

Nearly one hundred years after Brigham Young pilgrimaged west to settle Salt Lake City, Marie Ogden left the burned-over land and drove full-throttle to Monticello, Utah, establishing her small spiritual commune on the rugged plains near Church Rock in San Juan County. Directed by a vision, Marie settled on the arid desert plateau at the quadrangle where four states meet.¹ It was the height of the Great Depression and the desert was a wild, parched place in which bodies could disappear and souls could ascend; a rough, unworked land of piñon trees with sagebrush jutting up from the ant-bitten earth. Despite the relative isolation and agronomic approach of the group, two modern-industrial twists characterize this operation: the first, that Marie was a woman traveling independently to build a rural society at which she was the figurehead; the second being the integral role of the industrial print press in establishing the community. Marie Ogden's Home of Truth is largely overlooked within histories of Depression-era metaphysical movements, but provides an ideal case study for examining the intersections of rural traditionalism and turn of the century developments in science and medicine, giving rise to a particular band of worship which came to be known as New Age.

Marie Margaret Matilda Schneider was a first-generation American born in 1883 in Newark, New Jersey. She was the daughter of German speaking, French-Polish immigrants. Her father, Paul E Schneider was born in Lodz, Lodzkie, Poland, and her mother Anna Rapp was born in Alsace Lorraine, France.² Marie was the middle child with two brothers, Louis Malvin and Paulum Clifford. Documents pertaining to the Schneider siblings' early life are limited, but records show that at age nineteen Marie married New Jersey insurance executive Isaac Harry Ogden, and in her own words, "was provided an opportunity to meet and associate with persons in all walks of life, and to take part in the civic and social affairs which fall to the lot of the average family".³ In April 1904, at age 20, Marie gave birth to a daughter, Roberta and by 1910, census logs show the family had a servant, Augusta Reimer, suggesting relative wealth. In a booklet published under her settlement's title in 1942, Marie describes her early life as "a 26-year period of happy married life" during which her "time and attention was given to home affairs and the education of two daughters, one of whom, however, was adopted."⁴

When Marie's husband died of colon cancer in 1929, she inherited his estate and continued, for a few years at least, to maintain her role as a prominent society woman of New Jersey. Though general accounts posit that it was Marie's heartbreak that led to her "disturbing" behavior and subsequent retreat from society⁵, her journal spanning

¹ The Four Corners is a region of the United States consisting of the southwestern corner of Colorado, southeastern corner of Utah, northeastern corner of Arizona, and northwestern corner of New Mexico. It is the only location in the United States where four states meet.

² The Imperial Territory of Alsace-Lorraine was a territory created by the German Empire in 1871 after it annexed most of Alsace and the Moselle department of Lorraine following its victory in the Franco-Prussian War.

³ Home of Truth CoOperative Settlement; Booklet Three, p4. Utah Historical Society.

⁴ Home of Truth CoOperative Settlement; Booklet Three, p4. Utah Historical. Curiously, there is little mention of the second, adopted daughter in Marie's writing. She appears on no census and is never mentioned by name.

⁵ Whitsel, Bradley C.; *Communal Societies: "Marie Ogden and the Home of Truth"*; p26.

1927-29 could suggest otherwise. It first and foremost reveals a woman deeply involved with numerous clubs, musical foundations and welfare societies.⁶ In this respect, her diary is most interesting for its lack of intimacy. It instead acts as a fastidious but formal record of her frantic schedule. Over the span of one day we see that she “attended a State Music Committee meeting in the morning, another committee meeting at Club House at midday, and a lecture at Wallace Hall in the evening, after which she retired to her desk.”⁷ This is typical of her daily roster, and to some extent, characterizes the activity of married, middle-class women of the Progressive Era who, expected to avoid work outside of the home, turned their creative and intellectual energies towards reform work via countless social clubs, giving rise to the term “Clubwoman” or “New Woman”⁸.

An intelligent, ambitious woman, Marie’s hand often feels tense and unsatisfied in these pages. The only personal entries across this two year period—many penned before her husband displayed any signs of illness—are filled with dissatisfaction and ennui. As the decade draws to a close, Isaac’s declining health, along with that of her father’s, dampens Marie’s mood further. Her notes for Dec 17th 1929, for example, in scrawling blank ink, read, “All days alike—terrible monotony of daily trips with unhappy outlook ahead.” In fact most of the entries suggest that through her efforts at mobilization and social growth, Marie was seeking fulfillment perhaps not evidenced in her domestic life. It is quite possible that through such involvement with civic groups, the seed for her drastic departure was already sown, and her diary—in which she catalogues the many evenings spent alone at her desk tending to precious correspondence—preempts the important role writing would play in the subsequent years of her life. Considering the content of Marie’s journal, I posit that while no doubt grieving the loss of her husband and frustrated by what she viewed as the inadequacy of science and medicine for healing, it was not only despair but perhaps a kind of freedom that engulfed Marie upon Isaac’s death. After years of enduring repetitive social engagements and the limitations of her status, she suddenly found herself financially self-sufficient and free of familial constraints. This realization must have been terrifying, but not debilitatingly so, for she acknowledges that the choice to marry again was offered her, but that “the study of astrology and numerology” convinced her that she had a choice to follow one of two pathways; “to continue a life of marital experiences, with a second marriage in prospect and a continuance of the friendships of former days, or the the “lone, hard road” embarking on a new pathway of spiritual attainment...”⁹

⁶ Ogden’s diary for 1927-29 is located at the Monticello Visitors’ Center, Monticello, Utah. It is not catalogued and is not a part of a collection.

⁷ Thayne, Stanley J., “The Home of Truth: The Metaphysical World of Marie Ogden” (2009)

⁸ “National Women’s History Museum.” NWHM. Accessed July 31, 2015. <http://www.nwhm.org/>. In the mid to late 1800s, middle-class women formed countless social clubs. They met in parlors, churches, and other meetinghouses across the country. Until the late nineteenth century, these clubs were primarily devoted to self-improvement and cultural activities. Clubwomen read books, listened to lectures, and hosted musical events. However, as the social, political, and economic problems of the Progressive Era became increasingly apparent, clubwomen turned from self-improvement to reform efforts. Women’s clubs often began working at the local level, and expanded their efforts to the state and national level. Women undertook research, initiated and ran programs, and lobbied for legislation to address a countless number of social ills. www.nwhm.org/

⁹ Home of Truth CoOperative Settlement; Booklet Three, p5. Utah Historical.

The path of spiritual awakening has long been synonymous with the path of autonomous thinking and leadership for women in early America. "For women", Mitch Horowitz states in his book *Occult America*, "spiritualist practices, from Seances to spirit channeling, became vehicles for the earliest forms of religious and political leadership."¹⁰ We see this in Medieval Europe with Saint Catherine of Siena, Joan of Arc and the writings of Julian of Norwich and Margery Kempe, and later in Mexico and the America's with Juana Inés de la Cruz and Teresa Urrea. One of the first American-born, female public preachers is widely considered to be Jemima Wilkinson who, in 1776 claimed to have died and returned to life as a medium of the Divine spirit, calling herself the "Publick Universal Friend". By 1875 Helena Blavatsky was compiling the foundational doctrines of Theosophy, followed by the spiritu-social activism of Annie Besant and Mary Baker Eddy (1821-1910), who was the founder of Christian Science, a new religious movement in the United States in the latter half of the 19th century. There are countless examples of women assuming the identity of mystic or messiah to achieve social and political agency, often with severe and violent consequences to their bodies. Let's not forget the slippery relationship between female power and female persecution: the origins of the Salem witch trials, for example, can be traced to what historian Peter Hoffer describes as a group of young girls who "turned themselves from a circle of friends into a gang of juvenile delinquents."¹¹ In other words, when women's behavior falls short of expectation, throw them to the fire. From the 2nd century Hippocratic notion of the "wandering womb"—that the female reproductive organs existed as an "animal with an animal" and were culpable for a series of female ailments—through to Sigmund Freud's theory of the free-floating unconscious which he termed the "mind within the mind" (strikingly similar to the Ancient Greek analogy) we see a connection between the female body and some wild unknown (the female psyche). When Freud published his work on Female Hysteria in the 1920s it was immediately influential in the UK and US, shifting focus from a demonic, animalistic feminine to a supposedly scientific, psychoanalytic artifice, but the stigma remained. That Marie came into her own during this important transition is key to situating her heterodox beliefs, which straddle Christian, pre-millennialism, spiritualism and the occult.¹²

Whether Marie identified herself as such, I understand her presence as intimately linked to this lineage of radical female mystics, and situate Marie's Home of Truth—along with a host of communal living projects fueled not only by theosophical or esoteric considerations, but by social, economic, and industrial motivations—as a proto-New Age settlement contextualized within the broad metaphysical movement which emerged in America in the late nineteenth century. Historian Philip Jenkins identifies the period between 1910 and 1935 as a "period of Emergence during which time there was an esoteric boom" that he refers to as the "First New Age."¹³ We have to remember the huge economic turmoil in the U.S at this time: the aftermath of WW1, the mounting tension leading to WW2 and the political and social instability of the entire West, alongside accelerate developments in technology,

¹⁰ Horowitz, Mitch; *Occult America: The Secret History of how Mysticism Shaped Our Nation*; ; Bantam Books, (2009) p3.

¹¹ "An Account of the Salem Witchcraft Investigations, Trials, and Aftermath." An Account of the Salem Witchcraft Investigations, Trials, and Aftermath. Accessed May 25, 2015. http://law2.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/salem/SAL_ACCT.HTM.

¹² Whitsel, Bradley C.; *Communal Societies: "Marie Ogden and the Home of Truth"*; p25.

¹³ Jenkins, Philip; *Mystics and Messiahs: Cults and New Religions in American History*. New York: Oxford University Press (2000).

science and medicine. When analyzed collectively, these factors shed light on American society's reinvigorated relationship to western occultism. While Marie preferred not to classify her community in any one particular way, her teachings reflect influences from both Christian and esoteric sources. Marie put it this way: "It is the combining of Spiritual and material elements of life that will make for the development of the future."¹⁴ ... "Always believing in re-incarnation and a form of spiritual progression...we began a study of the so-called mystery of life, and included scientific and occult subjects."¹⁵

By blending elements of astrology, divination and biblical scripture, Marie's theosophy integrates strands of Christian devotion and recondite practices. She provides insight into why these overlaps might have arisen so seamlessly, writing, "Brought up in the Episcopal faith, then marriage with a husband of Presbyterian faith, then later sending our daughters to a convenient neighborhood church of other denomination, this background comprised our interest in religion."¹⁶ It is precisely this communion of ideas and willingness to assimilate multiple religious and esoteric vantage points that underpins the particular belief system which came to be known as New Age. From my perspective, Marie's teachings bare uncanny resemblance to groups like Heaven's Gate, active in California in the late 20th century, who believed both in Jesus Christ and that that they would reach their creator by hitching a ride on the back of Halley's Comet.

All great leaders leave in their wake a trail of stale breadcrumbs incriminating their progenitor. Fringe groups in particular, with all their claims to spiritual sovereignty, borrow heavily from each other's ideologies and Marie is no exception. Examining the "roaring 20s" and early 1930s, we find an America torn in two. It's an era of nervous breakdowns for the rich and physical depletion for the poor, and with this as a backdrop, it's in 1929—directly following her husband's departure from this world—that Marie comes into contact with spiritual extremist William Dudley Pelley. The meeting of these two individuals changed the course of Marie's life in ways even she could not have predicted and paved the road to Marie's own Home of Truth.

Born in Lynn, Massachusetts, the son of a Southern Methodist minister, Pelley was largely self educated with a passion for writing. During WW1, he traveled through Asia and Europe as a foreign correspondent for the Saturday Evening Post. If we are being generous, we could assume that the atrocities of war corrupted his thinking at this early age. Upon returning to the United States in 1920, Pelley moved to Hollywood to pursue ambitions of becoming a screenwriter, but just shy of a decade later was severely disillusioned with the film industry. If we are being cynical, we could assume his stint in the pictures impacted his flair for theatrics.

¹⁴ Home of Truth CoOperative Settlement; Booklet Three, p6. Utah Historical.

¹⁵ Home of Truth CoOperative Settlement; Booklet Three, p6. Utah Historical.

¹⁶ Home of Truth CoOperative Settlement; Booklet Three, p7. Utah Historical.

By early 1929 he was living in Asheville North Carolina, and in March that same year he published an account of a near-death, otherworldly experience on the cover of *The American Magazine*, reaching over 2.2 million subscribers.¹⁷ In the bedroom of a rented bungalow in Altadena, California, he claimed to have “gone through all the sensations of dying” one spring evening, but awoke in a non-earthly realm of “cool, blue space”.¹⁸ Pelley recounts the feeling of falling through space as if enduring an aviation disaster, only to find himself “borne to a white marble pallet and laid nude upon it by two strong-bodied, kindly-faced young men.”¹⁹ At the time this experience occurred, Pelley was consumed with writing a book about racial difference. During his ascension, he reports receiving instruction from a mentor regarding the content of his book:

You came to the place where you wondered what races were. I'll tell you what they are. They're the great classifications of humanity epitomizing gradations of spiritual development, starting with the black man and proceeding upward in cycles to the white. Each race is an earthly classroom to which people go to get certain lessons in the specifics of things.²⁰

‘Seven Minutes in Eternity’, as his report was titled, became the nation’s most influential tale of near death, out-of-body experience, and one of the most widely-read accounts of paranormal activity in American History.²¹ In it, we see the first rearing of Pelley’s devotion to white supremacy through totalitarian policy. The next four years chart his mounting activity in political and spiritual arenas, both deeply impacted by the role of the print press in disseminating ideas with speed and efficiency. He launched Galahad Press in 1931, an enterprise focused on spiritual and religious literature which served to bolster his public position of authority on all things occult. There is no doubt Marie Ogden and William Pelley were conversing, and the correlation between their pre-millennial, apocalyptic ideology (now defined as “Proto-New Age”) is striking. Given the broader social climate, this isn’t surprising; of the Great Depression, Historian Benjamin Friedman writes: “[it was] the most subversive to the belief in the free enterprise system and, more broadly, of confidence in the durability of Americans’ freedoms and even of the republic itself.”²² The instability of the old world order and distrust in the governing forces of the U.S led many to seek stability and comfort through otherworldly channels. In Pelley’s case, it would lead to a denouncement of the U.S administration altogether.

By 1932 Pelley’s clairaudient instructions from his so called “Cosmic Mentors: led to the founding of political-mystico magazine “Liberation”, and when Hitler secured the German chancellery on Jan 30th, 1933, Pelley overnight transformed the large mailing lists of his magazines into a radically different enterprise: the Silver Legion

¹⁷ Pelley, William Dudley; “Seven Minutes in Eternity”, Kessinger Publishing, LLC (2006) p35

¹⁸ Pelley, William Dudley; “Seven Minutes in Eternity”: Kessinger Publishing, LLC (2006)

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid. p15

²¹ <http://world-news-research.com/sshirts.html>

²² Benjamin M. Friedman, *The Moral Consequences of Economic Growth* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 2005): 158.

of America²³, a paramilitary order also known as the League of Silver Shirts (SS), whose primary agenda was to promote violence toward the Jewish community in support of Hitler. Over the course of a decade leading to WW2, Pelley and the Silver Shirts used mass media publication as a means of disseminating anti-semitic propaganda and recruiting new followers, including the modernist poet Ezra Pound. By the mid 1930s, the Silvershirts had reached a peak membership of around 15,000 in chapters across the U.S, with Pelley's magazine *Liberation* reaching an estimated subscriber list as high as 50 thousand. Housed in the old Biltmore-Oteen Bank building in Asheville, Pelley produced such items as the "What 50 Famous Men have Said About Jews" and a 25-cent reprint of "The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion", a turn-of-the-century anti-Semitic forgery—already discredited by reputable scholars by the 1930s—that purported to reveal a "Jewish plot against Christian civilization."²⁴

Scholars of the American radical right have generally viewed the decade of the 1930s as a "transitional" period in the development of the extreme right:

It was a decade when the "old right", characterized by nativism—or fear of foreign peoples on the grounds that they were unAmerican—was transformed into a modern, revolutionary movement. Anti-Catholicism, which was the corner stone of earlier nativist movements such as the Know Nothings of the nineteenth century, was replaced by anti-Semitism and anti-government rhetoric. In addition, the threat of violence by groups on the right became a real possibility. During the Depression Decade threats to social order did not come from the radical left but from the right as several "shirt" organizations emerged modeling themselves after Hitler's Brown Shirts and Mussolini's Black Shirts. Art Smith's Khaki Shirts and William Dudley Pelley's Silver Shirt Legion were among the most notable.²⁵

It is difficult to demarcate Pelley's political and economic aspirations from his metaphysical dealings or the ensuing Apocalypse, but an inflated sense of self is evidenced throughout his writing. In a long line of crazed presidential wannabes, Pelley ran for president on a platform calling for the annexation of American Jews, which eventually led to his arrest on sedition charges thanks to his unwavering support for Nazi Germany.

Despite Pelley's obvious delusions of grandeur, he was celebrated by members of the literary elite. When Sir Arthur Conan Doyle wrote Pelley ascribing him the status of Spiritualist, Pelley reflected:

I have taken all these inclusions seriously, considering them the highest form of compliment that could be paid either my message or its writer. And yet I still contend that I am not a Christian Scientist, a Theosophist, a Spiritualist, a Mormon, a Rosicrucian, a Unitarian, or a renegade Wesleyan. I am not any one of them because to be any one of them would set a limitation to my thinking, to my exploring and experiencing. And

²³ Horowitz, Mitch; *Occult America: The Secret History of how Mysticism Shaped Our Nation* (Bantam Books, 2009)

²⁴ "New Age Nazi." Mountain Xpress. Accessed January 31, 2015. <https://mountainx.com/news/community-news/0128pelley-php/>.

²⁵ Lobb, David; "Fascist Apocalypse: William Pelley and Millennial Extremism": Department of History, Syracuse University, 1999

in un-trampled, un-circumscribed exploring and experiencing, I automatically affiliate with all sects and creeds which are based upon Truth.²⁶

This background on Pelley is important because Marie Ogden's early organizing efforts are intimately tied to his. At the height of his fame in the early 1930s, Pelley was active in the same high society, East Coast esoteric circles as Marie. She was in fact close enough to lend him 12,000 dollars worth of bonds towards his metaphysical enterprise in exchange for his assistance in her own spiritual undertakings, and for appointing her leader of the new National Headquarters he was planning in Washington D.C.²⁷ During Pelley's sedition trial he frequently implicated Marie and other public figures, who vehemently denied any involvement with his shirt organization. Marie is quoted in the Salt Lake Telegram as saying: "I gave him the \$12,000 all right, but it was for the 'League of Liberators' activities, with which we were both associated in 1931."²⁸ She goes on to assure readers that the League was a purely metaphysical endeavor. When Pelley did not fulfill his side of the bargain and instead became ever more entrenched with radical right wing propoganda, their relationship soured. In *The Home Of Truth CoOperative Settlement Booklet Three*, Marie reflects:

Considerable means in a financial sense and a great desire to associate with others...trying to gain foothold in the establishment of a place we called "The School of Truth", although it was intended to be a center for a "League of Liberators" then being organized by William Dudley Pelley of New York City, who was publishing some very fine material he was receiving from the Higher Planes, which we found to be helpful, and which we believed to be worthwhile. A few months later, however, the plans of Mr Pelley resolved his organization into an entirely different set-up, which we could not accept or agree to foster.

After only a year of working together, Marie cut all ties with Pelley and set about founding her own School of Truth in New Jersey. Prior to the split, she had been holding weekly study sessions at the Newark Truth Center (The School of Truth), basing her teachings around Pelley's Liberation Scripts which consisted of messages channeled through Pelley from a source he identified as his "Oracle". When Marie set out alone, she stuck close to this means of propagation, claiming her own divine channels to the astral plane and recording her messages into typewritten pamphlets for circulation. The similarities between the two can be discerned in that both linked prophecy with worldly affairs, and claimed validation for their teachings through present day occurrences. Surprisingly, it seems that Marie did not notice this connection, for when reflecting on the origins of her divination, she writes, "So, Imagine our great surprise to begin a series of unexpected messages written in the very early hours of the morning in Biblical form of speech..."²⁹

²⁶ "International Association for the Preservation of Spiritualist and Occult Periodicals" Accessed Oct 30, 2015. http://www.iapsop.com/archive/materials/new_liberator/new_liberator_v1_n1_may_1930.pdf

²⁷ *House Committee on Un-American Activities* (1940). Investigation of un-American propoganda activities in the United States, Volume 12. United States Government Printing Office. pp. 7274–7275.

²⁸ Salt Lake Telegram, 12th Feb 1940

²⁹ Home of Truth CoOperative Settlement; Booklet Three, p7. Utah Historical.

ON THE ROAD TO SAN JUAN: THE GARDEN AND THE DESERT

To use Marie's terminology, "Co-operative colonization" of rural America to fulfill a utopian vision "is in itself nothing new". In a Home of Truth pamphlet Marie acknowledges her place in this lineage, but reaffirms a big difference, that "the entire plan is being guided by minds and intelligences from higher dimensions of time and space." When asked why she chose Monticello, she refers to her homestead as "The Kingdom That Is Being Built" and promptly reminds us "that it was not her choice nor her selection, but rather the selection of her Mentors who have in mind many, many reasons that transcend the thought of men."³⁰

The expanse of the desert presented itself as an empty vessel onto which Marie could project the collective mythology that had lured the very first European colonizers across the sea: the Land of the Garden of Eden. In his seminal book *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth*, Henry Nash Smith examines the influence of the myth of "The Garden" on 19th and 20th century pioneers, noting that by the late 1890s it was integral to politicians that the Myth of the Garden overcome the Myth of the Desert, and so campaigns were put in place to ensure the success of this transition and the sustained flow of westward migration. With similar consternation, Marie maintained that Church Rock would one day spout torrents of water and the desert would be "transformed into a verdant paradise", though during Marie's lifetime (and indeed my own) this was not to be the case.

For a contemporary reader, it is difficult to grasp the very real potency of geographic isolation embodied by The Home of Truth and other separatist groups of the time. In the solitude of the desert plains, the divine omniscience of a voice from the "higher realm" held huge significance. In the absence of mechanical sound and modern convenience, the voice of God was an important structuring principle. Today, we carry the omnipotent being in our pocket from shopping mall to subway to desert wash. It comes in the form of geocaching, GPS mapping, and the apps which depend upon accessing the "locations services" built into our phones. The ever-present technological surveillance to which we submit ourselves has, to some extent, replaced the all-seeing eye of the Lord. But in the early twentieth century, a plot of unshorn land in Southeast Utah provided seclusion from externalities, allowing Marie and her band of settlers to organize themselves with little exterior influence, thus assuring great consequence of Marie's reported messages, and more control in how the group presented themselves to the outside world. By pooling resources and capital in devotion to the Home—establishing something communal in the name of higher existence—Marie and her followers were actively shunning the capitalist structure which had collapsed and caused ruin amongst their peers.

Be it by spiritual, celestial, or economical motivation, we know that Marie arrived in Monticello, a rugged chunk of desert land in San Juan County, south-eastern Utah, on 28th September 1933. When defining the impetus of Marie's relocation to the desert west, we must consider her unassuming role in advancing the political goals of

³⁰ Home of Truth CoOperative Settlement; Booklet Three, p7. Utah Historical Society, Manuscript Collections

post-Civil War leadership, whose collective aim was to make reality an agrarian utopia in the furthest reaches of the West, overcoming the practical difficulties of an intolerably dry and dusty terrain. In the latter half of the 1800s, with the chartering of the Pacific Railroad, government officials set about replacing the myth of the desert with that of the garden, and began circulating an idea laced with superstition: that as settlements increase, rainfall may too. Josiah Gregg, a Missourian trader of the time, wrote:

Why may we not suppose that the genial influences of civilization that extensive cultivation of the earth might contribute to the multiplication of showers, as it certainly does of fountains? Or that the shady groves, as they advance upon the prairies, may have some effect upon the seasons?³¹

And the federal government quickly took up this idea, promoting it with the backing of “scientific” survey (the Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories, 1867) concurring that the planting of trees “will have a most important effect on the climate, equalizing and increasing the moisture and adding greatly to the fertility of the soil.”³² It is more than likely that Marie had absorbed some of this mythology, bolstering her belief in a changing climate and transformation of the desert. Contrary to this desire, much of Marie’s coverage in local newspaper the San Juan Record makes mention of the conditions of the enduring drought. Henry Nash Smith writes that “After a half century of struggle, the drought of the 1930’s turned much of the settled portion of the plains into a dust bowl and raised the question whether the region had not been seriously overpopulated.”³³

Much of the county at this time was Navajo and Ute reservation, and locals often touted the region—perhaps to boost tourism or to attract back-to-the-landers—as “America’s last frontier”.³⁴ What’s interesting about this Southwest region is its native belief in what Western thinking deems “esoteric”. Native tribes had long used planetary alignment and weather patterns as predictors of life events. When early Spanish colonists arrived from Europe, they did not bring the same level of cultural toxicity as French or English settlers in relation to heretic witchcraft (Spain did not succumb to the witch madness that plagued the remainder of the continent. A spate of burnings occurred in the very early 16th century but there was “a moderation not evidenced elsewhere in Europe.”³⁵). The Navajo and Ute’s relationship with the land and their own ritual healing practices may not have been criminalized to the same extent as with other native groups, thus fostering a landscape of varied beliefs.

It is important to pause here and consider the implications of regional belief systems and the perpetuated mythology that shaped Monticello’s identity. After establishing tents at the base of Church Rock (a conical butte Marie cited as the exact point of salvation at the end of the world), Marie immediately set about exacting her plans for the New Kingdom. The 1849 gold rush of the American West must still have permeated even the most pure of heart, for her first effort was to secure mining claims in the local Blue Mountains. For a community whose directive

³¹ Gregg, Josiah; *Commerce of the Prairies* (1844)

³² Ferdinand, V. Hayden; 1867

³³ Smith, Henry Nash; *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Harvard University Press, 2007)

³⁴ Thayne, Stanley: “Metaphysical Home of Truth”, BYU (2009)

³⁵ Simmons, Marc; *Witchcraft in the Southwest* (Bison Books, 1980) p10

was to attain spiritual fulfillment, seeking riches in the form of gold may seem an odd choice, but Marie's particular ideology merged both spiritual and material wellbeing, and as scholar Chris Cole points out, the search for hidden treasure extends into the religious sphere, with Joseph Smith Jr. as a pertinent example. His search for buried gold precluded his role as Mormon prophet, and this transition should not be seen as anomalous but as "natural and incremental".³⁶

It is interesting that Marie chose to establish her group amidst a large LDS community. Though it is easy to imagine conflict between the two religious settlements, Marie frequently documents trips to the LDS church and a largely welcoming atmosphere. In part this can be explained by the broader social climate of the time, one before the proliferation of suicide cults and the post-modern rupture of contemporary global capitalism.

"RELIGIOUS CULT HEAD BUYS SAN JUAN PAPER"

Over the course of several months, multiple wooden structures were erected and additional land swiftly acquired. Marie's most impactful move, however, was in purchasing the county's only newspaper, *The San Juan Record*. Identifying editorial ownership of the paper as an opportunity to introduce the Home's ideology to a willing readership, whilst simultaneously procuring the ability to censor and shape all accompanying material that the town consumed, was an industrious move.

A Moab Times Independent article touting the aforementioned title goes on to state that,

The members since their coming here have proven themselves to be people of culture and learning and in all their contact with the public have created a most favorable impression, although up until now they have given out very little of their religious beliefs.³⁷

It would appear Marie remained fairly oblique about the Home's intentions in the early days of the settlement, choosing to ease her audience into the transition. The first few issues under her ownership merely hinted at "things to come", and cheerful accounts of daily commune activities were the bulk of her contribution. Her inaugural address to the public begins,

Dear Friends Everywhere,

It is with great humbleness of spirit that I assume ownership of this Weekly Journal...In doing so it is my desire to continue the present policy of giving to you such local news as you are accustomed to receive, and as time advances, to enlarge or expand the scope of its present day activities and include many items of a different nature...³⁸

³⁶ For more detail on this, see Alan Taylor's "The Context of Joseph Smith's Treasure-Seeking" p20-25

³⁷ Moab Times Independent; 10th May, 1934

³⁸ San Juan Record; 10th May, 1934

Given the reasonable isolation of Monticello in 1934, the paper was one of the few means of mass communication, and so this role as Editor-in-chief afforded her great power. However, and perhaps unsurprisingly for a figure portrayed as a “cult head”, Marie tried her best to keep her early promise to the readers. For all intents and purposes, the SJR continued to report on daily news, local activity, community issues, and the like. Contrary to Pelley’s complete overhaul, Marie did not harangue her readers with philosophical dictate. In fact, the first noticeable alteration to the paper was a gentle rewording of the slug line on the front page. What used to read as a piecemeal message was transformed to read, “An independent, non partisan paper promoting the interests of its readers through sponsoring the Truth as the keynote in all human relations”. The capitalization of “Truth” a subtle hint to the Home’s new authority.

1935 is when we detect the first drastic changes, by which time Marie had assembled a handful of core commune members to staff the paper. She implemented new columns explicitly intended to propagate her beliefs, namely “Our Corner” (documenting the life of the settlement), and “Metaphysical Truths” (devoted to theological teaching and instruction). Editorial curation saw the phasing out of old columns to be replaced by relevant incarnations of their former selves. What was originally “Timely Topics”, for example, morphed into “Tennessee Topics”, a section penned remotely by one A. Elmer from a small and struggling satellite camp in Ootelwah, TN, presenting his own contributions to the Home’s world vision. Elmer’s reports, though minimal in length, in some ways provide more insight to The Home of Truth than Marie’s own columns do. Elmer is generous in his honest appraisal of the situation, admitting the difficulties of certain scenarios. He documents his fears as well as his excitement. Marie on the other hand structures much of her commentary so as to present an optimistic account at all times, and the clipped tone of her prose gives this away. Still, Marie runs the paper with relative ease and community ethics, and unlike William Dudley Pelley who used his publications to transmit violent and totalitarian policies, Marie—for the most part—preserved the egalitarian role of the newspaper. In an attempt to safeguard the perception of the paper in the eyes of its broader audience, she published her extended spiritual agenda separately in a series of supplemental booklets solely dedicated to that purpose. Though these were oftentimes advertised or referenced briefly within the paper, this route ensured the San Juan Record maintained a level of autonomous integrity as a news source.

Now, this is not to say that opportunistic tendencies were entirely absent from Marie’s character. A somewhat significant shift is noted on April 4th 1935, when a new column appeared titled “Rebirth of a Soul”. Like Pelley, Marie believed in reincarnation and in this new, radically diaristic addition, she serializes the events of commune member Edith Peshak’s recent death, the first to have occurred in the group and an ordeal which proved to be a difficult trial for the Home of Truth colony, resulting in the loss of almost half of their members. Edith Peshak, wife of Elmer Peshak, had been diagnosed with cancer before setting out for the Home of Truth, and the Peshak family believed Marie would eventually cure her through mystic means. Upon Edith’s passing on February 11th 1934, Marie set about her “work”, engaging in practices designed to revive the dead body through a series of ritualistic salt bathes, milk and egg enemas, and a healing touch. This went on for four months, until the District Attorney was called in to attain a death certificate.

From an analytical standpoint, the method by which Marie relays the story over multiple issues is most enlightening. At the outset, she instructs her readers that she will “go forward and backwards in time” to provide a full account of the event, and narrativizes in such a way as to build suspense, establish empathy and move towards resolution. In a long line of female mystics whose textual renderings of religious experiences “serve to destabilize the boundaries between orthodoxy and heterodoxy”³⁹, Marie’s self-authoring strategies and use of literary devices to “tell the story” of Edith’s tribulation indicates a certain level of detachment, but none the less performs an active gesture of piety rather than one of passivity. Though she assumes the voice of narrator or observer, disassociated from the moral implications of her role in the events, there is a forceful articulation at play which feeds directly into her identification as a divine channel or vessel wherein she records messages from the higher realms—she does not create or author them—thus simultaneously enacting reverence whilst reducing personal responsibility and accountability.

An interesting aside is the switch from the singular “I”, to “we” in Marie’s writing around this time, which could signal a desire to incorporate the collective voice of the commune, or more likely, refers to the communion—in Marie’s mind—of her and her spiritual mentors into one singular channel. This pluralization is another technique which serves to limit individual responsibility. Marie’s stoic, rational tenor—a characteristic extended from her early journals through to her editorial crafts[wo]manship, is of stark difference to the well observed relationship between female spirituality and what Nancy Bradley Warren terms “Traumatic Textuality”.⁴⁰ Marie is neither frantic nor hysteric. Her body is strong and healthy, her observations detailed and purposeful.

The first few installments of “Rebirth of a Soul” set up the extenuating circumstances of the condition. Marie writes that,

She (Edith) was fast losing strength and what little courage she had left, and because of the failure to “receive instantaneous healing” such as she craved and expected, she had come to the end of her desire to ASK FOR FURTHER HELP.⁴¹

And she documents recording an “important message” (from the Higher Plane) on January 6th 1935 which stated that Edith must be “committed to the care of the Invisible Helper’s who will now take up the work of perfecting her inner organism to such a degree that she will stand as one resurrected before the eyes of man.” Marie goes on to imply that Edith herself has the “power of recuperation” if only she will “deny all feeling of pain which is likely to assert itself to greater or lesser degree according to her impatience to see results.” The next few installments set up the thread that it is Edith’s inability to accept the pace of spiritual healing which is impeding results. Marie makes note that Edith has “concerns over the “slowness of the procedure” and a great desire to see more rapid

³⁹ Warren, Nancy Bradley; *The Embodied Word: Female Spiritualities, Contested Orthodoxies, and English Religious Cultures, 1350–1700* (Notre Dame Press, 2010) p16

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ogden; Rebirth, SJR, June 20, 1935

improvement."⁴² This bothers Marie, and her tone has inflections of frustration with Edith's demeanor throughout the final days of her life.

In the third entry to the Rebirth series, Marie attempts to rationalize Edith's physical decline as a result of wavering faith in her healing ability, chastising the patient for her "questioning and doubt", and "desire to be served in a material way, which tried the patience of our nurse and me to a disturbing degree."

In the July 18th issue, Marie writes that she had received a message on January 23rd "which suggests that after 40 days of healing" (bringing the date to Feb 13th) the "treatment will change".⁴³ Marie uses this to set up the fact that she had intimated from divine sources that a change would take place in early February, thus proving her divine faculties correct. She recounts administering care to Edith, "on alternate days spending an hour to two hours with our patient, beginning at 9:30 in the morning." Marie "tuned in to the Divine Source for renewal of the power which was picked up by the Unseen Friends and used according to their needs." She was the channel through which they would relay this energy to Edith, via a healing touch.⁴⁴ Marie admits that "little information was given (by the Helpers) concerning the method of treatment they were pursuing" but that they were "rebuilding the afflicted cells at the seat of the trouble."⁴⁵

By August's installments of Rebirth [of a Soul], Marie's retelling has reached early February, the time when Edith finally "expires". Marie comments that around this time, "Edith started to fear being alone in the night" and that though they were "expecting her to reach a state of seeming unconscious" the sudden onset was surprising:

We now enter upon the early days of February and to make matters more troublesome and of greater uncertainty we must speak of a condition which had gradually become more pronounced in our patient, and one which had every appearance of Dropsy...Her arms and lower limbs were almost twice their natural size and while it did not concern me since I could see only the complete and perfect of our patient restoration in all ways IT DID CONCERN COUPLE WHO WERE LIVING CLOSE BY...⁴⁶

At this point we glimpse the perspective of other commune members who clearly did not share Marie's optimism for Edith's recovery. Marie comments that talking with this couple revealed "contrary thoughts" and she in fact then asked to be "relieved of her spiritual duty with this patient" but was told "under no circumstances to release myself".⁴⁷ On the eve of Edith's passing, Marie remembers suffering from chills and "the Dark Forces" who were "determined to make me release my hold". Marie, Elmer, and a few close members hold an all-night healing vigil, and during the 5th hour, Edith cries out, "I can't stand it any longer!". She falls into what Marie describes as a "coma

⁴² Ogden; Rebirth, SJR, July 4th, 1935

⁴³ Ogden; Rebirth, SJR, July 18, 1935

⁴⁴ Ogden; Rebirth, SJR, July 18, 1935

⁴⁵ Ogden; Rebirth, SJR, July 18, 1935

⁴⁶ Ogden; Rebirth, SJR, August 01, 1935

⁴⁷ Ogden; Rebirth, SJR, August 01, 1935

which took on the appearance of death and which would be so pronounced by any nurse or doctor unless they were familiar with a finer form of life within."⁴⁸

Through editorial vernacular, Marie attempts to relay to her readers that though Peshak appeared dead to the uninformed, only the "Soul-Spirit had taken flight, the Silver Life Cord had not been severed."⁴⁹ According to Marie and her members, Edith Peshak had not passed on, but was temporarily visiting the other side for instruction, and that she was, "In the presence of invisible Helpers" who were assisting her in her preparations for her "return to her physical body in a rebirth or complete restoration of self."⁵⁰

As the series unfolds over several months, one starts to detect a shift in Marie's tone. Whereas early articles were brimming with enthusiasm and goodwill, the latter offerings of *Rebirth of a Soul* feel raw and confessional, defensive even. Marie's fortification doesn't quite mask the underlying apologetic tone as she desperately attempts to absolve responsibility and alleviate guilt. As interceptions to the broader narrative, Marie often reiterates that throughout the ordeal she tried in every way possible to "change the thoughts of our patient and to make her see and appreciate some of the blessings which WERE BESTOWED UPON HER...which WOULD RESULT IN RESTORED HEALTH according to faith and willingness to cooperate."⁵¹

By September, Marie makes us aware of dissent in the ranks. She writes that, "So many were set against me and eager to destroy my good name and the Works I made attempts to do...there were many who were seeking to diminish and destroy that power."⁵² A week later she elaborates that there were "unpleasant conditions in our camp due to differences of opinion regarding the process of our loved one." With this she posts a call to action: "Carry forth the word that "all is well" for it matters not if feelings be hurt or if people are barred from approaching her."⁵³ The "difference of opinion" relates to the fate of Edith's body, which Marie and a few close members still believed to be living. In the penultimate addition of the series, printed on September 12th, Marie abruptly announces the weekly episodes of *Rebirth* will end, due to

considerable speculation among our readers, as we have learned, concerning the outcome of our patient, and many thoughts have been expressed by those who seem not to understand the method and manner of our work, and who give expression to their opinion concerning the possibility of making return to an earth body. Such thoughts hinder the the progress of our lobed one, and it is therefore best to discontinue making public the intervening chapters.⁵⁴

⁴⁸ Ogden; *Rebirth*, SJR, August 16, 1935

⁴⁹ Ogden; *Rebirth*, SJR, August 16, 1935, 4.

⁵⁰ Ogden; *Rebirth*, SJR, August 15, 1935, 4.

⁵¹ Ogden; *Rebirth*, SJR, June 27, 1935

⁵² Ogden; *Rebirth*, SJR, August 29, 1935

⁵³ Ogden; *Rebirth*, SJR, September 05, 1935

⁵⁴ Ogden; *Rebirth*, SJR, September 12, 1935

Despite discontinuing the serialized retelling, Marie resolves to go on writing the story in order to make pamphlets available for those interested in following her progress. The rest of this column—really the final installment of *Rebirth of a Soul*—describes the current undertakings with regards to Edith's body, with Marie noting that:

We were given instruction for the care of the human form, and our nurses served in an almost identical manner as they would a living, breathing person. The practical service included daily bathing of the outer form, with regular change of bed linen which was necessary because of the "rectal feeding" and other necessary treatment to cleanse the lower organism which could not function properly while our patient remained in this dormant state.

We misinterpreted many messages concerning time, and therefore looked for outer manifestation of improvement from day to day. Instead it seemed our patient was "losing ground" in some respects, although there were decided manifestations of LIFE WITHIN THE BODY...these included discharge of blood from the nostrils, and from the lower organism, and also other natural discharge of waste matter, which necessitated the cleansing mentioned before. It was also possible to "feel life" through "cell pulsation" and regular "pulse beats" at the wrist, although these were not discernible except through the higher octave of sense vibration called the sixth sense.

So the weeks lengthened into months and the outer form was still in an almost perfect state of being, as far as the appearance of the flesh is concerned. Later, however, the skin took on a parchment-like appearance and feeling, and the flesh began to shrink around the extremities, meaning hands and arms, feet and legs, although the body retained its firm-like appearance until just recently, when it too changed in appearance and texture.

During this time, be it remembered that we were giving nourishment to our patient which in turn was being "used by the Unseen Friends" and in some way keeping alive the inner body. These mysteries will be explained later, and also the other unusual changes from week to week during the time of "dematerialization" or deterioration of the outer form... We are told that the "so-called light-body and astral form" is completed and so we are ready for the materialization of the new EARTH BODY, or material form which will house the new-born Soul-Spirit "to be reincarnated into a human form again" and continue as a "resurrected individual", ready to take up another life pattern and carry on in human form of relationship again."⁵⁵

A final column appears a week later, but mentions nothing of Edith or specifics of the ordeal. It is the edition cited above which provides the most detailed window into Marie's theosophy and its practical application at the Home of Truth. In this entry we face the uneasy relationship between medicine and religion (characterizing one fraction of the nuanced belief known as New Age), and the proximity of religion—specifically, here, Christianity—to madness. A scriptural pursuit necessitates the belief in resurrection, but it is when two opposing realms are forced to coexist in one space that the abject appears. As Julia Kristeva describes it, "the abject is what disturbs identity, system, order. Skin on the surface of boiled milk is both inside and outside the milk, and the corpse, both human and not

⁵⁵ Ibid.

human at once.⁵⁶ Reading of Edith's physical evacuations and post-mortem bleedings as metaphysical signaling dislodges our notion of the corporeal. The "dematerialization" of the physical being, the literal shrinking and disappearance of the flesh serves to reaffirm the presence of the spirit for Marie.

Perhaps even more damning and difficult to endure than Marie's self-authored narrative was the media spectacle portrayed in national newspapers that had picked up on the story. By November of 1935, the Los Angeles Times, the Milwaukee Journal, the Peshaks' hometown Idaho Statesman, and a handful other newspapers ran stories on this "Strange Cult of the Living Dead"⁵⁷. The issue was raised again with a secondary spate of Associated Press articles in the spring of 1936 and once again in the spring of 1937 when Utah State health officials finally obtained a signed death certificate.

Suffice to say, Marie was shocked and hurt by the sensational articles. In the big city hometowns of these national newspapers, the Death-industrial complex had already set in. Death had moved out of the home and into the hospital. At some point during the first half of the twentieth century the subject of death had become, as anthropologist Geoffrey Gorer put it, "pornographic", but in San Juan County, an isolated, rural land wherein Ute's practiced healing rituals and washed and buried their dead at home, Marie's beliefs were not considered so jarring. Nevertheless, the spate of viscous publicity signaled a new chapter for the Home of Truth, one of increased solitude and withdrawal from public activity, though a renewed sense of purpose kept the remaining members in check. "We may be disappointed, but we must not become discouraged when certain parts seem not to fit nor ARE WE DISMAYED because a few of our assembled ones have decided to take leave...we WILL CARRY ON no matter what odds may pile un against us."⁵⁸

One of the most fascinating things about The Home of Truth's ownership of the newspaper is our ability today to study their beliefs as they evolved and mutated over a period of 12 years, totaling over 500 issues, and to appraise them amid a backdrop of local and national reporting trends.

For example, biting contemporary headlines appear in 1935, with "MENTAL TEST PROPOSED FOR ALL legislators"⁵⁹ and "600 FAMILIES OWN NINE TENTHS OF THE WEALTH OF THE UNITED STATES"⁶⁰. But in terms of perpetuating the Home's predictions, the May 23 1935 issue of the *San Juan Record* promotes two articles of resuscitation under the headlines, "Life after Death", about four guinea pigs frozen to death and then restored via blood transfusion and injections of adrenaline-ephredine, and "Dead Girl Revived"⁶¹, citing the account of a girl whose heart stopped on the operating table but was brought back to life. These examples illustrate that Marie and

⁵⁶ Kristeva, Julia; "Powers of Horror" in Cristina Mazzoni's *Saint Hysteria: Neurosis, Mysticism, and Gender in European Culture* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996)

⁵⁷ Salt Lake Telegram, 7th June 1936

⁵⁸ San Juan Record, January 10, 1935, 1

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ San Juan Record, January 17, 1935, 1

⁶¹ "Life After Death, Guinea Pig Revived, and Dead Girl Revived", *San Juan Record*, May 23, 1935, 4

her staff were interested in such new scientific advances, reading them not as adversaries but as confirmation of their spiritual endeavors. The fact that science was catching on to the elemental truths that Marie had already predicted imbued the commune with a new sense of validation, and the publication of these articles helped shape public opinion on death and revival, in some ways introducing locals to novel ideas so as to encourage acceptance.

As we trace Marie's editorial tone, we chart the waves of enthusiasm and depression that ripple through the commune's history. By Nov 22nd 1941, severe skepticism and bitterness plagues much of her writing. Whereas bountiful projection dominated the earlier pieces, the toll of international unrest and local critique is beginning to show. In small, factual articles she acknowledges that the commune no longer has the means to finance their supplemental booklets. She chides many of her subscribers as selfish for wanting only personal prophecy, unwilling to make sacrifices or turn thought into action, and takes heed with those who came not to serve or commit, but "only to be served". She frequently makes mention of "vicious" attacks being written to undermine the group, and one senses paranoia lurking beneath the surface of all that is published.

Towards the latter period of these writings—around 1944—Marie echoes the survivalist mentality characteristic of marginalized groups, particularly those of pre-millennial apocalyptic ideology. Just as Pelley's notorious weekly column, "What you Should Do to Prepare for the Christ Commonwealth" urged readers to store food and ammunition and drill in a military fashion, Marie calls for the stockpiling of cans and dehydrated goods to see them through the impending disaster. The emergence of survivalism no doubt coincides with the fact that during this time the war in Europe was raging. By March 1945, we know Marie is fast running out of funds but is printing many extra issues to give away to men in the Forces.⁶²

During this time, much of her writing reflects on the overseas conflict as evidence of the fulfillment of Biblical prophecy. Although her predictions did not contain any overtly political subtexts, she frequently commented on the fall of the administration and mentioned often her "Friend" William Ernest Kullgren, professional astrologer and editor of Beacon Light Press, a nationalist enterprise promoting nazi activity. Though she admits differences in opinion, her involvement with two far-right political figures suggest potential for a more sinister idea of utopian paradise. Nevertheless, throughout this decade of newspaper ownership, Marie uses her position as writer/editor to extend connections with various people of influence. Letters stored in a collection at the Marriott Library at the Univ. of Utah preserve the extensive correspondence between Marie and Norman D. Nevills, a pioneer of commercial river-running (and eventual oil tycoon) on the San Juan River. Nevills was interested in Marie's ideology as well as other prominent metaphysical thinkers, including Wing Anderson, and he enjoyed a close kinship with Marie. As his notoriety grew, Marie leveraged their relationship by asking him to contribute stories of his river trips to be written up by her and published in the SJR and the American Weekly.

Another notable correspondence documented in letters preserved at the Utah Historical Society are between Marie and the parents of missing poet Everett Reuss, in which they discuss his disappearance. Reuss, somewhat of

⁶² Letter to Norman D. Nevills, Univ. Utah Marriott Library, Special Collections.

an infamous figure, disappeared late in 1934 when he set out alone to explore the Utah desert, taking two burros as pack animals. He was never seen again and is remembered as a precursor to the myth of Edward Abbey. Marie begins her letter to the Reuss family with an apology for her delayed response, and congratulates them on their spiritual progress before offering reassurance that she had not “given up hope—or thought” of locating their “missing boy”. She says, “I still “hold the thought” that he is [three underscores] alive, as we know life now--and that when the time is right our trails will cross.”⁶³ The rest of the letter chronicles the writer and Reuss’ shared distress at the “unrest and disharmony in the world today”, which Marie reasons must surely signal the onset of “greater upheavals”, further proof of which is the “elements in state of turmoil; freak snows, unexpected and disastrous accidents, and the mental unrest in the world”.⁶⁴ These exchanges tell us that whilst the commune itself was waning, Marie was most definitely still active in impressive social circles and a respected authority in esoteric schema.

By late 1944 the presence of the Home of Truth in the *San Juan Record* has dwindled. A small column, simply titled The Home of Truth, is all that remains. Still penned by Marie, it is decidedly factual and sparse, an echo of the pallid state of affairs at the homestead. Marie continued her operation of the *San Juan Record* until 1949, at which time she sold the paper and lived out her life in quiet solitude with her most faithful companion, A.D. Miller. Marie died in a nursing home in Blanding in 1975, after which A.D. Miller burned her manuscripts, journals, and other writings.

Exploring the vast archives of printed material preserved by the *San Juan Record*, we find ourselves presented with a unique window into the life of a small but important communal settlement, with the opportunity to situate the microcosm of the community amid larger questions of their time: what else can the Home of Truth tell us about the medicalization of death in American society, the lure of the West for religious utopians, the nature of twentieth-century apocalypticism, and the lineage of gendered mystics and the embodied word?

⁶³ Marie Ogden, Letter to Reuss family, Utah Historical Society, Manuscript Collections

⁶⁴ Ibid.

