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LEGEND-TRIPPING AT ST. ANNE'S RETREAT

and

HECATE IN LOGAN CANYON: ORIGIN, BELIEF, AND CONTEMPORARY ORAL
TRADITION

by

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Legend-Tripping at St. Anne's Retreat

What is now referred to as St. Anne's Retreat was initially a summer home eight miles up Logan Canyon, east of Logan, Utah. It was built in the 1930s by the Boyd Hatch family from New York, and Mrs. Hortense Odlum. The property was donated in the 1950s to the Roman Catholic Diocese of Salt Lake City, and it was used occasionally as a retreat and a vacation place for Sisters of the Holy Cross. Because it was not in continuous use, there was ample opportunity for vandals to visit, even on nights when the sisters were present. This prompted the nuns to get watch dogs to alert them to the presence of intruders. The sisters felt unsafe with the increase of the sometimes intoxicated young trespassers and vandals, and stopped coming to the retreat. In 1992, Mark Epstein, together with some other investors, bought the property with plans of turning it into vacation homes (Herald Journal, October 15, 1997. Pg. 16). What these investors may not have anticipated was the long standing cultural gap between local Mormons and Catholics, and how fear, belief, prejudice, and a generally accepted folk tradition of legend-tripping would interfere with their hopes of vacationing peacefully in the beautiful mountains of Logan Canyon.

Legend-tripping is a term that Linda Dégh, William Ellis, and others use in describing the practice of visiting the sites of supernatural legends. In a collection of essays called "Legend-Trips and Satanism: Adolescents' Ostensive Tradition as 'Cult' Activity," Ellis quotes Kenneth Thigpen who describes legend tripping in three parts consisting of "1) initiation into the story; 2) performing the acts that 'cause the fulfillment of the legend'; and 3) retrospective discussion of what participants believed happened, which then feeds back into the core story into which newcomers were

initiated” (Ellis 1991:280). The legends surrounding St. Anne’s have provided a thrill to local adolescents for generations as is manifested by the number of people of all generations who claim to have taken part in legend tripping at St. Anne’s.

St. Anne’s retreat and the legends associated with it achieved national media attention when over 30 high school students seeking to experience the “trip” of this legendary place, were caught and fell into the hands of vigilante security guards. The students were captured by three men, who were armed with shotguns; they were then roped around the neck, handcuffed, and forced to kneel in an empty swimming pool (Herald Journal, October 12, 1997, pg. 1). The legend-tripping youths embarked on a “trip” more exciting than they had anticipated as some were allegedly verbally threatened, physically abused, and sexually assaulted while awaiting the arrival of the local police. What followed this incident was a public uproar against the watchmen’s use of force against the trespassers.

This paper will look at the circumstances around this event and how age differences, religious folklore, and other cultural constructions play important roles in the maintenance of a vivid local legend cluster. The paper will further analyze versions of the St. Anne legend currently circulating among local high school students. I ultimately hope to illustrate how the nature of folklore is manifested by incorporating the vigilante incident into the legend cluster of St. Anne’s retreat, evident in some of the recent versions collected from seniors at a Logan High School.

The angry response of parents whose children were manhandled at the Retreat while legend-tripping on Halloween in 1997 was based on their notion that teenage trips to St. Anne’s were so common that they constituted an understandable, coherent

tradition, the rationale of which was more important than the relatively trivial matter of trespass. In other words, local concepts of justice are heavily influenced here—as elsewhere in the world—by local traditions. And if the tradition and its internal logic are that important, of course it tacitly affirms the local attitudes on differences in religion.

A different example of local concepts of justice being influenced by tradition may be the blood libel case involving a child: Andrew of Rinn at Judenstein, a town near Innsbruck, Austria is said in legend to have died by ritual murder at the hands of a Jew. Alan Dundes relates that Eli Wiesenthal, a Nazi-hunter, “voices his dismay at seeing full cars and busloads of school children making annual pilgrimages to Rinn under the tutelage of their religious instructors to see the ritual murder lie depicted as a historical event . . . [t]his is depicted by three figures made of wood or wax in a menacing pose with knives in hand surrounding a stone upon which was stretched out a supplicating infant garbed in white” (Dundes, 342). In spite of great effort to stop pilgrimages to this blood libel legend site, including orders from Pope John Paul XXIII to remove certain statues—the legend is treated as historical fact and thus the local concepts of justice in Rinn, and the power of their folk belief and tradition carry on unchanged. The parallel seen between the St. Anne’s legends and the blood libel legends is clearly that local belief and tradition in both cases justify a long standing custom—one that penetrates basic principles and issues of a local population. For the St. Anne’s legend this means legend-tripping to experience the legend by ostension; and in the case of Andrew of Rinn at Judenstein, pilgrimages to the site that commemorates the child murdered there.

Recollections from older locals of the Cache Valley region, recalling their visit to the “Nunnery,” suggest a general consent to this behavior of legend-tripping associated

with the belief and its tradition and suggests that this ritual functions as a rite of passage for local individuals. This is evident from older generations of legend-trippers that established the tradition of visiting St. Anne's; and thus viewed as a custom that one would expect most locals to have participated in. The youths apprehended in Logan Canyon on Halloween 1997 who expected fulfillment of the St. Anne legend, really did get a thrill—but not of the sort they expected. Instead of red-eyed Dobermans, the haunting sound of murdered babies crying out, Witch Hekate in the shape of a cloud moving down the mountain, the car not starting, boulders falling down the mountain upon curious visitors, blood in the swimming pool, (representing the death that the pool is so much associated with), these trippers were ambushed in the night by armed men with shotguns and held hostage for two hours.

Another story involving St. Anne's Retreat reflects an incident that again deals with local traditions confronting an aggregate concept of justice. Diane Browning, a former journalist for the local newspaper, The Herald Journal, wrote an article in 1986, telling of the St. Anne's Retreat legends as a ghost story for Halloween. She related the history of the article to me in a phone conversation (1997). After a co-worker told her one of the St. Anne's legends, they decided it would be a fun piece to write for Halloween (1986). However, the article instead created an emotional response from the Logan Catholic community, who took the article as an intentional provocation. Diane described verbally abusive anonymous phone calls and irate letters to the editor in The Herald Journal. Also outraged by her article was the incumbent priest, who spent two consecutive Sundays attacking the author from the pulpit, promoting a charged atmosphere.

Legend versions that Browning discussed in her article include: nuns raped and murdered at the retreat, a nun who had given birth to a child while at St. Anne's, drowning the baby in the swimming pool, and a nun coming out of the woods accompanied by two white Doberman Pinschers with red eyes. Browning ended the article by saying: "A note to the adventuresome: St. Anne's is located on private property and is patrolled regularly by a night watchman" (Herald Journal, October 26, 1986). This statement seems somewhat ironic—since eleven years later—the community becomes witness to an incident on this property that specifically deals with vigilante actions by the night watchmen.

Browning's newspaper article and the trespassing incident in 1997 involving St. Anne's, illustrate the magnificent potential of a legend, and the powerful role that it plays in local folklore. This is further illustrated by the resiliency of the legend as it persists in its navigation through time, through a periodic resurgence, giving rise to otherwise dormant tensions between the Mormon majority and the Catholic minority in Logan.

In the Fife Folklore Archives at Utah State University are some 50 legend versions of the St. Anne's Retreat, and an additional 25 of the related Hecate legend version, collected by students through the years. Several examples of these follow here to facilitate an understanding the concepts and ideas involved in this discussion. The current oral legend tradition appears to contain a basic version: example 1-8; and a trespassing version that follows as trespass versions 1-4. [stories are written verbatim].

1. The Old Nun

I once heard of some kids from Hyrum that went up to the old Catholic Nunnery in Logan Canyon. There was three boys and three girls. It was really late at night when they went, the guy had wanted to really scare their girlfriends. They got out of their car, walked down the path towards the Nunnery. Along the way was a couple of ponds. When they walked past the ponds little hands reached up and grabbed all of them around the ankles. They were all so scared that they took off running back to the car. Some of the guys started asking around as to why this happened. An old Priest that lives here in the valley told them that when there were people from the church living there, some of the Nuns became pregnant by the Priests. The Nuns would carry the baby to full term, and then to save the Church from embarrassment, they would drown their babies in the ponds. When strangers enter the property and walk by the ponds the babies' spirits will grab at them; they try and pull themselves out of the water to keep from drowning (Fife Folklore Archives, L2.1.12.1.27).

2. Freezing Nuns

St. Anne's was a place where nuns could go on a vacation, usually in the summer or winter. One winter a long time ago, some nuns went up there to stay. It was a very severe winter with lots of snow so a man had to bring their supplies to them every week. He would take their fuel and food to them because it was the only way they could get it. One week the man couldn't get his wagon through, and he had to wait about two weeks before he could go up there again. He finally made it up to the retreat, and he found all the nuns had starved and frozen to death. He noticed that their bodies had been chewed by dogs. He was very worried about this, and was just leaving when he saw one of the nuns, whose name was Hekeda. She began chasing him with her two dogs. He got away and told the towns people what had happened. Hekeda still haunts the retreat with her dogs, and you can see her chasing you in your rearview mirror as you are leaving. It is believed she is of the devil (Fife Folklore Archives, Coll. 8. USU. 84-050. Item 5).

3. St. Anne's Retreat

St. Anne's Retreat was originally established up Logan Canyon for Cache Valley's Catholic nuns who needed to "get away" from things for awhile. One nun got herself in trouble and as time passed her problem became more noticeable. He[r] superiors knew that something needed to be done—she couldn't walk the streets in her condition, so she was sent to the St. Anne's for the duration of her pregnancy. The Mother Superior at St. Anne's talked this nun into putting up the baby for adoption when it was born, because she

thought this sort of thing was horrible. If the nun would agree to do as the Mother Superior said, the Mother Superior would help her. If not, then she could fend for herself. Well, as time went by and this nun spent her time reading, thinking, swimming in the pool, and walking around the retreat and in the nearby woods, she began to think of this child and knew she could never give it up. She decided to leave the order and raise her baby. When the baby was born she told her decision to the Mother Superior. The Mother Superior did not agree and felt that she had to end this situation. One day when this nun was sleeping, the Mother Superior took the baby and drowned him in the swimming pool. The nun took it very hard, but couldn't believe the Mother Superior would actually do this. She thought the Mother Superior had taken the baby and given him to a family, or was hiding him on the retreat somewhere. As she was recovering, she would take walks around the retreat to see if she could find her baby. As she walked by the pool one day, the Mother Superior pushed her in and she drowned. The Mother Superior thought she had rectified the problem, and now could live with herself after taking care of this nun. About three weeks later another nun was sent to St. Anne's to rest and relax for a couple of weeks. One day as she was walking past the swimming pool she saw a nun floating face down in the pool. She screamed, and the Mother Superior came to see what the problem was. The Mother Superior tried to grab at the nun in the pool, but the nun disappeared. The second nun wanted to know what had happened, but the Mother Superior would not say anything. The second nun called the Father and told him to come up to the St. Anne's because there was something wrong. The Father came and got to the bottom of what had happened and soon after, the Mother Superior was taken from St. Anne's. Shortly after this happened, the Catholic church sold St. Anne's Retreat. St. Anne's is still used as a get away place for various groups and there have been reports that the one nun is still looking for her baby. Some have seen her walking around the retreat, and some have seen her floating in the pool. While there are no reports of anyone talking to this nun, there are plenty of reports of people who have seen her, so as you go camping in this part of Logan Canyon, beware of the nun (Fife Folklore Archives, L2.1.12.1.34).

4. Saint-Ann-Retreat

Saint-Ann was a nunery a long time ago. As Catholic, nuns are not suppose to have sex or any relationship with male. However, some nuns up at Saint-Ann had broke the rule and got pregnant. When babies were born, the nuns killed the babies by drowning them in a pool in the back of Sain-Ann. Some of the nuns felt guilty and killed themselves also. Now, the nuns sometimes appear back to visit the place. There is a watchman with two dobermans and a gun to keep the public out (Fife Folklore Archives, L2.1.12.1.14).

5. Hekeda and Her Dogs

All the nuns and mother superior lived at St. Anne's. One of the nun's name was Hekeda, and she took care of seven afghan hounds. In the early 1920's a guy went up there and killed and raped them all. All of the bodies were found except Hekeda's and the dog's. Every time someone goes up to St. Anne's to fix it up, they always hear dogs barking, and then see a lantern on the ountain. You can see the figure of a woman walking her dogs up there at night. If you yell the name Hekeda three times, a blue fog will cover your car, and you won't be able to come down out of the canyon (Fife Folklore Archives, Coll. 8. USU. 84-050. Item 6).

6. The Lynching Mob

This actually happened sometime in the early sixties. St. Anne's was a vacation area, and there were about twelve or thirteen nuns up there when one of them went bezerk. She just went bonkers. She had been training these four Black Labs, which she had gotten from Hekeda, to kill. She kept them in a woodshed on the mountainside, and one night she let the dogs loose. She got a lantern and a hatchet, and she and her dogs slaughtered all of the nuns. Time passed and nothing was discovered until someone made a delivery to the retreat. The person who found the dead nuns went back to Logan and got a bunch of people together. This mob of people went up to St. Anne's, and they found the crazy nun, and they decided to hang her. They gave her the chance to speak her last words, and she said, "I will forever haunt this place." She still haunts St. Anne's today (Fife Folklore Archives, Coll. 8. USU. 84-050. Item 8).

7. Saint Anne's Retreat

A long time ago there used to be a nunnery at Saint Anne's. One of the nuns got pregnant by a young priest. She hid the fact that she was pregnant for a long time. When she had the baby she was told she had to leave the nunnery. She was grieved at what had happened and went out and drowned her baby in the swimming pool, then hung herself. Her spirit haunts the place in the form of a dog. Sometimes people can hear dogs howling at Saint Anne's. Nobody has ever seen the dogs (Fife Folklore Archives, L2.1.12.1.37).

8. Heckada

If you go up Logan Canyon to 3rd dam and cross the bridge into the Spring Hollow area or go to the Quarry up Providence Canyon, you can summon the Devil's wife, her name is Heckada. My friend's brother's girlfriend's brother had a friend that did this very thing. He and a date

went up to the Spring Hollow area, for some romancing. After being turned down he got out of the car and yelled the phrase "Heckada, come get me" this was the saying that you needed to say to get Heckada to appear. After saying it a few times he returned to the car. His date was scared, which was his main intention for doing the little prank, or so he thought. After a few minutes of sitting there they began to hear dogs barking, they looked up and saw a green glowing chariot pulled by six wolves, and a mistress with long flowing hair at the reins. At about the same instance the doors locked, the boy and date was pretty scared by this time so the boy tried to get the car started but it seemed like the battery was dead, nothing would start or no lights would come on. By this time the wolves were on the hood of the car clawing at it and growling. The mistress stared into the boy's eyes and said "I have come for you." The boy freaked out and didn't know what to do, the girl was screaming and crying. Then the boy remembered to say "In the name of Jesus Christ I command you to leave," at the very instance of saying that, the mistress and her wolves disappeared. The boy then started the car and returned to Logan. Upon returning to his date's house they looked at the hood and saw scratches that the wolves left (Fife Folklore Archives, L2.3.1.15.9).

These legends may function to express curiosity, suspicion and even fear of a minority religion by a local majority. They may also function as a means of illustrating the idea that outside religions are too strange for local adolescents to take seriously by creating a sense of fear and skepticism about their behavior. Such stories allow for hostility toward another group to be expressed in narrative dramas rather than the form of physical harm. Nonetheless, it is clear that there is a considerable emotional load in these stories as well, and it is important for us to wonder why. It will become increasingly clear through these legend examples and discussion throughout this paper of different themes and issues that surface, and the function that this oral tradition serves.

The trespass legend versions that circulate today tell about the horrors occurring during the incident on Halloween of 1997. Examples 1-4 follow:

Trespass Story: 1

My father has told me stories of when he would visit there, and my friend did some research on it last summer. I've heard about the kids that went up there and the caretaker tied them up in the pool and *harassed them* [my emphasis]. My father told me about stories where he would go up there and play pranks on his dates. Him and his friends would dress up like ghosts and act out scenes with real rifles and blanks. I have heard something about somebody dying in the pool, and people making sacrifice up there [merger of traditional story and trespass version of 1997] (Logan High survey).

Trespass Story: 2

I heard that there were some high school students were at the nunery and they got *kidnapped* [my emphasis] and tied up and I heard they were *breaking into* [my emphasis] the nunery (Logan High survey).

Trespass Story: 3

I probably only know rumors from people around me at my school. I don't know any facts about it. I have heard that there is a nunery up the canyon where little kids were murdered. Then I heard that kids from my school and others went up there and got caught by cops. My friend has been there, and she said it was really scary [a mixture of the basic story and trespass version of 1997] (Logan High survey).

Trespass Story: 4

The only thing that I have heard about it was about the teens who where trying to *break in* and they got *harassed* [my emphasis] [1997 events] (Logan High survey).

There are several themes that can be observed in various versions of these legends that address the Mormon-Catholic tensions. The story of "Witch Hekate," identified with the Mother Superior, and her red-eyed Dobermans, symbolize the evil connotation that the locals have associated with the Catholic church. The ancient belief of dogs as a

symbol of evil is seen in this legend by the presence of Witch Hekate's Dobermans—further attempting to associate the nuns as evil (Barre Toelken, personal communication). Also with origins in ancient belief, is the theme of sexuality and pregnancy at St. Anne's—which comes from the old notion that nuns and priests secretly engaged in sexual encounters (Barre Toelken, personal communication). In the case of the legend, the horror of disposing of these unwanted pregnancies follows.

The congruency between the dramatic images of the legends and local western and Mormon values suggests still another level of meaning for these narratives. Teenagers from a patriarchal society go away from town to experience the thrill of danger in a female-dominated place; teenagers who are dating but are exhorted to refrain from sex until after marriage go there to be thrilled by legends of women who are prohibited from having sex, and who don't get married, but who have illegitimate babies anyway; espousing religion and abhorring murder, they visit places where religious people are said to have been murdered.

To understand the emotional load and the religious dimension in these legends is to understand local belief and perception of the world, including the presence of the Catholic Retreat established some fifty years ago Logan Canyon. Fundamental attitudes of Mormons towards Catholics is an essential component of the religious dimension, but what appears prominent through the legends is gender—and the struggle to maintain, and confirm the male role in this religious culture. The legends serve as faith promoting events of not only the male establishing his role as dominant, but also to verify that the Mormon church is superior and one that will prevail over the other.

Mormon attitudes towards Catholics is well documented. Thomas quotes the following from personal communication with William A. Wilson, a Mormon scholar:

Mormons see Catholics as the principal apostate church. Protestant churches have at least tried to draw closer to the original church in their reform movements, but Catholics have steadfastly persisted in their error, in their apostasy, and are therefore easily connected with evil. Bruce McConkie called the Catholic Church the great and abominable church before he was forced to recant; some missionaries refer to the church as the "G & A." Missionaries to Catholic countries often come home with tales of evil nuns and priests" (Thomas, 18).

It is clear to see how attitudes such as these mentioned can determine the perception of this particular religious culture. Through the legends one can detect apprehension, fear and anxieties of the presence of the outside religion as well maintain male dominance of this patriarchal culture. The male confirms his status and role as dominant male legend-tripping through ostension to maintain, and confirm the importance and continuation of his role as male in his culture. Male dominance is established in legend as initiator of courtship; protector against evil by averting evil with power of priesthood (Example above: 2. Heckada: L2.3.1.15.9).

Another theme presented in some legends is the female outsider vs. the male insider: the female breaks the rules in these legends and pays the penalty. She either becomes ostracized as the nun who becomes pregnant in St. Anne's Retreat: (L2.1.12.1.34) which is noted by the following: St. Anne's Retreat was originally established up Logan Canyon for Cache Valley's Catholic nuns who needed to "get away" from things for awhile. One nun got herself in trouble . . . she couldn't walk the streets in her condition, so she was sent to St. Anne's . . ." This may not only be illustrating the attitudes of the local Mormon religion of their perception of such a

situation by stating that pregnant unwed women cause shame and should be hidden away—but this situation may also be inverse of reality and that it reflects their own attitudes about as if happened to their own. The punishment for breaking moral codes may even become rape and murder as in the following version 5. “Hekeda and Her Dogs” (Fife Folklore Archives, Coll. 8. USU. Coll. 8. 84-050.Item 6). The stories projected on the nuns and the punishment received for breaking the rules may illustrate local attitudes and feelings towards moral transgressions. Thus the legends send a strong message to conform to local codes of living.

Other themes represented are 1) In the first version: nun gets pregnant by a priest; nun has baby and drowns it in the legendary swimming pool located at St. Anne’s; nun commits suicide but remains as a ghost and haunts the place (as a dog); sounds of dogs howling. 2) The second version: An example of legend-tripping functioning as teenage courtship scene. (Toelken, personal communication; Fife Folklore Archives: L2.3.1.15.9; Thomas, 15). Boy takes girl to this haunted place with hopes of romancing. Also present is the notion of calling Hekate’s name three times to make Hekate appear. This of course not only has the effect of scaring the girl, but also brings about various phenomena as described in the story. There is also the presence of dogs, a green glowing chariot with Hekate at the helm; she also later speaks to the boy, and the car not starting. There is a definite religious overtone as well in this traditional story. The boy chases away the evil (nun) Hekate with the words “In the name of Jesus Christ...” This seems to suggest the idea that the righteous and powerful religion prevails over the evil presence of the other. This is followed by a safe return as explained by the following quote: “Those who go there are invariably frightened and end up retreating to

the safety of their own LDS culture” (Thomas, 18). This would also have the effect and function as a “faith promoting” (Thomas, 16; Hufford, 222) event for the couple and undoubtedly the event would continue to serve its purpose in narrative form for the inspiration of others.

In trespass version (1) the father condones a legend-tripping tradition to St. Anne’s because he recollects his own trips to this legendary site. In other words, there remains a general acceptance of legend-trips to this supernatural site by precedence of local tradition, and again, because the trips to St. Anne’s are so common that it becomes a justifiable, acceptable, and a coherent custom that consequently affects local concepts of justice.

In several of these newer trespass versions, the intruders are perceived as being victims and are described as being *harassed*, even though they are the ones *breaking in!* This is significant in light of a general local perception that legend-tripping at St. Anne’s is more than a local tradition and viewed by many as a benign activity. Although it should be clear that large numbers of locals voicing their opinion in letters to the editor articulated their dismay and frustration with the trespassers.

In one of the stories (trespass version 3), kids are said to have been murdered at St. Anne’s; this is closely followed by the statement “kids from my school were caught by cops.” This has the appearance (as seen throughout these stories) that the trespassing high school students were victims—even though they were breaking the law by entering private property. It may also be a reflection of the traditional themes, incorporated into the newer trespass stories.

Still another possible level of meaning in the cluster of traditional stories can be seen by using Alan Dundes's term "projective inversion." Dundes uses the blood libel legend to illustrate this concept. This legend with origins in ancient times tells of Jews killing Christian infants and children, using their blood in a ritual to make matzah. He explains that: "The Christian guilt for indulging in symbolic ritual cannibalism is neatly projected onto the Jews through such legends" (Dundes, 110). Dundes continues: "I am persuaded that a more appropriate and revealing approach to the legend lies in the Christian need for a Jewish scapegoat and in the psychological process I have termed "projective inversion"(Dundes, 352). The point is that the blood libel legend is Christian folklore—"and that it is Christians, not Jews, who [tell and] would like to commit the blood libel" (Dundes, 354). Also important to note that it was not the Jews who killed Christ, it was the Romans. "Christians blame Jews for something which the Christians needed to have happen, a thing which the Jews never did . . . [so] projective inversion refers to a psychological process in which A accuses B of carrying out an action which A really wishes to carry out him or herself" (Dundes, 352-353). An example of what makes clear the projective inversion in the blood libel legend is suggested by the following facts: Jews are prohibited from consuming blood; but Christians, take part in a ritual of consuming the body of Christ by the symbolic bread and wine (or bread and water) symbolizing the body and blood of the Christ. Along these lines of wish fulfillment, it appears that Christians are projecting upon the Jews what they themselves are guilty of—which is killing and consuming the body of Christ.

Some of the themes in the legends of St. Anne's, parallel to the blood libel legend, appear to be the reverse of reality:

--the ghostly nuns are described as menacing and aggressive, intruding on the visiting teenagers' courtship scene; when in fact the teenagers were trespassing on church property.

--the nuns are described as sexually active, thus breaking local religious and moral codes, when of course the teenagers are the ones doing the courtship game.

These examples suggest that the very characteristics attributed to the ghostly nuns are actually projections of the young legend-trippers, phrased in such a way as to blame the aberrations on the other. Thomas states a similar point when informing us that “. . . the majority of those telling the legend are Mormons . . . [and that the] St. Anne's legend versions are ostensibly about Catholics and certain Catholic practices; however, a closer study of the versions reveals that they are really about Mormons and their view of Catholics . . .” (Thomas, 15). This appears to support the notion of projective inversion and its function in the St. Anne's legends by projecting an inverse reality.

It has been nearly three years since the ambush of local legend-trippers by security guards at St. Anne's. The stories currently circulating among local youth continue to illustrate the dynamics of folklore and the power of local tradition. Tradition propelled by local belief is clearly seen in the survey of local high school students, recalling the Halloween trespass incident of 1997; basic versions were also produced in the survey. Out of twenty-five students surveyed, fourteen mentioned elements from the trespassing event, while eleven used a traditional motif. So what does this mean?

It tells us that this incident of three years ago was more than news. In fact it clearly fits into a so-called “civic brush fire incident.” Grant Davie uses this phrase in

describing local news bits that have a huge impact on the local population (Grant Davie, 1-2). It is evident by local newspaper articles and particularly editorials, both in the 1997 trespass incident, and certainly also the uproar that Diane Browning's article created in 1986, that St. Anne's is a topic that clearly fits into this "civic brush fire" category.

Grant-Davie proposes four qualifying areas as conditions for civic brush fire incidents and St. Anne's is one of his examples:

1) A provocative incident: The St. Anne's controversy was started in dramatic fashion by two events in quick succession: first the teens' visit to the property and the caretakers' hostile reaction, and then the raising of criminal charges against all involved. 2) An emblematic object or image: In the example of the St. Anne's incident, the incident itself provided a strong enough image—an angry, nighttime confrontation between a few armed men and a crowd of thrill-seeking teenagers—to excite the general public's imagination. 3) Accessible media and forums: The St. Anne's debate was played out in at least seven articles, two guest commentaries, 17 letters to the editor, more than 50-callin messages (a selection of nine of which were printed), and an editorial. 4) A conflict between threatened values: This was very apparent in the St. Anne's incident, which became a debate between property rights and civil rights. The first wave of letters to the editor sided with the caretakers, who were characterized as heroes wrongly crucified for defending property and taking a stand against vandalism, while the second wave defended the teens' actions as a harmless, traditional prank and condemned the caretakers for assaulting and terrorizing them (Grant Davie, 3-5). [only definition, and material pertaining to St. Anne's included]

Grant-Davie also suggests that the brush fires surrounding the St. Anne's incident "were fueled by *some fundamental issues and deeply-rooted values* [my emphasis] that fired the public emotions" (Grant Davie, 6). So, yes—clearly the St. Anne's incident on Halloween 1997 was more than local news—it goes much deeper than that. It taps fundamental group values with regards to ex: religion, gender, and property rights, that play a crucial role in this particular "civic brush fire" and fire up emotional debates among the local population.

I would like to suggest another level beyond the idea of property vs. civil rights. This has to do with the fundamental and inherent rights as seen by the locals, of upholding and justifying a long standing tradition of legend-tripping at St. Anne's vs. the property owners' rights to stand up against vandalism. I propose that fundamentally it is an issue of property vs. civil rights, but in essence it becomes an issue of local concepts of justice vs. local folklore and tradition. Local concepts of justice are diverse and may stem from dominant Mormon religious beliefs as can be noted throughout this discussion. Legend-tripping at St. Anne's becomes justifiable due to the long standing custom and tradition established in the past 50 years.

The incident of Halloween 1997 in Logan Canyon had such an impact on local youth that stories are still circulating that tell of the frightening events surrounding the trespassing incident. It is important to note that out of the 25 students surveyed, fourteen stories contained primarily data of the trespassing event. This appears to demonstrate the powerful emotions around the event itself, certainly property vs. civil rights, and lastly the concepts of justice in defense of tradition. Perhaps the traditional St. Anne's legend depicting supernatural phenomena—is certainly frightening enough but the memories of the ambush of local high school students on Halloween 1997 remain a dominant image. These are recollections of a small sample group of students surveyed as representative of their knowledge of St. Anne's Retreat. So vivid are the memories of this event that some of the students surveyed vow never to participate in any legend-tripping activity to at St. Anne's.

What we have is a history of a legend-tripping custom which entails visiting a site of the supernatural—a thrill seeking event—experiencing the legend by ostension by

acting out the legend, which has been going on for over 50 years. First, the trespassing event of 1997; then the “civic brush fire” (Grant-Davie, 1) ignited after Browning’s article on Halloween 1986 that caused considerable emotional distress in the Catholic community. In 1997, the public debate primarily deals with property rights vs. civil rights, and also local concepts of justice vs. local folklore and tradition; whereas in 1986 the incident provoked tension among Catholics and Mormons. Both cases involve the legendary St. Anne’s Retreat and the local lore persisting through the generations.

The trespass legend versions of 1997 collected recently from local high school students illustrate yet another dimension to the St. Anne’s legend. They portray a sentiment of pity for the teenage offenders—portraying the lawless teenagers as victims. It is a case where the community opinion (in the form of letters to the editor) appears to be significantly divided. In my research it appears as though approximately fifty percent defend property rights and condemn the behavior of the trespassers; the other fifty percent largely condemn the actions taken by the caretakers at St. Anne’s, and appear to minimize the incident as a teenage prank, or in some cases defend the actions of the teenagers by indicating such things as rites of passage. According to a prominent local resident cited in the Herald Journal, visiting St. Anne’s is a local custom that most local residents at one time or another have taken part in. In general, the Herald Journal overall displayed more sympathy towards the trespassers rather than those leasing the property. The “ambush” of the trespassing teenagers was depicted vividly and as seemingly unprovoked while little sympathy was lent to three security guards defending a property on Halloween from 30 plus teenagers and young adults, in the middle of the night, in the dark, of Logan Canyon, eight miles away from town. The event was clearly biased in the

media, and certainly did not for the most part take into account the circumstances in which the security guards operated under. It also did not adequately sympathize with threats previously made to caretakers. Nor did the newspaper adequately acknowledge the frustrations of property owners facing ongoing vandalism and destruction of their property in Logan Canyon. To illustrate the type of news paper rhetoric that at large demonstrated bias towards the trespassers—a few quotes follow: [Cache County Sheriff Lynn Nelson] “The kids were wrong to trespass, he said, but they were just looking to have some fun. “The big issue here is what these other guys did to them” (Herald Journal, October 14, 1997. Pg. 3). A similar sentiment states: [Cache County Attorney’s Office, Scott Wyatt] Wyatt said: “St. Anne’s is a local haunted house on private property and what happened when the carloads of youngsters got there is almost unbelievable . . . It’s one of the most incredible things I’ve ever seen . . .The kids should not have done what they did because they were trespassing but that doesn’t justify the reaction of these guys . . .”(Herald Journal, October 14, 1997. Pg. 3). To further illustrate this point is to note that repeated issues the actions of the security guards are accentuated and depicting them as the criminals. Detailed and repeated attention is given in describing the fate of the trespassing youth as they entered the St. Anne’s property. Such accounts are commonly referred to as “Vietnam-style terror in Logan . . . they [trespassers] were ambushed, shot at, handcuffed, tied together by their necks and threatened with their lives by shotgun-toting private guards (Herald Journal, October 12, 1997. Pg. 1). These images from words in the news paper are followed by detailed descriptions of the event picturing the supposed injustice against the youth. According to my research, two articles from the Utah State University Statesman presents the case of both parties, but in

addition offers significant and supportive statements in defense of the security guards. One article tells: “Some defend the gun-toting men claiming they had no other choice but to detain the youth and protect themselves. Friday evening it was 30 on three. Some ask the question, how were the men supposed to detain the youth and protect themselves from retaliation?” (Statesman, October 13, 1997). Sympathetic comments such as this one are important for a balanced view of the incident, and to understand that these security guards did not chose to go into “combat” but acted in defense of themselves and the property.

A fascinating aspect of the whole St. Anne’s incident that only surfaces in the end and appears to have been largely overlooked is the fact that Logan Canyon is a National Forest. The land that the St. Anne’s property consists of is actually government land leased by the occupants (Herald Journal, March 11-12, 1998) [date based on public hearing court documents; date of news paper release not available]. In this case the whole controversy over trespassing becomes void, as we can see from subsequent statements by the Forest Service because technically the youth never actually trespassed in light of this information. All through the news articles covering the St. Anne’s event of 1997, there was only incidental mention of the U.S. Forest Service and the rules that apply to government land. It was not until the St. Anne defendants accepted a plea bargain on bringing an end to the trial that this issue really surfaced and played any significant part. The Herald Journal newspaper article [date of issue not available, however public hearing court documents are dated March 11-12, 1998 which indicates the approximate issue of the article in the news paper] informs us that the St. Anne defendants accepted a plea bargain, admitting guilt of assault, and consequently receiving

reduced charges. Quoted in this article are the words of a U.S. Forest Service official Chip Sibbernson who said that: “he himself had removed ‘no trespassing’ signs at St. Anne’s, as well as from other cabins permitted as summer homes in Logan Canyon over the years.” Then Mr. Sibbernson continues: “The permit holders at St. Anne’s have permission for a gate . . . but not for the razor wire and signs that give the entrance to the retreat a prison camp appearance. That’s because the land is still public land . . . not private property” (Herald Journal, March 11-12, 1998) [approximate date based on court documents]. The article concludes: “Basically, while permit holders have the right to keep people out of their cabins, they can’t keep people from walking through on surrounding land. That’s why the Cache County Attorney’s Office dropped criminal trespassing charges against all 38 youths captured and held at gun point by the retreat’s caretaker....” This in the end appears to resolve the issue of trespassing charges—but also further complicates the question of “property ownership” and the limited power allowed residents to defend property from invaders. What seems incredible is the fact that it took several months for anyone to realize this fact when that should have been obvious to law enforcement and the legal profession from the very beginning. Since this law pertaining to public access on government land is now public knowledge, there seems to be yet another possibility (although by chance and through a technicality) for anyone to enter this property in the future as they wish. This may be great for the legend-tripping tradition, but this notion certainly does not help permit holders in Logan Canyon get any relief, or hope to end future “trespass” and vandalism on “their” properties.

So what we can understand from the 1997 incident and the 1986 Halloween article is that the St. Anne’s tradition has fueled numerous debates from property rights to

concepts of justice and customs. But the conditions under the surface for this brush fire to burn, as discussed throughout this paper, are important to remember in order to understand the deep-rooted fundamental concerns of the citizens of this or any community. Folklore is powerful, and given a function and purpose, proves to move persistently through time as is evident from the legends surrounding St. Anne's. The "dynamics of folklore" (Toelken, 55) powerfully illustrates not only how a local legend has circulated for over 50 years, but how a new aspect is introduced into the realm of the legend—that is this intense, not so easily ignored incident of Halloween 1997 which appears through recent stories to have left its own mark on this vivid legend cluster.

The event surrounding the legend-tripping trespassers on Halloween 1997 at St. Anne's may be viewed in terms of property rights, or a fundamental civil right to carry on a local belief, a long standing custom-tradition, or a rite of passage. It can also be studied as local rhetoric involving a "brush fire incident" (Grant Davie, 1). Religion and gender appears to be a dominant factor in the complex cultural issues presented through the legends and the legend-trips through its participants. It illustrates that the themes discussed in this paper, and the stories it evolves around, are still vital issues to the community at large and dramatize concerns, fears, and anxieties still present in the undercurrent of this community. The Mormon religion is not just a religion, but a way of life; it becomes clear from this and examples given in this paper, that religion plays a central role in directing fundamental concerns such as gender roles, and fear of the other. This legend will remain a vivid part of narrative tradition—as long as there is a function, and purpose—to entertain narrator, audience, and legend-trippers of this local culture, as other legends will elsewhere. Cultural issues and concerns will continue to surface in

oral tradition and reflected and dramatized in the stories they tell; because—“If it weren’t important—they wouldn’t keep doing it” (Toelken, personal communication).

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Hecate in Logan Canyon: Origin, Belief, and Contemporary Oral Tradition

Local legends about a “Witch Hecate” primarily surface around the Spring Hollow-Guinevah campgrounds three miles up Logan canyon. This particular area is frequented by local Mormon youth groups (primarily girls camp) and boy scouts, where many of these legends emerge and thrive as ghost stories told at various camps. A parallel legend (in which Hecate appears also) about St. Anne’s Retreat also depicts Hecate, and is based on the former Catholic Retreat referred to as St. Anne’s Retreat located eight miles from Logan. This property came into the possession of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Salt Lake City in the early 1940s and was used as a retreat and a vacation place for the Sisters of the Holy Cross (Salt Lake Tribune, October 14, 1997. D3). Due to the frequent visits of legend-tripping¹ trespassers and vandals, the sisters stopped coming to the retreat (Anne Hatch, personal communication) and the property was subsequently sold (Herald Journal, October 15, 1997. Pg. 16).

In this paper I will explore the origin and history of Hecate by discussing the ancient Goddess worship, to subsequently gain an understanding of Hecate as an ancient underworld divinity, and the connection, if any, of the local Hecate legend character to the ancient Goddess Hecate from history and mythology. On this journey we should reach a broader understanding of Hecate and her performance in local legend as a bewitched nun. An analysis and discussion of hypothetical interpretations, meanings, functions, and symbolism—will follow. Before beginning these areas of discussion it is necessary to introduce the reader to samples of the “Witch Hecate” legend to allow an

¹ Legend-tripping is a term that Linda Degh, William Ellis, and others use in describing the practice of visiting the sites of supernatural legends.

insight into the main core of this paper topic—the legends. [All stories and citations in this paper are quoted verbatim].

1. Witch Heketa

The story goes that an old woman lives somewhere up Logan Canyon. She is supposed to be a witch. Her name is Heketa. It is said that she has seven white dobermans which can become invisible at will. A local boy and girl supposedly went up to her place one night to see if they could see anything. They say they were sitting in the car when suddenly the windows fogged up from the outside. They heard dogs sniffing around the car and what sounded like a person breathing. A hand rubbed away some of the moisture like a person breathing. A hand rubbed away some of the moisture on the passenger window by the girl and an old woman's face looked in. The girl went into a sort of trance and floated up off the seat a few inches. The boy got the car started and drove home quickly where his father, who was a Mormon bishop, gave the girl a blessing and she snapped out of the trance. The boy drove back up there the next day and says that there were seven dog collars on the ground (Fife Folklore Archives, L2.3.1.15.8).

2. Heckada

If you go up Logan Canyon to 3rd dam and cross the bridge into the Spring Hollow area or go to the Quarry up Providence Canyon, you can summon the Devil's wife, her name is Heckada. My friend's brother's girlfriend's brother had a friend that did this very thing. He and a date went up to the Spring Hollow area, for some romancing. After being turned down he got out of the car and yelled the phrase "Heckada, come get me". This was the saying that you needed to say to get Heckada to appear. After saying it a few times he returned to the car. His date was scared, which was his main intention for doing the little prank, or so he thought. After a few minutes of sitting there they began to hear dogs barking, they looked up and saw a green glowing chariot pulled by six wolves, and a mistress with long flowing hair at the reins. At about the same instance the doors locked, the boy and date was pretty scared by this time so the boy tried to get the car started but it seemed like the battery was dead, nothing would start or no lights would come on. By this time the wolves were on the hood of the car clawing at it and growling. The mistress stared into the boy's eyes and said "I have come for you". The boy freaked out and didn't know what to do, the girl was screaming and crying. Then the boy remembered to say "In the name of Jesus Christ I command you to leave", at the very instance of saying that, the mistress and her wolves disappeared. The boy then started the car and returned to Logan. Upon returning to his date's house

they looked at the hood and saw scratches that the wolves had left (Fife Folklore Archives, L2.3.1.15.9).

3. The Old Nun

I once heard of some girls that went to girls scout camp up Logan canyon, a few years ago. There was about 12 girls plus a few leaders. The girls were between the ages of twelve and fifteen. They were sitting around the campfire telling scary stories, one of which was the "Old Nun" story. The story is about an old nun that died very angry that she had lost her youth and beauty. She had resided at the Nunnery, also in Logan canyon. Before she died, the nun would walk past the girls scout camp and long for the days of her youth. She became so obsessed by this idea that she decided by drinking the youths blood she would again be young. Well, the kids of the camp tried to laugh off their fear not wanting to admit to anyone that they really were scared. The group broke up after the story telling finished and went their separate ways. The leaders of the camp became increasingly concerned as the girls began to disappear one by one. They called and hunted for the missing girls not getting any response at all. A couple of girls from the camp had gone on a walk together. Suddenly they came running back into the camp screaming and shaking terribly. The girls reported seeing an old lady dressed as a nun, with an ax and blood dripping from her face walking near the camp. The next day when the sun came up six of the twelve girls were found murdered around camp (Fife Folklore Archives, L2.1.12.1.28).

4. Hekedah-the lady of third dam [told by scoutmaster]

Once I decided to see if the stories about Hekedah were true. I grabbed a friend and we grabbed two girls and set out for third dam. As is the custom, we put the keys to the truck on the hood and then yelled for Hekedah to come. After waiting a long time, I saw a green light forming in the middle of the lake. I thought I was imagining things at first. It soon formed into a face of a lady all pale and green and she was crying. We grabbed her car keys from the hood, but waited to see what would happen. It wasn't long until a hand and arm appeared and started motioning us to come. (the teller motions with his hand and finger) She kept getting bigger and bigger and was soon a full size lady coming closer and closer to our truck. We put the keys in the ignition and tried to start the truck but nothing happened. Finally, when she was only 4 or 5 feet away, the truck started and we tore out of that place like crazy. [the collector continues to provide context by saying the following] (The teller then fills in the events in Hekedahs life which explain why she haunts the lake) Hekedah was a recluse woman who lived in a little cabin above third dam. She had been quite wealthy in her life and had her money with her in the cabin. One night, two men broke in and killed her so that they could steal the money.

The two men were never seen or heard of again. It is said that if you look up on the ridge on a night of the full moon, you can see the silhouette of Hekedah , with ax in hand, chasing two men (Fife Folklore Archives, L2.3.1.15.6).

The above mentioned legends are samples of the Hecate legend that will be scrutinized in this study. But first it is necessary to introduce several complementary themes that surface in the parallel legend of St. Anne's Retreat, thus making it necessary to present sample versions of Hecate's role in the St. Anne's legends of Logan Canyon as a witch and a crazed nun. Themes from both "Witch Hecate" and "St. Anne's Retreat" will be discussed below.

5. Barking Dogs

Lucy and her friend were driving around the canyon one fall night when it was really nice and warm, and they decided to go to St. Anne's. There were three guys who wanted to go, and three girls who didn't want to go. Since the boys were driving, they went. They parked the car by the highway, and began walking up the dirt road. On the way, one of the guys said "Do you know what happened up here?", and he proceeded to tell story of the nuns. "The nuns used to come up here in the wintertime and stay. One spring the nuns didn't come back. The townspeople went up to investigate, and they found the bodies of the nuns floating in the swimming pool, because they had been raped and murdered. They also found mother superior's black dogs chained up and starved to death in a shack." The guy telling the story suggested that they go look in the swimming pool. While they were looking at it, one of the guys yelled, "I'm scared," and ran to the car as fast as he could. Everyone else followed him, but the girls were slower. As they were running down the mountain, they heard dogs barking and chains dragging on the ground, and they thought the dogs were chasing them. The dogs were howling and looking for the nuns. The girls were crying because they were so scared (Fife Folklore Archives, Coll. 8. USU. 84-050. Item 10).

6. Saint Ann's Retreat

A long time ago there used to be a nunnery at Saint Anne's. One of the nuns got pregnant by a young priest. She hid the fact that she was pregnant for a long time. When she had the baby she was told she had to

leave the nunnery. She was grieved at what had happened and went out and drowned her baby in the swimming pool, then hung herself. Her spirit haunts the place in the form of a dog. Sometimes people can hear dogs howling at Saint Ann's. Nobody has ever seen the dogs (Fife Folklore Archives, L2.1.12.1.37).

These legend illustrated above are examples presenting Hecate as a bewitched nun and includes several themes and symbolism that will be scrutinized further below. With this introduction, the mythological and historical aspects can now be explored. A brief over view of the origin of the Goddess follows.

In Greek mythology, Hecate depicts an underworld third dimension of a triple Goddess representing Persephone, Demeter, and Hecate. Hecate appears as the crone part of this triple divinity; Hecate, the crone is also represented in the two local legend types in Logan Canyon. To extract meaning, and to gain a broader understanding of these legends, it is necessary to start from the beginning—to a time when the Goddess Hecate played a powerful and important role in many parts of the world. This process should elucidate the connection, if any, of the function of the local Hecate legend character to the ancient Goddess Hecate from history and mythology.

In ancient times, dating back as far as 25,000 years BC.until shortly after the advent of Christianity, in many parts of the world—God was a Woman. This supreme deity, known by many names—according to region, was revered and worshipped not only for her fertility and procreation, but she represented wisdom, universal order (Stone, preface) [page number unavailable], knowledge, and capability of holding vital advisory positions. Goddess worship thrived from Neolithic periods 7000 BC., alongside of the Judeo-Christian religions and peoples who worshipped male gods until classical periods of Greece and Rome until around 500 A.D when any trace of this so called idolatry

worship of the pagans was effectively, and nearly completely destroyed. (Stone, 20; preface) [preface page number unavailable].

“She [Hecate] bestows wealth and success, good luck and advice, is powerful in earth, sea, and heaven . . . By a transference common in mythology, she became as a goddess of plenty, an infernal deity, terrible in aspects and often snakelike, the queen of ghosts and mistress of black magic, the keeper of the keys of Hades” (Leach, 487).

Hecate is said to have had power and influence over earth, heaven, and sea. “She gave her votaries success in battle, in the law courts and political assembly, and in athletics. Later she came to be associated with the darker side of life, with the underworld and night, with ghosts . . . Sometimes she herself was represented as an old hag with snakes entwined in her hair, or she might assume the form of a mare or dog, or, attended by hell-hounds, she haunted the cross-roads” (Pike, 174). The descriptions offered to us by Pike and Leach effectively provides an understanding of the pre-Christian image of the Goddess—and how hypothetically, simultaneous with the onset of Christianity, the role reversal of women into submission under a patriarchal system flourished. Goddess and thus Woman, is consequently seen in a subversive light—perhaps reflecting her new role and demoted status. Although the change away from Goddess worship appears to have taken place over thousands of years, Stone speaks of invasions of Northern tribes which apparently had immediate, harsh effects upon the Goddess religion by eradicating matriarchal-matrilineal societies to the new establishment of male dominated societies. The power of the Goddess societies became eradicated upon the solidification of a patriarchal system; [and] “only then was she fragmented, and reduced . . .” (Sjöö & Moor, 183).

It has been argued that early cultures did not understand the connection between copulation and procreation and therefore worshipped the Goddess as the sole creator of life, and the only one who could create her own kind. But with the aggressive invasions of societies with male deities this matriarchal structure changed. The power of myth to create perception and belief among man and woman-kind can be seen from the Adam and Eve myth. Stone talks about this being a dramatic and powerful turning point in the manifestation and eradication of the Goddess. The Adam and Eve myth accomplished this by blaming Eve for the fall of mankind. Her punishment was to suffer pain in childbirth, and to serve man as a helpmate and inferior in status (Stone, foreword). This is something to keep in mind as we note gender issues in these legends.

The image of Hecate in lighter times shows that the Goddess was revered for her contributions to the world; this was before she was demoted in status and seen as dark and sinister. After a mythological transference as mentioned by Leach—Hecate takes on a sinister-darker image. Hecate is held as moon Goddess, Queen of Ghosts, and deity of the Crossroads (Sjöö & Moor, 183). After the entry to darker times “Hecate was [became] the destroyer; newborn children and animals were sacrificed to her” (Sjöö & Moor, 183). These are things this triple goddess has represented through time. With this in mind, we can examine some classic themes existent in the local legends.

Among some of the themes evident in both the historically documented mythical origins from darker times of Hecate that are evident in “Witch Hecate” and the parallel “St. Anne’s legends are:

1. The triple dimension concept.
2. Hecate’s Suppers – Hecate at the Cross Roads.
3. Hecate and the keys of Hades—keys as part of ritual in legend-tripping.
4. Sacrifice of newborns—in reference to the swimming pool as an altar.

5. Hecate as Moon Goddess and Queen of Ghosts.
6. Presence and symbolism of torch.
7. Various themes connecting function and local religious culture i.e. presence of local dominant religion in legends as the righteous prevailing over evil.

The Triple Dimension Concept

There are several theories of the triple dimension concept of Hecate. One is that it represents “the three faces of woman: maiden, mother, and crone” (Thomas, 22).

Theories of the triple head however, is that the triple head represents earth-heaven-sea (Pike, 173); past-present-future; three formed because of association with the moon: crescent-full-waning (Barnard, 85); yet another theory suggests a three headed dimension has to do with the need for Hecate (at the Crossroads, discussed below) to look down in three directions.

In local legend versions Hecate appears to represent the triple dimension of what Thomas refers to as the “three faces of woman” by the following: “The legend versions depict woman as nun-a virginal maiden (Persephone); woman as a pregnant nun who becomes a mother (Demeter); a woman as a death threatening witch (Hecate) (Thomas, 22).” This can be seen in the following legend versions:

First, the image of nuns being raped as was the virginal maiden Persephone raped by Hades. “The nuns used to come up here in the wintertime and stay. One spring the nuns didn’t come back. The townspeople went up to investigate, and they found the bodies of the nuns floating in the swimming pool, because they had been raped and murdered” (Fife Folklore Archives, Coll. 8. USU. 84-050. Item 5).

Second, the ancient notion of nuns and priests engaging in sexual acts; and consequently depicted in some of these legends as pregnant and having babies. This

image may represent Demeter- mother of Persephone evident by the following quote:

“One of the nuns got pregnant by a young priest” (Fife Folklore Archives, L2.1.12.1.37).

Third, a depiction of Hecate—a woman as a witch or sometimes referred to as the devil’s wife: “The story goes that an old woman lives somewhere up Logan Canyon. She is suppose to be a witch” (Fife Folklore Archives, L2.3.1.15.8). Another version similarly states: “If you go up Logan Canyon to 3rd dam . . . you can summon the Devil’s wife, her name is Heckada” (Fife Folklore Archives, L2.3.1.15.9).

Hecate’s Suppers – Hecate at the Cross Roads

The Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics explains that crossroads are regarded as the dwelling place of evil spirits and ghosts creating bad luck and danger. Hecate is the Divinity of Crossroads (E.R.E. Vol. II, 330b). This is a place where at a new or full moon, rich people would worship her by leaving offerings in forms of food referred to as “suppers of Hecate.” The crossroads was also a symbolic place for the sacrifices of newborn babies. Myth tells how “Hecate, as newly born infant, was exposed at a cross-way, but rescued and brought up by shepherds. This probably points to an actual custom of exposure at cross-roads . . . (E.R.E.Vol. II 333b). Dogs were also a form of sacrifice at the cross-roads.

St. Anne’s may be a symbol of crossroads in terms of culture, religion and gender. A ghostly nun, may be a symbol of a strange outside culture and religion in which females at the retreat are perceived by locals to be dominant. The nuns in the legends take on aspects of Hecate—and she haunts this metaphoric crossroads. Hecate is known as the mother of ghosts (Leeming, 152); just as the nun becomes mother, she

(Hecate-the nun) in a twisted way is also mother of dead sacrificed newborn babies who represent ghosts in the legends, and their spirits haunt the place. Another interesting theme is the presence of dogs in the legends and the historical significance in reference to “Hecate’s Suppers.” It explains that the poor and dogs would often consume the food offerings left at crossroads—hence the presence of dogs around the local legendary Hecate. Dogs are also told to be a form of sacrifice left at the crossroads (E.R.E., Vol. VI. 566b; Vol. II 333b; [Vol. VIII. 333b]). In tradition, dogs are often associated with the devil (Toelken, personal communication) which may explain their presence in Hecate’s darker times.

Hecate and the keys of Hades: keys as part of ritual in legend-tripping

Keys are sometimes an important symbol in “Witch Hecate” and “St. Anne’s” legends. From a mythological perspective, Hecate is known to hold and possess the keys of Hades. “She is even called the Lady bearing the keys of the Universe . . . “ [it is further explained that] “The significance of the keys generally signifies the power over the regions . . . (E. R. E. Vol. VIII 123a). Keys become a central point of a specific ritual, and play a significant role in this following legend version: “This is supposed to have happened to someone when they went up to St. Anne’s. They drove their car up there, parked it, and turned off the lights. They put their car keys on the top of the car to bring Witch Hekeda down. A light shone on the car and the car keys disappeared. They couldn’t leave St. Anne’s without their keys, and they never returned home (Fife Folklore Archives, Coll. 8. USU collection#?! item #3 and 4).” This narrative clearly seems to suggest that Hecate is the holder of the keys—including *their* keys. She is the divinity of

the underworld who not only possesses their keys and but also has obvious powers over this particular region (St. Anne's Retreat and the Spring Hollow area). She appears to determine in this story if in fact these trespassers may leave or not.

Sacrifice of newborns-in reference to the swimming pool as an altar

As discussed above, newborn babies are known to be a form of sacrifice at the crossroads. In the local legends discussed in this paper, the illegitimate offspring of the nuns is also known to be sacrificed. It can be understood as a local, modern day metaphoric crossroads; and on this site, newborn babies are also said to be murdered (sacrificed)—namely in the legendary swimming pool at St. Anne's Retreat. The swimming pool, with its frequent reference to murder in the legends, may serve as a symbolic altar in depicting the drowning babies and nuns. The ancient custom and ritual at doorways functioned to avert evil, and signified a place where offerings and sacrifices were made (altars often being placed right inside doorways). One can hypothesize that the intruders at St. Anne's in fact also came through a doorway (symbolic door, i.e. gate) to enter the St. Anne's property—to become a potential sacrifice as haunted victims of a ghostly nun.

Hecate as Moon Goddess and Queen of Ghosts

Hecate is considered by many to be primarily the moon Goddess “and one who forecasts perilous, unwelcome change” in the night [handout, Jeannie]. Hecate, the deity of crossroads—haunts the crossroads with her triple head staring in three directions to keep watch over evil powers. It is at new moon or full moon that offerings are given to Hecate at the crossroads. “Hecate is Mother of Ghosts, Queen of the underworld, of death” (Leeming, 152).

In the legends it is common to witness supernatural phenomena at a full moon. One such account is: “Near Saint Anne’s retreat up in Logan Canyon there is a small canyon. It is said if you go to this canyon around midnight, with the moon full in the night sky, and you call the name Heckata three times she will appear” (Fife Folklore Archives, L2.1.12.1.48).

Presence and Symbolism of the Torch

The torch in mythic terms symbolizes Demeter’s search for her daughter Persephone after Hades raped her and took her to the underworld. Demeter searches desperately for her daughter with “lighted torches in her hands” (E.R.E. Vol. XII, 390a). Perhaps, in accordance with some legend versions, Hecate in the form of a bewitched nun, is also told to carry a torch; but rather than a torch in these examples, she uses a lantern. No longer is Hecate (or the bewitched nun) looking for her daughter Persephone, but she may be wandering the grounds of St. Anne’s or Spring Hollow searching for her murdered baby. The following examples illustrate such stories. First,

an apparent torch, second, a lantern: (Fife Folklore Archives, L2.3.1.15.4; Coll. 8. USU. The Lynching Mob item#8).

Various themes connecting function and local religious culture i.e. presence of local dominant religion in legends as the righteous prevailing over evil

There exists a definite local religious flavor across many of the local Hecate legend versions depicting the more favorable dominant local religious culture over the strange, perhaps threatening outside influence of the Catholics. This is evident in legend #1 above, labeled “Witch Heketa” illustrated by the following quote:

A hand rubbed away some of the moisture on the passenger window by the girl and an old woman's face looked in. The girl went into a sort of trance and floated up off the seat a few inches. The boy got the car started and drove home quickly where his father, who was *a Mormon bishop*, gave the girl a blessing and she snapped out of the trance [my emphasis] (Fife Folklore Archives, L2.3.1.15.8).

Another example from legend #2 above, labeled “Heckada” tells:

The mistress stared into the boy's eyes and said “I have come for you”. The boy freaked out and didn't know what to do, the girl was screaming and crying. Then the boy remembered to say “*In the name of Jesus Christ I command you to leave*” [my emphasis] at the very instance of saying that, the mistress and her wolves disappeared (Fife Folklore Archives, L2.3.1.15.9).

This clearly represents what Hufford refers to as “faith promoting” events or stories (Hufford, 222). It serves to reaffirm the dominant and superior religion over the intruding, strange outside church as represented by the presence of nuns in Logan Canyon. It appears to symbolize that good (Mormon bishop giving blessing—and chasing evil spirits away with “in the name of Jesus Christ”) breaks the spell of the evil abominable and apostate church as noted through Mormon doctrine (Thomas, 18; Notes

7). Thomas continues: “Those who do go to the site are invariably frightened and end up retreating to the safety of their own LDS culture.”

Another prominent theme surfacing in the legends is that of gender. This brings us back to the beginning of this paper—speaking of the Goddess and her mythological presence in local legend and geography. It brings forth aspects of challenges from a matriarchal and matrilineal local codes of living stemming from a patriarchal culture, based on religious beliefs dating back to the Old Testament. It is portrayed and manifested through the mythological Goddess Hecate, the power of the Goddess and Woman—challenging the notion of the patriarchal system; it confronts, and perhaps challenges local beliefs and attitudes in a culture dominated by men. In accordance with local belief—the female in the legends appear to take on a submissive and subservient role. As evident in the example in the previous paragraph, the male is dominant and has the power to avert evil. From this it is important to note that the Mormon bishop is male, while the Goddess Hecate is female. Stone describes the Paradise myth as “still the bedrock of fundamental theological arguments that women are divinely ordained to be subservient.” This idea seems clear when looking at Mormon doctrine, and the status and role of the woman in local culture and legend; while the challenge to retain a status quo in a world that is in constant challenge of the patriarchal system and its dominance over women. It is the male who in many of the stories initiates the courtship ritual of visiting these sites haunted with the presence of the (female) supernatural. He appears as dominant male, aggressor, and savior; he is also capable through the power of the Mormon priesthood to revert evil, as mentioned in version #2 above. The male initiates courtship; the female is depicted in the legends as resisting his advances while she is

expected to refrain from intimacy until marriage. So here her belief and moral codes are challenged. While his advances and plans for romance goes awry, he gets angry and calls upon the supernatural. He evidently inhibits the power to do so, as well as to make the evil go away using religious authority, power of the priesthood (which is in present day only given to men), and subsequently brings them both back to the safety of the Mormon culture. Example: (Legend version #2 above; Fife Folklore Archives, L2.3.1.15.9).

Other examples of male dominance and female subordination are: “There were three guys who wanted to go, and three *girls who didn't want to go. Since the boys were driving, they went*” [my emphasis]. Once there, one of the *boys* proceeds to tell the St. Anne's legend. Later in the story, it tells of everyone running back to the car—*but the girls were slower*” [my emphasis] (Fife Folklore Archives, Coll. 8. USU. 84-050. Item 10). Some stories further illustrate moral transgressions as being punishable by rape and death (Fife Folklore Archives, L 5,11,12). This concept also has ancient origins. As the male deities took prominence in the Goddess religions [time period] or as illustrated in ancient Hebrew societies (Stone, 56) the moral codes so dictated that punishment for moral transgressions was to be put to death. The ancient belief and custom went as far as to punish a woman who had been raped with death. The notion of moral transgressions punishable by death as noted through ancient belief and custom, and as depicted in local legend is evident in the depiction of the female—a nun—who becomes the model for unacceptable moral behavior and consequently becomes raped and murdered for her choices. This possible representation may serve as a powerful image to members participating in this local courtship ritual and serves as a reminder to follow principles as set forth by the indigenous religion.

The mythological and historical significance of the Goddess religion in relation to the presence of the mythological Goddess appearing as a nun in local legends has been presented and illustrates several themes drawn somehow from mythology of Goddess-Hecate. The presence of these classical themes incorporated in the modern legends may remain a curious aspect, but as a whole, all of the stories seek to exemplify certain aspects of the local people's attitudes and beliefs. This is illustrated in what may constitute their fears and concerns. One of these has to do with gender. Underlying anxieties are displayed through these legends and may stem from the systematic changes in the roles of women through time. To understand the present day presence of the Goddess Hecate in local legend, it is important to understand that gender is still an vital and combative issue—particularly in the local religious culture that may resist the worldly changes around them in order to maintain their religious convictions, including the role and status of woman in this culture. Somehow, Hecate an ancient mythical underworld divinity-manages to creep into modern day local legends; the resiliency of this myth thousands of years old functions today to in ways described above. The triple Goddess Hecate performs as a witch and a nun in both legend versions; and in a sense, she is still worshipped today as thrill seekers tempt their fate by making visits to her habitat in the metaphoric crossroads of Logan Canyon.

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