DIALOGUE

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT

DIALOGUE: A Journal of Mormon Thought is an independent national quarterly established to express Mormon culture and examine the relevance of religion to secular life. It is edited by Latter-day Saints who wish to bring their faith into dialogue with human experience as a whole and to foster artistic and scholarly achievement based on their cultural heritage. The Journal encourages a variety of viewpoints; although every effort is made to insure accurate scholarship and responsible judgment, the views expressed are those of the individual authors and are not necessarily those of the Mormon Church or of the editors.

CONTENTS

DIALOGUE: A Journal of Mormon Thought *Vol. X, No. 3, Spring 1977*

REVIEWS

NOTES AND COMMENTS

ART CREDITS

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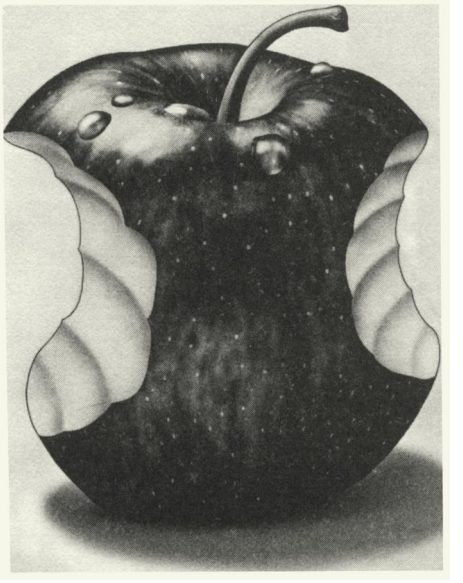
imagemakers:

Mormons and the Media

Letters to the Editor



adam gump

As a dentist with formal training in forensic odontology I would like to comment on the bite marks exhibited on the cover of the Autumn 1976 issue. If you make a normal bite into an apple, you will notice grooves cut by both maxillary and mandibular teeth, meeting somewhere near the middle of the bite, with the grooves cut by the maxillary teeth larger than those cut by the mandibular. Both marks pictured bear grooves but by only maxillary or mandibular teeth, a rather unusual way of eating an apple. Based on the available evidence, none of the following possibilities concerning origin of the bite marks can be ruled out:

1. Subject No. 1, bearing larger teeth, attacked the apple, hatchet-style, with his maxilla; subject No. 2, with smaller teeth (though not necessarily female), likewise took a bite.
2. Subject No. 1 was responsible for both bites, one caused by the maxilla, one by the mandible.
3. Subjects 1 and 2 took bites from the apple in the traditional fashion, but, having edentulous mandibles, "gummed it."
4. Andy Gump took a bite from the left side of the apple, Dick Tracy, the right.

Gregory A. Prince, D.D.S., Ph.D.
Gaithersburg, Maryland

graphic sexuality

Thanks so much for the pleasure of adding this fine ripe apple to the shelf of *Dialogue*. I confess that when I turned the pages and saw all that fine print complete with graphs, I was dismayed. But the poems, the confession of "Solus," and the beautifully written story about poor "Greg" helped me to understand what you had done and why. You couldn't be accepted without the figures to back up the art, yes? Please tell the author of "Greg" that I feel sure this story is the first chapter of a very good novel; it must be to let us know how Greg made out. . . .

Virginia Sorensen
Tangier, Morocco

fan letter

You really put out a winner! From front to back the recent issue of *Dialogue* pleased us intensely. Such a positive approach to a sensitive subject must have taken many hours of preparation and hard work. Everyone we have talked to found it stimulating and enlightening. "Solus" was poignant and thought provoking. The writer has the spirit of an artist or poet in telling his story so beautifully. Doug Thayer's "Greg" was as excellent as his previous stories. We appreciate his great talent more each time *Dialogue* publishes one of his stories. Thank you for a great and wonderful issue.

Shirley Paxman
Provo, Utah

solus I

. . . The advice given by the psychiatrist: "The only way I could end my male fixation was to experience male sex" was obviously inaccurate and inappropriate. No psychiatrist worth his salt would narrow down such complex dynamics to such absurb simplification. (Perhaps "Solus" misinterpreted his counsel?) I can assure "Solus" that there are much more gospel-oriented solutions to his dilemma. I would urge "Solus" to contact some one more in tune with the underlying significance of such behavior.

Barnett Seymour Salzman,
M.D., FRSH
Escondido, California

solus II

Thank you for Solus. I come from a good family with great love for the best parents I know of. As a teenage convert to the Gospel, I kept the commandments even though most of my relatives and friends were non-members. I was very active and held leadership positions in various Church organizations and priesthood quorums. After my mission, and when I was in college, I became aware of my different sexual interests. . . .

Conflicts and guilt tore my conscience for two years. On one side was my strong testimony and love of the Gospel, and enjoyment in serving the Lord. But on the other side was a strong emotional feeling for my own sex. Why I am gay, I don't know. The explanations offered by psychiatrists don't fit my background. I could not seek counsel from Church leaders because they knew my family too well.

I had to make a most painful choice, become inactive, because I could not live a lie and hypocrisy. Some are active in the Church with the fear of being discovered, especially those that are married with happy families and good business or professional jobs. Some have left the Church. Some, like me, are inactive, but still have a strong testimony of the Gospel.

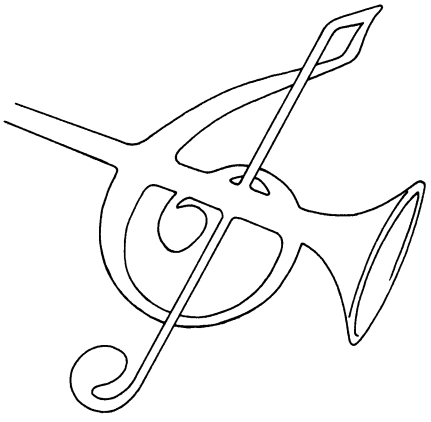
I can only hope and concur with Anonymous's last paragraph.

Anonymous II

silent majority

I really appreciate the new insights I receive in reading *Dialogue*. I enjoyed Lester Bush's article "Birth Control Among the Mormons." I seemed to detect a trace of smug satisfaction (perhaps I read this into the article) in the recorded observation that the membership of the Church, while without the formal opportunity to vote on the "Church doctrine" concerning birth control, have practically registered a silent vote in practicing birth control. Brother Bush suggested that 90% of the members use birth control at some time, and he suggested that the position of Church leaders has been influenced through the years by this "vote". If that is true, it won't be the first time a doctrine has been altered to accommodate the wishes of the saints. The same thing happened when the brother of Jared and Samuel opposed the establishment of monarchy among their peoples. It is interesting to get these indications of just how committed the saints are. I can't help but feel that some of us, with the Jaredites and the children of Israel, "are going to reap disappointment by and by."

Val Larsen
Idaho Falls, Idaho



art and artifice

With regard to a possible roundtable or issue devoted to "Art and Artifice," please allow us the following observations. First, many of *Dialogue's* roundtables, and occasionally entire issues, have been dominated by the same names. In recent years, *Dialogue* has increasingly appeared to be an in-group journal in which the same people publish and comment on each others' articles. We in no way wish to minimize anyone's contributions, but merely to observe that the interests of *Dialogue* are best served by including as many voices as possible.

Of a more general sort, our second observation concerns the one-theme-per-issue format *Dialogue* has embraced in recent years. Since *Dialogue* readers reflect much broader interests than those of most scholarly journals, some readers may lose interest in a journal which addresses their particular interests infrequently, and then all at once. Making matters more complicated, often one-theme issues are further circumscribed by emphasizing a particular discipline or approach. For example, the issue on music was written entirely by musicians trained in a classical European tradition. The possibilities of experimental worship involving rock, folk and contemporary idioms, not to mention the musical affinities of non-Western Mormons, were never considered. A similar problem weakens the issue on sex. Sex is one of the great common denominators permeating everyone's existence. Leaving such a subject in the hands of sociologists is like trusting the music issue to piano tuners.

All of which is a long way of saying that a roundtable on "Art and Artifice" is a good idea depending on who rounds the table, and that an entire issue on any particular subject might not be to *Dialogue's* benefit.

Thomas Sant and Nicolas Shumway

yes, bach *is* a mormon

Robin R. Lyons laments the bias in the special music issue of *Dialogue* toward the "European-based classical mode for church music." He asks why we don't choose "Chinese, Arabian, Polynesian or African music" for our worship services. He wonders if we haven't presumed too much in thinking that God prefers Bach or Handel sung by his heavenly choirs. Lyons' comments remind me of the story of the curator of a European museum who was showing a group of American students a raven sculpted by a Medieval artist. A young co-ed remarked, "That's not my idea of a raven." He stared at her contemptuously and said, "Young woman, that's *God's* idea of a raven."

Perhaps it is presumptuous to think that celestial beings sing Bach or Handel, but is it anymore so than to think that they read Isaiah or Psalms? What better can we imagine them singing than those musical expressions that are the most spiritual and most artistic known to the western world? The latter point is worth emphasizing, for however grand or eloquent musical expressions in Chinese or Arabic may be, they are not Christ centered. What is so wonderful about Bach is not only that he was one of the most creative geniuses the world has ever known, but he was a devout Christian who wrote his music solely and expressly "to the glory of God." It is, perhaps, the fullest and most sublime expression of praise to the Father and the Son known to the present inhabitants of this world. What is there in any other musical literature that approaches the beauty and profundity of the Atonement, Crucifixion and Resurrection that we find in the *B Minor Mass* or the *Passion According to St. Matthew?* Perhaps the society of Enoch or the Nephites at the spiritual pinnacle of their civilization may have produced musical expressions that would rival those of Bach, Handel and Mozart, but if so, they are lost to us.

We certainly should not be parochial as far as our musical tastes are concerned. There may indeed be higher octaves of musical expression to which we are deaf and tonal systems beyond our imagination. Perhaps one of the surprises of the celestial worlds is that there will be great musical expressions completely foreign to our ears, but it is hard to imagine a celestial world filled with more heavenly strains or deep spiritual joy than one finds in the great Christian music of Western civilization.

Robert A. Rees,
Director of the Arts,
UCLA Extension
Chairman, LA Stake Music Committee

ERA an error?

The recent statement of the First Presidency of the Church opposing the Equal Rights Amendment will in the future, I am convinced be seen as an extremely unfortunate move. In this letter, writing from a male perspective I would like to describe what I see as some of the negative consequences of this move in particular and the increasingly anti-feminist stand of the Church in general.

In their statement, the First Presidency indicated that they believed that passage of the ERA would weaken the family unit. I for one cannot see the connection. What the ERA will do is to give women more options in choosing their life-style. Apparently the Church is worried that some women will find it easier to make what they see as incorrect choices. Somehow the principle of free agency doesn't apply here.

I am afraid that many in the Church have fallen for a new version of the "Big Lie" technique. The opponents of ERA have proclaimed so loudly and at times hysterically that the ERA will "destroy the family" that many in the Church have believed them without asking the simple question "how and why?"

One concern is that women would be subject to the Draft (a move I personally would support in the context of a national service system). We only need to look to Israel which since 1948 has drafted all men and women into the military at age 18. This has definitely not made Israeli women less feminine. Indeed in recent years Israeli women have become more traditional and more accepting of roles as wives and mothers. (See Yael Dayan, daughter of Moshe Dayan in the February 13, 1977, issue of the *New York Times Sunday Magazine*).

The Church's stand against the ERA will lead Church members to look to the Church for opinions on social and political issues, rather than working these things out for themselves. Is this the Church's mission? Doesn't it create intellectual laziness? Instead of presenting only anti-ERA and anti-feminist views, why couldn't the Church publications carry articles both for and against the ERA? Then let members make their own decisions. Haven't we grasped the notion that there can be honest differences on these types of issues among good Church members? In the Church we constantly repeat the slogan about "teaching people correct principles and letting them govern themselves." Are we afraid to put this into practice?

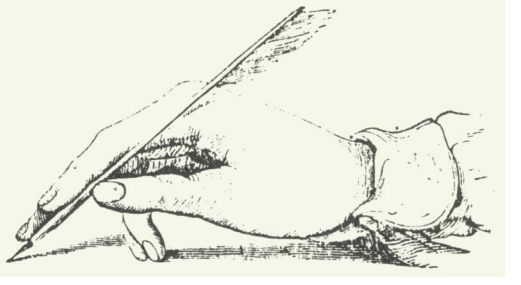
I see the Church's opposition to the ERA as a slap in the face of numerous women who

have both strong testimonies and strong feminist convictions. The Church's stand will only unnecessarily alienate these women from the Church and may push them into inactivity.

How will the Church's anti-feminism affect missionary work? Increasingly the Church is becoming identified with a conservative, anti-feminist perspective (see the article on the Church's support of a move to rescind the ERA in Colorado in the February 23, 1977, issue of *Christian Century*). I believe everyone needs the Gospel, feminists and male chauvinists alike (though the male chauvinists need to repent) . . .

Many in the Church justify opposition to the ERA and an anti-feminist view on scriptural grounds. I myself have yet to be shown where it clearly states in any of the standard works that women are to be exclusively wives and mothers and men only breadwinners. I also do not believe that any scripture justifies the belief that women have innate qualities which make them better parents than men and thus should confine themselves to roles as wives and mothers. Often we read current attitudes and beliefs into the scriptures. We pick and choose and distort scriptures to justify our own biases and prejudices. If certain scriptures do appear on the surface to justify an anti-feminist stance such as passages in Paul's writings to the Corinthians, I believe these can be shown to reflect sexist attitudes and practices of the culture in which the scriptures were given, not the will of the Lord. I believe that the qualities necessary to be good parents, a loving attitude, patience, tolerance, self sacrifice and other so-called feminine characteristics are equally present in both men and women.

I believe that the family is an eternal unit. It does not, however, follow from this that the traditional American family represents the Divine order of things. We as Mormons have to recognize that the family as presently constituted in our society does limit women's potential to develop their intellectual, artistic and practical talents. I am not proposing that both husbands and wives devote themselves exclusively to activities outside the home and leave children to be raised by outside agencies. We must develop ways in which child rearing and vocational roles can be *shared* by men and women. More flexible working schedules, more parttime work, groups of families sharing child care responsibilities are avenues that need to be explored. A fine discussion of possible ways to reach this goal is found in an article by Rosemary Ruether in the February 7, 1977, issue of *Christianity and Crisis*. We need to recognize that child rearing is too important to be left to women alone.



Ultimately I believe that the arguments of the anti-ERA and feminist forces rest on this assumption: that keeping women in a subordinate status is the price we must pay to maintain the integrity of the family unit. A family system that rests on such an assumption (as I believe our present system does) needs to be changed. The price that women pay for maintaining this type of system is wasted potential and men pay in keeping the "feminine" side of their character underdeveloped is too high.

I hope that no one will draw the inference from this letter that I do not sustain the First Presidency and other General Authorities as prophets, seers and revelators. I most sincerely do. However, the statement on the ERA was not issued as a revelation and should not be treated as such. Those of us who feel the Church's attitude toward feminism is mistaken must bear witness to this in humility, with love and understanding. We must wait for the time when others can see that feminism does not conflict with the Gospel but strengthens and deepens the Gospel.

John Willis
Arkadelphia, Arkansas

brigham's blunder or brigham's brilliance?

Several months ago I set myself the task of reading up on the history of the American West prior to the arrival of the Mormons. I began with Bernard De Voto's edition of the Journals of Lewis and Clark and followed the development of the fur trade through the efforts of Manuel Lisa, John Jacob Astor, William H. Ashley, their successors and competitors, and continued through the decline of the fur trade and the role of the mountain men just prior to the arrival of the Church in the Great Basin.

Having thus followed many journeys westward in this period, and then having reread and rethought the "Gathering of Zion" that began in 1846, I have come to the uncomfortable conclusion that the Mormon decision to leave Nauvoo on February 4, 1846, can most accurately be described as "Brigham's Blunder." These foolish people (including my own great-great-grandfather) started out for the far West in the dead of winter—months before "grass grows and water runs"—so they were guaranteed to starve their animals; bog down in the spring mud; use up their supplies; weaken literally hundreds of men, women, and especially children, unto death; and in general make absolutely certain that they would end up "prostrate on the prairies."

Why? What could possibly have moved Brigham Young to start west at this ridiculous time? Sam Brannan's rumor that the United States Government was going to send gunboats up the Mississippi to prevent the Mormon move west? That was easily checked, and Brigham Young was too tough-minded to be spooked by such rumors. Fear of the mobs? Surely not with the Nauvoo Legion in town, and when there existed an agreement to move out in the spring. In fact, the cowardly mobs didn't attack even the poor, the sick, and the weak that Brigham Young left behind until the month of September.

Then why? If the Church had left when they agreed to do so—when water runs and grass grows—they would have made it to the mountains in 1846 after the usual journey of a few months, rather than in 1847 after a delay of some eighteen months, untold suffering and hundreds of deaths. I haven't counted to make sure, but it seems that Brigham's Blunder must have cost more Mormon lives than all of the mob actions of the Gentiles put together: there were 600 Mormon dead buried in Winter Quarters alone, and one-fourth of these were children.

This whole episode which demanded so much of the Mormon people—including far too many lives—could have been a fairly routine trip, as it was for so many non-Mormons who went west in 1846, if only Brigham Young had decided to leave at the usual time.

I trust that someone out there among *Dialogue*'s readers will be able to transform Brigham's Blunder into Brigham's Brilliance. That should prove interesting.

Jack Worlton
Los Alamos, New Mexico

A+ for the commercials

"It's Next Week" or "The Family and Other Living Things" or whatever it was finally called would have been an hour of "the pits" if it had not been for the terrific commercials. But the Church has been in the commercial business (*Homefront* series) longer than in the entertainment end. It was a good effort and should be encouraged, but I hope the next nationwide attempt is less like the Stake roadshow.

Julia Johnson Allred
Venus, Texas

from the fence

I stand all amazed that it took a black (of African lineage), Alex Haley, to do more to turn the hearts of the children to their fathers and mothers than anything else in this country. Maybe we are being told something.

Mr. Haley praised the Mormons and their cooperation with his genealogical efforts with "Roots" on the Johnny Carson Show.

Hurray for "Roots" and, for once, for TV.

Marie Geoffrey
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

We love your magazine, your spirit and your ability to edit and type, but your ability to keep subscriptions straight isn't up to the former talents. Now the Lord has given us talents and supposedly the more we use them the more these talents will increase. Well folks, you have proven this one wrong.

Now listen, we sent a check in '74 and received one issue for $20.00 then in '75 we tried it again. This time the percentage went up and we received two for a 100% increase. If you will take the time and explain what this past phenomenon was due to, we will again send you our annual 20 bucks.

We love ya anyways,

R. T. and P. A. Hilby
Evansville, Indiana

Ed. note: If you try again, we guarantee a 200% return.

A quick comment on changes in the last issue. "Among the Mormons" is sorely missed, of course. I hope a replacement can be found for Ralph Hansen. "Personal Voices" also missed. And why leave out "Notes on Staff and Contributors"? I have always enjoyed knowing something about the contributors to *Dialogue*, and I felt slightly cast adrift in the last issue. Please reinstate the custom!

As an organist I was excited with Nick Shumway's review of Norberto Guinaldo's Advent recording *The Organ on Mormon Temple Hill*. I have since searched high and low for a copy of it and have only uncovered puzzled looks on record shop salespeople's faces, including those in Deseret Books' record department. Any suggestions?

Craig H. Bennion
Bountiful, Utah

Ed. note: Stephen W. Stathis of the Library of Congress will review "Among the Mormons" in our next issue. "Personal Voices" is not so much lost as in hiatus. "Notes on Contributors" was deemed too time and space consuming by our staff, but we are still experimenting.

help

I have been trying very hard to pick up certain issues that were printed before I became a *Dialogue* subscriber. Are there any readers who might be willing to sell me the following issues:

Summer 1966 Vol. I No. 2
Winter 1966 Vol. I No. 4

Michael B. Hoggan
3926 Kentucky Drive, Suite 2
Hollywood, California 90068

Dialogue has meant a great deal to me ever since I first discovered it (the second issue put out), but for a number of years it was my only tangible thread to the Church as I struggled through a period of suspended animation in terms of active membership. I have currently resumed attending meetings, but the probing, wide-ranging, thoughtful articles of *Dialogue* will always fill a special need in my life.

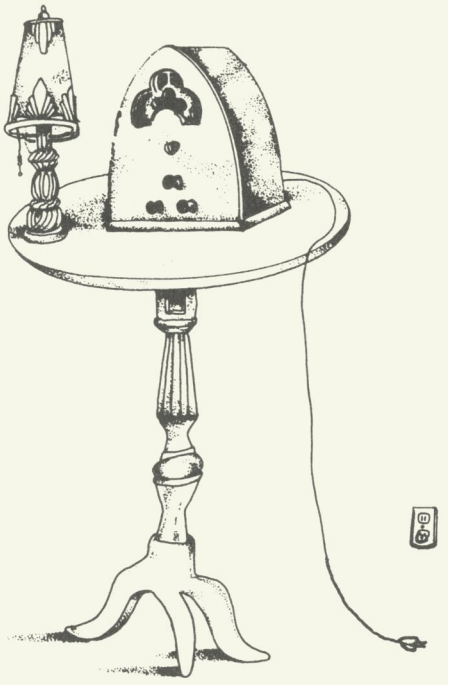
Leona Mattoni
Beverly Hills, CA

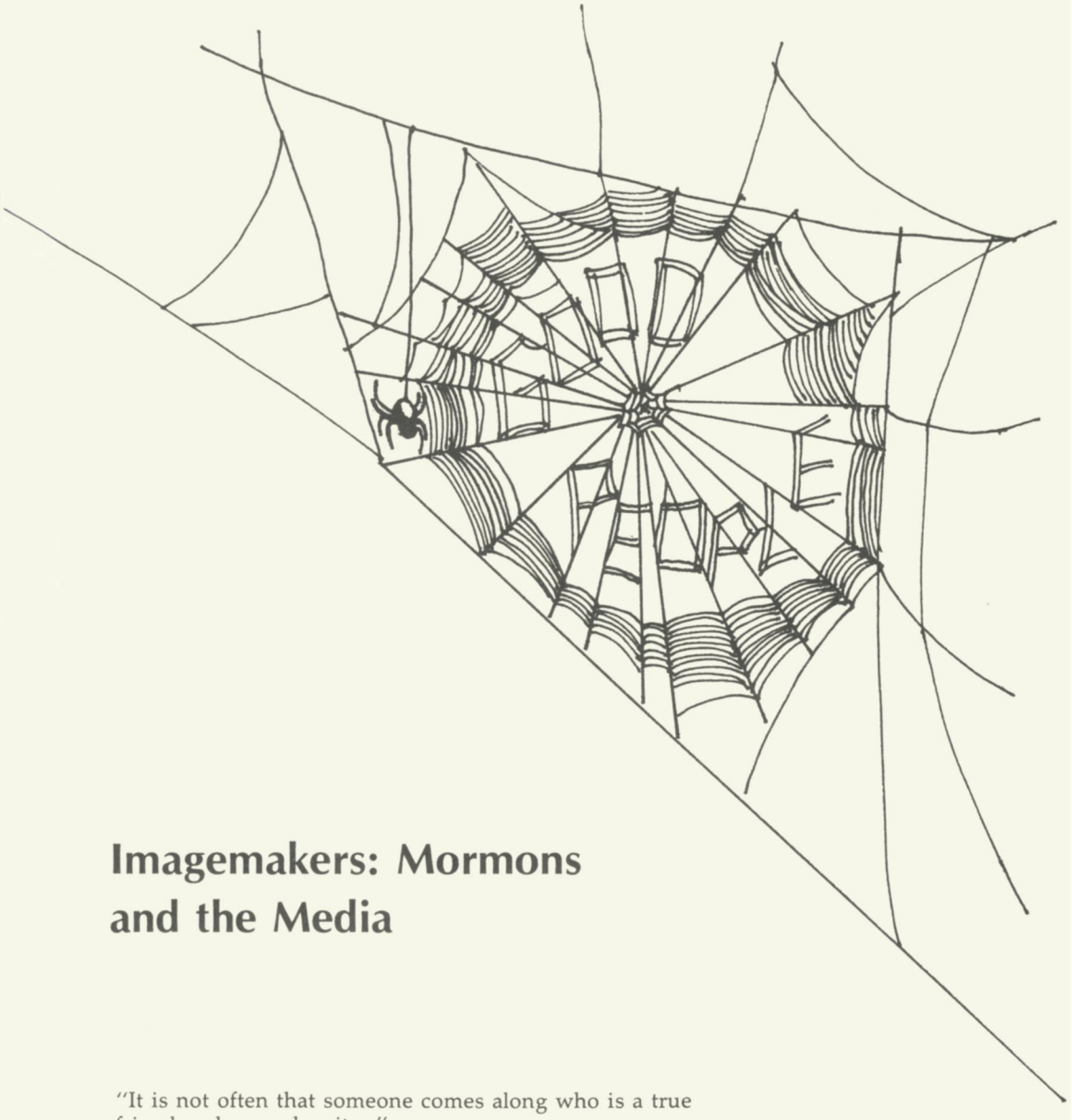
Long ago I lost track of the *Dialogue* publication schedule. I had not received an issue for many months and assumed my subscription had lapsed. I was just getting around to renewing when Vol. X, No. 2 showed up in the mail. I have no idea as to the status of my subscription, so here is twenty bucks to cover me

for the next four issues—whenever they might be published.

I empathize with your problems. I hope the move to Washington will help smooth things out. As frustrated as I have been in recent years over *Dialogue*'s spastic production schedule, I could never bring myself to desert you.

Steven Orton
Omaha, Nebraska





Imagemakers: Mormons and the Media

"It is not often that someone comes along who is a true friend and a good writer."

Charlotte's Web

Just as E. B. White's Wilbur appreciated the great value of a true friend who was also a good writer, the Church now searches for good friends who are good writers, and good broadcasters, good actors, good technicians—in fact, good communicators of all kinds. Through this conscious attention to "public relations" the Church hopes to create a "favorable image"—frequently, like Wilbur, "RADIANT" and "HUMBLE," but always "GOOD PEOPLE."

A history of Mormonism in public relations terms would be both lively and instructive. Our interest in image-making began early, dating, in a sense from

Joseph Smith's Wentworth letter and the inclusion of his "own story" in the Pearl of Great Price. In 1859 Brigham Young granted what Daniel Boorstin has called the "first full-fledged modern interview with a well-known public figure." Not much later the polygamous wives of Mormondom went forth in the cause of women's suffrage—in an effective if not totally successful response to an image the "gentile media" was fixing on the Church and its peculiar institution. Since then it has been "their" image-makers versus "our" image-makers.

As market sophistication has increased, the Church has moved beyond its early amateur efforts—missionary work, member example, word of mouth. Now Church PR is handled by dedicated, full-time, professionally trained specialists. The low-keyed offers of an abbreviated home evening manual on the Church's recent TV special, *The Family . . . and other living things* brought over 90,000 requests within a few days of the broadcast.

Whether "professionalization" of Mormon image-making will escape the pitfalls of Madison Avenue remains to be seen. Reality is Mormonism's strongest selling point—be it historical heritage, contemporary experience, or the plain Gospel truths. Yet adherence to reality has not always been the strong suit of professional public relations. As we polish our presentations, will we be able to accept and present a clear view of ourselves and our history?

In this issue, *Dialogue* looks at some image makers, historical and modern, Mormon and gentile.

INTERVIEW BETWEEN BRIGHAM YOUNG AND HON. HORACE GREELEY AT SALT LAKE CITY.

"Historians of journalism date the first full-fledged modern interview with a well known public figure from July 13, 1859, when Horace Greeley interviewed Brigham Young in Salt Lake City, asking him questions on many matters of public interest and then publishing the answers verbatim in his New York Tribune (August 20, 1859)."

Daniel J. Boorstin

Marketing the Mormon Image:

An Interview with Wendell J. Ashton

Wendell J. Ashton, Managing Director of Public Communications for the Church, was interviewed for Dialogue by Dennis L. Lythgoe in Salt Lake City, October 11, 1976.

Dialogue: The image of Mormonism seems to have changed from unfavorable in the 1960s to favorable in the 1970s. Has the Church itself played a role in this change?

Ashton: The Public Communications Department was organized in 1972, and we like to think that a good part of this change in the image came from the efforts of the Church through public communications. Under the guidelines given by President Harold B. Lee, public communications is not a matter of reacting, but of taking the initiative in dealing with the public and particularly with the news media. So, since 1972 we've been trying to take the initiative in letting the world know the Mormon people for what they are and for what they stand. We now have approximately 1,000 people in church service as public communications coordinators and directors who are making contacts with the news media. We're heartened by the results.

Dialogue: So you think the Department has actually had an influence?

Ashton: We hope it has. We now have a worldwide organization, and as we travel—I've been with President Spencer W. Kimball in the South Pacific this year and over to England and Scotland—we meet with the news media and with our public communications people. Generally, the public communications representatives are doing an excellent job. Many of them are professional public relations people or are with newspapers or radio or television stations, and they are contributing church time to this public communications effort of the Church.

Also, during the past four years we've introduced the Homefront public service announcements on radio and television. We've had marvelous exposure through them. Last year most of the commercial television stations and about half of the radio stations carried them. We estimate that in four years, about 31 million dollars worth of free radio and television time was devoted to these Homefront announcements. We feel that they have helped build a positive image.

The Tabernacle Choir now has more exposure than it's ever had. Over 1,000 radio and television stations around the world now carry the Choir's weekly program. The Osmonds are a new factor and certainly a powerful one, particularly since the "Donny and Marie Show" started on ABC. Of course, the Osmonds are very proud of their Church membership, and we've had a very good "press" (to use the expression) on the Osmonds.

Dialogue: Do you get good press by making special contact with journals or newspapers or magazines? *Family Circle* magazine, for instance, ran a favorable article on the Church's health habits.

Ashton: Oh, yes. It is part of professional public relations work. That *Family Circle* article came from a visit by *Family Circle* magazine to Jerry Cahill, our press relations director. There have been several other favorable articles recently, too.

Dialogue: Is Jerry Cahill your press agent?

Ashton: No, he's more than that. A press agent just responds to requests for information or distributes news releases. Jerry Cahill is a public relations man, and a good PR man takes the initiative in a creative way and tries to get the news media to look at his client in a creative way. We're striving to do this all over the world through the thousand public communications representatives. We anticipate a worthwhile event, contact the news media and try to convince them to cover it.

For example, a public mass meeting against pornography soon will be held here in Salt Lake City. Now it isn't sponsored by the Church, as you know, but the leadership of the Church is encouraging our members as citizens to get involved in the fight against pornography, so we are helping to get some good coverage on the meeting. I've been on the phone to New York and other points in the country. We hope some positive coverage on Salt Lake City and its opposition to obscenity will result with the media nationwide.

Dialogue: What about blacks and the racial issue? Are we still vulnerable on that?

Ashton: It doesn't come up as much now in our news conferences. It hasn't been a big issue as it was five to eight years ago. The inquiries still come, but news interest is receding. I think the public has accepted us for what our position is, and there doesn't seem to be the probing there was several years ago.

Dialogue: Has the subject of family replaced it?

Ashton: The Church is emphasizing the family home evening program. Our public communications people again have gone to governors and mayors across the country, and there have been state and city proclamations supporting Family Week, tying into our family home evening programs. These activities, together with the Homefront announcements and other publicity, have turned attention to our strong emphasis on strong families.

Dialogue: Are there any other tough issues in press conferences?

Ashton: Yes. A development in recent years is the question of equal rights among women. That question is coming up, and I think we have much that is positive to say! Utah gave the vote to women in 1870, fifty years before they received it nationally. And of course, the Prophet Joseph Smith organized the Relief Society in 1842 when women's organizations were pretty much unknown in the United States.

We're trying to point out that we believe generally in equal rights for women, but not identical rights. We believe that women, physically and emotionally, are *different* from men, that they're not created as identical individuals—that there's a difference between a man and a woman. The Church recognizes that each, with different roles, is important in the sight of the Lord and in the programs of the Church.

Dialogue: Would you say that the problem of equal rights for women may even eclipse the racial issue in the future?

Ashton: I think it is a bigger issue right now. I wouldn't say it is a *problem.* It's a *subject,* and it is preempting the subject of the blacks as we meet with the news media people.

Dialogue: As you project the image of the Church and the family, do you try to lay groundwork for the future in case that issue becomes stickier?

Ashton: Oh, yes. We've anticipated that this problem of equal rights for women would be developing, and we've tried to take the initiative. We've arranged interviews in New York with Camilla Kimball, President Kimball's wife, with Barbara B. Smith, the President of the Relief Society and with Ruth H. Funk, the President of the Young Women's organization. In fact, we have a woman serving with us whose whole assignment is to concentrate on this subject of women and the Church. She is Moana Ballif Bennett, a former writer with United Press International and a former member of the MIA General Board—a very able woman, a mother of 5 or 6 children. She lives in my ward. And she is, of course, dedicated to the Church. We feel she's doing a great amount of good in getting our story to the news media. She is spending a lot of time with Sister Smith, Sister Funk and other women leaders in the Church, to help them in meeting the press, and in telling our story as it should be told before the news media.

Dialogue: Are you trying to help the missionary program through your work?

Ashton: Unquestionably. We know that people tend to choose the product and candidate whose name they know better. We feel that as we make every effort to bring the Church out of obscurity, it's going to open the way for missionary work. Elder Royden G. Derrick, one of the new general authorities, when he was president of the England–Leeds Mission, conducted an informal survey. As I recall, he said that about half the persons committed to baptism backed away in the last few days. He felt the reason was the image of the Church in the eyes of the public. Relatives and friends who talked to these candidates for

baptism had associated the Church with polygamy and with some of the sensational stories of the past in Britain. This past year we opened up a full-time public communications office in London. We feel we are going to help missionary work around the world.

Let me give you an example. Our Department, in cooperation with the Missionary Executive Committee, presented in the Cleveland Coliseum, a program geared to the Word of Wisdom. The Cleveland Coliseum is halfway between Akron and Cleveland and not far from Kirtland, where the Word of Wisdom was revealed to the Prophet Joseph. On our program, President Kimball was the featured speaker. We had prominent Latter-day Saint sports figures like Harmon Killebrew, the baseball slugger, Vernon Law, a World Series pitching hero of about ten years ago; and Marve Bateman, the professional football player. Besides them, we had George and Lenore Romney, and Miss Teen Canada of 1974, Diana Lynn MacDonald, who is a convert to the Church and a brilliant young woman—one of the brightest teenagers I've encountered. Though she and a brother are church members, her mother is not.

I had a good visit with her mother, who said to me, "Mr. Ashton, why can't the people of Canada know you good Mormons for what you really are?" I think she was giving me a message. She seemed to feel very favorable toward the Church, but because of our image in Canada, she was reluctant. I think that's pretty typical. Even though people may feel the gospel is true, they're reluctant because of our image. We feel our image IS improving.

I'll never forget flying with the Tabernacle Choir to Munich about two years ago. We were in a chartered plane with two stewardesses from New England. As we rode through the night, from Bangor to Munich, we visited with these girls and found that one of them had never heard of the Mormons. She didn't know whether the word "Mormon" referred to a new breakfast cereal, or *WHAT* it was. The other one had heard of the Tabernacle Choir. Here were two bright stewardesses—one of them had never heard of the Mormons and the other had heard of the Choir—and that's all they knew about the Mormons.

Dialogue: What then is the Mormon image you would like to see projected?

Ashton: If we could project the image of what we are—people who believe in the divine origin of Man, his divine destiny, that the family is not only the most important unit of society, but it's an eternal unit, and that the Church's objectives are to bring people happiness through the full restored gospel of the Master and to bring not only happiness in this life but progression and joy in the unending days ahead. We want to project that we are a happy people. "Man is that he might have joy."

Dialogue: I saw the "Today" show when President Kimball appeared on it. It seemed to me his interviewers jumped on him about blacks and the racial issue and about business involvement without even working up to it.

Ashton: They did. (Incidentally, that program was arranged by our Public Communications people.) I thought they were, shall I say, rougher, on the President of the Church than they could have been or should have been, but I didn't feel too badly about the interview, because I felt that overall the results were more positive than negative so far as the Church is concerned. I think the fact that our

world leader would appear and answer difficult questions is generally positive. I think that because of the persecution we've had in the past, sometimes we are more sensitive to criticism than we need be. A news article about the Church which is fair and generally positive, which may criticize us in one or two places, is more helpful to us than something that's all sweetness and light.

Such a news article is actually more believable and those of us with experience in marketing know the importance of believability. I think—and I don't say this critically of us as members of the Church—that sometimes, because of the persecution we've experienced in the past, we may be a little more sensitive to objective criticism than we should be.

Dialogue: Do you think we are past the point where we tend to view persecution of our people as a sign of the truth in our cause? Are we in for more criticism?

Ashton: We're not going to get beyond criticism. I think the Devil is still at work. He's still working against the purposes of the Lord. I think any church that is successful, as we are, is going to have other churches look at us as a threat—a competitor—and I certainly don't think we're going to have it easy. I don't think the Lord *EVER* wanted His people to have it easy. It was that way with the children of Israel and the Mormon pioneers.

I think our greatest challenges in the Church now are some of these new developments—liberal views about homosexuality, pornography, some people teaching that the family isn't necessary. I think we have a great challenge to hold fast to our teachings and our principles and to communicate them to the world—that chastity before marriage and fidelity after marriage are not only the right ways to live, they're the smart ways to live.

Dialogue: Tell me more about your role at press conferences. Do you handle tough questions? Do you appear with the Prophet or the First Presidency?

Ashton: We have different formats. Sometimes President Kimball will give a message and he may be rushed, as he was when Senator Robert Dole was here, and excuse himself early. I remained at that conference to answer questions from the news media.

Dialogue: So sometimes you do fill the role of the press secretary?

Ashton: Yes. Generally, President Kimball himself answers questions at news conferences. He does well. We were in Minneapolis a while ago and the Episcopalian Church was holding its conference there. They had just officially given the priesthood to the women. At our news conference at the airport, President Kimball was asked what he felt about the action taken by the Episcopalians. I thought he just handled the questions masterfully. He didn't enter into the Episcopalian controversy. He said, that's their concern. But he did say there is only one source of priesthood authority and that's from the Lord, and we have it.

Dialogue: How do you feel about some of the unofficial publications about Mormons, such as *Dialogue, Exponent II* and *Sunstone?* Are they helpful or harmful to the Church's image?

Ashton: Oh, I wouldn't want to say that I endorsed them. I think some of them have published some excellent articles.

Dialogue: One more topic. We understand that there was a consulting firm hired by the Church to gauge people's desires and attitudes before the construction of the new visitors center in Washington, D.C. How does this fit in?

Ashton: We're doing this all the time. We conducted an in-depth survey of six major markets in the United States—Seattle, Los Angeles, New York, Chicago, Dallas or Houston and one other. The survey was done by a non-LDS professional survey organization in the Midwest. That survey told us a lot of things. We learned that half the citizenry of this country couldn't name even one book of the Old Testament. In other words, the adult population isn't familiar with the Bible, and yet we've been using the Bible in our approaches in visitors centers and missionary work. I don't mean that we shouldn't use the scriptures, but for that first contact we've assumed people know the Bible when they don't.

Another interesting feature of that survey was that some adults said it was of no importance to them if a Church was *THE* one true Church. We've spent a lot of our efforts in missionary work proving to people that we're the one true church, which we *ARE*, of course. But in the Washington Temple Visitors Center we tried to relate to what people are interested in. We found they are most interested in happiness and in family life. That's why there is greater stress on the family.

So we are using surveys to give us guidance in formulating presentations at visitors centers.

Dialogue: You've been doing this for some time now?

Ashton: Yes, we're using surveys not only for visitors centers, but in our whole approach with the media. For instance, in December 1976, we purchased prime time for a one hour special, "The Family . . . and Other Living Things," for the 54 top markets of the country. It was orchestrated through the Missionary Executive Committee. It involved Church members fellowshipping, and it had commercials inviting people to phone in for a free booklet describing our family home evening program and giving hints on how to communicate with children.

Dialogue: Back to the visitors centers for a minute. During a recent visit to the one in Washington, D.C., it seemed there was a definite absence of a ——

Ashton: HARD SELL! C. L. "Kenny" Stoker, the Washington director, reports that there are more referrals from that visitors center per volume than any other in the world. Brother Stoker reported that an average of 39 non-LDS visitors leave their names and addresses each day. Of these, an estimated 55 percent are favorable to being taught the gospel. Twenty a day—that's pretty good!

Dialogue: So the more subtle approach is working.

Ashton: Right. Begin with what they want, and then say, "We've got the recipe for happiness for you, a divine recipe!"

The Church as Media Proprietor

MILTON HOLLSTEIN

Small wonder that churches use the mass media as a broad-based platform for information and persuasion. The communications marvels of our century make it possible for the LDS Church to reach a wide audience indeed, even a worldwide one, and the revolution in delivery systems is still in its infancy.

It is sometimes suggested that the pulpit has actually been replaced by the media, and this observation has some merit, although the media are by no means all-powerful. They have become indispensable in "setting the agenda" —deciding what topics society will discuss (with the pulpit often taking its cue from media reports). Information on television and radio and in the papers make it possible for people to find a way of sharing values and moving toward goals. The media give people information they need just to cope with daily life.

The Church benefits not only as a user but also as an *owner* of community newspapers and broadcasting outlets. Through them it can express a viewpoint in a calm and continuing way without directly committing its leaders. Through them it gains direct access to the community without having to become either supplicant or purchaser.

On the other hand, there are drawbacks to being part of the communications industry. The first is that all media are under assault. Their motives, methods and consequences are being examined, often under fire, and a burgeoning literature about journalism is often uncharitable and hypercritical. Television is accused of pandering to the basest tastes, of corrupting morals and focusing on the antisocial—especially the violent—as well as the irrelevant and transi-

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tory. Some critics see television's banal situation comedies and action adventure programs as dangerously proselyting an ethic all their own. Similarly, critics believe the press can deliver more thorough and believable news that show the positive dynamism of human affairs.

Some virulent criticisms are overstated, yet no church should ignore them even if it is not a media entrepreneur. Some critics shout that media values are essentially un-Christian. If they are correct, the church message itself can be adversely perceived: As Jefferson observed in one of his darker moments, the truth itself becomes suspect by being put in a polluted vehicle. A message has to come from a credible source if it is to be believed and acted upon.

The second risk for the proprietor is that readers, listeners and special interest groups demand the medium be an outlet for their views, however self-serving, however much at variance with those of the church. Unless they are responsive to these pressures, church media, such as KSL and the *Deseret News*, face the charge of being mere propaganda vehicles—an especially sensitive point in the broadcasting industry, which is obliged by law to provide broad-based opportunities for community discussion and rebuttal. Such criticism is especially cutting when the proprietor also operates a conglomerate, as the LDS Church does through its ownership of a daily newspaper, AM-FM and TV broadcasting stations and interlocking arrangements with other media in Utah. Because the airwaves presumably belong to everyone, failure to program in the broad public interest invites loss of a licensee's permit. The argument is also being advanced that the same requirements be imposed on the print media, although a "right of reply" for candidates for public office has been rejected by the Supreme Court.

Not many churches take such risks. The LDS Church is almost unique in operating a community-oriented media conglomerate in addition to its public relations arm, film-tape distribution system, book publishing and filmmaking enterprises.

The Ministering Media

Within the LDS Church are controlled publications ranging from mimeographed newspapers to the *Church News* and the church magazines. Church newspapers and magazines do not attempt to portray the whole human comedy or offer something for everyone. Usually they do not tackle hard and controversial issues, and they take a cautious and even reverential stance toward church leaders. They are primarily psychological community centers that emphasize success stories and reinforce the church message. Any church press can enlarge on such a function only when authority and membership are receptive to criticism and change. Thus some of the major denominational magazines, such as *Presbyterian Life*, *The Lutheran* and *The Episcopalian* get high marks not only for technical excellence but also for willingness to discuss hard, secular and religious issues.

Church radio and TV programs are usually bland as well. They can be faulted for lack of a consistent point of view. It can be argued that despite thousands of hours allocated to church programs as a public service obligation, what is broadcast in the name of religion is often neither good religion nor good broadcasting.

Because church ownership of daily newspapers has never been significant in the United States, the *Deseret News* is really an anomaly, born in a theocracy and continued as a sort of universal joint between the church, its members and an increasingly secularized world. *The Christian Science Monitor,* to be sure, endures, but it is more a newsmagazine than a general newspaper, and is pitched above the daily rancor reflected elsewhere in the press.

Perhaps the closest parallel to the *Deseret News* is *L'Osservatore Romano* of Rome. Nearly as old as the *Deseret News*—it was founded in 1861—it too began almost as an accident of history when the Pope was temporal king of the Papal States of Central Italy. It too answered critics of the hierarchy and became the unofficial voice of its church, operating through the leadership's lay intermediaries. Its policies reflect the Church's but it does not speak directly for the Pope. Throughout Western Europe, which has a long tradition of church-political parties and a supporting press, newspapers are freeing themselves of direct party and church ties and are seeking wider audiences.

There is such an incredible harvest of richness and diverse reading in the better newspapers—and I would include the *Deseret News*—that one is tempted to avoid the discussion of whether or not the press does in fact fall short of its most essential function—that of giving an accurate, unbiased and reasonably comprehensive view of the world. It is fairly easy to get an audience by focusing on concrete, overt events and engaging personalities—even events contrived to call attention to themselves. It is much more difficult to illuminate processes that explain the forces that gave rise to the event.

News selection is further complicated by the huge increase in the range of problems that should concern everyone in an interdependent society. These put a tremendous strain on organs of information. Really important processes take a long time to gain public identity and focus. It is not until these processes affect great numbers of people that the media, as a rule, report them comprehensively. Hence the blind spots in reporting on great movements like black liberation and the woman's movement. The comfortable habits of reporting passing events are not at all adequate to reporting, much less giving background and predicting such news in our dangerous and complex world.

The special pleader has therefore learned to manipulate the media because he or she understands the limitations and the needs of the media's approach to news. The demonstrator, the impresario of the pseudo event, the noisy dissident all can call attention to their causes. The media today face a special obligation to avoid being used and to avoid creating events by the mere act of reporting them.

Can newspapers and broadcasting outlets break out of traditional molds of gathering and presenting information? Yes, but not quickly or easily. They are tied to similar sources of news, similar ways of gathering and presenting information, similar syndicated and network arrangements. The *Deseret News* can effect only modest improvisations upon what it receives from news and syndicated sources and in how it covers the news—advertising acceptability standards being a bit more stringent than in most papers. There is very little difference in coverage between *The Salt Lake Tribune* and the *News.* The *Tribune* covers the Church almost as completely and only a little less deferentially. The differences are chiefly in emphasis and technique. The similarities were especially pronounced in the way both papers covered the Allan Howe incident,

even though it presented highly discretionary legal and ethical dilemmas for the press.

If we are disheartened by the way the media cover political campaigns and some other aspects of government, we can be reassured by the way the adversary relationship between government and the press has worked to preserve freedom. We can also point to the increasing willingness of people to recognize that the press not merely reflect life but superimposes a value scheme on what it chooses to report. Press meetings and journals still emphasize problems of freedom, as they should, but they also deal with media responsibilities and possibilities. Taken as a whole, and discounting the too-raffish, lunatic and sensation-seeking fringe, newspapers are much less frivolous than they were a generation ago and incomparably more reliable and interpretive than 50 years ago; and TV, despite some lamentable lapses and a propensity to over-report, sometimes betters the print media.

In this imperfect world, operating a community mass medium has to be viewed as something of an expression of faith in the ultimate prevalence of truth, a doctrinal point in the LDS Church and one of the cherished assumptions of the democratic process: John Milton's ideal of the truth ultimately emerging from the welter of competing tongues and persuasions, the pollsters view that over the long haul people act rationally in their own best interests and society's if they can get the right information. Watergate tested these assumptions and validated them.

In a 1968 document, the World Council of Churches recognized that as instruments handled by human beings, the media often will be less than totally adequate. It urged that churches lay aside suspicions and invest time and money to help raise the standards of the media and to involve themselves with news organizations. These are outlooks consistent with the long-time willingness of the LDS Church to face the risks the media present.

The Church as Broadcaster

FRED C. ESPLIN

A communications system is totally neutral. It has no conscience, no principle, nor morality. It has only a history. It will broadcast filth or inspiration with equal facility. It will speak the truth as loudly as it will falsehood. It is actually no more or less than the men or women who use it.

Edward R. Murrow

The Mormon Church is a formidable broadcast institution. Through subsidiary corporations and institutions it owns sixteen radio and television stations, a sophisticated international broadcast distribution system, a Washington news bureau, a cable TV system and production and consulting divisions. These broadcast holdings are controlled in three ways: 1) through Bonneville International Corporation with its 13 commercial radio and television stations; 2) through Brigham Young University and Ricks College with two noncommercial/educational radio stations and one television station, and 3) through the Public Communications Department and Bonneville's production division with a worldwide program production, duplication and distribution system whose primary purpose is distributing General Conference and other LDS programs and building the Church's public image.

According to Bonneville Vice President Robert W. Barker, the Church owns broadcast stations "to serve the public interest of the communities to which the stations are licensed and to exert a positive influence in the broadcasting community."[1] Bonneville counsel and former chairman of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) Rosel H. Hyde sees this as "consistent with the long established policy of the Church to foster education, the development of the arts and of course to provide spiritual inspiration."[2]

The Church's ownership of radio and television stations is not without its paradoxes. Because the stations are licensed through the FCC, they have prescribed obligations. The desire of any Church leaders to use these stations to spread the gospel is limited therefore to indirectly portraying a positive image of the Church. Because the Bonneville stations cannot be used to prosylyte, the Church has made a substantial effort to enlist non-Church stations through the use of public service announcements and other means.

Another sensitive issue for the Bonneville stations is the question of sex and violence on television. While condemning the effects of such programs, the Church is in the awkward position of owning stations with obligations to both a national network and a public whose tastes may differ from those of the Church.

The parent corporation, Bonneville International, is owned by Deseret Management Corporation which also owns several other LDS commercial enterprises.[3] The Bonneville Board of Directors includes Church authorities,

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Fred C. Esplin is Director of Information at the Public Television Network in Hershey, Pennsylvania. He wishes to thank Sharon Esplin Swenson for her help in researching this article.

broadcast professionals and assorted business and community leaders.[4] Bonneville's holdings include broadcast stations and broadcast support divisions.

While the Church presently owns three television stations, four AM radio stations, and nine FM stations, it is not the licensee of any of them. The boards of directors of the respective stations, not the Church, have the legal responsibility to operate the stations in the public interest. Bonneville holds the licenses of KBRT-AM and KBIG-FM, both of Avalon (near Los Angeles),[5] WCLR- and KSEA-FM, Skokie (near Chicago),[6] as well as KMBZ-AM and KMBR-FM, both in Kansas City, Missouri. Through its subsidiary, Radio New York, Worldwide, Incorporated, Bonneville holds the license for WRFM-FM, New York City. Bonneville also owns KIRO, Incorporated which is the licensee for KIRO-TV-AM-FM, Seattle. Perhaps the best known of the Church's broadcast holdings is KSL, Incorporated, which is the licensee for KSL-TV-AM-FM, Salt Lake City and the first of the Church's broadcast stations. The most recent acquisition is KOIT-FM, San Francisco which is owned by Bonneville through its subsidiary, Bay Area Broadcasting Company. KOIT-FM was purchased in June 1967.[7]

All the Bonneville stations are commercial operations, are recognized for their "state-of-the-art" engineering, and all FM stations broadcast in stereo. KSL-TV-AM, KIRO-TV-AM, and KMBZ-AM are affiliates of the CBS network. Other Bonneville stations have no network affiliation.

Bonneville's own business interests agree substantially with those of the Church and the FCC. Bonneville's stated corporate goals, by priority, are "outstanding community service, planned personnel development, quality programming and profitability."[8] By providing community service and quality programming, they meet the "public interest, convenience, and necessity," and generate revenue through profitable advertising sales.

In addition to Bonneville's holdings, the Church owns three noncommercial educational stations. KBYU-TV and KBYU-FM are operated by Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. KBYU-TV is a member of the Public Broadcasting Service, and KBYU-FM is affiliated with National Public Radio. Ricks College is licensee for KRIC-FM, a student operated station serving Rexburg, Idaho.

All Church-owned stations are subject to regulation by the FCC whose function is to insure that they serve the "public interest, convenience, and necessity" as required in the Communications Act of 1934. Every three years each station must apply for renewal of its license and provide evidence of its operating in the interest of the area it serves. Stations are to provide public affairs, news and other services of interest and value to the community. The FCC's "fairness doctrine" requires licensees to provide programming on significant issues of public importance, a balanced presentation of all viewpoints on these controversial issues, reasonable access to broadcast time to political candidates, information on ballot initiatives and referenda and equal opportunity to opposing candidates for access to program and spot announcement time. Stations are subject to libel and slander law and are required to give anyone who is personally attacked an opportunity to reply. Stations can editorialize or endorse candidates, but must provide response program time.

Since the noncommercial/educational stations do not operate for profit, they measure their success by different standards, those of educational and student training benefits.

Broadcast Stations Licensed to Church Corporations and Institutions

Location	FM Radio	AM Radio	Tele-vision	Licensee
New York, N.Y.	WRFM			Radio New York, Worldwide, Inc.
Avalon, Ca.	KBIG	KBRT		Bonneville Int'l Corp.
Skokie, Ill.	WCLR			Bonneville Int'l Corp.
Seattle, Wash.	KSEA	KIRO	KIRO	KIRO, Inc.
Kansas City, Mo.	KMBR	KMBZ		Bonneville Int'l Corp.
Salt Lake City, Utah	KSL	KSL	KSL	KSL, Inc.
San Francisco, Calif.	KOIT			Bay Area Broadcasting Co.
Provo, Ut.	KBYU		KBYU	Brigham Young University
Rexburg, Id.	KRIC			Ricks College

Assembled from *Broadcasting Yearbook*, 1976 Edition

In addition to its radio and television stations, Bonneville owns production, marketing, distribution and creative services. Divisions within the corporation thus serve the Bonneville stations and contract with the Church and other broadcast and commercial entities, all of which pay for their services.

Bonneville Productions—This Salt Lake City based division of Bonneville operates the Church's worldwide marketing and distribution system and is the contracting entity for the Church's more recent ventures into creative use of prime-time public service and general interest programming.

Under contract with the Church, Bonneville Productions handles all recording, duplication, marketing and distribution of general conference, *The Spoken Word*, and other Church productions. They provide similar services for their sister division, Bonneville Broadcast Consultants. They also provide promotion, engineering and related special services. According to Bonneville Productions' General Manager Richard D. Alsop, the creative services and marketing/distribution departments of the division work "essentially 100 percent on Church projects" while the recording and duplication departments spend "30 to 50 percent" of their time on Church projects. (Bonneville President Arch L. Madsen, however, places the Church share at closer to 30 percent overall).[9]

Bonneville Productions has its own audio production studios but subcontracts all film and video production. Perhaps the best examples of its creative capacity are its *Homefront* radio and television public service announcements and family TV specials.

Bonneville Broadcast Consultants—This Bonneville division is based in Tenafly, New Jersey. Its president, Marlin Taylor, was drafted for the job as a result of his success in programming Bonneville's WRFM in New York. Taylor's "beautiful music" format, which blends music, news, community affairs and personable announcers, moved WRFM to the top of the New York FM market. Bonneville Broadcast Consultants grew out of an effort to transfer WRFM's success to Bonneville's other stations.[10]

Bonneville Broadcast Consultants now provides services to over eighty radio stations. Its services are essentially to provide prerecorded music for automated broadcast systems together with consultation on program format, promotion and engineering. Its clientele is growing rapidly, evidence of both its expertise and a mushrooming demand for such services within the radio business.[11]

North Utah CATV—Bonneville owns 50 percent interest in North Utah CATV, which operates a cable TV service in Logan, Utah. As with other cable systems,

North Utah CATV imports distant television signals and for a monthly fee provides a direct hookup to subscribers' home sets.[12]

Financial Information—Bonneville is a closed corporation and does not publish any financial statements. Information on Bonneville's assets is, however, available from the balance sheets on each station which are part of the public record at each station and at the Federal Communications Commission. These sources show Bonneville's assets to be in excess of $50 million. This is only their book value, however, and Bonneville executives emphasize that the true market value of the stations is far greater. There is no accurate information available to the public on Bonneville's earnings.[13] KBYU-TV-FM and KRIC-FM do not operate for profit, but their assets are estimated by station management to be approximately $3 million.[14]

> *For the multitude being so great that King Benjamin could not teach them all within the walls of the temple, therefore he caused a tower to be erected that thereby his people might hear the words which he should speak unto them.*
>
> *Mosiah* 2:7

The Church's broadcast holdings have mushroomed from a modest beginning in 1922 with a tin shack perched atop the *Deseret News* building, to a multimillion dollar operation using audio and video tape, microwave and satellite for distribution of Church-related information worldwide for broadcast on over 2,700 radio and television stations.

The Church's first broadcast interests grew from its press holdings. The Deseret News Publishing Company established the *Deseret News* on June 15, 1850. As the voice of the Church, it was a natural place for the development of broadcasting. Melvin R. Ballard, circulation manager of the *Deseret News*, also happened to be Boy Scout Commissioner of the Ensign Stake. In 1920 he received permission from the *Deseret News* to sell newsprint roll ends, using the proceeds to build a wireless station on top of the *Deseret News* building. With it Ballard taught the Boy Scouts the Morse Code and distributed news bulletins.

This experience convinced Ballard that radio had a future. He in turn convinced Deseret of the value of setting up a voice transmitter to send news to Boy Scouts with receiver sets in churches throughout the Ensign Stake. Deseret invested $1,000 in the project which allowed Ballard and his scouts to build a tin-and-wood shelter for the transmitter on the roof of their building. *Deseret News* staff members designed, located, purchased and assembled the components of the transmitter,[15] and on May 6, 1922, Ballard's station began transmission with the call letters KZN.

Deseret supported the station for two years until news management unsympathetic to broadcasting implemented policies requiring Deseret to divest itself of KZN. In 1924, Deseret sold KZN to John Cope, who had been radio engineer, and his father, F. W. Cope. They formed Radio Service Corporation of Utah and changed the call letters of the station to KFPT.

Recognizing the commercial potential of the medium, the Copes hired Earl J. Glade, an advertising executive and part-time professor of business administration at the University of Utah, as sales manager and advertising counsel to the station. Glade, later mayor of Salt Lake City, immediately saw the need to put the new corporation on sound financial footing. After five months of fruitless search, he persuaded the Church to help the fledgling station and arranged the transfer of 51 percent ownership in the corporation to the Church in ex-

change for studio space and the necessary capital to construct a 1,000-watt transmitter. This infusion of capital allowed the station to move actively into programming.

In 1925, when the Church assumed majority ownership of the station, it placed General Authorities at its head, changed the call letters to KSL and hired Glade to manage the station. From this point forward, Glade provided the direction for KSL and pioneered most of its early broadcasting.

In 1929 KSL became an affiliate of the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) which began carrying broadcasts of the Tabernacle Choir. The Choir broadcasts with Richard L. Evans, were carried on NBC from 1929 to 1933 when KSL became affiliated with the CBS Network. CBS was still carrying the Choir broadcasts in 1936 when the program took its present format as *Music and the Spoken Word.* Now with Spencer Kinard, it has the distinction of being the oldest continuously broadcast network program in America. It is significant too because it cast the mold for subsequent efforts at creating a favorable image for the Church. Church programs have largely been low key, with less emphasis on doctrine than on good taste and common appeal. It has never been the Church's style to attack other faiths or to use the hard sell common to many religious broadcasts. In fact, *Music and the Spoken Word* is not even classified as a religious program under FCC rulings.

Even in the beginning when KSL was operating in the red, the Church chose to continually upgrade its facilities thereby providing maximum coverage of its broadcast signal. By 1933 KSL-AM was in its present form, a Class I-A clear channel station operating at the maximum allowable power, 50,000 watts.

After being delayed by World War II, KSL-FM went on the air in December, 1946. FM radio was in a largely experimental stage and KSL was the first to attempt it in Salt Lake City. Bonneville describes KSL-FM's profitability until 1971 as "disappointing," noting that in spite of low returns, KSL has invested in FM stereo and quadraphonic broadcast equipment and established 39 FM translators in Utah.[16]

Excited by the possibilities of television, KSL applied for and received a permit to construct and operate KSL-TV, which began broadcasting on June 1, 1949. Since then, KSL, Incorporated, with its three stations has served as the flagship of Bonneville's broadcast holdings. The Church had to provide support for the stations as they developed, but they soon were able to support themselves and to allow for expansion.

Within a few years, the Church also invested in other broadcast stations. Among the first of these were KIRO-TV-AM and KSEA-FM in Seattle which it acquired in March, 1964.[17] KIRO-TV and KSL-TV are the only two television stations owned by Bonneville at the present time.

Between 1950 and 1976, the Church purchased two additional AM stations, an international short wave station with five transmitters, five additional FM stations, and invested in two other FM stations owned by other groups.[18] By 1974, Bonneville (which was not created until 1964) had sold the short wave stations and its minority interest in the two Idaho stations, leaving Bonneville's holding in 1976 at seven FM stations, four AM stations, and two TV stations.[19]

During the same time, the Church also developed its noncommercial broadcast interests. KBYU-FM went on the air in 1960 and KBYU-TV on November 15, 1965. KBYU's stated goals are to operate FM-TV within FCC license require-

ments, maintain licenses for the University, offer radio and television programming consistent with LDS standards, maintain academic laboratories and provide student training in broadcasting. Programs produced by KBYU are occasionally broadcast nationally over the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS). BYU's film and video production facilities are recognized as "one of the finest independent motion picture, sound and TV facilities in the country."[20] KRIC-FM went on the air in 1972 and has since served primarily as a teaching tool for students at Ricks.

It was during this period of growth that the Church felt the need to shift ownership of its commercial broadcast interests to a separate corporation. To accomplish this, it created Bonneville International Corporation in 1964.[21] Arch L. Madsen, who had worked with Earl J. Glade during the early KSL days and had since worked in commercial broadcasting on the East Coast, was then head of KSL. He was selected to be the chief executive of the new corporation and it has been under Madsen's direction that the Church's broadcast interests have become truly international.

> *God in His wisdom has given us television and radio to assist Him in His great purposes. May we be blessed and ever diligent in the use of all communications media to hasten the day of His kingdom.*
>
> *Arch L. Madsen*

Radio and television have always captured the imagination of the Church authorities because of their potential to reach a mass, worldwide audience.

At the close of World War II, President George Albert Smith talked to LDS servicemen in the Pacific during a special short wave broadcast. The experience impressed him deeply, and he spoke of it during the October 1946 general conference of the Church:

> I have traveled more than a million miles in the world to divide the gospel of Jesus Christ with my fellow men, but that was the first time I ever delivered a religious address to a congregation seven thousand miles away. Short-wave broadcasting will continue to improve, and it will not be long until, from this pulpit and other places that will be provided, the servants of the Lord will be able to deliver messages to isolated groups who are so far away they cannot be reached. In that way and other ways, the gospel of Jesus Christ our Lord, the only power of God unto salvation in preparation for the celestial kingdom, will be heard in all parts of the world, and many of you who are here will live to see that day.[22]

President Smith was not among those to live to see that day. One who did and who helped make it possible, was Bonneville President Arch L. Madsen. Twenty years later, from the same pulpit, Madsen reminded the priesthood session of conference that the Prophet Joseph had declared: "The truth of God will go forth boldly, till it has penetrated every continent, and sounded in every ear, till the purposes of God shall be accomplished." He then told the audience:

> King Benjamin, in his efforts to communicate the gospel more effectively, caused a tower to be built that he might speak to the great multitudes.
>
> What mighty towers has our Heavenly Father permitted us to have in this dispensation through the use of radio and television. Surely they are powerful instruments beyond imagination, to help the gospel message 'sound in every ear' on this planet.

> Under the direction of our Prophet, the use of radio and television is expanding. The Church now owns totally, or has ownership in 20 broadcasting facilities.[23]

Madsen pointed out what he called the "awesome challenge" of communicating to "earth's rapidly multiplying billions." Illiteracy proliferates in underdeveloped nations more quickly than educational institutions can cope with it, he stated, adding: "The only way we can reach millions of people will be through the spoken voice." He then presented his case for using radio to reach millions throughout the world. His vision of the use of broadcasting to help spread the gospel is summarized in an earlier statement:

> Now that the instruments of communication are enabling the world to become One Great Neighborhood, our challenge is to effectively communicate our God-given knowledge and help transform the world into One Great Brotherhood.[24]

From 1961 through 1974, one of the main instruments for meeting that challenge was WNYW, Bonneville's international shortwave station. WNYW were the call letters for five transmitters near Boston, broadcasting programs originating in New York.[25]

International shortwave is used primarily by organizations such as the United States Information Agency, the Voice of America, Radio Liberty and others in the business of communicating across international boundaries to deliver messages not necessarily welcomed by the governments of host nations.[26]

While its transmitters broadcast with a much higher power than conventional commercial radio (in order to carry the signal further), WNYW's broadcasts were unreceivable in the United States. WNYW's five transmitters broadcast daily in English, Spanish, Portuguese, French and German. In describing the purpose of WNYW, Arch Madsen explained:

> Although 95% of the WNYW programming is not Church material, we have about 15 programs weekly in English and another 15 in Spanish presenting Church news, doctrine, and culture. We also broadcast the Tabernacle Choir and sessions of general conference over these facilities.[27]

In his 1966 conference address, Madsen detailed another dimension of the WNYW broadcast purpose:

> Most of these 3,000 shortwave stations are government owned and operated, and are used in an ideological war of freedom vs. collectivism which most Americans should have the privilege of hearing. It is raging through the air with venom enough to turn the color of the air. In this project (operating WNYW), we have entered a great arena . . . It is an opportunity presented to us to help explain to the world . . . the divine principles of the Constitution of the United States attacked overseas viciously (and) misunderstood by too many of us at home.[28]

Because of the important function Bonneville's chief executive saw for WNYW, it may seem curious that the station was sold in 1974. But Vice President and General Counsel Robert W. Barker explains that new technology has made shortwave obsolete: "For our purposes we could do it more effectively with satellites, telephone cable and distribution of video tape.[29]

Bonneville is very effective in international distribution of its programs. Church conference is distributed to over 200 television and 125 radio stations in

the United States, Canada, and Australia, and to a number of LDS chapels in Europe where it is translated into French, German, and Dutch. *Music and the Spoken Word* is broadcast by over 50 television and 525 radio stations in the United States and Canada and by the Voice of America and the Armed Forces Radio and Television Service.

In addition to these broadcasts, Bonneville produces and distributes internationally assorted other public affairs, cultural, health and sports programs.[30]

> *Most children spend more time in front of the TV set than in front of a teacher during a year's time. In just the preschool years alone, some U.S. studies show that the average child spends more time watching TV than he spends in the classroom during four years of college.*
>
> *Victor B. Cline*

The Church has for some time expressed concern over the effects of broadcasting on children and on the family. One of the most innovative and successful uses of broadcasting by the Church in this area is its *Homefront* project created by Bonneville for the Church's Public Communications Department.

Homefront is a series of 30 and 60 second radio and television "spot" announcements aimed at raising the level of consciousness about the importance of the home and family. The spots portray a variety of family situations and through drama and narration leave messages such as, "Give your children everything . . . give them your time." The spots end with the phrase, "A thought from The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints . . . the Mormons."

The spots don't proselyte, but in the words of *Homefront* executive producer Gordon Johnson: "The spots identify the name of the Church in a favorable way. When nonmembers are contacted by missionaries, they already have a favorable impression of the Church." Church Public Communications Director Wendell J. Ashton adds: "We think these announcements, identified as they are with the Church, are an effective missionary tool."

Homefront is the Church's most successful effort at penetrating the normally impenetrable "prime time" on radio and television. *Homefront* spots, now in their sixth series, are broadcast by over 2,220 radio and 450 television stations throughout the world. They are produced in English, Spanish, Portuguese and Australian versions.[31] *Homefront* has won numerous awards, including the Hollywood Radio and Television Society award as one of the best in the international broadcast field; two Gabriel Awards from the International Catholic Communications Association; and awards from the Utah and the American Advertising Federations.

Because *Homefronts* spots are often used in the evening or weekday broadcast schedules rather than the less favorable Sunday morning time often reserved for religious broadcasts, it is probable more people have seen or heard *Homefront* sports than anything else the Church has distributed.[32]

The Church has also been successful at producing prime-time special programs created by Bonneville under the direction of the Public Communications Department with Heber G. Wolsey of the electronic media section.[33] The first of these was a 30 minute drama broadcast in December, 1974. Titled *A Christmas Child*, the drama was broadcast on 200 television stations either as a public

service or with commercial announcements approved by the Church. The production starred Barbara Stanger and Kristopher Marquis, both Hollywood professionals, and it told the story of an airline stewardess who, finding herself alone in Salt Lake City on Christmas Eve, leaves her hotel room for a walk through Salt Lake's snowy streets. There she finds a lost six-year-old boy and together they search for his parents. Their search takes them through Temple Square where the Tabernacle Choir is giving an outdoor Christmas performance. Her conversation with the boy brings a flood of childhood Christmas memories which at first upset, then relieve her.

Dr. Wolsey saw a major advantage to the Church in permitting commercials: "By getting approved sponsors we were able to get into the major markets on prime-time rather than the Sunday morning ghetto."[34] Encouraged by this venture, the Church chose to commit more money to a bigger project.

Under contract with the Church's Public Communications Department, Bonneville arranged for the production and distribution of a one-hour family special for broadcast during National Family Week in November, 1976. The program, *The Family . . . and other living things*, starred Bill Bixby, Gary Burghoff, Ruth Buzzi, the Lennon Sisters and the Osmonds. The dramatic-variety format was built around "the odyssey of a separated mother, a 'weekend father,' and their son, who see a world of more successful marriages and more fulfilling family relationships than their own," according to Dr. Wolsey who supervised the production of the film. "Along the way they observe, they learn and they enjoy, and they finally change.[35] The program was produced at KTLA-TV in Hollywood by a professional television crew.[36] Aimed at young adults, it was intended as a "door opener" that will allow Church members to introduce to their nonmember friends some of the basic principles of the Church regarding the family.[37]

This program was unique in Church broadcasting. The Church not only paid for the production of the program,[38] but bought prime-time slots in the top 54 markets of the country. In addition to Church-approved commercials during the show, there were short announcements on family unity which offered a copy of an abbreviated Family Home Evening manual to viewers who called a toll-free number.

Bonneville Productions General Manager Richard D. Alsop said that the objective of the program was to counteract some of the negative family images on television and "to put the family in a positive light, to make it an enviable institution."[39]

The Church's Public Communications Department saw the program as an experimental effort in using the media for a "major proselyting effort" which included the direct support of members of the Church.[40]

Production of *The Family . . .* reflects the emphasis the President of the Church places on TV's impact on the home. In the October 1975 general conference, President Spencer W. Kimball spoke out on an issue which, while quite controversial within the broadcast industry, is little known outside it—that of the "family viewing time" policy of the National Association of Broadcasters:[41]

> We are encouraged by the expressed desire of executives of television networks to reserve at least a portion of the early evening hours for entertainment when parents may watch with their children without embarrassment.[42]

The Family . . . and other living things and Bonneville's support of family viewing time are natural outgrowths of President Kimball's affirmation of the policy. Bonneville is known within the broadcast industry for its stand on the concept. In June, 1976, for example, Bonneville placed full-page ads in the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post* and the *Los Angeles Times* stating its support of family viewing time. Bonneville's stand on this issue and the activity of Bonneville and the Church's Public Communications Department are among the most dramatic illustrations of how a church's attitude can affect broadcast policy.

> *Many people in the community don't share the same standards we do, and we must serve them too. We must not make everything conform strictly to our tastes.*
> *Robert W. Barker*

The FCC issues licenses to stations and stations are under obligation to provide services to the public and to be responsive to the interests of the communities they serve. If an individual or group is unhappy with a station's service, they can oppose renewal of the license. The Bonneville stations have been subject to either petitions to deny their licenses. Three recent petitions, one against KSL, another against KIRO and a third against WRFM, illustrate some dilemmas the Church faces as a broadcast proprietor.

On June 1, 1974, KSL Incorporated filed renewal applications for KSL-TV-AM-FM. On September 3, 1974, the U.S. Department of Justice filed with the FCC a petition to deny KSL's renewal request on the ground "that a grant of the renewal applications would be inconsistent with the public interest since the renewals would perpetuate the high degree of concentration in the dissemination of local news and advertising that now exists in Salt Lake City."[43] During the same time, the Justice Department also filed petitions to deny the licenses of nine other non-Church-related stations on similar grounds. The KSL petition was part of a larger effort by the Justice Department to test the legality of broadcast/newspaper crossownership.

The Justice Department's petition sought to break up what it feels is a virtual media monopoly in Salt Lake City. The Justice Department objected because KSL, Inc. is under common ownership with the Deseret News Publishing Company which publishes the *Deseret News*, one of the two Salt Lake City daily newspapers. Deseret News Publishing Company also owns 50 percent of Newspaper Agency Corporation (NAC) which runs the business functions of both Salt Lake City newspapers including all advertising sales. These holdings, together with KSL-TV-AM-FM and KSL's cable TV holdings, the Justice Department contended, result in "so high a degree of media concentration as is so injurious to competition as to be inconsistent with the public interest."[44] Using data from a January 8, 1974 Dun & Bradstreet *Business Information Report* for KSL, Inc., and January 15, 1974 Dun & Bradstreet *Business Information Report* for Newspaper Agency Corporation, and other public financial data, the Justice Department estimated "that the KSL-NAC media agglomerate obtains 81 percent of the local advertising business in the Salt Lake City urban area."[45]

In opposing the Justice Department's petition, KSL, Inc., through their Washington law firm[46] defended KSL on all substantive points in the petition and called the petition "procedurally deficient":

> It raises issues which more properly belong in another forum and is legally and factually insufficient to justify denial or designation for hearing of the KSL applications.[47]

KSL's opposition to the Justice Department's petition stated that "one of the fundamental flaws" of the petition was "its failure to fully comprehend the nature of the broadcast industry, the service area of the KSL stations, the circulation patterns of the *Deseret News,* the interrelationship of KSL, Deseret News Publishing Company, Bonneville International Corporation, Deseret Management Corporation, Newspaper Agency Corporation, Kearns-Tribune Corporation and the citizens residing in the area and the historical development and present status of mass media competition in the Salt Lake City area."[48]

The KSL rebuttal objected to the Justice Department's charge of media concentration and cited examples of print, broadcast and advertising competition in Salt Lake City and the surrounding area served by KSL.

Joining KSL in opposition to the petition to deny was the Kearns-Tribune Corporation, owner of the *Salt Lake Tribune.* Through their attorneys, Kearns-Tribune argued that media and advertising competition does exist in Salt Lake City, that the 81% of local advertising stated by the Justice Department was "not even remotely accurate," and that the Justice Department misunderstood the function of the Newspaper Agency Corporation. The Kearns-Tribune opposition challenged the accuracy of the Justice Department's financial estimates, stating they were "vastly inflated," but did not reveal detailed financial data which would clearly show Kearns-Tribune's Deseret News Publishing Company's or KSL's actual revenues and the share of the Salt Lake City market advertising revenues they represent.[49]

Also writing in opposition to the petition to deny was Utah Attorney General Vernon B. Romney, whose correspondence included affidavits from a number of prominent Utahns.[50] While Romney acknowledged it had "seldom been the practice of the Attorney General to appear on behalf of the State [of Utah] in matters between a private citizen and a federal agency, there are some matters which, because the interest of the State is so substantial, compel action by the Attorney General." The KSL case, Romney added, was just such a matter.

On October 22, 1976, the FCC ruled in favor of KSL. The FCC stated that the Department of Justice had shown no evidence of improper acquisition of market power or abuse of market power. The FCC pointed out that the number of broadcast outlets in the Salt Lake City area had increased dramatically since the KSL stations came to their present form. The decision, however, did not address the question of whether or not the KSL stations actually do possess excess market power in the Salt Lake City market. Rulings in similar cases by FCC about the same time also allowed the renewal of other non-church-related licenses caught up in the Justice Department's challenge to cross ownership.

The FCC's decision was not, however, the end of the story. On March 1, 1977, a three-judge panel of the U.S. Court of Appeals ruled that a company cannot own a newspaper and a broadcast station in the same city unless such a joint ownership is "clearly . . . in the public interest." Chief Judge David Bazelon wrote that "nothing can be more important than insuring that there is a free flow of information from as many divergent sources as possible."[51] This decision directly affects the joint ownership of KSL and the *Deseret News* as well

as 78 other joint newspaper/broadcast ownerships across the country. The decision is expected to be appealed before the Supreme Court and if upheld would require years to actually affect divestiture. Unless the ruling is overturned, the Church may have to decide within a few years whether to divest itself of KSL or the *Deseret News*.

In another case, the FCC received on January 2, 1975, a petition to deny KIRO's license from an organization calling itself *Citizens Institute*.[52] The petition cites twelve reasons the petitioners felt KIRO was unqualified to continue to operate the station. Among these the petition alleged that KIRO "repeatedly utilized its broadcast license, facilities, and programming for the purpose of purveying favorable propaganda about, and/or proselytizing for, the Mormon religion and the Mormon Church, KIRO-TV's ultimate corporate owner, in direct violation of both the Establishment and Free-Exercise clauses of the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States." They also charged KIRO with "distortion, omission, and bias in its ostensibly objective news coverage" and with substituting the "religious and social biases of its ultimate corporate owner, the Mormon Church, for local standards of taste and appropriateness." The petition further claimed that KIRO failed to provide quality programming for its juvenile audience, that it engaged in deceptive advertising and that it broadcast children's programs which were "excessively violent and which include harmful racist and sexist stereotyping."

The petitioners objected to KIRO's failure to broadcast a two-part repeat of *Maude* dealing with abortion, and for refusing to carry a network feed of *The Graduate*. These were, according to the petition, examples of KIRO's imposing the standards of its owner on its viewers.

By July, 1975, KIRO had responded to the petition, rebutting the charges and urging "prompt consideration of the KIRO matter." By early 1976, the FCC rejected the petition, stating they found no basis in fact for the allegations of censorship of news programs or KIRO using the station for Mormon propaganda. The FCC added that Mormons were part of KIRO's service area and as such could be served as long as other groups were not precluded.[53]

A third petition to deny was directed against WRFM, New York, in 1974. In June of that year WRFM applied for renewal of its license. Within a few months a group of black petitioners requested that Radio New York Worldwide, Incorporated be denied the license to operate WRFM. The group charged that the "racist" policies of the Church automatically resulted in racial discrimination at WRFM. In early 1976, the FCC ruled on the case. The Commission said that the actual practices of WRFM showed no outright discrimination. However, as it was with other stations, the FCC imposed employment recruitment reporting requirements on WRFM because of the low percentage of blacks employed by the station.

Significantly, the Commission's decision reflected their position that WRFM was to be measured against the standard of its own performance and not against that of its ultimate corporate owner. It would appear, therefore, that the FCC does not consider the Bonneville stations responsible for the practices or policies of the LDS Church.

Television has brought back murder into the home, where it belongs.
Alfred Hitchcock

We won't stoop to any levels to reach the greatest possible market.
Joseph A. Kjar, Exec. Vice President
Bonneville International Corporation

While the KIRO matter was resolved in favor of the station, the issues brought forward raise some interesting questions. The question of standards of taste is sensitive because Bonneville's television stations operate under two possibly conflicting obligations. On the one hand they are required by law to meet local interests and tastes which may vary dramatically from the Church's. In doing so they are faced with the decision as to whether to broadcast programs with instances of sex and violence, which while acceptable to the public, run counter to what the Church believes is acceptable.

In the October 1976 Church conference, President Spencer W. Kimball made clear the Church's opposition to some television programming when he said:

> The path to the grievous sins of fornication, adultery and homosexuality can begin, too, with the viewing of some of the sex-and-violence oriented programs now being shown on television, including network television.[54]

Whether the Church-owned stations can, or should impose standards of taste on communities they serve is clearly a sensitive issue.

In answer to a question as to whether Bonneville stations censor their programming to conform to Church standards, Bonneville President Arch Madsen in 1974 said:

> Each of the stations operates under license from the Federal Communications Commission and is obligated to serve the community where it is located. This sometimes means that we apply different standards in different communities.
>
> Several times in the past we have deleted network programming which we felt would be offensive in the cities we serve. Because our television stations are network affiliates, our ability to exercise complete control over programming is limited.
>
> However, for our radio stations, we have more freedom in the selection of material. In order to help us maintain high quality in both lyrics and music, we employ a record selection service which screens all records before they are played on any of our stations.
>
> Bonneville International is mindful of the need for the highest quality in programming and is especially sensitive to the standards of the Church.[55]

Bonneville Vice President Robert W. Barker explains it this way: "We have always been careful to operate these stations in the interests of all sections of the community. Not just the Church, but others as well." Barker says that when controversial programming is fed down the network line, the Bonneville stations decide whether or not to carry them based on "what serves the public interest." The stations can, he explains, "exercise licensee responsibility" and choose not to air a program, but adds that not everyone in a community shares the same standards of taste. He points out that stations are obligated to serve all segments of the public and adds, "We must not make everything conform strictly to our tastes."[56]

On the same subject, Bonneville counsel Rosel H. Hyde states that:

> It would be a violation of the trust to restrict broadcast content to only such

> content as would be approved under Church views; it would also violate the principle basic in Church philosophy that the ideas of others should not be repressed.[57]

Viewers can and do let the Bonneville stations know when they object to a station's program policies. Four different viewer letters from the KSL public files provide examples and point up the paradoxes:

> We, my family and I, are writing to let you know that we find the shows you expose us to unsuitable for family entertainment. There are prostitutes and bad language in many of them and too many vulgar insinuations and all together too much immodest dress.[58]

> If KSL has the power to stop or limit shows using swear words, lots of violence, sex and the Lord's name in vain, I suggest they do so.[59]

> I was recently terribly disappointed concerning the quality of viewing on Channel 5 with the episodes of *Medical Center* dealing with a transsexual. The acting and story were powerful and convincing. Due to that 'power' of the drama the viewer was led to twisted, distorted conclusions about the possible solutions to the problems a transsexual has. I also feel the material is *not* suited for a broadcast over a TV network and would appreciate more careful scrutiny on your part of the things shown on a Church associated TV station. There are certainly enough evils (blatant and subtle) chipping away at society's shaky moral structure without KSL adding to the melee.[60]

> Aren't you owned and operated by the LDS Church—if you are how can you let that filth, *All in the Family* be shown on your Channel?[61]

Jay Lloyd, Senior Vice President and General Manager of KSL-TV recognizes the dilemma: "The Church as such cannot have any influence over the station's programming—that's legally true. The only church connection is that approximately 50 percent of the viewing audience is Mormon." Regarding KSL's pre-emption policy, Lloyd responds:

> I've pre-empted only two movies and one special. One was *The Graduate,* not because of the Mormons, but because it was a moral issue. It had a theme that was offensive because of too much sex and promiscuity. The other movie I pre-empted was *Bob & Carol & Ted & Alice* which was just in poor taste.
>
> The network did *Sticks and Bones*—kind of a sick thing. It was in poor taste, not sexual, not violent, just poorly done. I felt it was bad and decided not to play it before I knew the other stations had rejected it.[62] We've delayed some shows to a later time period and done some editing. Some things that would be offensive to people, mostly sex or violence.

Lloyd voices the frustrations of a station manager faced with a wide diversity of "public taste:"

> Frankly, every one of our viewers thinks we should program just to them. They think everyone else feels exactly the way they do. But there are almost as many tastes as there are viewers. My responsibility is to program to as many of the masses as we can. We will offend someone no matter what we do. We will pre-empt if we think it will be offense to most.[63]

A complicating factor in Bonneville's programming is the fact that most of their program schedule comes from the CBS network. The network sells adver-

tising time based on the number of people who are watching. When a station pre-empts a show, the station not only loses the program, but the advertising revenues as well and it must come up with something in its place which will attract enough audience to pay its way. Bonneville Sectretary/Treasurer Blaine Whipple sums it up: "We do try to influence the market to include good programs. It's just the network. If we bump too many programs or ads they'll look for a new affiliate."[64]

TV movies the Bonneville stations didn't bump have included a two-part special on the Charles Manson murders *Helter Skelter, Bonnie and Clyde, Valley of the Dolls, Tora! Tora! Tora!,* and *Cry Rape.* All are, coincidentally, among the movies with the largest television audiences in the past 15 years.[65] That is a further part of the dilemma. The biggest TV money makers are often those programs containing the most violent and sexually explicit scenes.[66]

While the situation is somewhat different in public television, KBYU-TV faces a similar dilemma with regard to some of its network programs. Because the station is not dependent on advertising revenues or huge audiences, however, it can and does pre-empt or edit those programs it feels will be offensive to its audience and does so without risk of financial repercussion.

Apparently the Church takes little direct action to influence programming matters other than speaking in a general way at conference time. Jay Lloyd says the Church authorities do forward letters of complaint to KSL for response and adds: "I'm sure that there are lots of things they don't like, but they have to weigh the good against the bad and evidently up to the present, the good outweighs the bad."

While the Church does not intervene in the programming practices of its stations, Church authorities and publications do speak out against television's excesses in general. President Kimball has repeatedly spoken out against the harmful effects of sex and violence on television. Elder Gordon B. Hinckley, member of the Council of the Twelve and a Bonneville Director, has spoken out in conference about, "the flood of pornographic filth, the inordinate emphasis on sex and violence" in movies and on television.[67] Elder Robert L. Simpson has called for a closer review of the television listings and establishment of rules for viewing, noting that, "evidence is conclusive that mind polluting pornography is just as addicting and just as devastating as Satan's other tools of destruction and degradation."[68] Editorials in the *Church News* condemn TV movies and the effects of sex and violence on children who watch such programs on television.[69] In addition to these statements by Church authorities, there are numerous articles in Church publications condemning sex and violence on television.[70]

A further dilemma faced by the LDS broadcaster is the question of advertising products condemned by the Church.[71] While Bonneville banned advertisements of cigarettes on its stations a year before the FCC prohibited such advertising, the Bonneville stations still advertise other tobacco products and alcoholic beverages.[72] To stop advertising these products would mean a loss of revenue, but to use a Church-owned facility to promote alcohol and tobacco products poses somewhat of a paradox. Bonneville does not see this as a paradox because of what it sees as a "distinction between licensee corporations on the one hand and the Church on the other."[73]

Television is a sword rusting in the scabbard during a battle for survival.

Edward R. Murrow

Bonneville International Corporation has an excellent reputation in the broadcast industry. Its stations are consistently at the top of the ratings in most markets and have won numerous prestigious awards. Other broadcasters are paying to use the successful radio formats developed and marketed by Bonneville. Most of their commercial operations earn a good profit.[71]

Bonneville also effectively serves the Church. It is the source for creative, production, distribution and marketing services. Bonneville's stature in the field has given the Church far more inroads in distributing Church-related broadcasts than would have otherwise been possible. When the Church wants a broadcasting job done, it can have it done by its own people, in a first-class way.

Bonneville clearly provides a valuable service to the Church through its production division and through the prestige, know-how and influence it enjoys in the broadcasting industry. Bonneville is thoroughly professional in arranging production and distribution of Church programs and announcements worldwide in such a way that the Church's interests are served. None of this violates broadcast regulations. On the contrary, Church productions such as the *Homefront* spots provide broadcasters with public service announcements required as part of their broadcast service.

Similarly, BYU's radio and TV stations are well equipped, professionally staffed, and highly regarded in the public broadcasting industry.

It is at the operational/business level of the Church's commercial television holdings that the dilemmas appear. Ironically, Bonneville finds itself being party to the very excesses the Church condemns by serving as a conduit for network television programs and advertisements that breach Church standards. This situation points up the dilemma of conflicting obligations the Bonneville stations face.

The Church's primary interest in radio and television continues to be their utility as public relations tools to present positive images of the Church. To the extent they serve that end, they are valued and used. Expansion beyond the traditional conference, Tabernacle Choir and other religious broadcasts into less conventional modes such as *Homefront* and its prime-time specials which penetrate the main stream of the medium demonstrate the Church's professionalism.

Wendell J. Ashton sums up the mission of the electronic media division of the Public Communications Department this way: "We deal with research into methods of more effectively teaching the gospel through the media and through other means. Another overall goal, of course, is to teach the gospel around the world to all nations."[72] While Bonneville stations cannot be used to this end, its expertise can help production and distribution efforts of the Public Communications Department.

Another and related interest of the Church in broadcasting is its effect on society and more especially its effect on the values and habits of its members. Much of the early discussion of radio and television's great potential for spreading the gospel is now tempered by admonitions against the damaging effects of

sex and violence on television. Broadcasting, while still an ally, is now adversary as well.

Bonneville's stations are obligated to serve their communities of license by providing services appropriate to the public tastes, but which may be inappropriate for Church tastes. To serve the one is to slight the other. In the end station management is in the awkward but necessary position of being the arbiter of public taste. They must place in balance the station's obligation to its owner, to its public and to the FCC. They must make decisions on which hang the station's license, credibility in the community, status in the profession and profits. It is amazing, then, that the broadcast managers have succeeded in finding a posture that allows them to be at once businesspersons, Churchmembers and egalitarian enough to cater to tastes they don't share.

The mass media in general, and television in particular, increasingly exert a potent socializing force. Television continues to be the primary source for information and entertainment for most Americans and increasingly for most people of the world. The Church has the opportunity to use its influence and resources to enter that arena in significant ways. More and more it is doing so. Whether it should continue, and in what ways, are decisions certain to help shape the world view of Mormonism and to further define the role the Church sees for itself in an international marketplace of ideas.

NOTES

[1]Correspondence, Robert W. Barker to Fred C. Esplin, November 12, 1976. In an interview Barker elaborates: "By serving the public interest, the Bonneville stations gain status in the community. Therefore it reflects favorably on the Church if Bonneville does a good job. Somebody's got to own them, and it might as well be someone with a positive point of view."

[2]Rosel H. Hyde in comments on a draft of this article, October 27, 1976.

[3]Deseret Management Corporation was created in February 1967 at which time several commercial ventures owned by the Corporation of the President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, including Bonneville International Corporation, were transfered to Deseret. In addition to Bonneville, these include Zions Security Corporation; Elberta Farms, Incorporated; Deseret Book Company; Deseret Farms of California; Zions Printing and Publishing Company; Management Systems Corporation; and the Utah Hotel Company. Deseret Management Corporation was formed to keep the Church's commercial functions separate from its ecclesiastical functions and to allow its commercial operations to be taxed.

[4]The First Presidency of the Church are, respectively, Chairman, First and Second Vice Chairmen of the boards of Deseret Management Corporation, Bonneville International Corporation, and KSL, Incorporated. Arch L. Madsen is President and Director of Bonneville, Director of each of its subsidiaries, and a director of Deseret Management Corporation. Anthony I. Eyring, a Seattle banker, is Chairman of the Board of KIRO, Incorporated and a Director of Bonneville. Lloyd E. Cooney is President and Director of KIRO, Inc. and Vice President and Director of Bonneville. Gordon B. Hinkley is a Director of the boards of KSL and KIRO, Inc. and Chairman of the Bonneville Executive Committee. Thomas S. Monson is a Director of KSL, Inc., Bonneville, and Deseret Management Corporation. Robert W. Barker is a Director, Vice President, Secretary and General Counsel of Bonneville and its subsidiary corporations. James B. Conkling, President of Raymar Book Company, Inc., is a Bonneville Director. L. H. Curtis is Vice President and Director of Bonneville and President and Director of KSL, Inc. Blaine W. Whipple is Secretary and Treasurer of KSL, Inc. and Vice President, Assistant Secretary and Treasurer of Bonneville, its subsidiaries, and Deseret. Bernard Z. Kastler, President of Mountain Fuel and Supply Company, is a Bonneville Director. Dr. William F.

Edwards, former Dean, BYU School of Commerce, is a Bonneville Director. Ruth Hardy Funk, President of the Church's Young Women's organization, is a Bonneville Director. A complete list of the boards of all Bonneville subsidiaries is available at the Federal Communications Commission and in the public files at each station.

[5]The community of license is Avalon, Ca., but the service area includes the Los Angeles metropolitan area.

[6]The community of license is Skokie, Ill., but the service area includes metropolitan Chicago.

[7]Purchase price was $2,750,000.

[8]Robert W. Barker, interview, Washington, D.C., September 4, 1976.

[9]Richard D. Alsop, telephone interview, September 14, 1976.

[10]All but one of Bonneville's FM stations have adopted Taylor's "beautiful music" format. WCLR has developed its own format utilizing some aspects of the Taylor format.

[11]Bonneville Broadcast Consultants is among the top radio program syndicators in the country. Their service provides an inexpensive way and successful way of allowing FM stations to program separate from their AM stations. The FCC requires this of joint licensees and Bonneville's service helps them boost profits by putting on a good program without the expense of additional staff. For from $400 to $3,000 a month, a subscriber receives prerecorded programs in a proven format. Bonneville Broadcast Consultants is trying to shed the "background music" image. Marlin Taylor states: "We believe we have a foreground sound—music for people who really want to listen and enjoy it." In addition to "beautiful music," other Bonneville music formats include "soft rock," "contemporary middle-of-the-road," and "traditional middle-of-the-road."

[12]Bonneville also owned 50% interest in a cable TV system serving Salt Lake City, but sold their interests in 1974 as a result of an FCC ruling prohibiting the same entity from operating broadcast and cable systems in the same community.

[13]The best available information is in FCC reports on revenues for each radio and TV market (*TV Broadcast Financial Data, 1975*, Federal Communications Commission, August 2, 1976, and *AM and FM Broadcast Financial Data, 1974*, Federal Communications Commission, November 8, 1976). Even this data, however, is limited in estimating Bonneville revenues.

[14]The financing of KBYU poses somewhat of a dilemma for BYU which traditionally eschews federal support and the obligations which accompany it. KBYU-TV-FM since 1969 has received $652,000 in federal support in the form of "community service grants" from the federal Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB). The amount of federal support is growing each year with increased federal appropriations for public broadcasting. In fiscal 1976, KBYU-TV-FM received $240,000 in federal support. That support included such items as a "women's training grant" to train a female producer/director.

[15]Bell Telephone Company then issued licenses for the use of some of the hardware Deseret wanted. Rather than obligate themselves to Bell, Deseret sent its staff around the country and into Canada to find equipment not subject to the Bell license fees.

[16]*Opposition to the Petition of the Department of Justice to Deny Renewal Applications—Regarding Applications of KSL, Incorporated*, Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker, before the Federal Communications Commission, Washington, D.C., February 18, 1975, pp. 7–8.

[17]Saul Haas, the major stockholder of the stations, sold his interest to the Church in 1963 along with the other minor stockholders. Haas, an original board member of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, was until his death a board member of KSL, Inc., KIRO, Inc. and Bonneville International Corporation.

[18]WRFM-FM, new York was acquired May 16, 1966; KMBR-FM and KMBZ-AM, Kansas City, were acquired May 12, 1967; KBIG-FM and KBRT-AM, Avalon, were acquired March 11, 1969; WCLR-FM, Skokie, was acquired October 2, 1975; and KOIT-FM, San Francisco, was acquired June 15, 1976. During that same time the Church invested and later divested itself of stock in KID-FM, Idaho Falls, KBOI-FM, Boise, and its shortwave station, WNYW, New York.

[19]The FCC allows a single entity to own up to seven TV, seven AM, and seven FM stations so long as there is no overlap of signals of stations in the same service area.

[20]BYU's film and video capacity is far above that of most universities. Through KBYU and related audio, video and film services, BYU serves a variety of Church needs. For

details on BYU's activities in this area see, "Provo's Answer to Hollywood," by Loretta K. Huerta, *Educational Broadcasting*, September/October, 1976, pp. 22–24, 41.

[21]Bonneville International Corporation was formed August 12, 1964 and reported directly to the Corporation of the President until 1967 when Deseret Management Corporation was formed.

[22]George Albert Smith, "Dissemination of the Gospel," *The Improvement Era*, November 1946, p. 687.

[23]Arch L. Madsen, *Conference Reports*, October 1966, pp. 91–97.

[24]Arch L. Madsen, "The World is One Neighborhood," *The Instructor*, January 1964, pp. 26–27.

[25]The Church at that time owned five of the seven privately owned international shortwave transmitters licensed by the FCC.

[26]Bonneville's shortwave holdings are an item of curiosity within the broadcast industry. Sol Taishoff, editor of *Broadcasting* says: "When you talk about international broadcasting, you're talking USIA, Voice of America, Radio Liberty and Bonneville International. Bonneville's into the commercial end of it though." A senior editor with *Television Digest* adds: "I can't understand why they would want to be in it." Interviews with Fred C. Esplin, September, 1976.

[27]"How Are We Using Electronic Mass Media to Spread the Gospel?", *The Improvement Era*, May 1967, pp. 28–32.

[28]Madsen, *Conference Reports*, p. 94.

[29]Robert W. Barker, Interview, Washington, D.C., September 4, 1976.

[30]Some users pay for these programs, and others use them as public service broadcasts.

[31]Bonneville Productions General Manager Richard D. Alsop estimates the value of broadcast time given to *Homefront* in 1975 at more than $12 million.

[32]The wide use of *Homefront* spots results from the fact that all broadcast stations are required by the FCC to devote a certain amount of time to public service announcements. Since they must broadcast something, they want the best available and Bonneville's spots are among the better, offering a universal appeal which is unlikely to offend anyone.

[33]The Public Communications Department is entirely separate from Bonneville. It is part of the Church's internal operation, is not in business for profit, and has as its primary purpose image making and missionary work. It is managed by Wendell J. Ashton and handles exhibits, electronic media, press and pageants. Ashton sees his job as "telling our story to the world as an aid to the missionary effort." ("Presenting the Church's Image: A Conversation with Wendell J. Ashton," *Ensign*, May 1973, pp. 50–52.) The Internal Communications Department of the Church, a separate entity headed by Robert D. Hales, handles Church magazines, distribution and translation, instructional materials, editing, graphics and special development.

[34]"TV Features Church Program," *Church News*, December 7, 1974.

[35]"Church TV Special to Stress Family Unity," *Church News*, September 13, 1976.

[36]Executive Director of *The Family . . . and Other Living Things* is Jerry McPhie; Producer, Bobby Scherr; and Chief Writer, Rod Warren. Their collective credits include the *Tony Orlando and Dawn* show, the *Glen Campbell Goodtime Hour*, the *Danny Kaye Show*, the *Donny and Marie* show and other specials featuring stars from Barbra Streisand to Perry Como.

[37]"Top Stars Set for TV Special," *Church News*, October 30, 1976, p. 3.

[38]Dr. Wolsey's office would not release the figures but indicated it costs $240,000 to produce a one-hour *Donny and Marie* show which is similar to the Church program.

[39]Richard D. Alsop, interview, Salt Lake City, September 14, 1976.

[40]As part of the project, detailed utilization instructions including invitations to view the program to be handed out to friends, were sent to all wards in the areas where the program was broadcast. The instructions suggested that "the involvement of the individual members of the Church is essential if this major proselyting effort is to be successful." The instructions then outlined five steps. Bishops were asked to submit a detailed report on member involvement and the effectiveness of the project as a missionary effort.

[41]A poll taken by Opinion Research Corporation in 1975 showed that while 42% had

heard of it, 80% of all Americans favor the "family viewing concept and that 70% are convinced that television programs are too violent. In 1975 the family viewing time rule was written into the NAB code, specifying that no program "deemed inappropriate for viewing by a general family audience" will be aired between 7 and 9 p.m. But in December, 1976 the mandatory enforcement of family viewing time was declared unconstitutional by a federal court. Bonneville is an ardent supporter of the concept.

[42]Spencer W. Kimball, "The Time to Labor is Now," *Ensign*, November 1975, p. 6.

[43]*Petition of the Department of Justice to Deny Renewal Applications, In the Matter of KSL, Inc.*, Before the Federal Communications Commission, Washington, D.C., September 3, 1974.

[44]*Reply of the Department of Justice to Oppositions of KSL, Inc. and Kearns-Tribune Corporation to Petition to Deny Renewal Applications In the Matter of KSL, Inc.*, Before the Federal Communications Commission, Washington, D.C., March 31, 1975. Ironically, the Justice Department had approved the KSL/Deseret News/Tribune arrangement 15 years previously.

[45]*Petition of the Department of Justice*, FCC, September 3, 1974.

[46]Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker of Washington, D.C. represent all Church broadcast holdings and are assisted by Rosel H. Hyde, an FCC commissioner from 1946 through 1969.

[47]*Opposition to the Petition of the Department of Justice to Deny Renewal Applications, In Regard to Applications of KSL, Inc.*, Before the Federal Communications Commission, Washington, D.C., February 18, 1975.

[48]*Ibid.*

[49]*Petition of Kearns-Tribune Corporation to Intervene and Opposition to the Department of Justice's Petition to Deny Renewal of KSL Licenses*, Before the Federal Communications Commission, Washington, D.C., January 23, 1975.

[50]*Memorandum of the Utah Attorney General in Support of Renewal Applications, In the Matter of KSL, Inc.*, Before the Federal Communications Commission, Washington, D.C., July 3, 1975. The memorandum includes affidavits in support of KSL from Rabbi Abner Bergman, Congregation Kol Ami; Senator E. J. Garn; Robert H. Hinkley, former Vice President of the ABC Network; John F. McNamara, Administrator, Utah Juvenile Court System; Hon. Warren E. Pugh, former President of the Utah State Senate; Father Elias Stephanopolous, Holy Trinity and Prophet, Elias Greek Orthodox Churches; and D. Frank Wilkens, former Chief Judge of the District Court of Utah.

[51]Broadcasting, March 7, 1977, pp. 21–24. For years the Department of Justice left broadcast antitrust matters up to the FCC, but in the 1960s entered the controversy on the side of breaking up common ownerships. The Justice Department, while stopping short of calling cross-ownerships a violation of antitrust laws, feels they are not in the public interest. When it became apparent the FCC didn't agree with the Justice Department, the Justice Department began issuing petitions to deny to force the issue to a conclusion. KSL's case is just one of several involved in the issue. For their part, the FCC states that cross-ownership by itself does not disqualify a licensee, but would urge divestiture if a true monopoly exists (one which is in violation of the Sherman Act).

[52]*Petition to Deny Renewal of Broadcasting License of KIRO-TV*, Before the Federal Communications Commission, Washington, D.C., December 30, 1974.

[53]The Television Code of the NAB, to which Bonneville stations subscribe, states that "In the allocation of time for telecasts of religious programs, the television station should use its best efforts to apportion such time fairly among responsible individuals, groups and organizations." Bonneville stations include the broadcast of religious programs other than those of the Church. Among them is a radio broadcast, *Prelude to the Sabbath*. This program, on KIRO-AM and KSL-AM, is broadcast every Sunday morning from 12 midnight to 6 a.m. Also, 7–10 a.m. each Sunday is devoted to programs by or for other denominations. To avoid a monopoly of broadcast time with Church programs, Bonneville has also experimented with side band transmissions on its FM stations. Through this means, regular programming can be on the main frequency while auxiliary bands can transmit general conference in its totality. This method is somewhat limited in its utility, however, as special receivers are required to pick up the signal.

[54]Spencer W. Kimball, General Conference, October 1, 1976, *Ensign*, November 1976. p. 6.

[55]*Ensign*, June 1974, p. 59.

[56]Robert W. Barker, Interview, Washington, D.C., September 4, 1976.

[57]Rosel H. Hyde in comments on a draft of this article, October 27, 1976.

[58]Viewer letter, September 25, 1975, KSL, Inc. public files, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[59]Viewer letter, September 23, 1975, KSL, Inc. public files, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[60]Viewer letter, September 18, 1975, KSL, Inc. public files, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[61]Viewer letter, undated, KSL, Inc., public files, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[62]For the first time in CBS's history, 94 of its 186 affiliates refused to carry a network program when *Sticks and Bones* was rejected in March 1973. Neither KSL nor KIRO carried this controversial anti-war drama written by David Rabe and produced for CBS by Joseph Papp.

[63]Jay Lloyd, Interview, Salt Lake City, Utah, September 8, 1976.

[64]Blaine Whipple, Interview, Salt Lake City, Utah, September 19, 1976.

[65]*Helter Skelter* was CBS's number one rated TV movie and the rest were within the top 100 movies on all three networks since 1961. "Hit Movies on TV Since 1961," *Variety*, September 15, 1976, p. 56.

[66]Advertising rates, which are the principal source of income for commercial broadcasters, are determined by the number of people the station/network can deliver to the advertiser to receive his message. The most successful programs are often those which feature the most sex and violence. Such being the case the response at the network level is increasingly to more adult, avant-garde subject matter. Previously unmentionable topics, from abortion, to homosexuality and rape are now commonplace fare on television—precisely because they can deliver an audience to the advertiser. Nor does the trend toward violence appear to be diminishing. In his annual report on TV violence, Dr. George Gerbner, Dean of the University of Pennsylvania's Annenberg School of Communication, reported that 1976 was the most violent TV year on record with ABC leading the pack and CBS showing the highest increase in violence in family viewing time. *Broadcasting*, February 28, 1977, pp. 20–21.

[67]Gordon B. Hinkley, "Opposing Evil," *Ensign*, November 1975, p. 38.

[68]*Church News*, October 14, 1972, p. 11.

[69]*Church News*, January 12, 1972, June 28, 1969.

[70]Glen C. Griffin and Victor B. Cline, "Screening Out the Garbage," *Ensign*, August, 1976, pp. 19–21; Keith M. Engar, "TV and the Prophet Joseph Smith," *Improvement Era*, May 1965, pp. 392–393; Mary L. Bradford, "An LDS Mother Looks at Television," *Improvement Era*, March 1969, pp. 72–73; Elaine S. McKay, "I Threw Away Our TV," *Ensign*, February 1973, pp. 23–24; Victor B. Cline, "How Do Movies and TV Influence Behavior?," *Ensign*, October 1972, pp. 12–15; Victor B. Cline, "The 'New Morality' in Motion Pictures and TV," *Improvement Era*, February 1962, pp. 103–105, 132–134. Victor B. Cline, a clinical psychologist and professor of psychology at the University of Utah, is an internationally recognized spokesperson on the effects of pornography and media violence and frequently finds himself in the minority when expressing the point of view that sex and violence on television can exert negative influences.

[71]The Church-owned *Deseret News*, which is not licensed to any federal agency, faced a similar situation in advertising X-rated movies. It resolved the dilemma by deciding not to advertise them. KSL also decided not to carry ads for X-rated movies some time before that.

[72]The NAB code prohibits the advertising of hard liquor, but allows advertisements for beer and wines "when presented in the best of good taste and discretion."

[73]Correspondence, Robert W. Barker to Fred C. Esplin, November 12, 1976.

[74]When asked by the author for their opinion of Bonneville, trade press reporters replied: "They've good businessmen. They're reputable. They are good operators with a high degree of integrity. Arch Madsen is highly regarded in the field." They also added: "They're conservative. Among the most conservative in the business. They'll oppose anything that disturbs the status quo." Interviews with editorial staff of *Broadcasting* and *Television Digest*.

[75]Ashton, *Ensign*, May 1973.

The Deseret News

SALT LAKE CITY 15¢

Nostrums in the Newsroom

Raised Sights and Raised Expectations at the Deseret News

By Paul Swenson

Nineteen Hundred and Seventy-Six was *not* a dull year for the 127-year-old *Deseret News*. Melvin Dummar, a Box Elder County service station operator, was named, along with The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, as a major beneficiary in a purported Howard Hughes will. Idaho's Teton Dam burst, leaving hundreds homeless in the path of the flood. Rep. Allan Howe was arrested and convicted of soliciting sex in Salt Lake City. Theodore Bundy, a University of Utah law student and former aide to the Governor of Washington, was found guilty of attempted kidnapping. In addition, the newspaper's "Pinpoint" investigative team capped its second year of existence with a Sigma Delta Chi award for the year's best piece of investigative print journalism in Utah, a documented indictment of misspent Salt Lake County funds.

And then there was Gary Gilmore.

Before his execution, Jan. 17, 1977, Gilmore and the press were locked in a painful embrace that neither party could—or would—quit. The manipulative Gilmore engineered the newsflow on front pages worldwide with a degree of control he had never been able to apply to his own life. It was an irresistable news story: a brutal killer who wanted to die, and in the process challenged the hypocrisy behind a death sentence that seemed tortuously slow to culminate. Never mind that Gilmore was the first person likely to be executed in the United States in nine years and that the future of capital punishment in America perhaps hung in the balance. Even without these elements, the fast-unfolding story was so bizarre and the human element so vividly reflected in the killer, his lover, his victims and their families, that the media found it almost impossible to establish a contemplative distance.

"An old-fashioned scoop" is how Associate City Editor Don Woodward described the *Deseret News'* clear superiority over the *Salt Lake Tribune* in Gilmore coverage. *Deseret News* reporter Dale Van Atta had early sensed the national significance of the case, and although denied opportunity to interview Gilmore, composed a Page One "think" piece that probed the killer's psyche and became the keystone of continuing *Deseret News* coverage.[1]

Six days later in mid-November, the *News* published a story by Maxine Martz under the headline, "What about the victims of two brutal murders?" But it was

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virtually lost in the backwash of another front page story in the same edition: excerpts of Gilmore's love letters to fiancee Nicole Barrett and an interview with Barrett by reporter Tamara Smith. An ambitious reporter, recently graduated from Brigham Young University, Smith had established a friendship with Barrett while covering an early Gilmore hearing in Provo. In addition to the letters (which tended toward treacle if you read between the macho lines), Smith succeeded in eliciting from Barrett the disturbing line: "He (Gilmore) killed them so he wouldn't kill me."

Although the placement of the victims story on the same page as the Barrett interview and love letter revelations may have backfired, it was a stab at "fairness". *News* Editor and General Manager Bill Smart explains: "When we first got the material and it was proposed we write about the letters, I said, well, all right, providing the same day and same page we use a thorough story on the victims, and balance is the watchword."

Roy Gibson, a professor of journalism at the University of Utah who doubles as media critic for KUTV (Channel 2) News, took the paper to task on unusual grounds—that the stories were out of character for the *Deseret News*. He implied that although acceptable elsewhere, such news stories were a shock to readers of Salt Lake City's evening paper. "That just isn't so," says Woodward. "Anyone who has been following the paper for the past 4–5 years knows that we have been doing probing stories on hard news issues for quite a while."

Some readers apparently hadn't noticed, or had regarded the Gilmore case differently. The *News* received a large volume of letters and numerous phone calls[2] complaining that the case was blown out of proportion, a charge *News* editors are sensitive to. Woodward says that staff meetings stressed the need to avoid glamorizing Gilmore and Barrett: "We didn't want to make these people more than they really were."

In justifying the sheer volume of Gilmore stories, *Deseret News* Editor and General Manager William B. Smart cites two factors and attempts to relate them: "It's obvious that the public interest was very, very great and it was a major factor (in the coverage). Then there is the whole question of capital punishment, the suicide pact[3] and all of that. Capital punishment is a very important issue in our society, and it's the main thing that has caused so much interest in the case." Unfortunately, like the morning *Tribune*, the *Deseret News* hesitated on the one hand to treat the capital punishment issue in any depth, and on the other to concede the numbing complexities that the Gilmore case raised.

It was left to syndicated (national) columnists in both papers to examine the multiple paradoxes: a condemned killer being kept alive in order to be executed by the state;[4] a criminal justice system increasingly incapable of screening out potential killers from inmates eligible for parole; and the atmosphere of marketable sensation around the Gilmore case which focused attention everywhere but where it belonged—on capital crimes and capital punishment. To their credit, both the *Deseret News* and *Salt Lake Tribune* did raise one crucial question early. In similar editorials, the papers supported automatic judicial review of capital punishment cases, a procedure that the Utah State Legislature enacted into law in its 1977 session.[5]

What the *News* did do with the Gilmore case (after publishing the love letters and a confessional piece by reporter Smith about how she obtained them from

Barrett), was to turn the materials over to psychologist Victor Cline for a "psychodiagnosis". Editor Smart says the move was intended to "put the whole matter into perspective and give a more complete picture of what kind of man Gary Gilmore was". The *News* had exclusive possession of Gilmore's writings, letters, "poetry" and drawings (over 800 pages worth), and refused to sell the rights to domestic and foreign news organizations that came calling. Smart notes that the portfolio contained highly sensational, exploitable material—including extensive pornographic passages—and that rather than see it mishandled, the paper opened it only for Cline's eyes as a basis for his "psychological profile". While Cline probed Gilmore's past with critical perspicacity, his conclusions were often stated as facts. He took to chattily referring to Gilmore and Barrett as "Gary and Nicole," thereby contributing to the "folk hero" myth he himself deplored in his final article.

In microcosm, the Gilmore case represents both the expanded ambitions of the *Deseret News* as a serious metropolitan newspaper and the self-imposed limitations that continue to hamper the realization of those ambitions.

The fact that the paper is wholly owned by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints does not circumscribe inferior journalistic standards, Editor Smart believes. "The framework of interests of the owners are not fundamentally different from those of publishers of the best daily newspapers elsewhere," he maintains. Nor are there inherent conflicts between religious and journalistic ethics as practiced in the LDS Church and at the *Deseret News* respectively. "Philosophically, there is no problem. We're fallible, and therefore human beings get in the road."

But for Mormons who recognize the importance of truth and knowledge, and who believe that the Glory of God is intelligence, newspapering should be a particularly meaningful profession, Smart observes. "When William W. Phelps was given the mission of obtaining printing equipment for the Saints at Winter Quarters, he carried a letter of introduction from Brigham Young and Willard Richards. It was an admonition to obedience to the principle of intelligence, and I've never seen a better statement of the ideals of good newspapering."[8] Smart says.

It is difficult to instill high journalistic ideals in young newsmen and women once they've had a taste of how things ought to be, and their expectations are raised, because their impatience with gradual change is also increased. The significant changes at the *Deseret News* in the past three years (and there have been several) have, by way of contrast, helped to identify the paper's weaknesses.

When columnist Rod Decker took a year's leave of absence from the *News* in September 1976 to accept a Nieman fellowship at Harvard University, the loss to the editorial page of the newspaper was immediately felt. Decker, a superconfident, breezily candid University of Utah graduate, came to the *News* without a solid journalistic background. Decker went so far as to tell journalism classes and interviewers that he got his job because he knew Editor William Smart. Yet it became readily apparent that he *held* his job solely on merit. But Decker could write, and while learning reporting techniques, revealed an analytical facility that prompted Smart to install him on the editorial page in October 1974, as a twice-weekly critic at large.

Ranging far afield, from topics as diverse as cost overruns at the Bicentennial Arts Center, to the habit of Utah trucking firms in forcing their drivers to operate overweight and unsafe vehicles, to local television news criticism. Decker was advantageous to the paper in that he brought a critical bite to local issues conspicuously absent in either Salt Lake paper heretofore. His freedom to tread on important toes freshened up the musty (and somewhat undeserved) image of the *Deseret News* as a Church house organ that editorializes only along readily predictable, safely doctrinaire lines.

The *Deseret News* continues to routinely send all editorials to LDS Church headquarters at 50 E. North Temple before publication, where they are usually seen by Elder Gordon B. Hinkley, member of the Council of the Twelve, and president of the Deseret News Publishing Company, and by President N. Eldon Tanner of the First Presidency. "Very seldom," according to *News* editorial writers, are changes suggested, in part or in whole.

Before Decker's column, the editorial department had been changed with ivory tower isolationism and with Afghanistanism (the writing of strong, confident editorial solutions to problems half a world away, while hewing a safely vague line on local issues). These charges had some basis in fact. Although the *News* runs a slightly higher percentage of editorials with a local focus than the morning *Tribune*, the language still has a loftiness that hurts readability—a loftiness that reflects a separation from the events writers are expected to comment on. The Gilmore case begged for in-depth reportorial-analytical treatment. *News'* coverage—ambitious as it was—was ultimately undercut by an inability to get beneath surface sentimentality and sensation. (Cline, the clean-up hitter in the "significance" batting order, struck out partially because he wasn't encouraged to examine the psychology of capital crimes and capital punishment, and partially because of his writing style, which appeared to be an attempt to translate sophisticated concepts into journalese.)

With Decker on leave, his column suspended, there is no one other than editorial cartoonist Calvin Grondahl in the editorial department to ask unpopular questions in print. Those *Deseret News* editorials that do take strong positions on events affecting Utahns' lives sometimes suffer from an overeagerness to embrace ill-considered proposals that fall within the paper's natural circle of interest. A longtime crusader against pornography, the *News* most recently rose to bad bait when two Utah State Senators sponsored a bill (SB 190) that would have established a review board to examine every film screened commercially in the state.

In a glowing lead editorial (Feb. 2, 1977), the *News* praised the measure as an enlightened step, and reported that the Maryland law it was patterned after was backed by a Maryland theater owners association. Next day, the *News* was forced to retract the Maryland theater owners report as untrue (the editorial writer had neglected to check a "friendly" attorney's word), and within a month the paper was ballyhooing an entirely new SB 190. The original bill had been thrown out as unworkable and potentially devastating to quality films and legitimate theaters with small profit margins.[7]

While Decker's absence was presumably only temporary, he had been missed precisely because of heightened expectations of how the editorial page could and should perform. Although there were 2–3 staffers whose talents would

likely have permitted the *News* to keep the critic-at-large format alive until Decker returned, manpower was regarded as too scarce to free someone for the job.

Some of the slack was being taken up on other fronts, however. Although Smart had allowed Decker unusual independence to establish a base for critical analysis, he had dragged his feet on a long-term commitment to establish a team of reporters to conduct the tedious research necessary for depth investigative work. It was City Editor Lou Bate who finally chose three investigative reporting staffers in the spring of 1975: Bob Mullins, a veteran with good sources and contacts who had won a Pulitzer Prize for the paper in the Dead Horse Point murder case in 1961; Brent Harker, a newly-hired Utah State University graduate, and Dale Van Atta, an ambitious young Brigham Young University alumnus, who at the time was digging into a story on "judge shopping" by deputy sheriffs in Salt Lake County.

Van Atta had proven that deputies were illegally favoring two justices of the peace in routing alleged traffic offenders and others to their courts, and the newly christened "Pinpoint" team was assigned to find out why. Concentrating on one JP, Van Atta and Harker spent three weeks in the county auditor's office, checking every case the justice handled in 1974. "At one point," says Van Atta, "it got so boring we had a Life Saver conservation contest to see who could keep one in his mouth the longest. Harker won with a record of five minutes before there was nothing left."

The reporters learned that some JPs were being paid twice for the same case and were failing to report convictions to the State as required by law. They turned up violations of the civil rights of individuals appearing before JPs, including fines levied and collected by wives and secretaries, and a general lack of administrative control over JP courts.

Publication of the stories had both immediate and long-range impact. Illegal judge-shopping quickly dwindled; justices of the peace were placed on fixed salaries instead of being paid per case; two JPs were charged with malfeasance in office; administrative procedures were changed, and a plan was approved for consolidation of JP courts.

The *News* received a certificate of merit from the American Bar Association for the "judge shopping" stories. The series was also nominated for a Pulitzer Prize (it didn't win). The editors were confident, however, that the story would earn the General Excellence prize for print media in the first annual awards program of the Utah Society for Professional Journalists (Sigma Delta Chi). Instead, *Deseret News* and *Salt Lake Tribune* editors watched uncomfortably as the award went to David Briscoe and Bill Beecham of the Associated Press for a series of stories on the finances of the LDS Church. (Neither paper had published the winning stories).[8] Later in 1975 and throughout 1976, the investigative team distinguished itself further. Among issues probed were zoning laws and their violation in three Utah counties; the ambiguities of insurance coverage;[9] the loss of thousands of dollars of state funds at bankruptcy proceedings; low morale in the Salt Lake City Police Department; Utah's lag in freeway construction, and the history of County Auditor Gerald Hansen's financial woes.

While some other targets were "safe" investigative subjects for a Church-owned newspaper (violations of liquor laws by private clubs and the influence of the mafia in local pornography), the *News* also dealt with sensitive material

that some critics might have expected the paper to ignore. Van Atta researched and wrote a three-part series on Howard Hughes and his cadre of mostly Mormon aides. Without particular emphasis or development, Van Atta quoted Robert C. Taylor, former staff assistant for Hughes and now chairman of Brigham Young University's Travel Study Department, as saying that when he hired aides, Hughes was "looking for the type of person who could take orders."

The Pinpoint team's most frustrating investigation was a probe of the dealings of brothers Snellen M. and Lyle E. Johnson, who had become the last bright hope for home-pro-basketball by proposing to buy the Utah Stars. In a June 1976 story, Brent Harker reported that the brothers, who had made a $650,000 down payment on the Stars and had declared themselves free of financial obligations, had been ordered to prove in court that they had paid debts involved in an illegal sale of securities. Next day, a Van Atta story disclosed that Snellen Johnson was also charged in US District Court with conspiracy and with violation of the Federal Securities Act. The investigative team, at this point, had uncovered a 10-year financial history of bad debts, suits and a thoroughly decimated credit rating for the Johnsons. The evidence seemed a clear indication that the Johnsons were not the community heroes they had been assumed to be. And the *Deseret News* was the only paper reporting it.

When the investigative team prepared to spill the beans, however, an LDS Church General Authority called the paper to vouch for the Johnsons, the Johnsons and their lawyers asked for and received a meeting with the investigative team and Editor Smart. A second meeting followed with Smart alone representing the newspaper in a two-hour session with the brothers and their attorneys. At this point, the *News* lost confidence in the series and backed off from further disclosures. Brent Harker asked for and received permission to talk to Elder Gordon B. Hinckley about the paper's sudden coolness on the story, but the option was never exercised. With admirable hindsight, the paper did try to summarize the affair in late November and early December. The Dec. 4 piece noted that the Johnsons had written $160,000 in bad checks during their short, unhappy hold on the Stars (who had, in the meantime, folded).[10]

The aborted investigation cast a brief pall over the team. But in May, 1976, when Harker quit to accept another job in his hometown of Lethbridge, Alberta, Canada, the survivors regrouped with the addition of Joe Costanzo, who had turned out a number of probing stories on his city hall beat. It was then that the team went on to win the Sigma Delta Chi award for the 1976's best investigative journalism in the State's print media.

The commitment to investigative reporting, should it remain constant, is potentially the most exciting editorial development at the *Deseret News* in the past several decades. Beyond the value of the stories themselves, the pride generated by a serious attempt to get beneath the crush of press releases and public meetings that are often the preoccupation of daily journalism, can't help but affect other staff members. Especially responsive to tough reporting are young, idealistic staffers, whose involvement with newspapering grows at least as much out of dedication to the unique values of the profession as to financial and security considerations. While the *News* staff has had problems with continuing turnover of some of its best people, the staff is not deficient in talent.

The way the paper fulfills raised expectations may determine whether or not its best recruits and old hands can be retained, and, in some cases, channeled to management positions.[11]

The Johnson Brothers story and the *News* handling of it raises obvious questions about how seriously the paper intends to pursue the depth reporting staffers are capable of. *Deseret News* editors can correctly point out that the Church-owned paper likely has fewer "sacred cows" (issues considered too close to the interests of advertisers or of the paper's owners) than many dailies in comparable markets. The *News* almost certainly handles more sensitive Utah issues more courageously than the morning *Tribune*, which maddeningly retains the image of "independence," and with a larger audience. But if the *News* wishes to be a really top-flight daily with a reputation extending to Mormons and non-Mormons inside and outside the state—a goal that seems within reach—the paper's owners must choose between journalistic ethics and an unruffled public relations image. As the *News* struggles to eatablish credibility for solid newspapering, memories of two of the bleakest incidents in the paper's recent editorial history remain vivid in the news room. The paper's obvious waffling on Richard Nixon's final days came after a relatively tough Watergate editorial was withdrawn after perusal by Church authorities. In "Probing the Power Structure (The Powers That Be)," by Elaine Jarvik and George Buck, *Utah Holiday* Magazine, May 24, 1976, p. 15, appeared this report: "During the next-to-last days of Watergate, the *News* drank the bitter dregs of the Nixon Administration's culpability and corruption with scarcely a complaint. Friends say Smart (William B.) festered under advice of LDS Church President Harold B. Lee to give Nixon the ultimate benefit of a doubt before writing off his administration. As a result, the *Deseret News* was one of the last major dailies in the nation to take a strong editorial stand on Watergate." Veteran staffers won't forget the black day (March 3, 1971) that the Coalville Tabernacle's destruction was withheld from *Deseret News* readers. On Tuesday, March 2, 1971, the *Deseret News* reported a "cooling off" period for the controversy over the impending destruction of the Coalville Tabernacle, quoting stake officials that they would "not move immediately to tear down the tabernacle." Before daylight next day, bulldozers began the demolition. The day's *Deseret News* editions carried no story on the destruction, only a statement from the First Presidency of the LDS Church. In the statement's 100th typeset line the first hint of what had gone on appeared: "Authority was given the Church Building Committee to proceed with the (demolition) work." On March 4, the *News* ran a short story under a one-column headline, "Tabernacle Demolition is Explained." The move was later considered by General Authorities to be a huge public relations error and a "learning experience," according to sources.

Down a long corridor from the *Deseret News* city room in the stone-silent office of new *Church News* Editor Del Van Orden, those concerns seem part of another world. "The main purpose of the *Church News* is to build testimonies and uplift its readers," Van Orden states without equivocation. "The section should be easy to read, motivational, instructional and inspiring. We've got our layout pretty much the way we want it now—we don't have to labor with it. A good page with lots of pictures is worth its weight in impact."

Although Van Orden is new to the top job, he spent eight years understudy-

ing Editor J. M. Heslop, who was elevated to Managing Editor of the daily. Under Heslop, the weekly *Church News*, a Saturday Section of the daily, was transformed from a grey, featureless compendium of spiritual statistics to a handsome showcase for Heslop's striking photography (he was previously chief *Deseret News* photographer) with short, personal conversion stories and Church progress reports from all over the world.

What the *Church News* did best under Heslop was to build circulation—pushing the worldwide figures over 200,000 (more than 133,000 higher than the daily's volume of readers, which hovers above the 70,000 mark). The huge advantage that the weekly maintains over the daily is entirely composed of by-mail circulation, and Van Orden has the relaxed air of a beneficiary who knows he has inherited a winner. "If you look at the perpendicular climb on our circulation chart over the past few years, you know how the *Church News* is perceived and you know we must be doing something right," he says.

In working closely with LDS General Authorities, Heslop was always courteous but straight-forwardly firm in stressing his own ideas of how the *Church News* should be run. He briefly experimented with a couple of fascinating "hard news" cover stories in the early 1970's, including a valuable piece on how LDS families and Church leaders were dealing with drug abuse among young Mormons. The experiment was short-lived and he quickly returned to the formula he had developed and found effective.

Van Orden is not likely to change anything in the next several years. Asked to enumerate what improvements he would like to see he said none occurred to him. He said the same standards and techniques used in business to determine profit and loss can be applied to measuring the spiritual profit of members of the Church in the *Church News*. In addition to his editorial duties, Van Orden is pushing an anti-smoking campaign in the weekly, distributing thousands of free bumper stickers that proclaim "Non-Smokers Like Clean Air" and "Let's Don't Smoke," an ungrammatical acronym for LDS.

What few critical letters the *Church News* receives are not published, but are answered personally by Van Orden if the criticism is "constructive." Complaints are scarce, the editor said, about the paper's editorial page, where most editorials continue to be written by Elder Mark E. Petersen of the Council of the Twelve. A series of historical sketches written for the page by members of the LDS Church Historical Department has been dropped for staff-written "Vignettes of Faith." Van Orden was unwilling to discuss the narrowly selective nature of the infrequent "New Books for LDS Readers" feature, which has recently rejected for review major LDS historical works.[12]

Heslop's promotion to Managing Editor is one of two recent management changes at the *News*, which signals a shift to younger, more vigorous leadership. There is little doubt that one reason for Heslop's appointment is the anticipation that the energy he brought to increasing *Church News* circulation can somehow be applied to the daily's circulation slide.[13] As an evening newspaper, the *Deseret News* can't hope to overtake the morning *Tribune*, whose circulation advantages are built in. But a fairly constant circulation dropoff cannot be satisfied, although Smart is not confident that immediate headway can be made under the present system in which the Newspaper Agency Corporation handles circulation for both the *Deseret News* and the *Tribune*.

Heslop also is expected to be valuable as a hard-headed negotiator for the editorial side in the traditional adversary relationship with the NAC-run "backshop" where the paper is pasted up and printed, and as a sensitive link with Church authorities. Neither of Heslop's immediate predecessors in the glassed-in Managing Editor's office were active Mormons,[14] and the result was cautious lack of leadership. The nostrum in the newsroom during a period that extended over two decades was never to rock the boat. Instead, attempts were made to read the minds of General Authorities and somehow guess how to avoid offending any of them. The need for that kind of second guessing decreased markedly with the appointment of Elder Gordon B. Hinckley as president of the Deseret News Publishing Company. Smart, however, kept the paper's staff at tiptoe stance during a long period in 1972. With the late publisher E. Earl Hawkes seemingly ill and incapacitated, Smart was appointed "Acting Editor" but spent the time until Hawke's death in limbo wary of exerting the strong leadership that was needed. Morale was low enough at the paper to move Elder Gordon B. Hinckley to employ an unusual tactic when he announced Smart's appointment as Editor and General Manager in December, 1972. In a meeting held at the Utah Power and Light Co. auditorium, Hinckley asked Mormon and non-Mormon staffers alike for a "sustaining vote" for Smart by a "show of hands". In the stunned silence, almost every hand went up.

The conventional wisdom in the newsroom for months before the Managing Editor's chair was filled was that Associate City Editor Don Woodward would get the job. Woodward, a quiet, unassuming pragmatist, is one of the few *News* staffers elevated to editor rank in recent years who was also an accomplished writer. As the paper's Business Editor in the early seventies, his sprightly business pieces encroached on traditional *Tribune* turf. And when he moved to City Desk four years ago, Woodward brought a concern for style and readability that was communicated to reporters he helped train.

After Heslop was appointed Managing Editor, Woodward was named as editor of a newly-conceived section of the newspaper called "Today" and was charted third in the chain of command behind Smart and Heslop. The section, which appeared shortly before Christmas, 1976, was to be a consolidation of feature, women's and entertainment material with an expanded emphasis on creative writing and critical reviewing. The paper's Saturday "Weekend" section would extend the weekday format. "We would like to use essays and how-to pieces by a core of freelance writers," Woodward said before the section was launched. "Good freelancers can raise the quality of writing generally, and our major emphasis will be to promote a high standard of writing."

The plans sounded exciting but the product was less so in its opening weeks. While a full page was cleared of ads to provide a showcase cover for the section, the writing for the cover features appeared to meet Woodward's pre-announced standards less than 50 percent of the time, and he found it necessary to plug in syndicated material on occasion. "My View," a column patterned loosely after *Newsweek* Magazine's "My Turn," was opened to staff members and the public as well, with the intention of offering a forum for provocative personal comment. Early on, the column attracted dull polemics seemingly designed to air personal biases. Inside, the section defied focus, and came close to becoming a mere catch-all.

Critical reviews were not immediately forthcoming. Harold Lundstrom,

longtime music editor and critic at the *News*, is expected to retire soon and the *News* has an exciting successor in the wings: Dorothy Stowe, an accomplished writer with an extensive musical background. Hired part-time, Mrs. Stowe has been kept busy with secretarial work. Although Woodward had announced he would recruit other talented critics for the section, that priority has been postponed.

Postponed priorities have, until recently, been a way of life at the *Deseret News*. The most imposing evidence of the *News*' commitment to the "Today" concept in the early going has been architectual rather than journalistic. "Today" staffers (which in addition to Woodward and Assistant Editor Carma Wadley, include the "Living" staff Woodward inherited from the women's section) are ensconced in new quarters carved out of the paper's third-floor office space overlooking Regent Street. To make way, the paper's sports staff was uprooted and transplanted to the periphery of the paper's crowded newsroom. Sports Editor Hack Miller retains more independence than any staffer at the *Deseret News*. Miller, who considers the world his beat (he was the paper's man in Moscow during trips to Russia), is master of the alliterative mixed metaphor and his copy is never edited. (Other sports staffers refuse to change even spelling errors). Recently Miller dropped this non-sequitur into a column boosting football and blasting TV ("the tripe they tape for the tube.") "Pigskin beats porno. I'll take Roger Stauback against Fran Tarkenton anytime over the shoot-'em-ups we get on most channels. Off-tackle smashes are far more sporting than murders."

Other physical changes are underway, with the newspaper's First South entrance set to receive a new facade. Since Smart hired a consulting firm (Frank Magid Associates) to remake the paper's layout in 1973, identifiable change has often been concerned with cosmetics. Will this emphasis continue to overshadow attention to content? Smart is particularly intense in refuting this contention. "The changes have been a great deal more than cosmetic. We get much more news in the paper than we used to. Our concentration now is on professional performance. I've had a lot of quality people dropped in my lap that I don't take credit for, but we are emphasizing the substantial upgrading of salaries so that we can be competitive in our hiring. We are being much tougher in hiring people on their ability to write than we used to. We're committed to investigative reporting and to solid basic reporting—that's part of our responsibility in this community. The *Deseret News* has growth potential, and those who read the paper in the next few years are going to see greatly intensified coverage handled in a responsible way.

As Smart tells it, the paper has raised its sights, as well as staff and reader expectations. How well those expectations are fulfilled could be the key to progress in the paper's second century.

NOTES

[1]Page A-1, *Deseret News*, Nov. 10, 1976. The story's weakness, a tendency to quote mawkish material without comment (Gilmore and lover Nicole Barrett wanted to buy an island off the coast of Washington and live "happily ever after") was repeated in many of the paper's Gilmore stories.

[2]The *News* received "a couple of dozen letters and/or phone calls" referring to Gilmore coverage through December, 1976, with responses running 3 or 4 to 1 against the volume of stories published, according to Editor Smart.

[3]*Deseret News* editorial cartoonist Calvin Grondahl captured the grotesque ironies of the case in a single unforgettable image: a firing squad at the foot of Gilmore's hospital bed, and a nurse at the head, saying, "Wake up, Mr. Gilmore, it's time for your shot." The cartoon was rejected by the *Deseret News*, but a rough Grondahl sketch was published in *Utah Holiday* Magazine, Dec. 31, 1976.

[4]*New West* Magazine printed a fascinating examination of the phenomenon in an article entitled, "The Merchandising of Gary Gilmore," by Barry Farrell, Dec. 20, 1976.

[5]But not without enormous confusion. Although automatic judicial review was endorsed by both Salt Lake newspapers, by the conservative Utah Attorney General and the Utah State Bar Association, the Utah House of Representatives first voted almost 2–1 to defeat the enabling bill. Two days later, indicating they hadn't understood the proposal, they reversed themselves by a wide margin.

[6]"This people cannot live without intelligence, for it is through obedience to that principle they are to receive their exaltation; and if the intelligence cannot be had, justice has no claim on obedience, and their exaltation must be decreased. This principle is sufficient to show you that importance of using all diligence in helping Elder Phelps to bring us the materials whereby we can furnish our children with books and the Saints with new things to feast the soul." Quoted in *Voice in the West*, by Wendell J. Ashton, pg. 6.

[7]The original bill would have required every film shown commercially in the State to first be reviewed and licensed at a cost of $35–$40 per picture. Classic films, foreign films, children's films, art films and film festivals sponsored by such groups as the Utah Cinema Council, would have been inadvertently wiped out because of the economic factor. The *News* neglected to examine the local consequences; nor did it raise or examine the larger civil liberties issue of the effects of a review board patterned on the Maryland Board of Censors.

[8]An updated, revised version of the series was later published in *Utah Holiday* Magazine. ("Mormon Money And How It's Made," *UH*, March 22, 1976).

[9]The *News* insurance series, which rated coverage of Utah companies, won second place in the University of Missouri-Columbia 12th annual Business Journalism competition for newspapers under 100,000 circulation.

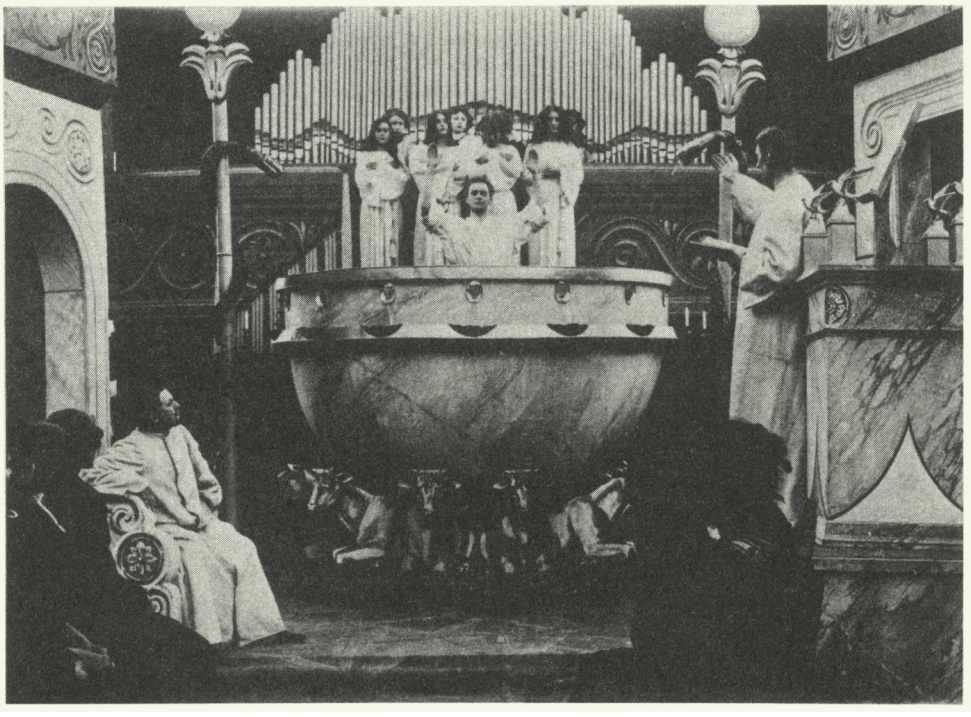
[10]Having billed themselves as professional salesmen, the Johnsons had announced plans to sell 9,000 season tickets by Sept. 30, 1975, using a task force of 100 returned Mormon missionaries. By Aug. 22 the sales staff had dwindled to three, and the "hard sell" had reduced season ticket holders from 4,000 to less than 2,000, the Pinpoint team reported.

[11]Among a host of important acquisitions and retainees of the past decade are columnist Rod Decker; editorial cartoonist Calvin Grondahl; Associate City Editor De Ann Evans; environmental writer Joe Bauman; energy and business writer Nick Snow; social problems writer Douglas Palmer; sports writer Lee Benson; reporters Dale Van Atta, Joe Costanzo, Suzanne Dean, Hal Spencer, Karen Gilmour, Carma Wadley and Perrin Love; photographer David Conley and others.

[12]Since the beginning of 1976, the *Church News* has been printed on a new $750,000 offset press now installed at Newspaper Agency Corporation's Regency Street press room where the *Deseret News* and *Tribune* are both published. The resulting sharper color and black and white photographs may be a preview of production changes for the entire daily in the near future. "We will likely publish entirely by offset before long," predicts Editor Smart. "We are looking at a conversion process that would allow us to use offset plates on our old letter presses."

[13]*Deseret News* circulation has diminished more than 16,000 in the past 12 years from its 1960s high of 89,808 in 1964.

[14]The approximately 50–50 split of Mormons and inactive or non-Mormons on the *Deseret News* staff work together amicably. "We don't worry much about percentages," says Editor Bill Smart. "I would be concerned if we had an all-LDS staff. Our top-level people know the philosophy of our owners."



IN THE SACRED PRECINCTS—An evil LDS missionary (Vlademar Psilander—center) performs rites in the Salt Lake Temple in the Danish-produced "A Victim of the Mormons" (1911).

FROM ANTAGONISM TO ACCEPTANCE: MORMONS AND THE SILVER SCREEN

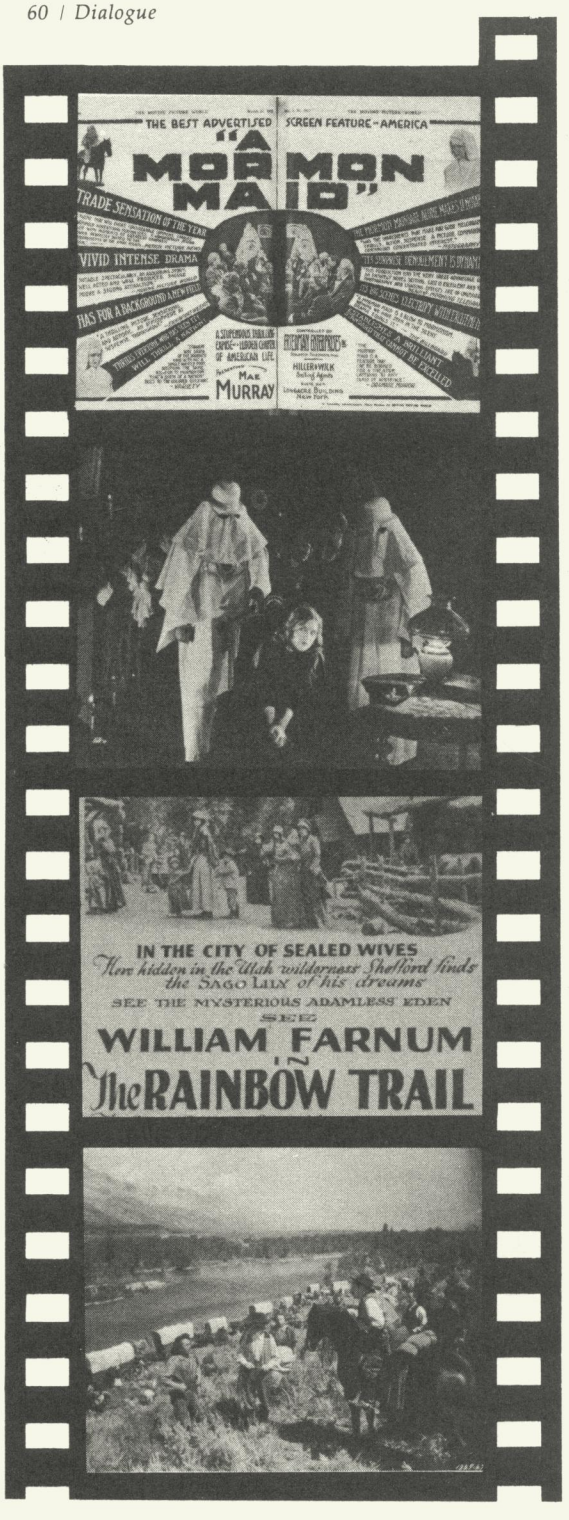
RICHARD ALAN NELSON

Mormons have been involved in films ever since Hollywood became a magic word. Church members first tried to influence the Hollywood establishment, then went on to create their own film industries; finally, today a corps of successful film professionals is carrying LDS values to both national and international audiences.[1]

Early Hollywood movies focused mainly on Mormon pioneer life with attacks upon the supposed evils of polygamy. Although most early moviemakers could not be called dedicated anti-Mormons, their unfamiliarity with LDS doctrine and history, as well as a lack of contemporary information about Utah led them to sensationalized screen interpretations. Even so respected a figure as Cecil B. DeMille, a long-time friend of President David O. McKay, was the executive producer of the anti-Mormon silent potboiler *A Mormon Maid*[2] in 1917. This movie was typical of the attitude silent photoplay producers displayed toward the Church. A polished, though lurid, pseudo-documentary of alleged pioneer atrocities, it was undoubtedly inspired by the unprecedented appeal of the epic *Birth of a Nation* (1915). (Even at that early date, filmmakers were tempted to manufacture "formula pictures" in the hope of recreating the box office magic for previous successes).

Filmed in California, *A Mormon Maid* used masked Danite "Avenging Angels" in Ku Klux Klan robes to promote its well advertised "exposé" of Brigham Young's Utah.[3] Unlike the Klan in earlier epics, the Danites were villains not heroes, and the movie reflected anti-Mormon viewpoints of the day.[4]

Richard Alan Nelson, formerly editor for Miramar Publishing Company in Los Angeles, is now working on his Doctorate in Mass Communications at Florida State University.



WELL ADVERTISED—"A Mormon Maid" (1917) exploited the success of "Birth of a Nation" to cash in on the public's fascination for the sensational.

"YOU MUST OBEY"—Mae Murray is told by the ficticious Ku Klux Klan-like Danites in "A Mormon Maid" (1917). (Executive producer of this pseudo-documentary was Cecil B. DeMille.)

EARLY POSTER—Fox Film Company's "The Rainbow Trail" (1918) emphasized the more lurid aspects of a "city of sealed wives" in its advertising.

MORMON MASSACRE—J. Warren Kerrigan (center) points out to church elders a lone gentile wagon in "The Mormons" (1912). Later he deserts his faith to defend the non-Mormons against the designs of women-hungry polygamists.

The earliest motion picture to touch on Mormon life was made in 1905 and ran only a few minutes in length. A rather crude comedy called *A Trip to Salt Lake City*, it detailed the problems faced by a harried polygamist when all his many children wanted a drink of water at the same time during a train trip.[5]

Within a few years, however, this humorous look at plural marriage had given way to a series of attacks on the Church by commercially motivated filmmakers. These were produced mainly in foreign lands in response to overseas missionary activities by the Church. *A Victim of the Mormons*, a 1911 Danish production, set the tone for later anti-Mormon photoplays, engendering a controversy with international repercussions.

Like the Victorian literature which spawned them, *A Victim of the Mormons* and other pictures in its wake repeated the same theme: a pretty young girl is forced by evil missionaries to enter into a polygamous alliance. Her loyal gentile suitor follows in pursuit, and—against great odds—eventually rescues his beloved from a life of misery in Utah.[6]

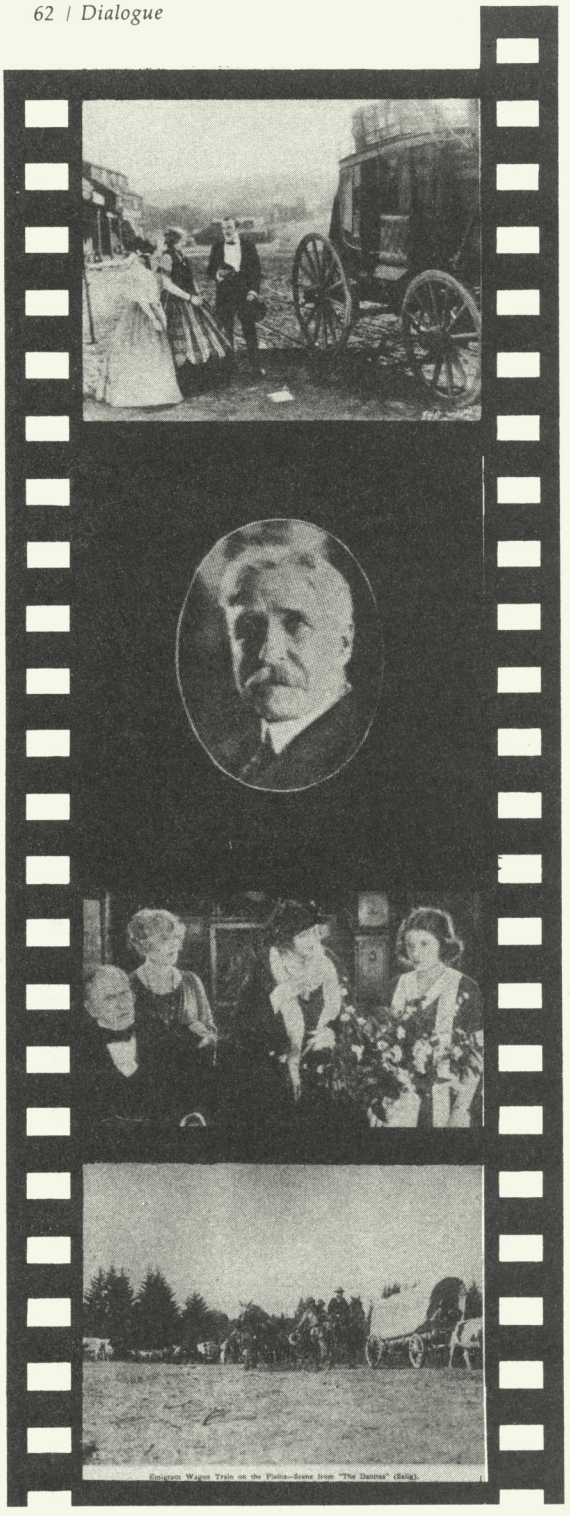
This film and other foreign melodramas* brought vigorous protests from both LDS Church and Utah civic officials. Governor William Spry went so far as to threaten to bar all motion pictures from the state unless the offending photoplays were withdrawn from circulation.[7] Although the Church owned *Deseret News* praised Spry's success in partially suppressing *The Victim*, in the United States, not everyone connected with the controversy agreed with Spry. When the semi-official National Board of Censorship rescinded its original approval of the picture, New York City's *Morning Telegraph* attacked Spry and asked, "Have the alternating religio-political tentacles of the Mormon Church . . . drawn into their embrace the National Board of Censorship?" And when the Governor suggested that Utah officials themselves could provide "suitable themes" for motion pictures, an unknown staff writer on the trade newspaper cried: "By the beard of the Prophet Brigham, that is going some! Reduced to an immigration advertising proposition, Elder Spry's suggestion is audacious enough to make every tithe-gathering elder of the temple chortle with joy."[8]

Although the debate excited much comment in the popular and trade press, little concrete action ensued. Local California interests, always on the lookout for topical subjects, produced a number of repetitious exploitation films during 1912. They included *The Mormon* and *Mountain Meadows Massacre*, both based loosely on the Utah tragedy (the latter showing Joseph Smith supposedly plotting the massacre with Brigham Young); *An Episode of Early Mormon Days; Marriage or Death;* and *The Danites.*[9]

This onslaught brought renewed protests and calls for censorship from church leaders like Rudger Clawson, and LDS film entrepreneurs like D. Lester Park. Although largely forgotten today, Park was the first man to exhibit motion pictures in Utah and was an early supporter of religious toleration.[10]

In response to movie slanders and in recognition of the power of film, the Church subsidized the making of one of the first monumental feature films ever released. *One Hundred Years of Mormonism*, produced in Los Angeles in 1912–13 (shot partly on location in Utah), took its title from the popular Church history of the same name.[11]

**The Flower of the Mormon City* (Denmark); *A Study in Scarlet* (Britain, 1914); *Deadwood Dick Spoils Brigham Young* (Britain, 1915).



"I'M OFF TO SALT LAKE CITY"—Silent era star Raymond Griffith follows the example of Brigham Young by asking two young sisters to be his wives in the comedy "Hands Up!" (1926).

PIONEER DIRECTOR—Norval MacGregor directed the early pro-LDS epic "One Hundred Years of Mormonism" (1913) and helped found the Motion Picture Directors Association.

ENTICED—Evelyn Brent (right) is being urged on by the "sister" of the LDS missionary to accompany them to America in the British production "Trapped By the Mormons" (1922). Shocked by this proposal are the innocent girl's parents (left).

FAMILIAR ROLE—Wallace Beery (he's the one on the horse) stood out in assignments that called for him to be a loveable rascal. In "Bad Bascomb" (1946) he mugged his way through a role in which he joins an unsuspecting wagon train of LDS pioneers as a fellow "convert" to the church while evading the sheriff.

The publicity phrase "a cast of thousands" was applicable in this case—over a thousand people took part in the making of the picture. A half-mile re-creation of Nauvoo, Independence, and other historical sites was constructed for the movie. Homes, stores and other buildings were faithfully reproduced from old photographs. Parts of the action for the six-reel, 1½ hour spectacle were recorded by four simultaneously running cameras—a herculean feat for the day.[12]

Although most of the principals connected with the film are now obscure, several became prominent within the silent industry. Nell Shipman, who authored the final screenplay, was one of the first women to become a screen writer. Later she became a popular movie actress.[13] Norval MacGregor, the director, helped found the Motion Picture Director's Association and worked for a number of the leading film manufacturers.[14]

Although praised by the Church and distinguished by its epic proportions, this independently marketed film seems to have had little impact. It did counterbalance somewhat the negative screen treatment of the Mormon community. Today it remains little more than a cinematic curiosity, largely unknown even to motion picture historians. Despite promises of worldwide release, no prints of the movie are believed extant today.[15]

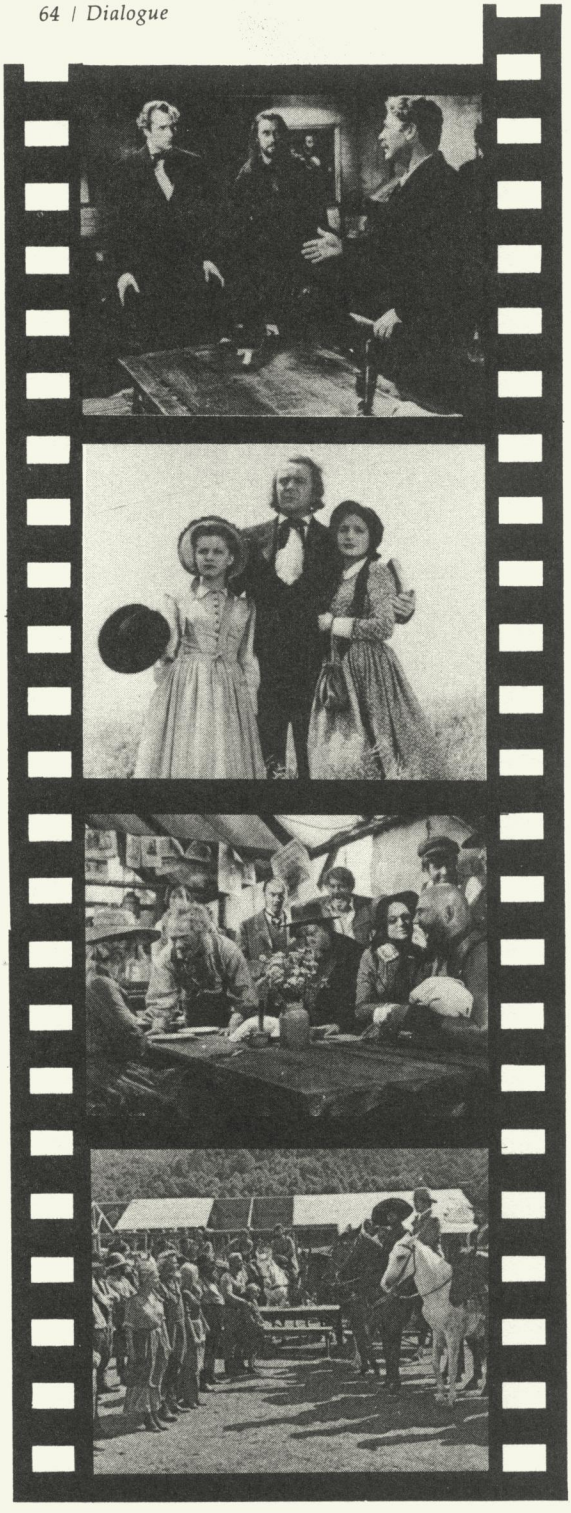
Several other shorter films favorable to the Latter-day Saints made their appearance as early travelogues. These include the Hale Tour Film *A Trip to Utah* (1907), the similar Edison travelogue *Salt Lake City, Utah, and its Surroundings* (1912), and the Bison Company's *The Romance of the Utah Pioneers* (1913). The latter remains the earliest known movie treatment of the handcart pioneers. Still other pro-Mormon photoplays were apparently planned by commercial interests and Mormon cineástes, but most were never completed.[16]

Church members did, however, become more active in the industry. Included were cameraman-director Harry Revier, producer and showman Albert Scowcroft, screenwriter Elliot Clawson, as well as a number of LDS and Utah actresses.[17] Despite these entries, Hollywood continued to be fascinated by the "Mormon Question" or polygamy. Post World War I movies repeatedly emphasized the lurid and sensational. In *Riders of the Purple Sage* and *The Rainbow Trail*, (1918 Fox Company releases based on the best-selling Zane Grey novels), catch phrases like "An Expose of Early Mormon Days" and "How Mormon Polygamy was Spread" were used to attract patrons.[18]

This fascination continued long after the Manifesto and was partially responsible for Church reiteration of the polygamy ban in the mid-1920s. Overseas production of similar vehicles such as the British-made *Trapped by the Mormons* and *Married to a Mormon* (both 1922) undoubtedly contributed to the decision.[19]

In 1921, in response to this continuing unfavorable cinematic publicity, Senator Reed Smoot, Apostle to the Church, reached an understanding with picture mogul William Fox. Fox promised, through his intermediaries, William Brady and attorney Saul Rogers, to eliminate any further references to Mormonism in remakes of the Zane Grey pictures as well as to withdraw the current versions from international distribution. This was done in return for an unwritten agreement to assist in killing a proposed 30 percent film industry tax pending in Congress.

> As Smoot later recounted to President Heber J. Grant: . . . After telling them that I was in sympathy with the elimination of the 30% tax . . . I did say to Mr. Rogers however that I



"GIVE IN"—Joseph Smith (Vincent Price) is urged to give into anti-Mormon demands by a near-apostate from the church (Brian Donlevy) while Orrin Porter Rockwell (John Carradine) looks on (center) in "Brigham Young—Frontiersman" (1940).

"I LOVE THEM BOTH"—Dean Jagger in his portrayal of "Brigham Young—Frontiersman" was unable to more than obliquely show his commitment to plural marriage because of restrictions in the Motion Picture Code. About as close as the film came to it was in several publicity photos similar to this one.

WIFE IS SOLD—When a Mormon (John Mitchum) rides into the gold rush town of No-Name City, he is forced to sell off wife Number 2 (Jean Seberg) to the highest bidder in "Paint Your Wagon," a 1969 big-screen musical. She ends up with two husbands!

"WE WANT YOUR LAND"—Innocent Mormon settlers are set upon by land-hungry ranchers and bandits in "They Call Me Trinity" (Italy—1972). In the movie, the Mormons are pacifists who refuse on religious principle to fight back against their enemies—even in defense of their homes.

> thought that any film company that would produce a moving picture and exhibit it to the American people, such as was done by the Fox Film Company in . . . "Riders of the Purple Sage," came with unclean hands to me asking for relief in any way. Perhaps I was a little rough on Mr. Rogers but there is no question but what the position taken by me resulted in an immediate decision. William J. Brady spoke up before Rogers . . . and promised me as a friend that the picture would never be shown again. Mr. Rogers assured me that as soon as he returned to New York he would see that his company withdrew the picture from future exhibition. Brady spoke up and said: "We need not wait until we return to New York, we will stop the showing of the picture by telegram."[20]

Further correspondence between Grant, Smoot and Fox over the possibility of making a pro-Mormon picture showing the "true history of Utah" apparently did not lead to a completed film.

The Senator was aided in his actions by declining public interest. As proof of the official disavowal of polygamy became known, allegations of a Mormon "conspiracy" to spirit away unsuspecting women waned. The long cherished image of an evil theocratic kingdom in Utah faded along with other frontier trappings.[21]

Moviemakers, too, realized that their conception of the state and its people was no longer big box-office. While still rooted in the pioneer period, their treatment took on a more humorous and sympathetic note still evident in modern feature film and television portrayals. In the forefront was *Hands UP!* a 1926 comedy starring Raymond Griffith. Even though Mormonism was a relatively minor theme in the plot, this movie heralded the return to a "positive" screen image. Griffith plays a man of polish and assurance who is thrown off balance by his relationship with two sisters. As a confederate spy during the Civil War, he has fallen in love with the two daughters of a Western mine owner. Although the North wins the war, he ends up with the gold and the girls. The appearance of Brigham Young (Charles K. French) with a score of his wives gives Griffith his cue, and he goes to Salt Lake City were he settles down in blissful polygamy.[22]

Whatever the effects of *Hands Up!*, the LDS leadership sought to avoid a possible renewal of screen persecution by encouraging film development within the state. As early as May 26, 1927, the *Deseret News* welcomed the temporary stopover of a large contingent of motion picture executives from a Hollywood trade convention. After calling their visitors "keen observers and rare judges of beauty," the *News* urged the filmmakers to "come again, gentlemen." Certainly this solicitous attitude on the part of the Mormon-owned paper (which had urged strict censorship of the industry) must have reflected serious interest among Church authorities in having a motion picture studio in Salt Lake. Whatever the causes and inducements, ten months later the newly formed Pioneer Film Corporation was operating in the Utah capital.

Announcements of the new group's plans appeared in the March 24, 1928, Salt Lake papers. First up was a feature entitled *The Exodus* (also referred to as *The Exodus of the New World*), "a dramatization of the perilous journey of the Mormon pioneers across the plains in 1847, from the Missouri River to Salt Lake Valley." Popular Hollywood players Ben Lyon and Marie Prevost were imported as the leads, and two grandsons of Brigham Young—Levi Edgar Young and Richard W. Young (then president of the Utah Bar Association)—were named to prominent positions with the firm. Plans were even made to build an

elaborate 20-acre studio "in some picturesque region on the outskirts of Salt Lake, which would be as complete in every way as any in Hollywood."

Renamed *All Faces West*, the picture received only limited distribution after its release during the awkward silent-talkie period of 1929. Like many other independent producers, the makers of *All Faces West* could not weather the combined shocks of a vastly changed industry and the economic conditions created by the stock market crash. The Pioneer Film Corporation went into receivership and never made another film.[23]

All Faces West has the distinction, though, of being the filmic antecedent of 20th Century Fox's *Brigham Young—Frontiersman* (1940), the best known version of that prophet's life to date. While fictionalizing parts of Mormon history and de-emphasizing the Mormon leader's commitment to plural marriage (motion picture codes strictly prohibited favorable screen treatment of polygamy), the movie turned in excellent performances by Dean Jagger in the title role and Vincent Price as Joseph Smith. However, the film was weighed down by the emphasis on the romantic relationship of Tyrone Power and Linda Darnell—the "real stars" of the picture.[24]

In 1976, nearly four decades later, Philip Yordan, producer and writer for such classics as *King of Kings* and *Broken Lance*, began production of a modern version of Brigham Young, filmed mainly in Utah. The movie is being directed by Thomas McGown and was written by Mr. Yordan in close cooperation with the historical Department of the Church. Starring Maurice Grandmason as Brigham Young and Charles Moll as Joseph Smith, it will cover Brigham's life from 1832 to 1861 and will deal in detail with polygamy.[25]

Today, most screen portrayals of Mormons are serious and sympathetic views of their struggles against persecution and harsh western elements. Favorable television episodes about the Church have appeared in *Bonanza, The New Land, Big Valley, Here Come The Brides,* and *Death Valley Days.* Movie features such as *Wagon Master* (1950), *Blood Arrow* (1958), the unreleased *The Polygamist* (1969) and *Educated Heart* (1970), and others also reflect this viewpoint.[26]

At the same time, theatrical film versions of *Bad Bascomb* (1946), *Paint Your Wagon* (1969), the "spaghetti-western" *They Call Me Trinity* (Italy—1972), and *The Duchess and the Dirtwater Fox* (1976) all have opted for humor in their treatment of Mormonism.

Comtemporary Mormonism, however, remains relatively unreported. The award winning film *Mahlzeiten* (Germany—1967) was made with Church cooperation with the use of real missionaries and a baptism. The overall impact drew Church protests, however, because in the end the couple's conversion makes no real difference, and the husband commits suicide.[27]

The state of Utah—so long identified with the Church—has been aggressive in marketing its natural beauty and unusual scenery to movie and television production companies. Although most pictures made in the state bear little relationship to Mormonism, an hour-long TV series pilot made for NBC in late 1971 called *Movin' On* attempted to reflect lifestyles of contemporary Mormons. Despite some pretty postcard views of Salt Lake City, Sterling Silliphant's teleplay offered up only cardboard characterizations—including a young female missionary romantically linked with one of the heroes. Audiences turned away in droves when *Movin' On* was piloted in 1972, and the project died.[28]

Because the movies have basically given up their role as family entertainment to television, the non-Mormon majority in the industry has turned to "adult" themes unappealing to most Mormons. The void has attracted Mormon filmmakers like Kieth Merrill and Lyman Dayton.

Merrill, who won an Academy Award for his documentary *The Great American Cowboy*, was highlighted as a "Great American Filmmaker" by the *New Era*, where he published his credo: "Being committed to the gospel means that we were praying constantly for guidance and inspiration that we could be creative and able to put this film together and still be able to represent the ideals that are important."[29]

Producer Lyman Dayton of Doty-Dayton Productions has found national audiences for such films as *Where the Red Fern Grows* and *Seven Alone*. For 1977 he plans four new movies, two of which will depict Mormon themes.

Dayton, like Merrill, is conscious of his Mormon values and places a high priority on them in his films. "Our eventual hope is to promulgate Mormon teachings and philosophy more than ever before. We have interjected some Mormon philosophies in each of our films and look to the day when the subtle line of statement will become a major part of our films."

For Dayton, the family film concept has yet to be realized. Nevertheless, he has strong feelings about the possiblities:

> A family film should be just that—a motion picture about real people and experiences that an entire family can enjoy together. Too much of our recreation has been fragmented, with adults going to their movies and their own activities while the children are left to do their own thing. . . . A quality family film should be one which provides entertainment for everyone—be it teenager, single adult or senior citizen. As a producer and a family man, I want my pictures to meet my standards. I want to watch every detail from casting to conclusion to know that what goes upon the screen is something I can enjoy, not only with my contemporaries but with my parents and my children, too.[30]

The G-rating has proved the kiss of death for many fine pictures simply because audiences (including Mormon ones) have not patronized them in sufficient numbers to justify production and distribution costs. Even the Church's attempt to build audiences with its ill-fated Family Film Award was halted when entertainment editor Howard Pearson of the *Deseret News* selected a controversial picture.

One thing seems certain: Continued interest in the distinctive Latter-day Saint cultural heritage probably means that as long as there are viewers, there will be Mormons on the screen.

NOTES

[1] See Richard Nelson, "A History of Latter-day Saint Screen Portrayals in the Anti-Mormon Film Era 1905–1936" (M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1975), for a detailed analysis of most of the motion pictures discussed in this article.

[2] Cecil B. DeMille, *The Autobiography of Cecil B. DeMille*, ed. Donald Hayne (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1959), pp. 433–434; "Doings—On The Cover," *California Intermountain News*, March 20, 1975, p. 3.

[3] See, for example, George Blaisdell, "A Mormon Maid," *The Moving Picture World* (New York), XXXI, 9 (March 3, 1917), 1372; George W. Graves, "A Mormon Maid," *Motography* (Chicago), XVII, 9 (March 3, 1917), 483; and Peter Milne, "A Mormon Maid," *Motion Picture News* (New York), XV, 9 (March 3, 1917), 1419.

[4]James B. Allen and Richard C. Cowan, *Mormonism in the Twentieth Century* (2nd ed.; Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1969), p. 66; Leonard J. Arrington and Jon Haupt, "Intollerable Zion: The Image of Mormonism in Nineteenth Century American Literature," *Western Humanities Review*, XXII, 3 (Summer 1968), 243–260; and Linda Lambert, "The Image of Mormons in Films," *The New Era* (Salt Lake City) II, 5, (May 1972), 12–15.

[5]Kemp R. Niver, *Motion Pictures From The Library of Congress Paper Print Collection 1894–1912*, ed. Bebe Bergsten (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), pp. 100–101. The film is still in existence. See *Blackhawk Bulletin* (Davenport, Iowa), 149 (September—Early October 1964), p. 4.

[6] *Mormonens Offer* (Aarhus, Denmark: A/S Fotorama, [1911]); Edwin D. Hatch, "Moving Picture Misrepresentations," *Latter-Day Saints Millenial Star* (Liverpool, England), LXXIII, 45 (November 9, 1911), p. 710; and Rudger Clawson, "The Anti-'Mormon' Moving Pictures and Play," *Latter-Day Saints Millenial Star*, LXXIII, 51 (December 21, 1911), 808–811. See also Neal Lambert and Richard Cracroft, "Through Gentile Eyes: A Hundred Years of the Mormon in Fiction," *The New Era*, II, 3 (March 1972), 14–19.

[7] See "Mormon Governor Threatens to Bar Films in Utah," *The Morning Telegraph* (New York), January 28, 1912, Section 4, Part 2, pp. 1, 6; and "Offensive Films Are Suppressed," *The Deseret Evening News* (Salt Lake City), February 3, 1912, p. 2, for typical accounts.

[8]*The Morning Telegraph*, January 28, 1912.

[9]Nelson, *LDS Screen Portrayals*, pp. 40–69.

[10]"The Sectarian Film Once More," *Moving Picture World*, XI, 4 (January 27, 1912), 282; and "Utah Native Dies in California," *Deseret News*, June 7, 1952. Park helped found Ogden Pictures Corporation in 1917 and was to be involved in a variety of other local and national film activities. For more on Ogden and Park see "Big Corporation to Produce Films," *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 4, 1917.

[11]John Henry Evans, *One Hundred Years of Mormonism, A History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints From 1805 to 1905* (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News Press, 1905).

[12]For representative articles see Levi Edgar Young, " 'Mormonism' in Picture," *Young Woman's Journal* (Salt Lake City), XXIV, 2 (February 1913), 74–80; "Mormon Pictures," *Motography*, VIII, 3 (August 3, 1912), 110; P. M. Powell, "Doings at Los Angeles—The Mormon Picture," *Moving Picture World*, XV, 3 (January 18, 1913), 251; "History of 'Mormonism' in Picture," *Deseret Evening News*, January 25, 1913, Section 3, p. VIII; and Richard Nelson, "Utah Filmmakers of the Silent Screen," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, XLIII, 1 (Winter 1975), 4–25.

[13]See the advertisement "Nell Shipman—Photoplaywright," *Moving Picture World*, XV, 7 (February 15, 1913), 707; and Tom Fulbright, "Nell Shipman—Queen of the Dog Sleds," *Classic Film Collector* (Indiana, Pennsylvania), 25 (Fall 1969), 30–31+.

[14]*The Motion Picture Studio Directory and Trade Annual* (6th ed.; New York: Motion Picture News, Inc., 1920), p. 308; and Nelson, *LDS Screen Portrayals*, pp. 79–80.

[15]Because the accounts cited above state that orders for the film came from Russia, Germany, France, Argentina and elsewhere, it is possible that further research may uncover the complete film.

[16]The Clawson brothers, Chester and Shirley, have been described as "the motivating force" behind continued LDS Church interest in motion pictures during the silent years. Much of their work is now of great historical interest and forms an invaluable documentary record of early twentieth-century Mormon activities and leadership. Their feature film plans never reached completion, however, and a tragic fire in 1929 killed one of the brothers and ended their active work in motion pictures. "Motion Picture Producer Dies as Blasts Wreck Laboratory," *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 24, 1929, pp. 1–2.

[17]Among the many other actors, actresses, directors and producers with Utah backgrounds during the silent and early talkie period one finds film company heads William H. Swanson and William W. Hodkinson, directors James Cruze and Frank Borzage, and others well known—and not—such as Violet Bird, Edwina Booth, Betty Compson, Luke Cosgrave, Hazel Dawn, John Gilbert, Reed Howes, DeWitt C. Jennings, Eleanor Lawson, Willard Mack, Norman Peck, Marjorie Rambeau, Mack Swain, Mary Thurman, and Loretta Young. See Nelson, "Utah Filmmakers of the Silent Screen," p. 18. Many of the stage players at the old Wilkes Theater (now the Promised Valley Playhouse) in Salt Lake also went on to successful movie careers and deserve a mention. Among them were Anne Berryman, George Cleveland, Ralph Cloninger, Cyril Delavanti, Ferdinand Munier, Donald Woods, and perhaps most notable of all—Gladys George, who played there for several years. Other LDS players of note include Larraine Day, child star Gary Gray, and respected character actor Moroni Olsen. See Leo J. Muir, editor, *A Century of Mormon Activities in California*, Volume 1 (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1952), pp. 361–369; and Richard Nelson, "Child Actor Gary Gray: He's a Man Now," *California Intermountain News*, July 3, 1975, p. 3.

[18]P. S. Harrison, " 'Riders of the Purple Sage'—Fox," *Motion Picture News*, XVIII, 12 (September 21, 1918), 1913; and P. S. Harrison, " 'The Rainbow Trail'—Fox," *Motion Picture News*, XVIII, 14 (October 5, 1918), 2244+.

[19]Leonard J. Arrington, "Mormonism: Views From Without and Within," *BYU Studies* (Provo, Utah), XIV, 2 (Winter 1974), p. 150; and Nelson, *LDS Screen Portrayals*, pp. 209–210.

[20]See the carbon copy of the letter of Reed Smoot to LDS Church president Heber J. Grant, September 7, 1921, pp. 2–3, Reed Smoot Collection, MS 1187, Container 48, Folder 9, BYU Library Archives, Provo, Utah; and Nelson, *LDS Screen Portrayals*, pp. 128–139.

[21]Allen and Cowan, *Mormonism in the Twentieth Century*, p. 36. Polygamy was at the heart of the anti-Mormon crusades. Typical was the statement that "Mormonism spells polygamy, and polygamy means the enslavement of women." C. Sheridan Jones, *The Truth About the Mormons—Secrets of Salt Lake City* (London: William Rider and Sons Ltd., 1920), p. ix. This form of literary reportage alleging the "crime" of plural marriage on the part of contemporary Utah church members largely dies out after this period.

[22]The script for *Hands Up!* (1926) is found in Carton 37 of the Paramount Pictures Collection at the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences Library in Beverly Hills. For background on the making of the photoplay see Kevin Brownlow, *The Parade's Gone By . . .* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968), pp. 441–445.

[23]For full details see Nelson, *LDS Screen Portrayals*, pp. 180–186.

[24]For a contemporary view on the picture from a Mormon perspective see James V. D'Arc's " 'Brigham Young' . . . Epic Film," *The Daily Universe* (Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah), October 9, 1972, Monday Magazine Section, pp. 6–7 and "The Saints on Celluoid: The Making of the Movie 'Brigham Young' ", *Sunstone* (Provo) I, 4 (Fall 1976), 10–28. Interestingly enough, Dean Jagger later joined the Mormon Church. See James V. D'Arc, "Dean Jagger—'Prophet' to Convert," *The Daily Universe*, November 19, 1973, pp. 7–8. The Production Code was voluntarily accepted by all the major studios to ward off official government censorship. It came into full effect in 1934. See Olga J. Martin, *Hollywood's Movie Commandment—A Handbook for Motion Picture Writers and Reviewers* (New York: H. W. Wilson Company, 1937), p. 174.

[25]An attempt to capitalize on news items about an outlawed plural marriage sect in Arizona in 1936 brought forth a cheap "sex-ploitation" picture appropriately called *Polygamy* (also known as *Illegal Wives*). Its cast was largely non-stellar, and it quickly faded into oblivion. The genre has almost disappeared, except for the brief use of a "Mormon Priest" in a 1972 Danish pornographic production *Bordellet*.

Background on the Short Creek (now Colorado City) religionists can be found in John Marshall Day, "A Study in Protest to Adaptation" (M.A. Thesis, University of Utah, 1963); James Cary, "The Untold Story of Short Creek," *American Mercury*, LXXVIII (May 1954), 119–123; and Nelson, *LDS Screen Portrayals*, 198–206.

[26]*Educated Heart* was written by Nathan and Ruth Hale, a couple long active in LDS dramatics. The film unfortunately reflects many of the problems of bringing a film to the family screen. See "Utah Cast and Locale for New Movie," *The Deseret News*, December 3, 1969, p. C8; Jan Padfield, "Utah to Star in Hollywood Film," *The Deseret News*, February 16, 1970, p. B10; "Do-It Man—It's a Sure Way to Get Educated," *The Deseret News*, August 13, 1970, p. A19. Mormons also have become increasingly active in Hollywood television production. For more on this refer to the author's "TV Pioneer Henry Kesler Says 'Hard to be LDS' in Filmdom," *California Intermountain News*, November 7, 1974, pp. 3, 5; "Composer Lex de Azevedo: A Musician With a Mission," *California Intermountain News*, March 6, 1975, pp. 2, 8; and "Singer-Actress Heather Young: She's a Long Way from the Land of the Giants," *California Intermountain News*, April 3, 1975, pp. 2, 7. In recent years this newspaper has placed greater emphasis on coverage of Mormon performing arts and forms, an invaluable secondary reference source for in-depth research.

[27]See D. L. Ashliman, "A Small Helping of Mormonism," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, II, 4 (Winter, 1967), 119–120 and the remarks by Richard L. Bushman appearing on pages 118–119 of the same issue.

[28]Robert H. Woody, " 'Movin' On' Moves On Into Salt Lake," *Salt Lake Tribune*, November 6, 1971, Second Section, p. 29.

[29]Brian Kelly, "Kieth Merrill, Great American Filmmaker," *The New Era*, V, 9: 10–14, (August 1975; See also Kieth Merrill, "The Filming of the 'The Great American Cowboy,' *American Cinematographer*, May 1974; and "Oscar Winning Alumnus Presented Award at Y," *The Universe* (Provo, Utah), April 29, 1974, p. 2.

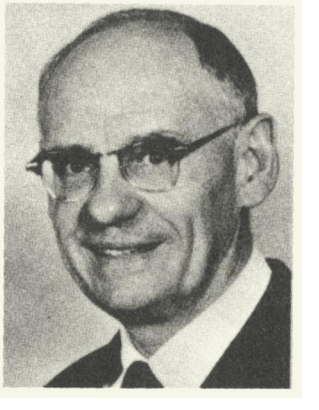
[30]Personal correspondence, Lyman Dayton to *Dialogue*, October 14, 1976. See also *Time*, January 3, 1977, p. 74; and Richard Nelson, "LDS Moviemaker Lyman Dayton Sees Need for Family Films," *California Intermountain News* (Los Angeles), October 24, 1974, pp. 3, 7.

The Washington Post

Seventy-fifth Year in the Nation's Capital

TUESDAY, MAY 6, 1952

Merlo Pusey of The Washington Post Wins Pulitzer Prize for Biography of Hughes



Three Washington newspapermen, one of them Merlo J. Pusey, associate editor of The Washington Post, were among the winners of the annual Pulitzer prizes announced yesterday.

Pusey's two-volume life of Charles Evans Hughes won the $500 prize for "the best American biography teaching patriotic and unselfish service to the people." Six years of research went into the book, which Pusey began with the help of the late Chief Justice himself.

Merlo Pusey, retired Associate Editor of the Editorial page for the *Washington Post*, is the author of several biographies and political studies. His *Charles Evans Hughes* won the Pulitzer Prize and the Bancroft Prize in 1952.

MY FIFTY YEARS IN JOURNALISM

MERLO J. PUSEY

Can a Mormon boy from the cow country of the West reasonably aspire to a writing career in the mainstream of our national life? What roads are open to him? Must he sacrifice his faith en route? Is there a basic incompatability between success in the writing field and adherence to the gospel of Christ? My experience may throw some light on the avenues that are open and the problems that may be encountered.

I grew up in the small ranching community of Woodruff on the Utah-Wyoming border where my father operated a store and the post office. At fifteen I began working on nearby ranches in the hope of financing a high school education in Salt Lake City. At seventeen I spent several weeks alone on a large Wyoming ranch, riding ten to fifteen miles a day on horseback to keep an eye on the cattle and to bury those that died of blackleg. It was a great comfort to carry a six-shooter on my hip. While riding the range, mowing hay or hauling wool to market, I dreamed of becoming a writer. The meager literature available at home and at school fascinated me. What a great adventure it would be to write poetry, novels, history or biography! My yearnings were nothing more than flights of fancy, though, for I knew of no way to earn a living by putting words together.

When I enrolled at the Latter-day Saints University in Salt Lake City, it was my good fortune to be assigned to a class in English composition taught by Herman J. Wells. Although Brother Wells seemed a little appalled at the wild rhetoric of my "themes," his thoughtful coaching gave me courage enough to show him a verse I had written. With his encouragement, I did some other special work, and at the end of my junior year he recommended me to the faculty as editor of the *Gold and Blue* newspaper to be published for the first time the following year. So, despite my total ignorance of newspapers, I plunged into a fascinating life.

The printing of our school paper at the *Deseret News* plant brought me into contact with some of the executives of that journal. Near the end of the school year, one of them asked if I could recommend a bright young man on my staff as a proofreader after graduation. "Wouldn't I do?" was my immediate response. So, the echo of my valedictory address to the class of 1922 had scarcely died away when I found myself reading proof for the *Deseret News*. A few months later the world of letters opened one of its tiny corridors and allowed me to enter as a cub reporter.

At first the city editor gave me only meager assignments, but I was later promoted to cover the Hotel Utah which involved tracking down and interviewing distinguished people who visited the city. Thus I met and wrote about William Jennings Bryan, Vilhjalmur Steffensson, Charles A. Lindbergh and many others. On the same beat was the Church Office Building where I came into contact with most of the general authorities of the Church. I was a devout Mormon and in 1923 won the church-wide M-Men's oratorical contest.

When I was assigned to cover the city and county governments, including the local and district courts, I began to study law at night because I felt lost in the courtrooms. As other gaps in my knowledge appeared, I began taking courses at the University of Utah. For several years I worked frantically at the *News* from seven A.M. to one P.M., then raced to the University in my Model T for whatever courses I could crowd into afternoons and evenings. My love of literature was thus intensified, my interests in political science and history broadened.

At the *News*, however, there was much hemming and hawing when I argued that my graduation with honors and election to Phi Kappa Phi, plus my resumption of a full eight-hour day, merited a raise. Finally my pay was increased by $10 a month. That stiffened my growing resolve to seek greener pastures. For some months my fiancée, Dorothy Richards, and I had been talking of trying our luck in Washington, D.C., then emerging as a great news center. So after our marriage in September 1928, we honeymooned our way to Washington by way of Canada and New England. On the advice of friends who were doing well in the Capital, we rented a one-room apartment and began looking for work.

I visited all five of the daily newspapers, but centered my hopes in the *Washington Post* because I liked its style and appearance. Obtaining directions to the office of Managing Editor Norman Baxter in the old *Post* Building at E Street and Pennsylvania, I introduced myself, recounted my experience and said I was looking for a job as a reporter. An elderly gentleman looked up from his desk.

"You must be looking for Mr. Baxter," he said. "I'm Ira Bennett, the editor."

Embarrassed at having invaded the wrong office, I apologized and started to leave. "Wait," he said. "Can you write editorials?"

Now that possibility really excited me. I said that I had studied political science, history and economics; I had written a few editorials for the *Deseret News*. Bennett explained that one member of his staff was not doing well and he was looking for a more experienced and competent writer.

"In that case," I said, "why don't you let me try writing some editorials as an experiment?"

Bennett agreed, and I was soon racking my brain for editorial subjects. Some of the editorials I submitted were published, with extensive editing, and in November 1928, I succeeded in convincing Bennett that I should become a full-fledged member of his staff. Having thus a foot in the door of a daily newspaper in the nation's Capital, I gave up plans for graduate studies and began digging into local and national problems. I read extensively, attended numerous press conferences and chewed over current events and public issues.

The work was heavy and sometimes bewildering. As Bennett was often preoccupied with administration, the burden of filling the editorial columns fell heavily on Donald Wiley and myself, with occasional contributions from the news staff. I was shocked to discover that my share of the load amounted to

three editorials a day, with more on Saturday when we had to fill a full page in ten-point type for Sunday and three columns for Monday. At first I could not keep up, but I soon fell into the pattern.

As the months rolled by, I became aware of a troublesome skeleton in the *Post's* closet. The paper had won a reputation for fairness, reliability and vigor under the late John R. McLean, but when he was succeeded by a playboy son, Edward Beale (Ned), husband of Evelyn McLean, owner of the ill-fated Hope Diamond, the paper's revenues were diverted to support his indulgences in wine, women and horse racing. Fortunately, McLean, usually an absentee owner, seemed to exert little influence on the policy of the paper. Bennett insisted on keeping the paper free from McLean's disrepute. "We have to lean backward to keep this paper respectable," he told me, "because our publisher himself is such an S.O.B."

As an active Mormon I was very sensitive to any reflection on my integrity. But I was never asked to write anything in violation of my convictions. When there were disagreements, my editorials sometimes went into the wastebasket, but there was never any suggestion that challenged my conscience. Bennett succeeded in keeping the paper respectable, and for several years he was able to fight off McLean's inclination to sell it to William Randolph Hearst. But when the Great Depression worsened in the early thirties, the *Post* went from bad to worse and was finally sold at auction in June 1933, for failure to pay its paper bill.

That event posed a serious threat to the security of my family, for I had previously lost a part-time job on Capitol Hill. To supplement my *Post* salary I had been researching and "ghosting" for members of the Senate Finance Committee which involved attending hot debates behind closed doors and writing speeches for Senator Reed Smoot and occasionally for Majority Leader James Watson. Smoot once ordered a speech which he began to deliver on the Senate floor before I had finished writing it. The staff, in a dither, rushed the unfinished portion to him page by page as it emerged from my steaming typewriter. I even wrote articles for the *Saturday Evening Post* under the names of Senators Smoot and David A. Reed. But the ghosting and the job came to an end with the defeat of Smoot and the coming of Franklin D. Roosevelt in March 1933, about the time of the *Post's* collapse.

The auction was a dramatic affair. Among the bidders were Hearst and Evelyn Walsh McLean, flashing her diamond. But the star of the show was a little known attorney, George Hamilton, who took the prize with a bid of $825,000. I was overjoyed to learn two weeks later that Hamilton had acted for Eugene Meyer, wealthy New York financier and former chairman of the Federal Reserve System. During the boom year of 1929, Meyer had offered $5 million for the *Post*, only to have it rejected. He had plenty of money to build a great newspaper, and I respected what I knew of his spunk and determination.

The new management had scarcely been installed, however, when my high hopes came crashing down. Though Meyer restored the salaries that had previously been slashed, he seemed to assume that the entire editorial staff was fit only for the skids. While he was searching for a new editor, we were reduced to filling space without saying anything. That state of frustration ended only after he had hired Felix Morley of the Baltimore *Sun* as editor. Anna Youngman, an able economist from the *Journal of Commerce*, and Mark Ethridge, who later be-

came editor of the Louisville *Courier-Journal,* had previously been added to the staff. I was allowed to stay, since I had been only a junior helmsman on the sinking ship, but I was clearly in the doghouse. One morning Meyer called his staff into his office and said:

"Mr. Ethridge, I certainly like your editorial 'Art for Art's Sake.' It has the touch we want in this paper."

"Thank you, Mr. Meyer," Ethridge replied, "but it was not my piece. It was Mr. Pusey's."

"Oh well," he retreated, "It was good anyway."

Despite my lowly status, I wanted to stay at the *Post* because of my confidence that Meyer would build a great newspaper and that his distrust of me would wear off. He was a stickler for accuracy, as all good journalists are. Whenever a reporter or an editor made a mistake, he insisted that it be corrected promptly without quibble. If a public official complained of a misquotation, he insisted that the writer visit the official. One day he sent me to see Secretary of Agriculture Henry Wallace who had complained of inaccuracy in an editorial I had written. The Secretary chatted about many unrelated things. When I brought up the editorial, he said that my cotton import figures were askew. I expressed surprise, for I had obtained the figures from his own department. Wallace said this could not be so, but soon after I had left to do further checking, he summoned me back. "You were right," he said, with disarming candor, "and I was cockeyed." The incident gave my stock at the *Post* a considerable boost.

Meyer never got around to apologizing for his prejudice against me, but one day after the outbreak of World War II, when I was temporarily in charge of the page, he asked me to ride to the airport with him. We talked about how wartime demands might affect various members of the staff. Suddenly he fixed me with his penetrating eyes and asked, "They're not likely to take you, are they?"

"No, Mr. Meyer," I replied. "If the draft board should get down to me, it would be scraping the bottom of the barrel. I'm thirty-nine and I have three children."

His eyes twinkled. "You were only thirty-one when I bought the paper. Why didn't you tell me? You looked like a man and I didn't realize you were only a boy."

My first great opportunity as an editorial writer came in 1937 when President Roosevelt tried to pack the Supreme Court. His bill was designed to add six new justices if the sitting justices over seventy did not retire. This shocked the country, but it was widely assumed that Congress would do whatever Roosevelt asked because of his overwhelming victory at the polls only a few months before. From the press and the people, however, came a tidal wave of opposition. Since I had made the Supreme Court one of my main interests, it was my lot to lead the fight against the President's bill in the editorial columns of the *Post.*

Day after day I exposed the phony trappings of reform in which FDR had wrapped the court-packing aspects of the bill and denounced the concept that the Court should take its orders from the White House. These editorials were widely read in Congress and elsewhere, and the *Post* was credited with leading the fight to save the Supreme Court from humiliation. Meyer was delighted, for he too was deeply troubled by the threat to our constitutional system of government.

Having delved into the history of the Court and into the events leading to the court-packing venture, I now had far more data than I could squeeze into brief pieces. Without consulting anyone, I began to write what I hoped would become a pamphlet reminiscent of Tom Paine's *Common Sense*. By this time the Senate Judiciary Committee had taken up the fight to defeat the President's bill, and I was keeping in touch with the leaders of the committee. Working far into the night and on my days off, I finished the manuscript in 22 days. After an all-night grind, I caught the 5:30 A.M. train to New York where I showed the manuscript to what I hoped were eager publishers.

The result was disappointing. However interested they might be in the subject, they were all afraid that the fight to save the Court would be finished before they could publish and recoup their costs. Returning to Washington, I showed the manuscript to Senator Edward R. Burke of Nebraska, the recognized leader of the fight. His warm endorsement became a foreword for the book. With this support, I tried again, but with the same results. Finally, Senator Burke talked the American Bar Association into underwriting the book, and the Macmillan Company came out with 17,000 copies of *The Supreme Court Crisis* in June 1937. So it was that my book became another element in the overwhelming defeat of the court-packing bill.

The book was favorably reviewed; Meyer was enthusiastic; my standing in the journalistic world was dramatically elevated. The resulting exhilaration led me to discover that "authoritis" is a disease for which there is no known cure.

From the beginning of our sojourn in Washington, my wife and I had been closely affiliated with the Washington Branch of the Mormon Church, consisting of 50–75 members, mainly young couples working for the government and going to school at night. The branch became the center of our social as well as our religious life. We met in the old Washington Auditorium at New York Avenue and E Street which was also used for dog shows and conventions. Dr. Edgar B. Brossard of the U.S. Tariff Commission was president of the branch, and I was pleased to serve as his second counselor for three years while the first LDS Washington chapel was being built. But as pressures at the *Post* increased and I was put in charge of the editorial page over weekends, my work in the Church was reduced to teaching, speaking and Boy Scout activities.

One day I was surprised by a visit from David O. McKay, then a member of the First Presidency, for whom I have always had great respect and affection. In the course of a pleasant chat, he asked if I would be interested in returning to the *Deseret News* as its editor. It was not an official "calling" but only a feeling-out. Though flattered and pleased, I replied that I thought I could do more good in Washington, the best city in the world for journalism. Before leaving, President McKay gave me the impression that he agreed with that view.

When Morley resigned as editor of the *Post* in 1940 because of disagreement with Meyer over foreign policy, there was some talk that I, being second in command, should succeed to the editorship, but I did not seek the job. I could think of plenty of reasons why Meyer would look elsewhere: I was still relatively young; I had only a limited background in foreign affairs, the field of greatest importance at the time; and I had demonstrated no special aptitude for management. I was always more interested in writing than in presiding over the writing of others. When Meyer found an able chief of staff in the person of

Herbert Elliston of the *Christian Science Monitor,* I was more relieved than disappointed. I have always agreed with Charles Evans Hughes's dictum that a man's measure is the work he does—not the title he holds.

If there was any prejudice against me at the *Post* on religious grounds, it was not apparent. Our staff included several Protestants, a Jew, a Catholic and an agnostic. Religious differences were the accepted norm. Yet religion was a factor in my limited and formal relation with the Meyers and some of my colleagues. Though Dorothy and I were occasional guests at the Meyer mansion in Crescent Place, we were never among the intimates. We drank gingerale while the hosts and other guests drank champagne and highballs. Differences in objectives, language and habits of thought seemed to be more apparent in the social milieu. Both social and professional relations might have been easier with more conformity on our part, but no man or woman worthy of the name tailors his or her convictions to popular standards to win economic advantage.

I am confident that, in general, my religious beliefs have been a great asset in my writing career. The concepts of fairness, honesty and pursuit of truth are deeply imbedded in the gospel of Christ. Mormonism also tends to inspire its adherents with a positive outlook on life, with faith in human progress and an awareness of the goodness of God. With due allowance for human frailties, the Mormon quest for eternal life and conformity to the will of God is a powerful impetus toward constructive achievement.

My editorial responsibility was to write about problems, issues and personalities as an independent observer serving no party, organization, faction or individual—not even the publisher of the paper. I always felt comfortable in striving for this objective because I believe it to be fully compatible with my duty as a conscientious Mormon—or Christian.

On Sunday, December 7, 1941, I was working at my desk as usual when a copy boy burst into the room screaming, "Japan has attacked Pearl Harbor." The war that followed quickened the tempo of life and changed many things. Within a few days Winston Churchill was within our reach as a source of news and understanding of the holocaust that had been unloosed upon mankind. He had flown to Washington to confer with Roosevelt on the coordination of British and American war plans and naturally drew a great crowd to the presidential press conference. After answering a few preliminary questions, FDR introduced his guest and allowed him to explain his own presence. Reporters in the back of the room complained that they could neither hear nor see him. The great statesman climbed onto a chair where he answered questions with candor, brillance and range of vision that none of his contemporaries could match.

Throughout the war, I felt close to the centers of power where momentous policy was being made. A vital source of information was the luncheons Meyer gave in his office for Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles, Assistant Secretary of War John J. McCloy, Donald Nelson of the Office of War Production, Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes and many others. Meyer and his staff questioned them in great detail off the record. One day Henry Kaiser outlined his plans for a baby aircraft carrier, and Meyer was instrumental in getting him into the White House after the Navy had turned down the idea. The President overruled the Navy, and the baby aircraft carriers, manufactured quickly and in great numbers, helped win the war.

I remember another red-letter day when General Dwight D. Eisenhower came to lunch at the *Post* shortly after his victory in Europe. Everyone seemed fascinated by his stories, his democratic manner and his grasp of world problems. One story in particular stayed with me. After the Battle of Anzio he had the grim task of restoring the morale of an army that had been cut to pieces. His praise of their fighting prowess and their patriotism left the men still glum and depressed, but when the General slipped and fell as he descended from the speaker's platform, the GI's roared with laughter. That broke the spell. Ike laughed with them and came away feeling that his fall on the seat of his pants in the mud was the best thing he could have done for those war-weary boys. Ordinarily it is a sound rule that military men be kept out of politics. But here was an exception. Ike was the antithesis of a brass hat. From that time forward I wrote about him with high respect and sincere hope that he would be drafted for further national service.

The disease I had contracted during the court-packing fight flared up again during the war years. The result was my second book, *Big Government: Can We Control It?*, devoted to the problems emerging from FDR's first three terms. Published by Harper and Brothers in 1945, with a foreword by Charles A. Beard, it drew a number of good reviews, thereby deepening my infection. I looked for another subject and soon found one in the person of Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes who had triumphantly retired four years after thwarting FDR's attempt to displace him. During this period he had led the Court into a new era of liberal decisions. His place in judicial history seemed second only to that of John Marshall.

It took some weeks to screw up my courage to approach Hughes. At last I called on his secretary and confessed what was on my mind. "It won't do any good to talk to him about that," the secretary said. "I already have a list of twenty people who want to write his biography and *some of them* are distinguished writers."

Nevertheless, I insisted on an appointment, and when I was ushered into the presence of the great man a few days later, he was in an expansive mood. He talked in fascinating detail about the Supreme Court and himself, as if I were already assembling material for the biography. At the end of an hour he said that he wanted me to meet his son who would be chiefly concerned about biographical questions because he (the father) did not wish anything published before his death. "I can understand that," I said, "but it would be of enormous help to have access to you while you are still in good health." He agreed with that.

A week later I was back again conferring with Hughes and his son. Young Hughes wanted to know what experience I had had in organizing such a vast amount of data as would necessarily go into a book about his father. I mentioned the books I had written, and the former Chief Justice asked for a copy of *The Supreme Court Crisis*, which he had never seen. After he read the book, he began turning over to me 500 pages of biographical notes he had written since his retirement. During subsequent visits he gave me exclusive access to these notes, to his papers in the Library of Congress and to himself in return for my pledge to write what he called "a thorough, scholarly and definitive biography." He agreed to leave the content to my judgment since the book was not to be published in his lifetime.

The arrangement was ideal. The Chief, as his associates called him, gave me a standing appointment, two hours every week. Using his notes, I spent two and a half years researching and asking questions about every phase of his career. Usually he replied with candor and detail. Occasionally he would remind me that what took place in the judicial conferences was confidential, but he would sometimes add, "You ought to know more than you can write." Then he would tell what happened—perhaps how Brandeis had reacted, what Butler had said. He always told these stories with gusto and a finely honed sense of humor.

I continued to wonder why, with all the "distinguished writers" clamoring to do his life, he had conferred the privilege on me. Then one day he told me that I got the nod because he thought I would write objectively, without personal prejudice, and that I understood better than some others what he was trying to do as Chief Justice. Needless to say, I was touched by his faith in me and couldn't help thinking it a tribute to my religion—a religion that gave me a high regard for truth and sincerity.

Though Hughes was not active in any church, he retained a basic faith and hope in the hereafter. One morning when he was Secretary of State he was awakened out of deep sleep by a brilliant idea for handling a critical problem. Arising at 4 A.M. he wrote a public statement that was promptly approved by the President. Explaining the incident to his associates, he said: "The voice of God spoke to me last night."

Hughes died in 1948 and was soon followed by his son, the victim of a brain tumor. I continued to work on the biography for another three years, making a total of six. *Charles Evans Hughes* was finally published in two volumes by Macmillan in 1951. About the same time I was invited to lunch by another great man of the law, Justice Felix Frankfurter. His purpose seemed to be to roast me for an editorial I had written about some Court opinion, but, with that out of the way he asked, "Would you like me to review your Hughes books for the *New York Times*?" Of course I was elated by that generous gesture which turned into a warm review, rich in judicial lore.

As I was cleaning the basement of our home in early May 1952, a telephone call from the *Post* informed me that the Hughes book had won the Pulitzer Prize for biography. It was an electrifying moment. Later the book also won the Bancroft Prize and the Tamiment Institute Book Award. Then the Brigham Young University gave me an honorary Doctor of Letters degree. For an amateur cowboy, it was an exhilarating harvest.

In the journalistic world, however, new problems emerged. At the *Post* Philip L. Graham had become publisher, succeeding his father-in-law, Meyer, who returned to the paper as chairman of the board after serving briefly as president of the World Bank. Elliston suffered a protracted illness in 1952, and the burden of managing the editorial page again fell largely on me. All went well during the period when Eisenhower was emerging as the Republican nominee for the presidency. The *Post* came out for him—its first formal endorsement of any presidential candidate during the Meyer regime. When the Democrats nominated Adlai Stevenson, however, Elliston and some other members of the staff argued for a switch. Despite the bombardments from Elliston's retreat in New Hampshire, I managed to hold the *Post* to its commitment, with the support of Graham and Meyer, until Eisenhower won an easy victory.

When Elliston resigned because of continued ill health, Graham, without consulting me, appointed the youngest member of our staff, Robert Estabrook, to be editor of the editorial page. I was not sure that I could work with him, a tremendously prolific writer of little flexibility whose greatest ambition seemed to be to fill the page with his own pieces. But Meyer's earnest arguments and the fact that I had just invested in a 400-acre farm on the Potomac River convinced me that I should stay on as associate editor, a title I had held since 1946.

About 1954, Justice William O. Douglas of the Supreme Court took sharp exception to an editorial I had written supporting a National Park Service plan to build a scenic parkway on the old C and O Canal towpath adjacent to the Potomac. "Come with me," challenged the Justice, "and I will show you the beauties of that country and convince you that it should be saved from motor traffic." The *Post* editors accepted this challenge for a 189-mile hike from Cumberland, Maryland to Washington.

The result was a historic trek in which I joined forty conservationists, journalists and others, walking from 20 to 27 miles a day, stopping for meals prepared by the Appalachian Trail Club and often sleeping under the stars. Out of this trek emerged the C and O Canal Association which finally pursuaded Congress to convert the canal property into a national historic park. It was a victory for the redoubtable Justice in which the *Post* shared despite initial differences.

While continuing my regular work and overseeing the operation of my farm, I found time to write a book called *Eisenhower The President* in 1956. Some of my conclusions varied sharply from *Post* policy, but I never felt compunction about expressing independent views. Occasionally I wrote articles for *The Saturday Evening Post, Harper's,* the *Atlantic, Yale Review* and other magazines to air opinions that could not be cramped into editorials. Working relations at the *Post* became more pleasant when Graham sent Estabrook to London to head the *Post's* news bureau there. Executive Editor James Russell Wiggins became director of the editorial page. He proved to be a genial chief; I could argue with him for hours without arousing hostility.

Several other pleasant memories are worthy of mention. One of the University of Utah Alumni Association's first "Distinguished Alumni Awards" came my way in 1958 and the American Bar Association's gavel award "for distinguished editorials on the Supreme Court" in 1960. I also helped to amend the United States Constitution. For many years I had deplored the ambiguity of the original Constitution which prevented the President from asking the Vice President to sit in for him in case of incapacity. When illness disabled Eisenhower, I wrote an editorial suggesting that he sign an agreement with Vice President Nixon under which the latter would take control temporarily and return all the powers upon request from the President. This was done, and it ultimately led to adoption of the Twenty-fifth Amendment to the Constitution, including an arrangement for filling any presidential vacancy, the provision that took Gerald Ford to the White House.

During a visit to Salt Lake City, I was invited by the family of George Albert Smith, eighth president of the Church, to write his biography. Since I wanted to devote more time to church-related tasks, I began a long study of the careers of George Albert, his father John Henry Smith and his grandfather George A. Smith, each a member of the First Presidency, using the journals and surviving personal papers of these three men, supplemented by interviews and reading of

church history. Ultimately I wrote a three-in-one biography covering a lengthy period from the days of the Prophet Joseph Smith to the end of George Albert's presidency in 1951.

By agreement with the family I wrote as a professional biographer, meaning that I sought to be objective, presenting the facts as I found them, lights and shadows, problems as well as achievements. When the first draft was completed, however, President Smith's eldest daughter was displeased because it did not reflect her perspective, particularly about the circumstances surrounding her dismissal from the Primary General Board. George Albert Smith, Jr., a professor at Harvard, thought I had dealt fairly with the incident. Some others urged that the incident be eliminated entirely because it was controversial. My publisher in Boston said the manuscript was competent and well written but thought it should be published in Salt Lake City where the chief demand for the book would be. The leading Salt Lake publishers told me they do not accept manuscripts about church leaders if they include "controversial" material.

This was a disappointment because initially the Smith family had been as cooperative as the Hughes family, and in both instances I had been given a free hand in dealing with the facts as I found them. The idea of deleting all potentially controversial incidents was especially unacceptable to me, not only because it would result in a slanted version, but also because it would detract from the stature that George Albert Smith attained as a man of God.

In the early sixties frustrations smothered another project. At the request of the University of Utah Press, I undertook the editing of the voluminous diaries of Senator Smoot covering most of his thirty years in the Senate. Some of the entries were mere jottings. After I had labored over the diaries for about three years, a controversy arose. A member of the family threatened to sue the Press if the diaries were published with entries which showed a conflict of interest on the part of the Senator during the Teapot Dome hearings over which he presided. I refused to permit use of my name as editor of the diaries if items of that type were eliminated. That ended the venture.

These disappointing results turned me again to less sensitive spheres. I had long brooded over the perilous practice of presidential war-making. The Founding Fathers had specifically granted the war power to Congress, but our recent presidents had fallen into the habit of usurping this power. Under Franklin Roosevelt the Navy had participated in World War II long before Pearl Harbor. President Harry S. Truman had initiated and carried on the Korean War without congressional sanction, and Lyndon Johnson had committed our sons to battle in Vietnam with nothing more than a self-effacing congressional resolution saying that he was free to do whatever he believed necessary. I feared that this dangerous transfer of power might lead to destruction of the whole American experiment in self-government. So I fought it persistently, and when the *Post* showed little interest, I turned again to an extended editorial in the form of a book, *The Way We Go To War*, published by Houghton Mifflin in 1969. Its plea fell on fertile soil. The country was awakening to the frightful error in Vietnam—a one-man war that cost us 55,000 lives and $155 billion. Congress finally stopped it and then passed a War Powers Resolution, a step in the right direction but not the tough restrictions on presidential war-making for which I had pleaded. My next book was a survey of the United States military posture in the world, *The U.S.A. Astride the Globe.*

Meanwhile Katharine Meyer Graham had become publisher of the *Post* after the suicide of her husband in 1963. Late in 1970 she surprised me by asking me to write a biography of her father. The subject had never appealed to me because I knew how much difficulty Sidney Hyman had encountered in trying to write such a biography before Meyer's death in 1959. The manuscript grew into a mountain but was never finished. But when Kay Graham offered me relief from my editorial duties and complete freedom in telling her father's story, I began to see the project as an exciting opportunity.

For more than a year I buried myself in the Meyer papers and the Hyman manuscript, with time out for interviews. Then I wrote the book in the quiet atmosphere of my library at the farm. Meyer proved to be an interesting subject, and when the book was published by Knopf in 1974 it brought to light foibles and indiscretions along with achievements, without any murmuring from the Meyer family. The book won the Kappa Tau Alpha Frank Luther Mott Research Award, and at the same time the *Post* gave me a plaque commemorating "45 Years of Dedicated Service." In March, 1975, the University of Utah asked me to make its Founders Day speech and three months later presented me with an honorary LLD.

Rough calculations indicate that, in addition to seven books, I wrote 20,000 editorials in my 45 years at the *Post*. Some were inconsequential, but most represented serious thinking and research. Both my Mormon heritage and my American outlook impelled me to see our civilization as the brightest chapter in the history of mankind. I have an old-fashioned yearning to celebrate its achievements, but also to help correct its mistakes and to refine its methods. Yet my satisfactions from half a century of toil are singularly detached from any specific results that may or may not have flowed from my writing. It is enough to know that the comparative trickle I have added to the unprecedented flow of words in our time has been, to the best of my ability, aimed at the elusive target of human enlightenment.

Illustrated Periodical Images of Mormons 1850-1860

GARY L. BUNKER and DAVIS BITTON

Image history—how the Mormons were viewed by others—has been a fruitful approach used by several historians during the past decade. Studies of press coverage of Mormonism have been produced by Richard Cowan, Brigham Young University; Dennis Lythgoe, University of Massachusetts; and Jan B. Shipps, Indiana University–Purdue University at Indianapolis. Leonard J. Arrington, Church Historian, and Jon Haupt have studied the treatment of the Mormons in nineteenth century novels, and Richard Cracroft, Brigham Young University has looked at the same subject from the point of view of humorists. Now Gary L. Bunker and Davis Bitton, professors of psychology and of history at Brigham Young University and the University of Utah respectively, are examining visual images of the Mormons in an effort to understand the emotional overtones of the anti-Mormon crusade of the nineteenth century. The present article is the continuation of a project first presented at Brigham Young University in November 1975.

In a speech in the tabernacle on June 19, 1853, Brigham Young observed:

> (some) thought that all the cats and kittens were let out of the bag when brother Pratt went back last fall, and published the revelation concerning the plurality of wives: it was thought there was no other cat to let out. But allow me to tell you . . . you may expect an eternity of cats, that have not yet escaped from the bag. Bless your souls, there is no end to them, for if there is not one thing, there will always be another.[2]

During the 1850's, these cats and kittens were used by the media to create a public image of Mormonism that would endure into the twentieth century.

Although the two preceding decades contributed to the negative reputation of Mormonism, the impact was more regional than national; there was not a true popular consensus concerning the alleged threat of Mormonism.[3] The martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith and the subsequent involuntary exodus to the West even aroused some national sympathy.[4] Then came the 1850's—and by the

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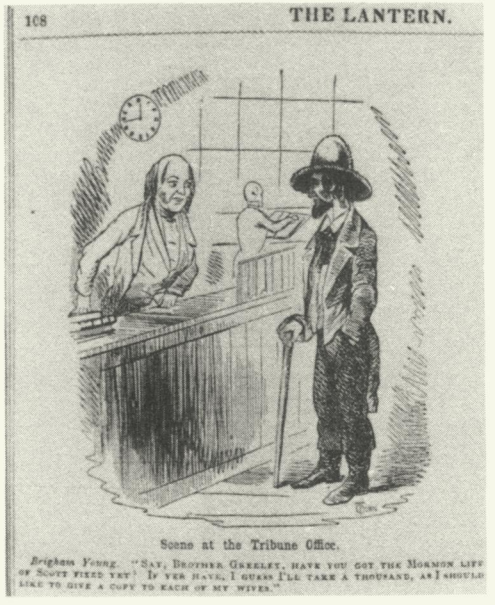
close of the decade media depictions of the Mormons, both textual and pictorial representation, had firmly established the national stereotypes of Mormonism. There would be later embellishments and elaborations as new events transpired, writers wrote, and artists plied their craft, but these would be variations on themes laid down during or before the ante-bellum period.

Three important developments combined to fix the negative stereotype of Mormonism. First, the social climate in the United States permitted, even encouraged with impunity, open hostility to unpopular ethnic, racial and religious groups. As historian David Brion Davis showed several years ago, the antipathy toward Mormons and other similarly perceived groups, owed more to the paranoia of the American population than to any genuine threat.[5] Second, several incidents in Mormon country in the 1850's stimulated resentment: the public avowal of polygamy in 1852; clashes between Mormon leaders and U.S. officials that led to the "runaway judges" in 1853 and their charge that Utah was a dictatorial theocracy; the Utah War of 1857–58 that reiterated these same charges of a polygamous, autocratic, treasonous Mormonism and raised the question to a higher level of national consciousness; and, finally, the Mountain Meadows Massacre, which, when evidence was uncovered and publicized, confirmed all the worst suspicions. From the point of view of anti-Mormons, a better stereotype of Mormonism could not have been provided had it been specifically staged for that purpose.

The third development in the establishment of the Mormon stereotype was the emergence and proliferation of the illustrated periodical. "The illustration mania is upon our people," observed the *Cosmopolitan Art Journal* in 1857. "Nothing but illustrated works are profitable to publishers; while the illustrated magazines and newspapers are vastly popular."[6] *The Lantern, Yankee Notions, Leslie's Illustrated Weekly Newspaper* (later *Leslie's Weekly*), *Harper's Weekly, Vanity Fair* and *The Old Soldier* all began publication during the 1850s, and all displayed Mormonism both textually and pictorially.[7] There had been other important vehicles of expression before—books, pamphlets, broadsides, almanacs, separately published prints—but none of these had as much power to shape attitudes among large numbers of people as did the illustrated periodical. At the outset of the Civil War both *Harper's* and *Leslie's* weeklies exceeded the 100,000 circulation mark, and the monthly *Yankee Notions* sold 150,000 copies as early as 1858.[8] Words and pictures worked together then to produce the unkind stereotype.



In 1851, federally appointed judges Brocchus and Brandebury left Utah and returned to Washington with charges that the Mormons were disloyal to the United States, that they were practicing polygamy, and that Brigham Young had been guilty of malfeasance as governor. Pro and con discussions of these charges included a highly critical editorial in the St. Louis *Republican* accusing the officers of abandoning their posts.[9] *The Lantern*, an illustrated weekly, offered a satirical account, as follows:

> Judges are not recognized in the Scriptures of Utah—especially United States Judges, two of whom have been compelled to make their exodus to the Atlantic Slope. Their feet were beautiful upon the mountains, for they journeyed briskly. And the twain have writ a chronicle, and the chronicle is true. Their record saith there is no division in the Mormon Church, but rather multiplication. The High Priest, even Brigham, hath forty wives spiritual, and all the forty are under twenty-five. . . . And there be other Saints, whose matrimonial crops are plentious and heavy in the cradle of the husbandman; for Utah is not a barren land. . . . Now the Prophet Young, whose given name is Brigham, denieth the authority of this Nation, and goeth for the "solidarity" of the Mormon peoples and opposeth intervention. And lest the righteous be tempted with the public silver and gold, he seizeth and putteth it away privily, where no man can find it. And the Saints are satisfied with the Prophet and mourn not the loss. All these things, and more also, are writ in the Chronicles of the Judges, who tarried awhile in the land.[10]

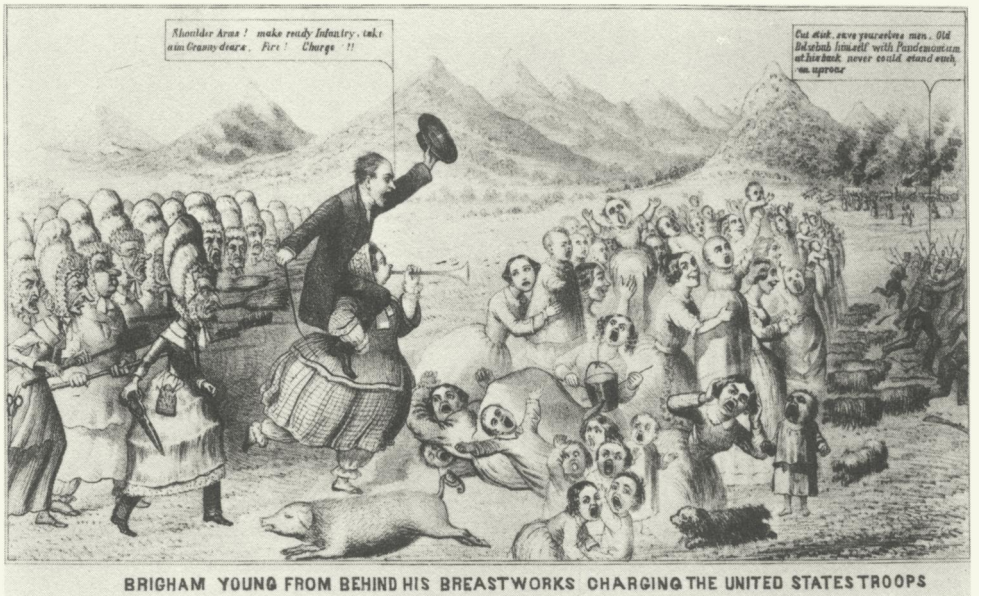
This incident illustrates that very early polygamy and hostility to the United States were linked together in portrayals of the Mormons.

A fascinating lithograph published in the April 1852 issue of *The Old Soldier* employed double entendre to exploit the twin themes of polygamy and Mormon

defiance (see illustration 1).[11] A brief textual commentary supplemented the caption:

> Nothing short of disgrace, disaster, and defeat can await the United States troops, should they be reckless enough to attack the Mormons of Deseret in their formidable entrenchments. Protected by such "Breastworks" they may safely banish fear, while with their Light Artillery they can raise such a noise about the ears of their enemies that neither tactics or discipline for a moment can withstand. Total annihilation must inevitably result.

The simple reversal of sexual role expectation subtly maligned both Mormon men and women. The most remarkable thing about this lithograph is the way it anticipated the Utah War and provided a humorous situation that would be exploited later on.



BRIGHAM YOUNG FROM BEHIND HIS BREASTWORKS CHARGING THE UNITED STATES TROOPS

Most of the illustrations published between 1852 and 1856 focused on polygamy. Some of them were relatively innocuous. For example, Thomas Butler Gunn, a cartoonist for *The Lantern*, had Brigham Young exclaim to Horace Greeley, "Say, Brother Greeley, Have you got the Mormon Life of Scott fixed yet? If yer Have, I guess I'll take a thousand, as I should like to give a copy to each of my wives!" (see illustration 2).[12] While the exaggeration of the number of wives produced the primary humor, the language conveying the image of a backward Brigham added another ludicrous element. In 1854 *Yankee Notions*' first cartoon on Mormonism depicted the "fashionable arrival" of "Mr. Pratt, M.C. from Utah, twenty wives and seventy-five children."[13]

Two years later the same periodical began the use of animal symbolism to capture the essence of Mormonism. A sketch of a rooster surrounded by hens was captioned "A foul (fowl) piece of Mormonism."[14] Polygamy could be thus portrayed, or hinted at, while at the same time establishing an image of the Mormons as somehow less than human.[15]

When misunderstandings between the Mormons and the federal government

BRIGHAM YOUNG'S PREPARATIONS FOR THE DEFENCE OF UTAH—THE RESULT.

BRIGHAM YOUNG RECEIVES NEWS OF THE MARCH OF THE U. S. TROOPS FOR UTAH,

AND ON TAKING A FAMILY COUNCIL, WHICH IS MARKED BY A GREAT VARIETY OF OPINION,

ISSUES A PROCLAMATION OF WAR;

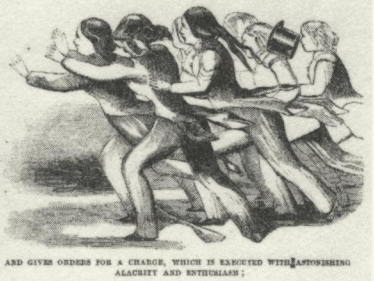
AFTER WHICH HE PROCEEDS TO ENROL ALL THE DISPOSABLE TROOPS IN MORMONDOM.

AND DRILLS THEM INTO A STERN DETERMINATION OF BATTLE;

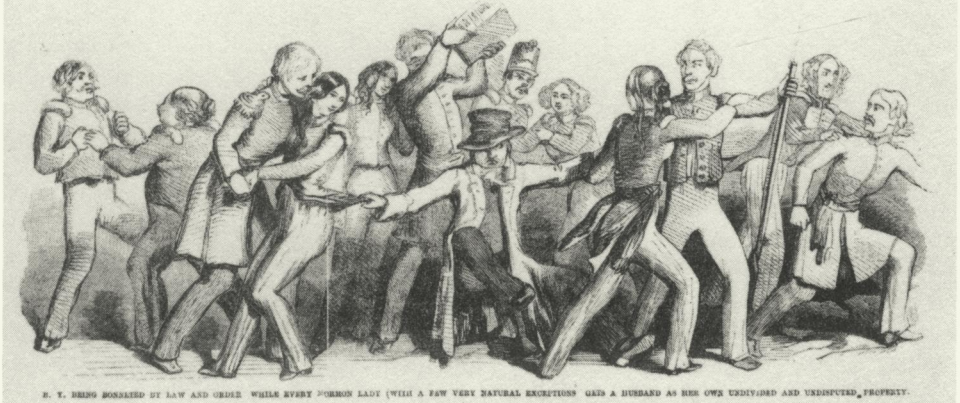
WHICH HALF MELTS AT THE FIRST SIGHT OF THE U. S. TROOPS, AND ENTIRELY VANISHES

AT THE SCRUPULOUS POLITENESS OF A PERFECT "DUCK OF AN OFFICER;"

WHEREUPON B. Y. ADMINISTERS A REPROOF TO THEM,



AND GIVES ORDERS FOR A CHARGE, WHICH IS EXECUTED WITH ASTONISHING ALACRITY AND ENTHUSIASM;



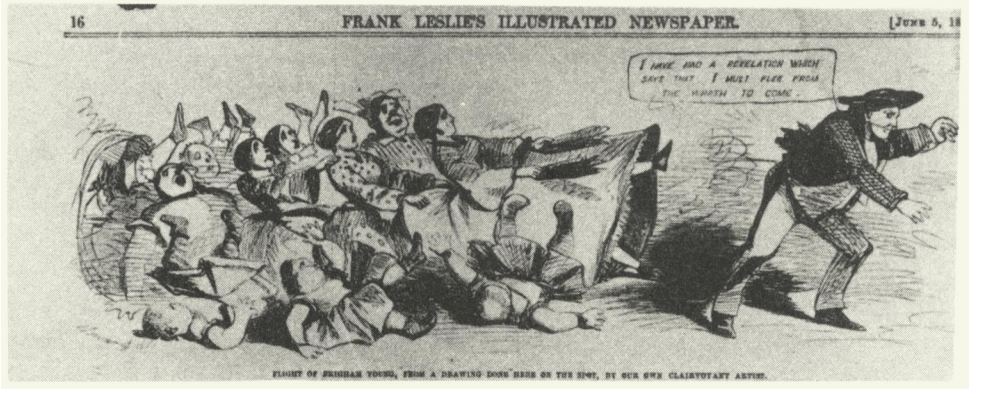
B. Y. BEING SURROUNDED BY LAW AND ORDER WHILE EVERY MORMON LADY (WITH A FEW VERY NATURAL EXCEPTIONS) GETS A HUSBAND AS HER OWN UNDIVIDED AND UNDISPUTED PROPERTY.

led to the sending of an army under General Albert Sidney Johnston to the Utah territory, Brigham Young insisted on his rights as governor and prepared to resist an unprovoked and unlawful invasion. The result was the short-lived Utah War, consisting mainly of harassment of the advancing federal troops by Mormon guerillas, a delay of the army, a threat of Mormon evacuation of their Utah settlements (partially carried out by the Big Move) and eventual settlement and reconciliation.[16] During much of 1857 and 1858, this campaign provided subject matter for the national periodicals.

The Buchanan administration did not escape ridicule for this needless expenditure of energy and funds. But for the Mormons, the War simply provided a new occasion to bring them repeatedly onto the public stage as objects of ridicule—as polygamists and traitors. A Philadelphia lithographer seized the opportunity to make some quick money, and offered for sale an illustration of fine detail and flagged captions that was essentially a restatement of of the early "Breastworks" idea (illustration 3).[17] The theme had received an added boost from Mormon leader Heber C. Kimball's 1857 tongue-in-cheek remark: "I have wives enough to whip out the United States."[18]

By this time two of the new illustrated weeklies—*Leslie's Illustrated Weekly* and *Harper's Weekly* —had surpassed their journalistic rivals. More than any of the others, they established the illustrated weekly as a permanent fixture of American media. And, significantly, both of these periodicals showed unusual interest in the Mormons and the Utah War.

The first "Mormon" cartoon appeared in *Leslie's* on December 19, 1857 (illustration 4). It was a serial cartoon which anticipated the comic strip of a later period, and containing the popular theme of a female Mormon militia, but with a new twist: the fickle female troops lose combat readiness the minute the dashing gentile appears! With Mormon men unable to match the allurements of their gentile counterparts, the Utah War comes to an end.

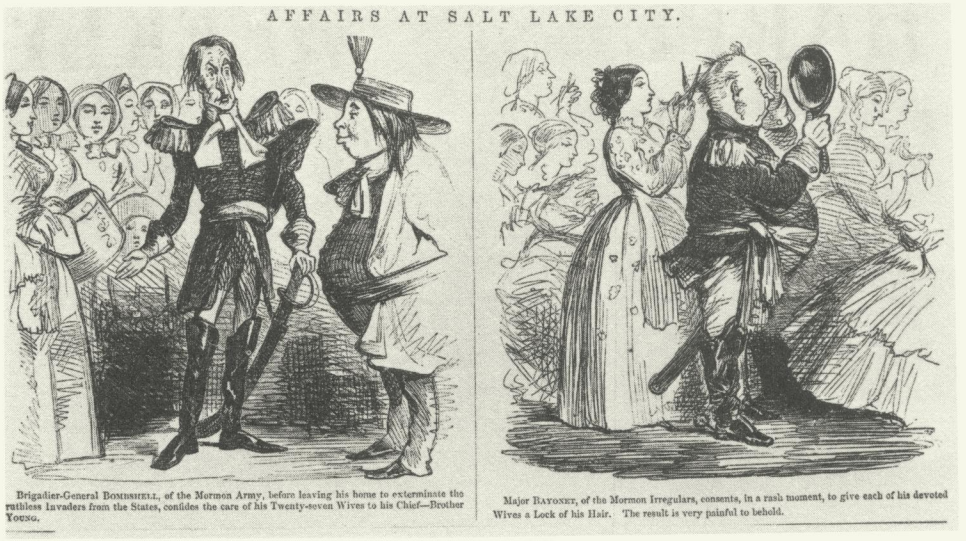


Six months after the appearance of the serial cartoon, an artist for *Leslie's*, Justin H. Howard, sketched another imagined resolution of the war (illustration 5). Soldiers from Johnston's army were hiding under the huge hoop skirts of the Mormon women, who, according to the caption, made "An Amicable Settlement Of All Their Difficulties."[19] Another cartoon by Howard on the same page parodied Brigham Young, complete with balloon caption, fleeing "from the wrath to come." It was the image of a cowardly leader apparently leaving his wives and children to fend for themselves (illustration 6).

BRIGHAM YOUNG MUSTERING HIS FORCES TO FIGHT THE UNITED STATES TROOPS.

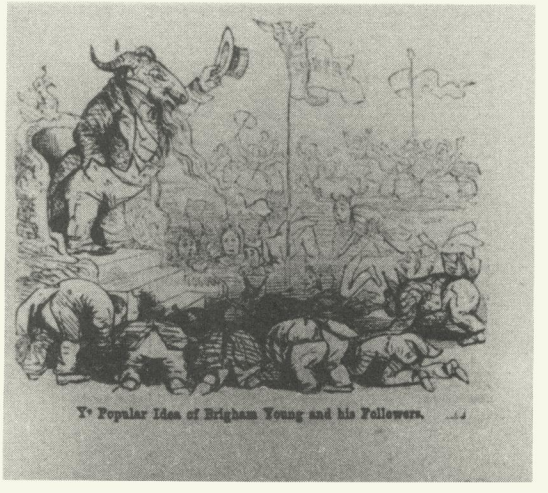
Harper's Weekly, the other highly successful illustrated weekly, was offering its own satirical version of the U.S. invasion of Mormon Utah. The first Mormon cartoon published in *Harper's Weekly* appropriated the familiar theme of Mormon women, who, according to the caption, made "An Amicable Settlement Of All Their Difficulties."[19] Another cartoon by Howard on the same page image was not enhanced by his caricaturization as the dull, piggish caretaker of Brigadier General Bombshell's bevy of wives (see illustration 8). And like *Leslie's*, *Harper's* gave its satiric version of the consummation of the war (see illustration 9).[22] The shackled Mormon men were obliged to watch as their consorts catered to their beguiling captors. There was a mixture of condescension and self-congratulation inherent in the theme of the "dashing gentile." Such cartoons ridiculed their subject, but they also entertained, and humor may have provided a pretext for the acquittal of conscience.

Of all of the illustrated weeklies of the 1850's, none could compare with *Harper's Weekly* in the space allocation given to the Mormons. Nearly every week during 1857–58 there was either an article, brief news item or illustration.



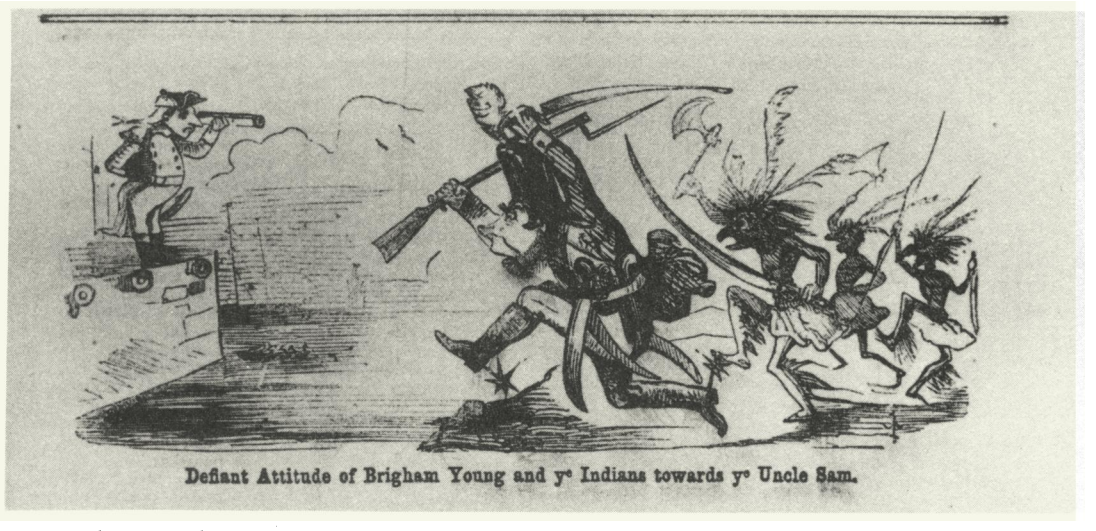
The negative editorial stance towards the Mormons was never in doubt, as the following sampling of news dispatches and articles suggests:

> *February 21, 1857.* In regard to the Mormon children, they appear like a neglected uncared-for set, generally dirty and ill clad. The majority of them are girls, and this troubles the women very much, for they know a female is doomed to slavery and a life of misery . . . These children are suffered to grow up in ignorance and vice. Without the hallowed influence of home to restrain them, they are vicious, profane and obscene.
>
> *May 23, 1857.* The Bishop of Provo, a creature named Carter, officiated at the funeral of Nash, and after concluding the prayer over the dead body of the father, turned to the weeping girl, informed her that she was now unprotected, and must become his wife! In less than ten days she was forced to yield, and now swells the number of Carter's "spirituals" to seven.
>
> *October 31, 1857.* A great number of missionaries are engaged in the fields of China, and especially in the manufacture of tea, into which, during their labors, they incorporate an insidious but fatal poison . . . These poisons are various kinds. Some are so slow that long periods elapse before they take effect . . . One poison within the knowledge of Brigham possesses qualities that remain inert in the human system for years before its fatal consequences are developed.
>
> *November 28, 1857.* But why should not someone suggest to these persevering Saints that South America contains thousands of square leagues of unoccupied territory, blessed with a glorious climate and a fertile soil, where no government would molest, no soldiers attack them, and where they might work out their problem in safety for at least a century to come?



With few exceptions the illustrations in *Harper's Weekly* were more benign than these discordant verbal accounts. On October 10, 1857, three illustrations showed Brigham Young's family going to church, in their family parlor, and at a family dinner. A

family dinner. A fourth panel was a view of a Mormon dance with a high ratio of females to males. But the title, "Scenes in an American Harem," was sufficiently titillating to make up for any lack of excitement in the pictures themselves. Most of the additional thirteen pictorial representations were engravings taken from the photographs of David H. Burr, the Surveyor-General of Utah Territory and the Deputy Surveyor, a Mr. Mogo.[23] There was nothing sensational about the photographs, mostly selected scenes in Salt Lake City, but the accompanying text managed to convey invidious connotations. For example, "The Calaboose in Salt Lake City" was described as the place where gentiles were incarcerated whose "crime was that of being American citizens."[24] The residence of Heber C. Kimball, "the most vulgar and profane man in the Mormon church," was matter of factly shown with a damning commentary: "His 'spirituals' frequently run away from him, and when at home quarrel so much that he finds several separate buildings absolutely necessary. Our view of his group of dwellings is the best evidence of the fact."[25] Thus the negative message could be carried by the picture, by the accompanying text, or by both.



Defiant Attitude of Brigham Young and y^e^ Indians towards y^e^ Uncle Sam.

When *Yankee Notions* printed "Ye Popular Idea of Brigham Young and his Followers" in April, 1858, it effectively distilled the contemporary view of the Mormons (illustration 10).[26] At the same time the illustration demonstrated the power of pictorial shorthand to convey a number of ideas. The goat caricature of Brigham Young was a symbol of lust. The horns of some of the prostrate followers was not a new idea, but was an early graphic representation of that image.[27] The enthusiasm of the females in the background, apparently for Brigham Young, was one of many stereotypes of Mormon women, some of which went directly contrary to this view. The wild-eyed facial expressions on the adherents to this singular faith underscored their peculiarities. And the flag of liberty in the midst of the Mormons was a parody of the "indiscriminate allegiance" of the submissive followers.

A companion cartoon in the same issue of *Yankee Notions* presented another persistent theme (illustration 11). The ultimate origin of a cooperative alliance and common destiny of Mormons and Indians was theologically grounded in the Book of Mormon. Suspicion of actual Mormon complicity with Indians

originated in the 1830's, but the possibility of alliance had been renewed with the Utah War.[28] "God Almighty will arouse every tribe and every nation that exists in the East, West, North, and South," said Heber C. Kimball, "and they will be on hand for our relief."[29] When the bellows of exaggeration and distortion blew the sparks of substance, an enduring image was forged from the fire. The grotesque caricature of the Indians symbolized the contempt in which they were held, and linking the two unpopular groups in the public mind did not prove a boon for the public relations of either the Indian or the Mormon.

The crowning blow to any Mormon hopes that their national reputation would turn favorable or dissipate with time was the Mountain Meadows Massacre of 1857, in which members of a wagon train from Arkansas were killed. This unfortunate event was investigated as early as 1858. The present scholarly conclusion is that local Mormon leaders in Southern Utah were mainly responsible for the massacre, and that Brigham Young did not know about the action until it was too late to stop it.[30] During the closing four decades of the nineteenth century, however, there was a lingering suspicion among non-Mormons that Brigham Young had been personally responsible. The mere fact that the incident occurred in the midst of the Mormons in sparsely settled Utah was enough to create a powerful negative symbol. On August 13, 1859, *Harper's Weekly* published a front-page exposé of the massacre with accompanying sketch. Already thought of as strange and exotic because of plural marriage, the Mormons were also seen as stupid, dishonest pawns of a cruel, tyrannical prophet—motifs nicely combined in the Mountain Meadows Massacre, which, incidentally, appealed to the perennial human interest in murder and violence. During the post-Civil War generation, few if any subjects would be repeated more often in the visual portrayal of Mormonism.

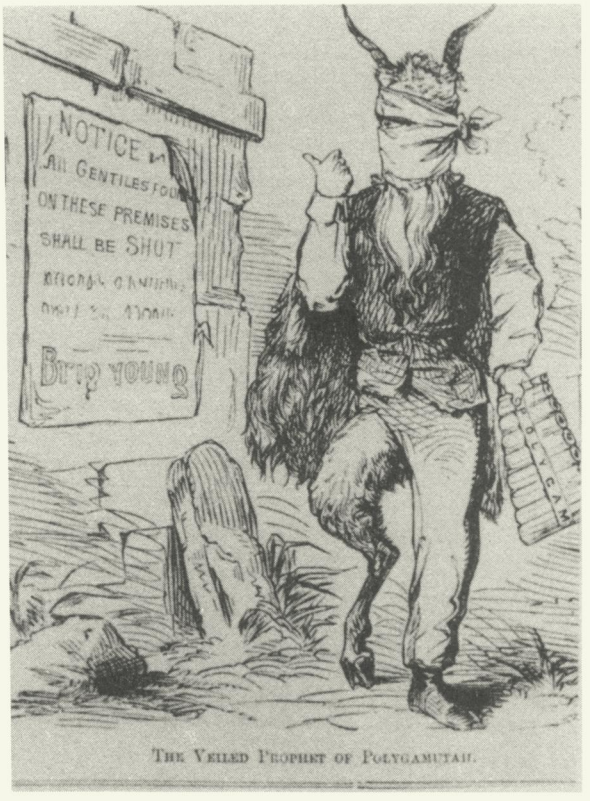
Were not the Mormons partially responsible, then, for the shaping of their own dubious public image? Since treatments of media coverage understandably differentiate between the image and the reality, it is easy to assume that the public reputation of any group as conveyed in words and pictures is largely trumped up. Yet the essence of caricature, indeed its whole effectiveness, lies in the kernel of truth selected by the artist or writer and then magnified in grotesque proportions. The Mormons did in fact practice polygamy; they did express misgivings about the United States, and they did participate in the Utah War; a massacre did take place, and so on. We maintain, however, that selecting certain points, magnifying them, and taking them out of context for purposes of ridicule created a severely distorted view of the Mormons. Balanced discussions were never included in the satirical articles or cartoons—but of course they could not be if the satire was to have its intended effect. So the Mormons were in part responsible for the unfavorable stereotype of themselves that became standard, but this does not mean that the stereotype was ultimately fair or accurate. Stereotypes never are. Blacks, Jews, Poles, Germans, Japanese, Chinese—any study of other group stereotypes demonstrates the same point.[31] Our analysis of the image of the Mormons is thus a case study of a larger phenomenon.

An illustration in the February 11, 1860 *Vanity Fair* summarized the legacy of the 1850s for the image of Mormonism (illustration 12).[32] A sub-human, horned Brigham Young gestured with one hand at a sign warning gentiles, with the other hand firmly secured to his "Pandean, polygam pipe." The illustrator's

idea derived from a news account detailing Young's recent illness: "When he is seen he has his head muffled up in a handkerchief." Imagination then took over. The text filled in the details.

> The Mormon Hierarch has long been playing a game of "blind man's bluff" with the government of this country—a game in which we are sorry to think the government has allowed itself to be so utterly cornered that the muffler should, long since, have been conferred to Presidential features. But matters are now so bad at Polygamutah, that even Brig. Young himself declines, perhaps, to give his countenance openly to them, and, therefore, keeps the blinder on so as to be blind to what is going on about him. . . .
>
> It is high time for that Pan to be "brought over the coals." Territories are less savage when abandoned to their primitive bears and indigenous buffaloes, than when subjected to the half-civilized influence of such a socialism as the Mormon megatherium: and we doubt if the Valley of the Lake of Salt, in the days when no footmarks fell on its crystal-frosted soil save those of the fierce beast of the mountain and plain, ever displayed, have so beastly a sight as that of the grizzly goat-herd, Brigham, leading his hoofed and horned flock to the sound of his Pandean, Polygam pipe."[33]

With the coming of the Civil War, slavery, the other "twin relic," diverted the attention of the nation and the media away from Mormonism.[34] Rarely does war give people of a participant nation respite from the rigors of life, but the isolated Mormons now had time to patch wounds from what had been a one-sided war of words and pictures. It was only a matter of time, however, before the verbal and pictorial war against the Mormons resumed with fresh ammunition, more sophisticated weaponry and a new cadre of soldiers.



THE VEILED PROPHET OF POLYGAMUTAH.

PICTURE CREDITS

1. Mormon Breastworks and U.S. Troops—Courtesy *The American Antiquarian Society*
2. Scene at the Tribune Office—*The Library of Congress*
3. Brigham Young From Behind His Breastworks Charging the United States Troops—Courtesy *The American Antiquarian Society*
4. Brigham Young's Preparations for the Defense of Utah—The Result—*The Library of Congress*
5. The Mormon Ladies Make an Amicable Settlement of All Their Difficulties—*The Library of Congress*
6. Flight of Brigham Young, From a Drawing Done Here On The Spot, By Our Own Clairvoyant Artist—*The Library of Congress*
7. Brigham Young Mustering His Forces To Fight The United States—*Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University*
8. Affairs At Salt Lake City—*Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University*
9. Frightful Scene of Carnage and Desolation at the Sack of Salt Lake City By The United States Troops—*Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University*
10. Ye Popular Idea of Brigham Young and his Followers—*The Library of Congress*
11. Defiant Attitude of Brigham Young and Ye Indians Towards Ye Uncle Sam—*The Library of Congress*
12. The Veiled Prophet of Polygam Utah—*The Library of Congress*

NOTES

[1] This article is part of a larger project by the authors dealing with pictorial images of Mormonism between 1830 and 1914.

We would like to acknowledge the able assistance of Georgia Bumgardner, curator of Graphic Arts at the American Antiquarian Society.

[2] Brigham Young in *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London: Latterday Saints' Book Depot, 1855–86), 1:188.

[3] Examples of early works portraying the Mormons in negative colors are Eber D. Howe, *Mormonism Unvailed* (Painesville, Ohio, 1834); John C. Bennett, *The History of the Saints* (Boston, Mass.: Leland and Whiting, 1842); Henry Caswall, *The City of the Mormons* (London, England: G.G.F. and J. Rivington, 1843); and Origen Bacheler, *Mormonism Exposed* (New York, 1838).

[4] See Davis Britton, "American Philanthropy and Mormon Refugees, 1846–1849" (unpublished); and the brief "Tea and Sympathy," in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 3 (Spring, 1968): 142–144.

[5] David Brion Davis, "Some Themes of Counter-Subversion: An Analysis of Anti-Masonic, Anti-Catholic, and Anti-Mormon Literature," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 47 (September 1960); 205–24; and John Higham, *Strangers In The Land* (New York: Atheneum, 1975), preface to second edition. We are aware that prejudice is multicausally determined. Space does not permit us to discuss the complex determinants, but the brief statement in the text is intended to refer to that complexity.

[6] Frank L. Mott, *A History of American Magazines: 1850–1865*, 5 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957), 2:192.

[7] "*Yankee Doodle* and *John Donkey* eked out brief careers at the end of the forties, the *Lantern* threw its glimmer over Millard Fillmore's last two years in the White House, and *Yankee Notions* held out from 1852 into the seventies. But the first magazine to establish itself firmly in political caricature was *Harper's Weekly*, founded in 1857. Then, in the fateful month of John Brown's raid, December 1859, *Vanity Fair* appeared: . . ." Allan Nevins and Frank Weitenkampf, *A Century of Political Cartoons* (New York: Scribners, 1944), p. 13. Novels published during the same period have been studied by Leonard J. Arrington and Jon Haupt, "The Missouri and Illinois Mormons in Ante-Bellum Fiction," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, 5 (Spring 1970): 37–50.

[8] Frank L. Mott, *A History of American Magazines: 1850–1865*, 5 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957) 2:10, 182. The *Old Soldier*, *The Lantern* and *Vanity Fair* were less successful, lasting six months, eighteen months and three years respectively.

[9] B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 6 vols. (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1957), 3:535–37.

[10] *The Lantern*, 17 January 1852.

[11] *Old Soldier,* 1 (1 April 1852). A note in the file at the American Antiquarian Society by the late director of the Society, Clarence S. Brigham, suggests: "This set of lithographs in the *Old Soldier* was published in 1852 at 69 Nasaau Street, New York. John L. Magee was listed as a lithographer at 69 Nasaau Street, in New York Business Directory for 1852–53. He executed similar lithographs. It has been thought that these lithographs were by David C. Johnston, but in no way are they like his work, and he was in Boston in 1852."

[12] *The Lantern,* 18 September 1852, The caption alluded to the common practice of the day for newspapers to print inexpensive books written by Sir Walter Scott and others. See Russell Nye, *The Unembarrassed Muse* (New York: Dial Press, 1970), 25.

[13] *Yankee Notions,* July 1854.

[14] *Yankee Notions,* May 1856.

[15] On animal symbolism, see more generally Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton in topical history of the Church (forthcoming).

[16] On the Utah War see James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1976), ch. 9, and supporting bibliography.

[17] The lithograph is in the graphic arts collection at the American Antiquarian Society. The curator of graphic arts there did not know the source of the print except that it was "for sale at 217 Walnut Street Philadelphia." It may have been a separately published print. The estimated date given to the lithograph is 1857.

[18] Heber C. Kimball in *Journal of Discourses,* 5:95, 250, sermon delivered 26 July 1857 and 20 September 1857.

[19] *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper,* 5 June 1858.

[20] *Harper's Weekly,* 28 November 1857.

[21] *Harper's Weekly,* 1 May 1858.

[22] *Harper's Weekly,* 22 May 1858.

[23] The experience of Burr and Mogo in Utah may have contributed more to the image of Mormonism than their rather mundane photographs. They reported being harassed severely by Mormons. See *Harper's Weekly,* 1(31 October 1857), 694. For more detailed descriptions of relations between the two surveyors and the Mormons see: Gustive O. Larson, *The Americanization Of Utah For Statehood:* (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, 1971) p. 14 and Nels Anderson, *Desert Saints* (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1966), pp. 149–52.

[24] *Harper's Weekly,* 6 November 1858.

[25] *Harper's Weekly,* 18 September 1858.

[26] *Yankee Notions,* April 1858.

[27] Cf. Karl E. Young, "Why Mormons Were Said to Wear Horns," in Thomas E. Cheney, ed., *Lore of Faith and Folly* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1971), pp. 111–12. As early as 1842 General Wilson Law, in a conversation with Joseph Smith, had said, "Well, from reports, we had reason to think the Mormons were a peculiar people, different from other people, having horns or something of the kind; but I find they look like other people: indeed, I think Mr. Smith a very good-looking man." Joseph Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Saints,* 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1960), 5:214.

[28] See for background Lawrence G. Coates, "A History of Indian Education by the Mormons, 1830–1900" (Ph.D. dissertation, Ball State University, 1969).

[29] *Journal of Discourses,* 5:278.

[30] On the massacre the standard treatment is now Juanita Brooks, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1950).

[31] Gordon W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday Co., 1954).

[32] *Vanity Fair,* 11 February 1860. According to Frank Weitenkampf, H. L. Stephens did the cartoons for *Vanity Fair.* Frank Weitenkampf, *American Graphic Art* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1942), 229.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Between 1861 and 1865 there was a grand total of six relatively brief references to the Mormons in *Harper's Weekly,* a far cry from the example of years 1857–1860. To be sure, the Mormons were not forgotten during the Civil War, but there were far more pressing priorities.

MORMONISM IN THE NINETEEN-SEVENTIES:

The Popular Perception

STEPHEN W. STATHIS AND DENNIS L. LYTHGOE

Perhaps more than the members of any other religious sect, Mormons are preoccupied with their public image. It may be argued that such preoccupation is a form of narcissism unworthy of the Restored Gospel, but given the unfavorable stereotypes of Mormonism that have persisted throughout its history, it is understandable that faithful Latter-day Saints should eagerly welcome sympathetic treatment of the Church and its programs. Unfortunately, members too often ignore the reality that treatment of the Church in the secular press is influenced by editorial policies, the opinions of writers and reporters and the general social trends of the times. These factors can and do impede favorable or even balanced coverage of the Church's beliefs and endeavors.

During the late 1950's and most of the 1960's, the Church was frequently portrayed as being too closely connected with the business community, indifferent to the lack of separation between church and state in Utah, over zealous in its missionary activities, anti-intellectual, racist, inflexible on changing mores and unconcerned about world problems. Although all of these charges continued to be circulated in one form or another, in the 1970's, newspaper and periodical coverage showed a more sophisticated understanding of Mormonism that was often complimentary.

OVERALL IMAGE

A lengthy and favorable article in *National Geographic Magazine*, April 1975, paid tribute to the Mormon pioneers and their descendents for having created a "shining oasis" among the Wasatch Mountains where they have "labored mightily . . . to establish the Kingdom of God." Although author Charles McCarry conceded that their "objective has not yet been achieved," he praised them:

> a remarkable civilization, giving a particularly American bloom to music and dance, scholarship and science, industry and agriculture, faith and good works, has taken root in soil that a less believing people than the Mormons, or a less energetic one, might have thought too sour for life. At its center, geographically and in every other way, is Salt Lake City, a spanking clean metropolis of more than half a million.

McCarry had special praise for Utah's excellence in dance, choral and symphonic music, its "scientists and inventors" who "have a foot firmly planted in the future" and the Mormon family. In a direct appraisal of the Church's appeal, he focused on the Robert Clyde family of Heber Valley where 11-year-old Lynda felt "home [was] like heaven." For McCarry, this daughter's "idyllic view of her own life is also a basic tenet of the Mormon faith—that those who prove worthy here on earth will be rewarded with blissful togetherness in the hereafter."

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Dennis L. Lythgoe is Professor of History at Massachusetts State College at Bridgewater.

Clyde, who serves as a State Senator and local church leader while at the same time operating the family sheep ranch, attributed his domestic success to his being able to juggle "appointments around his home life." The "family comes first," and those with whom he is involved "in outside activities soon learn that." Monday nights are something special at the Clyde home: the entire family gathers "for 'family home evening' one Mormon answer to the generation gap." Here, "television silenced, work laid aside, discussions of spiritual matters, songs, games, "airing of sibling spats" and refreshments allow everyone an opportunity to express their feelings. Sometimes, as 18-year-old Kathy readily admits, "I don't always agree with everything my parents teach us, but I respect them for it." Robert Clyde believes that it is "against human nature to be forced into believing anything. We just try to set the example and hope they [our children] choose to follow it." In McCarry's opinion, this "formula seems to work for the Clydes." The parents cherish the memory of a public speech once rebellious Tom made before leaving on a two-year stint as a church missionary. "I love my Dad," he said unabashedly. "He's always been my idol."

Equally complimentary, *Nations Business* in July 1975 characterized the Mormon's "principal population center, Salt Lake City," as a monument to its settlers—"a booming, beautiful metropolis with a rich heritage, and a seemingly richer future." Attributing much of the city's success to its "high-quality work force," the editors quote prominent executives such as S. C. Johnson, Regional Manager of Sears Roebuck and Co. and President-elect of the Salt Lake Chamber of Commerce, who remarked that the city had "one of the highest-educated, most work-oriented labor forces" found anywhere. Their stability, according to Harold Steele, President of First Security Bank, derived from the "heritage of the [Mormon] Church."

Nations Business viewed Salt Lakers as conservatives, who voted against urban renewal, fluoridation, liquor by the drink and the union shop. Yet, they were willing to support the cultural needs of a community boasting one of the nation's finest symphony orchestras—Ballet West, the Pioneer Memorial Theatre and the $10 million Student Activity Center at the University of Utah, which sponsors "such diverse spectacles as a rock concert by the Nitty-Gritty Dirt Band and speeches by conservative William Buckley and liberal Ramsey Clark." The "spectacular snow-capped Wasatch Mountains lend a sense of timeless permanence." Even the prospect of having Mormon missionaries in Utah was viewed positively since so "many nonmenbers are moving into the city and state that the Church sees a need to offer the same opportunities to learn about it in Utah that it offers in every state and scores of foreign countries."

Salt Lake City's recent boom, when examined by the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Kansas City Star* and the *New York Times*, prompted differing and less enthusiastic appraisals. Bryce Nelson in the October 31, 1976, *Los Angeles Times* suggested that "despite the decades of improved feelings between religious groups" in Utah, "there is no indication that things will change soon" to invalidate the judgment of writer Neal R. Peirce that Utah is "the most subbornly cross-grained and individualistic of all 50 states." Laura Rollins Hockaday, travel editor of the *Kansas City Star* on September 26, 1976, devoted considerable attention to Clarissa Young Spencer's autobiographical experiences as the

daughter of one of Brigham Young's "27 wives." She also dealt with the differences between the LDS position and that of the Reorganized Church on polygamy and presidential succession.

Milton Viorst and Jon Nordheimer, in separate articles published less than a week apart in September 1976 issues of the *New York Times*, dwelt on the less attractive elements of growth, the diminishing role of the Church in the temporal aspects of the community, the Mountain Meadows Massacre, the Church's various business ventures and a theology "determined by a dozen old men," which promote social practices that have "become increasingly austere." Characteristic of these latter writings are Viorst's description of the visitor center on Temple Square where an attempt is made to explain

> Mormonism's complex theology with an audio-visual display. A sequence of murals, in the style of socialist realism, is linked to flashing lights and somber voices, and the whole is meant to exude pure spiritualism. The result, however, seems more like Jesus in Disneyland.

Viorst does concede that the "center's bad taste is almost expunged by the soaring neo-Gothic Temple of somber gray stone a few steps away."

Despite the lack of rousing support in the preceding discussions, none approaches the stark criticism expressed in Frances Lang's September 1971 *Ramparts* article entitled, "The Mormon Empire." Lang suggests that Mormons have given the CIA and the FBI some of their best men, who "by habit and training are a conservative group . . . tightly entwined with a religion which is stringently hierarchical, profit-oriented, racist, and never likely to embarrass the foreign interests of the U.S., or indeed any capitalist country." Lang criticizes the Church's numerous commercial interests, its policy toward Blacks, its theocratic control over education in Utah, its "suzerainty over the western media, inequitable welfare program, and complete dominance of Utah politics."

A "special report" on the Mormons published in the June 18, 1976 *Times* of London expressed a somewhat differing opinion, suggesting that the Church "is careful not to intervene [in] purely political issues. It states its position clearly, however, when it considers there is a moral or social question involved, and it is obviously a force that has to be taken into account." During the "past few years it has taken stands on such issues as abortion, which it opposes, on women's rights and on state liquor laws." Author Peter Strafford, a *Times'* New York correspondent, perceived Mormons as "sober, industrious people who believe strongly in hard work and helping each other." In an accompanying article Strafford presented a sketch in which President Spencer W. Kimball commented "on the basic beliefs of the Mormon church," its welfare program, wealth, Indian policy, connection with the Reorganized Church and the emphasis placed on the family.

CHURCH LEADERS

The comparative frequency of change in the presidency of the Church since 1970 has subjected both the Presidents themselves and the process of their selection to intense scrutiny by the secular press. David O. McKay, clearly the most respected modern prophet, was praised even when other facets of Mormonism were being criticized. When he died in late January 1970, *Time* was effusive. President McKay was portrayed as a man who had done "more in his 19 year tenure to change the image and direction of the Mormon Church than

any president since Brigham Young himself." Under his leadership, the Church had grown from 1,000,000 to 2,815,000 members and from 191 to 496 stakes. He was considered a global thinker. Although President McKay "used his power with clear authority," *Time* insisted that he was "even better known for his gentleness and good humor."

> Tall and strong-voiced, his amiable face framed by a shock of flowing white hair, McKay was an affable new image of Mormonism to a world that had previously seen the Mormon leaders as dour, dark-suited figures. He was perhaps the first Mormon president to treat non-Mormons as generously as members of his own faith.

"In his own generous, enthusiastic way," *Time* continued, President McKay had expanded the "Church's horizons and involvement far beyond the abilities of any successor to contract them. If he had not completely destroyed Mormon exclusivism, he had certainly tempered it with his own remarkable vision of a much wider, friendlier world."

His successor, Joseph Fielding Smith, was greeted with less compassion. *Time* called him a "straightforward but humorless man harking back to the old Mormon image, a stern authoritarian who is not likely to tolerate minor faults in his fellow churchmen or to encourage change." In similar language, *Newsweek* noted that younger Mormons "felt trapped by dogmas fashioned by an established gerontocracy," illustrated by Smith at 93 replacing McKay who was 96 at the time of his death. Perhaps Smith was merely preparing the way for his "heir apparent," Harold B. Lee, next apostle in line for the presidency and a younger man of 70. Nevertheless, Smith might go on for years, "aided by his wife and a spare diet of cereal, milk, and an occasional bite of nippy cheese. A regular riser at 5 a.m., Smith is solid Mormon stock."

When Smith died in July 1972, there was general agreement that it was the end of an era. Although Smith was, *Newsweek* wrote, a "defender of the faith," Mormons were reportedly "unsure as to what their faith must be defended against in the years ahead." The Church was thought to be "in the midst of profound and far-reaching change," possessing "phenomenal vitality." Smith's successor was called the "chief architect of modernization," and at 73, "stocky Harold B. Lee is a mere lad, as Mormon leaders go." Lee was viewed as "more like a businessman than a prophet" with "sharply honed management and organizational skills," enabling the Church to computerize many of its enterprises. One of Lee's long range challenges would be to convince the "Mormon faithful" to continue their support for a missionary program that was costing the Church more than $15 million annually. Wallace Turner of the *New York Times* on July 9 called the new President of the Church a "veteran administrator of church affairs who is credited with developing and forwarding many innovations." He suggested that one of the major issues confronting Lee was controversy over blacks.

Lee's administrative prowess was seen as far greater than Smith's, but his spiritual leadership was found lacking. *Time* of July 23 quoted a Lee associate as saying that he was a "genius for organization. The Church runs like a great beautiful computer, clicking away. Everything is in its place." Rather than innovation, *Time* predicted a "brisker status quo" under Lee's leadership: He caught the vision of Mormonism as a worldwide movement, and desired to expand welfare to include programs for alcoholics, drug abusers and ex-convicts. Dan L. Thrapp of the *Los Angeles Times* remarked on August 21 that

although Lee was the first businessman to head the Church, he would "guide it the way his predecessors did—largely by revelation." This discussion concludes with President Lee explaining that:

> We say to the non-Mormons to whom we speak, 'We are not asking you to put your name on the record. That isn't our concern. We've come to offer you the greatest gift you've ever been given. We are offering you the kingdom of God, which is here for you if you will accept and believe.'

Eighteen months later, the youngest President of the Church in 40 years was dead. While President Lee's tenure as Prophet had been shorter than any of his predecessors, Nelson Wadsworth of the *National Observer* noted on January 5, 1974 that he had streamlined and internationalized the Church. "Following a tradition begun by Brigham Young," *Newsweek* announced the following week, the "elders of the Church of Jesus Christ had met" and selected "Spencer W. Kimball, 78, a grandson of one of the Mormon's original 'Twelve Apostles' " as "prophet, seer, revelator and trustee-in-trust" of the Church's 3.3 million members. There was no speculation on changes that might result from Kimball's succession.

In more pointed language *Time* characterized the Church as a "self-perpetuating gerontocracy," since "tradition" dictated that the presidency be assumed by the senior member of the Council of Twelve. Therefore Spencer W. Kimball was "invited, sustained and ordained," even though he was in tenuous health from open heart surgery and throat cancer. Some Mormons were so concerned about Kimball's uncertain health, *Time* claimed, that they favored a change in the line of succession. They feared that Apostle Ezra Taft Benson, who had "flustered many Mormons with his abrasive public utterances, some of them to John Birch Society audiences," would soon accede to the presidency. Benson's "benediction at the funeral of President McKay was so heavy with right-wing political overtones as to embarrass even the conservative Mormon hierarchy. Now the divisive Benson is next in the wings as amiable President Kimball begins his regime."

Although a successful businessman, "like so many other Mormon leaders," Kimball was thought by *Time* to be pragmatic in his view of missionary work as "a great character builder" and temple work "as a sort of spiritual WPA—a task that keeps older Mormons both busy and feeling needed." The new President was not considered likely to change Mormon views on either women or blacks. Quoting President Kimball, Peter Gillins of the *Washington Post* on January 4, similarly stated that the "traditional policies of the Mormon Church toward blacks and women won't change soon," and reiterated the concern over Kimball's precarious health.

OTHER PROMINENT MORMONS

Of the several other prominent Mormons who have captured national attention in the 1970's, none has been more conspicuous than Pulitzer Prize winning author and columnist Jack Anderson. Since 1972, *American Opinion*, *Life*, the *New York Times*, the *New York Times Magazine*, *Newsweek*, *Playboy*, *Washingtonian*, the *Washington Post* and the *Washington Star* have all run major stories on, and interviews with the man *Newsweek* termed the "most widely syndicated columnist in America and perhaps the most controversial." Anderson has, as William P. Hoar noted in the November 1975 *American Opinion*, "been

variously depicted as America's top investigative reporter, an abstemious former Mormon missionary with a crusader's zeal for morality; the square scourge of Washington; and even the people's watchdog." Hoar himself classified Anderson as,

> a man who deals regularly with stolen documents, has been caught red-handed while snooping with wiretapping equipment; operates through the seediest sort of informers; readily releases highly classified documents relating to matters of national security; and has sunk so low as to scavenge in the garbage of the Director of the F.B.I.

Yet no matter how he is portrayed, his influence is rarely contested. "Few reporters ever go from writing news to being news," Susan Sheehan wrote in the *New York Times Magazine* of August 13, 1972, "and no reporter has made the passage more conspicuously than Jack Anderson in 1972." His "notoriety came after 25 mostly unrecognized years of working in Washington, albeit a mere six days a week." As everyone already knows, "Anderson does not muckrack on the Sabbath; he is a practicing Mormon and devoted family man who prefers to spend Sunday in church and at home with his wife and nine children." In a December 30, 1972 interview written by nationally syndicated religion columnist Lester Kinsolving for the *Washington Star*, Anderson expressed "a firm adherence to, and ready ability to argue on behalf of some of the Mormon Church's most unusual doctrines." Kinsolving perceived Anderson as an "active and loyal Mormon," but one who was "no more blindly subservient to the Mormon 12 Apostles in Salt Lake City than is the average American Catholic in regard to an anti-contraceptive Curia in Vatican City." Nevertheless, Anderson was sure there had been "no attempt by the church to shut me up—even though many of its more conservative members may have wanted to try."

Conversely, golfer Johnny Miller was portrayed by *Time* in 1973 as a "straight shooter in every way," an elder in the Church who did not "smoke, drink, overeat or stay up late." Pete Axthelm's *Newsweek* cover story of February 3, 1975, entitled "Miller—Golf's New Golden Boy," depicted Miller as an athlete whose life outside of "golf is built around his family and religion and his hobbies run to the simple pleasures of fishing and hunting." While on the golf tour the "Millers can usually be found in the motel coffee shop, amid high chairs, hot dogs and spilled glasses of milk" instead of at expensive restaurants with the other pros. Miller told Axthelm that, "spending time with the family is really my favorite activity. In the end, how good a parent you are has got to be more important than whether you shoot 68 or 71." The Church, in his opinion, had given him the faith to believe in himself. Axthelm suggests

> If a committee of golf instructors, Eagle Scouts and double-knit salesmen ever got together to assemble the ideal composite golfer, it would probably invent Johnny Miller. His golden hair frames a handsome, square-jawed face, and his lean body has the strength and balance of a natural athlete's. His swing is as graceful and consistent as any on the professional-golf tour, and his clean-living image is as flawless as his game.

Other notable feature stories on Miller and his family have appeared in *People Weekly, Reader's Digest,* the *Saturday Evening Post* and *Sports Illustrated.*

A different success story, that of "The Latter-Day Osmonds" as *Rolling Stone* called them, was twice a cover feature in 1976. The *Rolling Stone* article of March 11 reported that since "1971 the Osmonds—as soloists and in groups—have received 21 gold record awards from the RIAA for sales in excess of a million dollars, and have sold some 70 million singles and albums worldwide." Their combined annual income is $10 million. "Each and every Osmond is a devout

member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, a fact that indelibly colors the image, lifestyle and music," of what *Rolling Stone* considered an exceptional family.

"But how real, you might well wonder," Burt Pretutsky asked in an August *TV Guide* article "can a small town Mormon family remain after 17 years of success?" In the opinion of American Bandstand's Dick Clark, who has been promoting their concerts for the past five years, "You simply cannot deal with better people. . . . Their word is as good as gold. What they promise they deliver. I only wish that some of the acid rock groups I've handled had one-tenth the professional and personal integrity of the Osmonds." An obvious question is how their parents protect them "from the various temptations offered to successful goodlooking kids in places like London, Tokyo and Las Vegas." For Mrs. Osmond it is simple.

> I have always trusted my children to do the right thing. . . . Our prophet Joseph Smith was once asked how he governed his followers and he said, "I don't. I teach them correct principles and they govern themselves." Their father and I have tried to follow his example in raising our children.

In Washington, D.C. another Mormon family, following similar precepts, has been proclaimed over the past decade as one of the leaders in America's business community. As John G. Hubbell of the *Chicago Sun-Times* observed, "Everybody likes to work for Bill Marriott." "If," as one Marriott employee remarked to the author, "all companies treated their people the way this one does, there would be no need for Social Security, Medicare or anything like that." Hubbell argues that "should Bill Marriott's brand of enlightened capitalism [a share-the-wealth-approach to employee relations] ever become widely adopted there is no telling what altitudes the American economy might reach." At Marriott headquarters in Bethesda, Maryland, the semi-retired native Utahn who has served as board chairman of the Corporation since his eldest son Bill, Jr., assumed the Presidency in 1965, is "spoken of in reverent tones."

Washington Post staff writer Richard M. Cohen, in his four-part December 1974 series, even went so far as to quote a former Marriott employee, saying: "They [his employees] think Mr. Marriott walks a little closer to God than the rest of us. They treat him like a god. They love him." Marriott himself attributes his success to Mormonism. The "Church has kept us tending to business and given us the right ideals and kept us with good habits. It has made it possible for me to do what I have done." The Marriotts, says Cohen, "are fundamental believers in all that Americans consider trite—the family, the church and the free enterprise system." An equally complimentary article was published by the business periodical *Forbes* in February 1971; its title: "The Marriott Story: Mixing Mormon Principles with the Best of Sears, P & G, and IBM, the Marriott Family is Running the Hottest Outfit in the Food and Hotel Business." The focal point of the *Forbes* assessment was an appealing summary of the admirable qualities that have carried J. Willard Marriott and many other Mormons to the forefront of the business world. Marriott, according to *Forbes*, attributed his success first to the Church and then to his wife. *Forbes* credited the harmony and prosperity of the Marriotts to the "unity and thriving success of Mormonism . . . the largest, strongest and certainly the richest made-in-America faith operated by some of the sharpest businessmen in the United States."

By his own admission, Bill Marriott, Jr., like his father, has "no hobbies, no

time for political activity—nothing really but his family, his church and his work. And his work he considers a privilege." In August 1970 he told John Carmody, then managing editor of the Washington Post's *Potomac* magazine, that "hard work and sensible habits are what made this country great." His family, according to Carmody, is "one of those families a great many people in the United States still hope to have. Their church is an integral part of their lives: they truly do pray together and play together."

THE FAMILY AND FAMILY HOME EVENING

It has been popular to characterize the American family of the mid-Twentieth Century as "headed down the drain in a swirl of divorce, drugs, venereal disease, alcohol, adultery and group sex." But as Judy Klemesrud in a June 4, 1973, *New York Times* article pointed out, "for at least one sizable group in American Society, the family is still the thing." The Mormons attack "delinquency and deteriorating morality . . . through a Monday night get-together in the home called the 'family home evening.' " John Dart, religion writer for the *Los Angeles Times,* in equally complimentary language, reported Protestant educator H. Norman Wright's remarks of October 1972, where he praised the "Monday night family studies" of the Mormons as "probably the most creative material published by any church."

An earlier, more personal observation, by Jack Waugh in the *Christian Science Monitor* of April 20, 1971, suggested that there were few lengths Mormons won't go to [to] bind up what might otherwise be broken—be it a home or a heart:

> If a Mormon marriage appears headed for the rocks, if the youngest son is in trouble with the law, if tragedy of any sort wrenches a brother's family down the block, a dozen Mormon hands are immediately knocking on the door ready to counsel, intervene, help, conciliate, or cook.

Although Donald P. Shoemaker, in his October 11, 1974, *Christian Century* article, denounced Mormonism as a "concept Christians must reject," he did concede that the Church's tremendous growth resulted from "people seeing in it the very points of appeal that the Word of God says a church should have!" Shoemaker expressed admiration for the genuine love and concern Mormons show their people through the family unit and the family home evening. By contrast, evengelical churches were guilty of fragmenting the family through "numerous meetings and events that are rarely evaluated as to effectiveness." Evangelical Christians were advised to take some of these lessons into their own churches and thus avoid the alleged tragedy of conversion to Mormonism.

GENEALOGY AND TEMPLES

Two topics closely akin to discussions of the Mormon family in the 1970's have been genealogy and temple work. The *Washington Star News,* on August 17, 1974, in an informative examination, told its readers of the "Mormons: Plans for 'Other Side'," whereby faithful members could enter the Temple and be married for "time and eternity," and have their children "sealed" to them so their family would remain intact in the after life. In addition, Mormons perform the "rites of baptism, marriage and 'sealings' by proxy for their forebears." To complete this work, they have made a massive investment in

genealogy research. "In steel-lined, man-made caves blasted into a granite mountainside near Salt Lake City, the Mormon Church collects and stores miles of microfilm for use by its members in work for the dead." Since the Church was founded in 1830, more than 140 million persons—most of them "on the other side"—have had temple work done in their behalf. "This makes the work valid but not effective," according to Thomas C. Daniels, administrator of the Church's genealogical society. "The person on the other side has the option of accepting them or not." William Willoughby, staff reporter for the *Washington Star*, in similar language wrote on, Stptember 1, 1974, that the "Mormon faith cannot be forced upon the dead. At the resurrection they will be given a chance to accept or reject" the work that has been done for them. "All a Mormon on 'this side' can do is hope that a loved one 'on the other side' will not repudiate finally the grace of God."

Milton Viorst in the *New York Times* estimated that 6,500 people every week used the Genealogical Society's various services which were "free to Mormon and non-Mormon alike." In a more thoroughly detailed article published by *The William and Mary Quarterly* in October 1975, Larry R. Gerlach and Michael L. Nicholls wrote that the Church has "assembled the largest genealogical research library in the world . . . and had made a major contribution to the collection and preservation of historical resources." Suggesting that the Church's genealogical record vaults in Little Cottonwood Canyon might be a good shelter during a nuclear catastrophe, *Newsweek* in 1971 posed one "nagging question" which was "metaphorical for the city's central dilemma: if the vaults must ever be used for such a purpose, will the sanctuary be one that is for Mormons only?" Five years later (March 1, 1976) *Newsweek* admitted that the vaults had certain advantages. The numerous records housed there might well contain clues for doctors, physicists and sociologists studying "everything from religious demographics to the sequence of male and female children in families."

For most authors, however, genealogy continues to be principally a tool used by Mormons to bring their ancestors into the Church. Mormons, Nelson Wadsworth declared in *The National Observer* on February 5, 1972, believe in the "eternal nature of the family relationship," and the names gleaned from their genealogical research allow them to perform "vicarious work for the dead" in the Temple.

> According to Mormon belief . . . baptism for the dead, the temple 'endowment,' marriage, and the 'sealing of children to their parents' . . . are all ordinances [that] are necessary for man's salvation, even if he must receive them vicariously after he goes to the grave.

The Temple ordinances, Wadsworth, explained further:

> involve a course of instruction relating to the Mormon concept of the eternal journey of man, beginning with the creation, then the 'lone and dreary world' from which Adam and Eve were expelled by God, up through the 'Celestial Kingdom,' the highest degree of glory that man can attain after life on this earth.

Recently considerable attention has focused on the construction of the Church's newest Temple in Kensington, Maryland. *U.S. News & World Report* in September 1974, viewed it as "a striking monument" while conceding that comments on its architecture had been mixed. Most critics, however, agree that it is a "fitting expression of the exuberance of an American frontier church that has doubled its membership in 13 years—exploding into a worldwide faith

of some 3.5 million." Other writers such as Benjamin Forgey of the *Washington Star-News*, Wolf Von Eckhardt of the *Washington Post*, Paul Goldberger of the *New York Times* and *Time* magazine viewed it less poetically as an architectural curiosity, almost "Disneyland-like."

Another edifice only a few miles away, the only Mormon chapel in Washington, D.C., attracted momentary attention several months later for a different reason. On March 1, 1976, the *New York Times* announced the Washington Chapel was to be sold. At the time of its completion in 1933, the chapel was "seen as a testament to the end of Washington's hostility toward the Mormons and their abandoned practice of polygamy." The *Times* suggested that when the chapel was finally sold, the "Mormons will have sacrified more than a building. They will have lost a portion of their own history."

HEALTH HABITS

Meanwhile other Mormons were making history through important articles on an increasingly popular topic—the reputed good health of Church members. A frequently cited study prepared by Dr. James E. Enstrom of the University of California at Los Angeles for the September 1975 issue of *Cancer* showed that the "1970–72 cancer mortality rate among California Mormon adults [was] about one-half to three-fourths that of the general California population," and in the "predominately Mormon state of Utah [was] about two-thirds to three-fourths of the United States rate and the lowest in the entire country." Enstrom's findings were also summarized in the March 1975 *Readers Digest*, January 1976 *Family Circle*, and June 1975, *Let's Live: The Natural Way to Vibrant Health*. In each case Enstrom's findings were used as a basis for highly complimentary discussions of Mormons. Jay W. See, in his *Let's Live* article, introduced the topic of Mormon diet habits by announcing that "Utah, which is about 70% Mormon, is the healthiest state in the union. . . . Utah has virtually the lowest death rate from virtually all common diseases." A major portion of this essay was a knowledgeable explanation of the Word of Wisdom.

Similarly, Bill Davidson in his *Family Circle* story, suggested that Americans could learn much about health from Mormons because they have "significantly lower cancer rate, fewer heart attacks, less diabetes and other devastating diseases than the rest of us." Scientists had found a clue in the eating patterns of Mormons, who fast once a month, eat grain and "fruit in the season thereof" and meat in moderation. In addition, Mormonism is the "most athletic-oriented religion on earth, with physical fitness ordained in the holy writ." Mormons are taught that if they care for their bodies as temples of God, they will "run and not be weary, and shall walk and not faint."

> And all this doesn't stop with adulthood. On any given weekend the entire state of Utah resembles a vast Olympic village. Almost the whole population seems to be out golfing, playing tennis, skiing, hiking, mountain-climbing, shooting river rapids—receiving 'health in their navel and marrow to their bones.' At the very least, cutting down on coronaries and high blood pressure, both known to be abetted by a sedentary existence. It's hard to find a sedentary Mormon.

According to University of Utah Sociologist Glen Vernon, Mormons lead comparatively stressless lives because of their belief in an afterlife, their strong family units and family home evenings. "In proportion to their total numbers," Davidson reported that there was "a greater percentage of Mormons than any

other religious group getting into *Who's Who in America*. Their higher-education quotient is the best in the country."

Complementing Enstrom's work is the recently published research on "Cancer Incidence in Mormons and Non-Mormons in Utah 1966–1970," by four University of Utah researchers. This study, which originally appeared in the January 15, 1976, *New England Journal of Medicine*, received lengthy discussion in the *Washington Star* shortly thereafter.

TABERNACLE CHOIR AND WELFARE PROGRAM

In the 1970's the Tabernacle Choir and the Church welfare program received continuing praise from the press. In April 1975, Leland Stowe's *Reader's Digest* article (condensed from *Christian Herald*, April 1975) lauded the 375 member choir for performing "musical miracles, [and] bringing joy and inspiration to millions."

> At Eastertime, particularly, the inspiration of their voices lingers long among the statues and blooming tulips of Salt Lake City's impressive Temple Square. "I know that My Redeemer Lives," they sing, and "Christ Went Into the Hills to Pray." Visitors, remembering the music, lift their eyes to the surrounding mountainsides, blanketed with the springtime yellow of the dogtooth violet, and go their way refreshed, born again.

He extolled these unpaid volunteers who rehearse twice weekly and commute thousands of miles every year, "cheerfully paying their own transportation and baby-sitting expenses." He concludes with a brief discussion between world-renowned conductor Eugene Ormandy and choir president Isaac M. Stewart in which Ormandy remarks: "I've heard all the world's great choirs and choral groups. None can compare with the Tabernacle Choir, and its members are amateurs. Why is yours the greatest choir in the world?" Brother Stewart replies: "We have a great conductor, great organists and dedicated members. But the real key is that it is *the Lord's choir*."

Congressman William Springer of Illinois was equally enthusiastic. On October 1, 1971, he praised the Church in the *Congressional Record* as being "among the leaders all over the world in trying to take care of those in genuine need of welfare and welfare supplemental programs." In the United States where "welfare seems to be bordering on chaos," the Mormon church, Springer stated

> is attempting to solve its own problems within the scope of its religion. . . . I know no other religious group which is working on this problem of taking care of the members of its own church without application to the Federal Government for assistance. The real surprising thing is that Mormon welfare rolls have shown a steady decline in the past three years, whereas U.S. Government welfare rolls have expanded in a tremendously increasing rate over the same period.

The impetus for his remarks, Springer explained, was an informative article Janice Law, religion editor for the *Houston Chronicle*, had written the previous September 21. In her story Law persuasively argued that the welfare program was "so unique that laymen and government officials from all over the world come to see it in operation at its headquarters in Salt Lake City."

Commenting on the welfare program in 1975, Susan L. M. Hunk, a professor of geography and sociology, argued that given todays economic troubles, "it is the Mormons who seem to have the greatest likelihood of coping as a group with economic dislocation." Her *American Opinion* piece of April 1975 offered the sage advice that in an "integrated economy like ours, no one can expect not

to suffer—but the Mormons are in a better position to tough it out. The rest of us could learn a lot from them." More recently *Washington Star* staff writer William F. Willoughby interviewed President N. Eldon Tanner on the welfare program. This interview, which appeared on the front page of the *Star's* January 24, 1971, edition, together with Willoughby's December 1975 interview with J. Willard Marriott, Jr., and his January 22, 1971 article on the church's purchase of a farm in Virginia, provided an informative, complimentary explanation of the welfare program's purpose.

President Tanner was quoted as saying:

> Mormons believe that individuals are responsible for their own support. We don't believe in the dole. It doesn't help one's self-esteem, and the Church that can't help a person's self-esteem and his sense of value is not our idea of what a church should be.

Willoughby concurred: "With a few million more Mormons around, maybe this country's welfare tax burden would be lightened. Then some of us who are taxpayers wouldn't have to work two jobs to keep ourselves going and pay our taxes, too." Actually "we're only taking them from many of the people on the dole who complain they can't find jobs."

Despite an obvious improvement in media coverage, several aspects of Mormon behavior and doctrine are still eliciting adverse reactions. These include the Church's holdings and assets, polygamy, its doctrine prohibiting blacks from holding the Priesthood and its opposition to the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

BLACKS AND THE PRIESTHOOD

By far the most controversial of media concerns is the Church's policy on blacks. In the 1970's this situation was at least temporarily exacerbated by the First Presidency's policy statement of December 15, 1969. This document emphasized the Church's acceptance of the "Negro" in society, its support of equal opportunities and protection and its "Love, compassion and deepest appreciation for the rich talents, endowments, and the earnest strivings of our Negro brothers and sisters," but made it clear that no change was anticipated in Church policy toward blacks.

Whatever its intent, the statement attracted increased criticism. *Newsweek* on January 19, 1970, suggested that while George Romney's presidential candidacy had not been powerful enough to provoke a public statement on the "Mormon belief in the religious inferiority of Negroes," Stanford University's decision to drop Brigham Young University from its athletic schedule was. The Church's response, *Newsweek* argued, was "small comfort . . . for blacks." The same day *Time* reported that the "Black athletes, who precipated much of the current discussion by protesting games scheduled with Brigham Young University, argue that exclusion is a form of segregation." *Time* continued by explaining that Mormons believed blacks were "descendents of both Cain, the Bible's first murderer, and Ham the disrespectful son of Noah," and were "neutral bystanders (in the 'pre-existence') when others chose sides during a fight between God and Lucifer. For that failure of courage, they were condemned to become the accursed descendents of Cain."

Later the same week the *Christian Century* labeled the Church's most recent affirmation excluding "Negroes from the Priesthood" an "incredibly primitive reassertion of obscurantist doctrine concerning race," and depicted the authors

of the statement as men who were "apparently bound to the literalist white supremacy of Mormon presidents." Although Messers Brown and Tanner had "affirmed that Negroes are entitled to full constitutional privileges as members of society," their claim that the "realm of religion is a wholly separate order of life untouchable by civil rights . . . is a double standard . . . that is an intolerable moral dualism for any Christian body." While *Christianity Today* on January 30 commended the Church for "refusing to let popular protest shape its doctrines," it thought blacks should not feel deprived because they were not eligible for the Mormon priesthood since the Church itself was "tragically misguided." This editorial predicted that in the not too distant future the Church could expect "demands that not only blacks but women also be allowed to receive the Priesthood."

A few days earlier, W. F. Reed in the January 26 *Sports Illustrated* recounted the gathering wave of protest leveled against the statement, and then quoted several non-Mormon athletes at B.Y.U. who expressed similar dissatisfaction. He contended that no one would be happier to see the Church change its policy on blacks than BYU's athletic department. Calvin Trillin, commenting in the March 21 *New Yorker*, said that at least a few people at B.Y.U. entertained the belief that the demonstrations against their basketball team the previous winter had been part of a "Communist conspiracy." Most, however, considered it another illustration of Mormons being persecuted for their religious beliefs.

As many of these reports were being written, President David O. McKay died and *Christianity Today* announced, under the signature of Janet Rohler, that President McKay had told Sterling M. McMurrin in 1954 "It is a practice, not a doctrine, that priesthood be denied to blacks and the practice will some day be changed." McKay's son was quoted as saying that his father had affirmed in 1968 that the statement was "essentially correct." Rohler anticipated no change in the Church's position with the succession of Joseph Fielding Smith. A year later, in March 1971, *Newsweek* suggested that the black question more than any "other single subject seems to dominate" conversations of Salt Lakers.

A positive note was expressed by Wallace Turner of the *New York Times* on April 6, 1972, when he wrote of the special meeting the Church had been holding for black members in Salt Lake City. Although Turner conceded that there had been no change in Mormon policy, the Church was showing "signs of responding to its anti-Negro theology." Six months later, and several weeks after Harold B. Lee became President of the Church, *Time* observed that for "many outsiders the most urgent problem for Mormons is the fact that blacks of African ancestry are still" denied the Priesthood. "Harold B. Lee, the 'revelator,' could theoretically receive the word from God any time."

Lowry Nelson's October 16, 1974, *Christian Century* article addressed the not uncommon view of a Mormon who was openly concerned about the "problem that [was] not likely to go away." Sandra Haggerty, a black columnist and a frequent contributor to the *Los Angeles Times* wrote on July 5, 1974, "Although I have met a few Mormons who attempt to use their religious stance to justify outright racist attitudes and actions, others are somewhat embarrassed by that portion of the doctrine and feel it should be reversed." Subsequently, the Church policy regarding blacks has momentarily been at odds with the Boy Scouts of America and Larry Lester of Vancouver, Washington, a black whose ordination to the Priesthood was declared null and void within hours.

CHURCH'S HOLDINGS AND ASSETS

Amidst the uncertainty and speculation regarding Mormonism and the blacks, there has developed an ever increasing interest in the Church's assets and its use of proven business techniques. Starting with *Forbes'* complimentary piece on the Marriotts in 1971, there has been frequent estimates of the Church's worth. In that article the Church was said to have "at least $500 million to $1 billion in real estate and other investments, with a daily income of $1 million or close to $400 million a year." The monies derived from the various business enterprises, *Forbes* told its readers, are used by the Church for its church programs, welfare system, educational facilities and worldwide missionary operations. "The payoff," of the latter of these endeavors has "resulted in the tripling of the Church membership in two decades."

Several weeks later, the *Newsweek* of March 11, 1971, explained that within a few blocks from Temple Square, one could see such Mormon-owned establishments as Z.C.M.I., the Deseret Book Store, KSL-TV and "scores of church-owned properties, including a 28-story skyscraper . . . . On Main Street, [Brigham Young] himself stands in bronze, hand outstretched toward Zion's First National Bank." Interestingly, *Newsweek* saw "nothing particularly ominous about the domination of a highly prosperous church," and chose not to "quibble with the notion that Salt Lake has benefitted considerably from the traditional virtues of industry, resourcefulness and organization."

The following Spring, *Time* magazine depicted the Church as "rich, rapidly growing but still monolithic." Noting that it was Mormon policy to pay for buildings as they were built, *Time* calculated the Mormon prosperity on the basis of its new "$30 million world headquarters" in Salt Lake City, though Church authorities remained "mum" on most expenditures. Near the end of 1972, Nelson Wadsworth, religious correspondent for the *National Observer*, wrote that the "gleaming new high-rise Mormon Church-office building" nearing completion in Salt Lake City would "serve as the business headquarters" for the Church. "The new building's contemporary design," in Wadsworth's opinion, reflected the "Church's increasing concern with streamlining its home-office organization, using modern management concepts, computers, consultants, economic surveys and other modern techniques much as any big business would in trying to move into new market areas." Interestingly, these innovations were not viewed as evolving from any economic consideration. The motivation for the Church's open adoption of proven business techniques actually came about because of an overwhelming desire, as President Harold B. Lee put it, to show the world that the "fundamental principles of right living and self-control and sound economic needs, patterned after the Lord's plan of salvation," can be a reality. President Lee conceded in an interview with Wadsworth that some of the Church's biggest problems were centered on its rapid growth. "But we like to wrestle with these kinds of problems because they indicate that the church is not standing still, that the work is going forward."

More recently, *Nation's Business* in its "Bicentennial Salute" to Salt Lake City, attributed much of Utah's well-being to the Church. It reported that the Church had more than 3,000 paid employees, with an estimated income of "more than $125 million from its industries." A four month study of the Church's wealth by Associated Press, published in the May 14, 1976, edition of the *Washington Post*, placed the Church's gross daily income at $3 million, at least half of which

was given in the form of tithes and other contributions. "The AP study showed that the gross yearly income of the Mormon Church and the corporations it controls exceeds $1 billion. At least $550 million of that is net income that goes directly to the church." The study was "based on available public and church records, interviews, statistics and other business information. The $1 billion estimate of gross annual income did not include rental from commercial buildings and apartments, undisclosed real estate transactions, interest and dividents from stock investments or large individual donations." According to the authors, David Briscoe and Bill Beecham, the "approximately $150 million that Howard R. Hughes might have left the Mormon Church is equivalent to less than a month's income for the Mormons, one of the wealthiest religious organizations in the country." Citing essentially the same figures, Milton Viorst, in his *New York Times* article, claimed that the Church was "among the nation's 50 largest corporations."

POLYGAMY

Far less conspicuous, but nonetheless noteworthy in the minds of some, are Utah's polygamists. "The Mormon rams of Brigham Young's polygamous persuasion still exist, but they do not roar: they whisper," according to the October 11, 1971, *Time*. "Scattered across every county in Utah, most numerous in the Salt Lake Valley, live perhaps 20,000 men, women and children who still take literally Young's solemn litany: 'The only men who become Gods, even the sons of God, are those who enter into polygamy.' " These are people who out of necessity keep their lives extremely private because "polygamy is illegal in Utah, as in every state," and because the "Mormon Church excommunicates any of its members who still dare live by what is rather cryptically called 'the principle.' " Morris Q. Kunz, the only polygamist discussed by name in the article, has three wives, thirty children, eight stepchildren, more than 200 grandchildren and six great-grandchildren. "Kunz and his fellow practitioners," *Time* explains, are "reinforced by their conviction that they are the defenders of a tenet which the official Mormon Church accepts as fundamental—even though it cannot legally be lived at present." Prosecution is rare because "sons and daughters of old Mormon families" do not want "to testify against their neighbors."

Although most polygamists are less than open about their life-style, Alexander Joseph, the "nation's best-known advocate of polygamy," has received considerable media coverage. Joseph has been excommunicated from the Church as Michael Seiler pointed out in the February 9, 1976, *Los Angeles Times*, "but it is unlikely that he will be prosecuted." According to a spokesman for the Utah State Attorney General's Office, "Joseph is not legally married to any of his [nine] wives," and "therefore is not legally a polygamist." Interestingly, Seiler makes no reference to the Church beyond mentioning Joseph's excommunication. Somewhat more dramatically *Time* introduced the Joseph story to its readers the previous March by announcing that President Spencer W. Kimball in 1974 had declared "the Lord brought an end to [polygamy] many decades ago," but the "divine word [has not yet] reached everyone." *Time* speculated there were "some 35,000 heretical Mormons in the U.S. and Mexico who still practice polygamy." Seiler figured there were "25,000 to 35,000 Americans living in polygamy."

EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

The proposed Equal Rights Amendment continues to languish in at least two areas where the Church has a strong influence. On February 18, 1975, Utah's House of Representatives rejected the proposed amendment to the Constitution after considerable controversy in the local media. Suzanne Dean, in a *Washington Post* article published just before the voting, wrote that "climate for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment has suddenly turned chilly in [Utah] after an editorial opposing it appeared in" the *Church News* of January 11. The day after the Utah House rejected the Equal Rights Amendment, the Nevada Senate reached a similar verdict. Following this vote, Kate Butler, ERA coordinator in Nevada, attributed the defeat to a "raw power play by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, whose members in Nevada number less than 55,000 compared to a total state population of about 600,000." Butler's remarks as quoted by the Associated Press appeared the following morning in several major newspapers including the *New York Times*. The same story also included the comments of State Senator Helen Herr, a leading ERA opponent, who rejected the foregoing criticism by asking: "How in the world can a church stand by and see the family unit threatened?"

That October the third annual "Women Unlimited" conference was held in Salt Lake City. Reporting on the proceedings for the *New York Times*, Grace Lichtenstein perceived a "Paradox in [the] Women's Movement: Feminists Who Are Mormons." For Mormon women the road ahead is "symbolically as hard as the cross-country journey their persecuted ancestors took more than a century ago to reach the Utah desert." Yet, "Mormon women increasingly are standing up for their rights, striving for careers outside the home and questioning longheld religious beliefs"—beliefs of a Church that "denies women entry into the priesthood and opposes the Equal Rights Amendment, abortion and birth control while promoting marriage and motherhood as a women's most divine role."

Expressing a different opinion, Barbara B. Smith, President of the Relief Society, in a May 11, 1976, front page interview with *Washington Star* staff writer Randy Sue Coburn, explained that the "role of women in our church has always been one where women have been given top appreciation and they have been given an opportunity to do everything. It has been that way since the very beginning." The church is opposed to the Equal Rights Amendment "because we feel it is blanket approach in the hope of solving all problems." We also feel that "unless a man is given the [primary] responsibility of providing for his family" the family will be destroyed. In the Bible, women are given the "specific role of nurturing children and raising them. I think it also gives the man the responsibility of leading out in many areas of life. The Lord has assigned men and women to work together and each are equally important, but in different ways."

Senator Jake Garn of Utah, in remarks he inserted in the *Congressional Record* of February 1, 1977, argued that "we must be alert to the effects of the ERA that are not intended, including those depriving lawmakers and government officials of the right, by legal means to honor the vital differences in the roles of man and woman." In his opinion the "undergirding strength of this nation lies in the strength of its families, its home environment; and a breakdown of that foundation can only weaken the country." A better solution is to enact "judicious and wise legislation to correct particular circumstances."

CONCLUSION

In the 1970's the Church has been surprisingly successful in gaining recognition and media coverage on those aspects it would most like to have publicized —integrity, devotion to the Puritan work ethic, the family, genealogy, temples and proper health habits. And the secular press has shown an increasingly sophisticated understanding of these and other aspects of Mormonism. Events which in the past would have called forth derisiveness or flippancy now are treated with interest and insight. Even news coverage of tangential happenings like the Howard Hughes' "Mormon Will," the execution of Gary Gilmore and the Alan Howe case are often treated with more understanding by the secular press than by the Utah-Mormon press. Although writers still tend to avoid in-depth discussion of the diversified backgrounds, talents, interests and personalities of individual Mormons, they nonetheless take their subjects more seriously than in the past. All in all, there is every indication that media interest in Mormonism will continue to flourish.

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LINDA SILLITOE

The Photograph

The magazine picture xeroxed a duplicate print
in my brain. Its caption Mother
cradles child dying of starvation
turned my thumb toward the page corner
but her burned paper eyes insisted
without hope or pity on mine.
I wondered if his spidery legs had ever been
chubby and tried to believe
it was not the same for her
as it would be for me that skin and hair
and geography or non-vitamin expectations
or her own hard hunger might numb her.
Still there was the angle of her arms.

Though it was weeks before I carried my son
to the steps for September to cool him
draped across me blond head larger
and heavy as stone his skin scorching mine
sun-marked legs and arms suddenly thin
she crouched beside me beseeching Allah
and antibiotics knowing their limitations
watching the patterns of delicate bones
searching the dreadful peace
of early evening for a flight of small birds.

Now I weep for her son, remembering the hours
empty milk cartons weren't toys
dangerous things lay in low places
all day the gate to the street gaped open.

Linda Sillitoe has published recently in *Dialogue, Sunstone, Exponent II,* and *The Ensign.*

REVIEWS

PHOTOGRAPHY AS HISTORY

KENT L. WALGREN

Through Camera Eyes. By Nelson B. Wadsworth. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1975. 180 pp., $10.95.

In *Through Camera Eyes,* Nelson Wadsworth attempts a history of early Mormon photography after the manner of the late Dr. Robert Taft's *Photography and the American Scene, the* definitive scholarly work on the social history of photography in America. Mr. Wadsworth follows basically the organizational scheme of Dr. Taft's classic and even includes as his first image a daguerreotype of Louis Daguerre nearly identical to that which appears in the frontispiece of Dr. Taft's work, both Daguerre photographs obviously having been taken the same day, although by different photographers.

Through Camera Eyes is a series of five short biographies of early Mormon photographers connected by a cursory narrative of Mormon history from 1839 to 1916, with a collection of 180 well-reproduced photographs, some never before published. The author also dedicates chapters to the evidence of Joseph Smith having been photographed, and to the photographing of the joining of the rails of the transcontinental railroad. A humorous incident, which occurred at the laying of the last rail of the transcontinental railroad, demonstrates Wadsworth's highly readable style:

> A precision team of Union Pacific's best Irish tracklayers carried one of the last rails into place and spiked it down, except for the laurel tie. Then a gang of blue-jacketed Chinese coolies brought in the second rail. Someone in the crowd shouted to Savage: "Now's the time, Charlie! Take a shot!" To the Chinese workers, who had never seen a camera before, the word "shot" had only one meaning. They dropped the rail and fled into the nearby crowd. It was only after a long pause of laughter and some coaxing that the coolies were persuaded to return to finish their task.

In his preface, Mr. Wadsworth lists the following as his reasons for publishing his book: (1) to collect and analyze the surviving photographs of frontier photographers; (2) to show that photographs are among the most reliable sources of historical documentation; (3) to show the difference between historical photography, historical artwork, and historical writings (demonstrated by the search for the missing portrait of Joseph Smith); and (4) to present some of the surviving photographs of early Mormon history and discuss the lives of the men who took them. The author succeeds in presenting many surviving photographs and in discussing the lives of five early prominent Mormon photographers: Lucian R. Foster, Marsena Cannon, Charles W. Carter, Charles R. Savage, and George E. Anderson. Although C. R. Savage was the only one to achieve any degree of national fame, the others are clearly the most noteworthy among the photographers of early Church history.

The greatest failing of *Through Camera Eyes* is the author's unjustifiable attempt to connect Mormonism with the heroes of the day, a practice into which Mormon writers seem prone to fall, in an effort to legitimize the history through name dropping. For example, Wadsworth suggests that "In all likelihood [Lucian] Foster and [Mathew] Brady learned their skills from the same teacher, Professor Samuel F. B. Morse . . .," when, in reality, there is virtually no evidence that Foster was even interested in photography between 1841 and 1843, and no evidence, other than an unreliable statement of Joseph Smith III in 1910, that Lucian Foster practiced daguerreotypy until after the martyrdom of Joseph Smith. Or, consider the author's statement on page 14: "It is strictly a matter of conjecture, but it is possible a portrait of Brigham Young was taken either by Foster or Mathew Brady about the time of the Bennett baptism. . . ." Although the author admits that it is conjecture, the total lack of evidence that Brigham Young was ever photographed by Mathew Brady misleads the reader and makes one wonder if he is witnessing the birth of another Mormon myth. Wadsworth's apparent need to draw unwarranted conclusions raises questions as to the scholarliness of his work. Plates 2 and 12, for instance, which are daguerreotypes of the Nauvoo Temple, are identified on pages 39 and 42 respectively, as the work of Lucian Foster. Yet, Foster cannot definitely be established as the photographer of either of the daguerreotypes of the Nauvoo Temple.

Nevertheless, despite the shortcomings, *Through Camera Eyes* is a first significant step in collecting and publishing early photographs having relevance to Mormons. The analysis of the early Joseph Smith portraits is intriguing, and the brief biographies of the early photographers, especially C. R. Savage and George E. Anderson, provide fascinating reading. George E. Anderson, who left for a mission to England in April 1907, did not return to his home in Springville, Utah, until 1914, to the dismay of his wife, Olive. During that period, Anderson served three years as a missionary, passing the remaining time in the eastern United States compulsively photographing Church historical sites. His obsession resulted in a most important contribution to the photo-documentation of Mormon history. Although Wadsworth's book cannot be considered the definitive scholarly work in the area, the selection of photographs is excellent, the format is pleasing, and the biographical information provides enjoyable reading. The book is worth its price for the photographs alone.

Man's Search for Happiness Indian Style

MARY L. BRADFORD

Indian, produced and directed by Kieth Merrill, premiered in Wichita, Kansas, November 1976 and was shown to select audiences in Washington, D.C., January 1977.

Kieth Merrill, who created the *Great American Cowboy*, has done it again. This time the movie is *Indian*, a beautiful, kaleidoscopic montage dramatized through the odyssey of a young Navajo (Raymond Tracey), who has left his family's hogan to be educated in white schools. Seeking to raise his cultural consciousness, he interviews representatives of fifty tribes in thirty states and Canada. (Eastern and northern tribes are only sketchily shown.)

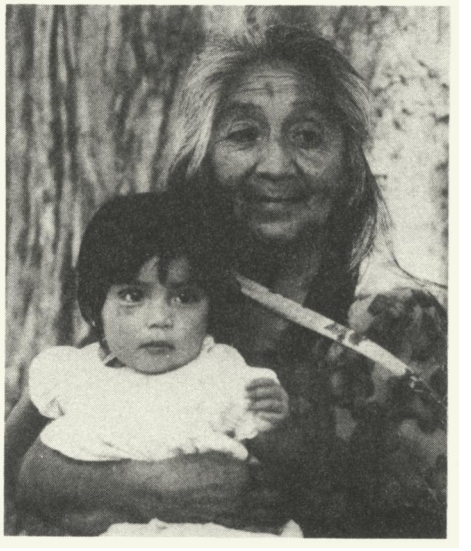
This 86-minute documentary, resplendent in the colors of Renaissance paintings, speaks in the words of the Indians themselves and their friends. Old men tell the legends of their tribes, a sculptor cries as he recounts the life of Crazy Horse, whose figure he is carving into the granite mountainside at Little Big Horn; endearing gestures of small children are caught and caressed by the camera; slow motion shots of war dances combine with an Indian rodeo and frank interviews with Indian leaders, including some women activists.

Mormons will recognize a familiar theme in an ancient Indian quotation that introduces the movie: "Those who are destroyed shall speak to the children.

Their voices shall whisper from the dust, and they shall bloom like a rose on the mountain." The values of family life are stressed: Indian children in Church with the voices of "The Lamanite Generation" singing "I am a Child of God," and certain other patriotic numbers.

Some scenes break Merrill's poetic "stream-of-consciousness" line, and introduce a slick commercial quality alien to the rest of the film. Even as welcome a sight as Robert Redford on his horse at Sundance doesn't seem to belong. The love interest could be effectively suggested, and then dropped, along with the "Marlboro Country" scene seemingly borrowed from some BYU films of the past: The hero and his friends are shown loping, slow-motion over brilliant sand dunes for what seems like days and miles, never missing a breath, nor mussing their hair. (An old BYU movie shown in stake conferences had President Harold B. Lee's sermon being illustrated by three euphoric nymphs romping through a field of high grass.)

Overall, however, *Indian* is a joyful experience. The color in places and faces, in costumes, and in jewelry is so sensuous that one feels like a traveler in an idealized country where museum artifacts come alive and tell their history. And, despite the diversity of locales, stretching from Monument Valley to the Everglades, the artistry of Merrill's vision succeeds in catching the inherent continuity and timelessness of his subject.



NOTES AND COMMENTS

Some Thoughts on Public Relations

ROBERT F. BENNETT

"Public relations" is the process by which an organization or institution relates to any of the "publics" with which it deals. As open-ended as this may seem, in practice, the Church as an institution must deal only with a limited number of publics. The first, I would suggest, is the Church membership itself. Other important "publics" are 1) potential converts, 2) those who have no interest in becoming members but who interact with Church programs and 3) those who have no practical contact with the Church at all. Our job is complicated by the fact that our various publics are not self-contained; they overlap each other, and yet, paradoxically, persons in one public are often unaware of the attitudes of those in another.

I think the Church handles public relations with its own members quite well. Church magazines, conference addresses, personal visits by authorities, as well as local communications networks give the membership wide opportunity to communicate with the leadership and to participate in policy-making. We relate to potential converts, of course, through our proselyting activities. The other "publics" usually must be dealt with in a different way, and this is traditionally the purview of public relations. Because we church members like to think of everyone as a potential convert, however, developing and projecting a PR posture appropriate to all of these "publics" poses a real challenge to the Church. If we were like the Jews, who are not seeking converts, our problems would be fewer.

In facing these challenges, we should look briefly at our history in PR terms. In my opinion, Joseph Smith was a masterful public relations practitioner. He understood the importance of general public understanding of the Church and its goals, even if that understanding did not lead to an immediate harvest of converts. It is instructive to note that the Articles of Faith grew from a letter to an editor, clearly written to relate to the general public. The Prophet, probably without realizing it, was concerned with the Church's overall "positioning" more than with simply maintaining a good "image." I believe he was eager to separate the Church from the other frontier religions, to demonstrate that it offered a much wider scope of doctrine. By spelling out the wide range of beliefs covered in the Articles of Faith, he "positioned" the Church as something other than a fundamentalist sect following a single charismatic preacher. He had a firm doctrinal stance on all the questions of the day.

If we follow his activities in Nauvoo, we find this same general public relations approach. He made himself accessible to any visitor who wanted to interview him, and always discussed a wide range of topics. He let members and nonmembers alike know of his interest in ancient languages, city planning, education and other public issues. His candidacy for the President of the United States reinforced this stand. Joseph Smith wanted the world to know that Mormonism was not confining, that Mormons were capable of playing on a stage much larger

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than that built by the narrow creeds of frontier preachers.

I think Brigham Young had a good PR sense, too, although he positioned himself and the Church a little differently. Faced with intense anti-Mormon attitudes, he focused on the Church's accomplishments—conquering the West, settling new towns, and developing irrigation, and so on. While he granted interviews to traveling journalists, he was less available than Joseph Smith had been, thus projecting the image of a man of practical affairs, with pressing problems and not much time for useless conversation. I think the tradition of Mormons as *doers* comes in part from this posture.

After Brigham Young, we went through a period where the PR focus of the Church was somewhat confused, mainly because of the great struggle over polygamy and statehood. B. H. Roberts' *Comprehensive History* was a major PR effort, but it did not really relate to the general public, because of its intent, and survives only because of its interest for Church members. The virulence of anti-Mormon feelings within Utah shaped the PR attitude of all the Mormon leaders, many of whom literally went underground to avoid arrest. It was not until Heber J. Grant began consciously building bridges to Utah's non-Mormon community in a non-proselyting way that the Church began to see a significant change. President Grant recognized the tremendous potential of the mass media, and he led the Church into broadcasting, opening the way for Richard L. Evans and the Tabernacle Choir to project to the general public the soft-sell image of Mormons as "good people."

Of course, President David O. McKay, with his superb PR sense, also helped soften the feelings of the public throughout the world. I was with him in Glasgow, Scotland, during the Tabernacle Choir's first concert there in 1955. President McKay spoke at a press conference, and the Lord Provost (Mayor) responded in a manner so warm and cordial that President McKay said to me, "This is the greatest day in the history of the Church in Scotland." Having been a Scottish missionary himself, he knew first hand about the generally bad image the Church had endured there.

What moved President McKay so much was the Lord Provost's personal anecdote about Mormons. As a young man he said he had heard nothing but negative statements about the Church. Then he became acquainted with some Mormons, and finding them to be of exemplary character, concluded that all of the things he had heard to the contrary were false. Now, he said, being in the same room with 600 Mormons and hearing President McKay convinced him that his favorable impression had been the right one all along.

It was also under President McKay that the Church first turned to professional public relations specialists outside the Church for professional assistance. Robert Mullen, whose firm I worked for and later bought, advised the Church for a number of years in ways that helped broaden Church exposure. He recommended that the Tabernacle Choir record with the Philadelphia Orchestra and worked especially hard at getting the press to cover the Palmyra pageant, all to show that Mormonism was not bounded by the limits of the Salt Lake Valley. He later wrote a non-proselyting book about the Church, which has been widely reviewed and well received. Mullen's advice fit well with President McKay's view of a world church.

Spencer W. Kimball also has a good PR sense. He not only relates well to members of the Church, but seems to have a knack for saying the right thing at the right time. In news interviews he is usually able to avoid quibbling and to project Christian love. During the press conference at the opening of the Washington Temple Visitors Center, for example, he was asked the question, "Do you think you will ever have a woman apostle?" He smiled and said, "Who knows? We'll have to wait and see."

I think we still have major challenges

in developing our relationship with the non-Mormon public, though. As the Church becomes more diverse and wide-ranging, we must be more careful about the images we create of ourselves in the public mind. We must be careful not to mislead the public. For example, Brigham Young University is now the largest church-related university in the world, a source of considerable pride to us. It is also a place where students are well-groomed and modestly dressed, which stamps it as something of a rarity. If we over-publicize this latter fact, however, at the expense of stressing the academic achievements of the school and its faculty, we run the risk of placing BYU in the league of certain evangelical institutions of lesser academic quality. This could hurt BYU graduates as they hit the job market, and as a Church PR matter, alienate an important segment of the public that might otherwise be kindly disposed toward us.

As another example: Many non-Mormons have adopted the Family Home Evening Program, and others have recommended it on a community-wide basis. Our leadership in building family ties will bear fruit both in potential converts and in general good will. On the other hand, if we place too much emphasis on Home Evening, the public may come to perceive it as some kind of unique ritual, similar to the Jewish Sabbath performed by Tevye in *Fiddler on the Roof*. People will say they like it but still feel turned away.

And we must understand that mere publicity in itself is not as effective as some might think. Many church-originated stories end up on the religion page of the newspapers, which is the least read page in the paper.

All in all, Church leaders have great PR material with which to work and our relationships with our various publics should steadily improve. But we will need more skill than ever before in our history. I think the Church's decision to produce an hour-long TV special in prime time markets demonstrates a keen awareness of this. It augurs well for the future of the Church public relations. Ultimately, however, we will all need to bear in mind that the Church's image depends upon and always will depend upon the individual behavior of its members.

If It's Written by A Living General Authority, It Will Sell: A Report on Mormon Publishing

According to Duane Crowther, founder and manager of Horizon Publishing, "Church publishers are 'lengthening their stride' to keep pace with the rapid growth of the Church. All five of the publishers of traditional church books are expanding their facilities. Deseret Book has completed its attractive new building in downtown Salt Lake City. Hawkes Publishing built their own facility last year. Within the past decade Bookcraft moved into a new location and is again pondering expansion. BYU Press is in a modern new plant, and Horizon is negotiating the purchase of a permanent home almost three times larger than its current building."

Standing as influential and omnipresent as ever is Deseret Book Company, making no secret of its official role as publishing arm for the general authorities and purveyor *par excellance* of LDS gift books. Their books cover a wide range of subject matter—from scripture to homemaking to some recent history titles by luminaries from the

Historical Department of the Church. Priced well-below national books of like quality, Deseret books have taken on a new look in the past few years. Design and editing have been upgraded. At BYU Writers Conference during the summer of 1976, Manager Jim Mortimer, publications editor Lowell Durham Jr., copy-editor Eleanor Knowles and designer Michael Graves talked about the purposes and goals of the company. "We try to make a profit, but we are not seeking a gold mine. Our question is 'Will it fit the bill as a gift for the newly released Bishop?' " Deseret sees its customers as "browsers" with an orientation toward the scriptures. It sees itself as honest and positive, working within narrow limitations but valuing quality. Says Durham: "Everything has parameters. I believe in restrictions, and I believe we can work successfully within these restrictions." He likened his work to the poet working within accepted forms like the sonnet. Though Deseret is not yet open to poets and fiction writers, "the time may come". Meanwhile, Durham advises writers to worry less about the restrictions of the market and more about "adding good books to our libraries."

The publishing arm of Brigham Young University—the BYU Press—has also upgraded its content and design. Prize-winning work by McRay Magelby's graphics staff and creative editing by Ernest Olsen and Gail Bell have carried the Press beyond narrow educational titles and so broadened its scope that some titles now sell nationwide: *Edgar Rice Burroughs,* (by Irwin Porges) a lavish book about the creator of Tarzan, has been picked up by a national paperback company, and *Roughing It Easy* (by Dian Thomas) has become the outdoor food bible of the country. Books on interior design, preschools, dancing and wood-burning provide the financial stability needed to support the intellectual, scholarly and fine arts titles. Such literary offerings as *Modern Poetry of Western America* and *Barbed Wire* are doing well, however, and Don Marshall's second volume book of short stories *Frost in the Orchard* is now scheduled for publication. Among recent scholarly titles, Davis Bitton's long-awaited *Guide to Mormon Diaries and Autobiographies* and Monte McLaw's history of the *Deseret News* are just off the press.

Contrary to popular opinion, these "central five" do not begin to exhaust the list of publishers who now handle Mormon-related works. Greg Prince and Stan Hall of Bethesda, Maryland, have just set up "Times and Seasons Books," a mail-order Mormon book business, because "many in-print Mormon books are unknown to Mormon readers and many out-of-print and reprinted titles are poorly advertised." Their survey ("probably incomplete") lists 47 publishers, 36 of which are outside Utah. "The misconception is easily understood. Even *The Subject Guide to Books in Print* lists fewer than half the titles."

Among "unofficial" book sellers and publishers, Sam Weller of Zion's Book in Salt Lake City is legendary. Mormon booklovers know well the vaults above the store where he keeps out-of-print treasures, the used book corridors in the back, and his ever-present willingness to talk about anything "Mormon" in print or out. Ten years ago Weller organized his own publishing company geared to facimilie reproductions of out-of-print classics. He began with Jensens' famous *Biographical Encyclopedia,* and has since branched out to such originals as the best selling *Utah's Ghost Towns* by Stephen Carr. "It's too expensive, though," he says, recalling his latest venture—a reprint of Eliza Snow's biography of her brother Lorenzo. "It cost four dollars a copy just to print, and when I sold it for ten, people complained about the price. The original would bring $75.00 in the rare book market." Although he does not intend to give up publishing, Sam says "this year I'll pull in my horns."

Weller's experience parallels that of Garth Mangum of Olympus Publishing Company who decided to "sample the Mormon market" with a book on modern polygamy (*Polygamist's Wife*) by his wife

Marion Mangum. Since Olympus concentrates on educational and manpower titles, a different promotion scheme was in order. While Marion tracted bookstores in the mountain west, California and the northwest, Garth mailed out brochures to *Dialogue* subscribers. Though most of the bookstores agreed to carry it—especially after learning that Deseret Book had agreed—most buyers felt that $7.95 was too much to pay. When the Mangums' friends announced that they were on the waiting list at the library, Marion said, "Well, if I don't have a best seller, I do have a best reader." Meanwhile, the response to their brochure consisted mainly of manuscript offers. Their conclusion: "There are more writers than readers out there."

What does all this mean to the writer of fiction and poetry, essays and novels? Many of these writers feel there is a market for their work. Publication in magazines and journals encourages them, but over and over they hear "There is no market" or "Mormons won't pay." Many writers have therefore chosen the self-publishing route. Only a few go so far as to set up printing presses in their own homes; most simply hire reputable presses and do their own editing, promoting and distributing. Eight members of the Exponent II staff in Boston decided to do just that when their book of essays, *Mormon Sisters*, (Claudia Bushman, ed.) was unable to find a publisher. They formed Emmeline Press (named after Emeline B. Wells) and set out "boldly and naively" by borrowing 6,000 dollars and mailing flyers to the Christmas market. "We misjudged the realiability of firms who contracted for composition, printing and binding," report Heather Cannon and Carrell Sheldon. "Compositor errors, printing and binding costs and missing pages caused delays and flaring tempers. We struggle now with financial reports, tax returns, advertising, distribution and inventory records. Still, our book is a tangible reality that we are able to share with many people. There *IS* a market for our book, and in four months we have already recovered one third of our costs. As for the future, we vacillate between fatigue and lofty thoughts of future projects."

Marilyn McMeen Brown reports that from the time she began "as a little girl, loving books and writing them tediously with a pencil and crayons, I dreamed that someday I might publish my own poems in a little pamphlet. In 1966 I paid $300 for two fonts and an ancient press hooked to a washing machine motor. Then I went to visit my friends Carol Lynn and Gerald Pearson. 'Let's put out a book of our poems,' I said.
"We are already beginning on *Beginnings*," Gerald replied. So I ended up shadowing Carol Lynn's pioneering effort by establishing Art Publishers in 1969. I soon decided to give up the washing machine motor. I hired a professional press and bought a stamp that said "Books Fourth Class." Gerald helped me set up an invoicing system. I spent $1,000 to print 2,000 copies of *Rainflowers*. While I did not expect nor get the instant success of *Beginnings*, I was pleased to find that young people bought my poetry, and that I had to reprint only four months later."

Gerald Pearson, interviewed in *Mountainwest* magazine, said "Our conception was that if we took out a loan and published 2,000 copies of *Beginnings*, we would be able to sell them within a year . . . but between *Beginnings* and *The Search*, we have sold almost 150,000 copies. In June 1975, Doubleday picked up Carol Lynn's books and 'were satisfied with initial sales.' "

Emma Lou Thayne, well-liked author of three books of poetry and a novel, had heard the old saw, "There is no market for poetry in the Church," so she arranged to have her first book printed by Parliament Press, the pay-your-own-way arm of Bookcraft. Now *Spaces in the Sage* is in its fourth printing and her other books are catching up. She attributes her success partly to the activities of an interested sales manager at Bookcraft, partly to word-of-mouth momentum, and partly to her own participation in the fireside-Standards Night-Relief

Society-Sacrament Meeting-Devotional circuit. "An audience for a speaker must certainly, even inadvertently, become readership for an author."

Still waiting in the wings is Douglas Thayer, well-known writer of short stories who has decided to publish his *Under the Cottonwoods and Other Mormon Stories* with the help of his wife Donlu, a free-lance editor. "There are several good presses in Provo. We will sell the hardback for under $5.00 and the paperback under $4.00 because all the knowledgable people say that Mormon readers won't pay more." He hopes that his action will encourage someone else to establish a "regional house" for the Mormon market. "Because I want to keep writing, and Donlu wants to start writing, we prefer not to put much time into publishing, unless, of course, we can make millions at it."

This brief overview illustrates the lively interest in publishing that lives among the Mormons. Over all hangs a sense of frustration, and underneath, as Douglas Thayer puts it, are "the bones of those who tried and failed." Peregrine Press, a great hope for some writers, pulled out of the Mormon market after printing some beautiful books, including Emma Lou Thayne's novel. And yet the Pearsons were able to sell 150,000 books of poetry!

Garth Mangum tries to explain this paradox. "If you are already publishing titles that sell, in a market you know, any new book must bring in at least 5 to 8 times the cost of printing. Since Mormons won't pay that price, in order to start a regional Mormon press, you must have a great deal of money and a heavy sense of commitment. Because official companies like Deseret Book and quasi-official ones like Bookcraft are able to publish so far below the national cost, prices are depressed and most smaller publishers are unable to compete."

Duane Crowther reports however, that "church" publishers are starting to lift their prices into the competitive range. He sees this as good for business—because it will offset inflation and allow for promotion—and good for writers too. "Writing is one place where the Saints can do many things of their own free will and bring to pass much righteousness." He thinks that authors will be helped by President Spenser W. Kimball's recent directive that authors obtain permission from general authorities before their words are cited. "While allowing the Brethren to reserve their own materials for their own books, it will serve to reduce the 'scissors and paste' collections that have flooded the market in times past."

Dear Mary Marker

Among those invited to contribute to the media issue was Mormondom's own Ann Landers in the person of Ramona Cannon, whose "Confidentially Yours" was carried by the *Deseret News* from 1947 to 1973. She responded with a brief biographical sketch and some letters from her column. Now a spry ninety, she began the column as a sixty-year-old widowed English teacher. She was drafted to the position by Wendell Ashton, who had directed her writing assignments for the *Millennial Star*. Although reluctant to accept the task, she began to educate herself in the ways of the lonely, the lovelorn, the puzzled and the sorrowing. She took courses in psychology and sociology, traveled and read, and finally became established as a one-woman clearing house for the needy.

In giving advice, she usually outlined more than one alternative and emphasized the values of home life and old fashioned entertainments like taffy pulls and waffle parties. Although not given to witty ripostes, she was always thoughtful and always ready with a generous dose of common sense.

A few of her favorite exchanges—including one with a future editor of *Dialogue* follow:

Dear MM:

I simply don't understand what is going on with young people today. I asked my two teenagers if they would like to go to a good movie at a drive-in. They were absolutely revolted at the notion. When I asked the younger daughter why this was so awful, she said that if any of her friends knew she was going with her mother, she would lose her friends. What is going on?

Bewildered Mother

Dear Bewildered:

Your parent-children-gap problems stem from a lack of communication. Perhaps you should rise above your hurt and let her knew her fear was also a nightmare of your own youth. Then suggest that a friendly, hospitable home is a genuine aid to popularity. Encourage your daughters to welcome her friends into your home.

MM

Dear MM:

I am a coed at the University and my best friend always goes out for whatever boy

she knows I like. She always gets him too. When I talk to her about it, she acts innocent. What should I do?

Frustrated

Dear Frustrated:

I'd stop considering that girl my best friend and keep her from knowing which boys I like.

MM

Dear MM:

Doesn't friendship have any rights? I mean like between a man and a woman when the man recently married and the woman hasn't? The man I have known since childhood got married and his wife hangs onto him like a leech. I would never think of trying to break up a family, but I would like to continue my friendship with this man.

A Lifelong Friend

Dear LF:

Of course friendship has rights, and an intelligent wife would not try to destroy her husband's old friendships. But a day is only 24 hours long, and many men have obligations in business, church and civil life with very little time for old friends—however delightful they may be. A happy solution would be if the man's former friends and the wife's friends become friends after marriage. Marriage and friendship are both great entities—but to each his own.

MM

Dear MM:

I am a girl of 17 who after finally attaining the state known as high school seniorhood, finds that she is also a woe-begone wallflower. This bothers me since I am not used to this status. I've always gone to dances and had dates. I am not exactly a Frankenstein, and I know plenty of boys, but it seems the soph and junior girls have reached first base ahead of me. I love dancing and other pastimes, but I haven't had a date for months. Several other seniors find themselves in this predicament. Must we sit idly by and hope for the best?

Worried Wallflower

Dear WW:

I really can't think your lull in popularity is anything but temporary, if this letter is a sample of your conversational ability. Your touches of humor would certainly brighten the dreariest situation. These dateless weekends are largely the result of having known the senior boys for 3 or 4 years, and now the faces of the newer girls catch their fancy. Remember that in maturity and breadth of experience you have a slight edge. Use it to dream up novelties to attract the wanderers: imaginative treasure hunts, progressive dinners, roller skating parties, bob-sledding and after skiing candy pulls. Or waffles.

MM

Dear MM:

I have just watched another marriage go down the drain. The man's wife was ill, so a neighbor widow posing as a friend brought desserts, which the man relished, and flattery and guile beginning with small caresses, which he relished even more.

The man's wife will not take him back. His imagined bliss has turned to public shame. He does not like himself and friends do not seek him out.

Hurt for a Friend

Dear Hurt:

We hope your letter will prove a shock treatment for any husbands who may fall into the coils of amorous imagination run wild. What a tempted man needs is not riotous imagination, but a clear unimpassioned eye in search of truth, such truth as the shoddiness of the cheating temptress, the long-proved loyalty of a good wife, the irremediable hurt that a faithless man inflicts upon his wife and children.

MM

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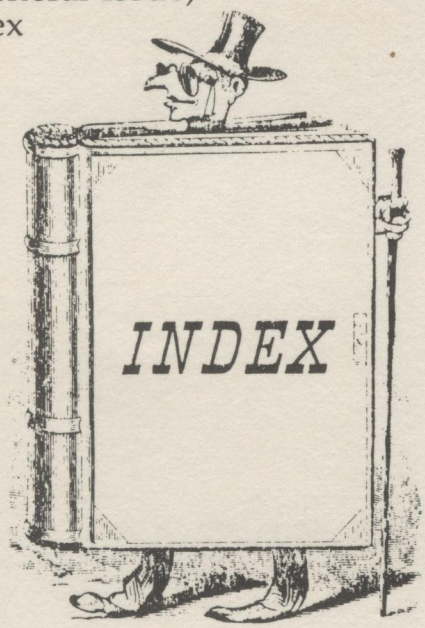

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