

A History of Dialogue, Part Two: Struggle toward Maturity, 1971–1982

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AFTER *DIALOGUE: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT* was founded by Mormons at Stanford University in 1966, it attracted Latter-day Saint scholars from all over the United States, and soon its success surpassed the expectations of everyone involved. It mattered little that *Dialogue* was an independent publication without institutional ties or subsidies. As Mormon intellectuals flocked to sample the offerings of the new journal, subscriptions soon approached 8,000. With this phenomenal interest, the editors of the new journal proved early on that there was a need for a scholarly publication which would satisfy the spiritual and intellectual needs of faithful but thinking Mormons. It dealt with issues as no LDS publication ever had and found that, in creating an independent voice, Mormonism was ultimately the better for the exchanges.

Along with those who came to value *Dialogue* as part of their own quest, however, were many who came on board only out of curiosity. Once that curiosity had been satisfied, their subscriptions permanently lapsed. There were others who waited in vain for an official endorsement of *Dialogue* from LDS leaders. For them, the church's announced position of neutrality was not sufficient.¹ Uncomfortable reading a Mormon-oriented publication that the church did not officially sanction, they, too, severed their relationship with the journal. By 1970, *Dialogue* was left with one managing editor, and the added responsibility began to take its toll. Publication soon fell behind schedule and, as a result of all of the above, subscriptions dropped to 5,000 before the end of the first editor-

1. See the announcement in the *Priesthood Bulletin* 3 (March–June 1967): 1.

ship. Money finally became an issue as *Dialogue* struggled to keep up with rising printing costs, amassing a debt of several thousand dollars in the process.

Eugene England and G. Wesley Johnson, co-editors since 1966, left Stanford and their positions at *Dialogue* by 1971. England departed first, accepting a job at St. Olaf College in Northfield, Minnesota, in 1970, and Johnson went to Africa one year later for a brief sabbatical.² With that, the Stanford experience came to a close.

The decade following the end of *Dialogue*'s first editorship witnessed a move into uncharted territory. It was, in fact, another decade of pioneering. By the end of that decade, *Dialogue* still boasted only a small readership, but a much more committed readership. The journal was financially healthy, seemed permanently established, and was—almost—back on schedule. Ironically, it was during its worst moments of despair that *Dialogue*'s message was most relevant. Not all ears welcomed that voice, however, and with the dawning of the eighties, anti-intellectual sentiment became more vocal in the institutional church. This trend would not reach its peak for another decade, however, allowing *Dialogue* and the publications and organizations that followed to become a safe haven for those who valued "the life of the mind in all its variety."³

III. 1971-1976: "IN THE VALLEY OF THE SHADOW"

I would be terribly disturbed at the prospect of *Dialogue* "going under." I too am mystified at your seeming inability to get more subscriptions. . . . I will of course, keep asking all my friends the *Dialogue* "golden question."

Armand L. Mauss to Robert A. Rees, 6 January 1973

I have made an in-depth study of content and form through the last ten years, and I would put Rees's performance up against anybody's, considering the great odds under which he worked.

Mary L. Bradford to Robert F. Smith, 10 February 1977

Before he left Stanford in 1971, Wesley Johnson asked Robert Rees of the English department at UCLA to take over the *Dialogue* editorship. Rees had worked closely with the Stanford team from his home in Los

2. For the account of *Dialogue*'s first editorial team, see Devery S. Anderson, "A History of *Dialogue*, Part One: The Early Years, 1965-1971," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 32 (Summer 1999):15-66.

3. The quotation comes from the 1965 "Prospectus of *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*," found in the *Dialogue* Foundation Collection, ACCN 385, Manuscripts Division, Special Collections, University of Utah, Marriott Library, Salt Lake City.

Angeles, eventually becoming part of the editorial staff. As England recalls, he and Johnson had been "grooming" Rees for the job.⁴ Rees accepted the offer and assumed the editorship of *Dialogue* on 1 September 1971.

Despite inheriting a journal that was behind schedule and in debt, Rees's enthusiasm never waned. A 1960 graduate of Brigham Young University, he had earned his Ph.D. at the University of Wisconsin in 1966, the year *Dialogue* first appeared. By the time he began his own editorship, he and his wife, Ruth (Stanfield), had four young children, ages 3–10, and he was six years into an appointment as assistant professor of literature at UCLA. Active in the LDS church, he had earlier served two years in the Northern States Mission (1956–58). Rees's first contact with *Dialogue* occurred when he received a flyer in the mail in late 1965. Not only did he immediately subscribe, but he offered to aid the fledgling publication in any way that he could.⁵ Looking back to the day when he received the first issue, Rees once recalled "the excitement with which I opened it and devoured it in one sitting. I suddenly felt a renewal of faith in myself and in my fellow Saints."⁶

In the ensuing years, Rees made good on his offer to help, serving both as book review and issue editor toward the end of the England–Johnson tenure, and guest-editing a special issue (with Karl Keller) on "Mormonism and Literature" (Autumn 1969). Rees's remaining "deeply committed to the journal"⁷ showed that no one was better prepared to take over the reins.

Rees's deep commitment was tested many times in the days ahead, however. For the next five years, he would cope—often alone—with obstacles that seriously threatened the future of *Dialogue*.

The Move South

Because Rees had previously worked with the Stanford team, he was aware that publication of *Dialogue* had fallen behind schedule long before he officially took command of the journal. However, he was surprised to discover the size of the backlog of unread manuscripts that awaited him. This alone guaranteed that delays would continue in Los Angeles. In addition, costs of printing the journal, which had begun to escalate by the end of the previous editorship, continued to skyrocket.

4. Eugene England interview, conducted by Devery S. Anderson, 8 November 1994, in Salt Lake City, Utah.

5. Robert A. Rees to Devery S. Anderson, 12 March 2000.

6. Robert A. Rees, "A Continuing Dialogue," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 6 (Spring 1971): 4.

7. Robert A. Rees to Devery S. Anderson, 1 June 1998.

When Rees began his tenure, *Dialogue* still owed a large debt to its printer in Salt Lake City.⁸ Rees wrote to Bud Nichols, owner of Quality Press: "I have been promised money [from the out-going team] for over a month and have yet to see one cent. I have been paying for our operation down here out of my own pocket in fact. As soon as the transfer is made, I will take a look at our financial situation and let you know how much we can pay you."⁹ In addition to these challenges, the many factors involved in moving *Dialogue* to Los Angeles and establishing the offices guaranteed that the journal would remain behind schedule and in debt for the foreseeable future.

Early on, Rees secured office space for *Dialogue* at the University Conference Center across from the UCLA campus; it would later move to an office in nearby Westwood Village.¹⁰ However, he did not enjoy the same benefits as had the founding staff in Palo Alto. The earlier editors had been invited to occupy space on the Stanford campus, free of any expenses.¹¹ Rees was not as lucky. Although he negotiated an acceptable rental rate for the Los Angeles office, the expense added strain to *Dialogue's* already tenuous budget.¹²

Other aspects of the move to Los Angeles also created some tension. During that summer, Rees found himself at odds with the former editors over his intent to move the editorial office to Los Angeles. Everyone agreed that the office needed to be moved from Palo Alto, but Wesley Johnson, Eugene England, and Paul Salisbury—three of *Dialogue's* founders now serving as advisory editors—favored relocating it to Salt Lake City, where several editorial assistants resided. If all the manuscripts were edited in Los Angeles, the founders reasoned, that setup "would leave [the Salt Lake City group] with crumbs."¹³ Rees countered

8. Robert A. Rees to Helen and Larry Cannon, 24 June 1974, *Dialogue* Collection.

9. Robert A. Rees to Bud Nichols, undated, *Dialogue* Collection.

10. The Conference Center housed the University Religious Council, of which the LDS church was a founding member. The URC is a coalition of several religious groups, both Christian and non-Christian. Hence, the University Conference Center seemed "a logical place" to house *Dialogue*, Rees reasoned (Robert A. Rees to Devery S. Anderson, 17 August 1999).

11. See Anderson, 33.

12. Rees to Anderson, 1 June 1998; Rees to Anderson, 17 August 1999. One of Rees's associate editors, Brent Rushforth, remembers the office as adequate for editorial duties, but otherwise limited: Due to lack of space, 14,000 back issues of *Dialogue* would be stored in his garage. Eventually, Gordon Thomasson, another associate editor, rented a moving truck and transported them to a storage facility in Salt Lake City (Brent N. Rushforth telephone interview, conducted by Devery S. Anderson, 21 April 2000; Gordon C. Thomasson to Devery S. Anderson, 31 March 2000).

13. Wesley Johnson, Eugene England, and Paul Salisbury to Robert A. Rees, 7 July 1971, *Dialogue* Collection.

in a letter to all three that it would be impossible for him to manage the journal if he could not be near his own editorial staff. Besides, Los Angeles could provide equal talent: "I feel that there is definite support for the editorial office here," Rees insisted. Finally, Rees was also concerned about ongoing interference from the former editors. In the same letter, he writes:

I sense that you are reluctant to surrender control of the journal, and yet, I don't feel I can accept the major responsibility for the journal without being given the authority and support to do the job according to my own standards. . . . If I am to continue to have a major part in the publication of *Dialogue*, I have to have people I can rely on and people who are close enough for me to have some kind of control over.¹⁴

Wesley Johnson, responding on his own, noted Rees's obvious frustration and proposed a compromise. He suggested that the business and publication offices remain in Salt Lake City under BYU professor Edward Geary, while the editorial office would transfer to Los Angeles, under Rees, who would serve as "executive editor." Johnson wrote: "I for one am impressed with the kind of talent pledged in L.A., although this has been questioned in SLC [Salt Lake City]."¹⁵ By September, however, Rees and his advisors reached a different compromise: There would be two editorial staffs, one based in Los Angeles and the other in Salt Lake City. The business office would also be housed in Los Angeles, but the subscription office would remain at Stanford.¹⁶

This arrangement gave Rees the control he needed as editor and allowed Geary and his Utah staff some input in the selection of manuscripts. A September prospectus declared the new policy: "All manuscripts submitted to *Dialogue* are initially screened by the Los Angeles editorial staff. Those manuscripts potentially publishable in *Dialogue* are then carefully and closely evaluated by the editorial staff in Los Angeles and Utah and at times by members of the National Board of Editors."¹⁷ By making this change, *Dialogue* would scale back the use of the editorial board, a move Rees saw as an improvement:

During our first years manuscripts submitted to *Dialogue* were sent out to at least three members of the editorial board for review. Some members of the board were very punctual and efficient and returned the MSS [manuscripts]

14. Robert A. Rees to Wesley Johnson, Paul Salisbury, and Eugene England, 12 July 1971.

15. Wesley Johnson to Robert A. Rees, 14 July 1971, *Dialogue* Collection.

16. "A Prospectus for *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*," September 1971, *Dialogue* Collection.

17. *Ibid.*

in a short period. Others either let them mold in their desks or were so excited about them they loaned them to friends and never got them back. It was perhaps a necessary process during those formative years. . . [but the] main problem with this procedure was that it took an inordinate amount of time to process some MSS. (We wrote rejection letters this past week on two MSS received in 1968!)¹⁸

A new six-step method of processing manuscripts was devised with the hope that it would create greater efficiency:

1. MS [manuscript] comes into the *Dialogue* office and a letter of acknowledgment is immediately sent.
2. MS is read within one week by a member of the Los Angeles editorial staff to determine if it is worthy of consideration. If it isn't a rejection letter is written.
3. If worthy of consideration (which means that it is not totally without redeeming quality), a copy is made and sent to the Salt Lake-Provo editorial group (headed by Edward Geary of BYU), who sends back a written recommendation or evaluation within six weeks. At the same time the MS is read by at least three members of the Los Angeles staff.
4. If the staff (in Los Angeles or Salt Lake-Provo) feels an outside opinion is needed, the MS is sent to members of the board of editors or to outside experts.
5. When the recommendation is received from the Salt Lake-Provo group the Los Angeles group meets and makes a decision. It should be noted that final responsibility for accepting manuscripts necessarily remains with the editor, including special guest-edited issues.
6. If the MS is rejected, a letter is written. If it is accepted, a letter is written with an indication as to when the MS is projected to appear. A personal data form is also sent to the author at this time. If the MS is accepted with revisions, a member of the Board of Editors is assigned to work with the author in getting the MS into acceptable shape.¹⁹

In addition to redefining the role of the Board of Editors, a Board of Advisors was added to the operation. Its purpose was to "[advise] the editorial staff and the Board of Trustees on all affairs of *Dialogue*. . . . The Board also has a primary function of raising funds for the support of *Dialogue*." The Board of Trustees, formed during the final year at Stanford, would remain to help "direct and control the affairs of the Foundation."²⁰

Although Rees had assured the former editors that he would have an able staff in Los Angeles, assembling such willing hands took longer

18. *Board of Editors Newsletter*, 6 (January 1972):1 & 2, *Dialogue* Collection.

19. *Ibid.*

20. "Prospectus," 1971, 3.

than anticipated. Hence, as Rees jokes, he was "chief cook and bottle washer" during the earliest months of his editorship.²¹ He recalls: "Slowly I began to assemble a cadre of volunteers who helped enormously."²² The Los Angeles staff at the time of the first issue included associate editors Kendall O. Price, Brent N. Rushforth,²³ Gordon C. Thomasson,²⁴ and Frederick G. Williams III; assistant editors Mary Ellen MacArthur and Samellyn Wood; and business manager C. Burton Stohl.²⁵ Soon Rees would be joined by others: Fran Anderson and David J. Whittaker, assistant editors; Thomas M. Anderson, business manager (Stohl would be named financial consultant); Chris Hansen, management consultant; and Barbara White, executive assistant. Kathy Nelson would soon replace Linda Lane as secretary.²⁶

The Utah Editorial Team

As mentioned earlier, the Salt Lake City-Provo editorial group was headed by Edward A. Geary, an English department faculty member at BYU. Geary had been a graduate student at Stanford when *Dialogue* was founded and served from the beginning as an editorial assistant. In 1967, he took over the duty of manuscripts editor when Frances Menlove, one of the five original founders of the journal, left Stanford and moved with her husband to Germany.²⁷

Despite intense deliberations that went into the plan laid out in the 1971 prospectus, the actual splitting of editorial duties between staffs in Los Angeles and Utah was never fully realized. As Geary puts it, his "'Utah team' was mostly a fiction,"²⁸ although it did include Paul Salisbury, by then teaching at Utah State University, and Richard H. Cracroft

21. Rees to Anderson, 1 June 1998.

22. Rees to Anderson, 17 August 1999.

23. Rushforth, who had worked with the founding editorship while a student at Stanford, went on to law school at Berkeley. After earning his J.D., he moved to Los Angeles, residing in the same Westwood Ward as Rees. His ward relationship with Rees led to his new role with *Dialogue* (Rushforth telephone interview, 21 April 2000).

24. Thomasson was a graduate student at the University of California at Santa Barbara when he joined the *Dialogue* team. Thomasson came to know Rees while working in the University Conference Center. "We comfortably prayed together, went to the L.A. temple, and shared a desire to make the magazine a constructive force in the gospel/church" (Thomasson to Anderson, 31 March 2000).

25. As late as January 1972, Rees was still organizing his staff: "I am adding associate editors as I can find responsible people to do editorial work. Today we are having our second all-day editorial session in an attempt to get completely current on manuscripts" (Robert A. Rees to Wesley Johnson, 11 January 1972, *Dialogue* Collection).

26. Three other secretaries would follow Nelson: Carolan Postma Ownby, Virginia Larimore, and Linda Smithana.

27. Edward A. Geary to Douglas Bunker, 17 September 1966, *Dialogue* Collection.

28. Edward A. Geary to Devery S. Anderson, 31 January 2000.

of BYU.²⁹ Far from dividing the work as envisioned, Geary insists that he and his staff had lesser involvement: "[I] tried to solicit manuscripts in Utah. We had an annual board meeting at conference time. Pretty much everything else happened in Los Angeles." Since Rees and his local staff handled most of the affairs of the journal, Geary's duties consumed only a few hours of his time each week, and very little space. "The Provo 'office' was a drawer in my filing cabinet," he jokes.³⁰ One duty assigned to the Utah team was overseeing theme issues.³¹ With most of the work being handled by Rees and his staff, Geary's title was officially changed to that of associate editor in 1973 (he was also made book review editor at this time). "Probably [this move] was simply a recognition of the reality," he says.³²

Late Issues, Shrinking Subscribers

With *Dialogue* already behind schedule when he began his tenure, Rees faced a difficult challenge. The spring and summer issues of 1971, although several months late, were at press by early November, and would be mailed before the end of the month. The plan was for the fall issue to follow in January 1972.³³ However, further delays caused by converting to a new computer program forced the fall issue to be combined with the winter release, thus becoming the first double issue in *Dialogue's* publishing history.³⁴ Although it did not appear until June 1972, this combined issue was a blessing, given the strained finances. In a letter to former editors, Rees wrote: "According to my calculation we

29. Edward A. Geary to Devery S. Anderson, 28 March 2000.

30. Geary to Anderson, 31 January 2000. From 1983 to 1991, Geary served as the editor of *BYU Studies*. In comparing the two experiences, he acknowledges: "I certainly approached my assignment with *BYU Studies* more confidently because of my experience with *Dialogue*." However, "[t]he two experiences were quite different in most ways. The one was an independent journal, the other an institutional organ. The one was a voluntary activity, the other a job assignment" (Geary to Anderson, 31 January 2000). For a brief reminiscence of his editorial experience with *BYU Studies*, see Edward A. Geary, "Confessions of a Chameleon, 1983–1991," *BYU Studies* 38, no. 1 (1999): 14–17.

31. Robert A. Rees to James B. Allen, 7 November 1971, *Dialogue* Collection. Geary recalls a theme issue on science and religion (Autumn/Winter 1973) as "the most extensive project done from Utah," since it was guest-edited by BYU professor James L. Farmer and many of the articles in the issue came from BYU faculty (Geary to Anderson, 28 March 2000). This issue is discussed more extensively below.

32. Geary to Anderson, 31 January 2000.

33. Robert A. Rees to Mr. T. E. Littlefield, 3 November 1971, *Dialogue* Collection.

34. Robert A. Rees to Eugene England, Edward A. Geary, Wesley Johnson, and Paul G. Salisbury, 28 February 1972, *Dialogue* Collection. According to Rees, staff member Chris Hansen set up this computer program. "It was the first for *Dialogue* and it took some time to work the bugs out" (Rees to Anderson, 17 August 1999).

should be able to save approximately \$5,000 by combining these two issues and I doubt that we will have much adverse reaction."³⁵ Indeed, neither the *Dialogue* correspondence nor the printed letters to the editor in follow-up issues reveal any subscriber complaints.

The chronic tardiness of the journal did not escape the watchful eye of the post office, however. A letter from the Salt Lake City Superintendent of Postal Services, T. E. Littlefield, warned that since "*Dialogue* is not being published and mailed in accordance with its established quarterly frequency, it is necessary that a determination be made regarding the continuance of your second-class mail privilege."³⁶ Rees had also missed a deadline for sending in a "statement of ownership." He assured Littlefield that the problems were due in part to being "in the throes of reorganization" and promised that the situation would soon be rectified: "Our organization is now reorganized and stabilized and as soon as we are back on schedule, we should have no difficulty in meeting your requirements."³⁷ However, Rees again forgot to send in the required statement, and on 18 November Littlefield wrote back: "You have failed to comply with this requirement and according to postal regulations, your publication may not be mailed at second-class rates of postage after ten days from this date or until such time as you come into compliance."³⁸

Although eventual improvements in *Dialogue's* mailing schedule restored its second-class privileges, the journal would remain on shaky ground with the post office. Four years later, after falling behind schedule again, Rees would report that "*Dialogue* is in danger of losing its second-class mailing permit and the post office has insisted that we get back on schedule."³⁹

Rees acknowledges that delays in publication "eroded some of the confidence in the journal," and subscriptions continued to decrease as a result.⁴⁰ Although active subscribers had already dropped significantly before Rees took over the editorship, he informed a staff member that the problem was becoming a Catch-22:

The situation is serious in that by the time we mail two issues at the end of the month [November 1971] we will owe the printer \$15,000. Before we can publish another issue he must be paid and until we get back on a regular publishing schedule we will continue to lose subscribers. As they used to say on the farm, we are between a rock and a hard place.⁴¹

35. Rees to England, Geary, Johnson, and Salisbury, 28 February 1972.

36. T. E. Littlefield to Robert A. Rees, 26 October 1971, *Dialogue* Collection.

37. Rees to Littlefield, 3 November 1971.

38. T. E. Littlefield to Robert A. Rees, 18 November 1971, *Dialogue* Collection.

39. Robert A. Rees to Dr. Harold T. Christensen, 28 October 1975, *Dialogue* Collection.

40. Rees to Anderson, 1 June 1998.

41. Robert A. Rees to Gary H. Driggs, 7 November 1971, *Dialogue* Collection.

Four months later, subscriptions had dropped to 3,800. A year later, they numbered only 2,000.⁴² Thus, it was left to Rees not only to manage the journal, but to save it as well.

It was during this trying period that Edward Geary asked the crucial question: "Is *Dialogue* Worth Saving?" This was the title of an essay he wrote and circulated to supporters of the journal in late 1971. "Is its survival in danger? The answer is an emphatic but not unqualified yes. *Dialogue* is not going to fold tomorrow." However, it would not survive without help: "With support from our friends we should be back on schedule by next spring. Support from our friends is essential, however, because the expense of printing and distributing these next three issues will stretch *Dialogue's* resources to and beyond the breaking point."⁴³

Indeed, money was more crucial now than ever. Geary continued: "*Dialogue* has been a hand-to-mouth operation from the beginning, but in the last three years the mouth has required more than the hand could provide." It would take a larger and more committed subscription base to prove that *Dialogue* was still relevant: "Obviously, any satisfactory solution will require great effort by many people, and it seems appropriate therefore to examine the question of whether *Dialogue's* survival justifies such efforts or whether it should be allowed to die quietly."⁴⁴ However, for Rees and a committed staff, a peaceful passing was not an option.

Dialogue Chapters and Fund-raising

In response to the dire circumstances described by Geary, the Board of Trustees set two goals early in the Rees tenure: (1) raise money to cover current needs, and (2) increase subscribers to 10,000. Through donations and new subscriptions, the trustees hoped to raise \$25,000 by June 1972. If these goals could be realized, *Dialogue* would become self-sufficient. If the larger subscription base could be maintained, that status would continue.

The plan of rejuvenation hoped to raise money from people everywhere, and throughout the fall and winter of 1971–72, supporters began forming "*Dialogue Chapters*" in several cities throughout the country. "I am sure we don't want anything too elaborate," wrote Rees to some prospective chapter heads, "but perhaps if each of you were to invite two

42. "Minutes of the *Dialogue* Executive Committee Meeting," 13 May 1973, *Dialogue* Collection.

43. Edward A. Geary, "Is *Dialogue* Worth Saving?," undated, *Dialogue* Collection. Geary recalls writing the essay "at a time when many people were reluctant to subscribe or contribute articles because it appeared that the journal might fold at any moment" (Geary to Anderson, 31 January 2000).

44. Geary, "Is *Dialogue* Worth Saving?"

or three couples who are interested in helping *Dialogue* that would be sufficient."⁴⁵

The trustees gave each chapter the responsibility of raising \$1,000. By January 1972, their efforts began to bear fruit. Rees wrote Wesley Johnson: "The response so far has been quite good in some areas (New York, Salt Lake City, Logan, and Los Angeles) but rather disappointing in Phoenix, Chicago, Boston, and Palo Alto."⁴⁶

That same month, Rees announced that the chapters had raised \$10,000. "Except for one \$1,000 contribution and several of \$200, these contributions have been \$100 or less. It is gratifying to know that so many people are willing to invest in *Dialogue*."⁴⁷ Soon, several large donations by concerned individuals provided even more energy and a needed boost to the campaign. Mary Bradford, living in Arlington, Virginia, had solicited J. Willard Marriott, owner of the national hotel chain, who responded by sending her fifty shares of stock in the Marriott Corporation. She informed Rees: "This will amount to about \$2,500."⁴⁸ Also, Mormon philanthropist O. C. Tanner donated \$1,000, while promising to make it an annual contribution.⁴⁹ Two weeks later, with the help of Leonard Arrington, G. Eugene England, Sr., the father of former *Dialogue* editor and founder Eugene England, made a \$5,000 donation. In a letter of thanks to Arrington, Rees wrote: "That is the most significant contribution we have had and I am thankful for your help in securing it."⁵⁰

By April 1972, the chapters had raised \$17,000, and things began to look better for *Dialogue*. When John Dart of the *Los Angeles Times* ran a story in May 1972 about *Dialogue*'s move to Southern California, it was entitled, "Brighter Outlook Seen for Mormon Magazine."⁵¹ In a letter of appreciation to Dart for his "fair and well written" article, Rees was happy to report that this publicity had brought in a dozen new subscriptions in just the nine days since the piece had appeared.⁵²

Getting Back on Schedule

Since *Dialogue* was still lagging behind in its publication schedule, many subscribers began to wonder if the journal had indeed folded.

45. Robert A. Rees to Garth L. Mangum, Lowell L. Bennion, Ken Handley, and D. Richard McFerson, 25 January 1972, *Dialogue* Collection.

46. Rees to Johnson, 11 January 1972.

47. *Board of Editors Newsletter*, 6:1 & 2.

48. Mary L. Bradford to Robert A. Rees, 24 January 1972, *Dialogue* Collection.

49. Robert A. Rees to Mary L. Bradford, 27 January 1972, *Dialogue* Collection.

50. Robert A. Rees to Leonard J. Arrington, 9 February 1972, *Dialogue* Collection.

51. See John Dart, "Brighter Outlook Seen for Mormon Magazine," *Los Angeles Times*, 13 May 1972, 24.

52. Robert A. Rees to John Dart, 22 May 1972, *Dialogue* Collection.

When six months passed without the release of another issue, one subscriber assumed the worst: "It is too bad *Dialogue* must fail. The stated purpose of *Dialogue* was a wonderful dream." Mourning its supposed death, the writer suggested with sadness that perhaps it was "an act against God to look facts squarely in the face."⁵³ Rees assured this concerned supporter that despite some difficulties, *Dialogue* was still in business:

Your letter of May 24 prompts me to respond with a paraphrase of Mark Twain's. Upon hearing from the newspapers the report of his demise, he said, "The reports of my death have been greatly exaggerated." The report you heard about the death or failure of *Dialogue* is also greatly exaggerated. *Dialogue* is not only surviving, it is almost at the point of profiting.⁵⁴

Despite Rees's optimism, however, people on the staff also began to wonder. "Where the heck is the magazine?" asked Mary Bradford. Rees responded that current delays were due to a "long series of problems we have had with the printer in Salt Lake City since January [1972]."⁵⁵ Consequently, Rees contracted with the Ward-Ritchie Press in Los Angeles, "one of the best in California," as he explained to editorial board member Richard Bushman, adding that "we are delighted with the prospects of a printer who is just down the street instead of 700 miles away."⁵⁶ Rees estimated that it would cost \$500–\$1,000 less per issue to continue to publish in Salt Lake City, but he was optimistic that this change would allow him to reestablish a reliable publishing schedule.⁵⁷

The change did, in fact, pay off. Through exhausting labor, the Los Angeles team managed to publish seven issues between November 1971 and December 1972, nearly catching the journal up to schedule for the first time since 1969.⁵⁸

Other factors also helped this accelerated schedule. Two of the issues were theme-centered and edited by outside guests, taking a tremendous burden off Rees. The first (discussed later) was a women's issue overseen by a group in New England (Summer 1971). The second, a special issue on "Mormonism in the Twentieth Century," was edited by James B. Allen of BYU (Spring 1972).⁵⁹ This issue also included special tributes to Mor-

53. William J. Tanner to Robert A. Rees, 24 May 1972, *Dialogue* Collection.

54. Robert A. Rees to William J. Tanner, 1 June 1972, *Dialogue* Collection.

55. Mary L. Bradford to Robert A. Rees, 24 May 1972; Robert A. Rees to Mary L. Bradford, 1 June 1972, both in *Dialogue* Collection.

56. Robert A. Rees to Richard L. Bushman, 7 July 1972, *Dialogue* Collection.

57. Robert A. Rees to Eugene England, 16 June 1972, *Dialogue* Collection.

58. Robert A. Rees to Elizabeth Salisbury, 1 March 1973, *Dialogue* Collection.

59. Nearly thirty years later, Allen pondered the contribution this issue made to a study of twentieth-century Mormonism. Referring to many of the articles as "pathbreaking," Allen stated:

mon president Joseph Fielding Smith, who had died the previous July. Rees later published an offprint of these tributes and mailed copies to stake presidents throughout the church in an attempt to give *Dialogue* some positive exposure.⁶⁰

Also contributing to the effort to get back on schedule was Rees's decision to cut down the size of the summer and autumn 1972 issues to 96 and 88 pages respectively. Writing to a concerned subscriber about these smaller issues, Rees explains: "I note your remark about the thinness of our most recent issues. That is partly due to economics. *Dialogue* is, as usual, struggling financially, and it takes a lot less to publish a ninety-page issue than some of the 160 or 170 page issues that we published in the past."⁶¹

Appropriate to its mailing late that December, the autumn 1972 issue focused on Christmas and included Samuel Taylor's delightful personal reminiscences, "The Second Coming of Santa Claus: Christmas in a Polygamous Family."

Rees also cut costs in other ways. Since 1967, all General Authorities had been given complimentary subscriptions to *Dialogue*. Aware that some within the hierarchy were critical of the journal, Rees sent an inquiry asking who still wanted to receive it.⁶² Those who specifically asked not to have it could cancel their subscriptions. Some asked to be

"What we wanted to do in this issue was to present some of the best of the current work being done, in the hope that it would not only provide new information and insights into important topics but also foreshadow and contribute to future studies of Mormonism in the twentieth century." Allen's aim was fulfilled most dramatically by F. Lamond Tullis, whose essay, "Three Myths about Mormons in Latin America," was included in this issue. In time, Tullis followed with over a dozen articles and books about the church in Latin America. "This is the best example of how an article in this issue of *Dialogue* foreshadowed other good things to come" (James B. Allen to Devery S. Anderson, 5 April 2000). For later works by Tullis, see, for example, F. Lamond Tullis, "The Church Moves Outside the United States: Some Observations from Latin America," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 13 (Spring 1980): 63–73, and F. Lamond Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico: The Dynamics of Faith and Culture* (Logan, UT: Utah State University Press, 1987).

60. Letter sent to stake presidents, dated November 1972, *Dialogue* Collection. For the tributes to Smith included in this issue, see Hoyt W. Brewster, Jr., "The Love of a Prophet"; Denise St. Sauveur, "A Convert Discovers a Prophet"; G. Homer Durham, "Joseph Fielding Smith—The Kindly, Helpful Scholar"; Henry Eyring, "A Tribute to President Joseph Fielding Smith"; Richard H. Cracroft, "The Discomforter: Some Personal Memories of Joseph Fielding Smith"; Mary L. Bradford, "From Someone Who Did Not Know Him Well . . ."; and Leonard J. Arrington, "Joseph Fielding Smith: Faithful Historian," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 7 (Spring 1972): 10–24.

61. Robert A. Rees to Lester E. Bush, 12 February 1973, *Dialogue* Collection. Rees felt that the ideal size of an individual issue was between 112 and 136 pages (Robert A. Rees telephone interview, conducted by Devery S. Anderson, 9 December 1994).

62. Ibid.

removed from the list; others wanted to keep active subscriptions.⁶³ Such inquiries would be made again in later years.

The Women's Issue

As subscribers received the first two issues released by the Los Angeles team in late 1971, one certainly stood out. The women's issue, dubbed the "pink" *Dialogue* because of the color of its cover, had had its genesis in the summer of 1970, over a year before Rees's tenure began. Eugene England had visited Cambridge, Massachusetts, in July and met with two local women, Claudia Lauper Bushman (who lived in Belmont) and Laurel Thatcher Ulrich (who lived in Newton Center).⁶⁴ Bushman remembers walking with England and Ulrich on the Harvard campus one evening and pausing near the Widener Library: "I just blurted out that there should be a women's issue of *Dialogue* and that we had a group who could put it together." According to Bushman, England liked the idea: "I expected more of a hard sell, but he just immediately agreed and said to go ahead with it."⁶⁵

Bushman and Ulrich had begun meeting with several women in their local circle the previous month and started discussing issues that concerned them. "The women's movement was much in the air at the time," says Ulrich. "We just wanted to see what, if anything, it had to do with us."⁶⁶ Bushman recalls, "Mormon feminism was nowhere, but as the American movement took off . . . the culture of it spilled over into the church."⁶⁷ Thus, for this New England group, producing a women's issue of *Dialogue* seemed inevitable and natural. Ulrich and other local women had already had publishing experience with the Relief Society-sponsored guidebook, *A Beginner's Boston*. Written as a fund-raising project for the Cambridge Ward, it appeared in local bookstores, sold over 20,000 copies, and raised several thousand dollars.⁶⁸ When Bushman and Ulrich received the go-ahead for the *Dialogue* project, they wasted little

63. England interview, 8 November 1994.

64. Both Claudia Bushman and Laurel Thatcher Ulrich went on to earn Ph.D.s while raising their children. Both have made contributions in the field of history at the national level. Bushman, who earned her doctorate at Boston University, has authored and co-authored several books on Mormon and American history and currently teaches part-time at Columbia University in New York. Ulrich, who earned her Ph.D. in 1980 at the University of New Hampshire, received the Pulitzer Prize in history in 1991 for her book, *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard Based on Her Diary, 1785-1812* (New York: Random House, 1990). She teaches history and women's studies at Harvard University.

65. Claudia Lauper Bushman to Devery S. Anderson, 14 May 2000.

66. Laurel Thatcher Ulrich to Devery S. Anderson, 9 May 2000.

67. Bushman to Anderson, 14 May 2000.

68. *A Beginner's Boston* became a Relief Society project after the ward elders' quorum turned it down (Ulrich to Anderson, 9 May 2000; see also Ulrich, 28). Later, after Ulrich

time. Bushman's husband, Richard, soon wrote Rees, who was still serving as *Dialogue's* issue editor: "Claudia plugs away on her Women's Lib issue. The ladies have a great time getting together to discuss it. There are some good heads in the group, too. Should be an intriguing issue."⁶⁹

Even with its fast launch and strong support, both women recall several difficulties, from within the group and without, which nearly terminated the project. "We had tensions in dealing with each other," admits Bushman.⁷⁰ Many of these problems would be natural with such an unprecedented undertaking. "The issue seems pretty innocuous now, but the whole project was still pretty threatening," insists Ulrich thirty years later. "Some women didn't want to be associated with something that might make them seem critical of the church. Others thought we were not being bold enough. I think we were trying hard to be ourselves."⁷¹

Bushman and Ulrich also had differences with Rees, whose editorship began just months before the issue went to press in late 1971. Bushman remembers: "[Bob] thought our considerations of housework, etc., did not deal with the real issues for women in the church, which were priesthood and polygamy."⁷² Ulrich also recalls the tension: "This kind of thing is common in editing projects. There was a real misunderstanding, I think, about how much authority we had."⁷³ In the end, however, Rees acquiesced, and the women produced the issue their way.⁷⁴

As a means of soliciting manuscripts, the guest editors announced a "call for papers" in the summer 1970 issue of *Dialogue* (inside back cover), and the Los Angeles office soon forwarded submissions to the group in Massachusetts. Some articles came from local women, while other supporters also sent manuscripts. "There were endless talks about balancing the issue, getting this or that to go into it," remembers Bushman. "The content mostly evolved, and I think it was quite representative of what we could get from a group not used to writing for such a publication."⁷⁵

The final product included an introduction by Bushman, "The Women of *Dialogue*," and an essay by Ulrich, "And Woe unto Them That are with Child in Those Days," a satirical look at the dilemma facing

moved to New Hampshire, Bushman edited another edition (Bushman to Anderson, 14 May 2000).

69. Richard L. Bushman to Robert A. Rees, 29 October 1970, *Dialogue* Collection.

70. Bushman to Anderson, 14 May 2000.

71. Ulrich to Anderson, 9 May 2000.

72. Bushman to Anderson, 14 May 2000.

73. Ulrich to Anderson, 9 May 2000.

74. Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, "The Pink *Dialogue* and Beyond," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 14 (Winter 1981): 32.

75. Bushman to Anderson, 14 May 2000.

Mormon women in following church counsel to rear a large family, while at the same time being mindful of worldly concerns about overpopulation. Juanita Brooks, in her essay, "I Married a Family," touched readers with her personal account of raising a combined family while quietly nurturing her love of writing (she hid her typewriter under her ironing when company came, and even members of her own family were not aware of her 1950 definitive study, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre*, until after it appeared in print).⁷⁶ Cheryl Lynn May contributed "The Mormon Woman and Priesthood Authority: The Other Voice." A selection of letters from single women, poetry, and the photographic essay, "Mormon Country Women," gave further insight into the issues Mormon women faced, their diversity, and the voices that were emerging. Housework was addressed by Shirley Gee in "Dirt: A Compendium of Household Wisdom." The issue featured only one contribution by a man: "Blessed Damozels: Women in Mormon History" by Leonard Arrington.

The pink issue was the first public sign that a feminist movement within modern Mormonism had been born. Bushman insists: "I think the [pink] issue was true of the times in dealing with the real issues that affected us."⁷⁷

The hard work of the Boston group paid off. Bushman recalls: "I think people were surprised and generally pleased. We got many favorable letters saying how at last there was a woman's voice."⁷⁸ Rees later sent Bushman and Ulrich the judges' statement of the fourth annual *Dialogue* prize competition, which awarded it "Special Recognition": "The 'Women's Issue' was one of the best collections—perhaps the very best—of worthy writing and brilliant editing in *Dialogue* history."⁷⁹

Soon, other projects followed. As Ulrich wrote ten years later, "The pink *Dialogue* was not responsible for this outpouring of women's voices, but it did begin it."⁸⁰ Arrington's essay played a role in that, as Ulrich explains: "I think Leonard's piece helped us see the importance of history."⁸¹ That realization led Judith Dushku to organize a class on nineteenth-century Mormon women for the Cambridge, Massachusetts, LDS institute in 1973. The class lectures later formed the chapters of *Mormon*

76. See Juanita Brooks, "I Married a Family," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 6 (Summer 1971): 15–21. For a full account of Brooks's life, see Levi S. Peterson, *Juanita Brooks: Mormon Woman Historian* (Logan, UT: Utah State University Press, 1989).

77. Bushman to Anderson, 14 May 2000.

78. *Ibid.*

79. Robert A. Rees to Claudia L. Bushman and Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, 15 September 1972, *Dialogue* Collection.

80. Ulrich, 30.

81. Ulrich to Anderson, 9 May 2000.

Sisters: Women in Early Utah, edited by Claudia Bushman in 1976.⁸² While researching her own lecture for the same institute project that Dushku began, Susan Kohler discovered at the Widener Library a set of the defunct Mormon feminist magazine, *Women's Exponent*, which ran from 1874–1914. With this forgotten voice serving as inspiration, a successor, *Exponent II*, was launched in the summer of 1974. Bushman served as its first editor with Ulrich and ten other women forming the editorial board.⁸³ The newspaper is still published quarterly out of Arlington, Massachusetts. "I suppose the pink issue gave us confidence that we could do more things," says Bushman, reflecting on the energy that followed it.⁸⁴

However, when asked what the pink issue did for Mormon feminism overall, Bushman is quick to answer: "Not enough." Still, she adds,

It was a voice in the wilderness. I was always interested in the way that our little group of housewives with crying babies began to be taken seriously, one of the great aims of our lives. People talked about the Boston group as if this was indeed the genesis of an important movement. I have been interested in talking to women who were there at the time, but were too engaged in their own work to be involved with us. They later asked why they weren't involved. Why hadn't they been invited, although they certainly were at the time. What we were doing just didn't look that important then. What I am saying is that these activities have now taken on a stature and importance beyond their relative importance at the time. Which is, of course, the way history gets skewed. We were present at an important creation.⁸⁵

Dialogue and the Beginning of "Camelot"

Only a few months after Mormon feminism was reborn, the LDS church made an announcement that also got the attention of *Dialogue* readers. In January 1972, the church departed from tradition and appointed a trained professional to the office of church historian. Leonard J. Arrington, professor of economics at Utah State University, accepted the call from First Presidency counselor N. Eldon Tanner. From the in-

82. See Claudia L. Bushman, ed., *Mormon Sisters: Women in Early Utah* (Cambridge, MA: Emmeline Press, 1976). A second edition appeared from Utah State University Press in 1997.

83. Bushman later resigned as editor of *Exponent II* at the encouragement of church leaders when her husband, Richard, was called to serve as stake president, for fear that the newspaper might be mistaken as an official church publication. "There were never any objections to the content of *Exponent*," Richard Bushman insists. "The Church just didn't want to have something that seemed an official publication when it was not" (Dennis Lythgoe, "Meeting of the Minds—Richard and Claudia Bushman," *Exponent II* 24 [Winter 2000]: 16).

84. Bushman to Anderson, 14 May 2000.

85. *Ibid.*

ception of the office, only members of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles had held this post, the most recent being Elder Howard W. Hunter, appointed in 1970. By Hunter's own admission, according to Arrington, "The Church Historian's Office had done almost nothing to compile church history since 1930."⁸⁶ Thus, with Arrington's call, a new era of church history research and writing began.

This was especially exciting for *Dialogue* because Arrington had once been associated as an advisory editor and had published regularly in the journal.⁸⁷ In addition, Arrington received approval for two assistant Church Historians who were also academics: history professors Davis Bitton (of the University of Utah) and James B. Allen (of BYU). Neither was a stranger to *Dialogue*, and both, like Arrington, had published frequently in the journal.⁸⁸ Bitton was even working as book review editor at the time and in 1974 would begin serving on *Dialogue's* editorial board.

Apostle Hunter was excited about the serious writing envisioned by the new team of professionals, telling Arrington, "The Church is mature enough that our history should be honest." In his memoirs, Arrington continues:

[Hunter] did not believe in suppressing information, hiding documents, or concealing or withholding documents for "screening." He thought we should publish the documents of our history. . . . He thought it in our best interest to encourage scholars—to help and cooperate with them in doing honest research. Nevertheless, Hunter counseled me to keep in mind that church members revered leaders and their policies. . . . If the daylight of historical research should shine too brightly upon prophets and their policies, he cautioned, it might devitalize the charisma that dedicated leadership inspires. I accepted Hunter's counsel as a mandate for free and honest scholarly pursuit, with a warning that we must be discreet.⁸⁹

Dialogue benefitted from the Arrington team as a dozen or so projects sponsored under the auspices of the historical department were eventually published in the journal. The first, "The Twentieth Century: Challenge for Mormon Historians" (Spring 1972) by James B. Allen and

86. Leonard J. Arrington, *Adventures of a Church Historian* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 78.

87. In fact, Arrington published his 1965 speech to the Western History Association in the premier issue of *Dialogue*. See Leonard J. Arrington "Scholarly Studies of Mormonism in the Twentieth Century," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 1 (Spring 1966): 15–32.

88. See for example, James B. Allen, "The Significance of Joseph Smith's 'First Vision' in Mormon Thought," and Davis Bitton, "Anti-Intellectualism in Mormon History," both in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 1 (Autumn 1966): 29–45 and 111–34, respectively.

89. Arrington, *Adventures of a Church Historian*, 84.

Richard O. Cowan, appeared in Allen's guest-edited theme issue.⁹⁰ "Oh, it was exciting," remembers Mary Bradford of *Dialogue's* editorial board. "People thought they could [write] almost anything."⁹¹ Rees remembers it as "a wonderful time. Intellectuals were valued, trusted, and honored for what they could do."⁹² This excitement remained strong through the end of Rees's term.

Arrington's call came four months after former editorial board member Dallin H. Oaks was appointed as president of Brigham Young University. Noting the implications, one Mormon historian spoke for many when he declared it a day of "toleration and understanding" for those involved with the journal: "What ever [sic] shadow of doubt may have been cast on one's loyalty to the Mormon Church through association with *Dialogue* . . . has certainly been dispelled by some recent events."⁹³ Although the tide would later change, Arrington's tenure has been dubbed "Camelot" for reasons remembered by assistant church historian Bitton: "It was a golden decade—a brief period of excitement and optimism."⁹⁴

Dialogue's Dark Days of 1973

Despite success in fund-raising, improvements in the schedule, and publishing quality scholarship, efforts to increase *Dialogue* subscriptions for the most part failed. Rees believed this was due in part to misunderstandings about the journal, as he explained to Arrington: "As strange as it may seem, *Dialogue* still suffers from myths and misconceptions that many hold about its purpose and design." This was a problem *Dialogue* could hardly afford: "All this would perhaps be harmless enough if *Dialogue* were not dependent upon new and continuing subscriptions to sustain its efforts." Lacking an adequate remedy for the situation, Rees continues:

In spite of the fact that we have published seven issues during the past twelve months and tried to publish a quality journal, subscriptions have not reached the break-even point and, in fact, have fallen considerably below our expectations. We don't know why, but certainly a contributing factor is

90. For a list of the publications of the History Division, see Davis Bitton, "Ten Years in Camelot: A Personal Memoir," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 16 (Fall 1983): 20–33.

91. Mary L. Bradford, oral history interview conducted by Devery S. Anderson, 6 October 1994, 4, Davis Bitton Papers, MS 39, Manuscripts Division, Special Collections, University of Utah Marriott Library.

92. Rees telephone interview, 9 December 1994.

93. Stanley B. Kimball, letter to the editor, *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 7 (Spring 1972): 4.

94. Bitton, "Ten Years in Camelot," 4.

the ignorance about and distrust of *Dialogue* that seem to abound in the Mormon community.⁹⁵

Rees further explained the persistent problem to Eugene England: "One of the things that we have to overcome is ignorance of *Dialogue* and also fear from people who feel that it is an apostate journal."⁹⁶ Writing another supporter four days later, it seemed to Rees that the situation could not get any worse as he now considered the possibility that *Dialogue's* days were numbered:

The fact of the matter is that *Dialogue* has not flourished in the last several years and we are mystified as to why this is the case and we are striving diligently to overcome it. There is a very real danger that if something is not done in the near future that *Dialogue* will have to cease publication. I personally will consider that a great tragedy, since I feel that *Dialogue* plays an extremely important role in the Mormon community.⁹⁷

More Chapters, More Money

There was no time to waste as Rees was forced to revitalize interest in *Dialogue*. Subscriptions were down, and Rees became even more frustrated about the journal's reputation. With dwindling support, the most pressing need, once again, was money.

Since the *Dialogue* chapters had earlier met with astonishing success, Rees and his staff began planning an encore.⁹⁸ Between January and May 1973, twelve new chapters were organized or revitalized, and each began operating with varying success. Overall, the commitment of supporters

95. Robert A. Rees to Leonard J. Arrington, 25 January 1973, *Dialogue* Collection.

96. Robert A. Rees to Eugene England, 8 February 1973, *Dialogue* Collection. Brent Rushforth, who worked closely with Rees on financial matters, remembers being perplexed at their failure to garner interest in *Dialogue*: "We never could figure out why subscriptions remained low. Its reputation should not have bothered people. Its independence was what appealed to people—I thought" (Rushforth telephone interview, 21 April 2000). According to Gordon Thomasson, "Our biggest problem was rumor with her ten thousand tongues. Everybody could tell me which general authorities hated us" (Thomasson to Anderson, 31 March 2000).

97. Rees to Bush, 12 February 1973, *Dialogue* Collection.

98. Rees and his team had tried various ways of raising money in addition to establishing the *Dialogue* chapters. In March 1973, for example, Rees and Kent Lloyd sent letters to at least nine different foundations, asking for donations to reduce the journal's \$18,000 deficit. Those solicited were: the *Reader's Digest* Foundation, the Marriott Corporation, the Irwin-Sweeny-Miller Foundation, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, the Hazen Foundation, the W. Clement and Jessie V. Stone Foundation, the Arthur Vining Davis Foundation, the Charles E. Merrill Trust, and the General Service Foundation. All these organizations declined to contribute. See letters sent to foundations, 13 March 1973, and their responses in *Dialogue* Collection.

was once again impressive: The Palo Alto chapter, after a poor performance previously, raised over \$1,000 by May, with a promise of more by the beginning of July; the Phoenix chapter sent in \$500 "and is moving strong;" George D. Smith, a New York Mormon who headed the *Dialogue* group there, sent in fifty new subscriptions; Mary Bradford, still in charge in the Washington, D. C., area, filled her home with sixty-five supporters in April; Eugene England managed to get one hundred new subscribers and raise \$1,000 in Chicago.⁹⁹ Although failing to reach the goal of \$25,000 by the end of 1973, Rees was happy to report that \$20,000 had been raised through this intensive campaign. In fact, as the journal's finances began to recover early in the campaign, Rees became *Dialogue's* first paid editor, receiving a salary of \$500 per month.¹⁰⁰

Because the chapter chairpersons had proved to be tremendous assets through these fund-raising efforts, they were soon installed as new members of the *Dialogue* Advisory Board.¹⁰¹

An Unlikely Endorsement

Rees was understandably concerned about the many misunderstandings about *Dialogue*, but he was surprised and heartened to read an endorsement of two past issues of the journal by the associate commissioner of education for the Church Education System. In the April 1973 issue of the seminary and institute publication, *Growing Edge*, Joe J. Christensen recommended that CES faculty read the Mormon History Association issue, guest edited by Leonard Arrington (Fall 1966), and James B. Allen's recent issue on twentieth-century Mormonism.¹⁰² Grate-

99. These statistics of the various chapters are found in the "Minutes of the *Dialogue* Executive Committee Meeting," 13 May 1973, *Dialogue* Collection.

100. "A Prospectus for *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*," February 1973, *Dialogue* Collection.

101. See Robert A. Rees to Becky Cornwall, 31 August 1973, *Dialogue* Collection. Rees was happy to announce that with the appointment of chapter chairpersons to the advisory board, more women would be serving *Dialogue*. Rees, who had tried to recruit women on his team, found the job difficult, as he explains in his letter to Cornwall: "We found in setting up chapters, however, that in most places where we attempted to get women to take the chair positions most of them would not. There is still the feeling by many women, in spite of the women's revolution that is taking place around us, that they should be advisors, counselors, but never the head of anything. As far as the Board of Editors is concerned, I have added two women to the Board since I became editor and I have attempted to get others to join the Board and have been unsuccessful in doing so."

102. See *Growing Edge* 5 (April 1973), published monthly, September through May, by the Department of Seminaries and Institutes of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, copy in *Dialogue* Collection. Christensen went on to head the Missionary Training Center in Provo, Utah, in 1979, followed by a four-year post as president of Ricks College in Rexburg, Idaho, beginning in 1985. He was called to the First Quorum of Seventy in 1989 where he served until achieving emeritus status in 1999.

ful, but believing such a limited endorsement was insufficient, Rees wrote Christensen and asked him to encourage more reading of *Dialogue* by CES personnel.¹⁰³ To this, however, Christensen was hesitant:

I am well aware of the fact that *Dialogue* has published some very significant articles and essays during the past several years, along with what has been some controversial material as well. What a strength it would be if we could amplify the former and de-emphasize the latter.¹⁰⁴

Rees responded promptly, and his sensitivity to the perceptions of *Dialogue* is apparent:

I was surprised to see your dichotomy between significant articles and controversial articles, and your suggestion that it would be better if *Dialogue* published fewer controversial articles. It seems to me that some of the most controversial articles we have published have also been among the most significant. I would also say that under my editorship, at least, *Dialogue* has not sought for controversy in and of itself, but some subjects by their very nature are controversial. It seems to me that this is no reason to shy away from them or to refuse to talk about them. In fact, in the history of the Church from its inception to the present, there has been a good deal of controversy and that controversy has often been very helpful to the Church. Joseph Smith himself was an extremely controversial person, and I think it is important for us to keep that in mind.¹⁰⁵

This philosophy would continue to guide Rees through the remainder of his tenure. In fact, two of *Dialogue*'s most controversial, yet important, issues would soon appear.

The "Negro Doctrine," Round Two

The Los Angeles team published the first of these landmark issues as *Dialogue* passed through its most serious financial struggle yet, and Rees was hopeful that reader interest would increase: "We hope the next issue, one of the most significant which we will have published, will do something to stimulate subscriptions."¹⁰⁶

Indeed, the Spring 1973 issue featured Lester Bush's "The Mormon Negro Doctrine: An Historical Overview," detailing the origins and history of the (then) current Mormon policy of denying the priesthood to black males. Providing the most thorough study of the policy to date, Bush examined all available primary sources and concluded that the

103. Robert A. Rees to Joe J. Christensen, 8 August 1973, *Dialogue* Collection.

104. Joe J. Christensen to Robert A. Rees, 14 September 1973, *Dialogue* Collection.

105. Robert A. Rees to Joe J. Christensen, 26 September 1973, *Dialogue* Collection.

106. Robert A. Rees to Doug Alder, 8 August 1973, *Dialogue* Collection.

priesthood ban did not begin with Mormon founder Joseph Smith as commonly taught, but had its origins with his successor, Brigham Young. Privately announced by Young in 1849, the ban was explained in various ways by church leaders over the next 120 years. Bush identified five periods of development in documenting Mormon justifications of the policy. In analyzing church leaders' attempts to explain the ban, Bush refuted popular doctrinal and scriptural rationales.¹⁰⁷ In his essay, Bush, who was serving as a medical doctor in the American Embassy in Vietnam, expanded a thesis he had first presented in a 1969 book review of Stephen G. Taggart's *Mormonism's Negro Policy: Social and Historical Origins*.¹⁰⁸ This earlier essay had also been published in *Dialogue*.¹⁰⁹ His 1973 follow-up article is remembered as one of the most important pieces ever to appear in the journal.¹¹⁰

Rees was not oblivious to possible repercussions in publishing the essay. "It is, of course, a potentially explosive issue, and undoubtedly there will be many people displeased at our efforts, but the time is long overdue, it seems to me, for us to publish some significant work on this subject."¹¹¹ Rees's words were prophetic as Bush's ground-breaking research immediately troubled some in the church hierarchy. Former editor Eugene England spoke to one church leader who believed that publication of the article "would stir up an issue which was physically dangerous to the General Authorities."¹¹² In fact, rumors were afloat, as one Mormon scholar remembered, that some church leaders "were on the hit lists of some black extremist groups who were set on killing them or 'roughing [them] up' during demonstrations."¹¹³

107. See Lester E. Bush, Jr., "Mormonism's Negro Doctrine: An Historical Overview," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 8 (Spring 1973): 11–68.

108. See Stephen G. Taggart, *Mormonism's Negro Policy: Social and Historical Origins* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1970).

109. See Lester E. Bush, "A Commentary on Stephen G. Taggart's *Mormonism's Negro Policy: Social and Historical Origins*," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 4 (Winter 1969): 86–103, reprinted in Lester E. Bush and Armand L. Mauss, eds., *Neither White nor Black: Mormon Scholars Confront the Race Issue in a Universal Church* (Midvale, UT: Signature Books, 1984): 31–52. For a discussion of the controversy stirred by Taggart's work and the points raised by Bush, see Anderson, 47–50, and Lester E. Bush, "Writing 'Mormonism's Negro Doctrine: An Historical Overview': Context and Reflections, 1998," *Journal of Mormon History* 25 (Spring 1999): 237–44.

110. Associate editor Rushforth, for example, echoes the sentiment of many when he insists that the Bush article is "the most important thing ever done in *Dialogue*" (Rushforth telephone interview, 21 April 2000).

111. Rees to Bush, 12 February 1973, *Dialogue* Collection.

112. Eugene England Oral History, interviews by Davis Bitton, 1975, typescript, 15, Oral History Program, Archives, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

113. Armand L. Mauss to Devery S. Anderson, 29 July 1995. Mauss, aware of the rumors circulating around Utah at the time, remembers them as "exaggerated and unduly

In 1999, Bush published an account of events that led to the publication of his study.¹¹⁴ Since his earlier (1969) response to Taggart, Bush had continued to research primary source material on the origins of the Mormon black policy and, by 1972, had produced a 400-page *Compilation on the Negro in Mormonism*, which he gave to certain friends. One such friend, Janath Cannon, wife of Swiss mission president Ted Cannon, told Bush that she planned to pass his research on to Apostle Boyd K. Packer during his upcoming visit to the mission, "and ask him what he thinks you should do with it."¹¹⁵ That act brought on a series of letters, telephone calls, and meetings between Bush and Packer (discussed below) which would continue for over a year.

Meanwhile, Bush made arrangements with Rees to publish his research as an article in *Dialogue* and sent off his manuscript in March 1973.¹¹⁶ Two months later, Bush wrote Rees: "On the recommendation of several close friends I have sent a copy (with the errors corrected) of my paper to the Church, and explained my plans regarding it."¹¹⁷ Two weeks later, Bush received, second-hand, a response from Packer that the Brethren "'were anxious' that I 'not publish the material until after I had talked with a member of the Quorum of the Twelve.'"¹¹⁸

The following day Bush called Packer from Vietnam. Packer encouraged Bush to delay publication "a few months, or maybe a year or more," until the two could meet. "There was no suggestion of 'don't publish it.' He seemed, if anything, to be avoiding a direct recommendation, or something that I might construe as telling me what to [do]."¹¹⁹ Packer told Bush that a copy of his *Compilation* as well as his article had been passed on to the Historical Department for review although Bush later learned that historians there denied seeing it or having been told about it.¹²⁰ Packer and Bush met in person on 30 May and 1 June 1973. Packer stated several times that "it was 'unfortunate' that [Bush] had chosen to publish in *Dialogue* as this alone would give the article notoriety, and lead to its use against the Church."¹²¹

alarmist," although somewhat understandable because some of these groups had resorted to violence in their activities elsewhere in the nation.

114. For the full account, see Bush, "Writing 'Mormonism's Negro Doctrine,'" 229–71. See also Thayne Young, "Mixed Messages on the Negro Doctrine: An Interview with Lester Bush," *Sunstone* 4 (May–June 1979): 8–15.

115. Bush, "Writing 'Mormonism's Negro Doctrine,'" 247. Janath Cannon later served as First Counselor in the General Relief Society Presidency from 1974–1978 under President Barbara B. Smith.

116. *Ibid.*, 249.

117. Lester E. Bush to Robert A. Rees, 3 May 1973, *Dialogue* Collection.

118. Bush, "Writing 'Mormonism's Negro Doctrine,'" 251.

119. *Ibid.*, 252.

120. *Ibid.*, 254.

121. *Ibid.*, 255.

Although Bush was not pressured against publishing the essay, Rees was. In fact, he was told he "would pay a heavy price" if it did appear in the journal.¹²² He recalls an intense telephone conversation that occurred on 28 June 1973 with his close friend, Robert K. Thomas, academic vice-president of BYU. When Rees assured Thomas that he was going to publish the article, Thomas warned of trouble. "The brethren will not be pleased with you for doing this," he said. "How do you know?" responded Rees. "Have you spoken to one of the brethren about this?" Thomas denied he had, but claimed "that he knew nevertheless." When Rees continued to press him, Thomas only revealed that he knew "from an unmistakable source, high up." Stunned, Rees reassured Thomas that *Dialogue* had done everything possible to be responsible and balanced in publishing the essay, and that the article and copies of Bush's research had even been sent to some of the general authorities in advance. However, according to Thomas, this would not make any difference:

He again warned me that publishing the article could prove costly to me. When I asked what he meant by this, he suggested that it could cost me my membership in the Church. I said I felt that if the general authorities were that concerned then one of them should call me and speak to me about the issue. I said that as editor I was trying to make a sound decision but that if it turned out that I was wrong, I hoped the brethren would forgive me. He said they would not. I replied, "If what you are saying is true, it disturbs me more than the denial of the priesthood to blacks does."¹²³

This situation created a dilemma for Rees. "Bush's article contained information that was essential to a continuing dialogue about this issue and . . . not to publish it would have been not only editorially irresponsible, but, for me and my colleagues, morally indefensible." In the end, Rees chose his conscience: "I was disturbed by the prospect that acting in what I considered a morally responsible way could cost me my membership, but I felt that it was a risk I would have to run."¹²⁴

After the article appeared in September 1973, however, none of Thomas's fears materialized. As Rees wrote to Bush one month later: "So far the only responses that I have had to the issue have been very posi-

122. Rees telephone interview, 9 December 1994.

123. Rees to Anderson, 1 June 1998. For another account of Rees's encounter with Thomas, see Bush, "Writing 'Mormonism's Negro Doctrine,'" 261–62. Bush cites Rees's belief that Thomas's concerns were "'exaggerated' and 'probably characteristic of someone who had been at BYU for 25 years and who is extremely paranoid about the brethren and their judgements. . . .'"

124. Rees to Anderson, 1 June 1998. Brent Rushforth remembers hearing unsubstantiated rumors that "the Brethren" were upset at the prospect of the article appearing in *Dialogue*. To these rumors, Rees and Rushforth would respond: "Well, give 'the Brethren' our telephone number!" (Rushforth telephone interview, 21 April 2000).

tive. So far, no indication of a response from 47 East South Temple. Have you heard anything?"¹²⁵ Two weeks later, Rees reported: "Everyone feels that it is the most important thing we have published."¹²⁶ The essay would soon win prizes for best article from both *Dialogue* and the Mormon History Association for 1973.

Knowing how sensitive the topic was, Rees arranged for the article to be followed by three respondents: Gordon Thomasson, Hugh Nibley, and Eugene England.¹²⁷ England's essay, entitled "The Mormon Cross," won honorable mention for the sixth annual *Dialogue* prizes. In a letter to England, Rees wrote: "You would be interested in knowing that a number of people have expressed to me personally the impact your essay had on them for good." Rees was also aware of rumors claiming the article had damaged England's career opportunities: "Someone told me that the essay may have cost you a job at BYU. I hope that that is not the case, but if it is then BYU isn't worthy of you."¹²⁸

To promote this issue of *Dialogue*, Rees submitted an advertisement created by graphic designer David Willardson to the University of Utah's *Daily Utah Chronicle* and Brigham Young University's *Daily Universe*. It featured a photograph of a handsome black man with a caption containing the 1963 statement of Mormon apostle (and later president) Joseph Fielding Smith, which had long since embarrassed LDS liberals: "'Dark-ies' are wonderful people, and they have their place in our Church."¹²⁹ As Rees explained to Bush: "Underneath is copy which turns that around in a very nice way so that it isn't offensive, but I don't know whether they will publish it or not."¹³⁰ Rees tried to avoid any "political interference" by delivering the ad right before publication. "We almost made it," he remembers. However, it was dropped after "an overzealous staff member" at the *Chronicle* complained to University of Utah president David Gardner. The BYU ad was also dropped, but for reasons not fully known. Bush later noted to Rees: "I can't say that I was surprised that

125. Robert A. Rees to Lester E. Bush, 26 September 1973, *Dialogue* Collection.

126. Robert A. Rees to Lester E. Bush, 12 October 1973, *Dialogue* Collection.

127. See Gordon C. Thomasson, "Lester Bush's Historical Overview: Other Perspectives"; Hugh Nibley, "The Best Possible Test"; and Eugene England, "The Mormon Cross," all in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 8 (Spring 1973): 69–86. Rees had tried to persuade Mormon philosopher and theologian Truman G. Madsen to write a response as well, but Madsen refused. According to Rees, Madsen "was, in fact, very frightened by the whole thing. His objections were, it seemed to me, for the most part silly and unfounded. But he ultimately said it was a tar baby and he didn't want to get stuck." Nibley, on the other hand, "is so good and so independent that he doesn't have to worry about political concern" (Robert A. Rees to Lester E. Bush, 9 July 1973, *Dialogue* Collection).

128. Robert A. Rees to Eugene England, 30 October 1974, *Dialogue* Collection.

129. As quoted in Jeff Nye, "Memo from a Mormon," *Look* 27 (22 October 1963): 78.

130. Rees to Bush, 12 October 1973.

your projected advertisement was not carried. Considering the paranoia on the subject, it doesn't seem possible that any format could have rendered the intro 'inoffensive' in Utah."¹³¹ Rees, however, has fond memories of his attempt to advertise this important issue of *Dialogue*. "It was really a wonderful ad," he insists.¹³²

The Science Issue

In July 1974, a second double issue of *Dialogue* appeared. Guest edited, its theme centered on science and religion. Although released later in the Rees tenure, the issue had its genesis much earlier. The idea of publishing on the subject was first introduced during a meeting Rees held in Provo around 1971. Rees needed a guest editor for the proposed project and immediately accepted the offer of James L. Farmer, an assistant professor of zoology at Brigham Young University.¹³³

Farmer set out to produce an issue that would offer "a wide spectrum of topics in the hope that they would stimulate further articles in future issues."¹³⁴ The result was diverse. Among the nine essays published was Edward L. Kimball's interview with his uncle, Mormon scientist Henry B. Eyring. Farmer wrote at the time: "It has several very valuable anecdotes as well as comments which provide interesting insights into the man."¹³⁵ Hugh Nibley, one of Mormonism's most gifted and respected scholars, provided an essay containing early Christian ideas on the creation of worlds, while interviews with three anonymous scientists formed a piece entitled "Dialogues on Science and Religion."¹³⁶

The most controversial article was by BYU assistant zoology professor Duane E. Jeffery, "Seers, Savants, and Evolution: The Uncomfortable Interface." In his essay, Jeffery summarized diverse interpretations of the scriptural creation narratives by nineteenth-century church leaders. More importantly, however, he chronicled twentieth-century clashes over organic evolution between such prominent general authorities as

131. Lester E. Bush to Robert A. Rees, 22 October 1973, *Dialogue* Collection.

132. Rees telephone interview, 9 December 1994. Although the advertisement never ran, it would later win "Awards of Excellence" in 1974 from both the fifteenth annual exhibition sponsored by *Communication Arts Magazine* and the San Francisco Society of Arts Exhibition (original awards currently in my possession).

133. James L. Farmer to Devery S. Anderson, 3 February 2000.

134. *Ibid.*

135. James L. Farmer to Robert A. Rees, 4 December 1973, *Dialogue* Collection. See Edward L. Kimball, "A Dialogue with Henry B. Eyring," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 8 (Autumn/Winter 1973): 99–108.

136. See Hugh Nibley, "Treasures in the Heavens: Some Early Christian Insights into the Organizing of Worlds," and Clyde Parker and Brent Miller, "Dialogues on Science and Religion," both in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 8 (Autumn/Winter 1973): 76–98 and 109–33 respectively.

Joseph Fielding Smith and B. H. Roberts, making available little known pronouncements on evolution by the First Presidency.¹³⁷ Jeffery was meticulous. Farmer informed Rees that with last-minute changes Jeffery made to his manuscript, "his position [is] much stronger, mainly due to some new documents which have recently become public for the first time. This is especially true regarding the Joseph Fielding Smith-Brigham Roberts debates."¹³⁸ Overall, Farmer was pleased with the resulting issue. "It was my opinion that I could defend anything I had chosen," he recalls. Thus, "no one ever made any waves with me."¹³⁹

Evolution was a sensitive topic, however, and everyone involved could foresee potential trouble resulting from Jeffery's article, as Jeffery himself knew: "We realized that we would be causing stress for some of the entrenched interests in the Church and at BYU who had been telling a very different story for years."¹⁴⁰ Troubled by the fact that anti-evolutionist sentiment had been allowed to flourish in the church despite official pronouncements of neutrality, Jeffery felt he was aiding the church by publishing some forgotten viewpoints. For instance, the November 1909 First Presidency declaration, "The Origin of Man," had long been regarded as "the official pronouncement against evolution."¹⁴¹ However, two later statements issued by the presidency declared or implied a much more open position. In 1925, prompted by the nationally publicized "Scopes Trial" in Dayton, Tennessee (John Scopes was a high school teacher on trial for teaching evolution, contrary to state law), the presidency issued a rather telling statement.¹⁴² Although much of it repeated the 1909 "Origin of Man," the presidency (Heber J. Grant,

137. See Duane E. Jeffery, "Seers, Savants, and Evolution: The Uncomfortable Interface," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 8 (Fall/Winter 1973): 41-75.

138. James L. Farmer to Robert A. Rees, 4 December 1973 (first of two letters written on this date), *Dialogue* Collection. Smith and Roberts had both produced lengthy manuscripts supporting their views. Although they were told by the First Presidency not to publish them, Smith held off only until Roberts and his [Smith's] other critics in the hierarchy were dead. Roberts's work was published over sixty years after his own death. See Joseph Fielding Smith, *Man: His Origin and Destiny* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1954), and B. H. Roberts, *The Truth, the Way, and the Life*, two separately prepared editions by Stan Larson, ed. (San Francisco: Smith Research Associates, 1994) and John W. Welch, ed. (Provo, UT: BYU Studies, 1994).

139. Farmer to Anderson, 3 February 2000.

140. Duane E. Jeffery to Devery S. Anderson, 6 February 2000.

141. Jeffery, 59. See also "The Origin of Man," signed by Joseph F. Smith, John R. Winder, and Anthon H. Lund, published in *The Improvement Era* 13 (November 1909): 75-81, and James R. Clark, ed., *Messages of the First Presidency* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1970), 4:199-206.

142. Jeffery, 62-63. For the definitive work on the Scopes trial, see Edward J. Larson, *Summer for the Gods: The Scopes Trial and America's Continuing Debate Over Science and Religion* (New York: Basic Books, 1997).

Anthony W. Ivins, and Charles W. Nibley) omitted all the anti-evolutionist paragraphs of its predecessor.¹⁴³ In April 1931, responding to the opposing views of Joseph Fielding Smith and B. H. Roberts on evolution, the First Presidency formulated an even clearer position of neutrality on such issues as the concept of death on the earth before Adam and the existence of beings termed as "pre-Adamites." While their letter was not made public, it said in part:

The statement made by Elder Smith that the existence of pre-Adamites is not a doctrine of the Church is true. It is just as true that the statement: "There were not pre-Adamites upon the earth," is not a doctrine of the Church. Neither side of the controversy has been accepted as a doctrine at all.

Both parties make the scripture and the statements of men who have been prominent in the affairs of the Church the basis of their contention; neither has produced definite proof in support of his views.

Upon the fundamental doctrines of the Church we are all agreed. Our mission is to bear the message of the restored gospel to the people of the world. Leave Geology, Biology, Archaeology and Anthropology, no one of which has to do with the salvation of the souls of mankind, to scientific research, while we magnify our calling in the realm of the Church. . . .¹⁴⁴

Jeffery's research pointed to a less rigid position than the 1909 statement implied, so "it was . . . clear that the story needed to be told. Every biologist still active in the Church knows the names of others who have left due to 'intellectual estrangement.'"¹⁴⁵

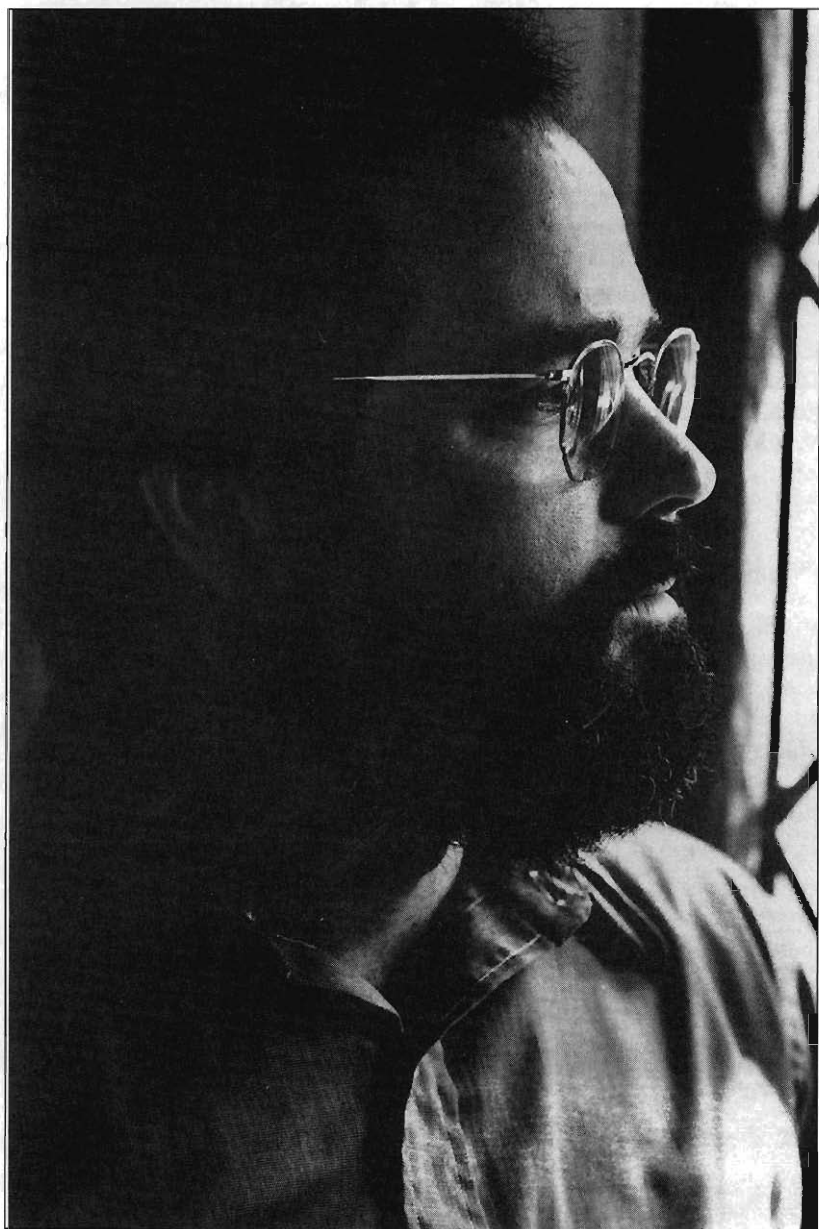
At least one general authority could not contain his displeasure, however. Speaking at a BYU devotional over a year and a half later, Apostle Ezra Taft Benson, then president of the Quorum of the Twelve, criticized what he called a "humanistic emphasis on history." Then, while not identifying it precisely, he spoke directly of Jeffery's article:

Most recently, one of our Church educators published what he purports to be a history of the Church's stand on the question of organic evolution. His thesis challenges the integrity of a prophet of God. He suggests that Joseph Fielding Smith published his work, *Man: His Origin and Destiny*, against the counsel of the First Presidency and his own Brethren. This writer's interpretation is not only inaccurate, but it also runs counter to the testimony of

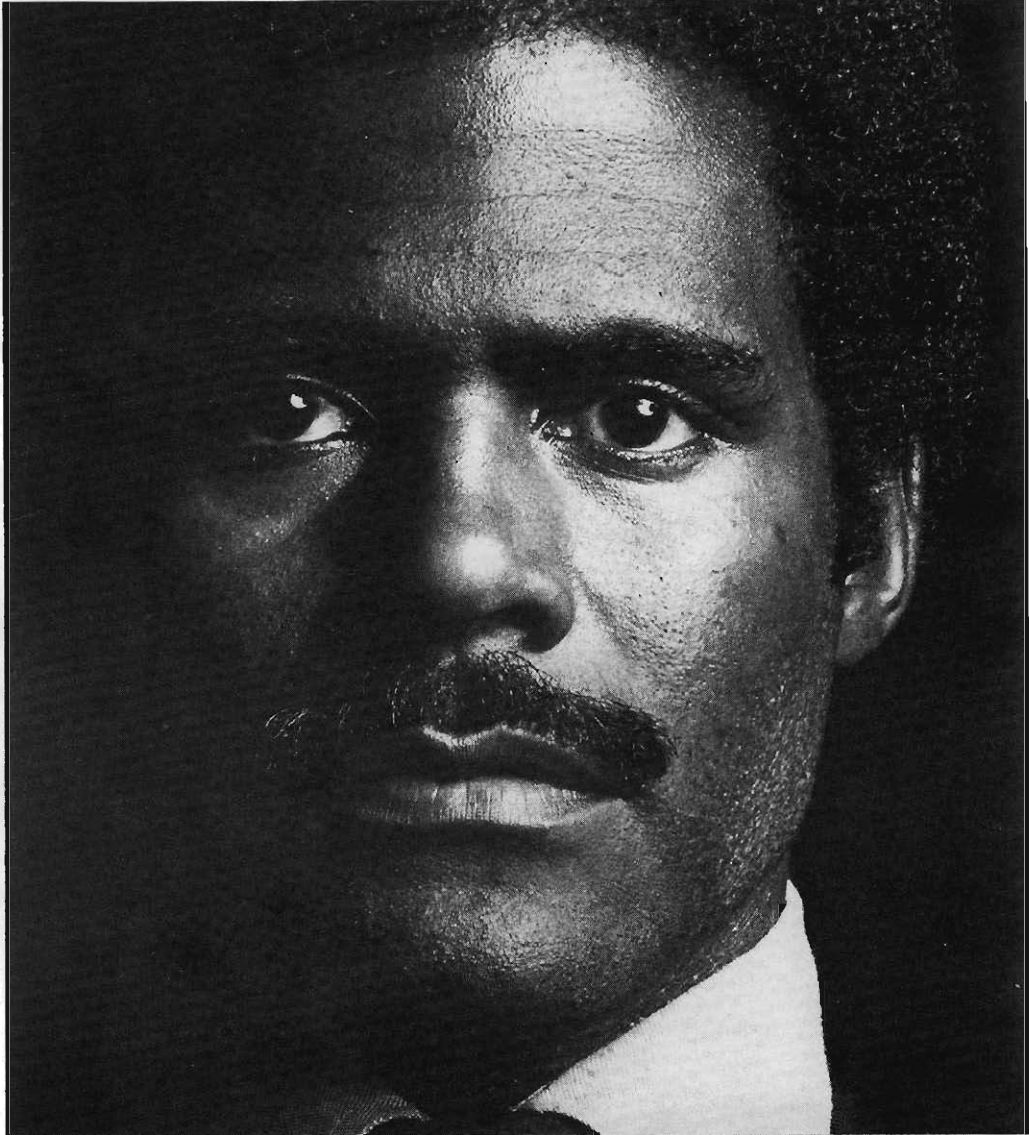
143. Jeffery, 63. See "'Mormon' View of Evolution—Man Created in God's Image," *Deseret News*, 18 July 1925, section 3, v, reprinted in part as "'Mormon' View of Evolution," *Improvement Era* 28 (September 1925): 1090–91.

144. Letter of the First Presidency to all General Authorities, 5 April 1931, as cited in Jeffery, 64.

145. Jeffery to Anderson, 6 February 2000.



Robert A. Rees, Editor from 1971 to 1976



"'Darkies' are wonderful people, and they have a place in our Church."

—Joseph Fielding Smith (1962)

Out of context? Completely. And not for the first time. But until the current issue of *Dialogue* was published there was no proper context for this comment and very little understanding of its background. Now we have the thinking of the prophets, ancient and modern, regarding the status of blacks in the Church, compiled in "Mormonism's Negro Doctrine: An Historical Overview," by Lester Bush, and three responses — by Hugh Nibley, Eugene England and Gordon Thomasson. Put your own thinking in context with these authors in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*.

Please enter my subscription to *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* and begin it with the current issue on Mormonism's Negro doctrine.

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

☐ \$10 Annual Subscription enclosed ☐ Bill me

Clip and mail to *Dialogue*, 900 Hilgard Avenue,
Los Angeles, CA 90024

Dialogue

Elder Mark E. Petersen, who wrote [the] foreword to Elder Smith's book, a book I would encourage all to read. . . .

When one understands that the author to whom I alluded is an exponent of the theory of organic evolution, his motive in disparaging President Joseph Fielding Smith becomes apparent. To hold to a private opinion on such matters is one thing, but when one undertakes to publish his views to discredit the work of a prophet, it is a very serious matter.¹⁴⁶

Jeffery was shocked at Benson's characterization of him and his essay, and more specifically by the accusation that he smeared the reputation of Joseph Fielding Smith. "In reality I had bent over backward to avoid that. There is much more to the story [pertaining to Smith] than has publicly been told."¹⁴⁷

On 4 June, Jeffery wrote BYU president Dallin H. Oaks in an attempt to get an audience with Benson:

I contacted President Dallin Oaks after the speech and requested help in making contact with President Benson, indicating that I had acted as honorably as anyone could, that I had greatly underplayed the story as it had involved President Smith, and indicating that if President Benson had additional data which altered the story I would be most happy to publish a formal retraction.¹⁴⁸

Oaks responded to Jeffery on 7 July: "I am hopeful and confident that with a little love and understanding and patience and patience and

146. Ezra Taft Benson, "God's Hand in Our Nation's History," fireside address delivered at Brigham Young University, 28 March 1976, published in 1976 *Devotional Speeches of the Year: BYU Bicentennial Devotional and Fireside Addresses* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1977), 312–13. As if the issues raised in Jeffery's paper were not enough to disturb more conservative Mormons, a series of illustrations was included (not selected or approved by Jeffery) showing an evolutionary relationship between a man and an ape. "There haven't been any adverse comments on illustrations," wrote Farmer to Rees soon after the issue appeared, "not even those of Jeffery's article, which I thought might raise some theological hackles" (James L. Farmer to Robert A. Rees, 29 August 1974, *Dialogue* Collection). However, Jeffery remembers that upon seeing the illustrations in the printed article, "I knew instantly we were in for trouble." He continues:

The entire issue of evolution was considered Satanic by so many in the Church in those days (still is, but at least the informed know otherwise), and the psychological impact of the illustrations was immediate and offensive. I was told by numerous people that the illustrations doubtless turned off many readers who would otherwise have read the article. That I cannot quantify, of course, but I had reason to believe the impact was common and always negative. I do not know who was responsible for them, nor did it seem worthwhile to inquire. I was certain that they were an honest mistake done with good intent to enliven the article—but the damage was done (Jeffery to Anderson, 6 February 2000).

147. Jeffery to Anderson, 6 February 2000.

148. Ibid.

patience that these things will work out."¹⁴⁹ Jeffery was discouraged from contacting Benson about the matter: "I was informed that they knew that I had the data but that President Benson had the pulpit, and if I did not wish to get denounced at pulpits all over the Church to audiences which I had no possibility of reaching, it would be best to just remain silent."¹⁵⁰

Jeffery's college dean, Lester Allen, told Jeffery that although "Brother Benson probably wishes that you were not employed by the university," the apostle "would regard any correspondence from you on the topic of evolution as a goad that would probably only serve to further strengthen his negative feelings. . . . I do not see that the letter could be anything but divisive."¹⁵¹

Jeffery kept silent and, in retrospect, it was a wise move. Twenty-six years after being publicly criticized as disloyal by Apostle Benson, Jeffery continues to teach in the zoology department at BYU. "And yes, the paper did open further doors," he says confidently. "I think the data of the paper (not necessarily the paper itself) can be credited also for the existence of evolution now being a required course for all zoology majors at BYU." In fact, Jeffery and Dr. Clayton White received approval from church headquarters for their own undergraduate course in evolution, and several excellent evolutionary biologists can now be numbered among the faculty at BYU. "I'm confident [that they] would not be here

149. Dallin H. Oaks to Duane E. Jeffery, 7 July 1976, as quoted in Gary James Bergera and Ronald Priddis, *Brigham Young University: A House of Faith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1985), 165.

150. Jeffery to Anderson, 6 February 2000.

151. Lester Allen to Duane E. Jeffery, 15 September 1976, as quoted in Bergera and Priddis, 165. Benson even clashed with his colleagues in the Mormon hierarchy and used his stake and general conference addresses to criticize the viewpoints and characters of those he disagreed with. For a thorough study of Benson's public life, see D. Michael Quinn, "Ezra Taft Benson and Mormon Political Conflicts," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 26 (Summer 1993): 1-87. See also Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997), 66-115.

Benson's grandson, Steve Benson, remembers discussing the issue of evolution with the apostle while doing research for a paper at BYU. Discovering that the LDS church had not taken any official stand on the matter, the elder Benson "acknowledged that 'the Lord may not have revealed enough to create unanimity among the Brethren,' admitting, in fact, 'there may very well be disagreements among the Brethren of the Twelve' concerning it." Taking a much more moderate stance privately with his grandson than in his public speeches, the apostle "even noted that 'there seems to be some evidence to support scientific theories of evolution.'" However, the younger Benson acknowledges that his grandfather "continued to publicly lash out against evolution, condemning Darwinism and socialism in the same breath." Steve Benson found Jeffery to be a valuable resource during his research. Jeffery also recalls their conversations. See Steve Benson, "Ezra Taft Benson: A Grandson's Remembrance," *Sunstone* 17 (December 1994): 31-32; Jeffery to Anderson, 6 February 2000.

had the [November 1909] First Presidency statement [on evolution] been the only one [known] in Church history. Knowledge of the others has unquestionably made a huge difference."¹⁵²

Saving the Journal

If publishing such ground-breaking articles was enough to ensure the success of *Dialogue*, Rees could have rested easily, but the need for money remained constant. Despite the recent success of the *Dialogue* chapters, Rees knew that continued fund-raising of this magnitude was impossible. Although subscriptions had increased, they failed to come in at the rate needed for the journal to become self-sufficient. Consequently, Rees and the executive committee finally made a difficult decision. Since the chapters had proved the existence of a core group which was willing to sacrifice for the success of the journal, but because annual operating costs were also approximately \$30,000 above what subscriptions brought in, the committee decided that the only way to compensate for the small readership was a dramatic rise in the subscription price.¹⁵³ Rees had earlier increased it from \$6 to \$9 annually, then from \$9 to \$10. Effective

152. Jeffery to Anderson, 6 February 2000. Jeffery's paper even led to a roundtable discussion in *Dialogue*. See Stephen and Kathy Snow, Dow Woodward, Norm L. Eatough, and Duane E. Jeffery, "Seers, Savants, and Evolution: A Continuing Dialogue," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 9 (Autumn 1974): 21–38. Some Mormon leaders have continued to preach that a belief in organic evolution is contrary to the gospel. See, for example, Bruce R. McConkie, "The Seven Deadly Heresies," *BYU Speeches of the Year, 1980* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1981), 74–80. This published version of McConkie's speech dramatically tones down the anti-evolutionist rhetoric of the live speech, but evolution is still treated negatively. Currently, LDS leaders refer inquiries of the Mormon position on evolution to the entry under that heading by William E. Evenson in Daniel H. Ludlow, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Mormonism* (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 2:478. This article cites the same 1931 First Presidency letter cited above; however, it omits the paragraph referring to pre-Adamites. Numerous studies on science and Mormonism have been done since Jeffery's article was published in 1974, several of them appearing in *Dialogue*. See for example, James L. Farmer, William S. Bradshaw, and F. Brent Johnson, "The New Biology and Mormon Theology," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 12 (Winter 1979): 71–75; Richard Sherlock, "'We Can See No Advantage to a Continuation of the Discussion': The Roberts/Smith/Talmage Affair," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 13 (Fall 1980): 63–78; Jeffrey E. Keller, "Discussion Continued: The Sequel to the Roberts/Smith/Talmage Affair," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* (Spring 1982): 79–98; Richard Pearson Smith, "Science: A Part or Apart from Mormonism," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 19 (Spring 1986): 106–22. All these articles were reprinted in Gene A. Sessions and Craig J. Oberg, eds., *The Search for Harmony: Essays on Science and Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1993). For the most up-to-date scholarship on the subject, see Trent D. Stephens, D. Jeffrey Meldrum, with Forrest B. Peterson, *Evolution and Mormonism: A Quest for Understanding* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2001).

153. Rees to England, 30 October 1974.

January 1974, the price would double to \$20. Rees justified the new rate in a letter to chapter chairpersons:

With your help we were able to raise \$20,000.00 in contributions [in 1973], but we also feel that it is unrealistic for us to believe that we can continue doing this year in and year out. Therefore, we have placed the responsibility for the continuance of the journal squarely on the shoulders of our readers. I think one thing that may help is for you to educate people to the fact that many professional journals cost \$20.00 or more, and that *Dialogue* is not really out of line. But even if it were, if the idea is important enough for people who read it, then it will continue. If people do not value *Dialogue* to the extent of being willing to pay \$20.00 a year for a subscription then perhaps it should not continue.¹⁵⁴

To retain subscribers who simply could not afford to pay double for the journal, the \$10 rate would still apply if "an extreme hardship" existed. However, those with higher incomes were asked to pay even more than the set price of \$20. A renewal card sent to subscribers asked for the following:

Annual Subscription Rate \$20 RECOMMENDED ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION RATE:	
<i>Annual Gross Income</i>	<i>Rate</i>
More than 20,000	\$25
More than 30,000	\$30
More than 40,000	\$40

Some subscribers were naturally upset. One responded angrily: "Only a Mormon would base a subscription rate on income. My Bishop will never know how much I make and neither will you."¹⁵⁵ Rees answered one letter of complaint: "It was a painful decision in many ways, but we felt that [the] only way that the journal could really continue was to [quit] living from hand to mouth."¹⁵⁶ To another upset reader, Rees responded that "all of our efforts to increase the number of subscriptions have met with very little success. There are far too many people who still feel threatened by *Dialogue* or who are afraid to read it for one reason or another."¹⁵⁷ Amazingly, complaints were the exception, and by summer Rees was ecstatic about the results: "I might say that the decision to raise the subscription to \$20 and on a sliding scale has been one of the best

154. Robert Rees to Chapter Chairmen, 10 January 1974, *Dialogue* Collection.

155. Undated note from David R. Smith, *Dialogue* Collection.

156. Robert A. Rees to Mary L. Bradford, 19 December 1973, *Dialogue* Collection.

157. Robert A. Rees to Rondo W. Anderson, 26 February 1974, *Dialogue* Collection.

decisions we have made at *Dialogue*." He added: "When I took over as editor three years ago, we were some ten to fifteen thousand dollars in the red. We are now that much in the black, and when [the next] issue is printed we will be able to pay it off immediately, something that we have never been able to do since the early years of *Dialogue*."¹⁵⁸

For now, it seemed, *Dialogue*'s troubles were over. Although Rees would still experience unwanted and unexpected hardships as editor, never again would he be faced with the prospect of *Dialogue* folding while under his care.

The Founding of Sunstone

As Rees experienced both the highs and lows of publishing an independent Mormon journal, he may well have doubted that anyone else would have the energy to start a new one, but for a group of young Mormons in 1974, the energy was there. Scott Kenney was a student at the Graduate Theological Union at Berkeley, who, with several of his peers, made preparations for a new publication. Not feeling confident enough to write for *Dialogue*, Kenney envisioned his publication as an outlet for students: less intimidating and thus more attractive to a younger crowd.¹⁵⁹

Rees developed a relationship with Kenney and his staff when they visited Rees at his home in Los Angeles.¹⁶⁰ In fact, it was Rees who suggested a name for the journal, *Sunstone*, to replace Kenney's first choice, *Whetstone*. Rees's reasoning was simple: The sunstone was "a wonderful symbol from the Nauvoo Temple, which works both in reference to the Son of God and that of a symbol of light," while Kenney's idea of a whetstone could be misconstrued as "sharpening our knives against the Church."¹⁶¹ The group came to favor Rees's suggestion as well. By November 1975, the first issue of *Sunstone* was off the press and another Mormon publication was born.¹⁶²

Rees was happy about the prospects of a student-oriented publication and never felt any real competition between *Dialogue* and *Sunstone*. From his first meeting with Kenney and his staff, Rees promised to help by sending manuscripts their way. In February 1975, Rees presented the *Sunstone* staff with twenty-five manuscripts that had been rejected by *Dialogue*.¹⁶³

Dialogue associate editor Mary Bradford later wrote Rees regarding

158. Rees to Helen and Larry Cannon, 24 June 1974.

159. Lee Warthen, "History of *Sunstone*, Chapter 1: The Scott Kenney Years, Summer 1974-June 1978," *Sunstone* 22 (June 1999): 49.

160. Robert A. Rees telephone interview, conducted by Devery S. Anderson, 19 April 2000.

161. *Ibid.*; Warthen, 50-51.

162. Warthen, 56.

163. *Ibid.*, 53.

an encounter with a member of Kenney's staff, and Bradford was impressed: "I spent half a day with Peggy Fletcher this week. I do wish we had her on our staff! Whatta gal! They have 650 subscriptions, and three people are doing the work. She edited the second one alone." Bradford probed further: "I asked her why she wanted a magazine and she said she thought *Dialogue* too stuffy, too academic and too elitist." Bradford was surprised by Fletcher's assessment and concluded that Fletcher had little to back up her view. However, "[we] hit it off very well, and decided to help each other as best we could."¹⁶⁴

Published letters by the founders of each publication in each other's journal symbolize the cooperative relationship that developed. Kenney took the opportunity to announce his forthcoming periodical in a letter to the editor in *Dialogue*, and Eugene England, in turn, wrote a letter of counsel to the editors of *Sunstone*, which was printed in its premier issue.¹⁶⁵ During the next quarter-century, as both publications matured and veteran scholars began to publish in both, the original student emphasis of *Sunstone* was forgotten. Some tensions later arose between the two publications as the editors of each began to compete for papers, especially those presented at the annual Sunstone Theological Symposium, beginning in 1979. However, a supportive spirit eventually developed and continues to this day.¹⁶⁶

Commitment to Quality

When summing up his editorship, Rees later admitted that "quality has been so important to me, that I sometimes let other matters, such as deadlines, suffer."¹⁶⁷ This commitment to quality led Rees to seek contributions that would allow the journal to be appreciated by Latter-day Saints across the spectrum. Like his predecessors, however, his efforts were not always successful. In 1971, for example, he proposed an interview with former First Presidency member Hugh B. Brown, who had resumed his position in the Quorum of the Twelve after the 1970 death of

164. Mary L. Bradford to Robert A. Rees, 6 January 1976, *Dialogue* Collection. It is understandable that as a student, Fletcher would have had a different perspective of *Dialogue* from Bradford's. Warthen says that "Fletcher felt intimidated by the *Dialoguers* who lived in big houses and had big egos, while the *Sunstoners* were just lowly students" (Warthen, 53).

165. See letters of Scott Kenney, *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 9 (Summer 1974): 5, and Eugene England, *Sunstone* 1 (Winter 1975): 5. Later, Kenney also published a brief note on his publication as part of an essay on Mormon periodicals. See Scott Kenney, "Sunstone," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 11 (Spring 1978): 100–101.

166. Bradford to Anderson, 10 September 2000. Bradford credits Elbert Peck, who became *Sunstone* editor in 1986, with helping ease the tension by encouraging *Dialogue*-sponsored sessions at the symposium.

167. Robert A. Rees to Mary L. Bradford, 5 April 1976, *Dialogue* Collection.

church president David O. McKay. Some of Rees's questions for Brown were intriguing. Regarding Christ: "What makes you certain of his existence and divinity?" Regarding the issue of blacks and the priesthood: "Do you believe Joseph Smith was told by the Lord not to give Negroes of African descent the Priesthood? Did he [Joseph Smith] initiate the practice, or did Brigham Young? What evidence do we have? Why do you think the Lord has us continue this practice?"¹⁶⁸ Three years later, in the fall of 1974, Rees and Eugene England interviewed Brown in his [Brown's] home. Unfortunately, the aged apostle felt that his answers were too candid for publication and feared offending his colleagues in the Quorum of the Twelve. Thus, the interview was never made public.¹⁶⁹ With Brown's death the following year, *Dialogue* lost its most ardent supporter in the church hierarchy. Naturally, Rees published a tribute to the church leader soon after his passing.¹⁷⁰

Rees also took the opportunity of inviting First Presidency counselor Harold B. Lee to contribute to the journal. An exchange of letters between Lee and Rees came about after Lee had made an inquiry about Rees to Rees's stake president, John K. Carmack. As Rees remembers the situation: "President Lee commented that I was a member of John's stake and he wondered if John could persuade me to use my talents to support *BYU Studies* (with the clear impression that such service would be in lieu of my work for *Dialogue*)." Rees did not learn of the conversation between Lee and Carmack until after Lee's death, and he was understandably surprised when he received a letter from Lee.¹⁷¹ Although Lee's letter is not found in the *Dialogue* correspondence, Rees's response is. To Lee's hope that *BYU Studies* could fill the role of *Dialogue*, Rees wrote: "The greatly increased amount of scholarly writing on the Mormons demands more space than one journal can possibly provide." Besides, an outlet like *Dialogue* filled a need as Rees explained further:

It is also true that *Dialogue* has some functions and purposes that differ from those of *BYU Studies*. By the very fact that it is associated with an institution, *BYU Studies*. . . has certain commitments which preclude its publication of materials on certain issues. It is good to have a publication like *BYU Studies*,

168. "Possible Questions for an Interview with President Hugh B. Brown," undated, filed 15 November 1971, *Dialogue* Collection.

169. Eugene England telephone interview, conducted by Devery S. Anderson, 11 December 1999.

170. See Richard D. Poll, "Apostle Extraordinary: Hugh B. Brown (1883–1975)," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 10 (Spring 1975/76): 68–71.

171. Rees to Anderson, 12 March 2000. Brent Rushforth, also a member of Carmack's stake, remembers having a similar conversation with the stake president. Quoting Lee, Carmack asked Rushforth: "Don't those brethren [Rees and Rushforth] have anything better to do?" (Rushforth telephone interview, 21 April 2000).

especially of the quality it has attained in the past year or so. But it is also good to have a journal like *Dialogue*, which allows for an open discussion of many issues and events, even some of which are controversial. It is our belief that we have a great deal to gain by honestly and reasonably examining our faith, our history, and our culture, and by entering into dialogue with members of our own faith as well as those outside it.¹⁷²

Rees concluded by asking Lee "to submit any writing to *Dialogue* that you think appropriate." With such a diverse readership, some readers "are struggling with their faith and salvation and could benefit from your witness, counsel and testimony."¹⁷³ Not surprisingly, Lee, who became president of the LDS church just two months later, failed to take advantage of Rees's offer.¹⁷⁴

At the encouragement of several BYU faculty, Rees also tried to interview BYU president Dallin Oaks.¹⁷⁵ This, however, was also unsuccessful. Three years later, Oaks denied a request Rees made to publish a chapter of a forthcoming book that Oaks was writing with BYU professor Marvin S. Hill.¹⁷⁶ Learning through Hill of Oaks's refusal, Rees reported: "Tonight [Hill] said that Dallin felt that some of the Brethren were uneasy about *Dialogue* and are watching it closely and if he were to publish in it, he thought it would hurt *Dialogue* and also hurt him. I fail to see how it could hurt either one of us, but I confess that my view of the world differs from that of 40 miles south of SLC [Salt Lake City]."¹⁷⁷

Other interviews were granted, however. In addition to the aforementioned Henry Eyring interview, Rees also included enlightening conversations with Mormon columnist Jack Anderson (interviewed by David King, Mary Bradford, and Larry Bush), and historian Juanita Brooks (interviewed by Davis Bitton and Maureen Ursenbach).¹⁷⁸

172. Robert A. Rees to President Harold B. Lee, 11 May 1972, *Dialogue* Collection.

173. *Ibid.*

174. In keeping with tradition, after Lee died in December 1973, *Dialogue* published an appropriate tribute. See Arthur H. King, "A Prophet is Dead: A Prophet Lives"; James B. Allen, "Harold B. Lee: An Appreciation, Both Historical and Personal"; and Barnett Seymour Salzman, "The Passing of a Prophet," all in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 8 (Autumn/Winter 1973): 13–20.

175. Robert A. Rees to Dallin H. Oaks, 8 December 1971, *Dialogue* Collection. Oaks, who was called as an apostle in 1984, served on *Dialogue's* editorial board from 1966–1970. For Oaks's comments on his earlier involvement with *Dialogue*, see Anderson, 22.

176. The book was later published as: Dallin H. Oaks and Marvin S. Hill, *The Carthage Conspiracy: The Trial of the Accused Assassins of Joseph Smith* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975).

177. Rees to England, 30 October 1974.

178. See "Mormon Muckraker: An Interview with Jack Anderson," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 8 (Spring 1973): 87–98, and Davis Bitton and Maureen Ursenbach, "Riding Herd: A Conversation with Juanita Brooks," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 9 (Spring 1974): 11–33.

Despite failing at some attempts to bring greater balance to the journal, Rees and his team proved that they could diversify its content and direction in a satisfactory way. For instance, several theme issues, in addition to those discussed earlier, defined much of the Rees tenure. Out of eighteen issues released under the Los Angeles team (counting each double issue as two), twelve had specific themes (and five of those were guest-edited). Rees writes: "I thought the idea of a true dialogue called for various points of view or discussion on the same topic—and I wanted to explore some subjects in depth."¹⁷⁹ Other theme issues included one on Mormons and literature (Autumn/Winter 1971), Mormonism and American culture (Summer 1973), and Mormons and the Watergate scandal (Summer 1974). Rees's final two issues, one each on music and sex, are discussed below.

Rees also inaugurated a new column of personal essays under his editorship. Calling it "Personal Voices," he saw this as an important contribution to the journal: "I have always felt that the personal essay was one of the most significant ways of communicating."¹⁸⁰ He also increased the presence of poetry: "I felt that there were few (if any at the time) outlets for really good poetry and since I believe that poetry is important in a culture, I wanted to publish an ample amount of good poetry." However, "it has a limited audience and some people complained that there was too much."¹⁸¹ Also, *Dialogue* veteran Ralph Hansen of the Stanford University library continued his "Among the Mormons" column, surveying current Mormon literature in nearly every issue.

Rees also made changes in the graphic image of *Dialogue*. For example, graphic artists David Willardson, John Cassado, and Gary Collins designed covers for special theme issues and tried to make them more relevant to the content generally.¹⁸² They also used original and more contemporary type fonts for article titles. In addition to guest artists, the designers secured archival photography from such studios as Mangum and Bettman, both in New York (Spring 1972).¹⁸³ Simply put, remembers

179. Rees to Anderson, 1 June 1998.

180. Rees to Anderson, 17 August 1999.

181. *Ibid.*

182. Robert A. Rees to Devery S. Anderson, 11 April 2000. See, for example, the women's issue, the science issue, and the Watergate issue, to name a few. Twelve of the issue covers released by the Los Angeles editorship contained art or photography which addressed the content (as compared to four with the previous editorship). Rees even graced the cover of one issue, portraying one of two men engaged in an intense conversation on Mormonism. This photograph also accompanied the lead article. See "Letters of Belief: An Exchange of Thoughts and Feelings about the Mormon Faith," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 9 (Autumn 1974): 9–20.

183. Rees to Anderson, 11 April 2000.

Rees: "I was trying to make the journal as interesting graphically as it was substantively."¹⁸⁴

Selecting a Replacement

By early 1975, Rees decided it was time for him to begin looking for a new editor to take over *Dialogue*. He had struggled with a turnover among his staff, having lost Brent Rushforth. Then in 1974, Gordon Thomasson and Frederick Williams, two valued associate editors, both left Los Angeles. Thomasson, who began work on his Ph.D. at Cornell, retained his title as an associate editor, but was able to do little from his new home in New York.¹⁸⁵ Consequently, Rees was left to carry out the most crucial editorial duties alone, unable to delegate them to the staff that remained.¹⁸⁶ He could only stretch himself so thin: "I find a vast majority of my time is spent in taking care of the day-to-day affairs of *Dialogue*. There are many manuscripts that need attention and I have not been able to find sufficient time to process them."¹⁸⁷ So Rees began looking eastward to Mary Bradford in Arlington, Virginia, whom he saw as the person most qualified to take over the editorship. He approached her by telephone shortly before the summer of 1975 and, after a few months of deliberation, she accepted. Rees was grateful: "Five years. . . have taken their toll and I think it's time for someone else to have a chance at it."¹⁸⁸ Rees was immediately optimistic about Bradford, as he told Leonard Arrington: "I feel confident that in Mary's hands *Dialogue* will take new and exciting directions."¹⁸⁹ Over two decades later, Rees reflects back on his decision to step down: "I was ready to give it up, although in some ways it was hard because [*Dialogue*] had been such an integral part of my life for so many years."¹⁹⁰

Wrapping Things up in Los Angeles

With only a few months left, Rees had much work to do and little time to do it. Already busy at UCLA, he would soon be appointed the director of the Department of Humanities and Communications in the extension division.¹⁹¹ Short-handed in trying to fulfill his *Dialogue* duties,

184. Ibid.

185. Thomasson to Anderson, 31 March 2000.

186. Robert A. Rees to *Dialogue* Board of Editors, 27 January 1976, *Dialogue* Collection.

187. Robert A. Rees to editorial staff in Los Angeles, 23 January 1975, *Dialogue* Collection.

188. Robert A. Rees to Walter Whipple, 19 September 1975, *Dialogue* Collection.

189. Robert A. Rees to Leonard J. Arrington, 27 January 1976, *Dialogue* Collection.

190. Rees to Anderson, 1 June 1998.

191. Rees to Board of Editors, 27 January 1976.

Rees immediately took advantage of Bradford's acceptance and proposed several joint projects as part of the transition. Four issues would remain under Rees's editorship, including two guest-edited theme issues, one on music and one on sexuality. Bradford and her team would oversee the sex issue (originally planned as a double issue). Rees envisioned that the two teams, working at opposite ends of the country, could put *Dialogue* back on schedule. Bradford would then officially take over on 1 April 1976 (later changed to May, then June).¹⁹²

The music issue, guest-edited by Walter Whipple and Rowan Taylor (Spring 1975/76) and released in August 1976, soon sold out. Today it is considered *Dialogue's* rarest issue.¹⁹³ When Rees sent the manuscripts to Bradford for her team to publish, the Washington group, short on funds, opted for a smaller print run, around 2,300. Since subscribers were down to about 1,700, this seemed safe. However, a subscription campaign launched by the new team proved unexpectedly successful. Lester Bush, who became Bradford's associate editor, remembers: "By the time the issue arrived from the printer, the subscriptions were back up to 2,300, and before long were over 2,400. So, we didn't have enough issues to fill in the lapsed resubscribers."¹⁹⁴ This issue is also the only one released with a 1975 date. In an attempt to end the "discrepancy between the date printed on the current issue and the season in which [subscribers] receive it," the executive committee decided to "[combine] two years in[to] one, thus bringing *Dialogue* up to date."¹⁹⁵ However, even with its combined date of Spring 1975/76, its delayed release until late summer was a humorous reminder that publishing *Dialogue* on time just didn't seem to be in the forecast. Bradford would be reminded of that again and again.

That Rees managed to keep *Dialogue* alive and publishing quality material is nothing short of miraculous. Brent Rushforth remembers it well: "It was a time of great danger for *Dialogue*. [Los Angeles] was its first big move. We just wanted it to survive. . . . [I]t was important that it not be seen as a flash-in-the-pan creation at Stanford." It passed the test as Rushforth explains further: "We hit bottom and survived it. From that, *Dialogue* was established."¹⁹⁶

Dialogue's survival did not come without sacrifice, however. "It is

192. Robert A. Rees to Mary L. Bradford, 29 September 1975, *Dialogue* Collection.

193. Today, when located, the music issue retails for around forty dollars.

194. Lester E. Bush to Devery S. Anderson, 14 April 2000.

195. "Announcements from the Executive Committee," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 10 (Spring 1975/76): 4.

196. Rushforth telephone interview, 21 April 2000.

possible that editing *Dialogue* cost me my tenure at UCLA," Rees says sadly. "I devoted an immense amount of time and energy to the editorial and scholarly work of the journal and this was not valued by my colleagues in the English department. I think they saw it as a waste of time, whereas I saw it as an important use of my scholarly skills."¹⁹⁷ Fawn M. Brodie, a UCLA faculty member, notorious in Mormonism since her 1945 biography of Joseph Smith, *No Man Knows My History*, tried to explain the importance of *Dialogue* in a letter to the English department. Her support for Rees did little.¹⁹⁸ However, he has no regrets: "While [losing tenure] was costly in a way, if I had it to do over again, I would still choose to be editor. My reason is that I felt what I was doing through *Dialogue* was of greater value than my other scholarly work."¹⁹⁹

Indeed, Gordon Thomasson gives a glowing assessment of Rees's performance as the editor of *Dialogue*. "Bob was phenomenal. . . . He was carrying an incredible load—more than two jobs—and couldn't have done it without Ruth, who had a very busy life of her own, and I saw them both giving time to the family and to everything else." He continues: "I don't know how he managed to juggle all those balls, but he did. And I can't think of one he dropped. To my knowledge, nobody left *Dialogue* disliking him. Some could never figure out his dedication to both the journal and the Church, but that was their problem, not his. He worked well with everybody."²⁰⁰

Rees has remained active in the LDS church in the years since he left his position with *Dialogue* in 1976. He served as bishop of the Los Angeles First Ward (1986–1991) and, with his wife Ruth, served for three and a half years as humanitarian and education missionaries in the Balkan States Mission (1992–1996). Having retired from UCLA in 1992, Rees now teaches part-time at the University of California at Santa Cruz, is president of the University Religious Council there, and is a consultant with the non-profit Institute of HeartMath, a research and education organization. He serves as gospel doctrine teacher in his ward and is the director of interfaith work in the Santa Cruz stake.²⁰¹ Rees's perspective as both a devout Mormon and a committed intellectual allows for a unique view of the legacy of *Dialogue*:

197. Gordon Thomasson remembers this setback for Rees and insists that "it was UCLA's loss. A tenured friend of mine in the English department ranted to me over the fact that Bob by far had the best student evaluations, the best and most numerous publications, and the best community service record (besides church/*Dialogue* involvements)" (Thomasson to Anderson, 31 March 2000).

198. Rees to Anderson, 1 June 1998.

199. Ibid.

200. Thomasson to Anderson, 31 March 2000.

201. Rees to Anderson, 12 March 2000.

I believe that history will show that *Dialogue* played an important role in the Church during the latter part of the twentieth century. When one considers its influence on other journals—*Sunstone*, *BYU Studies*, the *Journal of Mormon History*, etc., when one considers the dialogue it opened between Mormons and members of other faiths (like the RLDS), when one considers its probable influence on the [later] change in the Blacks receiving the priesthood, of women having more voice in the Church, and on other issues, and especially, when one considers its positive influence on a number of individual members of the Church, I believe the judgment of history will be that at a critical juncture in the history of the Church, when there was a swing to the right and toward a rather rigid conservative position, *Dialogue* helped keep a balance; it was a forum for important, if alternative, voices; it strengthened the faith of many and increased the charity of not a few. It showed that the same dialogue (logos) that was in the beginning is essential for the mental, moral, social, and spiritual life of Christ's people. After all, as an Episcopalian ad has it, "Christ came to take away our sins, not our minds"!²⁰²

IV. 1976–1982: "A SACRED TRUST"

I am married to a Bishop; I have been in the Church all my life. I am doing this job because. . . I think it is right in the mainstream of Mormon tradition: Mormons have always tried to do constructive things of their own free will.

Mary L. Bradford to James L. Farmer, 9 February 1978

Dialogue operates from the conviction that the Church is true and that it therefore has nothing to fear from a free exchange of ideas. The editors believe *Dialogue's* readers are mature enough to separate the wheat from the chaff, even when they are closely intermixed.

Lester E. Bush, 10 May 1978

Mary Bradford had been a *Dialogue* "insider" from the very beginning. In fact, when Eugene England began talk of starting such a journal in the late 1950s, Bradford was present and listened to every word. She reminisced about one such conversation upon *Dialogue's* ten-year anniversary: "Gene and Charlotte England, Karl Keller, and I were taking lunch on the lawn at the University of Utah back in the summer of 1957" when England spoke of what would become *Dialogue* a decade later. "Though I was getting married in the fall, and did not know where I

202. Rees to Anderson, 1 June 1998.

would be when Gene's dream materialized, I said, 'Count me in. And wherever I am, please find me.'"²⁰³

Bradford did not forget those conversations. Nearly a decade later, however, when *Dialogue* was becoming a reality, she learned about the new publication through a relative. She was quick to notify England of his oversight:

Last month while visiting in Utah I was informed by my cousin Kendall White that you were realizing finally your dream of a Mormon journal. However, my feelings are hurt that you did not cut me in on the ground floor. Remember about ten years ago when you discussed your ideas with me at writers conference and I told you to count me in if you were able to work them out? No, you probably don't remember.²⁰⁴

England immediately redeemed himself and put Bradford to work. From the first issue, she served as an editorial associate and soon thereafter was appointed to a position on the editorial board. She continued in that capacity well into the Robert Rees editorship, later becoming one of his associate editors.

Bradford, who lived in Arlington, Virginia (near Washington, D.C.), found herself a recipient of a conference call from Rees, Brent Rushforth, and Tom Anderson at midnight in June 1975. "Bob called to say that he had served his five years and that he and his Board wanted me to be the next editor." Bradford was surprised by the invitation, believing that at forty-five, she was too old, "well past the fomenting, fermenting years." Yet Rees was determined. "He said that if I had matured, *Dialogue* had too." However, Bradford needed time to think over the proposal.²⁰⁵

Rees, reminiscing on his motivations in selecting Bradford, insists that she was "someone who had the right balance of devotion and objectivity, of scholarly skills and spiritual sensitivities." In addition, "she was a woman and we felt it was time for a woman to edit the journal."²⁰⁶ The following month, Rees sent Bradford money for a plane ticket to Los Angeles, and she soon flew out to meet local staff members. Apparently, she was treated well, as her letter to Rees upon returning to Arlington shows: "I have been home two days from my ego trip to California and Utah." However, because of pending commitments, she was still unsure if she could take over the job. If she were to accept, she insisted, it would have to wait another year.²⁰⁷ Rees agreed to her timetable. In September 1975,

203. Mary L. Bradford, "Ten Years with *Dialogue*: A Personal Anniversary," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 11 (Spring 1978): 10.

204. Mary L. Bradford to Eugene England, 1 October 1965, *Dialogue* Collection.

205. Bradford, "Ten Years with *Dialogue*," 11.

206. Rees to Anderson, 28 May 1998.

207. Mary Bradford to Robert A. Rees, August 1975, *Dialogue* Collection.

Bradford accepted, and on 1 June 1976, she officially began her editorship. After ten years in California, *Dialogue* would (again) go where it had no precedent.

The "West-East Dialogue Trek"

Bradford, who had earned a master's degree in English at the University of Utah, had taught there and at BYU before marrying Charles "Chick" Bradford in 1957 and moving to the Washington, D.C., area. Chick, finishing up work on a Harvard Ph.D. in economics, had secured a job as a legislative assistant in the office of Utah senator Wallace Bennett.²⁰⁸ Although the Bradfords returned to BYU in 1961, they stayed for only nine months. That brief exception aside, they had lived their entire married life near Washington, D.C.²⁰⁹

The Bradford household was a busy one in 1976. Mary was teaching courses in writing and speaking courses for government agencies;²¹⁰ Chick was working as an advisor for the American Bankers Association.²¹¹ In addition, he was serving as bishop of the Arlington Ward. With three teenaged children at home as well, Mary Bradford knew that overseeing a scholarly journal would be a challenge. "It was a huge job," she recalls, and Chick had doubts about the soundness of her decision. However, "he refused to influence me, said he would support me in whatever I chose to do, and he did."²¹²

Bradford's ability to raise money, as head of the Washington, D.C., *Dialogue* chapter in the early 1970s, had certainly proved her dedication to the journal and was another important factor for Rees in persuading her to succeed him. Bradford describes her low-key, yet successful method of securing donations: Soliciting at least one hundred friends and supporters by telephone and mail, she would tell them of her purpose, then conclude, "'Don't tell me if you [donate] or not—my friendship does not depend on it. Just send the money in. I don't want to know

208. Bradford Oral History, 1–2; Mary Lythgoe Bradford, *Leaving Home: Personal Essays* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1987), 36.

209. Bradford Oral History, 2.

210. Bradford began teaching these three-day courses in 1969 and would continue doing so until 1982. During her tenure with *Dialogue*, she would teach only occasionally (Mary L. Bradford to Devery S. Anderson, 12 April 2000).

211. At the time of his death in 1991, Charles Bradford was chief economist for the National Credit Union Association (Mary L. Bradford to Devery S. Anderson, 26 March 2000).

212. Bradford to Anderson, 26 March 2000. When Bradford approached her stake president, Julian Lowe, to inform him of her upcoming editorship with *Dialogue*, he responded: "Oh, I think we are mature enough to handle a magazine, don't you?" (Bradford to Anderson, 19 May 2000).

about it from this moment on.' Apparently they got quite a bit of money [as a result]."²¹³ With the commitment of Bradford and the presence of a number of local supporters, the Washington area seemed like an ideal place for nurturing *Dialogue's* second decade.

A Woman at the Helm

Immediately upon her acceptance, Bradford drew upon these friends in establishing a staff. As she reported to Rees one month later: "Last night I met with fifteen loyal supporters who pledged their hearts, minds, and time to *Dialogue*."²¹⁴ The number of volunteers continued to grow, as Bradford noted three months later: "We now have almost 30 willing bodies, all wanting to do good things." However, she sensed that the departing team in California had little interest in helping her in the transition. Needing crucial materials from Los Angeles before she could fully attend to details, Bradford began to be frustrated and started losing patience. "We almost decided to take turns ringing your phone in the middle of the night until we get the stuff," she wrote Rees only half jokingly. The contrast between the enthusiastic new group and the exhausted outgoing team was evident but, in her mind, inexcusable: "To have so many eager people with so much talent standing ready and to be stopped because you guys aren't doing your part is frustrating to say the least!"²¹⁵

Rees eventually responded, and a delivery truck arrived in Bradford's driveway. "I have a newly arrived secretary and 86 boxes in my garage and basement," wrote Bradford on 21 May 1976.²¹⁶ By pre-arrangement, Linda Smithana, Rees's secretary in Los Angeles, moved briefly to Arlington to help Bradford get established. Bradford housed her temporarily before Smithana departed for New Jersey three months later.²¹⁷

Mid-way through the transfer, Bradford's impatience with Rees softened as she began to understand the magnitude of the job she had accepted. During a quiet moment alone, she expressed these feelings to Rees in writing: "I take time out of my labors tonight to write you a love letter." Looking over several Los Angeles-era issues of the journal, Bradford had been impressed by their beauty and was reminded of the difficult and often lonely labor of Rees that produced them:

As I and my group grow more deeply into this. . . we find ourselves saying over and over to each other—how did Bob do it? Knowing all—not *all*—

213. Bradford Oral History, 3; Bradford, "My Ten Years with *Dialogue*," 11.

214. Mary L. Bradford to Robert A. Rees, 15 October 1975, *Dialogue* Collection.

215. Mary Bradford to Robert Rees, 10 January 1976, *Dialogue* Collection.

216. Mary Bradford to Elisabeth Stewart, 21 May 1976, *Dialogue* Collection.

217. Bradford to Anderson, 26 March 2000.

some of your miseries, and knowing now a *little bit* of what you had to put into it, we salute you for not only the high quality of the work—but its creative beauty. I am becoming increasingly aware of the “looks” of the journal as I study it and as I take printing bids. We don’t want to spoil it! As I sit here alone looking at the journal, I feel close to you and really humble in my calling.²¹⁸

That moment of empathy was important for Bradford in carrying out the remaining two months of the transition. As she soon discovered, her team would require similar patience and understanding as well.

The Washington Staff

Even before accepting the editorship of *Dialogue*, Bradford knew she could assemble a talented team. Lester Bush, who became her associate editor, reflects back on the individuals who would become the Washington staff:

When *Dialogue* arrived in Arlington, we viewed it very much as a sacred trust—and felt strongly about maintaining the *Dialogue* tradition as we understood it. . . . Everyone involved in Arlington saw themselves as “*Dialogue*-types,” most were charter subscribers, and all believed a strong, independent *Dialogue* was essential to both thinking Mormons individually, and to the intellectual integrity of LDS publications in general—including the official ones. In essence we saw *Dialogue* as an intellectual anchor and reference point. That was a very motivating perspective, and resulted in a huge amount of personal time being donated by many people.²¹⁹

Bradford had long been impressed by Bush, who belonged to the neighboring Falls Church Ward. “I knew of his devotion, skill, [and] towering intellect.” She asked him to be her co-editor, but he declined, feeling that he should have lesser status.²²⁰ As Bush insists, it was only appropriate that a clear distinction be made between his duties and those of Bradford:

The simple answer is that our predecessors had asked Mary to be the editor, and not Mary and I to be co-editors. She had been a significant *Dialogue* presence for years, was personally known to most of the LDS intellectual community, and would obviously be carrying the emotional and symbolic burden of the journal. . . . [As] flattering as it was to be considered co-editor, I didn’t think it would be right.²²¹

218. Mary Bradford to Robert Rees, 25 March 1976, *Dialogue* Collection.

219. Lester E. Bush to Devery S. Anderson, 7 February 1999.

220. Bradford to Anderson, 26 March 2000.

221. Lester E. Bush to Devery S. Anderson, 14 April 2000.

When Bush finally agreed to be her associate editor, Bradford "had to convince him to take the title" as he would have been content simply to be one of her many volunteers.²²²

Bradford and Bush had already had *Dialogue* experience together. Bradford played a role in helping Bush get his 1973 article on Blacks and the priesthood through the publication process,²²³ and both had served on the editorial board under Rees. Bush explains his duties as Bradford's associate editor: "I probably worked about 20 hours a week," he recalls. "To oversimplify my duties, Mary took care of the poetry, fiction, personal essays, all the details, etc., and I took care of the other kinds of articles (though in fact she weighed in and did final editing on everything)." Bush solicited articles on specific subjects, asked specific people to write articles, and worked hard to get them into publishable shape. "Mary's general experience which I soon verified was that even good writers could be edited down 20% just through copy editing and no substantive deletions," a process which served to tighten and strengthen the articles while allowing room for the inclusion of others.²²⁴ It is no wonder that Bradford would exclaim nearly two decades after leaving her post: "I could not have gotten along without him."²²⁵

Another key staff member was Alice Pottmyer, a friend and member of Bradford's ward. Pottmyer's presence was crucial, being the only team member with prior experience in the production end of publishing. After earning a B.A. in journalism at BYU in 1960, Pottmyer had worked in producing publications for several local organizations. She explains how she came to be involved with *Dialogue*: "One day [Bradford] remarked that she had been offered the *Dialogue* editor position. She wanted to do it, but she had no idea how to produce a publication. Mary was a great writer, poet, and editor, but she did not know how to physically produce a publication. Not only did I know how to do it, I loved doing it."²²⁶ Thus, Pottmyer took on the role and title of publications editor.

222. Bradford to Anderson, 26 March 2000.

223. Bush had earlier given Bradford a copy of his 400-page *Compilation on the Negro*, and the two began discussions on the possibility of his publishing an article on the subject in *Dialogue* (Bush to Anderson, 14 April 2000).

224. Bush to Anderson, 14 April 2000; Lester E. Bush to Devery S. Anderson, 14 October 2000.

225. Bradford to Anderson, 26 March 2000.

226. Alice Pottmyer to Devery S. Anderson, 2 April 2000. Pottmyer explains the previous work experience that enabled her to serve *Dialogue* so well: "While at BYU I was the Sunday BYU reporter. . . . I was also the BYU *Daily Universe* Society Editor. . . . After graduation, I returned home to Washington, D.C., where I worked for 12 years for three different trade or professional associations. I had titles such as managing editor and director of publications. In order to get my first position, I answered an ad for a 'Girl Friday.' Fortunately, we have laws against that now. That is how I got my foot in the door."

Royal Shipp, another friend, accepted the job of business manager. He remembers sitting with Bradford at a local ice cream shop when she asked him to serve. Shipp, who had known the Bradfords for more than a decade, had earned an MBA and Ph.D. in business management from Indiana University, and was then deputy administrator of the Food and Nutrition Service. As he began his responsibilities with *Dialogue*, he remembers that "enthusiasm was high" and he happily came to Arlington from his home in Alexandria for regular *Dialogue* staff meetings.²²⁷

Dave Stewart, an attorney living in Woodbridge, Virginia, accepted a role with the Washington staff. As "legal consultant" for the *Dialogue* Foundation, he proved most valuable in helping the new team stay current on its taxes. Bradford also recalls that during her tenure, "he met with us periodically to discuss any legal issues that might crop up."²²⁸

Although Bradford would have the help of many volunteers over the course of her tenure, it was she, Bush, Pottmyer, Shipp, and Stewart who formed the executive committee. This group of five remained intact during Bradford's entire editorship.²²⁹

With a staff established and overarching plans in place, Bradford was full of optimism as she wrote to some friends:

Lester is my right-hand man on this project; Royal Shipp is the business manager with Alice Pottmyer on publishing; Gene Walser on subscriptions; and Dave Stewart is the lawyer. All kinds of other wonderful friends are helping out. We have a staff of around 30 people, and a wonderful administrative assistant who moved from Los Angeles to help the magazine.²³⁰

Although Bradford had planned to continue with her government job after she assumed the editorship of *Dialogue*, she found that doing both was difficult: "I thought I could work with [*Dialogue*] part-time, and I did that for a while," but she soon realized that the journal would require more attention. Consequently, she scaled back her writing courses.²³¹ Able to devote more time to *Dialogue*, she would have advan-

227. Royal Shipp telephone interview, conducted by Devery S. Anderson on 18 April 2000.

228. Mary L. Bradford to Devery S. Anderson, 10 September 2000.

229. On 20 July 1976, Bradford and Bush became members of the board of trustees of the *Dialogue* Foundation. During a meeting held at the home of Brent Rushforth, the following action occurred: "It was moved that Mary L. Bradford and Lester E. Bush, Jr., be appointed to the Board of Trustees to fill the two present vacancies. The motion was seconded and unanimously adopted. It was then proposed that Trustees Robert A. Rees, Thomas M. Anderson, and Brent N. Rushforth resign from the Board of Trustees. Those three trustees then formally submitted their resignations to the Board of Trustees" ("Resolution," 26 July 1976, *Dialogue* Collection).

230. Mary L. Bradford to Mr. and Mrs. Clarence Taylor, 10 June 1976, *Dialogue* Collection.

231. Bradford Oral History, 4.

tages over previous editors, as she explained three months after beginning her editorship: "I won't go into all the difficulties that have beset the past *Dialogue* staff. I can only say we now have a full-time secretary and a dedicated part-time staff as well as a full-time editor. *Dialogue* has not had these before in this combination."²³²

A "Homey" Atmosphere

At first, Bradford considered renting office space for the journal, but several factors favored housing it in her own basement instead. While she benefitted from several volunteers, most of them could come only at night. Having the journal in her home also meant she could recruit her children's help, and she did.²³³ With Chick often conducting ward business from the home also, the arrangement even allowed for some humor: "There were jokes about the bishop upstairs (Celestial) and *Dialogue* downstairs (Telestial)."²³⁴ With so little overhead costs, the *Dialogue* Foundation could afford to resume paying its editor \$500 per month. Eventually, however, Bradford took herself off of the payroll, instead putting the money toward rent expenses. "Our electric bill is sky high, and we won't have to worry about payroll deductions," she reasoned.²³⁵

The staff remembers that the basement office worked out fine. Pottmyer recalls: "The office was definitely homey. . . . [A]ll of us came in jeans and t-shirts (or sweats—depending on the season). You would often see people sitting on the floor editing galleys. Two people might be off in another room proof-reading together. Mary would keep a supply of M&M's." Still there were a few slight disadvantages as well. "A few times, I had to ask one of [Bradford's] teenagers to turn down the rock music." Children of all ages could be found upstairs and down. As Pottmyer remembers: "Depending on my babysitting arrangements, sometimes my two young children were around the basement. It was not unusual for a volunteer to come in with a baby or toddler."²³⁶ Still, overall, as Bush insists, the basement office "definitely made it easier for

232. Mary L. Bradford to L. Brent Plowman, 4 September 1976, *Dialogue* Collection.

233. Bradford would later write that her children proved to be quite able assistants and proud of their association with the journal: "[Lorraine] became a good summer secretary—editorial assistant. Scott was an excellent proofreader, and Stephen, our eldest, introduced himself to classes at BYU as 'Son of *Dialogue*'" (Mary L. Bradford, "Famous Last Words, or Through the Correspondence Files," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 15 [Summer 1982]: 13).

234. Bradford to Anderson, 26 March 2000.

235. Mary L. Bradford to Lester E. Bush, 15 November 1978, copy (provided by Lester Bush) in my possession; Bradford to Anderson, 26 March 2000.

236. Pottmyer to Anderson, 2 April 2000.

Mary, and it was good to have the friendly, casual setting for the group work."²³⁷

Reclaiming Lost Sheep

With subscriptions at only around 1,700 when she began her editorship, Bradford immediately took advantage of her large staff by launching a major subscription drive. As she informed one supporter: "We are going to have to get quite a few more [subscribers] than we now have in order to print the rest of the issues this year." Time was of the essence: "We will send out some brochures as soon as we can, but meanwhile, just tell [people] to send in their twenty bucks." There would also be special incentives for students: "If they're students—real students—undergraduates and starving, tell them \$10 is enough. We're going to offer a student rate from now on."²³⁸ A later price increase, beginning with the winter 1981 issue, would raise the regular and student subscriptions of \$20 and \$10 to \$25 and \$15 respectively.

Poring over the *Dialogue* files ("our files were confused, to say the least"), the D.C. team took over two years to organize everything to satisfaction.²³⁹ Bradford and her staff immediately targeted lapsed subscribers and sent notices to all of them. She recalls at least one all-night staff meeting for that purpose: "We as a group found names and typed labels and sent out the word that we were alive and well in D.C."²⁴⁰

Within a month the Washington team had mailed nearly three thousand notices.²⁴¹ They were aggressive, and it paid off: "We have written letters, called people, given speeches. The response has been heartwarming, as the cliché goes, and we are back in business. Our subscribers have doubled, and we are on our way."²⁴² Over the next several months, this

237. Bush to Anderson, 14 April 2000.

238. Mary L. Bradford to Ray Hillam, 10 June 1976, *Dialogue* Collection.

239. Mary L. Bradford to Dr. Merlin B. Brinkerhoff, 26 June 1978, *Dialogue* Collection. As Bush also points out, *Dialogue's* unorganized state was not a reflection of Rees as head of the enterprise, but of the fact that toward the end of his term, "Rees's staff had almost all moved or drifted away" (Bush to Anderson, 14 April 2000). A letter by Claudia Bretzing, who later became Bradford's secretary, gives a clear indication of the lengthy process of organizing the files once the journal moved to Arlington. Upon finding a two-year-old unopened envelope containing a manuscript, Bretzing apologetically wrote the author: "Apparently it had been set aside instead of mailed to you" (Claudia Bretzing to Boyd Tangren, 15 March 1978, *Dialogue* Collection). Bradford would report a far more serious situation: "Royal Shipp is working hard on getting the IRS off our backs (the former crew paid no taxes at all during 1975 and their stuff was pretty botched for 1976, so we paid them more in late fees than the taxes were to begin with)" (Mary L. Bradford to Bill Loftus, 9 September 1977, *Dialogue* Collection).

240. Bradford to Anderson, 12 April 2000.

241. Mary L. Bradford to Susan and Robert Hansen, 7 July 1976, *Dialogue* Collection.

242. Mary L. Bradford to Robert F. Smith, 10 February 1977, *Dialogue* Collection.

campaign continued to bring gratifying results, as Bradford was happy to report: "Every day we meet people who have never heard of *Dialogue*, or who took it once and thought it had died, or people who moved and were lost to us but wish they hadn't been."²⁴³

This effort by the Washington team increased subscribers to 3,000; maintaining that number, however, would be difficult without establishing a reliable publishing schedule. This problem, which plagued Robert Rees before her, continued off and on through Bradford's tenure. Bush acknowledged at the time that "*Dialogue's* move to the east has thrown things even further behind than usual."²⁴⁴ Yet Bradford believed that getting the journal printed and to the public would restore the faith of supporters, and subscribers would follow. When subscriptions later dipped below 3,000 again, Bradford explained her philosophy: "We still think the main thing is to bring out the magazine, regularly, boo-boos and all, until people get used to it again."²⁴⁵ Tardiness also halted manuscript submissions, but Bradford was not worried:

Since moving the magazine to D.C., I have learned the following[:] The readers are out there, but they think we are not. It is very, very HARD to put out a quality journal, but it is also very exciting. I agree with you [also] that manuscripts are out there, and I think that once the word is out that we are still publishing, they will come in.²⁴⁶

Publishing that first issue, unfortunately, turned out to be more difficult than Bradford or anyone on her staff could ever have anticipated.

A Baptism by Fire: The Sex Issue

Before printing an issue under her own imprint, Bradford had to fulfill her promise to Rees in overseeing his final issue. In aiding Rees during the transition, the Washington team agreed to produce an issue on "Sexuality and Mormon Culture," to be guest-edited by Harold T. Christensen and Marvin B. Rytting. Rees, having already accepted the manuscripts chosen by the guest editors, would remain editor in name for this issue, as he explained to Bradford: "We felt it unwise to have you begin your public editorship with the sexuality issue even though you will have the major responsibility in editing it."²⁴⁷ Bradford and Bush worked hard on this project and, according to Rees, they spent "hundreds of hours going over all of the manuscripts and getting them into

243. Mary L. Bradford to Robert A. Rees, 6 January 1976, *Dialogue* Collection.

244. Lester Bush to Barnett Seymour Salzman, 16 August 1976, *Dialogue* Collection.

245. Bradford to Loftus, 9 September 1977, *Dialogue* Collection.

246. Bradford to Smith, 10 February 1977, *Dialogue* Collection.

247. Robert Rees to Mary Bradford, 29 September 1975, *Dialogue* Collection.

final form." This experience may have proved a valuable lesson for the new team in the realities of journal editing. Although the sex issue was scheduled for release by the end of Rees's tenure in May 1976, various obstacles delayed it until well into Bradford's term, postponing her first official issue for over fifteen months. Bush's memories are clear: "This issue had the longest gestation period in *Dialogue* history."²⁴⁸

To begin with, while Rees was on business overseas, Bradford had no reason to doubt that prior arrangements with the printer in Los Angeles were being honored. Unbeknownst to her, however, the Ward-Ritchie Press had gone out of business. Frustrated, Bradford explained the situation to Harold Christensen: "It means that nothing was done the whole time Rees was in Europe when we were blithely believing that the sex issue would appear any minute." This resulted in even greater delays. "By the time we choose our [new] printer it will be another eight to ten weeks before the issue appears."²⁴⁹ After Bradford switched to nearby Waverly Press, the sex issue (Autumn 1976), which was rescheduled for release in September 1976, did not appear until February 1977. Waverly charged more for its services than had the previous printer, and the increased cost forced the Washington team to make further cuts on the manuscripts; thus the added delays.

By the time the sex issue was released, Bradford had been editor for over eight months, but there was little rejoicing when it finally arrived: "The printer made several mistakes, foremost of which is the wrong paper! I am just horrified!"²⁵⁰ The next day, Bradford was still venting and wrote to the editor of *Sunstone*:

There are more pages, but the paper is the thin kind used by *BYU Studies*. It is fine for them because they don't use illustrations, but disastrous for us, and many people are likely to think we are downgrading the whole thing. If you could spread the word about the mistake and that it won't happen again, I would be grateful!

We are climbing all over the printer, a reputable 100-year-old company that publishes *Foreign Affairs Quarterly*. The binding seems a bit loose, too. So, in your travels, you would need to know these facts. WE ARE CLEARING UP THE PROBLEMS OR WE ARE CHANGING PRINTERS.²⁵¹

Bradford was also reminded of the importance of diplomacy. Guest editors Christensen and Rytting shared a vision of what they expected as

248. Bush to Anderson, 14 April 2000.

249. Mary L. Bradford to Harold T. Christensen, 3 September 1976, *Dialogue* Collection.

250. Mary L. Bradford to Richard D. Poll, 10 February 1977, *Dialogue* Collection.

251. Mary L. Bradford to Scott Kenney, 11 February 1977, *Dialogue* Collection.

the final product, but Bradford had to consider *Dialogue's* finances. Although it was originally planned as a double issue, the budget simply would not allow it. Thus, the editing process continued to shrink manuscripts that had previously been accepted. Bradford explained to Christensen: "When we went to press with the sex issue, we were not even sure we could pay for it. We had a \$13,000 debt and only \$2,000 in the bank."²⁵² Although Rees had originally accepted the articles, it was left to Bradford and her team to edit them down. She recently noted: "We, through great difficulty, cut it down to a size we could afford to publish." One example of the editing process was Lester Bush's skill in cutting down Christensen's lengthy manuscript to fourteen published pages by using graphs and other illustrations.²⁵³ Due to these financial constraints, previously accepted articles by Lowell Bennion and non-Mormon scholar Jan Shipps were eliminated altogether.²⁵⁴ Thus, recalls Bradford, "We started out [our tenure] by offending the most prestigious historian and other supporters."²⁵⁵

Without question, the sex issue served as a valuable learning experience. "Yes it was an eye-opener," Bradford recalls twenty-three years later. "We were criticized by past and future *Dialoguers*, but I think they all understood in the end."²⁵⁶ Readers generally liked the issue, but Christensen and Rytting were divided over the heavy editing.²⁵⁷ Rees admits that the issue "wasn't as sexy as some people would have liked," but acknowledged "it addressed issues that needed to be discussed," including one of the first articles on homosexuality in the LDS church.²⁵⁸ This essay, "Solus," was written anonymously. Among the others was Lester Bush's "Birth Control Among the Mormons: An Introduction to an Insistent Question," and Wilford E. Smith's "Mormon Sex Standards on College Campuses, or Deal us out of the Sexual Revolution." Bush recently summed up the odyssey of the sex issue: "It was a baptism by fire.

252. Mary L. Bradford to Harold T. Christensen, 23 June 1977, *Dialogue* Collection.

253. Bradford to Anderson, 14 March 2000. See Harold T. Christensen, "Mormon Sexuality in Cross-Cultural Perspective," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 10 (Autumn 1976): 62–75.

254. Mary L. Bradford to Lowell L. Bennion, 8 October 1976, *Dialogue* Collection; Bradford to Anderson, 14 March 2000.

255. Bradford to Anderson, 21 June 2000.

256. Bradford to Anderson, 26 March 2000.

257. Bradford reported after the release of the sex issue that Christensen "sent us a letter that I can only describe as 'damning with faint praise'" over the end results (Mary L. Bradford to Marvin B. Rytting, 9 March 1977). Rytting, on the other hand, was happy with the issue: "In spite of the pain of cutting, I think your editing job strengthened the issue and I am grateful for your help" (Marvin B. Rytting to Mary L. Bradford, 9 March 1977, *Dialogue* Collection).

258. Rees telephone interview, 9 December 1994.

[But] we believed the final product was a pretty good issue on an important subject."²⁵⁹

Official Debut: The Media Issue

The delay of the sexuality issue helped postpone the release of Bradford's long-planned premiere, a theme issue entitled "Imagemakers: Mormons and the Media" (Spring 1977). The media issue was released in September 1977, but the Washington team had actually begun planning it long before their duties began in June 1976.²⁶⁰ Certainly it was a timely topic, as Bush remembers: "We were interested in the subject because at the time the church had moved very actively into image management, and was also receiving an unprecedented amount of press coverage. It thus was a topical subject, not looked at in depth previously."²⁶¹

The long delays associated with the sex issue were not entirely to blame for the late release of the media issue. Once again, problems involving the printer played a role. In this case, a press strike held up the issue for over six months. In the meantime, the Washington team had another issue ready to go to press, but with Waverly now heavily backed up, it would be several months late as well. Bradford had little choice but to endure the problems. "Changing [printers] now would be such a bother—what with the subscription list, mailing permits, and everything else."²⁶²

Bradford experienced other setbacks in producing the media issue. Believing it should include a thorough discussion of the official publications of the LDS church, she had arranged to obtain background information by speaking with Dean L. Larsen, a member of the First Quorum of the Seventy and director/editor of church magazines.²⁶³ In seeking an

259. Bush to Anderson, 14 April 2000. In addition to the articles cited above, the sex issue included the following: Klaus J. Hansen, "Mormon Sexuality and American Culture"; Armand L. Mauss, "Shall the Youth of Zion Falter? Mormon Youth and Sex: A Two-City Comparison"; Shirley B. Paxman, "Sex Education Materials for Latter-day Saints"; and a second contribution by Bush, "Mormon Elders' Wafers: Images of Mormon Virility in Patent Medicine Ads."

260. Mary L. Bradford to Charles B. Carlston, 1 June 1976, *Dialogue* Collection.

261. Lester E. Bush to Devery S. Anderson, 21 June 2000.

262. Mary L. Bradford to Kevin Barnhurst, 13 July 1977, *Dialogue* Collection. Although Bradford learned to take such problems in stride, perhaps she found comfort in the words of then *Ensign* associate editor Lavina Fielding Anderson, after similar problems continued into the next year: "You have nothing but my utmost sympathy where printers are concerned. I'm sure part of heaven for editors is going to be a place where they can complain to their heart's content about presses, and someone will say sympathetically, 'Oh yes, I know'" (Lavina Fielding Anderson to Mary L. Bradford, 31 August 1978, *Dialogue* Collection).

263. Larsen, who had been director of curriculum and instructional materials since

interview, Bradford paid a visit to Larsen's secretary, who was encouraging and told her to return at seven o'clock the next morning. Bradford was staying over forty miles south of Salt Lake City in Provo and had to rise early to make her way through the morning traffic in order to arrive at the Church Office Building on schedule. Lavina Fielding Anderson, associate editor for the *Ensign*, met Bradford in the lobby with some disappointing news: "Brother Larsen says he will under no circumstances talk to the editor of *Dialogue*."²⁶⁴ Bradford did not take the rejection personally, but was nevertheless shocked. In retrospect, however, Bradford admits she was naive to think Larsen would have seen her in the first place.²⁶⁵

After Larsen's refusal, Bradford's brother, Dennis Lythgoe, arranged and conducted an interview with Wendell J. Ashton, managing director of Public Communications for the church. This piece, "Marketing the Mormon Image: An Interview with Wendell Ashton," served as the lead article for the issue.

The media issue, released well over a year after Bradford began her term, was the first edited solely by the Washington team. Bradford may have been overly sensitive as she complained of the lack of reader response a year later, claiming it "was so slight (in fact, it hardly made a ripple)."²⁶⁶ However, the content was diverse and interesting. Among the other essays was Merlo Pusey's personal memoir, "My Fifty Years in Journalism," and Davis Bitton's and Gary Bunker's "Illustrated Periodical Images of Mormons, 1850–1860," their prelude to a book released six years later.²⁶⁷

This experience provided further training for the Washington team. "Yes, we learned a lot on the media issue. We sat around the table and did our own layout, choosing typeface, etc. After it came out, a layout expert made us promise never to do that again."²⁶⁸ Bradford acknowledges that her team's inexperience with design gave the issue a "tacky" look, but she is happy to have her name attached to it nonetheless. "Although the issue was embarrassing in many ways, it helped to turn our fledgling [sic] group into a cohesive family, and we even today feel affection for our deformed child."²⁶⁹

1972, was appointed to oversee the magazines after the November 1975 death of long-time editor Doyle L. Green. See "Church Magazines Editor Appointed," *Ensign* 6 (March 1976): 80.

264. Mary L. Bradford to Devery S. Anderson, 19 May 2000.

265. Mary L. Bradford to Devery S. Anderson, 21 June 2000.

266. Mary L. Bradford to William Loftus, 27 January 1978, *Dialogue* Collection.

267. See Gary L. Bunker and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Graphic Image, 1834–1914: Cartoons, Caricature, and Illustrations* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983).

268. Bradford to Anderson, 12 April 2000.

269. Mary L. Bradford, "Famous Last Words," 15.

A New Concept: The Dialogue Intern

Because Bradford lived near Washington, D.C., she was well aware of the BYU Washington Seminar, a summer program that provided an opportunity for university students to intern for members of Congress. In fact, she, her husband Chick, and Lester Bush often spoke at these seminars, and had a good rapport with many BYU faculty.²⁷⁰ Bradford sought out the head of the program and asked if she (Bradford) could be provided with a part-time intern to help in the *Dialogue* office. That request was granted, and Karen Moloney, a twenty-six-year-old English major from Whittier, California, accepted the invitation.²⁷¹ In June 1977, Moloney began a two-month sojourn in Washington (staying with the Pottmyers) that allowed her to work in the *Dialogue* office Monday through Thursday, and still gain government experience on weekends.²⁷²

Moloney had been vaguely familiar with *Dialogue* through her previous work in the special collections department at the Harold B. Lee Library at BYU. While her knowledge of the journal was minimal, she was anxious for experience in Mormon publishing.²⁷³

Moloney later provided an account in *Dialogue* of her intern experience (Spring 1978), writing that she handled the usual office duties: answering the telephone, proofreading, typing, and processing new submissions. She also helped on the ten-year index (released the following year), spearheaded by Gary Gillum of the editorial staff. She experienced both boredom and excitement: "Occasionally for several days running I was the only staff member working there, sometimes neglected, sometimes with too little work to keep me involved and productive." There were highs, however, "not the least of which was the arrival of the daily mail. The *Dialogue* office anchors one end of countless hotlines leading to points all over the country."²⁷⁴ She recently added that people would call from around the United States to report news about Mormonism, an indication that *Dialogue* was part of an important network despite being geographically distant from Mormonism's center.²⁷⁵

Spending more time in the office than any other staff member during that time, Moloney was a witness to Bradford's style. "Mary was an excellent editor," she says. "Her commitment to *Dialogue* was very strong.

270. Bradford to Anderson, 21 June 2000; Lester E. Bush to Devery S. Anderson, 21 June 2000.

271. Karen M. Moloney, telephone interview conducted by Devery S. Anderson, 19 May 2000.

272. Karen M. Moloney, "Gambit in the Throbs of a Ten-Year-Old Swamp: Confessions of a *Dialogue* Intern," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 11 (Spring 1978): 120.

273. Moloney telephone interview, 19 May 2000.

274. Moloney, 121.

275. Moloney telephone interview, 19 May 2000.

She was wise and very tactful."²⁷⁶ Moloney's frequent isolation was not an indication that Bradford had abandoned her duties during this time. As Moloney recently explained, outside demands often forced Bradford to "work in spurts." For example, if family duties, her government job, or other responsibilities pulled Bradford out of the *Dialogue* office for any length of time, she would compensate by staying up all night to catch up on her *Dialogue* work.²⁷⁷

Moloney earned eight BYU credits for her internship. She was also paid \$500 for her work in Washington, but Bradford was quick to emphasize that "this sum in no way compensates you for the valuable contribution you made to *Dialogue* during your two-month stay with us."²⁷⁸

After Moloney returned to BYU, Bradford asked her to remain on the *Dialogue* staff, which she did. Her long-distance duties consisted at first of soliciting manuscripts for an upcoming theme issue on the international church.²⁷⁹ She later joined the editorial board in 1979 after earning a master's degree, and served until 1982.²⁸⁰

The success of this intern experience later prompted Bradford to hire other young Mormons. The following year, Kevin Barnhurst, formerly an editor at *Sunstone*,²⁸¹ came to Washington and helped lay out a special issue on Mormon literature (Summer 1978), guest-edited by Maureen Ursenbach Beecher and featuring the papers presented at the second annual meeting of the Association of Mormon Letters.²⁸² Barnhurst would continue with *Dialogue* for fifteen hours per week through the following year, working with the printer on design work. Alice Pottmyer reported:

276. *Ibid.*

277. *Ibid.*

278. Mary L. Bradford to Karen M. Moloney, 16 August 1977, *Dialogue* Collection.

279. Moloney telephone interview, 19 May 2000. The issue that materialized was published in the spring of 1980.

280. Moloney later earned a Ph.D. in modern British and Irish-Anglo literature at UCLA in 1989.

281. Barnhurst had founded the *New Messenger and Advocate* in 1977 and published two issues before it merged with *Sunstone* in 1978. For a brief summary of the short-lived publication, see Kevin Barnhurst, "The New Messenger and Advocate," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 11 (Spring 1978): 102–103.

282. The papers published in this issue were delivered at the University of Utah Marriott Library on 8 October 1977. The Association of Mormon Letters was founded 20 April 1976 in Salt Lake City, Utah. *Dialogue* had previously published two literary issues of its own, and would now serve as an outlet for the fledgling AML in much the same way as it had with the Mormon History Association in 1966. See Anderson, 31. See also Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, "Introduction," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 11 (Summer 1978): 12–13. Since 1994, the papers delivered at the organization's conferences have been published in the *Association for Mormon Letters Annual*. In 1998, the AML also began publishing its quarterly magazine, *Irreantum*.

"The issues are moving through the printer well since Kevin has been here. . . . [He] has been doing a great job of training their staff."²⁸³

Kathy Aldous, another intern, came to Washington in the summer of 1979, moved in with Bradford, and provided her with valuable assistance: "We've really enjoyed having her. She's an extremely efficient and delightful secretary and she is also good at editorial work."²⁸⁴ Julie Randall came later with the BYU Summer Seminar, but disliked her job in the office of Oregon Senator Bob Packwood so much that she asked for something different. Helping out in the *Dialogue* office instead, she proved invaluable in the summer of 1982 as the Washington team closed up shop. She helped the new editors get established as well.²⁸⁵ Bradford praised her skills: "She is good at managing the office, is an excellent typist, a pretty good proofreader and is learning the whole mailing system."²⁸⁶

Perhaps Maloney speaks for the other interns when she expresses her gratitude to Bradford: "She was trying to give me an opportunity. It was a significant introduction into the Mormon publishing world."²⁸⁷ Moloney left Washington with a supply of all available back issues of the journal, and still subscribes today. More importantly, she and Bradford have remained friends. "I still love her," says Bradford more than two decades later.²⁸⁸

Turning Ten at Twelve

Two of the Washington team's many contributions to *Dialogue* included producing a ten-year index (mentioned above) and publishing a ten-year anniversary issue (Spring 1978), both released in early 1978. The anniversary issue was also the first one published on schedule in several years, and Bradford was hopeful for a continuing trend: "We had a summit meeting a couple of weeks ago, and if all goes according to projections, this should be the first year that four issues will be published on schedule in several years."²⁸⁹ By year's end, Bradford's goal had become a reality.

However, in the midst of the euphoria of this accomplishment, Bradford was immediately embarrassed about many typographical errors in

283. Alice A. Pottmyer to Lester E. Bush, 18 January 1979, copy in my possession.

284. Mary L. Bradford to Lester E. Bush, 12 July 1979, copy in my possession.

285. Bradford to Anderson, 21 June 2000.

286. Mary L. Bradford to Lavina Fielding Anderson, 10 March 1982, *Dialogue* Collection.

287. Ibid.

288. Bradford to Anderson, 9 May 2000.

289. Mary L. Bradford to Maureen D. Keeler, 22 February 1978, *Dialogue* Collection.

the anniversary issue that were overlooked, at least one of them serious. Referring to an article by Douglas D. Alder and Paul M. Edwards on the relationship between the LDS and RLDS churches,²⁹⁰ Bradford expressed her embarrassment to Karen Moloney: "The typo in the Alder/Edwards article was unforgivable! At the end, where it says that if the Joseph Smith line runs out, the RLDS will likely NOT turn to the Hyrum Smith line (H. Smith being the Mormons), the NOT was left out! We are now in trouble with the whole RLDS Church!"²⁹¹

Bradford was also confronted by one of *Dialogue's* founders, Joseph Jeppson, who pointed out that she had overlooked him in her introductory essay, while honoring the others who started the journal. In response, Bradford finally concluded: "We don't fool around. When we do [err], we do it big. I wish now that we had never called it an anniversary issue since nothing worked out right."²⁹²

With all of its problems, however, this first decade celebration represented a link between a troubled past and a new beginning: A ten-year anniversary celebrated two years late served as a reminder of the determination to continue, despite the obstacles Bradford and earlier editors faced in managing to get the journal published at all. Although Bradford would continue to struggle with *Dialogue's* schedule throughout her term, this issue also marked a turning point: From then on each volume would be published four times per year (albeit often late), with each issue denoted as spring, summer, winter, and fall. This had not occurred since 1974. The ten-year index was a reminder, under a single cover, of everything *Dialogue* had accomplished, despite the difficulties. The two issues together declared that the struggle was worth it. Those symbols remain part of the Bradford legacy.

1978: A New Revelation

On 9 June 1978, most Mormons were surprised but ecstatic to hear an announcement that church president Spencer W. Kimball had received a revelation ending the prohibition against ordaining black men to the priesthood.²⁹³ Bradford heard the news from her husband Chick, who

290. See Douglas D. Alder and Paul M. Edwards, "Common Beginnings, Divergent Beliefs," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 11 (Spring 1978): 18–28.

291. Mary L. Bradford to Karen Moloney, 15 August 1978, *Dialogue* Collection. For the error, see Alder and Edwards, 28.

292. Mary L. Bradford to Joseph H. Jeppson, 20 August 1979, *Dialogue* Collection.

293. The announcement made national headlines the following day. See for example these front page stories: Margorie Hyer, "Mormon Church Dissolves Black Bias," *Washington Post*, 10 June 1978, A1 & A9; Kenneth A. Briggs, "Mormon Church Strikes Down Ban Against Blacks in Priesthood," *New York Times*, 10 June 1978, 1 & 24; Russell Chandler, "Mormon Church to Accept Blacks into Priesthood," *Los Angeles Times*, 10 June 1978, 1 &

telephoned after the announcement came over the wire. Lester Bush called her immediately afterward.²⁹⁴ Bush had learned of the revelation from his brother Larry (also a member of the *Dialogue* staff) while working at Bethesda Naval Hospital.²⁹⁵

Bradford was thrilled. "The lifting of the priesthood ban was one of the great moments of our lives," she remembers.²⁹⁶ *Dialogue* readers immediately began calling and writing the office. Among the first was Caroline Eyring Miner, a sister-in-law to church president Kimball. In a reference to Bush's 1973 article, she wrote: "*Dialogue* did a remarkable [job] on the Negro issue some years ago. It comes into focus with the recent revelation."²⁹⁷ Judi McConkie, married to the nephew of Apostle Bruce R. McConkie, also wrote: "I can imagine how you and Lester must have reacted. I cannot wait until the next family home evening at Bruce's. He told us briefly that the revelation came simultaneously to the Twelve and the First Presidency on June 1."²⁹⁸ Lowell Bennion, Bradford's former institute teacher, wrote that "I could hardly believe and was pleased with the new revelation and the manner in which it came about."²⁹⁹ Bradford, mindful of *Dialogue*'s past contributions on the subject, wrote to another

19. See also Kenneth Woodward and Jack Goodman, "Race Revelations," *Newsweek* 91 (19 June 1978): 67, and "Revelation," *Time* 111 (19 June 1978): 55. In Salt Lake City, a front-page headline featuring the text of the announcement, with the signatures of the First Presidency, appeared as "LDS Church Extends Priesthood to all Worthy Male Members," *Deseret News*, 9 June 1978, 1A. BYU published a special edition of its newspaper immediately after the announcement: "Blacks Get Priesthood: God Reveals New Policy to LDS Prophet," *Extra! The Universe*, 9 June 1978. More followed the next day: "Carter Praises Church Action," *Deseret News*, 10 June 1978, 1A & 2A; "Tears Tell Feelings of Black Members," *Deseret News*, 10 June 1978, 2A. See also Charles J. Seldin, "Priesthood of LDS Opened to Blacks," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 10 June 1978, 1A & 2A. The LDS church celebrated the revelation in several articles in the *Church News*, week ending 17 June 1978, 3–6. The text of the announcement was also published in "Every Faithful, Worthy Man in the Church May Now Hold the Priesthood," *Ensign* 8 (July 1978): 75, and the following month, the magazine featured Janet Brigham, "Warm Responses to Priesthood Announcement," *Ensign* 8 (August 1978): 78–79.

294. Bradford to Anderson, 9 May 2000.

295. Bush to Anderson, 21 May 2000.

296. Bradford to Anderson, 9 May 2000.

297. Caroline Eyring Miner to Mary L. Bradford, 10 June 1978, *Dialogue* Collection. Miner also told Bradford of an interesting conversation that she once had with Kimball: "Some years ago I asked my brother-in-law, Pres. Kimball, if he sought the Lord's revelation on the Negro problem and he said, 'Every day.'"

298. Judi McConkie to Mary L. Bradford, 16 June 1978.

299. Lowell L. Bennion to Mary L. Bradford, 29 August 1978, *Dialogue* Collection. Bennion had long been an advocate for changing the policy of black priesthood denial. His outspoken views on the subject were one reason for his dismissal as director of the LDS Institute at the University of Utah in 1962. For more on Bennion's views of the policy and his reaction to the revelation, see Mary Lythgoe Bradford, *Lowell L. Bennion: Teacher, Counselor, Humanitarian* (Salt Lake City: Dialogue Foundation, 1995), 243–61.

supporter: "As you can imagine, we here at *Dialogue* are overjoyed at the new Revelation. I personally am really thrilled to be editor of *Dialogue* at such a time in history, for as you know the Black issue has been very close to our hearts all along."³⁰⁰

Bush handled many of the media calls that came into the *Dialogue* office, and he spoke at several firesides and other Mormon gatherings in the months that followed. One speaking engagement was a multi-regional, young adult conference in August (which program also included Mary Bradford and Richard Bushman, who spoke on different subjects). During a break at the conference, Bush became involved in several discussions related to the revelation. "The main question was whether there would be any church comment on the previous practice and doctrinal legacy," such as blacks descending from Cain through "less valiant" loyalty to the plan of God in the pre-existence, etc.³⁰¹ Twenty-two years later, that has yet to occur.³⁰²

300. Mary L. Bradford to Roger Ekins, 29 June 1978, *Dialogue* Collection.

301. Bush to Anderson, 29 May 2000.

302. In 1997, an effort was made at the level of the Seventy to get First Presidency consideration for a public repudiation of some of the racist doctrines of the Mormon past which had persisted in the years since the revelation—mainly through the continued printing and disseminating of older authoritative Mormon books that contained such teachings. Unfortunately, before the hoped for consideration was given, an ill-advised press lead aborted the effort. The First Presidency responded to questions merely by saying that the 1978 change in priesthood policy "speaks for itself." For details of this incident, see Richard N. Ostling and Joan K. Ostling, *Mormon America: The Power and the Promise* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1999), 103–05. See also Larry B. Stammer, "Mormons May Disavow Old View on Blacks," *Los Angeles Times*, 18 May 1998, A-1, A-20, & A-21. This story also appeared on the same day in the *Salt Lake Tribune*, A-1. For the response of church leaders to the story, see Peggy Fletcher Stack, "Church Leaders Haven't Discussed Racial Issue, LDS President Says," *Salt Lake Tribune* 19 May 1998, A-1 & A-5.

The need for a repudiation of the popular explanations of the policy is evidenced by how the subject is treated in a newly released biography of Apostle Bruce R. McConkie. The author, Dennis B. Horne, quotes at length from McConkie's 1958 edition of *Mormon Doctrine*, where McConkie attempts to explain the priesthood restriction. Referring to the "War in Heaven," McConkie states: "Of the two-thirds who followed Christ, however, some were more valiant than others. Those who were less valiant in [the] pre-existence and who thereby had certain spiritual restrictions imposed upon them during mortality are known to us as Negroes." Horne proceeds to explain that McConkie "was but echoing similar sentiments to the opinions of various other Brethren." Then, in apparent approval of these views, Horne says: "It had been common for enemies of the Church, *not understanding the pre-existence nor believing this doctrine*, to use statements such as this one as an excuse to label the Church and its leaders as racist. To those who properly understood the doctrine, this was ridiculous. It was not men who imposed these restrictions, but God [italics mine]." Horne fails to cite any of the scholarly treatment of the black issue published in *Dialogue* or elsewhere and insists that "the restriction dated from the time of Adam and was upheld from the days of the Prophet Joseph Smith." See Dennis B. Horne, *Bruce R. McConkie: Highlights from His Life and Teachings* (Roy, Utah: Eborn Books, 2000), 151–52.

Speculation that Bush's 1973 article on the priesthood ban played a role in opening the door for revelation was immediate. That general authorities read the article is certain. Eugene England recalls a conversation with his friend Albert Payne, who worked in the church curriculum department. Payne told England that previous to the change, Apostle Bruce R. McConkie had come to the department and was seen "intently studying" the essay.³⁰³ Payne, according to England, "was convinced that this [article] had a profound effect on their willingness to accept a change."³⁰⁴ In 1975, three years before the revelation, Marion D. Hanks, a member of the First Quorum of the Seventy, informed Bush that [Bush's] 400-page *Compilation on the Negro*, which had earlier been given to Packer, "probably had a far greater effect than was acknowledged to you or than has yet been evidence [sic]. Recent conversations suggest that this is so." Nearly a decade later, Hanks reaffirmed this to Greg Prince, another Mormon historian (and member of Bradford's staff), insisting that "[Bush's] article had had far more influence than the Brethren would ever acknowledge. . . . It 'started to foment the pot.'"³⁰⁵

The Washington team immediately decided to publish an offprint of Bush's 1973 article³⁰⁶ and began planning a special theme issue responding to the revelation. "It was just a natural," says Bradford.³⁰⁷ Bush agrees. "This issue just seemed the obvious thing to do—given *Dialogue's* attention to the subject over the years."³⁰⁸ The issue which materialized (Summer 1979), not surprisingly, was edited by Bush, who was spending two years overseas on an assignment. Although it was originally planned as a response to the revelation, a delay in seeing the issue through the editing process turned it into a first-year anniversary cele-

303. England interview, 8 November 1994. Bush learned of another occasion where McConkie was seen reading the article, although the witness, church employee Edward Ashment, reports a less positive experience: "At the time my article was published . . . [Ashment] worked in the Church Translation Division and, shortly afterwards, walked into the office of Apostle Bruce R. McConkie. McConkie was facing away in his chair, reading intently and, as Ashment approached, wheeled around and slammed the *Dialogue* with my essay down on his desk, and pronounced it 'CRAP!' End of discussion" (Bush, "Writing 'Mormonism's Negro Doctrine,'" 266–67).

304. England interview, 8 November 1994.

305. Marion D. Hanks to Lester E. Bush, 10 July 1975, and Gregory Prince, notes recorded after an interview with Marion D. Hanks, 27 May 1994, as quoted in Bush, "Writing 'Mormonism's Negro Doctrine,'" 266.

306. Seven months later, Alice Pottmyer would report to Bush: "We have sold about 450 copies of your reprint. We are on the break even point on the printing costs. We have been promoting it on subscription renewal forms and also the back issue sale forms. A few bookstores have taken it, including the main Deseret Book. We will continue to promote it" (Alice Pottmyer to Lester E. Bush, 18 January 1979, copy in my possession).

307. Bradford to Anderson, 9 May 2000.

308. Bush to Anderson, 29 May 2000.

bration. It may have been worth the wait. In addition to a thorough introduction by Bush, the *Dialogue* staff compiled sources for the essay they entitled "Saint without Priesthood: The Collected Testimonies of Ex-Slave Samuel D. Chambers." Historian Newell G. Bringhurst also contributed his groundbreaking research into the life of a nineteenth-century black priesthood holder, "Elijah Abel and the Changing Status of Blacks within Mormonism," which later won an award from the Mormon History Association. Bringhurst, who had earlier written a dissertation on the subject, eventually published his research into a highly acclaimed book.³⁰⁹ To help understand the revelatory process in the Mormon church, Bush included a previously published speech delivered in 1954 by First Presidency counselor J. Reuben Clark, "When are the Writings or Sermons of Church Leaders Entitled to the Claim of Scripture?"³¹⁰ Bush explains its relevancy: "The point of the Clark essay was that it explained, at least in Clark's view, just how narrowly circumscribed were what might be termed 'binding' statements by church leaders." Bush continues: "The implication, in my mind, was that all the confident pronouncements over the years on blacks and the priesthood—now provably wrong in many regards—might reasonably be measured against Clark's standard."³¹¹ In short, it is safe to conclude that, beginning with the tense moments of the late 1960s, to the revelation over a decade later, *Dialogue* had provided the most thoughtful work yet published on the black issue.³¹²

309. See Newell G. Bringhurst, "A Servant of Servants. . . Cursed as Pertaining to the Priesthood": Mormon Attitudes toward Slavery and the Black Man, 1830–1880," Ph.D. diss., University of California, Davis, 1975, and *Saints, Slaves, and Blacks: The Changing Status of Black People within Mormonism* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1981). The Washington team would later publish another important essay on the implications of the new revelation, with Armand L. Mauss, "The Fading of Pharaoh's Curse: The Decline and Fall of the Priesthood Ban Against Blacks in the Mormon Church," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 14 (Fall 1981): 10–45. The Bush, Bringhurst, and Mauss articles were among those reprinted in Bush and Mauss, *Neither White nor Black*.

310. The speech was first published in the *Deseret News* on 31 July 1954. Originally, Bush had hoped to reprint Bruce R. McConkie's "Are the General Authorities Human?," an address delivered 28 October 1966 to students at the University of Utah LDS Institute of Religion. However, Bush was doubtful that McConkie would grant permission. Authorization was apparently not needed in reprinting the Clark essay.

311. Bush to Anderson, 21 June 2000.

312. All of the previously published *Dialogue* articles on the black issue were compiled in Bush and Mauss, *Neither White nor Black* in 1984. New essays by Mauss, "Introduction: Conflict and Commitment in an Age of Civil Turmoil," and Bush, "Whence the Negro Doctrine? A Review of Ten Years of Answers," were also included. Two brief articles also included in this issue were Sterling M. McMurrin, "A Note on the 1963 Civil Rights Statement," and George D. Smith, Jr., "The Negro Doctrine: An Afterview," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 12 (Summer 1979): 64–67. Most recently, the journal featured personal

A Time of Tension

This high standard of scholarship would not always be cause for celebration, however. About the time Bradford began her editorship with *Dialogue*, tensions became apparent between more conservative apostles and Mormon intellectuals. By 1976, criticisms were most noticeably directed toward the history division headed by church historian Leonard Arrington.

Arrington's troubles began when several of his team's publications came under attack by apostles Ezra Taft Benson, Mark E. Peterson, and Boyd K. Packer. Packer had complained of the history division's "orientation toward scholarly work" in 1974, and two years later Benson openly criticized the book, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, a one-volume history of the church by James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, produced under the direction of the Historical Department. The book was just off the press when some of the Twelve complained to Benson, the quorum's president, who responded by ordering a review. Arrington writes: "Certain members of the Twelve, now feeling an obligation to warn President Kimball of the dangers of our 'freewheeling' historical research, demanded that the Twelve have more say in these matters. The implication was clear that if they had made the choice I would not have been church historian." Yet, the First Presidency remained supportive of Arrington and his team.³¹³

In a separate incident on 28 March 1976, Apostle Benson, in a speech to students at Brigham Young University, criticized the 1973 evolution article by Duane Jeffery (as discussed earlier). The following September, while addressing LDS religious educators, he condemned several historical interpretations in *Story of the Latter-day Saints*³¹⁴ and counseled his audience to avoid *Dialogue*, although he did not mention the journal by name. After a stern warning against "purchasing writings from known apostates," he also told teachers to avoid those "from other liberal

essays on the subject by two Latter-day Saints: Margaret Blair Young, "Essay for June 9, 1998," and Keith E. Norman, "The Mark of the Curse: Lingering Racism in Mormon Doctrine?," both in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 32 (Spring 1999): 103–117 and 119–36 respectively.

313. Arrington, *Adventures of a Church Historian*, 143–44.

314. Benson was upset that the authors would see a catalyst for the revelation prohibiting tobacco and alcohol, known as the Word of Wisdom, in the strong temperance movement of the nineteenth-century. In response to Benson's attack, *Dialogue* published three articles in 1981 giving a historical perspective of the Word of Wisdom. See Lester E. Bush, "The Word of Wisdom in Early Nineteenth-Century Perspective," Robert J. McCue, "Did the Word of Wisdom Become a Commandment in 1851?," and Thomas G. Alexander, "The Word of Wisdom: From Principle to Requirement," all in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 14 (Autumn 1981): 46–88.

sources," and concludes: "When you purchase their writings or subscribe to their periodicals, you help sustain their cause."³¹⁵

Earlier efforts to squelch the work of the Arrington team proved that *Dialogue* had some enemies at the top. For example, in 1972 one apostle had managed to kill an organization called Friends of Church History, sponsored by the history division, after its first meeting on 30 November. According to Arrington, the unnamed apostle "warned that 'Dialogue-type historians' would be permitted to report their freewheeling research on historical topics." Despite an initial meeting that attracted over five hundred people, the apostle managed to close down the new organization. "In the face of almost universal approval," writes Arrington, "the one objector halted a program previously approved by the First Presidency. We were embarrassed and humiliated and we lost public good will"³¹⁶

Not all church leaders were critical of such scholarly work, however. Ironically, church president Spencer W. Kimball continued to support the history division. Kimball's sister-in-law Caroline Eyring Miner told Arrington of a conversation she had with the Mormon leader. Arrington writes: "Kimball had been alarmed about the scandalous way Jim Allen had been treated by some religion instructors at BYU for having been the principal author of *Story of the Latter-day Saints*." The church president was so distraught, in fact, that he "openly wept at this recital, and declared this was not a Christian way to treat someone who had honorably performed an approved assignment." Kimball also told Miner "that Benson and Peterson did not have the authority or the right to interfere with the sale of the book."³¹⁷

Arrington would later report his own reassuring moments with the church president: "On two different occasions [Kimball] told me that he was fully aware two or three of the brethren were not entirely pleased with our publications but that he himself had confidence in us and that, more importantly, the Lord was blessing us in our work." On another occasion after Arrington had delivered a speech at the Days of '47 banquet on 24 July 1978, Kimball exclaimed: "I want you to know that I love you very much and that the Lord is pleased that you are the historian of his Church."³¹⁸

315. Ezra Taft Benson, *The Gospel Teacher and His Message* (Salt Lake City: Church Educational System, 1976), 11–12. Benson delivered his speech to religious educators on 17 September 1976.

316. Arrington, *Adventures of a Church Historian*, 96–97.

317. *Ibid.*, 149.

318. Leonard J. Arrington, "The Founding of the LDS Church Historical Department, 1972," *Journal of Mormon History* 18 (Fall 1992): 53.

Even so, as Arrington also explained, Kimball avoided the use of power to censure those in the hierarchy with whom he disagreed.³¹⁹ Thus, if a strong-minded apostle spoke first, he essentially spoke last. In this way conservative critics of Arrington's and his colleagues' work, apostles such as Benson, Peterson, and Packer, often prevailed in deliberations among church leaders.

By mid-1978, Bradford had begun to feel the sting of this growing criticism as several potential writers and staff members were now fearful of active participation with *Dialogue*. Shortly after the revelation on blacks, Bradford wrote an emotional letter to Arrington:

Now that black people are overcoming their second-class status, Lester and I feel ever more strongly the second-class status of *Dialogue* people. Leonard, we are all active, strong members of the gospel, and it is not right that writers should be forbidden to write for us. How can this be lifted? Can President Kimball be reached on this subject somehow? I am asking this confidentially—I don't want you to say anything to anyone—just tell me truthfully what can be done. You know it isn't right that Dean Larsen would refuse to see me, would actually turn a sister away from his door. You know that it isn't right that the *Church News* would run a whole article on Dick Motta just because he is the [Washington] Bullet coach,³²⁰ when he is NOT active in the Church at all, and then blanch at the suggestion of a special interest article on *Dialogue*. It is not right that people are told that they cannot serve on our Board.

As you know, I would not expect any church authority to ENDORSE us, but I just wish some statement would come forth that would forbid people to interfere in our work by forbidding people to write or to be on our Board. It is not Christian and it is not Mormon—and it is crippling to us, Leonard.

I try not to think about this most of the time, but now that we have the journal on a sound financial footing, with good support from many quarters, and now that we have done our homework, and just about killed ourselves doing it, we notice that our greatest weakness is that we do not get the best articles from the best people. . . . I spend 40 hours a week on the journal; I have it in my home, my husband the Bishop supports me in it. I do it because I love the Church and I love the people who want to write about the Church.³²¹

Whatever words of comfort Arrington may have had for Bradford, his response is not in the *Dialogue* correspondence. Bradford was also

319. Arrington, *Adventures of a Church Historian*, 149. Arrington also told me of this incident, as well as Kimball's hesitancy to censure his colleagues, during a private conversation at the 1993 Sunstone Symposium Northwest in Seattle, Washington, on 30 October 1993.

320. See John A. Forster, "Bullets' Coach: He Has a Gentle Side, Too," *Church News*, week ending 17 June 1978, 13.

321. Mary L. Bradford to Leonard J. Arrington, 29 June 1978, *Dialogue* Collection.

well aware of Arrington's own troubles with his apostle-critics.³²² Rather than address the controversies directly, however, *Dialogue* showed its support by publishing a tribute to Arrington and a bibliography of his writings in the winter 1978 issue.³²³

By 1980, the staff of the history division had been reduced, and plans were underway to transfer the remaining historians to BYU by 1982, where they would create the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Church History.³²⁴ The move would eliminate all official affiliation with the Church Historical Department. About this time, Lester Bush held a conversation with Arrington, who said "in an uncharacteristic and transient moment of discouragement. . . that this marked the loss of everything he had worked for."³²⁵ Bradford wrote to Arrington's son, James: "Lester and I are trying to think how best to handle [Leonard Arrington's removal] in *Dialogue*. This is something for which I am willing to go to the mat!"³²⁶ "Our staff was incensed at his treatment and wanted to do something about it," Bradford recently recalled. However, "[Arrington] asked us not to."³²⁷

Shortly before the end of Bradford's editorship, Apostle Boyd K. Packer renewed his criticisms of historians and intellectuals with a speech delivered on 22 August 1981 to church education employees. Complaining that "some historians who are Latter-day Saints write history as they were taught in graduate school rather than as Mormons," Packer advocated that Mormon history should be presented without controversy or any focus on the human foibles of church leaders.³²⁸ BYU

322. Adding insult to injury, when portraits of all church historians were hung in a corridor in the historical department in the spring of 1978, Arrington's was omitted (see Peggy Fletcher, "Church Historian: Evolution of a Calling," *Sunstone* 10 (April 1985): 48). Although it was later hung in 1990 in a separate group of "division heads," this visible non-recognition of his actual calling is telling of the attitudes that developed.

323. See David J. Whittaker, "Leonard James Arrington: His Life and Work," and "Bibliography of Leonard James Arrington," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 11 (Winter 1978): 23–47.

324. Arrington, *Adventures of a Church Historian*, 214. Arrington later learned, however, that the move was an attempt to protect him and his staff from their critics: "Kimball was in failing health and not expected to live long, and [first presidency counselor Gordon B. Hinckley and historical department managing director G. Homer Durham] wanted to keep our work alive by shifting us to BYU before [Ezra Taft] Benson assumed control as president and eliminated our division and discontinued our functions" (Ibid., 215). No matter how well intended the move, that it had to be done at all is further indication that the history division had enemies in the hierarchy.

325. Bush to Anderson, 29 May 2000.

326. Mary L. Bradford to James Arrington, 24 October 1980, *Dialogue* Collection.

327. Bradford to Anderson, 19 May 2000.

328. Packer's speech was published as Boyd K. Packer, "'The Mantle is Far, Far Greater than the Intellect,'" *BYU Studies* 21 (Summer 1981): 259–78.



Mary Lythgoe Bradford, Editor *from 1976 to 1982*, with Business Manager P. Royal Shipp (left), and Associate Editor Lester E. Bush, Jr., at a farewell dinner in 1983.



Dialogue Staffers in 1976: (rear) Paul Brown, (middle row) Jerry Jensen, Chick Bradford, Lester E. Bush, Jr., Gregory A. Prince, Stanton Hall, (front row) Mary Lythgoe Bradford, Alice Allred Pottmyer, Jalynn Prince, Stephen W. Stathis

history professor D. Michael Quinn, formerly of Arrington's staff at the historical department, responded publicly to Packer on 4 November, maintaining that "the scriptures do exactly what Elder Packer condemns," in presenting the human side of prophets and church leaders. Quinn continues that "a steady diet of milk will stunt the growth of, if not kill, any child. That is true in nutrition and in religion."³²⁹ Since Quinn, a church employee, publicly criticized Packer's views, the exchange made national news when *Newsweek* published a brief article highlighting the speeches of both men in its 15 February 1982 issue.³³⁰ Such attacks as Packer's would play a major role in the conflicts between intellectuals and the institutional church that would increase as the eighties progressed.

There was an occasional bright spot, however, an indication that there were still a few within the hierarchy who appreciated not only the work of the historians, but specifically the independent scholarship that had long defined *Dialogue*. Ronald E. Poelman, who had served on the *Dialogue* board from 1970 to 1972, was called to the First Quorum of Seventy in April 1978. He wrote Bradford in 1977: "*Dialogue* fills an important need, and I personally appreciate the efforts of each individual who makes possible its publication."³³¹ A year and a half after his call to the seventy, he sent *Dialogue* a generous donation, which Bradford gratefully accepted. She wrote:

Thanks for your \$100 contribution and your continuing support of *Dialogue*. I was afraid that once you became a general authority you would have no more time for us, so I am doubly grateful. Since my brother-in-law, Jack Goaslind, is also a general authority now, I and my family have a little more appreciation for the work and the time that go into your calling.³³²

Arrington, whose title was officially changed from "Church Historian" to "Director of History Division of the Historical Department," was released from his duties on 25 January 1982.³³³ The end of Camelot was met with a gloom that equaled the excitement that began it a decade earlier. Although Bradford and her team felt the pain of that loss, it would be left to future editors of *Dialogue* to endure the real aftermath.

329. Quinn's speech has been published as D. Michael Quinn, "On Being a Mormon Historian (and Its Aftermath)," in George D. Smith, ed., *Faithful History: Essays on Writing Mormon History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), 69–111.

330. See Kenneth L. Woodward, "Apostles vs. Historians," *Newsweek* (15 February 1982): 77.

331. Ronald E. Poelman to Mary L. Bradford, 3 March 1977, *Dialogue* Collection.

332. Mary L. Bradford to Ronald E. Poleman, 12 September 1979, *Dialogue* Collection.

333. Fletcher, 47–48.

A Long-Distance Relationship

Much of the frustration that Bradford experienced at this time was magnified because she missed the presence of her associate editor, Lester Bush, who had left for a two-year assignment to Australia in September 1978. Although Bradford had had a year to prepare for his departure, she'd dreaded the adjustment. She recently wrote: "At first I thought Lester in Australia would be a disaster, but he is such a whiz kid that he was able to keep up with everything we were doing."³³⁴ Thus, neither Bush nor Bradford even entertained the possibility of his stepping down.

As associate editor, Bush's duties always included readying the doctrinal and historical essays for publication, and that continued in Australia. For Bush, the distance involved did not pose a real challenge. In fact, it created some opportunities: "I had been a student at Johns Hopkins [during] the year 1977–1978, commuting home (and to *Dialogue*) only twice a week, which had been tiresome. My previous and subsequent full-time job was also very time-consuming. Australia offered a more relaxed schedule." Thus, as he recalls, "I thought we worked things out pretty well—continuing the basic division of labor already established."³³⁵

In fact, more than just keeping the journal's history and doctrinal content afloat while away, Bush seemed to work wonders from "down under." Since he had left Washington only three months after Kimball received the priesthood revelation, Bush, of necessity, had to produce nearly the whole issue celebrating that revelation from afar. "I solicited nearly half of the essays—through specific tasking."³³⁶

Things did not always run smoothly, however. In the days before e-mail, correspondence was often delayed for one reason or another. Bush reported one moment of frustration in a letter to Bradford:

One little glitch that I hadn't anticipated was that strikes are a big thing over here. Between an airline strike and baggage handler strike there has been no incoming or outgoing mail for two weeks now (effectively timed for the Christmas holidays). It ended today, but now the Northern Territory begins its official 5 (!)-day Christmas break, so the post office remains closed until the 28th. They have, in addition to the weekend and Christmas day (Monday), holidays on the 26th (Boxing Day), and the 27th (a special state holiday). Very nice.³³⁷

334. Bradford to Anderson, 9 May 2000.

335. Bush to Anderson, 29 May 2000.

336. *Ibid.*

337. Lester E. Bush to Mary L. Bradford, 22 December 1978, copy in my possession.

Still, Bush maintained his excellent work. Perhaps his biggest accomplishment during his absence was a theme issue on Mormons and medicine. From the outback, he lined up an impressive list of contributors. Things were going so well, in fact, that he was able to tell Bradford: "[I] feel sure that I'll be able to get a good issue together without much required on your end."³³⁸

Bush followed through so completely that Bradford could later boast to former *Dialogue* intern Karen Moloney: "Lester edited the entire medical issue himself and of course didn't put in any fiction or poetry. And it's crammed full. Having him do that all himself, however, gave us quite a breather here; it's the thing that's saving our lives as our staff fades away."³³⁹ Elaborating to *Dialogue* supporter Duane Jeffery: "[Bush] solicited all the manuscripts, helped the writers revise and rewrite them, and sent them to us with a table of contents and biolines and everything almost ready to go. Right now our staff is just doing the copy editing needed to send it to the printer. Our executive committee had a vote and pronounced Lester a genius."³⁴⁰

Bush's ability to lighten the load during his absence was a great blessing, for Bradford was experiencing hardship at the office in Arlington. Most of her volunteers had disappeared since the early euphoria in 1976, and even some of her key players on the executive committee had scaled back their time and commitment to *Dialogue*. Her longing for Bush's return from his post half a world away rings clearly in her letters to him: "I have written to you twice and sent several packages. . . . What is happening? I surely hope this letter reaches you because I surely need you and your opinion on everything."³⁴¹ In one particularly stressful moment a few months later, she joked: "I wish I had a nickel for every time I have cried out in anguish: 'Oh, Lester, I wish you were here!'"³⁴² Nearly a year later, she exclaimed: "Every day, I roll my eyeballs skyward and invoke your name."³⁴³

Indeed, things were not moving smoothly in Washington. In addition to an increased load caused by the dwindling of her staff, Bradford experienced more problems on the production end. All of this nearly did her in. "Things seemed so bad after Christmas that I was as close to quitting as I have ever been." However, "I thought it over, decided I couldn't

338. Ibid.

339. Mary L. Bradford to Karen Moloney, 25 July 1979, *Dialogue* Collection.

340. Mary L. Bradford to Duane E. Jeffery, 25 July 1979, *Dialogue* Collection.

341. Mary L. Bradford to Lester E. Bush, 9 January 1980 (mistakenly written as 9 January 1979), copy in my possession.

342. Mary L. Bradford to Lester E. Bush, 27 March 1979, copy in my possession.

343. Mary L. Bradford to Lester E. Bush, 4 February 1980, copy in my possession.

quit, so I would have to reorganize and shape things up a bit. I met with Alice, Royal and Dave and they rallied around as usual."³⁴⁴

Bradford also found some comfort in a new secretary, Benita Brown, whom she hired full-time in the spring of 1979. Yet she could only do so much herself: "Benita is doing all the work of the other volunteers and I am still overwhelmed. . . . I had thought that Benita would either free me so I could edit or do enough of the editing that I could do other things."

Unexpected problems began to arise as a result of the new arrangement, as Bradford later reported to Bush: "I think it is just too difficult to have a full-time worker in my house. I feel that I have no privacy and can never get away from *Dialogue*. It has nothing to do with Benita herself in this case. She doesn't intrude on my life. It's just the fact of having it here. I think when you get back, we must make a decision about moving the office."³⁴⁵

Although Bradford admits that "having the journal in the house [became] a nuisance and we talked of moving it," financially, that never became a possibility.³⁴⁶

Once, as Bradford updated Bush on the local problems, he responded with both encouragement and perspective:

I gather that you are feeling increasingly isolated from most of your helpers back there, with the exception of Benita, who is a very strong asset. You probably have an objective view of all this, but when one gets in [a certain] frame of mind it is very easy to see things as a little bleaker than they are. . . . I know what I have been doing, which is putting in a great deal more hours on *Dialogue* than anytime since we took over—and definitely more than will be physically possible when I return home. This is not a request for a compliment, but to make it clear that you are hardly running a one-person operation back there, or even [a] two [-person operation].³⁴⁷

The two years that *Dialogue* was edited both from Washington, D.C., and Australia came to an end in October 1980 as Bush returned home from his assignment. Although Bradford had suffered stress and discouragement during this period, she rallied from each bout. In the end, her dedication to the journal and to perpetuating its ideals kept her going. Bush's own commitment is evident by what he helped produce from

344. Bradford to Bush, 27 March 1979.

345. Bradford to Bush, 4 February 1980.

346. Bradford to Anderson, 10 September 2000.

347. Lester E. Bush to Mary L. Bradford, 15 October 1979, copy in my possession. Benita Brown and her family soon moved to Washington state. Brown was replaced by another able secretary, Sandra Straubhaar. Bradford praises her, like Brown, as "a very hard worker, [and] very creative soul" (Bradford to Anderson, 10 September 2000).

afar: soliciting and editing a major share of the contents of several issues released during his absence.

With Bush back in Arlington, business resumed as usual. Describing his relationship with Bradford during the entire course of their tenure, Bush declares confidently: "I doubt that any *Dialogue* team had less tension and greater unanimity of perspective than did Mary and I. Overall our degree of agreement was virtually 100%, and we had a very close working relationship."³⁴⁸ For the reader studying the issues produced by Bradford and Bush, whether together or apart, few could deny that the accomplishments are impressive.

The ERA, Sonia Johnson, and Dialogue

Bradford was feeling pressure over other issues during Bush's absence. One in particular remained at the forefront throughout the remainder of her editorship. The Equal Rights Amendment, the proposed Twenty-seventh Amendment to the Constitution, was passed by Congress on 22 March 1972 and ratified by thirty-four states by 1976.³⁴⁹ Although the LDS church hierarchy at first avoided public comment on the issue, this later changed. On 22 October 1976, the church-owned *Deseret News* published a First Presidency statement opposing the ERA. Maintaining that the church, from the beginning, "has affirmed the exalted role of women in our society," the presidency came to believe that passage of the amendment "as a blanket attempt to help women could indeed bring them far more restraints and repressions. We fear it will even stifle many God-given feminine instincts."³⁵⁰ With this new stand, church leaders polarized many LDS proponents of the new amendment and began an activist role that would put the church into the national spotlight for several years. For the next half decade, church leaders would actively fight passage of the ERA and encourage its members to do the same. From the 1977 International Women's Year conferences in Utah³⁵¹ and elsewhere, which Mormon women obediently attended and raised their voices in protest, to anti-ERA speeches from general church

348. Bush to Anderson, 29 May 2000.

349. The Equal Rights Amendment reads as follows:

Section 1. Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Section 2. The Congress shall have the power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

Section 3. This amendment shall take effect two years after the date of ratification.

350. "LDS Leaders Oppose ERA," *Deseret News*, 22 October 1976, B-1.

351. For a discussion of the IWY in Utah, see Dixie Snow Huefner, "Church and Politics at the Utah IWY Conference," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 11 (Spring 1978): 58-75.

leaders, to local lobbying and distribution of anti-ERA literature under church auspices, the Mormon church was determined to help defeat the ERA.³⁵²

Prior to the ERA's coming before the Virginia legislature, Latter-day Saint proponents in the east formed "Mormons for ERA" in 1978. Most visible within the new organization was the woman chosen as president: Sonia Johnson, a part-time teacher and homemaker living in Sterling, Virginia. Johnson and others in her group publicly revealed the church's covert, anti-ERA campaigning which, until then, had officially been declared an independent effort carried out by private citizens. That the citizens were Latter-day Saints, the church claimed, was coincidental. After meeting with LDS regional representatives in Virginia, the women "proposed that [church leaders] release a press statement, register as a lobbyist, and make their anti-ERA feelings known, thus putting the sudden influx of 'concerned citizens' into perspective." Johnson was insistent: "If you don't tell them, we will."³⁵³

By the fall of 1979, with the national press watching and reporting, Johnson's outspoken criticisms and her exposing of the church's activist role in regard to the ERA resulted in a church court on 1 December. Her excommunication was officially announced four days later.³⁵⁴

With such a controversial Mormon case in the news, Bradford decided it should receive attention in *Dialogue*. She was determined to address the issue responsibly, trying to balance the journal's treatment every step of the way. This was, however, far more easily said than done.

It was not just the Johnson excommunication that made the ERA interesting and important for *Dialogue* to address. Bradford had begun to

352. For an informative account of the church's efforts to defeat passage of the ERA, see D. Michael Quinn, "The LDS Church's Campaign Against the Equal Rights Amendment," *Journal of Mormon History* 20 (Fall 1994): 85–155. Two older studies are O. Kendall White, Jr., "Overt and Covert Policies: The Mormon Church's Anti-ERA Campaign in Virginia," *Virginia Social Science Journal* 19 (Winter 1984): 14–16; and O. Kendall White, Jr., "Mormonism and the Equal Rights Amendment," *Journal of Church and State* 31 (Spring 1989): 249–67.

353. Linda Sillitoe and Paul Swenson, "A Moral Issue," *Utah Holiday* 9 (January 1980): 20.

354. Although several published sources give detailed accounts of the Johnson saga, a few deserve mention here: Sillitoe and Swenson, 18–34; Linda Sillitoe, "Church Politics and Sonia Johnson: The Central Conundrum," *Sunstone* 5 (January–February 1980): 35–42; Linda Sillitoe, "Off the Record: Telling the Rest of the Truth," *Sunstone* 14 (December 1990): 12–26; and Alice Allred Pottmyer, "Sonia Johnson: Mormonism's Feminist Heretic," in Roger D. Launius and Linda Thatcher, eds., *Differing Visions: Dissenters in Mormon History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 366–89. Johnson's autobiography provides an account of her feminist awakening and later conflicts with the LDS church over the ERA. See Sonia Johnson, *From Housewife to Heretic* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981).

consider the role of the journal in addressing the ERA controversy over a year before. In early 1979 she wrote of *Dialogue's* immediate plans, and her hope for balance:

In our next issue we had been planning to publish an "ERA Tutorial" by Susan Hansen but pulled it at the last minute because the issue got so heated we decided that we needed both sides of the issue. So far we haven't found anybody to write the anti side (at least, not someone we respect).³⁵⁵

In a letter to Bob Rees (who had accused Bradford of ignoring the ERA in *Dialogue*), Bradford explained her dilemma:

Surely you don't think I don't understand about the ERA! I am living right in the middle of it! I have been trying for a year to do a roundtable on the subject, but I don't want any of the lobbyists to do it. . . . We had a nice, reasonable legal discussion of the ERA (pro) all ready to go—in slicks and everything, and then we got word that the Pro ERA women in this area were waiting for this as *Dialogue's* statement, and wanted to put it on their brochures (without permission, of course). We pulled it back and renewed efforts to get a reasonable legal discussion on the other side. It is amazing how many people who were recommended to me as being Anti turned out to be nothing of the kind! They were only pretending to be Anti to keep out of hot water. . . . Everyone is waiting for me to make a statement of some kind—and to involve *Dialogue*.³⁵⁶

Later, unable to secure the desired response to the Hansen essay ("No one would write one," says Bradford), it finally appeared as the sole voice on the ERA in the summer 1979 issue.³⁵⁷

Although Bradford would not allow *Dialogue* to take a stand on the issue, she herself was sympathetic toward the Mormons for ERA. In fact, two friends in her ward (including her publications editor Alice Pottmyer) were members of the organization. Although Bradford never joined, her associations were causing her trouble: "I was being crucified in some quarters just for being friends of theirs."³⁵⁸ Disturbing rumors stemming from these friendships and *Dialogue's* pending treatment of the ERA soon reached her. After a friend paid her a particularly warm compliment, she wrote: "Letters like yours keep me going! Thanks! A thousand times thanks! Having just heard that 'Mary Bradford would have been excommunicated long ago if she hadn't been a bishop's wife,' that '*Dialogue* is obviously written by the enemies'. . . . I need to hear that somebody thinks I did good."³⁵⁹

355. Mary L. Bradford to Judi McConkie, 4 Jan. 1979, *Dialogue* Collection.

356. Mary L. Bradford to Robert A. Rees, 17 April 1979, *Dialogue* collection.

357. Mary L. Bradford to Devery S. Anderson, 10 September 2000. For the essay under discussion, see Susan Taylor Hansen, "Women Under the Law," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 12 (Summer 1979): 82–90.

358. Bradford Oral History, 6.

359. Mary L. Bradford to Judy Dushku, 20 August 1979, *Dialogue* Collection.

After Johnson's excommunication and the publicity that followed it, Bradford began making plans to address the case. She wrote Lester Bush concerning a discussion with staff member Royal Shipp: "The best thing Royal and I did was spend four hours on the train discussing the Sonia thing and what it means and what *Dialogue* can do." Bradford, wanting to address both sides of the issue, sought separate interviews with both Johnson and Jeffery Willis, the LDS bishop who excommunicated her.³⁶⁰ Mary and Chick Bradford spoke with Willis at a stake function shortly after the excommunication:

Willis is really very fond of Chick and me. We talked to him at the New Year's Eve dance and we felt he is about ready to burst. [He said] he would love to talk. I asked him if I could meet with him, and he said yes. I have not been able to get through to him yet. I think the media will beat me to it, but I am dying to hear his side of it. He referred to the "Sonia mess" and said he tried keeping a diary, but that his feelings went up and down and changed so drastically all the time that he can't "get a grip on them."³⁶¹

Although Willis was tempted by Bradford's invitation for an interview, in the end he declined.³⁶² Bradford began to look elsewhere for a balancing voice.

She did arrange an interview with Johnson, however. Bradford and New York journalist Chris Arrington (a daughter-in-law of Leonard Arrington) spent four hours interviewing Johnson at her home in January 1980, a month after the excommunication.³⁶³ The interview, "a real bear," became the basis of a proposed article for an ERA issue tentatively scheduled for the winter 1980 release.³⁶⁴ However, as Arrington developed her article, Bradford became troubled by its journalistic bias toward Johnson and the ERA and encouraged major revisions. "We have talked more about what we want on the Sonia case and will draw up our views. . . . I think we are going to have to ask you to draw up a whole other article entirely."³⁶⁵ By February 1981, Bradford decided to run the year-old interview and an introductory profile essay of Johnson, but was still willing to include the Arrington piece provided she meet Bradford's stipulations. Arrington responded: "As for the tone of the piece, I think writing a scholarly journal article in the so-called objective voice is one thing. A journalistic piece about a current event, however, should be written in a different tone." Arrington also lamented what she called

360. Bradford to Bush, 9 January 1980.

361. Ibid.

362. Bradford to Anderson, 9 May 2000.

363. Bradford to Bush, 4 February 1980.

364. Mary L. Bradford to Lester E. Bush, 24 July 1980, copy in my possession.

365. Mary L. Bradford to Chris Rigby Arrington, 17 November 1980, *Dialogue* Collection.

the failure of the [Mormon] intellectual community to let out a peep pro or con about the whole Sonia Johnson affair. I have to tell you in confidence that Carl [Arrington's husband] had a big conversation with his father when the whole business got started, and I remember Carl said to Leonard, "If you don't stand up on this one, you'll be next." That, I am sad to say, has come to pass. The effects will be far-reaching too.³⁶⁶

Bradford told Arrington that although "I would like [*Dialogue*] to be more 'journalistic,' . . . I am afraid we are still a 'journal,' and that limits us." Although she was willing to look at Arrington's essay again, Bradford nevertheless warned that without the requested revisions, Arrington would need to submit it somewhere else.³⁶⁷ In the end, Bradford rejected the essay.³⁶⁸

Finally, two issues dealing with the ERA appeared back-to-back in 1981. Although she never quite found the anti-ERA article she was looking for, Bradford was able to interview the Mormon church's official anti-ERA spokeswoman, Beverly Campbell, and publish it in *Dialogue* (Spring 1981).³⁶⁹ The following issue (Summer 1981) included a chronology of Johnson's life and the text of a new interview, conducted by Bradford in April 1981. Stephen Stathis, examining the church in the press over the previous five years, focused his essay in part on the ERA. Lester Bush added perspective with a historical article on the LDS church and excommunication. Bradford also included an interview with ex-Mormon historian Fawn Brodie, conducted in 1975 by Shirley E. Stephenson (Brodie had died earlier that year).³⁷⁰ Recently, Bradford jokingly referred to this as her "apostate issue."³⁷¹

366. Chris Rigby Arrington to Mary L. Bradford, 4 March 1981, *Dialogue* Collection.

367. Mary L. Bradford to Chris Rigby Arrington, 20 March 1981, *Dialogue* Collection.

368. Bradford to Anderson, 10 September 2000. Rigby had previously published an article about Johnson in another publication. See Chris Rigby Arrington, "One Woman Against the Patriarchal Church" *Savvy* (October 1980): 28–33.

369. See "A Conversation with Beverly Campbell," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 14 (Spring 1981): 45–57. Bradford had already published an article on Campbell elsewhere. See Mary Lythgoe Bradford, "Beverly Campbell: Dynamic Spokeswoman," *This People* 1 (Summer 1980): 50–54. For a more recent study, see Mary Lythgoe Bradford, "Beverly Brough Campbell: Opportunities Beyond My Wildest Imaginings," *Cameo: Latter-day Women in Profile* 1 (December 1993): 8–25.

370. See Mary L. Bradford, "The Odyssey of Sonia Johnson" and "All on Fire: An Interview with Sonia Johnson"; Stephen W. Stathis, "Mormonism and the Periodical Press: A Change is Underway"; Lester E. Bush, Jr., "Excommunication and Church Courts: A Note from the General Handbook of Instructions"; and Shirley E. Stephenson, "Fawn McKay Brodie: An Oral History Interview" all in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 14 (Winter 1981): 14–116. A tribute to Brodie, following her death, appeared in an earlier issue. See Sterling M. McMurrin, "A New Climate of Liberation: A Tribute to Fawn McKay Brodie, 1915–1981," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 14 (Spring 1981): 73–76.

371. Bradford to Anderson, 21 June 2000.

Shortly before the Sonia Johnson issue appeared, Bradford received a telephone call from the secretary of General Relief Society president Barbara B. Smith. Apparently, Smith wanted clarification of some remarks made by Bradford about Smith and the ERA during a presentation at the recent Sunstone Symposium.³⁷² Responding directly to Smith, Bradford wrote: "My remarks about you were meant in a loving way. I perceive you as a courageous and dignified woman who is serving in troubled times." Explaining herself further, she said: "I simply believe that when you visited the Oakton, Virginia, Stake recently, you missed a good chance to help us."³⁷³ Bradford was disappointed that Smith prefaced her remarks by criticizing pro-ERA women rather than reaching out, as a healer, to women on both sides of the issue.³⁷⁴ Then, to prepare Smith for the upcoming ERA issue of *Dialogue*, she continued:

Though Sonia is not an old friend of mine, I have known her for some time, and some of the other Mormons for ERA are long-time friends. My position as woman editor of *Dialogue* placed me in a difficult position. They felt that I should come out in support of them and their cause. They were quite upset when I told them that I could not do that, and besides, [I] was not in agreement with their method. . . . I hoped I could be part of a bridge between the warring factions. After great difficulty, *Dialogue* is bringing out an interview with Sonia and a brief biographical introductory essay. I won't go into the problems it has caused me, but our readers wanted to find out about her through her own words.³⁷⁵

After two years of trying to address the ERA and Sonia Johnson, and trying desperately to be objective, *Dialogue's* informative contribution had finally materialized. For those who believed that Bradford sought controversy for its own sake, the many delays caused by her quest for balance and her behind-the-scenes activities refute that assumption.

Reader reaction to *Dialogue's* efforts was mixed. One man referred to the issue as "the sounding board for apostates [which] left me with an empty, sad feeling." On the other hand, another wrote that "I am compelled to respond with a hearty thanks for continuing to give Mormon readers 'perspective.' Like sand to the oyster, you are helping the pearl grow. You are very much a necessity."³⁷⁶

372. Bradford's remarks, "Women in Mormonism," were part of an interfaith panel entitled "Women in Religion," delivered at the 1981 Sunstone Theological Symposium, 28 August 1981, at the University of Utah in Salt Lake City.

373. Mary L. Bradford to President Barbara B. Smith, 4 September 1981, *Dialogue* Collection.

374. Bradford to Anderson, 10 September 2000.

375. Bradford to Smith, 4 September 1981.

376. See "Letters to the Editor" by Michael L. O'Brien and Robert Perine in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 14 (Winter 1981): 4.

This was not the first time *Dialogue* had addressed a current event, but the Sonia Johnson/ERA case is one of the best examples of the challenge faced when a scholarly journal attempts to do so. Very likely the best perspective of this divisive moment in Mormon history has yet to be written. However, any future writers of that history will find a valuable source not only in the pages of *Dialogue*, but in the story of what it took to place it there.

Readers Respond, Bradford Responds

Such varied response to *Dialogue*'s content was certainly not limited to the ERA. Bradford often found herself accused of publishing a journal that was either too liberal or too conservative. Certainly, that diversity of response alone was an indication that *Dialogue* had a broad readership. However, hearing from upset readers was always frustrating to her.

One long-time subscriber wrote early in Bradford's tenure: "Upon opening one of the last [issues] received, I experienced a 'where has everybody gone?' feeling. The whole issue—even the letters to the editor—was as insipid as watered skim milk. How much *Dialogue* can you have with such pap?"³⁷⁷ Bradford responded:

I am sorry you think we are publishing pap. Of course, if I thought we were doing that, I would close down. We simply try to publish the best of what we get, and I am sorry to say, we don't always get what we want. . . .

Every few weeks we get a letter like yours (though usually not as well-written) which seems to assume that we are inundated with lively, challenging, well-written pieces which we are not publishing because we are afraid to. I only wish this were the case.³⁷⁸

Around this same time, Bradford had also been receiving complaints that the journal was too liberal. "I would like to get rid of the 'liberal' label wherever I can, and convince people that being open-minded and scholarly is not necessarily 'liberal' in the way that some people think of it." Tired of the accusation that she was blackballing more conservative writers, she determined:

Some day I will publish a list of articles that we rejected and why they were rejected. People will be quite surprised. I can say, right now, however, that most articles are rejected because they are not well-done; that is to say, poorly written, or poorly documented, or way too long, or too short and sketchy. Not many of them are rejected because of subject matter *per se*.³⁷⁹

377. Lew Wallace to *Dialogue*, undated, *Dialogue* Collection.

378. Mary L. Bradford to Lew Wallace, 1 March 1978, *Dialogue* Collection.

379. Mary L. Bradford to James L. Farmer, 9 February 1978, *Dialogue* Collection.

Because most complaints insisted that *Dialogue* leaned too far to the left, Bradford and her team tried hard to involve more conservative writers. This was usually quite a chore. "We tried to keep a balance, because people would say we didn't have enough conservative writing," recalls Bradford. "But it was because we couldn't get them to write. They'd say they would do it but they never came through."³⁸⁰

One exception was an anti-abortion article by Washington, D.C., attorney Lincoln C. Oliphant (Spring 1981), which appeared in the same issue as Bradford's interview with Beverly Campbell.³⁸¹ Bradford purposely solicited this article. Oliphant was someone who, she knew, held very conservative views on the issue. However, preparing the piece for publication created problems. "We had some real trouble with that [article], because it had so many buzz words in it. Lester had to edit it, and as a doctor, he wasn't about to have fetuses being called babies." Looking back, Bradford doesn't know whether this attempt at balance "helped or hindered."³⁸²

In another instance, a prominent supporter complained that *Dialogue* had, once again, sold out to the conservatives. Charter subscriber and author Samuel W. Taylor was quite vocal, telling one friend that "*Dialogue* has been 'baptized'—that it has become merely a slightly intellectual house organ, having lost all its independence."³⁸³ When Taylor himself wrote to Bradford to complain six months later, he bluntly announced: "I feel you are a hostage of the establishment. . . . The old *Dialogue* placed a premium on good writing. It contained stimulating, thinking pieces, essays, critiques, challenges to the status quo."³⁸⁴ However, when Taylor received his next issue in the mail (Winter 1980) less than two weeks later, he quickly wrote back: "I should have kept my big mouf [sic] shut. I'd no sooner mailed off my churlish note to you than the latest *Dialogue* arrived—and it was exactly what I'd been screaming for. Once again, the mag was a journal of Mormon thought."³⁸⁵

Naturally, Bradford had no solution that could please everyone. However, she came to a conclusion:

When a prospective reader asks for a sample copy, we are often at a loss to know what to choose. Should we send them the one with the First Vision on the cover and the Sacred Grove inside or the Sonia Johnson issue? *Dialogue*

380. Bradford Oral History, 10.

381. See Lincoln C. Oliphant, "Is There an ERA-Abortion Connection?" *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 14 (Spring 1981): 65–72.

382. Bradford Oral History, 10.

383. David Bailey to Mary L. Bradford, 1 September 1980, *Dialogue* Collection.

384. Samuel W. Taylor to Mary L. Bradford, 3 March 1981, *Dialogue* Collection.

385. Samuel W. Taylor to Mary L. Bradford, 17 March 1978, *Dialogue* Collection.

needs to be read over a period of time. It should be seen in the aggregate before a judgement can be made. Many times our readers spoke from their own emotional needs when they wrote of our objectivity or lack of it. I am always comforted, however, by the many thinking Mormons who are unafraid to face diversity of opinion and are not taken in by labels.³⁸⁶

Other Important Contributions

Bradford recently reflected on the issues released by the Washington team, expressing her own feelings about its accomplishments: "Looking back, if I can sound immodest, I think our shelf of books holds up beautifully and boasts some articles and literature that have not really been surpassed."³⁸⁷ She had good reasons to be proud.

Early in Bradford's editorship, *Dialogue* published a defense of the Book of Mormon against some shoddy scholarship which had, unfortunately, received national press coverage. In 1977, three California researchers claimed to have finally proven the "Spaulding Theory" as the source of the Book of Mormon, thereby exposing Joseph Smith as a fraud.³⁸⁸ Solomon Spaulding was a Congregationalist minister who, several years before his death in 1816, had written a historical romance (never published in his lifetime) about the first inhabitants of America.³⁸⁹ In 1833, an excommunicated Mormon named Philastus Hurlbut heard rumors that Spaulding's work resembled the content of the Book of Mormon and sought out members of Spaulding's family hoping to verify a relationship to the Mormon scripture. Without the manuscript before them, the relatives told Hurlbut that the contents of the Book of Mormon and Spaulding's manuscript were quite similar. After the novel, *Manuscript Found*, was discovered in a trunk, an examination failed to reveal any real connections, and the Spaulding Theory lost credibility. A new thesis developed that Spaulding had written another manuscript, "that he had altered his first plan of writing, by going farther back with dates, and writing in the old scripture style, in order that it might appear more

386. Bradford, "Famous Last Words," 18.

387. Bradford to Anderson, 12 April 2000.

388. See Russell Chandler, "Book of Mormon Challenged Anew: Researchers Claim That Evidence Challenges Authenticity," *Los Angeles Times* 25 June 1977, 1, 12. The researchers later published their thesis. See Howard A. Davis, Donald R. Scales, and Wayne L. Cowdrey, *Who Really Wrote the Book of Mormon?* (Santa Ana, CA: Vision House, 1977).

389. Spaulding's work was eventually published in the late nineteenth century. See *The Manuscript Found or Manuscript Story, of the Late Rev. Solomon Spaulding; From a Verbatim Copy of the Original* (Lamoni, IA: printed and published by the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1885). Recently, it has appeared as Kent P. Jackson, ed., *Manuscript Found: The Complete Original "Spaulding Manuscript" by Solomon Spaulding* (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1996).

ancient."³⁹⁰ However, only a handful of critics have since subscribed to that idea.³⁹¹ In this latest attempt, the California researchers—Howard Davis, Donald Scales, and Wayne Cowdrey, claiming to have obtained the opinions of handwriting experts—advanced a thesis that twelve pages of the original Book of Mormon manuscript, for which LDS scholars had never conclusively identified the scribe, had in fact been written by Spaulding as part of this supposedly different, yet still lost, manuscript. Lester Bush, responding to the publicity brought on by this latest revival, researched and published "The Spaulding Theory Then and Now" (Autumn 1977), a thorough study giving a chronology of the various attempts over the years to advance the thesis. Also focusing on the 1977 controversy, Bush helped discredit the claim of Davis, Scales, and Cowdrey that the "unknown scribe" who penned the twelve disputed pages of the Book of Mormon was, in fact, Spaulding.³⁹² In the end, two of the three handwriting experts employed by the California researchers recanted their earlier opinion that Spaulding had written the unidentified pages, and the case unraveled.³⁹³

Other articles in this issue also focused on the Book of Mormon. Included was John L. Sorenson's "The Brass Plates and Biblical Scholarship," an impressive study giving evidence for the antiquity of the Book of Mormon, based on the acceptance of biblical Higher Criticism. Stan Larson also provided his "Textual Variants in Book of Mormon Manuscripts," an essay examining several changes in the text of the Book of

390. Eber D. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled* (Painesville, OH, 1834), 288. Howe's acceptance of the Spaulding Theory is based on Hurlbut's affidavits.

391. See, for example, Walter R. Martin, *The Maze of Mormonism* (Santa Ana, CA: Vision House, revised ed., 1978). Martin, in fact, had worked with Davis, Scales, and Cowdrey in 1977 and wrote the foreword to their book. Martin had been the chief proponent of the Spaulding Theory during the late twentieth century.

392. In criticizing this latest episode in the Spaulding saga, Bush was not alone. See also Dean C. Jessee, "'Spaulding Theory' Re-Examined," *Church News* (20 August 1977): 3–5; Orson Scott Card, "Spaulding Again?" *Ensign* 7 (September 1977): 94–95; and David Merrill, "Behind the Spaulding Controversy," *Sunstone* 3 (November/December 1977): 28–29. The integrity of the California researchers has been further challenged in Robert L. and Rosemary Brown, *They Lie in Wait to Deceive*, Volume II (Mesa, AZ: Brownsworth Publishing Co., 1984; revised 2nd edition, 1986). For a brief overview of Spaulding's life, see Charles H. Whittier and Stephen W. Stathis, "The Spaulding Enigma," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 10 (Autumn 1977): 70–73.

393. See "Handwriting Expert Unsure About Book," *Salt Lake Tribune* 29 June 1977, 8B; Clark Lobb, "Handwriting Expert Quits Book of Mormon Case," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 9 July 1977, 8B; Russell Chandler, "Expert Changes View on Book of Mormon," *Los Angeles Times* 24 September 1977, 1, 14. Apparently, two of the 1977 researchers have not given up on the Spaulding Theory, and claim new evidence in its favor. On the internet, the Mormon Studies Home Page advertises a new book available on CD-Rom. See Wayne L. Cowdrey, Howard A. Davis, Hugh Leo O'Neal, and Arthur Vanick, *The Spaulding Enigma: Who Really Wrote the Book of Mormon* (Manhattan Beach, CA: The Digital Voice, 2000).

Mormon based on the original manuscript, the printer's manuscript, and printed editions of the book. Bush later informed Larson: "Your article is becoming the standard reference source that it deserved to be."³⁹⁴ These three Book of Mormon articles have since been reprinted and are distributed by the Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies (FARMS) at BYU.

Other important contributions followed. In addition to publishing the literary issue discussed earlier, Bradford later highlighted Mormon novelist Virginia Sorensen (Fall 1980). A biographical essay by Bradford,³⁹⁵ an interview, a short story by Sorensen, and an analysis of her book, *The Evening and the Morning*, rounded out this portion of the issue.³⁹⁶

Other notable interviewees during the Bradford era included Mormonism's gifted and favored scholar, Hugh Nibley (Winter 1979), and nationally renowned family therapist Carlfred Broderick (Summer 1980). Soon after co-authoring an enormously popular biography of his father, then church president Spencer W. Kimball, Edward L. Kimball was also featured (Winter 1978).³⁹⁷

There were also the "interviews that might have been." RLDS historian Paul Edwards had secured permission for *Dialogue* to interview the new president of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Wallace G. Smith, in 1979. Bradford immediately made plans for a trip to Lamoni, Iowa, to conduct it, and arranged to take Alice

394. Lester E. Bush to Stan Larson, 12 January 1978, *Dialogue* Collection.

395. Bradford had earlier written on Sorensen when she [Bradford] was a graduate student. See Mary Lythgoe Bradford, *Virginia Sorensen: An Introduction* (unpublished master's thesis, University of Utah, 1956).

396. See Mary L. Bradford, "Virginia Sorensen: An Introduction," "'If You Are a Writer, You Write!': An Interview with Virginia Sorensen"; Virginia Sorensen, "The Depot"; and Bruce W. Jorgenson, "'Herself Moving Beside Herself, Out There Alone': The Shape of Mormon Belief in Virginia Sorensen's *The Evening and the Morning*," all in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 13 (Fall 1980): 13–60. Sorensen, called "Utah's First Lady of Letters," published sixteen adult novels and children's books between 1942–1978. She died in 1991. Three of her books have recently been reprinted as part of Signature Books's Mormon Classics series: *A Little Lower than the Angels* (foreword by Mary Lythgoe Bradford), 1997; *Where Nothing Is Long Ago* (foreword by Susan Elizabeth Howe), 1998; and *The Evening and the Morning* (foreword by Linda Sillitoe), 1999. Bradford, who is now writing a biography of Sorensen, has also published tributes to the deceased writer. See Mary Lythgoe Bradford, "In Memoriam: Virginia Sorensen," *Sunstone* 16 (February 1992): 15–17; Mary Lythgoe Bradford, "Virginia Sorensen: Literary Recollections of a Thirty-five-Year Friendship," *Mormon Letters Annual* 1994 (1994): 97–104.

397. See "A Conversation with Hugh Nibley," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 12 (Winter 1979): 10–27; "A Gospel-Centered Therapy: An Interview with Carlfred Broderick," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 13 (Summer 1980): 59–75; "'I Sustain Him as a Prophet, I Love Him as an Affectionate Father': An Interview with Edward L. Kimball," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 11 (Winter 1978): 48–62.

Pottmyer, Royal Shipp, and non-Mormon historian Jan Shipps along for assistance.³⁹⁸ However, Smith had a change of heart. Edwards reported: "President Smith indicated that he does not wish to be considered for an interview, but that he would at some later date be interested in being interviewed by *Dialogue*." Edwards explained that Smith was so new to the office, that "he is still a little unsure of the general lay of the land and understandably prefers to wait until he is a little more familiar with the circumstances before he be quoted too often."³⁹⁹

Bradford also sought an interview with LDS leader Kimball that same year. Since his son, Edward, was a *Dialogue* supporter, Bradford asked him if he thought his father would consent. The younger Kimball responded that the Mormon leader "hates interviews," but Bradford offered Ed the opportunity to edit it, provided President Kimball would agree. Ed Kimball had a different suggestion as Bradford notes to Bush: "He then asked me if it would be ok if *he* interviewed his father." She agreed, and Ed Kimball promised to approach the church president about the possibility during an upcoming family vacation.⁴⁰⁰ For reasons long since forgotten, the interview never took place.⁴⁰¹

Most exciting to Lester Bush was *Dialogue's* inclusion of doctrinal and historical essays. One came from a young BYU undergraduate, Gary James Bergera, who submitted the essay "The Orson Pratt-Brigham Young Debates: Conflict within the Quorums, 1853-1868" (Summer 1980). Bush praised the manuscript in a letter to Bradford: "Bergera's article is the most interesting, doctrinally significant article that we will have carried in several years."⁴⁰² Bergera was hopeful that other young scholars would follow. Anxious that the article would be well-received, Bergera wrote: "I hope that in expressing my feelings I have not given the impression that I want this for myself. I want this for *Dialogue*. There's a 'new wave' of young, modern Mormons (I hesitate to use the word 'intellectuals') cresting in the Church who owe a large part of their activity and testimony to *Dialogue*."⁴⁰³

Later, Bush asked Bergera to help put together an issue highlighting the work of some of these young Mormons (Spring 1982). Although the

398. Bradford to Bush, 27 March 1979.

399. Paul M. Edwards to Mary L. Bradford, 3 April 1979, *Dialogue* Collection.

400. Mary L. Bradford to Lester E. Bush, 11 June 1979, copy in my possession.

401. Whether Kimball refused or his son did not bring up the possibility for an interview is unclear. There is no follow-up in the *Dialogue* correspondence to provide any clues, and twenty-one years later Ed Kimball does not recall the situation (Edward L. Kimball to Devery S. Anderson, 14 September 2000).

402. Bush to Bradford, 15 October 1979. Bergera's article later won the Best Article award from the Mormon History Association for 1980.

403. Gary James Bergera to Mary L. Bradford, 15 July 1980, *Dialogue* Collection.

editorial board rejected several of the essays eventually submitted for this project (as Bush explained to Bergera, "I think the standard set by your own work was used as the measure of these others, and they are just not up to your level at the moment"),⁴⁰⁴ others that were included have since become classics, such as David John Buerger's historical essay, "The Adam-God Doctrine."⁴⁰⁵ The issue quickly sold out.

Bradford is also proud that her team "honored our treasures."⁴⁰⁶ In the issue paying tribute to Leonard Arrington, mentioned earlier (Winter 1978), several essays memorialized Mormon historian and mentor T. Edgar Lyon, who had died earlier in the year.⁴⁰⁷ Bradford wrote to Lyon's son: "Brother Lyon taught so many of the *Dialogue* editors over the years that he can certainly be credited with much of its spirit. I feel a very great personal loss right now."⁴⁰⁸ Lyon's widow, upon reading the issue, praised the tributes and the photo of Lyon on the cover: "I've had many favorable comments about the articles from many people, among them Paul Dunn. He liked the picture and said the articles caught his personality and spirit."⁴⁰⁹ Bradford was happy to report back that this issue was "fast selling out!"⁴¹⁰

The regular feature, "Among the Mormons," which had been published in nearly every issue of *Dialogue* from the beginning, remained when the journal moved to Washington, but under a new editor, Stephen Stathis. As part of that feature in the summer 1979 issue, Gary P. Gillum published an exhaustive General Authority bibliography, listing all book-length published writings of church leaders from 1837 to 1978.⁴¹¹

404. Lester E. Bush to Gary James Bergera, 7 January 1982, *Dialogue* Collection. Bush explained that some of the rejected articles were "close calls" and recommended that Bergera encourage the authors to submit them elsewhere. One of these essays later appeared in *Sunstone*. See Kenneth L. Cannon II, "After the Manifesto: Mormon Polygamy 1890-1906," *Sunstone* 8 (January-April 1983): 27-35.

405. Other articles in this issue included: Blake Ostler "The Idea of Pre-Existence on the Development of Mormon Thought"; Jeffrey E. Keller "Discussion Continued: The Sequel of the Roberts/Smith/Talmage Affair"; and Anthony A. Hutchinson "LDS Approaches to the Holy Bible," all in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 15 (Spring 1982): 59-124. The Hutchinson essay was not solicited by Bergera. However, Hutchinson was a graduate student at the time and, as Bush explained to Bergera, "[he] fits into the group easily" (Bush to Bergera, 7 January 1982).

406. Bradford to Anderson, 12 April 2000.

407. See Mary Lythgoe Bradford, "Editor's Note"; Davis Bitton, "In Memoriam: T. Edgar Lyon (1903-1978)"; Lowell L. Bennion, "Reflections on T. Edgar Lyon"; and an essay previously delivered by Lyon at the Mormon History Association meeting in 1973, "Church Historians I Have Known," all in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 11 (Winter 1978): 8-22.

408. Mary L. Bradford to Ted Lyon, 6 November 1978, *Dialogue* Collection.

409. Hermana Lyon to Mary L. Bradford, 5 April 1979, *Dialogue* Collection.

410. Mary L. Bradford to Hermana Lyon, 25 April 1979, *Dialogue* Collection.

411. See Gary P. Gillum, "Out of the Books Which Shall Be Written," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 12 (Summer 1979): 99-123.

Bradford was most pleased with her women's issue, released ten years after the "pink" issue of 1971. The new one (Winter 1981), dubbed the "red" *Dialogue*, and picking up where its predecessor left off, is an indication of how Mormon feminism had advanced since the early 1970s.

Certainly the timing was right for a follow-up: *Dialogue* had now been in the hands of its first woman editor for nearly six years. Elsewhere in Mormon publishing, women were also more visible, as *Sunstone* had been under the sole direction of Peggy Fletcher since 1980, and the feminist newspaper, *Exponent II*, an outgrowth of the pink *Dialogue*, had seven years of publishing experience behind it. As two non-Mormon journalists writing for a national publisher recognized, even with the chilling effect of the Sonia Johnson excommunication, "Mormon women continued to write about and expand on some of the themes that had emerged during the 1970s. . . . A shift in emphasis and priorities had gradually taken place, reflected for example in the differing tone of two issues of *Dialogue* published ten years apart."⁴¹² Contrasting the two, Bradford writes of the red issue: "I think it is a bit more professional." However, she insists, "I notice that the issues raised in both of them are, for the most part[,] still with us."⁴¹³

Unlike the pink *Dialogue*, submissions for its successor came fairly easily, perhaps a further indication that Mormon women could now speak more comfortably about issues that concerned them. Symbolizing a time for reflection as well as looking forward, it was fitting that both guest editors of the first women's issue, Claudia Bushman and Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, returned with new essays.⁴¹⁴ Other topics, once taboo, here had a forum: Marybeth Raynes, a single parent, social worker, and family therapist, wrote on divorce in the Mormon church, something rarely mentioned in LDS publications at the time.⁴¹⁵ The controversial topic of ordaining women to the priesthood, never spoken of in official Mormon writings, was explored in separate articles by Nadine Hansen, an undergraduate at San Jose State College, and Anthony Hutchinson, then a graduate student at Catholic University of America.⁴¹⁶ Hutchin-

412. Robert Gottlieb and Peter Wiley, *America's Saints: The Rise of Mormon Power* (New York: Puttnam's Sons, 1984), 211.

413. Bradford to Anderson, 21 June 2000.

414. See Ulrich, "The Pink *Dialogue* and Beyond," (cited earlier) and Claudia L. Bushman, "Light and Dark Thoughts on Death," both in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 14 (Winter 1981): 28–39 and 169–177, respectively.

415. Marybeth Raynes, "Getting Unmarried in a Married Church," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 14 (Winter 1981): 75–90.

416. Nadine Hansen, "Women and Priesthood," and Anthony A. Hutchinson, "Women and Ordination: Introduction to the Biblical Context," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 14 (Winter 1981): 48–74. Hansen's essay was highlighted by Gottlieb and Wiley, who noted that "Hansen concluded with a passionate plea that an 'empathy' similar

son, like Leonard Arrington in the pink issue ten years earlier, was the only man to provide an essay for this second women's issue. The ERA was again addressed by Eleanor Ricks Colton in "My Personal Rubric," and Mormon historian Carol Cornwall Madsen contributed "Mormon Women and the Struggle for Definition."

One other article proved controversial before it appeared in the issue. Lavina Fielding Anderson's essay, "Mary Fielding Smith: Her Ox Goes Marching On," had appeared previously in another publication,⁴¹⁷ and had upset two of Smith's descendants, Amelia Smith McConkie, wife of Apostle Bruce R. McConkie, and M. Russell Ballard, then a member of the First Quorum of Seventy. Apparently they were offended at what they considered Anderson's view that their great-grandfather, Joseph F. Smith (Mary Fielding Smith's son), was too harsh in his characterizations of their wagon master while crossing the plains. Anderson, then associate editor of the *Ensign*, eventually met with Ballard, managing director of the magazine, and spoke by telephone with McConkie in an attempt to defuse the situation.⁴¹⁸

Bradford, who edited the red issue herself, writes that in creating it, "I wanted to highlight the diversity and talent and creativity of Mormon women." As such, she featured artwork by Judith McConkie, a variety of fiction, poetry, satire, and two photographic essays: one on the dance, "Woman See" by Maida Withers, and another entitled "In Context" by Robin Hammond. Highlighting individual Mormon women, Hammond explains: "To establish each woman's context, I photographed her doing something she loved in a setting where she felt most herself."⁴¹⁹ This was

to that developed by church leaders in finally granting blacks the priesthood should 'be invoked on behalf of our faithful sisters'" (Gottlieb and Wiley, 211–212).

Hutchinson recalls some words of warning from Bradford as his article was about to go to press: "Are you sure you want this to be published?" she asked. Hutchinson responded: "Well, I wouldn't have written it if I didn't want it to be published." Bradford continued: "No, you don't understand—people get punished for publishing things like this. This will ruin your chances of employment by the church or BYU." Somewhat startled, Hutchinson nevertheless published the essay, reasoning that "I wouldn't want to work for a university that would not hire me for publishing this kind of article" (comments made by Anthony A. Hutchinson at an informal gathering of former Washington, D.C., *Dialogue* staff members and supporters at the home of Mary L. Bradford in Arlington, Virginia, undated, audio tape in my possession).

417. See Lavina Fielding Anderson, "Mary Fielding Smith: Her Ox Goes Marching On," in Maren M. Mouritsen, ed., *Blueprints for Living: Perspectives for Latter-day Saint Women* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1980), vol. 2, 2–13.

418. An account of this incident is briefly summarized in Lavina Fielding Anderson, "The LDS Intellectual Community and Church Leadership: A Contemporary Chronology," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 26 (Spring 1993): 17.

419. Robin Hammond, "In Context," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 14 (Winter 1981): 187.

the culmination of Bradford's goal of showing Mormon women as a "kaleidoscope":

I think the image is a good one to apply to Mormon women—many-colored, shifting when you shake it, changing as you hold it to the light, yet keeping to a pattern. I too have been studying Mormon women in a way that leads me to paraphrase one of the teachings of Lowell L. Bennion, "The gospel of Jesus Christ is bigger than any one man's perception of it." I believe Mormon women are more diverse, more varied and more complicated than any one woman's perception of them.⁴²⁰

At 237 pages, the "Red *Dialogue*" was the thickest issue to date (numbering more pages than the Fall/Winter 1973 double issue on "Science and Mormonism"). Bradford explains, "I was proud of it because it showed we had 'come a long way, baby' since the Pink issue."⁴²¹

The Bradford Touch

For six years, Mary Bradford edited *Dialogue* in the basement of her home. Perhaps because of that setting, the symbol of family helps define this era of *Dialogue's* history. To Bradford, the journal, its staff, and its writers *were* family.

Royal Shipp, a member of Bradford's staff and executive committee, recalls working with Bradford: "Mary is a remarkable person. She deals with people in a way that doesn't offend them."⁴²² This is especially evident in how she dealt with rejected authors. Bradford recalls:

I had a hard time with rejection letters, so after a couple of years, Greg Prince [*Dialogue's* book review editor] composed some form rejections, but I couldn't make myself use them. *Dialogue* is a personal matter, and I wanted to retain the writers as friends and to help them if possible.⁴²³

Evidence for this is certainly borne out in the *Dialogue* correspondence. Bradford wrote to one poet after rejecting his poems: "Thank you for letting us see your poems. I am afraid they are not quite ready to venture out into the world." However, seeing potential, she also gave some advice: "I suggest that you read widely in the works of modern poets, beginning with Robert Frost, and perhaps sign up for a poetry class. We would like to see some more of your work after you have done this. . . . Don't give up. It takes awhile to find one's true voice."⁴²⁴ Another

420. Mary L. Bradford, "A Ten-Year Kaleidoscope," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 14 (Winter 1981): 17.

421. Bradford to Anderson, 21 June 2000.

422. Shipp telephone interview, 18 April 2000.

423. Bradford to Anderson, 12 April 2000.

424. Mary L. Bradford to C. Wade Bentley, 16 December 1980, *Dialogue* Collection.

author, whose essay was rejected, wrote: "I knew when the fat letter arrived in the *Dialogue* envelope that another rejection was in the air." Grateful for Bradford's enclosed critique, however, he continued: "I do want you to know I appreciate the time you take from what must be an impossible schedule to spell out for me what was wrong with the story."⁴²⁵ To this, Bradford responded: "A person who is as charming as you cannot stay rejected forever."⁴²⁶

Bradford proved just as helpful to her own staff. With her background in English and experience teaching for the government, she often used her talents to teach editing workshops to her volunteers.⁴²⁷

Bradford's hard work in increasing subscriptions early on helped the journal become financially sound. She labored thereafter to raise money in other ways, such as selling back issues. For example, a sale ending just after Christmas 1978 raised over five thousand dollars.⁴²⁸ Bradford also targeted doctors with Bush's theme issue on medicine. "Doctors are buying it, and we are sending a letter to a selected list asking if they would like to buy it."⁴²⁹

Although the *Dialogue* chapters had folded with the end of Bob Rees's tenure in Los Angeles, *Dialogue* groups still existed, and Bradford found them. "I traveled to places where subscribers were and met with them in homes or at meetings of one kind or another."⁴³⁰ One Sunday, for example, Bradford spoke at a fireside. "The place was packed. I got three subscriptions and several promises."⁴³¹

Bradford worked hard on behalf of *Dialogue* to keep the journal financially healthy while helping to nurture the talents of hopeful writers, but perhaps nothing was more satisfying in return than incidents such as those she described to BYU English professor, Arthur Henry King:

We receive letters from people who say we have helped bring them into the Church or have helped them stay in. A wonderful young lady showed up the other night and said she wanted to help us because reading *Dialogue* had brought her back into the Church after years of inactivity and she wanted to pay us back.⁴³²

Moments like these were a testimony to the fact that *Dialogue* was meeting the diverse needs of many Mormons. No one could tell Bradford anything different.

425. James N. Kimball to Mary L. Bradford, 11 September 1979, *Dialogue* Collection.

426. Mary L. Bradford to James N. Kimball, 21 September 1979, *Dialogue* Collection.

427. Bradford to Anderson, 12 April 2000.

428. Pottmyer to Bush, 18 January 1979.

429. Bradford to Bush, 4 February 1980.

430. Bradford to Anderson, 12 April 2000.

431. Bradford to Bush, 11 March 1980.

432. Mary L. Bradford to Arthur Henry King, 9 February 1978, *Dialogue* Collection.

Another Trek West

By the early eighties, Bradford knew her tenure with *Dialogue* was nearing an end. Although there were not yet fixed terms set for the journal's editors, the previous two teams had both served roughly five years. A similar tenure was almost a given from the start of Bradford's term as she herself remembers: "We had an unspoken rule that five or six years were enough for a challenging volunteer job like this." There were also potential dangers to holding on too long. Bradford writes:

Armand Mauss had impressed me once in a conversation when he said that his studies of organizational development showed that after five years a person tends to become the job. I found myself talking about *Dialogue* as if it belonged to me. It belongs to its readers, writers, and all who care about it. The torch needs to be passed. New blood is good always.⁴³³

Two years before Bradford decided to step down, she began seeking a replacement among her own staff. No one on the executive committee was interested, however. "They assured me that they were as ready as I to pass on the torch."⁴³⁴ Lester Bush was the most likely candidate, and he seriously considered the possibility. "But [I] decided—given my job demands—it wasn't good to be taking so much time away from my young family. After I reached that conclusion, it was reasonably clear that we would work to get things ready to move out of Arlington at the 5–6 year mark."⁴³⁵

Where to move was the question. Many factors favored relocating *Dialogue* to Utah, but as Bush remembers, it was "universally considered the highest risk location [for it to] be located."⁴³⁶ There were obviously several reasons for that. Being in Utah could prove to be intimidating, the journal could be subject to attention it did not want, and as Bradford noted, in her own case D.C. was "a comfortable distance away from the rumor mills of Utah."⁴³⁷ However, several other factors favored a move to Mormon country. Bush explains:

As a practical matter, it was important that *Dialogue* be located where there was enough good volunteer work to keep it going. Utah was an obvious place to find that. It also seemed like there would be the added gain of immersion in the larger LDS intellectual community—with the various leads that might offer. We also hoped that, after sixteen years, it would be safe to send *Dialogue* out there.⁴³⁸

433. Bradford to Anderson, 21 June 2000.

434. Bradford, "Famous Last Words," 20.

435. Bush to Anderson, 21 June 2000.

436. Bush to Anderson, 14 April 2000.

437. Bradford, "Famous Last Words," 20.

438. Bush to Anderson, 21 June 2000.

Certainly an eventual move to Utah was a given in the minds of former editors. As Bob Rees told Bradford upon hearing their plan, "Is it time for *Dialogue* to go home?"⁴³⁹

Bradford, although ready to step down, was not willing to hand the journal over to just anybody. This brought relief to at least one supporter. "I am pleased with the implication of your statements, which is that you won't relinquish the job until the *right* replacement is found," wrote Levi Peterson. "The healthy thing which *Dialogue* has always stood for—an independent, intelligent, cultivated but ultimately faithful study of Mormonism—is at stake."⁴⁴⁰

Bradford was certainly mindful of such concerns; therefore, a new method of seeking a successor was adopted. Unlike the previous two editors, Bradford did not hand-pick her replacement. Instead, she asked Fred Esplin, an editorial board member living in Salt Lake City, to head a search committee that would seek out and hire a new editor out west. Bradford writes:

With the aid of attorney Randy Mackey and other long-time supporters, he [Esplin] formed a research committee and finance committee to find candidates and make recommendations. When I arrived in Utah three months later, we had a good list of prospective editors and some reasonable printing and office bids. The work that went into these lists convinced me that *Dialogue's* spirit was still alive and well in Utah.⁴⁴¹

Of the many candidates, Jack and Linda King Newell of Salt Lake City were favored and willing, provided that former *Ensign* associate editor Lavina Fielding Anderson also join the new team. Anderson accepted. The hiring of the Newells resulted in two firsts for *Dialogue*: a home in Utah and a husband-wife team in charge. Jack Newell, a professor of higher education at the University of Utah, and Linda King Newell, a historian, officially began their editorship with the summer 1982 issue.

Bradford believes her team had a particular purpose: "We saw ourselves as a kind of transition team that would usher [*Dialogue*] into a more global, high-tech age."⁴⁴² Certainly the Washington team delivered a journal to the Newells that was financially healthy and, although behind schedule, it was only one issue behind.⁴⁴³ The transition to the west would put it farther behind again, as *Dialogue* transitions do, but the ob-

439. Bradford, "Famous Last Words," 20.

440. Levi S. Peterson to Mary L. Bradford, 4 August 1981, *Dialogue* Collection.

441. Bradford, "Famous Last Words," 20.

442. Bradford to Anderson, 21 June 2000.

443. See "Reflections from Within: A Conversation with Linda King Newell and L. Jackson Newell," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 20 (Winter 1987): 20.

stacles in resolving that problem would be relatively few. Bradford, Bush, and the entire Washington team could say goodbye and rest assured that *Dialogue* was still in capable hands.

During her tenure, Bradford witnessed changes in her family. Chick's term as bishop eventually came to an end; a son, Stephen, left on a mission to Spain in March 1978 and returned two years later; a daughter, Lorraine, graduated from high school and went on to college. In the years since leaving *Dialogue* in 1982, Bradford's life has changed in other ways. Widowed in 1991, she says she has now successfully passed through the mourning process.⁴⁴⁴ In 1982, she published a collection of women's essays, and five years later edited a book of personal essays previously published in *Dialogue*, and also a collection of her own writings.⁴⁴⁵ In 1996, shortly after publishing the long-awaited biography, *Lowell L. Bennion: Teacher, Counselor, Humanitarian*, she became a co-winner of the \$10,000 Evans Biography Award. She still writes, mostly from a retreat in southwest Ireland. Currently, she is working on a biography of Virginia Sorensen and compiling a book of her own poetry.⁴⁴⁶

Bradford fondly remembers her *Dialogue* days when she descends the steps that lead into the former office. "I often think of my years in the basement, and I am grateful for all of the wonderful people who worked with me. They remain my friends. The whole experience was enriching and sustaining." As for *Dialogue*, she is quick to exclaim: "Long may it wave!"⁴⁴⁷

In typical Mormon story-telling fashion, one could argue that God had a hand in the survival of *Dialogue*. Mormons enjoy stories of trial and hardship as the Lord's way of testing the faithful. This seems to define the story of *Dialogue*'s struggle through the 70s as it became truly stable by the early 80s. If the journal were meant to fold, one could reason, it would have. Each issue, beautifully bound and full of insightful essays, represented not only the blood, sweat, and tears of various authors, but also of the editors. Although Robert Rees and Mary Bradford experienced many moments of discouragement resulting from dwindling staff, precarious finances, and outside criticism, the moments never proved

444. Bradford to Anderson, 10 September 2000.

445. See Mary Lythgoe Bradford, *Mormon Women Speak: A Collection of Essays* (Salt Lake City: Olympus Publishing, 1982); Mary Lythgoe Bradford, *Personal Voices: A Celebration of Dialogue* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1987); and Mary Lythgoe Bradford, *Leaving Home: Personal Essays* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1987).

446. Bradford to Anderson, 10 September 2000.

447. Ibid.

fatal. Discouragement at the wrong point could have meant the end of the journal. At times, when there was nothing else, there was still unwavering commitment. If that were not enough in itself to pull *Dialogue* through the hard times, it motivated those around to rally when needed. Since so many found it such a worthy endeavor, it weathered every storm.

As *Dialogue* made its westward trek in 1982, no longer pioneering and far from isolated, the new editors were filled with hopes, dreams, and all the optimism of the nineteenth-century Mormons who also journeyed to the Salt Lake valley. Yet there was irony in the emerging climate. As the church hierarchy became weakened through the incapacitation of church presidents, and as more conservative apostles increased in power, intellectual inquiry became more difficult and increasingly suspect as *Dialogue* tried to conduct business within the city of the saints. Thus, just as *Dialogue* survived its internal struggles, it would soon be bombarded with obstacles from without. The result would be a decade of mounting tension between Mormon intellectuals and conservative members of the church hierarchy, thus extending the trend that began in the dismantling of the Arrington history division. Many would debate over who threw the first punch, but it mattered little. If it is true that *Dialogue* was coming "home" in its move to Utah, subsequent events made it clear that some powerful neighbors refused to put out the welcome mat.

To Be Continued