pucks.” Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*.

p. 705: “Deadhead—Slow, lazy animals that contributed little work. A deadhead oxen, when yoked or harnessed in a team, would slow the progress of a wagon.” “Appendix: The Language of the Missouri Trail: A Glossary,” in Mary Barile, *The Santa Fe Trail in Missouri* (University of Missouri Press, 2010), p. 131.

p. 705: “noiseless as . . . pinnacles of aged snow”: Tennyson’s poem “The Lotos-Eaters” contains the line “three silent pinnacles of aged snow.”

p. 705: “bodies with their measure and their space”: “All bodies have their measure and their space”: John Davies, “Of the Soul of Man, and the Immortality Thereof.”

p. 705: “This wagon train was different”: Kennelly’s main source for the wagon train and the massacre was very probably Brooks. Some of the particulars Kennelly gives here may differ from, or be amplified in, later scholarship (e.g., Denton, Bagley, and Walker Turley, and Leonard, all of which were published long after Kennelly finished *Variation West* in 1994).

p. 705: “The Missouri Wildcats”: Eli Kelsey, who traveled with some Arkansas emigrants in July 1857—probably the Baker group—gave a report years later that “spoke harshly of a rough set of men who joined the Arkansas people in the leap-frog manner of the overland trail. He called these men ‘Wild-cats’ from Missouri and said their camp rang with ‘vulgar song, boisterous roaring, and ‘tall swearing.’” And they spoke of the need to wipe out the Mormons. Kelsey said that when traveling with the Arkansans, he warned them to separate themselves from the rowdy group as much as possible as ‘at that time it was easy to provoke a difficulty’ with the Saints and perhaps the Indians as well. . . . The identity of these Missouri ‘Wild-cats’ would become a

matter of controversy. Some writers concluded that they traveled with the Arkansas companies all the way to the Mountain Meadows and perished there. Missourians were probably among those killed at Mountain Meadows, but the ‘Wild-cats’ Kelsey described may have taken the northern route to California.” Walker, Turley, and Leonard, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows*, p. 87. On the “twofold nature of the company,” see note to p. 81 above.

p. 705: “tangle-leg”: The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines the word as “that which tangles the legs: a popular name of an American shrub, the Hobble-bush, *Viburnum lantanoides*; also for strong beer or spirits.”

p. 705: “the mistrustful Mormons (a-bristle with word of war impending...)”: Numerous events and circumstances in 1856 and 1857 combined to bring fears and tensions between the Mormons and the United States to a fever pitch, which in turn poisoned relations between the Mormons and emigrant trains passing through their territory. “In July 1857, while the Baker-Fancher party was en route to Utah Territory, Mormons began hearing rumors that the United States had launched an expedition to invade the territory and depose its theocratic government. For almost a decade, relations between Utah and the federal government had deteriorated over the issue of polygamy and the role of Mormon institutions versus that of federal ones in the territory. By July 1857, [Brigham] Young's replacement, Alfred Cumming, was appointed, and a fourth of the entire U.S. army, some 2,500 dragoons, were already on the march. As news of the approaching army spread, the coming invasion took on apocalyptic significance. Mormons saw it as a threat to their existence. . . . The Mormons were directed not to sell any food to the enemy, as the emigrant train was labeled.” Wikipedia, “War hysteria preceding the Mountain Meadows massacre,” accessed 3-21-15.

p. 705: “pump the lever and it’d shoot ten or fifteen bullets in a string”: Paul Gray, in *The Westerners*, p. 5.

p. 706: “much of this extensive Territory...” From a letter of May 5, 1859, by Jacob Forney, the superintendent of Indian affairs in Utah Territory, who was then investigating the massacre and locating the young children who survived it; quoted in Brooks, *Mountain Meadows Massacre*, p. 262.

p. 706: “If the past were suddenly opened up to our inspection”: See last paragraph of note to p. 525.

p. 706: “Today the bronze tablet reads”: This is the 1932 monument; several others have been built since then. See “Visitor Information” at the website of the Mountain Meadows Association: http://www.mtn-meadows-assoc.com/Direc_Maps/directio.htm, accessed 3-21-15.

p. 707: “The land’s a-cursed...”: Twenty years after the massacre, at Lee’s execution, onlookers “seemed surprised by what they saw. Instead of the legendary lush grasses of the Meadows, they saw deep gullies, scrub oak, and sage. Near the old springs—or perhaps just its remains—was a ‘sunken pool of slimy, filthy water.’ The rivulet that once ran through the southern end of the valley had been replaced by an ugly wash 20 feet deep and about 150 feet wide. Some said the

change was from natural erosion. Others said it was the ‘curse of God.’” Walker, Turley, and Leonard, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows*, p. 229.

p. 707: “the villainous negotiators rolled in...”: At noon on Friday, when the emigrants had been under siege for five days—without water, their food and ammunition running very low, and several dead or wounded among them—“negotiators” from the Mormon militia arrived in wagons under a white flag, and John D. Lee convinced the emigrants to leave their defensive position. He told them that the Paiute Indians who had attacked the emigrants demanded that they leave their cattle and goods to the Indians in return for safe passage out, ensured by the Mormons. The emigrants, suspicious of the Mormons but having no real choice, agreed to be led out in groups, men and boys last, each guarded by an armed Mormon militiaman. At a prearranged signal, the Mormons turned their rifles on the emigrants and slaughtered all of them, except seventeen children who were deemed too young to talk. Some Indians participated in the massacre and subsequent looting, but it was primarily carried out by the Mormons.

p. 707: “*They melted down with one accord...*”: The lines are from the “Ballad of the Mountain Meadows Massacre”; see note to p. 527.

p. 708: “An erosionist would say...”: An erosionist, according to Merriam-Webster, is “a supporter of the now obsolete theory that the contour of the land is mainly the result of erosion.”

p. 708: “a curse to all the nations”: Jeremiah 26:6.

p. 708: “where the tower stood...”: “In 1383, Timur [Tamerlane] started the military conquest of Persia. . . . Of note during the Persian campaign was the capture of Isfahan. . . . After the city revolted against Timur’s taxes by killing the tax collectors and some of Timur’s soldiers, Timur ordered the massacre of the city’s citizens with the death toll reckoned at between 100,000 and 200,000. An eye-witness counted more than 28 towers constructed of about 1,500 heads each.” Wikipedia, “Timur,” accessed 3-24-15.

p. 708: “the lintel posts of major chords...”: In *A Dictionary of Science, Literature, & Art*, vol. 2 (Longmans, Green, and Co., 1872), “lintel” is defined thus: “In Architecture, a horizontal piece of timber, or stone, inserted over a door, window, or other opening, to discharge the superincumbent weight.”

p. 708: “What zeal, what fury...”: *Love’s Labour’s Lost*.

pp. 709–10: “who were thin because they smoked Viceroy’s continuously...”: Pona Mae’s thoughts about the “thinner and prettier” Indian girl (who chain-smoked, had osteomyelitis, had bit parts in movies, and used lots of makeup as an Avon representative) may reflect a composite of several women that Kennelly knew.

p. 710: The Branch Agricultural College in Cedar City became the College of Southern Utah in 1953 and is now Southern Utah University. “About Southern Utah University,” <https://www.suu.edu/general/history.html>, accessed 3-25-15.

p. 710: “Frank Corndropper”: There was at least one Native American named Frank Corndropper, an Osage from Oklahoma (1848–1918).

p. 712: “‘I Can’t Give You Anything but Love, Baby’ is an American popular song and jazz standard by Jimmy McHugh (music) and Dorothy Fields (lyrics). The song was introduced . . . in January 1928.” Wikipedia, “I Can’t Give You Anything but Love, Baby,” accessed 3-25-15.

p. 713: “beano”: “Beans” appears to be a slang term for mescaline. Ned Rorem wrote about his experiment with mescaline in *The Paris and New York Diaries of Ned Rorem, 1951-1961* (North Point Press, 1983), p. 349ff.

p. 713: *Isle of the Dead* is a 1945 horror film.

p. 715: “Berwyn is a city in Cook County, Illinois, co-existent with Berwyn Township, which was formed in 1908 after breaking off from Cicero Township.” Wikipedia, “Berwyn, Illinois,” accessed 3-25-15.

p. 717: “The Gadianton robbers, according to the Book of Mormon, were a secret criminal organization in ancient America. . . . There are folklore accounts of modern day Gadianton robbers. In 1962, an account was given that ‘The Gadeanton Robbers of the Book of Mormon fame were seen by freighters hauling between St. George and southern Nevada.’” Wikipedia, “Gadianton robbers,” accessed 3-26-15.

“Near the town of Modena on the Nevada-Utah border just past St. George, a sort of Union Pacific flag stop, reports by freighters going to the mining camps in Nevada were numerous. Hauling to Pinoche and Panaca, freighters went through a rocky gorge there that was said to be haunted by the terrorist brotherhood of the Gadianton robbers. Huge rocks were supposed to have tumbled down right in front of them, a few crushing others on the trail. But most important were the ways in which the rocky cliffs on either side of them would close in around them, keeping some trapped forever in the gorge to die of the heat and of starvation. Many others narrowly escaped these cliff rocks as they attempted to close in around them, watching for the supernatural Gadiantons who were supposed to swoop down upon them when the rocks closed and kill and rob those whom they entrapped.” Linda Dunning, “The Three Nephites and the Gadianton Robbers,” at “Haunted Utah,” <http://www.prairieghosts.com/nephites.html>, accessed 3-26-15.

p. 724: “Night, I love you...”: From “God Speaks: Night, You Are Holy,” by French poet Charles Péguy (1873–1914).

p. 724: “Nostalgia de la Bone” is a play on “nostalgie de la boue”: “yearning for the mud : attraction to what is unworthy, crude, or degrading” (Merriam-Webster).

p. 725: “that was the place” echoes Brigham Young’s famously stating “This is the place” upon arriving in the Salt Lake Valley in 1847.

p. 725: “killed in that first attack”: The initial attack on the emigrant train camped at Mountain Meadows came at daylight on Monday, September 7, 1857, by Mormon militia members

(disguised as Indians with war paint) and some Indians. “Most of the Paiutes were stationed in the ravine and at some point made a confused rush toward the wagons, only to be repulsed by emigrant gunfire that killed one Paiute and wounded two others. The wounded men, according to Lee, were ‘two of the chiefs from Cedar,’ Moquetas and Bill.” Walker, Turley, and Leonard, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows*, p 159. Ten to fifteen emigrants were shot, seven of them fatally; three more died within days. Bagley, *Blood of the Prophets*, p. 123. Kennelly’s likely source for the massacre, Brooks’s *Mountain Meadows Massacre*, says that the attackers “made their attack just before daybreak, running down the slope of the hills on the east, yelling and shooting” (p. 70).

The names and number of Indians killed here are obviously fictional, although some of the names are those of real people: Elk Hollering in the Water was a Blackfoot woman warrior, and Red Cloud, Red Shirt, and Kicking Bear were Lakota chiefs.

p. 725: “buried beneath fresh branches of desert juniper...”: Burial among the Paiutes “was usually in a rock crevice or excavation. The corpse, with a number of his personal possessions, was placed in the branch-covered grave over which a small cairn was sometimes raised. Funeral arrangements and ceremonial mourning were carried on by female relatives. Men did not even attend the funeral; their important function was to destroy the dead person’s property.” *Utah: A Guide to the State*, p. 41.

p. 725: “You common cry of curs!...”: *Coriolanus*.

p. 725: “The Lord shall hiss for the fly...”: Isaiah 7:18.

“Gather my saints together...”: Psalm 50:5.

“A fire shall eat before them...”: Joel (Hebrew Bible) 2:3.

“In the same day shall the Lord...”: Isaiah 7:20.

p. 725: “God did not rescind...”: Normal is probably referring to the belief among fundamentalist Mormons that God did not revoke polygamy when the practice was officially reversed by LDS president Wilford Woodruff in his 1890 manifesto. “The Manifesto was a response to mounting anti-polygamy pressure from the United States Congress, which by 1890 had disincorporated the church, escheated its assets to the U.S. federal government, and imprisoned many prominent polygamist Mormons. Upon its issuance, the LDS Church in conference accepted Woodruff’s Manifesto as ‘authoritative and binding’. The Manifesto . . . is considered by mainstream Mormons to have been prompted by divine revelation, in which Woodruff was shown that the church would be thrown into turmoil if they did not comply with it. Mormon fundamentalists dispute that Woodruff received any such revelation.” Wikipedia, “1890 Manifesto,” accessed 3-26-15.

p. 726: “by the name of Fairy Sidesinger”: Kennelly may have known, or known of, a woman named Fairy Linn Sidesinger, who, according to census and other records, apparently lived in northwest Portland only a few blocks from where Kennelly and her husband lived, in the 1940s and later.

p. 726: “orange tarts at Vaudron’s”: See note to p. 641.

p. 727: “the destiny of the little girl tossing flowers in the lake”: “[The monster] wanders through the landscape. It has a short encounter with a farmer’s young daughter, Maria, who asks him to play a game with her in which they toss flowers into a lake and watch them float. The monster enjoys the game, but when they run out of flowers the monster thinks Maria will float as well, so he throws her into the lake and she drowns.” Wikipedia, “Frankenstein (1931 film),” accessed 3-26-15.

p. 727: “opera is a bastard”: “Opera and Song are both bastards, insofar as they both mate two forms, words and music, which never asked to be mated.” Ned Rorem, *A Ned Rorem Reader* (Yale University Press, 2001), pp. 132–33. Kennelly, of course, is using “bastard” in a different sense.

p. 727: “Masons, Odd Fellows...”: The emigrants besieged at Mountain Meadows wrote a petition begging for help from the outside world, but the messengers sent out were murdered before they could deliver it: “Thursday night the emigrants drew up a petition, or an humble PRAYER FOR AID. It was addressed to any friend of humanity, and stated the exact condition of affairs. It told that on the morning of the 10th the train was attacked by Indians, and that the siege had continued uninterruptedly. There was reason to believe, it stated, that white men were with the Indians, as the latter were well supplied with powder and weapons. In case the paper reached California, it was hoped that assistance would be sent to their rescue. Then followed a list of the emigrants’ names, each name was followed by the age, place of nativity, latest residence, position, rank, and occupation of its owner. The number of clergymen, physicians, farmers, carpenters, etc., was given. Among other important particulars, the number of FREEMASONS AND ODD-FELLOWS was stated, with the rank, and the name and number of the lodge of which they were members.” C. P. Lyford, *The Mormon Problem: An Appeal to the American People* (1886), pp. 296–97. John Hanson Beadle gives a similar account: “The night before the closing scene the party first became convinced that white men were besieging them. They then drew up a paper addressed to the Masons, Odd Fellows, Baptists, and Methodists of the States, ‘and to all good people every-where,’ in which they stated their condition, and implored help if there was time; if not, justice. To this were attached the signatures of so many members of various lodges and churches in Missouri and Arkansas. With this paper three of their best scouts crept down a ravine and escaped, starting afoot for California.” The three men were tracked and killed by Mormons with the assistance of Indians, and the petition was eventually destroyed, reportedly by John D. Lee when he came into possession of it. J. H. Beadle, *Western Wilds, and the Men Who Redeem Them* (1878), pp. 500–501. (Both accounts are cited in Brooks, *Mountain Meadows Massacre*, pp. 97–100.)

p. 727: “It’s theatrical, not vocal, opera’s challenge”: “Opera’s main challenge is theatrical, not vocal.” Rorem, 23 January 1964, *The Final Diary*, pp. 86–87.

“He loathes the human voice”: “I have written so much vocal music in so many different forms that suddenly the whole effort appears shredded by ridicule and now (for the moment at least) I loathe the human voice, opera’s a mockery, songs a profanation.” *The Paris and New York Diaries of Ned Rorem*, p. 355.

“But here one needs an aria to prick the audience up...”: “I want an aria on sexuality (description of touch) sufficient to ‘erect’ the audience. . . .” Rorem, *The Paris Diary*, p. 94.

p. 727: “the human voice that needs words as much for their acoustics as their meaning”: “*Sinfonia* [by Luciano Benoit], a 28-minute work for full orchestra and eight ‘amplified’ singers, is pure surrealism, voiced in sound. The words of its text are employed as much for their acoustic qualities as for their semantic meaning. The result is a kind of anti-opera in which verbal and musical ideas constantly dissolve into one another, yet are finally apotheosized into a grand, compelling musical sonorama.” “New Works: Words without Song,” *Time*, October 18, 1968.

p. 728: “composer who stuck to the principles of tonality”: “Composer Ned Rorem is one of the few visionaries who stuck to his guns (so to speak) and wrote tonal music throughout the turbulent period of the second half of the Twentieth Century.” “Composer Ned Rorem: A Conversation with Bruce Duffie,” April 24, 1986, <http://www.bruceDuffie.com/rorem.html>, accessed 3-27-15.

Rorem “has championed tonality throughout his career in his lyrical yet forthright music.” Boosey & Hawkes, “Ned Rorem: Snapshot,” <http://www.boosey.com/composer/ned+rorem>, accessed 3-27-15.

p. 732: “And that servant...”: Luke 12:47.

p. 732: “when he ate dinner the veins stood out on his temples...”: Johnson “would gobble down huge meals with veins standing out on his sweatslicked forehead.” Sam Leith, “Revealed: Why the moralising Dr Johnson DIDN’T hold forth on his own love life,” *Daily Mail*, March 6, 2009, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-1159808/Revealed-Why-moralising-Dr-Johnson-DIDNT-hold-forth-love-life.html>, accessed 3-27-15.

p. 733: “Dr. Johnson and . . . his friend Mrs. Thrale”: “A new [2008] biography of Samuel Johnson by the respected American literary historian Jeffrey Meyers makes the startling assertion that this towering figure in the history of English letters was tormented by a lifelong obsession with sadomasochism. Meyers argues that this obsession was at the heart of Johnson’s personality, and that it found its outlet in his 20-year relationship with Hester, the wife of his friend and patron Henry Thrale.” Leith, “Revealed.”

“Hester Lynch Thrale (1741–1821) was a British diarist, author, and patron of the arts. Her diaries and correspondence are an important source of information about Samuel Johnson and 18th-century life. . . . She married the rich brewer Henry Thrale. . . . They had 12 children and lived at Streatham Park. However, the marriage was often strained. . . . Due to her husband’s financial status, she was able to enter London society, as a result of which she met Samuel Johnson, James Boswell, Bishop Thomas Percy, Oliver Goldsmith and other literary figures.” Wikipedia, “Hester Thrale,” accessed 3-27-15.

“The Thrales welcomed Johnson permanently into their household, and the scene was set for a curious love-triangle: the unfaithful husband, the wretchedly unhappy wife and the famous man of letters. Henry admired Johnson, and he returned his regard. But with Henry often in London on business, Johnson became Hester’s dearest friend.” Leith, “Revealed.”

p. 733: “Madness had at one time overthrown Dr. Johnson’s reason”: “There are many accounts of Johnson suffering from bouts of depression and what Johnson thought might be madness. . . . Boswell [his biographer] claimed that Johnson ‘felt himself overwhelmed with an horrible

melancholia, with perpetual irritation, fretfulness, and impatience; and with a dejection, gloom, and despair, which made existence misery.” Wikipedia, “Samuel Johnson,” accessed 3-27-15.

p. 733: “you treated madness by restraint and discipline”: ““His amorous inclinations,’ wrote Boswell, ‘were uncommonly strong and impetuous.’ . . . He feared two things: madness in this life, and damnation in the next. . . . So his feelings of attraction towards Hester—a married woman—would have been a source of torment to him. Physical restraint and chastisement were at once an outlet for, and a reproach to, those sexual feelings. In one 1773 letter . . . he begged her: ‘I wish, my protector, that your authority will always be clear to me, and that you will keep me in that form of slavery which you know so well how to make blissful.’ . . . In 1779 Johnson told Hester: ‘A woman has *such* power between the ages of 25 and 45 that she may tye a man to a post and whip him if she will.’” Leith, “Revealed.”

p. 733: Saint Sebastian was a martyr tied to a tree and pierced by many arrows, and later beaten and thrown into a sewer.

p. 734: “*de pedicis et manicis insana cogitatio*”: “In 1768 [Johnson] entrusted a padlock to Hester Thrale’s care, and three years later jotted in his diary: ‘*De pedicis et manicis insana cogitatio*’ (‘an insane thought about fetters and manacles’). Mind-forg’d manacles were paralysing him with fears of ruin and future confinement, culminating in 1773 in a terrible letter written in French to Hester Thrale, begging her to exercise discipline and governance over his ‘fancied insanity.’” Roy Porter, *Flesh in the Age of Reason* (Norton, 2003), pp. 172–73.

p. 735: “Despise not thou the chastening...”: Hebrews 12:5–12.

p. 735: “By penitence the Eternal’s wrath’s appeased”: *Two Gentlemen of Verona*.

p. 737: “the *open door into the closed castle of the king*, of which the alchemists wrote”: “With the exception of St Jerome, the Fathers of the Church exemplified to perfection the type of person we now call ‘sex-obsessed’. Having said that woman was ‘the gateway to the Devil’, Tertullien then redefined her as ‘a temple built over a sewer’, and St Augustine solemnly pronounced, ‘*inter faeces et urinam nascimur*’.

“We have reached the crux of the problem. Woman really is a temple, as Tertullien said, but to reach it one must travel by paths that, in the words of Simone de Beauvoir, are ‘hidden, tormented, mucous, damp, full of blood and sullied with secretions’. That is why the roads leading to the Castle of the Sun, a symbol of femininity because the sun was originally feminine, are so secret, dangerous, bristling with monsters, and full of swamps, quagmires and infernal torrents. ‘Woman as body vessel is the natural expression of the human experience of woman bearing the child “within” her and of man entering “into” her in the sexual act . . . woman is the life vessel as such in which life forms, and which bears all living things and discharges them out of itself and into the world. . . . All the basic functions occur in this vessel-body schema, whose “inside” is an unknown. Its entrance and exit zones are of special significance. Food and drink are put into this unknown vessel, while in all creative functions, from the elimination of waste and the emission of seed to the giving forth of breath and the word, something is “born” out of it. *All* body openings—eyes, ears, nose, mouth, rectum, genital zone, as well as the skin—have, as places of exchange between inside and outside, a numinous accent for early man.’ As the

memory of man is extremely retentive, this fascination becomes confused and tainted with shame in the various practices of love. In fact, all kinds of embraces, the normal penetration of the vagina, and even those acts usually classed as ‘perversions’, however repugnant they may seem, are no more in the final analysis than a normal impulse to discover the way to the inside, the *open door into the closed castle of the king*, of which the alchemists wrote.” Jean Markale, *Women of the Celts* (1986), pp. 63–64.

p. 739: “harpsichords, an organ, a celesta...”: “A key board orchestra (that Lou Harrison used to dream of): harmonium, organ, piano, celesta, glockenspiel, two harpsichords, three clavichords, plus four bass flutes in unison”: Rorem, *The Paris Diary*, pp. 93–94. See note to p. 646 for context.

p. 739: “It was too late in the season to go by the northern route”: The Arkansas emigrant train, led by Alexander Fancher and John Baker, “arriving in the Salt Lake Valley late in the afternoon of August 3, . . . had more than enough time to traverse the daunting seven-thousand-foot Donner Pass before the legendary Sierra snowfall would begin in late October or early November.” Fancher and Baker planned to lead their train along the “northern route”—the California Trail from Salt Lake City through Nevada, which Fancher had successfully used in his previous trips to California. “But something changed their minds. The mystery of the Fancher Train hinges on the decision to take the Southern Trail—why it was made, who influenced it, and, ultimately, what the motives were of those who suggested it.” Denton, *American Massacre*, p. 118. Denton mentions that Mormon apostle Charles C. Rich, “a longtime Danite,” most likely “advised the Fancher Train to take the Southern Trail”—although he knew “full well that the southern settlements had been specifically directed not to sell them food” (pp. 119–20). Some emigrant trains used the southern trail—the Old Spanish Trail—on their way to California, but “emigrant traffic on this southern route never came close to equaling the heavy traffic of its northern counterpart, the main transcontinental road.” Walker, Turley, and Leonard, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows*, p. 50.

p. 739: “the lonely mouse-turd travelers”: This recalls Tom Wolfe’s phrase “lonesome mouse-turd strangers”; see note to p. 524.

p. 739: “Dunlap kid”: The Dunlaps were one of the larger families traveling in the train. Three Dunlap girls survived the massacre: Rebecca Jane, age 6; Louisa, age 4; and Sarah Elizabeth, age 1. Walker, Turley, and Leonard, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows*, pp. 245–46.

p. 744: “we went to Tell el Hesy”: “Tell el-Hesi is a 25-acre archaeological site in Israel. . . . The site was occupied from the Pre-Pottery Neolithic period [around 8500–5500 BCE] to the Hellenistic period, though not continuously.” Wikipedia, “Tell el-Hesi,” accessed 3-28-15. “In 1891–92, F.J. Bliss excavated stratigraphically through each successive level of the mound and identified eleven occupational levels which he grouped into eight strata or ‘cities.’” From a description (found on Google Books, 3-28-15) of *Tell El-Hesi: The Site and the Expedition*, edited by Bruce T. Dahlberg and Kevin G. O’Connell (1989).

p. 745: “functional incremental hardware”: This seems to be an impressive-sounding but meaningless, randomly generated term originating in the 1960s.

p. 745: “the musical ideas dissolving into one another”: See note to p. 727.

p. 745: “Huge pillars reared for him of dissonant atonal sound”: “Great columns of dissonant, atonal sound seem to rise up with a towering permanence that belies the fact that the sound is composed of constantly moving parts.” “New Works,” *Time*, October 18, 1968.

pp. 745–46: “Conquer my human failings . . . address myself *totally* to the problems of artistic creativity”: See note to p. 670.

p. 746: “none other than John the Baptist”: “Christians commonly refer to John as the precursor or forerunner of Jesus, since John announces Jesus’ coming.” Wikipedia, “John the Baptist,” accessed 3-28-15. “John was the embodiment of the law of Moses, designed to prepare the way for the Messiah and make ready a people to receive Him. . . . On May 15, 1829, this same John came to Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery near Harmony, Pennsylvania, and ordained these men to the Priesthood of Aaron. . . . Thus his ministry has operated in three dispensations: he was the last of the prophets under the law of Moses, he was the first of the New Testament prophets, and he brought the Aaronic Priesthood to the dispensation of the fulness of times.” “John the Baptist,” in the LDS “Bible Dictionary,” <https://www.lds.org/scriptures/bd/john-the-baptist>, accessed 3-28-15.

p. 747: “from the magic mountain meadow”: “*The Magic Mountain* (German: *Der Zauberberg*) is a novel by Thomas Mann, first published in November 1924. It is widely considered to be one of the most influential works of 20th century German literature. . . . Closely connected to the themes of life and death is the subjective nature of time, a *leitmotif* that recurs throughout the book.” Wikipedia, “*The Magic Mountain*,” accessed 3-28-15.

p. 747: “a field north of Veyo”: Veyo is a small town several miles south of Mountain Meadows.