DIALOGUE

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT

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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.

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DIALOGUE CELEBRATES MORMON PERIODICALS

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Letters to the Editor

Happy Birthday To Us!

Thank you for ten good years of service to my mind and my spirit. My subscription has occasionally lapsed, but my interest never has. Nor my appreciation. Every good wish for continued success.

Carol Lynn Pearson
Walnut Creek, Cal.

Dialogue was doomed from the outset, for it was founded on a contradiction—The Mormon intellectual. No way could it bridge that gap.

Brave attempts were made with each issue by editors and writers, but the result was generally much glitter and much cowardice: a nice look to pretty superficial material.

The funny thing about *Dialogue*—now looking back over its ten years—is the paradox that while it strove to be in the vanguard of ideas and issues, it almost always seemed rather retarded. Not just that so many of the numbers came out awfully late, nor that quite a number of problems got resolved long before *Dialogue* got to them, but that most of the issues raised in *Dialogue* aren't really issues any more; in some cases, they were resolved in the Middle Ages, in other cases in the early twentieth century—and Mormons seem not to have noticed. Should have been named Dia*lag*!

Karl Keller
Former member, Board of Editors
La Mesa, Cal.

Not long ago a militant, obsessed feminist historian came up to me and asked if I had heard about the extraordinary issue of *Dialogue* on sexuality. She suspected that as a student of Mormon history I might have come across the publication. She thought that as a social historian I ought to get a copy and read it. Thoroughly "fascinating." With a modest cough I informed her that (ahem!) I had helped launch the first issue.

Her reaction astonished me. Here was a psychologically sophisticated, left liberal intellectual who viewed Mormonism as an amalgam of fundamentalist obscurantism, Roman Catholic reaction and old-style sectarianism at the flying-saucer level of credulity. And yet, with some wonderment to be sure, she was seriously reading a Mormon publication. She was amazed that Mormon men and women could honestly confront fundamental social issues and the results of scientific research and serious scholarship—and that, for example, *Dialogue*, associated with this most patriarchal, heterosexual, family-centered set of beliefs, could open the door on the homosexuals in its own closet!

My explanation, of course, was simple: intellectual honesty and intellectual courage. These are rare qualities even in the best known secular highbrow publications. *Dialogue* has maintained these qualities for ten years and has displayed them in outstanding prose and sparkling graphics. Americans, and especially non-Mormons, can be grateful for the very few *Dialogues* published in our time.

Congratulations on ten years of rare excellence! Warmest best wishes for the next ten!

Professor Mario S. De Pillis
University of Massachusetts at Amherst

Congratulations on your forthcoming 10th Anniversary! I have been a devoted reader of *Dialogue* during its entire existence.

Dialogue has survived the chilling effect of official sanction by the General Authorities of only certain Church periodicals. During its short history, *Dialogue's* editorial offices have traversed the entire country seeking a permanent home. Rumors of financial demise have failed to stop publica-

tion although sometimes issues have been long in reaching subscribers. *Dialogue* has overcome these obstacles because it has provided to its interested LDS readers an opportunity to gain "intelligence" on important socio-religious and political subject matter which have often been ignored completely, or superficially treated, by official publications. I have particularly appreciated Dialogue's commitment to presenting several perspectives when exploring non-"canonized" subject matters. This, of course, is consistent with pre-Salt Lake City Church publication history when articles about these issues presenting differing points of view were sometimes presented side by side. Apparently, the Church now no longer sanctions or promotes this type of meaningful dialogue on sensitive subjects.

Richard K. Circuit
La Jolla, California

Letters to the Editor

more thanks

Thanks so much for your serious attempt at an honest and penetrating study of the gospel and its application to life. *Dialogue* has shown me it is possible to maintain both personal integrity and Church allegiance. I have enclosed a $20.00 check to bring that reminder home regularly.

Don Ashton
Salt Lake City, Utah

counseling

My husband spends a great deal of time in his family practice counseling couples on sexual matters. The serious problems that confront him are solved by patience, understanding and an attempt to develop a deep, mature love with mutual sexual pleasure being just one of the means to this goal. Sex is not the primary goal itself, contrary to the bombardment of the media that would have us believe that sex is the major purpose of life.

Brother Cannon's article was excellent and I hope guidelines will be forthcoming from the Church on a matter which certainly affects everyone in the Church.

Sylvia Jutila
Fortuna, California

comments on the news

I was deeply interested in the Spring 1977 issue. The format was appealing; the variety of the threads woven into the fabric of the one-theme-issue was quite fascinating. I sensed the many judgment problems which *Dialogue* presents to its editors.

The review of "Indian" was perceptive and very well written. The contrasting "image" articles made lively reading. While the *Deseret News* article was well written and informative, it left me with an undercurrent feeling of depression concerning the paper's failures: the diminishing circulation, the staff's disappointment in the selection of the new editor and manager, the failure of *Today* to meet expectations, and the like. It seemed to me that Mr. Swensen had it in—somewhat—for the new editor and manager. I was also sorry that he did not commend some of the really good women writers who handle subjects of real import. It is a real change from not too long ago when the women's efforts were pretty much confined to reporting weddings, parties and other social events.

Ramona Cannon
Salt Lake City, Utah

image clarification

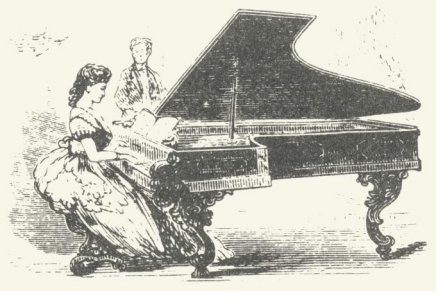
I believe that some clarification is in order with regard to my article "Illustrated Periodical Images of Mormons: 1850-1860," published in the Volume X, No. 3. Confusion was created in the second paragraph of page 88 by deleting some of the text and repeating some lines from the previous paragraph. Lines four, five and six of paragraph two should have read: "Mormon males mustering female recruits (see illustration 7).[20] A much more imaginative set of cartoons introduced comic figures.[21] Brigham Young's public image was not enhanced by his caricaturization as the dull, piggish caretaker of. . . . " The effect of the textual problem was (1) to confuse the contribution of *Leslie's Weekly* and *Harper's Weekly*, (2) eliminate the reference to illustration seven and (3) delete the numerical references to footnotes 20 and 21.

Gary L. Bunker
Provo, Utah

Thanks to John Willis for his letter about ERA. He expresses what I have long felt—and does it so well. Being a member of the Daughters of Utah Pioneers, I have studied the part our ancestors—especially the women—played as leaders in our church!

Thanks to all of you fine young people for the work you are going.

Lola Merrill Webster
Rexburg, Idaho



was mozart a prophet?

I have enjoyed very much the antiphonal letters on the "Is Bach a Mormon?" theme. As a young professional musician-composer in the LDS community, struggling, however slightly, to contribute to the development of a viable Mormon music, I am grateful above measure for the generous space and warm discussion you have devoted to music and the other arts, especially in your very fine music issue of last year.

Following the recent blitz of our region by the LDS musical, I was again drawn to the perceptive comments of the youthful Mozart on the music of his day—He complains of those gifted contemporaries who, though they should be advancing the cause, are instead "seeking to win applause by writing stuff so inane that a cab-driver could sing it". (See the letter to his father, Dec. 28, 1782.) As my Book of Mormon teacher is fond of remarking "It seems to be speaking to our own day, doesn't it?"

If Bach *is* a Mormon, then Mozart is a prophet—the same abuses he saw in his day seem to be plaguing the rise of our own culture. If we, as composers of the Mormon community do not—dare I say it—repent of "stuff so inane," the day for music worthy of our name will doubtless have to wait for the millenium. Such a Mormon music, whether in concert hall, theater, or chapel, will not merely be "uplifting"—it will exalt; it will be the music of which it might honestly be said, "Faith cometh by hearing".

There is a price to pay in reaching these heights. But writing "cab-driver music" will never reduce the fare.

Michael Hicks
Los Altos, California

P.S. Cabbies please forgive the allusion.
(It was Brother Wolfgang's idea.)

new publisher

I found of particular interest your recent article: "If It's Written By A Living General Authority It Will Sell" since I, too, have just joined the ranks of the self-publishing Mormon authors. My contribution is a short novel about Mormon missionary life entitled *Elders and Sisters.* I, like many others, first tried the church press, but was refused not so much because it was fiction, as because I needed to make my characters "less human, and more equal to the task".

Knowing that no returned missionary could relate to a book of fantasy, and feeling that it was only a disservice to the prospective missionary to portray the missionfield as nothing but a series of faith-promoting experiences, I stuck by my original script.

Fortunately I had a brother with loyalty and sufficient money, and a superb editor with publishing knowledge, and I took courage from the pioneering efforts of Doug Thayer, and others. Now my book is off the press,—and between housework, canning, and nursing my fifth baby, I'm typing letters, visiting bookstores, and wondering just how I'm going to make the church members aware of the book's existence.

I sense a bit of a nightmare ahead of me, yet take heart from hearing a bishop say, "This should be required reading for every priest in the Church." I particularly appreciated the expression of a former compan-

ion: "Thank you for writing that book. Many of the problems I had never known were shared by others." That, I think, has been one of the important roles that *Dialogue* has played during the past ten years,—letting readers know that there are others out there who share their thoughts and feelings. May you continue to do so for many more years to come.

Gladys Farmer
Provo, Utah

inflation

While having dinner recently here in New York City with Mayor Koch and Governor Carey I had occasion to show them two issues of *Dialogue* I just happened to have with me. "Sexuality & Mormon Culture" (Vol. X, No. 2) caught Mayor Beame's attention; "Mormons & the Media" (Vol. X, No. 3) had the governor sitting on the edge of his chair. My attention was diverted for just a moment by a question from President Carter. After responding in my customary, precise fashion, I turned back to the Mayor and the Governor only to find they had both vanished along with the two issues of *Dialogue* mentioned above. In their place were two New York City notes. These I enclose with a request that you use them, along with the $5.00 I also enclose, to pay for the issues appropriated by the Messrs. Koch and Carey.

Robert L. Brinton
New York City

Ed. Mr. Brinton must convince President Carter to do something about inflation (or New York City's negligible negotiable instruments), so that $5.00 will pay the cost of printing two issues of Dialogue.

on the air . . .

"The Church as a Broadcaster" is a well-written and thorough coverage of the subject. My interest stems from my work as a relatively new attorney in the FCC's Broadcast Bureau and from that viewpoint, a few comments:

First, the text on p. 26, and the table on p. 27 do not agree. KSEA-FM (formerly KIRO-FM) is in Seattle, not Skokie, Illinois. The city of license of KBIG-FM is Los Angeles not Avalon.

Second, it may be of interest that the Church has recently received Commission approval of the purchase of KRLD-FM, Dallas, Because the church already has seven FM stations (the maximum allowed), it has sold KSL-FM for $857,000 to Roy Simmons' a Salt Lake businessman. This rather modest price suggests that KSL-FM is not extremely profitable, and perhaps not central to the Church's mission in broadcasting.

Third, I have been amazed at the fever of hate towards the Church which has been generated by a few righteous exercises of the "broadcaster's wide discretion." If a product advertised on The Herb Jepko show fails to restore an old man's youthful vigor as promised, it's all the fault of the scheming, money-mad Mormon Church. The bulk of these letters are taken for what they are—the work of crackpots who have nothing better to do than vent their spleens to the FCC.

The Commission almost never denies renewal of a station's license for broadcasting too much of this or too little of that. Denials are based on egregious wrongdoing such as fraudulent billing, and occur with respect to fewer than ten stations a year out of over ten thousand. It is my feeling that the Church could present considerably more religious programming over its stations than it presently does without running afoul of its obligations vis-a-vis the FCC. It would, however, have to make correspondingly larger amounts of time available to other denominations.

Broadcasters are required to propose programming responsive to the community of license, and the Church would, I think, find a wide market for programs aimed at strengthening family life, combating drug abuse and providing wholesome recreation, and meeting other needs frequently revealed when applicants and licensees ascertain "community problems". And finally, relatively few hear Spence Kinard and the Choir. One well-meaning neighbor asked me how many wives I had. She had seen Alex Joseph on TV. . . .

Barry D. Wood
Arlington, Virginia

brigham's blunder or brillance . . . continued

The puzzle regarding the decision of the Saints to evacuate Nauvoo on 4 February 1846—in mid-winter, instead of waiting "until grass grows and water runs"—has an answer if we consider the factors involved. It was neither "Brigham's Blunder" nor "Brigham's Brillance," as Jack Worlton implied in his letter (Spring '77). It was a decision based on overwhelming circumstance, and, partly, on misinformation from authoritative sources. I went into this subject at length in my book *Nightfall at Nauvoo*.

Here, briefly, is the scoop:—

Our historians have tended to overlook the two key pieces of the puzzle: (1) Sam Brannan, and (2) the condition of the ice on the Mississippi.

Brannan was in New York, arranging to transport a shipload of Saints from there to San Francisco Bay. In attempting to get a mail contract, he became involved with a coterie of 27 Washington politicians who saw in the Mormon migration a chance to make a killing (It was claimed that President James Polk was a member of this group.). There was considerable sentiment against allowing the Saints to leave Illinois, for fear they would join forces with the Mexicans or British, with whom the United States was involved in boundary disputes, or that the Mormons would enlist the Indians in a war against the Nation. Brannan was told that unless Brigham Young signed an agreement to give title to half of all land settled by the Saints to the political coterie, President Polk would prohibit the Mormon exodus, and would order the army to come upriver from New Orleans to Nauvoo to disarm the Saints and leave them at the mercy of local mobs.

Brigham Young and the Twelve never for a moment considered knuckling to this attempted extortion. However, they were convinced that the threat was genuine. Brigham Young didn't accept Sam Brannan's unsupported word. He sent three men east to investigate. In addition, Governor Ford of Illinois, who had urged the Mormon exodus to California, had recently informed Brigham that the Federal Army would prevent the exodus. A number of eastern newspapers confirmed this. And the army *was* mobilizing; it was the eve of the Mexican War.

As to whether or not troops actually were at New Orleans waiting for the river ice to break in order to go upriver to Nauvoo—how was Brigham to investigate this? The Mississippi was the channel of communication, and it was frozen solid. It would mean an overland trip of some two thousand miles in mid-winter to check the report. There wasn't time; and news would be outdated by the time it was received.

At a tense meeting of Church officials held at Brigham's office on the upper floor of the temple, the brethren, with pistols on the table, considered the situation. Opposition had mushroomed into a solid front by the people of nine Illinois counties, united in determination that the Mormons must go. Mob attacks were increasing. Extremists and hoodlums could now burn homes and haystacks with impunity, looting Mormon property and driving away livestock, in a popular sport called "wolf hunts." Morley settlement, south of Nauvoo, recently had been raided by a mob who burned twenty-nine houses, while Mormon families fled into the brush and hid throughout the night in a drenching storm.

The internal situation had degenerated. An underworld element had infiltrated Nauvoo. Though 500 police were on the city force, it had been impossible to root out the undesirables. Hosea Stout, chief of police, reported at the meeting that a plot was afoot to assassinate the Twelve. Stout couldn't guarantee their safety, because spies had infiltrated his own police force.

At this meeting it was decided not to sign the extortion deal, but to say nothing about the decision to Brannan. This would gain time and maintain leverage at Washington as the coterie maintained hope that the deal would go through. Meanwhile, Brigham put the people of Nauvoo on four-hour alert. On 4 February 1846 the exodus began.

What determined this date? Why was it imperative to evacuate the city in mid-winter? There is only one answer which fits the facts—the condition of the river ice. The Mississippi had frozen solid early in December. As long as the ice remained, no

army could travel upriver to Nauvoo. However, in January there was a thaw. The Warsaw *Signal* reported that the ice might begin breaking up any day. The ice did begin moving in late January. There would be a period of several days before the river could be forded at Nauvoo, and several more before it was navigable for the expected army at New Orleans. Brigham waited as long as he dared, then ordered the Saints to begin the exodus.

Before the end of February, however, an extreme cold snap froze the river again. It was impossible to turn back, nor did the Saints want to. They were finished with Illinois, headed for Mexican territory and expecting freedom in the west.

Thus it was neither "Brigham's Blunder" nor "Brigham's Brilliance." He and the Twelve made a decision based on circumstance; they cannot be faulted if the signs of an early spring proved false.

Samuel W. Taylor
Redwood City, California

I write in response to Jack Worlton's letter and question as to whether the Nauvoo exodus was a blunder or brilliance on Brigham Young's part in Vol X, No. 3. The question cannot be answered for sure as no one knows now, or knew then, just what the United States Government actually would have done. The bulk of the evidence, however, is on the side of Brigham Young.

No doubt, the decision to leave early was made because Brigham Young and his advisors had become convinced that the United States Government intended to prevent them from leaving, or to relieve them of their arms and give them a military escort.

Mr. Worlton says that a rumor passed to Young by Samuel Brannan was the only source of his information. Early Church history tells us that during the month of January 1846, he received information from several sources to the effect that they would be prevented from leaving if they waited. They are as follows:

a. The sheriff of Hancock County told Young that Governor Ford had swallowed his words in which he advised the Mormons to seek a new settlement in the distant west, and had ordered Major Warren of the Illinois militia to prevent them from leaving in the spring.
b. Young received a letter from the Attorney General of Illinois stating that the Governor and General John J. Hardin were in favor of declaring martial law in Hancock County. Such a decree would require that the exodus be conducted only under government supervision.
c. A letter was received from Samuel Brannan in New York to the effect that the Federal Government did indeed intend to prevent them from leaving.

On the eve of the exodus, the *New York Sun* printed an article on the danger of allowing a large body of well armed people to leave the country and said, "They will become formidable enemies to the United States either in California or in Oregon and the Government should look to the matter in season."

Brigham Young was an intelligent man and certainly knew the risks involved in leaving in the middle of the winter. He decided to take the risk and the ultimate losses involved rather than possibly lose all by waiting and being prevented from leaving or have the movement sabotaged by a military escort.

My grandfather was among those who left Nauvoo with President Young. He kept a diary and I find nothing in it to indicate that he felt that a wrong judgment had been made.

Murray C. Harper
Lewiston, Idaho

TEN YEARS WITH DIALOGUE: A PERSONAL ANNIVERSARY

MARY L. BRADFORD

We looked a lot like the picture in the *Dialogue* logo, although, of course, we didn't know it then. Gene and Charlotte England, Karl Keller and I were taking lunch on the lawn at the University of Utah back in the summer of 1957. Gene was discussing his desire to start a "scholarly Mormon journal," not as competitor, but as complement to the church magazines, an independent journal and a much-needed outlet for Mormon writers and artists. What an exciting thought! Though I was getting married in the fall, and did not know where I would be when Gene's dream materialized, I said, "Count me in. And wherever I am, please find me."

Nine years later, I was found through a brochure announcing that Gene, Wesley Johnson, Paul Salisbury, Frances Menlove, Ed Geary, Richard Bushman, Diane Monsen and others were actually starting *Dialogue*. How can I describe my emotions? I was happily married and the mother of two and a half children, but I still longed for the intellectual excitement of my days at the "U", for my old friends and mentors, for the Institute of Religion where I learned to love the Gospel, and for the BYU where I had enjoyed my first full-time professional appointment. That electrifying brochure brought promise of a happy, if vicarious, reunion.

And then the first issue came, thick and heavy and full of stimulating, thought-provoking articles—essays that didn't stop as soon as they got into a subject, but kept right on until either the subject or the reader was exhausted. I exhausted myself, reading into the night, even beginning to write articles and poetry of my own. Suddenly I was in touch, the Church over, with others who shared my interests. And I soon found that there were kindred souls in the Washington, D.C. area. We formed study groups, and we discussed *Dialogue* at firesides. Some people were shocked. One friend was so taken aback—"journal of *independent thought*?"—that he cancelled the subscription I had given him for Christmas. But the excitement never waned. Every issue of *Dialogue* sustained and excited me even when it arrived late, full of typos, or missing articles I had hoped to read (my own, for instance). And I was awed by the *Dialogue* editors, even though I had known some of them for years. What they were doing seemed at once heroic and a fitting expression of our Mormon heritage. I pictured handcarts, printing presses, raging mobs, pioneers, always creating "something out of nothing"—nothing, that is, except volunteer labor and faith. This was the Mormon way!

In thinking back, I believe that *Dialogue's* debut was not a chance occurrence. Mormon thinkers were responding to the excitement of the sixties, but while other

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MARY L. BRADFORD is the editor of *Dialogue*.

youth were "testing the system," Mormons created a constructive new outlet for individual expression. It should be noted that other groups of similar heritage responded in much the same way. Not long after *Dialogue,* came *Courage,* the RLDS journal, the Seventh Day Adventist *Spectrum* (almost a twin to *Dialogue*), and even an evangelical analogue called *Sojourner.* Within the Mormon community, *BYU Studies* was resurrected, and given a mandate to publish some things even *Dialogue* couldn't touch. The time, it seemed, was right.

In Washington, our *Dialogue* group grew so strong that we were informally dubbed "Dialogue East" and were assigned a special issue on "Mormons and the City," based loosely on Harvey Cox's *The Secular City,* which we had studied together. Eight months later Garth Mangum, Royal Shipp and others presented Gene England with our much revised and edited offspring only to be told that we must slash articles we felt were already down to their bones. It was a useful education in the pains and plagues of editing.

In 1971 Gene and Wes announced that they were turning the editorship over to Bob Rees and moving the office to Los Angeles. Like many *Dialogue* stalwarts, I felt apprehensive. *Dialogue* was more than a member of my family; it was part of me and was not to be lightly entrusted to a stranger. Who was this Rees? Over long-distance telephone he sounded, well, long-distance. A few months later, on a trip to Los Angeles, I was finally able to meet with Bob and his staff. What a relief and a delight it was to greet each other not as ogres, but instant friends. Rees had the same nurturing openness of spirit the founding editors had.

Not long after Bob's takeover, printing and mailing costs skyrocketed, while income stayed discouragingly stable. Even though our readership was considerably larger than other Mormon-related journals, *Dialogue's* lack of institutional funding made it vulnerable to financial crisis. This crisis wearied me. I told myself that perhaps *Dialogue's* time had passed. But even as I tried to imagine life without it, letters of alarm and encouragement poured in, and I became the one thing I have always avoided and abhorred—a person who asks her friends for money—a *fundraiser.* I wrote or called everyone I knew. Many others did the same. These efforts and the generous contributions of benefactors all over the country saved *Dialogue,* along with that dedicated core of readers who have stayed with us through thinning pages and thickening subscription rates.

And so *Dialogue* continued, even though critics, confusing the passing of novelty with an institutional graying, suggested that *Dialogue* "ain't what she used to be." To me, *Dialogue* was as significant and thought-provoking as ever. During the seventies, we carried fine articles on such important themes as race, sexuality, women and science—articles taking us beyond the "novelty" of the early years. And Dialogue began showing up regularly in bibliographies, histories and anthologies.

Once during a visit, Bob commented that he thought the next editor of Dialogue should be a woman. I remember thinking, "I am too old." I was into my forties by then—well past the fomenting, fermenting years. But one midnight, in June, 1975, Bob called to say that he had served his five years and that he and his Board wanted me to be the next editor. He said that if I had matured, *Dialogue* had too. He thought I would love and nurture *Dialogue* and that my friends would help me. It took me six months to make up my mind, and another six months went by before 85 boxes of books and files were delivered to my garage, and the *Dialogue* secretary from California—arrived to help sort them out.

During the next few months, as the enormity of what I had done began to seep through my fitful nights and disorganized days, friends did come to help me. They seemed to appear from nowhere just when I needed them most. One saved our postal permit, another unscrambled our taxes and legal problems, while still others gave countless editing hours. We set up regular Thursday evening *Dialogue* nights and made big plans. We would organize according to the best management techniques: We made flow charts showing deadlines, schedules and training sessions. We debated editorial philosophy, style and direction. We even outlined grand plans for the next eight or ten issues!

Ah! the arrogance of ignorance!

Reality rapidly closed in. Subscriptions had to be rebuilt; debts had to be paid. Our professional management sessions became sorting, zipping, stuffing (envelopes and M & M's) sessions, in which we crawled over the floor and into the night. We cut corners by setting up the office in my home, by hiring a part-time secretary, by using instant print services for mailings and by exploiting our faithful volunteers to the utmost. By year's end, both bank account and subscriptions were in good shape.

There was only one problem: Try as we might, we had yet to bring out an issue! The Sexuality issue, which had been *in utero* more than three years, had been abandoned in its final hour by the L.A. printer. Despite Herculean labors on our part, it was six long months before that issue finally went into the mail. Its many crises run through my mind like a broken newsreel. Why is this so hard? I asked myself. How can so many little things add up to so many big problems?

Publishing a scholarly journal, we found, is not the heady experience it had appeared to be from afar. It is a collection of exasperating minutae which quickly becomes, in Mormon parlance, "a teaching moment" and a "learning experience." We were learning fast, but we continued to overestimate and to underestimate. The Media issue used up an additional three months of our lives even though we had been working a whole year to "get it out early." Then we held up the press for the Spalding article, and now we are celebrating our Anniversary issue a year late.

Oh well, we have learned that volunteer work ebbs and flows. Staffers who are fitting *Dialogue* into the corners and edges of their lives find that there is a time to push and a time to relax. "But, Mary," says a friend, "some editors do get magazines out on time," and I think to myself, "How many of them are doing it after work on Thursdays or during the baby's naptime?"

But hope never dies. Our printer is getting used to us. By January, our curious journal will be locked into a formal production schedule, and our typeface will be on the premises (it had previously been subcontracted). Now that *Dialogue* is bigger (have you noticed the extra pages?), it may even become regular. Logistics and administrative prowess have never been *Dialogue* attractions. Our strength is in our content: essays, fiction, and poetry which "cannot be easily dislodged." For we continue to publish a journal in which poetry is more than filler, fiction is not filed away and forgotten, facts are not filtered and readers stand firm and faithful.

"COOPERATING IN WORKS OF THE SPIRIT": NOTES TOWARD A HIGHER DIALOGUE

ROBERT A. REES

"The word is near you: it is upon your lips and in your heart." (Romans 10:8, NEB)

Communication is a matter of infinite hope. It is the emotion we feel when we send these fragile words however tentatively or forcefully out to others. Even those who write secret diaries, shrouded in cryptic codes, or who shout anonymous messages on subway walls, or who carefully hide parchment and golden plates in caves to come forth several millennia later all do so with the same expectation: that someone, somewhere will read and understand.

The model for our communication, like the model for all human behavior, is found in the interactions between Chirst and the Father and in their interactions with us. From the beginning God taught Adam and Eve a pure language and gave them the gift of the Holy Ghost that He might communicate with them and they with Him. "All things were confirmed unto Adam" by the Holy Ghost and "it was given unto as many as called upon God to write by the spirit of inspiration" (Moses 5:58–59; 6:5–6).

God invites us to "reason together" with Him, and the scriptures indicate that He is anxious to enter into dialogue with us; He wants us to understand Him as He understands us. He invites us to "pray continually"—in our closets and in our fields, at our morning rising and our evening repose. He welcomes our joyful expressions as well as our heaviness of heart. He speaks as we are capable of hearing, sometimes with the voice of thunder and at others with a quiet stillness. It is only in modern existential literature that God is a deaf mute, a Godot for whom men must endlessly be waiting, a silent god hiding behind a white or a painted mask. Obviously, such concepts come from those who have never felt the confirming joy of the Spirit as it brings the heart and mind of man in harmony with God.

The corruption of true communication as it was revealed to Adam began with Cain, who "listened not any more to the voice of the Lord." Cain lost the power of discernment and the gift of the Spirit and became the "father of lies," thereby introducing into human discourse deception and guile. This was the beginning of the secularization of dialogue.

In its corrupt forms dialogue is not a means to understanding but a weapon whereby we can outwit or best an opponent by superior rhetoric and logic. It is a device to force others to listen to our point of view. As Kees Bolle has recently written, "'Dialogue' was all the rage in Christian circles in Europe after the second World War. And that rage has convinced me that dialogue can turn stale. A student of theology could grab you by the collar while you were on an innocent stroll and say: Now, let's have a dialogue. He, and many others at the time, assumed that if you engaged in dialogue, the truth would emerge automatically."[1]

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I think that was the assumption I labored under most of the six years I edited this journal. I felt that if we could just get Mormons to talk and listen to one another we would come to a common understanding of those things that divided us; if we published sincere scholarly and personal expressions, then intellectuals and non-intellectuals, conservatives and liberals, Mormons and non-Mormons would be helped in coming to a unity of the faith. To some extent I think that has happened, and I am reluctant to abandon my belief that when people speak and listen honestly and openly to one another, the truth, however private and elusive it sometimes is, will emerge.

But this does not always happen because not all of those who speak and listen (or who refuse to) are interested in truth. Sometimes we deliberately talk past the understanding of others, or as Paul says, we "talk into the air," or we listen to the sound of our own voices, pleased with the logic of our arguments and with the beauty of our language. It was evident during those years that some who submitted manuscripts were less interested in dialogue than in proving a point, in convincing others that they had found *the* truth, or in revealing someone else's ignorance or

On the other hand, there were those who refused even to read *Dialogue,* who dismissed out of hand what was, at least in its best moments, a desire by some Latter-day Saints to communicate with their fellow Saints about matters of ultimate concern. There were also those who refused to publish in *Dialogue* even when they had something important to say.

Both those who have defended *Dialogue* and those who have criticized it have tended to label one another. On the one hand there has been the tendency to see those associated with the journal as "intellectual" and "liberal." Conversely, *Dialogue* supporters sometimes see those who are against the journal as "anti-intellectual" or "close-minded." Again quoting Kees Bolle: "'Dialogue' became a weapon [among Christians]. With 'dialogue' you could make a clear distinction between those who were *in* and those who were *out.* It provided an easy labelling technique."[2] Such labelling has led, I believe, to a hardening of feelings, a solidifying of positions, an intellectual pitting of Saint against Saint.

Such a condition ought not to exist among those who have been given the enlightening blessings of the Restored Gospel, including, especially, the gift of the Holy Ghost. Dare I suggest that when we set out to communicate with one another, even on scholarly and secular matters, that we first prepare ourselves with fasting and prayer that we might be blessed with the Spirit to understand the hearts of those to whom we would speak? And if such spiritual preparation is necessary for those who write and speak, then it is equally so for those who read and listen.

I believe that a person who prepares himself spiritually to either give or receive communication from another will be more honest, open, humble and, most of all, more loving. He will be less likely to posture, manipulate, argue, or defend. He will not speak or listen with guile, but rather, guided by the Spirit, will understand the heart and mind, the feelings and thoughts of the other.

Once we have determined that we have something to say, and perhaps are even urged by the Spirit to say it, we must still decide, to use J. V. Cunningham's words, "how the saying must be said." Perhaps we can be guided by Nephi's description of the way the Lord communicates with us: "For after this manner doth the Lord God work among the Children of men. The Lord God giveth light unto the understanding; for he speaketh unto men according to their language, unto their understanding" (II Nephi 31:3).

Nephi indicates that even when communication is given in this manner, there is still a responsibility on those who have ears to hear. He tells of his older brothers,

Laman and Lemuel, who say that they cannot understand the words of their father concerning the olive tree. Nephi asks, "Have ye inquired of the Lord?" Their response indicates that they don't believe God can reveal this knowledge to them: "We have not; for the Lord maketh no such thing known unto us." Nephi tells them that because they have not kept the commandments, their hearts are hardened and they cannot learn from the Lord: "He hath spoken unto you in a still small voice, but ye were past feeling, that ye could not feel his words" (I Nephi 15:8–10; 17:45).

When we speak and listen by the Spirit, our communication is filled with love. Like Ammon and his brothers who go to preach the gospel to their "brethren" the Lamanites, our chief motivation in communicating with others should be to bless them. Such love allows us to accept those with whom we would communicate, no matter what their differences or their limitations. Feeling our love, the other person is not threatened and is therefore more open both to receive our expressions and to give his own in return.

The perfect symbolization of a loving dialogue takes place in the temple where, embraced by and embracing the Lord, we have a conversation that is both intimate and instructive, leading to a celestial life. If we could psychologically embrace those with whom we speak and to whom we listen, so that they could feel our fellowship, how much more open and pure our dialogues would be.

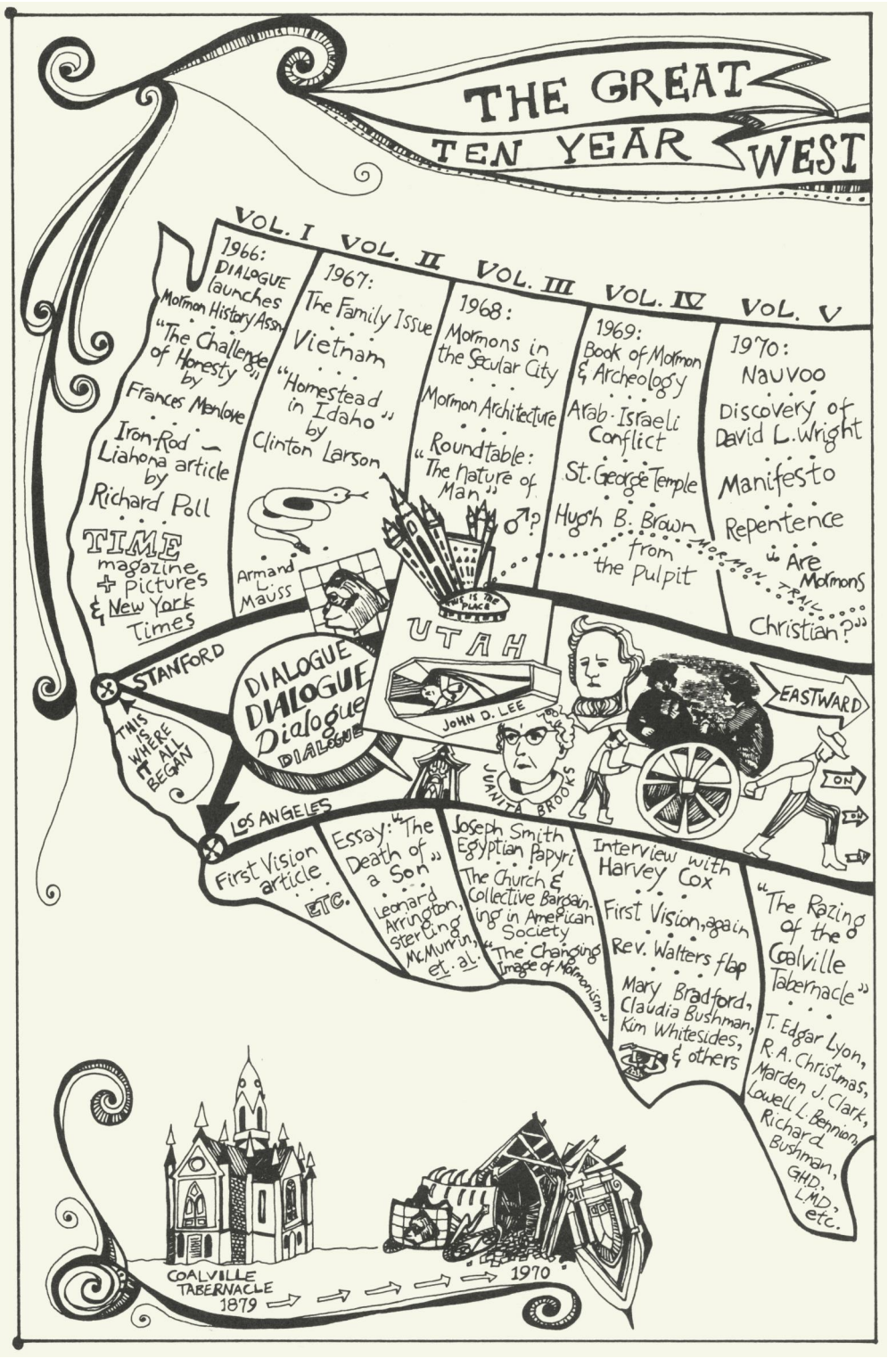
I am suggesting that we raise our dialogue to a higher, more spiritual plane, one that will distinguish it from the dialogue that goes on all around us. B. H. Roberts suggests that this is the challenge that awaits the true disciples of Mormonism. Such disciples, he says, "growing discontented with the necessarily primitive methods which have hitherto prevailed in sustaining the doctrine, will yet take profounder and broader view of the great doctrines committed to the Church; . . . cooperating in the works of the spirit they will help to give to the truths received a more forceful expression, and carry it beyond the earlier and cruder stages of its development."[3]

Dialogue has made a significant contribution to Mormon culture during its first decade. While only future historians can accurately assess that contribution, there is little question that this forum for exchange has had a positive effect on many Mormons as well as on the Church itself. The life of the mind in Mormon culture has been improved through the discourse, deliberations and dialogue on these pages, though it is evident that there is still much to be done. In its second decade perhaps *Dialogue* can have an even greater impact among the Mormons, not only on the life of the mind but on the life of the spirit as well.

I do not wish to suggest that we be any less studious, thoughtful or tough-minded in our communications. We should still strive to serve the Lord "wittily, in the tangle of our minds"[4] and to serve each other in the same way. Mormonism subscribes to a holistic concept of man: we are to use our hearts, mights *and* minds, in concert. The spirit serves to unify all three.

In the Celestial Kingdom we will be blessed to know all things, including, I presume, all hearts and minds. There all communication will be pure and true. We can move toward such a state by bringing the spirit of love and enlightenment into our dialogues. It is my prayer that we may do so, and I ask it in the name of the Lord of love and light. Amen.

[1] "The Buddhist Revolt Against Fixed Ideas, "*History of Religions Newsletter,* 3 (Fall 1975), 10.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] "Book of Mormon Translated," *The Improvement Era,* 9 (1905–06), 712–713.
[4] Robert Bolt, *A Man for All Seasons.*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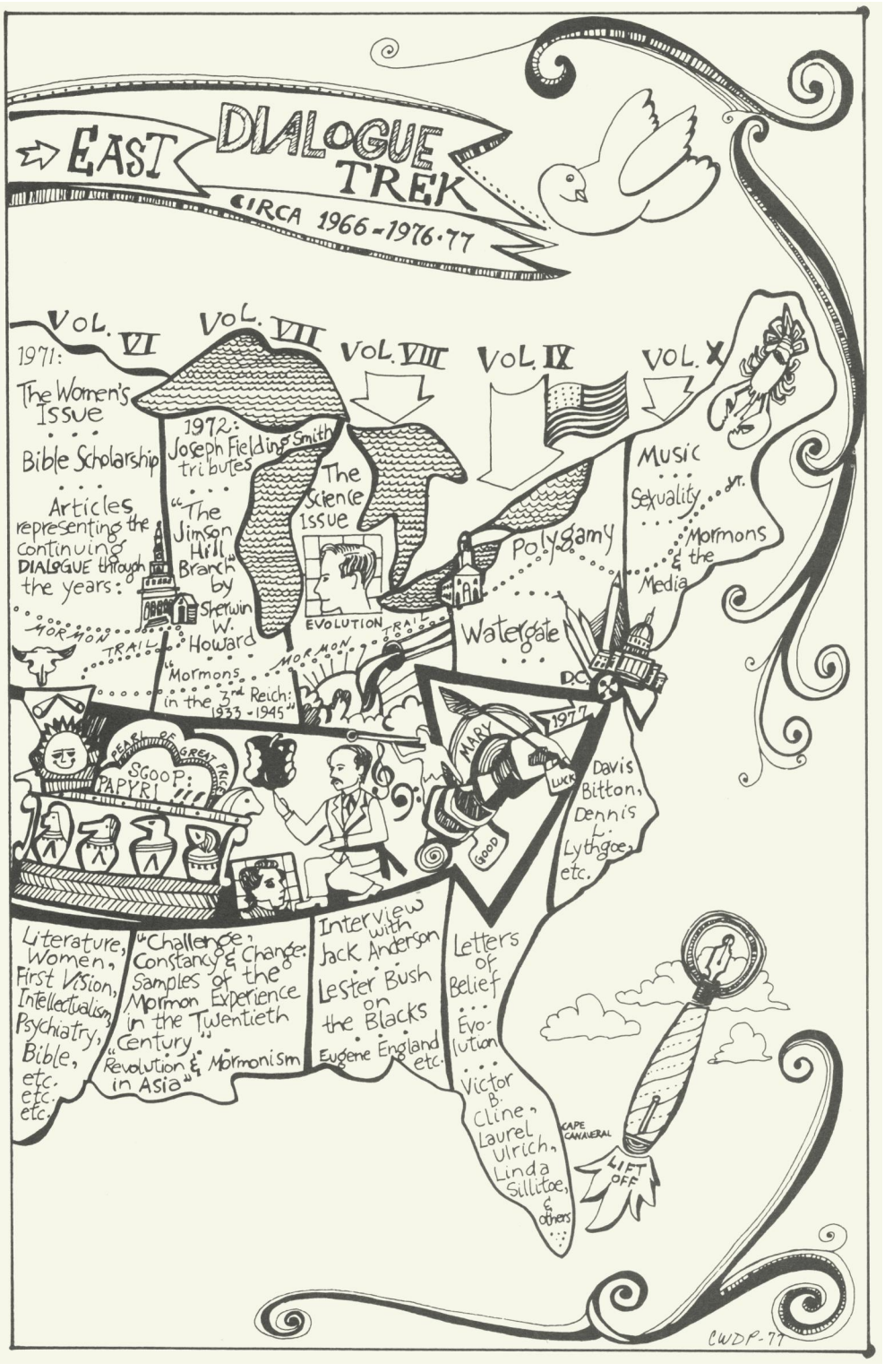
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COMMON BEGINNINGS, DIVERGENT BELIEFS

DOUGLAS D. ALDER AND PAUL M. EDWARDS

The followers of the Prophet Joseph Smith shared two dramatic decades. They accepted the Prophet's visions, participating in the spiritual outpouring of scriptures, sermons and lectures. Under his personal leadership, they experimented with various kinds of social organization. Within two years of his assasination, however, the Church was torn by succession struggles that led to dispersion. Almost a century and a half later, the whereabouts of many of these saints is still unknown. Unfortunately, historical methods may never reveal the number who stayed where they were or who left Nauvoo to establish new branches or to follow new leaders. Their reasons for their choices remain equally shadowed. The largest group followed Brigham Young to the Rocky Mountains. The others divided themselves into small groups under Sidney Rigdon in Pennsylvania, Lyman Wight in Texas, James J. Strang in Wisconsin. Others, like William Smith and Emma Smith made no immediate committment. Finally, in 1860 a "Reorganization" in the Midwest gathered several small groups together under the leadership of the Prophet's son.[1]

Although not the only claimants to Joseph's legacy, those who accepted Brigham Young and those who later followed Joseph Smith III became the principal heirs of the Restoration.[2] It is instructive to examine the two churches today.

I

Both churches recognize Joseph Smith, Jr. as the prophetic restorer of the Gospel of Jesus Christ; both accept the authenticity of the Book of Mormon; both believe in latter-day revelation, though they disagree as to how it should be recorded; both are led by a First Presidency and a Quorum of Twelve Apostles. They are both engaged in world-wide missionary work. The LDS (Mormons) have become more numerous, but the RLDS have ranged more widely, penetrating even India and Black Africa. Both churches are geographically concentrated, though less so now than in the past. They are both deeply Christian, declaring themselves to be a restoration of Christ's primitive church. Both groups also resemble Judaism, accepting the patriarchal order, the prophetic tradition, the gathering of Israel and the Zionic community.

They both depend upon lay leadership, though the RLDS have moved toward maintaining a small full-time ministry. RLDS major administrative positions are

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held by 200 "professional" ministers called Appointees. The pastors of most local RLDS congregations, however, are laymen. The LDS Church on the other hand, has employed a considerable cadre of professional teachers in its daytime religious instruction program, the Seminaries and Institutes. Both churches ordain their faithful male members to the priesthood, and neither ordains women, though the RLDS First Presidency and their World Conference has begun to discuss the issue.[3]

In both churches the Apostles and First Presidency are "called" from among the priesthood leadership into full-time service. In the LDS church, these General Authorities enter into lifetime service. In the RLDS Church, the new leaders are usually selected from among the Appointees, and with the exception of the President, serve until regular retirement at age 65. (The current RLDS President, W. Wallace Smith, announced at the 1976 RLDS World Conference that he will retire in 1978 at the age of 79, naming his son, Wallace B., as President-designate.)

Both LDS and RLDS organizations are dedicated to education, especially higher education, even though a strain of anti-intellectualism persists in both organizations. They are both peopled by a mixture of proud fifth generation families that stem from the pioneer period and others who have since hearkened to individual conversion.

Despite the similarities, attention has generally focused on differences between the two churches. In the past dogmatic writers from each group accused each other of apostasy.[4] Faithful RLDS vociferously rejected polygamy, and they criticized Utah's political "Kingdom of God." They even charged the followers of Brigham Young with disloyalty—for abandoning the Midwest when persecution was rife.

On the other hand, LDS spokesmen have criticized the RLDS for lack of ordinance work for the dead, which they stoutly maintain was begun by Joseph Smith. They also view the RLDS Church as "accommodating" to its environment rather than holding fast to the "peculiar" LDS doctrines. Both groups still clash over the succession question, with the RLDS group adhering to a lineal successor for their prophet, and the LDS accepting an apostolic succession.[5]

Further contrast can be observed in the local church units as well as in the General Conferences. RLDS members belong to near autonomous congregations. This has produced wide diversity among the branches, making it difficult to describe them except to say that most are small—under a hundred members—and diversity is the norm. These Saints have historically been proud of their independence, sometimes differing vigorously with the leadership of their First Presidency. They send delegates to biennial World Conference where open debates, using parliamentary procedures, lead to policy formulation. Opposing views are public and some issues cause deep struggles.

A contrast in the two churches is especially apparent in attitudes toward dissent and criticism. Realizing that there will be continuous and vocal dissent in their rather democratic congregations, the RLDS have legitimized it through both the World Conference and their monthly magazine, the *Saints Herald.* By contrast, the unity needed to conquer the desert and to resist the hostility of the Government discouraged dissent among 19th century Mormons in Utah, and self-initiated opposition from the membership is not encouraged in public debate or in church publications.

Throughout their history, the Mormons in the Great Basin have been tightly welded under centralized leadership. Their semi-annual conferences are forums for General Authorities who admonish adherence to the gospel message and to their

leadership. These conferences inculcate faith and advocate obedience. Use of the media—TV, radio and press—has intensified this long-standing function. The LDS First Presidency has also extended its influence over the auxiliary organizations of the Church, which, in their beginning were almost autonomous. Now virtually all programs, from social services to Sunday Schools, are correlated through the First Presidency and Twelve Apostles. The Presiding Bishopric directs temporal matters. Although there is some local latitude under the leadership of those two ecclesiastical Quorums, each ward's appointments, finances, buildings, curriculum, publishing, training and membership records are all centrally supervised.[6] Ward members increasingly identify with the whole LDS movement in a spirit of enthusiastic expansion. Most look to "the Brethren" with reverence and support.

The LDS leaders are also more inclined than RLDS leaders to give official direction to such socio-political questions as the Equal Rights Amendment, birth control, abortion, pornography, Sunday closing and civil rights. Official directives have often appeared as front-page statements in the *Desert News* but are more recently found in *Church News* editorials and in the *Ensign* magazine. First Presidency statements in General Conference carry so much weight that they are easily identified as "the Church's position" on a given subject. The RLDS, however, are reluctant—even unwilling—to take a formal stand on many issues, prefering rather to leave such matters to individual conscience. When a specific recommendation is given, as has recently been the case with birth control and abortion, it is often in less dogmatic terms than those used by LDS leaders.

By remaining in the Midwest, the RLDS people consciously accommodated to their neighbors instead of confronting them in the Kirtland-Jackson County-Nauvoo tradition. With the passing of time, this co-existence has become increasingly warm. Some RLDS members have attended Protestant seminaries, and some major theologians have offered instruction at RLDS institutions. Some RLDS people are sympathetic to what is called the "Social Gospel," focusing more on earthly morality than celestial immortality. RLDS leaders no longer dwell on the claim to exclusive truth—even though there is resistance to such a "liberal" swing among the rank and file membership.[7] Because of these developments, the RLDS have moved gradually into the mainstream of American religion in the last two or three decades. A central theological statement published recently under the title, *Exploring the Faith,*[8] reflects this trend toward the Protestant position.

By contrast, the LDS Church has essentially isolated itself theologically by maintaining its traditional claim to be the only church on the earth directly sanctioned by God.[9] It refuses to compromise that unpopular assertion. Latter-day Saints have only rare contacts with seminaries and theologians of other faiths. They have ignored such theological scholarship in times past and have specifically resisted involvement in the "Social Gospel." They have never considered revising the Articles of Faith, finding them as acceptable now as in 1842. More satisfied with answers emerging from their own dogma than those of Protestant theologians, the LDS leaders have been consistently conservative in doctrinal matters. Although this sometimes leads outside observers to cry "fundamentalist," neither Mormon members nor leaders feel a kinship with so-called fundamentalist Protestant groups.

A related comparison is the LDS Church's ability to deal with doctrinal modification and reversal. Under Brigham Young for example, the LDS were initially very much against the medical profession, choosing to support faith healing, herbs and home remedies. The gradual abandonment of this position has recently been

symbolized by a church statement supporting responsible medicine and warning against quackery.[10] RLDS attitudes toward card playing and the morality of dancing have been sharply altered within the last decade. Although there are more mechanisms in the RLDS than the LDS for dealing with such alterations, there is a better means for accommodation in the LDS Church because of a strong tendency to "follow the prophet" once he institutes a change.

A differing emphasis on evangelism is also instructive. In the past three decades the Latter-day Saints have intensified their missionary work, mainly using young self-supporting lay proselyters "called" for two years. The thousands of young people who travel in pairs throughout much of the non-Communist world have been so effective that the Church is now one of America's dozen large religions[11] and is approaching a million membership abroad. The Church's growth is also furthered by a high birth rate, but that alone does not explain how it became many times the size of the RLDS Church.[12] Members are found on all continents, with stakes in North and South America, Europe, Oceania and parts of Asia. There is also one stake in South Africa. Expansion is revered in the LDS Church almost as an evidence of the divinity of the message, certainly as a fulfillment of missionary stewardship.

The RLDS Church is stable, fiscally sound and vibrant, but it does not focus on growth. It supports a proselyting program, but it aims at modest goals, accepting its size as desirable. Missionaries are generally middle-aged, full-time church appointees on long-term assignments. The result is that such RLDS missionaries number in the hundreds instead of the thousands, and the membership rate remains about level.

Converts to the two churches find similarities in the instructional and social opportunities. The RLDS have "Sunday school" from pre-school through senior adults. There are separate women's meetings, priesthood meetings and male-oriented groups even though the position of the women's department is no longer as functional as it once was. On the other hand, the Relief Society, Young Men/Young Women, Primary and Young Adult groups are peculiar to the LDS. Both churches share an interest in youth organizations with the LDS being closely tied to the Boy Scouts. Priesthood meetings are an important part of the educational arm of both churches, with the LDS more involved in Quorum meetings than is the RLDS. Quorum existence and organization does not necessarily imply meeting for the RLDS as it does in the LDS. The RLDS Sacrament is a distinct and single experience with Communion Sunday, by tradition, falling on the first Sunday of every month, and the Sacrament consisting of bread and wine. The LDS participate in the Sacrament—bread and water—every Sunday in two meetings. An active RLDS member would go to Church from 9:30 to 12:00 on a Sunday morning and perhaps once a month on a Sunday afternoon. Evening services on Wednesday, called Prayer and Testimony meetings as against the LDS Fast and Testimony meetings, usually make up the week's activities. The LDS tend to spend more time in church and at church. Activities are planned for the LDS group during the week and the design of the buildings reflects their use: Library, gymnasium, stage and kitchen supplement the regular worship and instructional facilities.

A final comparison is between the business aspects of the two churches. The RLDS Church has very limited business dealings. It owns some real estate, has some investments in business and in the stock market and owns its own publishing and office supply firm. Communication between the church and the secular com-

munity is quite open; Conference action makes a fairly clean accounting of financial dealings and participation in business enterprises. The LDS, in contrast, have a long tradition of involvement in business, stemming from pioneer necessity. Their investments in sugar production, real estate, the stock market, communications and publishing ventures have always been extensive. Journalists tend to exaggerate Mormon financial holdings, perhaps because church budgets and investments are not publicly disclosed.

Today a substantial portion of the LDS membership does tithe its income to the full ten percent. Beyond their tithing they donate to welfare, building, local budget and missionary funds. The Church experienced a fiscal crisis in the 1870's, 80's and 90's when the law of tithing was not so effectively promoted. At the same time it was caught in a struggle with the U.S. Government that caused severe financial disruptions. But since the turn of the century that condition has been reversed, resulting in considerable accumulation of resources. All tithes collected in the local wards and branches are sent directly to Church headquarters to be disbursed by the Committee on Expenditures which includes the First Presidency, the Presiding Bishopric and members of the Council of the Twelve Apostles. These tithing funds are devoted to such Church programs as missions, temples, schools and local ward buildings with some monies invested as a reserve.

In the RLDS Church the law of tithing has been interpreted as ten percent of one's increase (*not* income), and the financial yield has been proportionately less. After enduring periods of fiscal insecurity, the Church is now fiscally well established.

The RLDS financial system uses a dual approach: Local offerings which remain with the congregation are to be raised to sustain building and pastoral needs; these often attract the larger donations. The tithing funds which local members also pay are forwarded to Church headquarters at Independence, Missouri for support of a paid missionary force, partial support of two colleges and general administrative uses. Thus, less money is available for central control, but its allocation is not completely determined by central leaders because it is subject to debate and approval by the delegates at the biennial World Conference.

II

Other philosophical distinctions separate the two movements more than some realize.[13] When the Reorganized Latter Day Saints use the term *God,* they mean a divinity understood as an all-encompassing absolute. God exists as one being, a unifying dimension to man's universe. The LDS are committed to "metaphysical pluralism" with respect of God—the view that there are many gods and that the Godhead is composed of three separate beings.

In the RLDS Church monotheism is basically realistic. RLDS realism is "materialistic," meaning that "things" have substance. The term *materialism* and the ideas associated with it oppose the term *immaterialism.* Immaterialism was a popular idea in the early LDS church and is used by the RLDS to mean "nothing" (aught). The monist terminology is used even though the RLDS position encompasses both materialism and immaterialism in such a way that it seems to assert the dualistic idea of persons composed of two distinct substances—mind and body. The confusion is "explained" by suggesting that while these are two separate substances, mind (rather than brain) and body, they are centered in a soul. But the RLDS deny that soul is a third entity or substance, but is instead a single substance seen only as

different entities. The dualistic view is preserved and the *monistic* terminology is maintained.

LDS materialism sees God as both spatial and temporal; that is to say, He occupies both space and time. He is to be found some *place* and some *time* as are human beings. The progressive God aspects of this are based on two interpretations. One is that the pluralism of the Godhead is found in the Godhead's being composed of three distinct and real personages and that there exists a series of individual gods. The second interpretation postulates an evolving universe in which God Himself is in process, evolving through relationships with His external world. What seems paradoxical to the rest of the religious thinkers in this view is that God's own process seems to depend on the morality of human beings: "This is my work and my glory, to bring to pass the immortality and eternal life of man." (Moses 1:39).

Another distinction can be found in differing attitudes toward the universe. The Reorganized Latter Day Saints follow the more traditional view that God is "necessary" and man "contingent." The necessary view is called *static* and the contingent view *dynamic*. God could not, *not* have been—God *was* from the beginning. Man was not necessary; therefore, he did not exist from the beginning. The LDS agree that God was necessary, but they add that man's existence is also necessary. They cannot conceive of the nonexistence of either God or man. It is impossible for either God or man to come into being, or to cease to be. Things do not come from nothing, nor do they become nothing. Man's spirit lives before birth, and this spirit unites with the body through the birth process. The real point of distinction between the RLDS and the LDS is not the question of the necessary existence of God, but in the Mormon belief in the necessary existence of each individual human agent.

Another contrast between the churches lies in the LDS assumption that God has not always been God and that man has the potential to become a god. As there are real options for man's godlike potential today, so were there real options for God in His own development. He might not have been God as we know Him, but He would have necessarily continued to exist. Nor do God and man have the only necessary existence in Mormon theology. There is also a necessary existence of matter, of natural law and of space and time. Thus the LDS differ from the usual Western religious beliefs, and from the RLDS beliefs, in that they do not assume God to be the source of all reality.

An additional distinction can be seen in the issue of "nominalism" versus "realism." Using man as example, nominalism holds that the term "mankind" is only a *word* used for the total of all men, women and children. The real entities are the men, women and children themselves. Realism holds that *mankind* represents a real entity ("Let us create man in our own image"), a concept apart from the various men, women and children that are simply examples of the term. The RLDS theology maintains that the priesthood, for example, exists independently of those who hold it. They recognize law as independent of either the lawmaker or the lawbreaker. In most cases they make the same assumption about God. The RLDS are not totally consistent in this belief, however. They see the Church as a community of the faithful believers in Christ (the elect) rather than assuming that the Church exists independently of its members.

The LDS, using these same examples, would be far more realistic in their interpretation of the Church as having a divinity separate from its members and yet more nominalistic in their three-in-one conception of the Godhead. For even though the word *Godhead* sounds like a collective term, it assumes the *independent*

reality of the *separate* members of the Trinity. Thus while neither Church is consistent in this controversy, a distinction can be drawn from the philosophical connotations of the idea of Church (more realistic for the LDS and more nominalistic for the RLDS) and the Trinity (nominalistic for the LDS and realistic for the RLDS.)

Both churches appear to be in general agreement on the fundamental question of how persons are to know God. Their difference is one of degree, rather than kind. The RLDS tend to feel such information can come from a rational interpretation of documents.[14] The LDS are inclined to invoke the validity of authority, scripture, personal inspiration and spiritual experience.

The environment from which God acts sets the stage for another distinction. The LDS position states that God acts in a co-existent environment. In general, the LDS would agree that this does in fact limit God somewhat. For the Mormons then, creation was really the process of organizing existing elements rather than making them. The RLDS are comfortable in the assertion that God created everything from nothing. This conclusion does not result from the nature of an environment, but rather is the outcome of discounting what might normally be considered an environment. According to the RLDS God did not create man from intelligence because they do not consider intelligence either an environment or a co-eternal substance with God. The LDS point of view, that God creates and acts from *within* an environment, accepts the existence of eternal substances such as intelligence.

Neither the LDS nor the RLDS have come up with a complete doctrine of man. RLDS theology, however, asserts that man is endowed with freedom and that he is created to know God. To continue the description, "he is hung halfway between heaven and earth, both liking and hating the honor." Unlike the LDS, who consider man a celestial spirit transplanted to this world through birth, man in the RLDS Church is a creature of nature and of history. With few exceptions, the LDS are the only ones who seriously consider that the creation of man is in the same category as the creation of God. This is not a burden to LDS thinking because man and God occupy time and space. The LDS see a joint character of the environment from which they come: "Intelligence or the light of truth, was not created or made, neither indeed can be."[15] The RLDS theology accepts the more traditional position that God does not have a material being; He has no time nor space. Thus, since RLDS assume a material being and a space and time orientation to man, they must distinguish between the creation of man and God.

Important distinctions can be seen by continued comparison between the RLDS and the LDS attitudes toward such beliefs and ideas as: intuitive versus empirical knowledge, authoritative appeals, tests for truth and the distinction between a religious and a metaphysical God. Neither of the churches has taken these distinctions seriously enough to make any in-depth investigation. Unless they become more theological, neither church is going to comprehend very well how both of them could have risen from common beginnings and common scriptures and yet have such persistently divergent beliefs.

III

Members of the two churches have usually explained the reasons for the persisting difference with the dogmatic claim that the other church has fallen from the truth—it is no longer in possession of the true priesthood. They have written tracts, given lectures and undertaken missions on that premise. This religious approach offers clear-cut answers.

A more historical or institutional analysis of the two traditions raises an alternative but more tentative view. Some historians suggest that the now apparent polarity was about to emerge in Nauvoo before Joseph's death.[16] Some of the members of the Church then were critical of Joseph Smith's Nauvoo ideas as being too experimental, even unsound. These Saints considered the union of politics, economics and religion into a literal Kingdom of God as not only beyond mainstream Christianity, but dangerous. Joseph's early death brought their attitude to the fore, providing them with several options.

On one side were Brigham Young and several of the Apostles, who affirmed the literalness of the "Kingdom of God" with temples, geographical gathering, economic cooperation and social distinctiveness. They were determined to build upon Joseph's millennial innovations. Willing to require total commitment, they moved the Church beyond the existing boundaries of the United States to implement the new society—even at the price of losing many to death or disaffection. Those who hearkened to the Quorum of Apostles under Brigham Young (or likewise those who went with James J. Strang to Beaver Island) were going to create a new "organic" society which they hoped would usher in Christ's reign. They united the sacred and the secular as they thought Joseph would, interweaving them into a saintly community.

On the other sides were those who rejected that approach as bizarre and out of harmony with the early Restoration scriptures, including followers of Sidney Rigdon. Others too had qualms about the Prophet Joseph's last experiments. They thought he had flaunted the American system of separation between church and state and were ready for another alternative—perhaps one less dependent upon "charismatic" leadership.

Some of the key differences in the two churches emerged from their experiences between 1846 and 1860. Many Saints who eventually joined the RLDS spent those years without a central organization,[17] in a few self-contained congregations, with elected leadership intact. But many Midwest Saints remained unaffiliated with any group or became disillusioned with the claims of Joseph Smith's successors. Almost all of them consciously rejected the Mormon approach in the Rocky Mountains which they saw as too authoritarian. By 1860 they were firmly rooted in a pattern quite the opposite of the Utah model—without a charismatic leader, without central control, without uniform organization. They concentrated on the early restoration scriptures, personal worship and the close relationships of their small and scattered groups.

The Rocky Mountain Saints faced an organizational challenge as soon as they crossed the Mississippi. Moving thousands across the Great Plains was achieved through a quasi-military system which lasted at least three decades. The hundreds of communities they founded in the hostile Great Basin required a cooperative scheme based on extensive control. Mere survival was tenuous at first, especially after the Federal Government and national Protestant groups began systematic attacks on their theology and their organization. The Utah Mormons were thus welded into a tight unity not unlike the previous communities at Kirtland, Jackson County, Missouri and Nauvoo, and lasting well into the twentieth century. Since then the surviving hierarchical organization has shifted to evangelical and pastoral matters with similar effectiveness. The emphasis on centralized organization has not only succeeded, but the members warmly accept the present organization as consistent with that of early Nauvoo.

Any historical analysis would have to consider the disparate impact of the American culture on both churches since 1830. Within the RLDS Church many are happy with a slow evolution and increasing similarity to such "mainline" American Protestant groups as the Disciples of Christ, the Methodists, or Baptists. This represents not only an accommodation to respectability but also a continuation of those dissenters in Nauvoo who became central in the Reorganization of 1860.[18]

In the early Reorganization the majority was largely sectarian, but the Church has gradually shifted away from heavy emphasis on the uniqueness of their sacraments and authority which recognizes a non-liturgical American Protestantism and the possible existence of *several* true churches. This ecumenical spirit has helped to disperse the defensiveness which caused hostility not only toward the LDS in Utah but even toward neighboring Baptists and other Protestants. At present, the RLDS Church is acquiring Park College, a four-year Presbyterian institution in Independence, Missouri. As it now appears, this college, in contrast to the Church's Graceland College in Lamoni, Iowa, will derive only a small portion of its faculty from among its own membership because the existing faculty with their various Christian commitments is seen as acceptable to the Church's newer perspective. The RLDS had already absorbed such traditional American religious activities as summer religious renewal camps (reunions), and many endeavors of the Social Gospel—retirement homes, hospitals and aid missions to developing countries.

In contrast, the LDS Church seems, on the surface, to be uninfluenced by the American democratic environment. Control of the LDS Church is centered in the living prophet's authority which is largely unchallenged. Although Church leaders have never talked explicitly about infallibility, they continually admonish their members to "follow the Prophet." LDS stake and ward congregations are similar to the Catholic diocese and parish.[19] The leadership is appointed by the authorities one level above them with emphasis on sacred ordinances and their control by the priesthood.

It is not only in organization that the LDS differ from traditional American Protestantism. Latter-day Saint theology is actually heretical in the eyes of Protestants. Catholics too consider Mormons heretics, but the LDS have long since adjusted to rejection, and do not hesitate to deny openly the trinitarian theology. They appear uninterested in becoming acceptable to their American religious colleagues.

All of this separateness, however, does not mean that the LDS are uninfluenced by American culture. Quite the contrary.[20] They have energetically adopted many features of American corporate structure and professionalism. Many, if not a majority, of the LDS General Authorities have had careers in corporate business before their full-time church appointments. Business administration consultants, advertising agents, computer specialists, media managers, cost effective architects, curriculum designers and systems planners are housed in the new skyscraper headquarters in Salt Lake City. This modern puritanism seems to set the tone that accompanies the proselyting missionaries—in their business suits and trim haircuts—all over the world. In a large sense the young elders are symbolic of the fusion of Mormon and American values: the work ethic, patriotism and cooperation have become indistinguishable from Mormon doctrine.

So, as the sesquicentennial of Mormonism approaches in 1980, both churches can be considered absorbed into American culture—the RLDS in both theology and organization, and the LDS as a model American establishment. The churches have both responded to major challenges in their history, but the historical paths have been divided in different directions.

IV

Separated by geography, institutions and history as well as by priesthood and doctrine, the members of the two churches are beginning to talk to each other. The long-held dream of union will probably give way to co-existence. And co-existence may encourage communication and respect. But it will not change the basic conviction that the other is in error—that the other's system is to be resisted. One church will remain congregational, the other hierarchical. Each will claim that its priesthood is genuine. The stand-off will continue.

Neither of the churches is in decline. Should Joseph Smith's direct descendants die out, the RLDS will probably turn to the Hyrum Smith line; similarly the LDS Church cannot be dismissed as Madison Avenue promotionalism under an authoritarian leadership. Both groups will have to admit the permanence and the legitimate differences of the other. But mutual acceptance can offer opportunity to see one's own church in clearer perspective. Perhaps from this vantage point greater understanding and respect can grow.

NOTES

[1] Quinn, D. Michael, "The Mormon Succession Crisis of 1844," *BYU Studies* XVI, Winter 1976, 2, 187-233.

[2] In an address at the 1975 Mormon Historical Association Convention at BYU, Myron Sorenson estimated that about 20 existing groups trace their origin to Joseph Smith and that 100 others, no longer surviving, also made that claim.

[3] See *World Conference Bulletins,* Sunday, March 28, 1976 to Saturday, April 3, 1976 RLDS.

[4] Holm, Francis W., Sr., *The Mormon Churches* (Kansas City, Midwest, 1970). Dyer, Alvin R., *The Fallacy* (Salt Lake City, Deseret Book Co., 1964). Smith, Elbert A., *The Differences that Persist* (Independence, Herald, 1943). Reimann, Paul E., *The Reorganized Church and the Civil Courts* (Salt Lake City, Paul E. Reimann, 1961). Ralston, Russell F., *Succession in Presidency and Authority* (Independence, Herald, 1958). Yates, Thomas J., *The Origin of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (no publication place, date or publisher).

[5] Anderson, Mary A. S., editor, *Joseph Smith III and the Restoration* (Independence, Herald, 1952) pp. 237-271, 319-402, 408, 414-463, 538-557. *The History of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints* (Independence, Herald, 1967) Vol. 3, Chapters 19, 29, 31; Vol. 4, Chapters 5, 10, 12, 29. Smith, Joseph Fielding, *Origin of the "Reorganized" Church and the Question of Succession* (Independence, Zion's Printing, 1929) 3rd Ed. Smith, Joseph Fielding, *The Reorganized Church vs. Salvation for the Dead* (Independence, Zion's Press, 1905).

[6] Leone, Mark, "Why the Coalville Tabernacle Had to be Razed: Principles Governing Mormon Architecture," *Dialogue,* VIII, 2, 1973, 30-39. This article penetrates well beyond architecture into the nature of the LDS program at the local level.

[7] Some indication of this can be noted in the correspondence files of Venture Foundation that, for two years, published *Courage.* A number of these letters are written as comments on the "Liberal" tradition of the journal and of articles within. One occasion at least led to the resignation of a member of the Advisory Board. See, Venture Foundation (R 575.01) Restoration History Manuscript Collection, Frederick Madison Smith Library, Graceland College.

[8] Cole, Clifford A., *Exploring the Faith* (A series of Studies in the Faith of the Church prepared by a committee on Basic Beliefs), (Independence, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1970). This is an official statement which is evidently intended as an update of the *Epitomy of Faith,* an earlier statement with a recognizable tie to the "Wentworth Letter." Hence it is somewhat like the LDS Articles of Faith.

[9] Richards, LeGrand, *A Marvelous Work and a Wonder,* (Salt Lake City, Deseret Book Co., 1950) pp. 1-10. Talmage, James E., *The Articles of Faith* (Salt Lake City, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1949) pp. 198-204.

[10] "Which temple ye are," *Church News,* February 19, 1977, p. 16.

[11] Gaustad, Edwin Scott, *Historical Atlas of Religion in America* (New York, Harper & Row, 1962) pp. 169, 161, 86-87. See also Martin, J. Wistisen, "Projections of Membership of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" (Brigham Young University Center for Business and Economic Research, 1976).

[12] Constant, H. Jacquet, Jr., *Yearbook of American and Canadian Churches 1975* (Nashville and New York, Abingdon Press, 1975) pp. 49, 83, 122, 129. LDS membership in U.S. and Canada is shown as 2,276,070 and RLDS as 168,313.

[13] McMurrin, Sterling, *The Philosophical Foundations of Mormon Theology* (Salt Lake City, University of Utah Press, 1962). McMurrin, Sterling, *The Theological Foundations of the Mormon Religion* (Salt Lake City, University of Utah Press, 1965). Poulsen, David L., "Comparative Coherency of Mormon 'Finistic' and Classical Theism," unpublished doctoral dissertation (University of Michigan, 1975). Edwards, Paul, "The Metaphysical Foundations and Philosophical Assumptions of R.L.D.S. Theology," *The Restoration in the Midst of Revolution,* UB, 1968.

[14] Howard, Richard, *Restoration Scriptures, A Study of Their Textual Development* (Independence, Herald, 1969), is an example of a higher criticism view of LDS scripture. See also Edwards, F. Henry, *Commentary on the Doctrine and Covenants* (Independence, Herald, 1948).

[15] Doctrine and Covenants (LDS 93:29). Doctrine and Covenants (RLDS 90:5a).

[16] Flanders, Robert, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1965) pp. 242-277. Blair, Alma "Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints: Modern Mormonism," *The Restoration Movement,* ed. F. Mark McKiernan (Lawrence, Kansas, Coronado, 1973).

[17] Davis, Inez Smith, *The Story of the Church* (Independence, Herald, 1948) pp. 355-414.

[18] We are indebted to Alma Blair for this concept. People like Ebenezer Robinson and William Marks were oriented toward non-ritualistic theology and a salvation within the "revival complex."

[19] Ahlstrom, Sidney, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1972) See chapters 33, 34, 39 for historical developments, particularly concerning emigrants.

[20] Klaus Hansen emphasizes the accomodation to America in his "Epilogue: The Metamorphosis of the Kingdom of God" pp. 180-190. Hansen, Klaus, *Quest for Empire* (East Lansing, Michigan State University Press, 1967).

(Dialogue supporters believe) that the Mormon religion and its history are subject to discussion, if not to argument, and that any particular feature of Mormon life is fair game for detailed examination and clarification. They believe that the details of Mormon history and culture can be studied in human or naturalistic terms—indeed, must be so studied—and without thus rejecting the divinity of the Church's origin and work.

Leonard J. Arrington
Vol. I, No. 1, p. 28

Personal honesty involves courageously recognizing the discrepancy between what one ought to be and what one actually is, between what one is supposed to believe and what one actually believes. The individual who does not accept this challenge, who turns away and does not face the discrepancy, consigns himself to a life of half-awareness, inauthenticity, and bad faith. He will not know what he thinks but only what he ought to think.

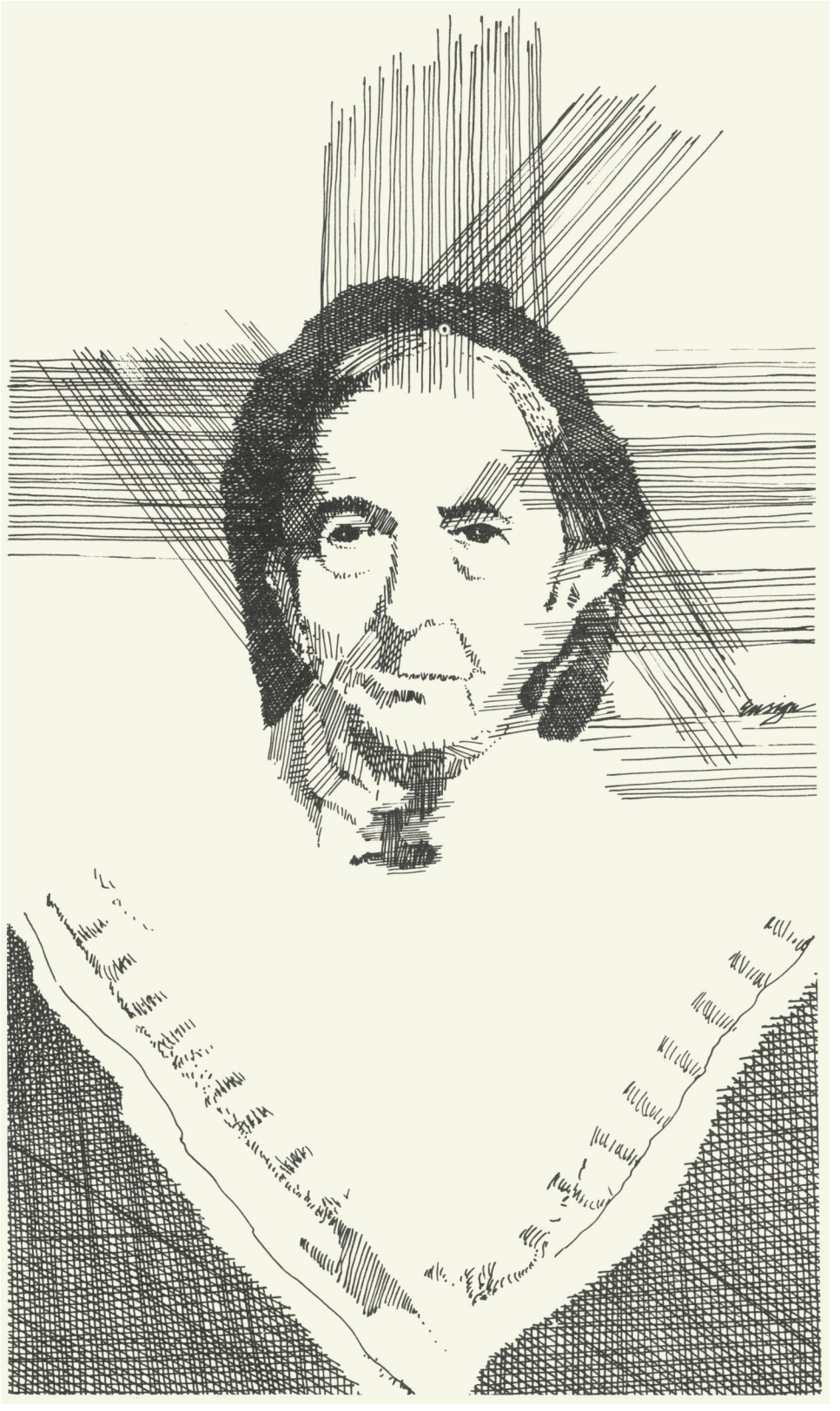
Frances Lee Menlove
Vol. I, No. 1, p. 45

I don't think God wants to solve all of our problems for us, thereby creating an extreme dependency; I think we must sweat it out sometimes. If this is true, it means that occasional tension and disagreement are healthy for the Church.

Victor B. Cline
Vol. I, No. 1, p. 62

Mormonism, like Bonhoeffer, contends that man must involve himself in the world. There have been no ascetic tendencies in Mormon thought. Mormons have been reminded many times by their leaders that the task of the Church is to change the world.

Kenneth Godfrey
Vol. II, No. 1, p. 38



THE ELIZA ENIGMA

MAUREEN URSENBACH BEECHER

"Poetess," "prophetess," "priestess," "presidentess," are terms which her contemporaries applied with reverent awe to Eliza Roxey Snow. This woman, this "captain of Utah's woman host," commanded such respect among the Mormon women of Utah that they celebrated her birthday whether or not she was among them; they took up a collection to pay her fare on a jaunt to the Holy Land; they turned out in numbers whenever and wherever she spoke on her many visits throughout the Great Basin kingdom; they listened to her, quoted her, obeyed her, and found in her "the president of the female portion of the human race."[1] She was a legend before half her effective life was done, and lived that legend for the rest of it. She was aware of her position, and both played upon it, and was plagued by it: "Sisters," she told an audience, "I occupy an honorable position, but the great responsibility attending it prevents my feeling proud."[2]

It is not difficult to catalog the public accomplishments of Eliza Snow. There is hardly an auxiliary organization in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints which does not bear her imprint: The women's Relief Society, which she helped found and then directed through its strongest stages; Mormon Church youth groups, initiated with her support as Retrenchment Associations; the children's Primary Association, carried by her from its birthplace in Farmington to nearly every settlement of the LDS Church in the West. And there are her published works: nine volumes extant, plus another tome of separately published pieces. Those are tangible reminders. Less obvious are the events now slid into history: the 1876 centennial territorial fair, the women's commission store; courses in medicine for women; the Deseret Hospital. And a long-enduring tradition of thought about women's place in church and society. Her contemporaries, and ours, have assessed her as a great woman. But then, as she saw it herself, "true greatness" is merely "usefulness."

What is elusive about Eliza—enigmatic, if you will—is the woman herself, the person within, the interior sources for the exterior strength. Or is it more appropriate, or accurate, to see her accomplishment in terms of the times and the needs of a band of Israel wandering their forty years—or was it forty months?—in the wilderness and then wresting from a desert Canaan their promised Zion? Whether the circumstances changed the woman, or whether

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the woman altered the circumstances is a question to be left hanging while we dissect the life and the times into bits small enough for present scrutiny.

For that closer examination, let us take those four alliterative titles one by one: "poetess," "prophetess," "priestess," "presidentess." They are useful divisions of the areas of Eliza's activities; even more conveniently, they fit as chronological emphases in her life pattern. Each concern rises during its own period, reaches its zenith, and declines to a lesser but still significant level as the next rises. The cumulative effect is a piling up of interests and abilities, characteristics of the one woman of Mormondom recognized by the present Mormon laity and the historical community alike as the eiptome of Latter-day Saint womanhood. The question, though, arises in this generation's assessment of those qualities. Therein lies the conflict of the life and the legend of Eliza R. Snow.

Her life began in Becket, in the Berkshire hills of Massachusetts, in January, 1804, but she was soon transplanted to the wild Ohio territory, then the Connecticut Western Reserve. The Snows, and their Ohio neighbors, brought New England with them: the same patriotic spirit which had a generation earlier inspired a revolution informed the attitudes of the Portage County society in which Eliza grew. Her family was loyal American, socially conscious (Oliver Snow, Eliza's father, was justice of the peace and county commissioner in Mantua, Ohio, where they lived), religious, educated (Oliver Snow had taught school back in Massachusetts, and did again for a term in Mantua), and intellectually liberal. They were also practical, industrious, and financially successful. Eliza grew from early childhood with a sense of family pride and a reflected awareness of personal worth.

School is easy for little girls with linguistic talents. And Eliza had these in superfluous amounts. Bored with writing simple prose accounts of Mediterranean geography or the battle of Hastings, she would compose her homework assignments in verse, mimicking the patterns and themes of the poets she read with insatiable appetite. It is not difficult to see her as the pet of her teachers; her sisters who followed seem to have paled in comparison. None but her father seems to have filled her need for intellectual companionship until Lorenzo, her brother born when she was ten, who, like Eliza, was often "shut up with his book." The two developed a closeness which lasted to her death.

But to return to the poetry. There seem to have been examples enough for Eliza to follow in her own attempts at versifying. Shakespeare was commonplace in the United States by this time, and Milton. The romantic poets had not yet been discovered in America, but the styles and themes of the eighteenth century Rationalists were available, and the renewed interest which that century felt in Greek and Roman classics had introduced the literate to the ancient myths and the epic forms. And every newspaper had its poetry column, filled with verses of all varieties.

It was to the local newspaper that Eliza sent her first public poem, an epic-styled celebration of the romantically poignant "Battle of Missolonghi."

> Arise my infant muse, awake my lyre,
> To plaintive strains; but sing with cautious fear
> Lest thou profane . . .

she writes, choosing a poetic mode a cut above that of the usual poetry column offerings. Gaining confidence, she continues:

> . . . Ye favor'd daughters, ye
> Who nurs'd on blest Columbia's happy soil
> Where the pure flag of liberty shall wave
> Till virtue's laurels wither on your breasts: [4]

The lines scan well, in the formal iambic pentameter of Shakespeare. And the diction is as high flown as could be expected from a fledgling Milton. All told, this, and the similarly high-toned elegaic ode on the deaths of Adams and Jefferson which followed in the same newspaper two weeks later, demonstrate a literary sensitivity and a craftsmanship which augured well for a developing poet. [5] One would hope for the innovative, imaginative thrust to come to match the developing skill. A search through subsequent writings is disappointing. The two early odes, published in 1826 when Eliza was twenty-two, built in her a confidence which led, not to greater imagination, but to a popularizing of her style into form and subject matter more in keeping with what her contemporaries were submitting to the local papers:

> If there's a smile on nature's face
> It is the farmer's dwelling place

she writes in a homey poem called "The Farmer's Wife." The strict four-foot pattern rhymed in unerring couplets, winds down to a simplistic conclusion:

> If you would make the best of life,
> Be, (if you can) the farmer's wife. [6]

One would like to imagine this as a sarcastic toying with both the genre and the society's simple mores—it would be about this time that Eliza received offers of marriage, probably from young men from neighboring farms. But, alas, the verses which follow leave us no recourse but to assume she had slipped easily, effortlessly, into the popular style of her times.

This is not to say the poetry is bad. On the contrary, some of it reads quite well, and the suggestion made in a later biographical sketch, that Eliza sacrificed a promising literary career to cast her lot with the Mormons, may not be far from wrong. Certainly the neighboring Cary sisters, Alice and Phoebe, wrote no better, and they, some twenty-five years behind Eliza, left their Ohio farm and moved to New York where they made adequate living from their verses.

Eliza, however, had interests too diverse to devote her whole attention to poetry. Her life paced rapidly through the subsequent years from Mantua, to Mormon Kirtland, and on to Missouri in company with her adopted people. It was not until she found a period of relatively settled external circumstances, coupled with a disruptive emotional life, that the poetic gift reasserted itself with new promise. The place was Nauvoo, a seven-year stopover in the hegira of the Mormons, and the disruptive stimulus was the internal turmoil occasioned by her secret marriage to the prophet Joseph Smith whom she later designated "the choice of my heart, the crown of my life." [7] That event proved the fulcrum on which her life balanced itself. Her diary entry for that day, June 29, 1842, reads: "This is a day of much interest to my feelings," and continues in a similar vein of ambiguous prose which ascends towards

poetry as the emotion finds itself later "recalled in tranquility." Her next several poems in the diary deal with her Joseph and her secret polygamous relationship with him.[8]

Among the usual verses, many of which found themselves, with or without her permission, in the *Times and Seasons* and the *Millennial Star,* are some confessional poems which approach the poetic standards from which present critics judge. In her retirement, "Where there's nobody here but Eliza and I," she could loose the reins, give her mind its soul, and compose such lines as these "Saturday Evening Thoughts":

> My heart is fix'd—I know in whom I trust.
> 'Twas not for wealth—'twas not to gather heaps
> Of perishable things—'twas not to twine
> Around my brow a transitory wreath,
> A garland deck'd with gems of mortal praise,
> That I foresook the home of childhood: that
> I left the lap of ease . . .[9]

In these times, though, she felt a responsibility beyond art and her own emotions. There were Saints to be cheered, and doctrines to be taught. "Zion's poetess," for so Joseph had named her, must turn her talents to the cause. The confessional writings extant from her Illinois period are far overshadowed numerically by such works as the poems to the gentile *Quincy Whig* pleading for aid and succor for the persecuted people; the hymns of encouragement to the distressed, that "though deep'ning trails throng [their] way," the Saints of God should "press on, press on"; and the doctrinally exciting "O My Father," written in this period as "Invocation, or the Eternal Father and Mother."

Eliza wrote on, nearly to her death 1,200 miles and forty-one years from Nauvoo. Her collected poetry tells, better than many prose accounts, the history of a faith in the building, a nation in the making. In her verses can be found the whole sweep of the Mormon story. But as poetry, it fails of greatness. Twentieth century critics find it superficial, maudlin, trite, and unimaginative. As a poet, had she made no other contribution, Eliza might have been to us as obscure as Hannah Tapfield King is. But to her own contemporaries, Hannah King among them, she was muse, mentor, kindred in spirit. As that lady wrote to her:

> My Spirit bends instinctively to thine:
> At thy feet I fain would sit and learn
> Like Paul of old before Gamaliel.[10]

"Zion's poetess" to her literary disciples as to the rest of her Mormon contemporaries, was building the reputation which would evolve into legend.

The poetic and the prophetic gifts are so closely related that one finds them hard to separate. Nor, perhaps, should one try. The title "prophetess" had a meaning to Eliza's nineteenth century contemporaries which evades us now, in a church so strongly regimented that the prophetic calling is by custom restricted not only to males in general, but to a specific body of Church leaders in particular. In a looser sense, however, one can see some prophetic functions beginning early in the life of Eliza R. Snow, growing as she finds and embraces the revelatory gospel, and reaching a peak of spirituality in that most unlikely of places, Winter Quarters, the Nebraska shanty town where the Mormons regrouped for their final push to Utah.

Let us backtrack to the first few years of Eliza's poetry publishing in search for her prophetic beginnings. In the February 14, 1829, issue of the Ravenna, Ohio, *Western Courier*, Eliza published a poem which in retrospect is a little disconcerting. It contains what could almost automatically be interpreted as a prophecy of the Mormon restoration of the Christian gospel. The poem, dealing with the universal question of the transcience of life, contains these hope-infusing stanzas:

> But lo! a shining Seraph comes!
> Hark! 'tis the voice of sacred Truth;
> He smiles, and on his visage blooms,
> Eternal youth.
>
> He speaks of things before untold,
> Reveals what men nor angels knew,
> The secret pages now unfold
> To human view.

So she wrote in Ohio in early 1829. Years after her acceptance of the Mormon gospel, Eliza altered the phrase "secret pages" to read "long seal'd pages," to make more explicit the reference to the coming of the "Seraph," the angel Moroni, with the partially sealed plates from which the Book of Mormon was translated. With or without Eliza's later tamperings, we are left with the quandary: could she have heard, fully a year before its publication, of the book and its translator? Was she toying with a local rumor, carried, perhaps, by an itinerant preacher? Had she adopted the Campbellite hope of an angel coming to restore the true gospel? Or was there in her poetic imagination a kernel of true prophecy which prompted such a confident expression?

From the winter afternoon, sometime in late 1830 or early 1831, when Joseph Smith warmed himself in her father's friendly living room, until her baptism into the new faith nearly five years later Eliza struggled for direction. Her hesitation seems to have stemmed from a lack of spiritual confirmation. She yearned after the gifts of the spirit of which the New Testament spoke, and saw about her in the religions of the times, perhaps even somewhat in the new Mormon practices, either barren intellectualizing or, worse, sham perversions of the spiritual outpourings. Whatever led her to finally present herself for baptism at the hands of the Mormons, it was not the fiery pentacostal assurance she wanted. But that night, the night following her immersion into the waters of the new faith, began her new visionary life: she received witness which she read as ultimate and divine confirmation.

> I had retired to bed, and as I was reflecting on the wonderful events transpiring around me, I felt an indescribable, tangible sensation . . . commencing at my head and enveloping my person and passing off at my feet, producing inexpressible happiness. Immediately following, I saw a beautiful candle with an unusual long, bright blaze directly over my feet. I sought to know the interpretation, and received the following, "The lamp of intelligence shall be lighted over your path." I was satisfied.[11]

The new faith led Eliza to Kirtland, where, despite the fact that she soon owned a house, she continued to live as governess in the home of the prophet Joseph Smith. Her descriptions of the pentacostal manifestations accompanying the dedication of the temple there suggest a growing appetite for such outpourings as the speaking in tongues which became a regular part of temple worship—so much a part, in fact, that they had to be restricted to

the last hour of the day-long Thursday fast meetings. We have no account of Eliza's participating then in this prophesying and praising in tongues, but it is fair to assume that she was growing in her spiritual abilities, if only by intense observation.

From Kirtland, where Eliza was joined by her now-converted parents, her sister, Leonora, and her brother, Lorenzo, the family moved to Missouri, to the newly founded community of Adam-ondi-Ahman. The Snows traveled with, and settled near, the Huntington family, and undoubtedly in the move cemented the long-enduring friendship between Zina Diantha Huntington and Eliza R. Snow. Of Eliza's spritual activity in the Missouri settlement there is no record, but we are told that Zina was practiced then in the gift of tongues,[12] and it is fair to assume that Eliza learned that communication, too. Until their deaths in Utah, Zina and Eliza practiced the prophetic speaking in and interpretation of tongues throughout the Church.

Expelled from Missouri, the two families, along with their coreligionists, moved to Illinois, aided in the building of Nauvoo, suffered the indignities of persecution, and found themselves in 1846 refugees crossing Iowa. Privation and sickness create strife, even among the faithful, and Eliza details in her diary the bitterness which even she felt, she who had grown so emotionally strong and independent. Bickerings would have, could have, multiplied through the long winter of waiting for spring and the rest of the journey west. But there was something stronger than mutual privation to weld these people together, and Eliza was in the forefront of the practice. The women would gather in each other's tents for what might normally have been elite and cruelly cutting gossip sessions. But not so. Eliza records a series of gatherings:

> Spent the aft[er]n[oon] with Lucy in com[pany] of Zina, Loisa and Emily. E[mily] and myself spoke in the gift of tongues.[13]

And:

> Sis[ter] Sess[ions], Kim[ball], Whit[ney] and myself spent the eve[ning] at Sarah Ann's—had a pow'rful time—deep things were brought forth which were not to be spoken.[14]

And:

> . . . a time of blessing at sis[ter] K[imball]'s . . . Sis[ter] Sess[ions] and myself blest Helen. I spoke and she interpreted. I then blest the girls in a song, singing to each in rotation.[15]

Such gatherings were not infrequent throughout the winter, and by spring, Eliza seems to emerge as the leader in the blessing meetings. Patty Sessions records, on May 1, 1847:

> Sylvia and I went to a meeting to Sister Leonards. None but females there. We had a good meeting. I presided. It was got up by E. R.Snow. They spoke in toungues; I interpreted. Some prophesied. It was a feast.[16]

The gatherings, interrupted by the trek west, began again in the valley when Eliza would collect the women together in their rude homes in the Old Fort, and again the blessings and the prophesyings would occur.

What was the nature of the prophecies and blessings uttered in the strange languages? Were they really prophetic, or were they the over-enthusiastic

imaginings of a spiritually excited people? Who can know? In a retrospective tally of accounts we come up with what is most likely an unfair gauge: about half the prophecies uttered by Eliza were fulfilled, about half were not. People to whom she promised the blessing of seeing the Savior return during their lifetime, or of standing in the temple to be built in Missouri, have died long since. But Heber J. Grant testified to his childhood memory of the prophecy uttered in tongues by Eliza, translated by Zina Huntington, that he would become an apostle. He did.[17] And Mary Ann Chadwick Hull, having buried two children in two years, was promised by Eliza that she would have a daughter (she was pregnant at the time) who would grow to womanhood.[18] The child, born healthy, was indeed a girl, and lived to age twenty. Two other daughters, one named after Eliza, outlived their mother.

But there are other prophetic gifts not so easily judged. There are understandings and awarenesses which are a more important expression of prophecy than any number of predictions. Eliza is credited in Mormon thought with such insights. The favorite example is the concept of a Heavenly Mother, first expressed as doctrine in her "O My Father." General authorities have differed on the source of the revelation. Joseph F. Smith announced in 1895 that, since God does not reveal his mind to a woman, Eliza was taught the doctrine by Joseph Smith;[19] Wilford Woodruff, just two years earlier, remarked the singular appropriateness of the Lord's revealing such a profound doctrine through one of his daughters.[20] The historical evidence available seems, however inconclusively, to favor the former interpretation: Joseph Smith had comforted Zina Huntington, Eliza's friend and confidant, with the Mother-in-Heaven doctrine near the time of her own mother's death, which occurred in 1839, six years before the poem was first published. Zina would doubtless have confided such revelation to her friend.

Other doctrines, less acceptable to modern Mormonism, worked themselves into Eliza's theology and found their way into her speeches and poems. One such was the theory which sent the ten tribes and the city of Enoch spinning off into outer space on detached particles of the earth. "Thou, Earth, wast once a glorious sphere," she wrote, consoling the globe for its loss.[21]

A study of the popular speculations of the times suggests that Eliza was seldom, if ever, the originator of the doctrines she accepted into her theology: Parley P. Pratt for one had expressed the spin-off idea in 1841; Eliza's poem is dated 1851. Eliza adopted ideas from whatever source she trusted—Joseph Smith's utterances would be received without question—and worked them meticulously into a neatly-packaged theology with the ends tucked in and the strings tied tight. So it was, for example, when she published her composition reconciling the doctrine of literal resurrection of the body with the disconcerting evidences of decay and the cycles of nature. She followed Heber C. Kimball's suggested format: there are two parts of the body, one of which disintegrates and returns to earth, the other of which remains pure and untouched, awaiting the resurrection. She expressed the concept so well, that her piece, first published in the *Woman's Exponent* in 1873, was reprinted in the *Millennial Star* in 1874, and again in the *Exponent* in 1875. At that time Brigham Young, prophet, president of the Church, and Eliza's husband since before the Nauvoo exodus, protested. A strict literalist, he was not for watering down scripture with such equivocating, and

proclaimed so in a biting editorial in the next issue of the *Exponent*. Six months later, in the *Deseret News*, appeared in a tiny box on a back page a carefully-worded retraction written and signed by Eliza R. Snow.[22] A doctrine, especially someone else's doctrine, was hardly worth defying the priesthood over. Still, one wonders what conversation passed between the two of them in the intervening six months as they met each evening in the family prayer service in the Beehive House.

But do such lapses indicate the absence of prophetic gifts? The testimony of her contemporaries would refute such denial. From St. George to Cache Valley they witnessed to her perceptive preaching, to her vast knowledge, and to her speaking in tongues—"Eve's tongue," as she termed the Adamic language—in their meetings, where she uttered such blessings as they were sure were prophetic. Men and women alike attested to her spiritual calling. We are again left with the enigma. Did her gifts include that of prophecy? Was she a prophetess in the present sense of the word? The life, and the legend, are a hundred years away from us.

Because of her involvement in the practice of the Mormon temple endowment Eliza R. Snow was called by the title "High Priestess." As early as Nauvoo, where she was recorder in the temple, and later in the Salt Lake Endowment House, where she presided over the women's section, she performed the high ordinances for the faithful of her sex, often blessing them with a special blessing beyond the scope of the ceremonies themselves. Her equivalent in a modern LDS temple would be the matron, who is by tradition the wife of the temple president.

It is understandable that Eliza's image would take on a special holiness in the eyes of the women of the Church, that the aura of sacred mystery which surrounds the secret ordinances of the temple should somehow cling to Eliza. It did indeed become a part of the legend, an addition to the sanctity which already clothed her in the eyes of her contemporaries. Added to the gifts of the spirit which she was practising, the temple calling was the official sanction, the title which justified the reverence which they would accord her.

Other functions she performed, now generally practised only by priesthood holders, were likewise in keeping with the title *priestess*. Blessing the sick, administering to those who requested it, and washing and anointing women about to be confined were frequent with her. Eliza was not the only woman to whom the sisters would appeal for these ministrations; often a community or group would have among its number some sister who seemed especially gifted for the purpose. But it was Eliza whose word gave the practice official sanction, who taught the proper forms, and who specified the qualifications of sisters who might minister.

That the practice was linked to Eliza's name is clear from a letter, dated 1901, in which a sister is questioning the quasi-official suggestion that the women no longer administer to the sick. "Eliza R. Snow taught us how to do it," is the sense of the letter; "Should we not continue to follow her directions?"[23] An official statement is recorded in two circular letters, one of indeterminate date, on stationery of the Relief Society, the other dated October 3, 1914, over the signatures of the First Presidency, Joseph F. Smith, President. Their intent is the same: women may indeed administer with consecrated oil, "confirming" rather than "sealing" the blessing, making no mention of authority. They may also continue the practice of washing and

anointing women about to give birth.[24] In other words, the practice promoted by Eliza Snow, following the approval of Joseph Smith, continued well into this century, and perpetuated the name of Eliza R. Snow as priestess to the women of the Church.

By 1855, or thereabouts, when Brigham Young called Eliza to facilitate the reorganizing of the Relief Societies in some of the Salt Lake Stake wards, she had already been defined by the women over whom she would preside in the roles to which we have paid note. Already "poetess," "prophetess," and "priestess," she could well expect to bring to the function of "presidentess" the admiration and respect of the women, irrespective of whatever administrative skills she might possess.

Fortunately for Brigham Young and for the Church, she did have the ability to preside. As clerk to her father, who had been a public administrator during her Ohio youth, she would have learned something of matters of government. Later, when some Nauvoo women had decided in Sarah Kimball's sitting room to organize a women's benevolent society and needed a constitution, it was to Eliza they turned, evidence that her understanding of such matters was early recognized.

The Nauvoo Female Relief Society, organized not according to the constitution Eliza drew up, but rather under the priesthood direction of Joseph Smith, elected Eliza its secretary. Her minutes indicated a lively interest in the processes of government, and by the time Brigham Young had need of her abilities, she had learned about leadership. By 1867, when the ward Relief Societies in Utah demonstrated the need for an auxiliary direction, she was the logical head to the first general board. Her sense of stewardship led her throughout the existing Church, organizing groups where there had been none, and strengthening and directing existing societies. Her message was always, "We will do as we are directed by the Priesthood,"[25] but when a priesthood leader seemed about to thwart one of the Relief Society projects, her response was that he should be "reasoned" with. She was confident of her programs and of her ability, and that of her sisters, to facilitate them.

Eliza R. Snow, "Sister Snow," to him, was a plural wife to Brigham Young, their marriage having taken place in Nauvoo in early 1846. Far from the adoration with which she honored Joseph was the respect with which she followed Brigham. "Followed," I am persuaded, is the right word, for as independent as she seems in her activities in behalf of the women of the Church, she restricted her jurisdiction to the stewardship assigned her by him. This was not as constraining as it sounds: she and "President Young," as she always called him, saw eye to eye on most things. Most things, that is, remembering the incident of the paper on resurrection, and one homey little story about her having hidden away one of his daughter's silk sashes, deeming it inappropriate to the President's daughter in those times of needed retrenchment. Brigham made her give it back, but later, with Eliza's help, established the Retrenchment Society, with goals similar to Eliza's purpose in taking away the sash in the first place. They two, Eliza and Brigham, thought and worked together; only slight misunderstanding required discussion. Confirmation each of the other's projects was almost pro forma. More a counselor than a wife, Eliza seems to have carried as much authority as Brigham Young's counselors in the Presidency, at least in regard to women's activities.

In administering the affairs of the women—which included, as she defined them, responsibilities towards the children and young ladies, hence her involvement with Primary and Retrenchment association—Eliza seems to have been a paragon of administrative skill, and a dynamo of executive energy. She lacked but one quality, that same quality which inhibited her poetry and limited her doctrinal insight: she had little imagination, little creative spark. She was not an innovator. The story repeats itself in the history of every project with which her name is initially associated. It was Sarah Kimball, not Eliza, who sparked the founding of Relief Society in Salt Lake City as she had in Nauvoo; it was when Louisa Greene came to Eliza with the proposal for a magazine that the *Woman's Exponent* was founded; and it was Aurelia Rogers who expressed her idea of a Primary Association first to Eliza. In each case, Eliza was not the originator, but an initial executor of the project, not the agent, but the catalyst. Once she adopted a suggestion, however, Eliza changed roles. Codifying the concept into an organizational format, she would travel from one end of Mormon settlement to the other implementing it. In one remarkable jaunt to Southern Utah in 1880–1881 the seventy-six year old woman rode nearly two thousand miles by train and wagon to establish some thirty-five Primaries among the Saints there.

In one concern of high importance to the women of Utah, however, she was not the leader. Supportive, yes, but only peripherally so. That was the movement for women's rights, as active then as it is now. The Church was officially on the side of the crusading women, most of the time and on some of the issues. Suffrage for women had the official blessing of Church leaders. The Utah territorial legislature early gave the franchise to women, and Eliza's name headed the list of those who addressed their thanks to acting governor Stephen Mann for signing the bill into law. But the following year, aside from encouraging the women to vote, she predicted their passivity in the political arena:

> Although invested with the right of suffrage, [she told a group in Ogden] we shall never have occasion to vote for lady legislators or for lady congressmen.[26]

One might wish we had reason in our time to trust her optimistic justification for the belief:

> The kingdom of God, of which we are citizens [she explained], will never be deficient in a supply of good and wise men to fill governmental positions, and of brave men for warriors.[27]

With all the other responsibilities she carried, Eliza surely cannot be faulted for not adding the women's rights movement to her leadership load. The question is, however, less one of activity than one of doctrine.[28] She firmly believed that a woman's divinely appointed role bound her kindly but firmly to the home. The building of the kingdom, she admitted, required that some mothers make the sacrifice of leaving home to obtain medical training, or to be the telegraphers, sales clerks, bookkeepers, and typesetters that President Young needed. Woman's sphere, she affirmed, and with some justification, even from our point of view, was nowhere so wide as in Utah among the Mormons, especially guaranteeing as Mormons did, the most important right of women: the right of wedlock. Plural marriage, polygamy, was her answer to the feminists who pled the cause of women in Utah.

The logic may seem elusive, but typically for Eliza, it could all be made to fit. Justifying the status quo, the subjection in which most women found themselves vis-à-vis their male counterparts, she referred to the foreparents of the human race, and the original sin. Eve was the first to partake of the fruit, and so deserved her punishment:

> She led in the transgression, and was plac'd
> By Eloheim's unchangeable decree
> In a subservient and a dependent sphere.[29]

And almost as though "whatever is, is right," Eliza accepted that judgment and built around it—with some doctrinal suggestions from such as Orson Hyde and George Q. Cannon—a theology which she could make consistent with the rest of her beliefs. Where there is organization, she insisted, there must be gradation. Eve having been the first to sin, her daughters were placed in the secondary position. God ordained it, and Eliza would not protest:

> We stand in a different position from the ladies of the world [she told an audience in 1871]; we have made a convenant with God, we understand his order, and know that order requires submission on the part of woman.[30]

But the "curse of Eve," that her desire should be to her husband, and that he should rule over her, was not to last forever. As Adam had found redemption from his sims, so also would Eve from hers. In that same 1871 discourse she explained how the curse would be lifted:

> The Lord has placed the means in our hands, in the Gospel, whereby we can regain our lost position. But how? Can it be done by rising, as women are doing in the world, to clamor for our rights? No. . . . It was through disobedience that woman came into her present position, and it is only by honoring God in all the institutions he has revealed to us, that we can come out from under that curse, regain the position originally occupied by Eve, and attain to a fulness of exaltation in the presence of God.[31]

The "institution" through which a woman could honor God and regain her lost equality with man was, ironically, plural marriage. Eve disobeyed, she reasoned; her daughters must obey. But in righteousness. Righteous men are less numerous than deserving women. Hence, polygamy. The inconsistent intervening steps in the syllogism seem not to have disturbed Eliza in her reasoning. Her pattern allowed for so many goods: order; the growth of the kingdom through large families; equality among women (theoretically, at least); and peace with the brethren. The day when women would receive "the power of reigning and the right to reign"[32] was far off in reality, but near enough to put a rosy cast over the whole question, and justify the status quo in which she found herself and her sisters, she assumed, to be quite fulfilled. Eliza, then, was not a feminist in the Elizabeth Cady Stanton mold any more than in the Gloria Steinem pattern. First things must come first, and in Eliza's view many concerns came before "women's rights" as the society at large interpreted them.

So in all her presiding she failed to lead out in what seems to some women today to have been the major issue. And in her definition of "What Is and What Is Not for Woman" sold short her sex, by today's lights. And so in much of her poetry she let ease and usefulness and dedication to her cause outweigh the finer poetic crafts. So some of her prophecies were inspired more by millennial enthusiasm than by divine witness, and so her priestly

functions have all but disappeared from Mormon practice. Those are only parts of the whole, a whole which, when we draw back far enough to see Eliza in the broader social landscape, takes on an aspect larger than the sum of its parts.

For there is no equivocating over the position she held, or the influence she wielded over the Mormon women of her time. The five thousands who filled the tabernacle to hear her defense of polygamy, or the one whom she warmly embraced for her faithfulness to her calling—all these attested, on whatever grounds, to her leadership.

If she was not the potter whose firm hand shaped the infant faith of the new society, Eliza was certainly the kilnsman who fired the newly-molded piece into a hard and solid form. And if the edges are chipping away under the pressures of this century's demands, that form still stands recognizably as she left it.

NOTES

[1]*Woman's Exponent* 9(1 April 1881): 165.

[2]*Woman's Exponent* 4(15 August 1875): 42.

[3]Orrin Harmon, "Historical Facts Appertaining to the Township of Mantua. . . , Portage Co. Ohio," MS handwritten, 1866, in the Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio; see also *History of Portage County, Ohio* (Chicago, 1885), pp. 475–485, the chapter dealing with Mantua Township.

[4]*Western Courier* (Ravenna, Ohio), 22 July 1836; see also *Week-day Religious Education* 1(March 1937): 6-7.

[5]*Western Courier*, 5 August 1826.

[6]Eliza R. Snow, Diary and Notebook, photocopy of holograph, Church Archives, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah, hereinafter cited as LDS Church Archives. The diary has been edited by the present writer and published as "Eliza R. Snow's Nauvoo Journal," BYU Studies 15 (Summer 1975): 391–416.

[7]*Woman's Exponent* 15(1 August 1886): 37.

[8]Eliza R. Snow, Diary and Notebook, 29 June 1842 ff.

[9]Ibid., 16 November 1842; see also Eliza R. Snow, *Poems, Religious, Historical, and Political*, 2 vols. (Liverpool, 1856, and Salt Lake City, 1877), 1:3–6.

[10]Hannah Tapfield King, "Lines, Affectionately Addressed to Sister Eliza Snow," photocopy of MS, LDS Church Archives.

[11]*Eliza R. Snow, An Immortal: Selected Writings of Eliza R. Snow* (Salt Lake City, Utah, 1957), p. 6.

[12]Benjamin F. Johnson, " 'Aunt Zina' as I Have Known Her from Youth," MS handwritten, Zina D. H. Young Collection, in private possession.

[13]Eliza R. Snow, Diary, 1 June 1846–16 August 1849, under date 2 June 1847, microfilm of holograph, LDS Church Archives.

[14]Ibid., 3 June 1847.

[15]Ibid., 6 June 1847.

[16]Patty Sessions, Diary, 1 May 1847, holograph, LDS Church Archives.

[17]Heber J. Grant in *Conference Report of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, April 1927, pp. 17–18.

[18]"Sketch of the Life of Mary Ann Chadwick Hull," Library of Congress Diaries, microfilm of typescript, p. 4, LDS Church Archives.

[19]Joseph F. Smith, "Discourse," *Deseret Evening News*, 9 February 1895. This discourse was delivered 20 January 1895.

[20]Wilford Woodruff, "Discourse," *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* 56 (9 April 1894): 229. The discourse was delivered 8 October 1893.

[21]Eliza R. Snow, "Address to Earth," *Poems*, p. 153. The verse was first published in the *Deseret News*, 31 May 1851.

[22]*Woman's Exponent* 2(1 December 1873): 99, and 4(1 September 1875): 54 Brigham Young's reprimand follows in 4(15 September 1875): 60. Eliza's retraction is in *Deseret News Weekly*, 5 April 1876.

[23]Louisa Lula Greene Richards to Lorenzo Snow, 9 April 1901, LDS Church Archives.
[24]James R. Clark, ed., *Messages of the First Presidency*, 5 vols. (Salt Lake City, 1970), 4:312–317.
[25]Eliza R. Snow to [Willmirth] East, 23 April 1883, Eliza R. Snow Papers, LDS Church Archives.
[26]*Deseret News*, 26 July 1871.
[27]Ibid.
[28]Eliza Snow's stand on the whole question of woman's rights is discussed more fully in Jill Mulvay's "Eliza R. Snow and the Woman Question," *BYU Studies* 16 (Winter 1976): 250–64.
[29]Eliza R. Snow, "The New Year, 1852," *Deseret News*, 10 January 1852.
[30]"Miss E. R. Snow's Address to the Female Relief Societies of Weber County," *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* 33 (12 September 1871): 578.
[31]Ibid.
[32]Eliza R. Snow, "Woman," *Poems*, 2:178.

However much Mormons believe that the Holy Spirit converts, we do not hold that it annihilates the mind, but rather that it works through the thinking process.

Richard L. Bushman
Vol. I, No. 2, p. 83

For years I have taught that revelation usually, if not always, comes to the mind of the prophet and through him to mankind when man is aware of his need, when he thinks, struggles, searches, and somehow turns to God for help. This I still believe. Revelation is a teaching process, and an unwilling, a deaf and blind student cannot be taught. But what I have neither taught nor heard sufficiently is that God's response to man—His revelation of Himself, His Spirit, His mind and will—is not really earned but is born of love, of grace. Why else should He be concerned with man, to hear his plea, to touch his heart, to illuminate his mind?

Lowell Bennion
Vol. I, No. 4, p. 102

THOMAS F. O'DEA ON THE MORMONS: RETROSPECT AND ASSESSMENT

Robert S. MICHAELSON

I first encountered Thomas F. O'Dea through his book *The Mormons* which I read with considerable excitement. Here, it seemed to me, was a person professionally concerned with the development and enhancement of the scholarly study of religion, who had written a superb example of the art and science of religious studies. I wrote to O'Dea, conveying my excitement and appreciation. After the manner of pedantic (or meticulous) scholarship, I also called his attention to a misstatement of fact on page 225. He had reported that the University of Utah, founded in 1850 was "the oldest university West of the Mississippi." As Director of the School of Religion at the University of Iowa, I knew that a) Iowa City is west of the Mississippi, and b) the University of Iowa was founded in 1847. (The University of Missouri, I learned then, was founded in 1839.)

O'Dea received my letter cordially enough, and we later came to know each other fairly well. I always had the feeling though, that he, as a close student of Max Weber had been impressed with my obvious attention to neatness, and regarded me as something of a latter-day ascetic. Nevertheless, or perhaps even because of that, we did develop a mutual respect and, I believe, fondness for each other.

After coming to the University of California, Santa Barbara, in 1965 to become Chairman of the newly created Department of Religious Studies, I was able to help persuade O'Dea to come to Santa Barbara as Professor of Religious Studies and Sociology, and Director of the newly founded Institute of Religious Studies. There we worked together closely from 1967 until his untimely death in November of 1974. The eulogy which I prepared at the time of his death was printed in part in a letter to the editor by M. Gerald Bradford, *Dialogue*, Vol. IX (Summer, 1974).

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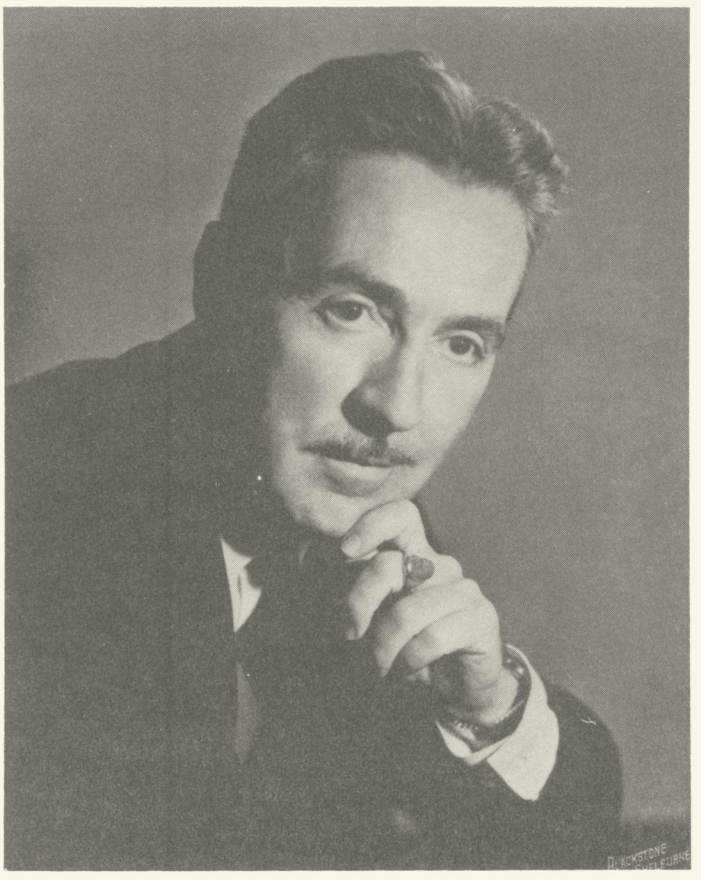
Thomas O'Dea was a complex person. He lived on what Paul Tillich called the boundary line—not only between science and religion but also between doubt and faith, loneliness and fellowship, alienation and reconciliation, despair and hope, and, as he might have put it, between time and eternity, life "here below" and transcendence. He was born into a Catholic home in Amsbury, Massachusetts. His father had emigrated from Ireland as a young man, and his mother was a second generation American of Irish descent. Thomas attended parochial school through the eighth grade. In school, church and home he was exposed to an intense form of Irish Catholic piety which left its permanent mark upon him. Throughout his life he maintained an ambivalent relationship with the Roman Catholic Church and the communal life which it nourishes.

A skilled psychohistorian might suggest as one point of departure in "explaining" Thomas O'Dea his own account of his father's reaction to a grammar school report card which showed that he had received A's on all but one or two subjects. The father offered not praise but a question, "What happened in those subjects?" It is clear that O'Dea was imbued early in life with an intense drive toward excellence. That drive manifested itself both in his unquenchable thirst for knowledge and in his often painful but persistent pursuit of holiness. I use that word not in a moral but in a religious or even mystical sense. O'Dea exemplified the truth of St. Augustine's confession to God that "our souls are restless until they find rest in Thee." He sought but apparently did not find that rest in this life, and restless indeed his life was.

In this article I attempt to treat O'Dea's "Mormon" work on two levels: its reception by the Mormons and some of its contributions to our understanding of the Mormon movement. I have focussed on two subjects of central concern to O'Dea: the sociological classification of Mormonism as a religious movement and the complex interrelationship between Mormonism and the American ethos.

Secondarily, I suggest points at which some understanding of O'Dea's complex personal history might help us to understand his work. What was the underlying drive, the basic and perhaps partially hidden agenda in his study of the Mormons? The attempt to answer that question requires a more subtle inquiry than this description involves. Yet I think it is worth trying because it seems to throw light on O'Dea's work and especially on his assessment of Mormon strengths and weaknesses. But such subtle inquiry is obviously prone to presumption and error, and I apologize in advance if, unknown to me, either or both of these are evident in the article.

The immediate stimulus for an examination of the subject of this article was an invitation to participate in a symposium on "Institutionalization, Adaptation, and Change in Religious Systems: The Work of Thomas O'Dea" at the annual convention of the Association for the Sociology of Religion in August of 1976. That led me into a review of O'Dea's published work on the Mormons and an initial investigation of his unpublished materials on the same subject. The latter, consisting of O'Dea's field notes made during his intensive study of Mormon culture in 1950, a manuscript on "Mormon Values," and some miscellaneous materials, are now a part of the Thomas F. O'Dea Collection in the Harold B. Lee Library of Brigham Young University. That collection, which also includes materials on other subjects that O'Dea studied, will soon be available for use by scholars. A revised version of the paper I presented at the O'Dea symposium will be published soon, along with others presented at the symposium, in *Sociological Analysis*. While there is overlap between the two papers, the foci and development are quite different. RSM.


KEYSTONE

The Mormons, published twenty years ago, was received with almost universal acclaim.[1] Perhaps most striking about reactions to the book was the high praise accorded it by scholars of Mormon background. Kimball Young called it "the best account and interpretation at hand."[2] Sterling M. McMurrin found it to be "easily the best general statement yet published on the Mormons."[3] And Lowry Nelson concluded that it was "without peer as an overall study of the Mormon movement from the standpoint of the social analyst."[4]

In the context of the scholarly study of religion in America, the most remarkable thing about *The Mormons* was that it was something new. Here was a comprehensive study by a social scientist who was not a Mormon but who regarded his subject with considered seriousness and who endeavored to understand on its own ground as a religious movement.

It is obvious to any reader of *The Mormons* that Professor O'Dea had done his homework. That included academic preparation in Harvard University's Department of Social Relations where, as a veteran of World War II, he wrote a brilliant undergraduate thesis on an ultraorthodox Catholic center in Cambridge. Graduating *summa cum laude* from Harvard, he was accepted into the graduate program in Social Relations. One of his early assignments as a graduate student was to prepare a library study of "Mormon values." This study was to be used as background material for a field study of a Mormon community in New Mexico, a community considered to be representative of one of the "five cultures" of that area which were being studied under Harvard auspices.[5] While O'Dea had not originally been chosen to do the field study, his paper on "Mormon values" was so well done that he was selected for that job. Instead of going directly to New Mexico, however, he and Mrs. O'Dea proceeded to Salt Lake City—the obvious center of his subject. There, during the late summer and early fall of 1950, he interviewed several Mormon scholars and churchmen[6] and also delved more deeply into written sources on Mormon history and doctrine. Then he and Mrs. O'Dea moved to Ramah, New Mexico, where they spent the next several months relating as closely as possible to the life of that community.

Out of this combined library and field study, Professor O'Dea produced a more than five-hundred page doctoral dissertation entitled "Mormon Values: The Significance of a Religious Outlook for Social Action;" four brief but insightful articles on various aspects of "the sociology of Mormonism;" a sizeable manuscript on "Mormon values" which is a revision and enlargment of his doctoral dissertation; and the book *The Mormons*.

Professor O'Dea's work on the Mormons not only shows evidence of in-depth homework; it also reveals the scholar to have been a man of remarkable powers of empathy and perception. He was the first non-Mormon scholar to attempt a serious and extended historical-literary treatment of the Book of Mormon. He was the first non-Mormon intellectual to examine sensitively sources of strain and conflict within the movement. And finally he was a social scientist who recognized early that there was no way his subject could be adequately handled within the confines of a narrowly conceived or sharply delimited scientific methodology. Rather it required a careful and extensive use of the tools and insights of the anthropologist, sociologist, historian, philosopher, theologian and literary scholar. In other words, O'Dea

refused to succumb to that common temptation among social scientists to convert rich historical detail into preconceived and bland generalizations.

O'Dea's work on the Mormons has worn well. A review of past issues of *Dialogue* indicates some thirty citations to works by O'Dea, all of them favorable and some highly laudatory. Among these is an assessment by the scholar who is now Church Historian, Leonard Arrington. Writing in 1966, Arrington stated that O'Dea's works "offer unquestionably the best 'outside' view of Mormon thought and practice now available."[7] *The Mormons* was published in paperback in 1964, and the current clothbound edition carries the line, "Eighth impression, 1975." The book continues to be cited by Mormon and non-Mormon scholars alike, and it is still one of the best comprehensive studies of the subject.

O'Dea's work is a model for the scholarly study of a religious movement. By that I mean—to reiterate—that O'Dea sought to understand the Mormons by concentrating initially on their common life as a religious people—their doctrines, their own self-understanding, and the details of their history—rather than relying on external categories and assessments to understand them. Theory and method must always be in reciprocal relationship with data if they are to lead to understanding.[8] O'Dea's work sets a standard which has not always been followed even by the most reputable scholars. And in assessing Mormon strengths and weaknesses, his own existential and critical concerns surfaced.

Classification

Two issues illustrate O'Dea's attempt to forge theory, method and data into a better understanding of Mormonism: 1) the question of the classification or the typing of Mormonism as a religious movement; and 2) the ambivalent relationship between Mormonism and the American ethos. Both issues were central to O'Dea's concerns. Both continue to attract the attention of scholars.

In his massive *A Religious History of the American People,* Professor Sidney E. Ahlstrom of Yale University confesses his puzzlement over the question: "One cannot even be sure if the object of our consideration is a sect, a mystery cult, a new religion, a church, a people, a nation, or an American subculture."[9] At the same time, he describes this movement variously as the most noteworthy of the American contributions to world religions, "an important American subculture," and "a vital episode in American history." And he concludes that, when interpreted in detail, Mormonism "yields innumerable clues to the religious and social consciousness of the American people."[10] Ahlstrom's "answer" is that at "different times and different places" Mormonism was all of the types he listed[11]—may be taken as a quick summary survey of social scientific efforts at classification.

Several scholars have attempted to squeeze Mormonism in under Ernst Troeltsch's not so capacious church-sect umbrella. The most common designation used for Mormonism by these taxonomists is "sect." Yet, standing alone, that designation has seemed inadequate, and various modifiers have been advocated—such as, "established,"[12] "cultic,"[13] "many-sided," and "churchly-worldly."[14] Some have described Mormonism in terms of what has come to be understood as a typical evolution from "sect" to "denomination."[15] Other typologists have concluded, however, that Mormonism cannot be

confined within the church-sect-denomination scheme at all, and they have suggested other categories instead, such as "independent group,"[16] "ethnic group,"[17] and "nationality."[18]

O'Dea himself gave a great deal of thought to the question of classification. He concluded in his doctoral dissertation that the Mormon movement "is not another of the sects of which America had so many. Nor is it a church in the older historic sense of European Christianity." Perhaps the common practice among Mormons of referring to themselves as "the Mormon people" offered a useful clue to the question. Here is a hint that, sociologically and typologically, the Mormons might be better understood in reference to ancient Judaism or early Islam than in the context of early Christianity, which was Troeltsch's primary point of reference in his church-sect distinction. According to O'Dea, the Mormons developed "from a small body of believers to the bearers of a particular culture identified with a geographical area and a political entity," from " 'near-sect' to 'empire.' "[19] This last, succinct description in the doctoral dissertation was changed by O'Dea to "from 'near-sect' to 'near-nation' " in his first published treatment of this subject.[20] More than a decade later he used the same description but without the quotation marks—an indication, perhaps, of his increased confidence in its aptness.[21]

Mormonism and the American Ethos

In his most detailed analysis of classification, O'Dea listed ten reasons why Mormonism avoided "sectarian stagnation." The first he described as "the nonsectarian possibilities of building the kingdom which could require so much of subtle accommodation."[22] I suggest that this is probably the most important factor indigenous to the movement itself, and I want to use this statement as a text for shifting focus from the question of classification to the question of Mormonism and the American ethos.

Mormonism, both in its kingdom building drive and in its "subtle accommodation" not only avoided "sectarian stagnation" but also displayed a complex and fertile symbiotic relation with the American ethos. The early Mormons identified with certain classical American notions. As O'Dea suggested, they "resacralized" much in American thought that had become secularized.[23] And in the end they bound sacred and secular so close together that the dividing line between them all but disappeared. Human endeavor in America became a sacred and eternal reality, a matter of "eternal progression." By understanding the human enterprise in America principally as an effort to build the kingdom of God on earth (the new order for all ages.) Mormonism presented "a distillation of what is peculiarly American in America."[24]

From Mormon history I want to pick one item to illustrate the points made thus far, Joseph Smith's announced candidacy for the office of President of the United States in 1884. How shall one understand that event? Ahlstrom, in a fleeting reference, treats it as additional evidence of Smith's "megalomania."[25] That same word is used by one of Smith's most controversial biographers, Fawn Brodie, who relies heavily on psychiatric concepts to account for this enigmatic figure.[26] If one wishes to do so he can muster a

fairly impressive array of data to sustain such a usage, as, in fact, Brodie does.[27] Nevertheless, it does not seem particularly imaginative on the part of a scholar of *religious* history—such as Ahlstrom—to resort solely to the psychiatric lexicon to deal with Smith's candidacy. If one views Mormonism as a religious movement and its founder as a religious figure (which Ahlstrom certainly does although Brodie apparently does not[28]) then one might more consistently seek for some insight from the phenomenology of religion in general and from the religiously fertile soil of early nineteenth century America in particular.

Smith's announced candidacy ought to be seen in the context of his evolving and complex understanding of human endeavor in this world and more specifically, of his own peculiar brand of millenialism. Smith was a premillenialist, but he believed that the restoration of the gospel and the building of the earthly kingdom of God must preceed the return of Jesus Christ. His announced candidacy and his institution of what came to be called the "Council of Fifty" can be understood as steps in the kingdom building process.[29]

In dealing with Smith's announcement one would also do well to look more closely at his grasp and use of the political realities of his situation. There was a practical side to his candidacy—a side which illustrates O'Dea's point about "subtle accommodation." Even Brodie reports that Smith "suffered from no illusions about his chances of winning. . . ." He wanted to win publicity for himself and his church, and, of more immediate consequence, he wanted "to shock the other candidates into some measure of respect" for the Mormon people and their cause.[30]

By 1844 Smith had maneuvered Nauvoo into being an almost independent city-state with its own unique charter, court system, and military force.[31] Although he displayed lack of political realism at certain critical points in his life, he was well aware of the potential power in Illinois politics of the votes of the largest city in that state, and he exploited that power to gain this-worldly ends. Buoyed by the attention Illinois politicians paid to him, by the almost daily arrival of new converts and by an almost constant flow of good news from missionaries abroad, Smith had some reason to hope that the political power of his kingdom might soon envelop Illinois and perhaps even the whole nation. At the same time, however, he was painfully aware that, to put it mildly, he and his people were not universally regarded with admiration by their "gentile" fellow Americans. While he was busily building the kingdom in Nauvoo and hoping that it might expand eastward, he was also directing fairly extensive negotiations and explorations for a settlement in the West where the political kingdom of God might be established anew without undue external resistance.

Following Smith's martyrdom, the main body of Mormons, under the able leadership of Brigham Young, moved into one of those designated areas of the West and there sought to build or rebuild the kingdom. Kingdom building and "subtle accommodation" continued side by side.[32] Both were characteristically Mormon and characteristically American.

Emerson aptly called Mormonism "an afterclap of Puritanism."[33] The similarities are striking (as are the differences too, of course). Each movement displayed elements of both sectarian exclusiveness and churchly inclusiveness

and accommodation. Each made extensive truth-claims, was vigorously activistic, and each engaged in concerted efforts over extended periods of time to build religious commonwealths. Both were strongly communal in their approach to most aspects of life, including the political and the economic. Each sustained an ambivalent relationship with its "mother country"; and, in the end, each had to succumb to the realities of religious pluralism and of the secularization of culture. Yet Puritanism became the most significant movement in the shaping of the American nation, and Mormonism, the only religious movement in national history to be able to work out, over a significant period of time, the ideal of a religiously suffused commonwealth, became a "near-nation" itself.

Legally, in the Utah territory, or Deseret, the Mormons came very near to establishing an independent nation. They became, not only through political means but even more obviously in various economic endeavors and in countless other ways, a semi-independent religious subculture. As they underwent "Americanization" for statehood, however, the Mormons were forced to relinquish their formal commitment to the establishment of the political kingdom of God on earth. The most obvious symbol of their loss of independence was the abandonment of plural marriage under threat from the federal government of corporate disfranchisement. This act signaled the final abandonment of formal commitment to the establishment of the political kingdom of God. In actuality, the notion of the kingdom of God as a political reality separate from the Church gradually had become, under steady federal pressure, identified with the Church itself. In the process, the idea of the kingdom became less and less political and more and more spiritual.[34]

Did formal abandonment of political kingdom building signal a decline into "sectarian stagnation" or an evolution into cultic mystification? Or has Mormonism managed to direct the kingdom building drive into other channels in such a way as to maintain its vitality as a culture-shaping religious movement? While the establishment of a political kingdom of God was indefinitely postponed, the effort to master this world was not. Kingdom building, no longer a formal political goal, went on nevertheless in the intensity of daily life at work and at play, in the family and in the community.[35] This pervasive drive toward what O'Dea called "the transcendentalism of achievement"[36] generated a continuous flow of energy.

Mormon Strengths and Weaknesses

The question is, how can this continuing Mormon dynamism be assessed: 1) in the light of early Mormon intention to build the kingdom of God, and 2) in the context of the present-day world? The metaphor of building suggests putting constituent parts together in some ordered fashion. It also suggests that the existing structure is inadequate or incomplete and that the materials are at hand either to remodel or to build anew. One is dealing here with what *is*, as against what *can* or *ought* to be—in ordinary language, with the real and the ideal. Perhaps Mormon vitality today can best be examined on the boundary line between these two.

Thomas O'Dea discovered among the Mormons an aspect of American life that was new to him and that he found to be challenging and even exhilarating. The hardiness of Mormon family and community life impressed

him. And this wholesome vitality might, at one time at least, have given him renewed reason for cautious hope in American vitality. But he also discerned problems within Mormonism, problems whose sources were to be found both within the movement itself and in its relationship to the modern world. He saw "strain and conflict" as stemming primarily from a view of the world in which the dividing line between the real and the ideal had too easily been erased. Philosophically, what O'Dea called Mormon "literalism in theology" precluded the possibility of analogy.[37] The failure to distinguish between "the natural and the historic elements" of belief, on the one hand, and "the supernatural and transcendent elements," on the other, meant that "it has been impossible for a middle position to emerge between literalism and liberalism."[38] O'Dea saw this as the root cause of what he described as "Mormonism's greatest and most significant problem—its encounter with modern secular thought."[39] This problem became especially evident to Mormon intellectuals—some of whom constituted O'Dea's "data base" for his examination of the "sources of strain and conflict" within the movement. In fact, one might even suggest that it is a problem which surfaced only among intellectuals although O'Dea saw it as being of great importance within and to Mormonism generally.[40]

Religiously, O'Dea saw that what he regarded as a premature closure of the gap between the real and the ideal—or between God and the world and between God and man—prevented the development within Mormonism of either a sacramental or a contemplative approach to life.[41] What emerged instead was a highly verbal and activistic approach. The great stress on activism, especially when conjoined with a coalescing of the ideal and the real, the sacred and the secular, has meant, in recent times particularly, a tendency to exalt things as they are, to appear to condone "activity for activity's sake," and hence an inclination toward social and political conservatism. And for O'Dea this raised the critical problem of relevance in the modern world, a world which he understood to pose not only a serious challenge to faith but also a challenge to our basic understanding of what it means to be human.

Thomas O'Dea had a special capacity to see polarities in human experience. He dealt extensively in his work with crises, strains, tensions, conflicts and dilemmas.[42] Furthermore, as a son of both the Enlightenment and Roman Catholic spirituality, as both an intellectual and a man whose soul was restless until it found rest in God, he lived in an almost constant state of tension himself.

Some human beings neither experience nor discern the same sorts of tension, strain, and conflict that O'Dea did. William James noted that alongside the tortured "twice-born" soul there is the "healthy-minded," "once-born" religious type. For such a person, religion involved "from the outset . . . union with the divine." The gap between the real and the ideal is thus either closed from the beginning or does not exist at all, and one's personal "happiness is congenital and irreclaimable."[43]

James ventured the suggestion that the "theory of evolution" was helping to lay the foundation for a "new sort of religion" which the "once-born" type found to be especially appealing.[44] Sociologist Robert N. Bellah has argued for the emergence of a kind of religion, or a stage in the evolution of

religion, which bears similarities to the phenomenon which James described. Bellah called this "modern religion," and he characterized it as a "collapse of dualism" and a stress on continual individual self-transformation or self-realization.[46] James's "once-born" type would be quite at home in Bellah's "modern religion."

Anthropologists Mark P. Leone and Janet L. Dolgin have recently argued, on the basis of their field studies, that Mormonism has become a "modern religion" in Bellah's sense.[47] Strain and conflict are not much in evidence in what they discerned. Following this interpretation, circumstances appear fortuitously to have been conducive to both institutional prosperity and continual individual self-transformation.[48] One of the major premises for this conclusion is the impression that in present-day Mormonism each man has apparently become, in effect, his own theologian, his own exegete, and even his own sect. Hence the problem of "Mormon literalism in theology" and the related problem of authoritarianism in the Church—which were central problems in O'Dea's analyses—no longer exist, or, if they do, they have changed radically. O'Dea, incorrectly or too quickly or easily, took "Mormonism at its word in matters of dogma," according to Leone.[48] What has evolved in Mormonism today is a style which enables the individual Mormon to live successfully and relatively untroubled spiritually in the modern world. The Church, far from being "crystallized in concrete,"[49] is producing "modern men."[50]

This thesis is an interesting one; clearly it is worth more detailed development than is possible here. I have referred to it chiefly to point out that it appears to differ sharply from O'Dea's conclusions. Perhaps the discrepancies can be accounted for on the ground that only intellectuals experience the "strain and conflict" which O'Dea discerned, and there are few intellectuals in the Mormon communities of Eastern Arizona which were studied by Leone and Dolgin. There may be more to it than that. Possibly there is a basic difference in understanding of the nature of religion and even of human existence generally. O'Dea might well have questioned the appropriateness of the construct "modern religion" to describe what is happening in and to religion today. (It is also doubtful that he personally would have been at ease in Bellah's "modern religion.") In any case, he would probably have been skeptical of a construct which closed the gap between the real and the ideal with relative ease, even if such a construct claimed to be supported by grass-roots data.

In his last piece on Mormonism, O'Dea focused on race as "a diagnostic issue" in reconsidering "sources of strain in Mormon history." Here was another conflict between what is and what can or ought to be. Would Mormon doctrine be interpreted in such a way as to reinforce a defensive posture on this issue? Or would there be a renewal of "the original democratic and ethical spirit of Mormonism" in facing it?[51] The issue of race evidences, of course, a greater dilemma than that involved in the more immediate question of whether blacks should be accepted into the priesthood. It is related to the larger issue—the primary problem of our time, in O'Dea's view—namely, the definition of what it means to be human in the world today.

The racial issue brings us back to the relationship between the real and the ideal and the question of whether there is any continuing tension between them. In the context of Mormondom, has the movement become so much a "modern religion" that purposeful communal action in accordance with the "Mormon values" O'Dea discovered has ceased to be either a viable or a desirable possibility? In the larger context of American and even world society, does one view America as "the best of all possible worlds"—as, in effect, the kingdom of God on earth? Or does one conclude that there is a more inclusive and better kingdom or society yet to be built?[52] Such questions presently may have a low priority. Yet, O'Dea taught that they must be asked, and that we must continuously seek for answers.

NOTES

[1]The book was published by the University of Chicago Press in 1957. Of the approximately twenty reviews in scholarly journals only one was clearly negative. The rest ranged from somewhat cautious and critical to enthusiastic, with more in the latter than in the former category.

[2]*American Sociological Review*, Vol. 23 (1953), p. 104.

[3]*Utah Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 26 (1958), pp. 183–185.

[4] *Western Humanities Review*, Vol. II (1957), pp. 398–400. Nelson also reviewed the book for the *American Journal of Sociology*. He referred to it in that review as "the best general sociological analysis of Mormonism yet made by either a Mormon or a non-Mormon scholar. . . ." Vol. 64 (1958), p. 673.

Reactions of church leaders were, one gathers, guarded. The *Improvement Era* refused to advertize the book on the ground that it was "in very poor taste" in "detailing the rites and ordinances which take place in the Mormon temples." This statement was quoted by the managing editor of the University of Chicago Press in a letter to Thomas F. O'Dea, dated December 28, 1957.

[5]The other four were the Zuni, the Spanish-Catholic, the Navajo, and the Anglo-Saxon Protestant. The study was done under the direction of Harvard anthropologist Clyde Kluckhohn.

[6]Among his papers are typed notes which record details of many of these interviews.

[7]"Scholarly Studies of Mormonism in the Twentieth Century," *Dialogue*, Vol. I (1966), p. 22.

[8]For O'Dea on method and understanding (*Verstehen*) see his introduction to *Sociology and the Study of Religion: Theory, Research, Interpretation* (New York: Basic Books, 1970), pp. 3–19.

[9](New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), p. 508.

[10]Ibid., pp. 387, 501–509.

[11]Ibid., p. 508.

[12]J. Milton Yinger, *The Scientific Study of Religion* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1970), p. 267.

[13]Linda K. Pritchard, "Religious Change in Nineteenth-Century America," in *The New Religious Consciousness*, Charles Y. Glock and Robert N. Bellah, eds. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), p. 308.

[14]Bryan Wilson, *Religious Sects: A Sociological Study* (London: World University Library, 1970), pp. 197, 200.

[15]H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (New Haven: The Shoe String Press, 1954; reissue of 1929 edition), p. 160, and "Sects," in *The Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 1934, Vol. 13, p. 629; and Joachim Wach, *Types of Religious Experience* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1951), p. 198.

[16]Joachim Wach, *Sociology of Religion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962; reissue of 1944 ed.), pp. 194–195.

[17]Calvin Redekop, "A New Look at Sect Development," in the *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, Vol. 13 (1974), pp. 345–352.

[18]Robert Park and Ernest W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1921), pp. 872–873. Bryan Wilson also refers to Mormonism as "a type of surrogate nationalism," op. cit., p. 199.

[19]*Mormon Values: The Significance of Religious Outlook for Social Action*, Ph. D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1953, pp. 503–509.

[20]"Mormonism and the Avoidance of Sectarian Stagnation: A Study of Church, Sect, and Incipient Nationality," in the *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 40 (1954), pp. 285–293. The same

summary statement appears in *The Mormons*, p. 115. Ahlstrom quotes it from that source, op. cit., p. 508.

[21]"Sects and Cults," in the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 1968, Vol. 14, p. 133. In another context O'Dea wrote that the Mormons "became something resembling an ethnic group—but an ethnic group formed and brought to awareness here in America." *The Sociology of Religion* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966), p. 70.

[22]"Mormonism and the Avoidance of Sectarian Stagnation: A Study of Church, Sect, and Incipient Nationality," op. cit. This study was reprinted together with three others on "The Sociology of Mormonism" in *Sociology and the Study of Religion*, op. cit. The citation is p. 121 of that volume. The nine other reasons listed by O'Dea are: 2) "the doctrine of natural goodness;" 3) "universal missionary understanding of the notion of 'gather the elect;' " 4) "the temporal appropriateness of the doctrine in the late 1830's;" 5) "the success of missionary work;" 6) "the withdrawal of the Law of Consecration;" 7) "the failures and consequent necessity of starting again;" 8) "the expulsion from the Middle West;" 9) "the choice and the existence of a large, unattractive expanse of land in the West;" and 10) "the authoritarian structure of the church and the central government which made it possible." O'Dea had suggested numbers 3, 5, 8, 9 and 10 in his doctoral dissertation.

[23]"Mormonism . . . represents a retheologizing of much that had already been . . . secularized . . .," in "Mormonism and the American Experience of Time," the *Western Humanities Review*, Vol. 8 (1954), pp. 181–190; reprinted in *Sociology and the Study of Religion*, op. cit., p. 149.

[24]Ibid., p. 150. O'Dea was fascinated by the relationship between typicality and peculiarity in Mormonism vis a vis American culture. It is a theme to which he returned in various contexts, including his last essay on Mormonism: "Sources of Strain in Mormon History Reconsidered," in *Mormonism and American Culture*, Marvin S. Hill and James B. Allen, eds. (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), pp. 147–167.

[25]Op. cit., p. 506.

[26]*No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, The Mormon Prophet* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971), second edition, especially p. 419, also the whole treatment in the Supplement in the second edition, pp. 413–421.

[27]See, e.g., Brodie's list of offices held, duties performed, etc., by Joseph Smith in the spring of 1844, Ibid., p. 366. Smith's "platform" for the presidency seems grandiose. Among other things, he proposed to reduce membership in Congress by one-half and to pardon all convicts, and he also described himself as "the universal friend of man." By comparison, however, his claims for the nation do not seem too far removed in expansionist tendencies from those of the winner of the election, James K. Polk, who openly advocated the annexation of Texas and openly laid claim to the whole territory of Oregon as far north as 54° 40′ with the campaign slogan "Fifty-four Forty or Fight." See *Joseph Smith's Views on the Government and Policy of the United States.* First published at Nauvoo, Feb. 7, 1844 (Provo City, Utah: Enquirer Co., 1891).

[28]See Marvin S. Hill, "Secular or Sectarian History? A Critique of *No Man Knows My History*," in *Church History*, Vol. 43 (1974), pp. 78–96.

[29]There is a fair amount of scholarly literature on early Mormon millenialism and an increasing amount on the notion of the political kingdom of God and the role of the Council of Fifty. Among the authors whose works I have drawn upon are Leonard J. Arrington, James R. Clark, Robert Bruce Flanders, Klaus J. Hansen, and Gustive O. Larson. Ernest Lee Tuveson gives special attention to Mormon millenialism in *Redeemer Nation: The Idea of America's Millenial Role* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), pp. 175–186. He links Smith with William Miller, the most influential adventist of the period, under the heading "millenarian." But he concludes that the Mormon view "is a uniquely *American* form of millenarianism." (p. 176).

[30]Op. cit., p. 362. Smith's concern to defend his followers from further attack was, says Brodie, "his justification for what otherwise might have seemed to be preposterous megalomania."

[31]See Robert Bruce Flanders, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965).

[32]See especially Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830–1900* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), Klaus J. Hansen, *Quest for Empire: The Political Kingdom of God and the Council of Fifty in Mormon History* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1967), and Gustive O. Larson, *The "Americanization" of Utah for Statehood* (San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1971).

[33]As quoted by William Mulder in "Mormonism in American History," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 27 (1959), p. 66.

[34]Gustive O. Larson, op. cit., especially pp. 273, 300.

[35]"The Mormon people," wrote Brodie in 1945, "are still bent on building the Kingdom of God, and everyone from the twelve-year-old deacon to the eighty-year-old priest is made to feel that upon him depends the realization of that ideal." (Op. cit., p. 402).

[36]*The Mormons*, p. 150.

[37]It also precluded the development of metaphysics and even of philosophy itself, according to O'Dea. See especially the Conclusion to his doctoral dissertation.

[38]*The Mormons*, p. 233.

[39]Ibid., p. 222.

[40]He quoted one of his interviewees as saying that within the Mormon community "only the questioning intellectual is unhappy," Ibid., p. 224. As a "questioning intellectual" himself, O'Dea must have resonated with the force and nuance of that statement.

[41]On sacramentalism see the Conclusion to O'Dea's doctoral dissertation. On activism and contemplation see *The Mormons*, especially the Epilogue: "The basic need of Mormonism may well become a search for a more contemplative understanding of the problem of God and man," p. 262. O'Dea quoted himself on this point in "Sources of Strain in Mormon History Reconsidered," his last essay on Mormonism, op. cit.

[42]Note, e.g., several juxtapositions in his treatment of the "sources of strain and conflict" in *The Mormons*. Note also, e.g., the titles of three other books by him: *American Catholic Dilemma, The Catholic Crisis*, and *Alienation, Atheism and The Religious Crisis*.

[43]*The Varieties of Religious Experience* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1928), p. 79; see also Lectures IV-VII.

[44]Ibid., p. 91.

[45]"Religious Evolution," in *Beyond Belief: Essays on Religion in a Post-Traditional World* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), especially pp. 39–44.

[46]Janet L. Dolgin, "Latter-Day Sense and Substance," and Mark P. Leone, "The Economic Basis for the Evolution of Mormon Religion," in *Religious Movements in Contemporary America*, Irving I. Zaretsky and Mark P. Leone, eds. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), pp. 519–546 and 722–766. See also Leone's "The Evolution of Mormon Culture in Eastern Arizona," in the *Utah Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 40 (1972), pp. 122–141.

[47]Leone and Dolgin differ from Bellah on one point: the role of institutions in "modern religion." Bellah stressed the relatively unstructured nature of this kind of religion and the fact that it clearly departs from traditional church or institutional forms. Leone and Dolgin found the institutions of Mormonism to be conducive rather than inimical to personal development and to adjustment to the modern world.

[48]"The Economic Basis for the Evolution of Mormon Religion," op. cit., p. 752.

[49]O'Dea, "Sources of Strain in Mormon History Reconsidered," op. cit., p. 160.

[50]Leone, "The Evolution of Mormon Culture in Eastern Arizona," op. cit., p. 141. Leone carefully qualifies this conclusion with the antecedent "In east-central Arizona. . . ."

[51]"Sources of Strain in Mormon History Reconsidered," op. cit., p. 162, and, more generally, pp. 155 ff.

[52] O'Dea is reported to have said that if he were to return to an intensive study of Mormonism he would focus on the question of what has happened to the kingdom building drive in recent times, particularly in light of the expansion in church membership beyond the borders of the United States.

"The 'Liahona' Mormon's resistance to statistics on principle may deteriorate into a carping criticism of programs and leaders. His ties to the church may become so nebulous that he cannot communicate them to his children. His testimony may become so selective as to exclude him from some forms of Church activity or to make him a hypocrite in his own eyes as he participates in them. His persistence in doubting may alienate his brethren and eventually destroy the substance of his Gospel commitment."

Richard Poll
Vol. II, No. 4, pp. 112–13

THOMAS F. O'DEA'S WRITINGS ON THE MORMONS

"A Study of Mormon Values," *Comparative Study of Values: Working Papers,* No. 2, October, 1949 (Laboratory of Social Relations, Harvard University).

Miscellaneous field notes from interviews in Salt Lake City and Ramah, New Mexico, 1950.

Mormon Values: The Significance of a Religious Outlook for Social Action, Ph.D. Thesis, Harvard University, 1953.

"A Comparative Study of the Role of Values in Social Action in Two Southwestern Communities," with Evon Z. Vogt, *American Sociological Review,* Vol. 18 (1953), pp. 645–654.*

"Mormonism and the Avoidance of Sectarian Stagnation: A Study of Church, Sect, and Incipient Nationality," *American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 40 (1954), pp. 285–293.*

"The Effects of Geographical Position on Belief and Behavior in a Rural Mormon Village," *Rural Sociology,* Vol. 19 (1954), pp. 358–364.*

"Mormonism and the American Experience of Time," *Western Humanities Review,* Vol. 8 (1954), pp. 181–190.*

The Sociology of Mormonism: Four Studies, Publications in the Humanities, number 14 (Department of Humanities, Massachusetts Institute of Technology), 1955. Reprint of four articles above indicated by asterisks.

"Mormon Values: The Mutual Dependence of Belief, Action and Social Structure," undated manuscript.

The Mormons (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957; paperback edition, 1964).

"The Mormons—Strong Voice in the West," *Information; The Catholic Church in American Life,* March 1961, pp. 15–20.

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Foreword to the Phoenix edition of *Desert Saints* by Nels Anderson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966).

The Sociology of Religion (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1966), especially pp. 44 and 70.

"Latter-day Saints," *The Catholic Encyclopedia,* 1967, Vol. 8, pp. 525–529.

"Sects and Cults," *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences,* 1968, Vol. 14, pp. 130–136, especially p. 133.

"The Sociology of Mormonism: Four Studies," in *Sociology and the Study of Religion: Theory, Research, Interpretation* (New York: Basic Books, 1970). Reprint of four articles above indicated by asterisks.

"The Mormons: Church and People," in *Plural Society in the Southwest,* Edward H. Spicer and Raymond H. Thomson, eds. (New York: Interbook, Inc., 1972; A Publication of the Weatherhead Foundation), pp. 115–166.

"Sources of Strain in Mormon History Reconsidered," in *Mormonism and American Culture,* Marvin S. Hill and James B. Allen, eds. (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), pp. 147–167.

But the quorums were not discussing the horror of Europe and of Asia; they were not discussing the dilemma of the tortured and the homeless. Hiroshima and the new dimensions in destruction and violence were not brought up. Rather, the lessons were the familiar ones. The search for the missing tribes of Israel was still going on. The world had changed while we were overseas, but the speeches at stake and general conference had not.

M. Neff Smart
Vol. II, No. 2, p. 156

CHURCH AND POLITICS AT THE UTAH IWY CONFERENCE

DIXIE SNOW HUEFNER

During the spring of 1977, Utah's two major newspapers began their coverage of what was to become one of the hottest political controversies of the year: the Utah Women's Conference authorized by the National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year and scheduled for June 24-25. Publicity appeared both before and after the grassroots mass meetings which were held in May to help determine the conference workshop topics and to guide the task forces on those topics. Although part of me wanted to participate, because of various commitments I was planning only to follow the conference in the press. When my Relief Society President asked me to recruit 10 women from our ward to attend the conference, it was all the impetus I needed.

She assured me that the Church was not instructing Mormon women how to vote but was merely encouraging them to be present and to reflect "church standards" when appropriate. She shared a comment from the stake Relief Society leadership expressing concern that the conference would be too "liberal" without the presence of Mormon women. She also passed on a copy of the conference pre-registration form, on which a stake leader had checked those workshops she thought Mormons ought to attend; they included, among others, workshops on the Equal Rights Amendment ERA, reproductive health (which was to discuss abortion), teenage pregnancy and young women. The Relief Society President and I concurred in the decision that the most appropriate way to involve ward sisters would be to share factual information about the conference and to invite them officially, on behalf of the Relief Society, not only to attend but to share their individual values and viewpoints.

It was interesting and surprising to me that most of the women I contacted were unaware of the conference, even though it was only two weeks away. The press had reported that the Utah conference was one of 50 being held in every state in the nation as a follow up to the International Women's Year Conference in Mexico City the previous year, and that Congress was subsidizing all 50 conferences. The press had also reported that 14 Utah delegates were to be elected to attend a national conference in November in Houston and that the deadline for pre-conference nominations had been in early June. I had read that additional nominations were to be accepted from the floor, and that both state and national resolutions were to be voted on at the conference. Not only did most of the women I contacted plead ignorance, but they expressed only moderate interest. About half were able or willing to attend workshops of their choice at the 2-day event.

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The week of the conference two phone calls made me wonder if Church desire to involve its women in the IWY Conference had gone beyond mere community participation. The first call was from a friend in a Salt Lake City east bench ward. She had been asked by her official Relief Society "recruiter" to attend as a ward delegate and to vote against the Equal Rights Amendment and other resolutions seen as contrary to church positions. She was also asked to attend an informational caucus at Highland High School the night before the conference. My friend accepted the invitation to attend the conference, stipulating that she would vote her own conscience, but she declined to attend the caucus. (I later learned that this same ward organizer delivered to my friend a slate of anti-ERA, anti-abortion names which had been prepared by the politically conservative organizers of the caucus and from which my friend was asked to select delegate preferences.)

The second call was from a woman in my ward who had attended sacrament meeting in another ward the Sunday before the conference. The woman thought I would like to know that the bishop in that ward had read from the pulpit a letter alleged to be from Ezra Taft Benson, in which women were urged to attend the conference to defend church positions and to prevent feminists and radical leftists from dominating the conference. She said that the letter suggested that conference participants report to the Right-to-Life booth in order to find out how to vote. (A check in my own ward revealed no such letter. Both before and after the conference, other sources made reference to a "Benson letter." In each case which I investigated, the letter turned out to be the original Relief Society letter to regional representatives (discussed below), which invoked President Benson's office as sanction for its request that at least 10 LDS women per ward be asked to attend the conference.[1] The letter, signed by the Relief Society Presidency, made no mention of domination by radical feminists and gave no instructions on voting.[2]

On Thursday morning, the day before the conference, the *Salt Lake Tribune* covered the growing charges and denials that the Church was attempting to pack the conference with pre-briefed delegates. Relief Society President Barbara Smith was quoted as saying that the Church was not telling members how to vote,[3] only inviting members to participate. Ironically, that evening an editorial appeared in the church-owned *Deseret News* entitled "Utah Women Should Match Power with Responsibility." The editorial noted that "unhappily" many of the state and federal resolutions affecting women's rights "rely heavily on government." The editorial observed that many of Utah's women had already shown their "common sense" at earlier IWY mass meetings by rejecting abortion, the ERA and federally supported day-care centers and by seeking tougher antipornography and rape laws. "Balance" and "reasonableness" were said to characterize these positions. The editorial cited revision of credit and property laws as instances of progress in women's rights, expressing confidence in the ability of Utah's women to keep the home as the cornerstone of a good society and to exercise their power responsibly at the conference.[4]

It is interesting to contrast the reporting in the two newspapers on the eve of the conference. The *Deseret News* remained silent on the charges that the Church was trying to orchestrate the proceedings. It noted that a battle was brewing between forces opposing and favoring the ERA and abortion, but, unlike the *Tribune,* it reported no charges against the Church. Instead it covered counter-charges attributing the anxiety of Utah IWY officials to their realization that the conference was going to be "dominated" by women with conservative leanings.[5]

In its morning coverage the *Tribune* not only had noted the charges leveled against the LDS Church and the Relief Society denial thereof but also had informed its readers of the contents of the original Relief Society letter inviting participation at the conference.[6] The letter contained four instructions for Relief Society presidents: 1) encourage LDS women to read the *Deseret News* for information about the conference rules (the *Tribune* neglected to mention this part of the letter), 2) "select one capable and experienced LDS woman who could speak from the floor at the convention as a concerned citizen," 3) encourage at least ten women from each ward to register for the conference and to "support good recommendations and to file a minority, dissenting report if necessary," and 4) encourage LDS women to bring "friends, neighbors or women affiliated with other churches who share mutual concern."[7] After the conference, Relief Society 1st Counselor Janeth Cannon acknowledged the attendance goal of 10 women to have been a mistake because it was interpreted by so many as a "call to arms."[8]

That the Church's quota system was effective was shown by the presence at the convention's opening song and prayer of some 9,000 registrants. The conference organizers had originally planned for 3,000 participants; ultimately attendance was to swell to over 13,000. A clue to the mood of the conference came as introductions of dignitaries were made. While polite applause greeted the introduction of Mary Anne Krupsak, New York State's Lieutenant Governor and the IWY federal observer assigned to the Utah conference, rousing cheers greeted the introduction of Relief Society President Barbara Smith. Most of the audience were clearly LDS and eager to demonstrate their loyalty.

The major business of the first morning was to adopt the rules governing the convention, to receive nominations from the floor for the 14 delegate spots and to hear the keynote speaker. Several of the rules governing the convention were challenged. Statements from the Utah IWY Coordinating Committee explaining the rationale for proposed procedures were not honored at face value. The registrants would not accept the presiding officer's assurance that the Coordinating Committee would accept everyone's nomination if it had been filed by 8:45 that morning regardless of whether there was time for each person from the recently swollen ranks of nominees to be placed verbally in nomination before the convention. Floor speakers openly accused the Coordinating Committee of feminist bias and charged that prefiled nominations had been "stacked" by the committee.

From Friday morning's proceedings it was clear that the majority of conference registrants were openly hostile toward the Utah Coordinating Committee and the federal regulations guiding the state women's conference. Additional time was spent that morning haggling over whether Utah was legally bound by the federal regulations. State legislator Georgia Peterson pressed the point. In the immediate weeks preceding the conference, she had been busy organizing a group called "Let's Govern Ourselves," which had prepared and was distributing an anti-ERA slate of nominees for Utah's 14 delegate spots. It seemed to me that the primary reason for these parliamentary maneuvers was to establish early in the conference that the majority bloc of registrants—and not the Coordinating Committee—had political control of the conference.

The source of the enormous ground swell of distrust for the Utah IWY Coordinating Committee was puzzling to me. I knew a number of the Committee members and several members of task forces. From past experience I knew them to be

responsible people; from conversations with several of them I also knew the Committee had tried to be both fair and moderate in all conference preparations. The Coordinating Committee of 33 women had been selected in Washington, D.C. by the National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year from approximately 200 names submitted from a variety of statewide women's organizations and personal and political sources. The vast majority of the Committee was made up of women from all parts of the Wasatch Front (the state's urban core, where the majority of its population resides). Half were LDS. Some were young, some elderly. Some were homemakers; some were professional women. Most had records of community involvement. Ethnic minority women were represented. The Committee chairperson was an active member of the LDS Church and a BYU faculty member.[9] The cochairperson was an elected Salt Lake County official and an active Republican.[10] The positions of the Committee members on specific women's issues were not solicited by the National Commission, which instead was interested in evidence of contributions to the community or women's organizations, as well as in demographic balance. It should not have been surprising, however, that members proved to be interested in at least some aspects of the women's movement, most as supporters or sympathizers, a few as detractors.

From the approximately 100 pre-filed nominations for the 14 delegate spots at the Houston conference, the Committee had endorsed a slate of 42 candidates. Following federal guidelines, the slate was selected to achieve geographic, occupational, religious, age, ethnic and socio-economic balance. Approximately half were LDS. The slate included one man. Again, although specific positions of the nominees on controversial issues were often unknown, most of the people on the slate were active in community or women's organizations, or they were simply interested in women's issues—a not unnatural phenomenon for a women's conference.

To judge by remarks heard from the floor of the convention, the fact that organizers and nominees were generally interested in the women's movement seemed both perverse and conspiratorial to most conference participants—who were not similarly interested and had therefore passed up chances to become involved until the Church had rallied them. It was not until after the conference was over and their control secure that the majority would acknowledge that the Coordinating Committee had run the conference fairly and had not used dirty tricks on unwitting conference-goers.

After the Friday morning adoption of rules of procedure, the rest of the conference was structured to provide for three major votes. Secret voting on a set of nationally-formulated resolutions took place all day Friday in dozens of voting booths set up in the convention center. On Friday afternoon and again on Saturday morning concurrent workshops were held on 26 state issues on women's rights and needs. Scheduling allowed attendance at three workshops. In most cases resolutions had been prepared in advance by task forces responsible for the formal presentations in each workshop. These resolutions and others introduced by workshop attendees were the subject of parliamentary debate in each workshop. A proposed set of resolutions was to emerge from each workshop. Friday evening and Saturday afternoon were devoted to plenary sessions at which emerging workshop resolutions were voted on openly by the full body to determine a state plan of action on women's issues. The secret balloting on Saturday morning and early afternoon elected, from nearly 200 nominees, a slate of 14 delegates to attend the national IWY conference in Houston.

Different workshops produced differing experiences for conference goers. Some were constructive and even peaceful. Other workshops were quarrelsome and chaotic. In the Friday afternoon ERA workshop, which I attended (and which was repeated Saturday morning), the audience listened to the two proponents of the ERA politely and quietly for the most part, but frequently interrupted the speeches of the two opponents to shout enthusiastic approval. The ensuing parliamentary debate produced some of the conference's most "anti" militant resolutions. The audience did not support the task force's "neutral" resolution urging dissemination of information, pro and con, on the ERA. Instead it voted down not only support for the ERA but also support for any public funding for discussion of the issue. Saturday's participants went further and advocated abolition of all future funding for International Women's Year.

The debate in the teenage pregnancy workshop, which I joined in progress, was in some disarray, primarily because of confusion over parliamentary procedure. A task force resolution was defeated which urged compliance with Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 (nondiscrimination in schools on the basis of sex) for pregnant students and students who were parents. Also defeated was another task force resolution recommending the development of a state plan to reduce teenage pregnancy through education and to assist young parents at school. The resolution in question had noted that "where school policies prohibit discussion of birth control responsibilities, those institutions have an even more crucial obligation to refer students to other sources of information."[11] One modified task force resolution did emerge from the workshop recommending that local school districts take special note of vocational training needs of pregnant students or parent-students. In the plenary session another recommendation was added to it before both were passed as a package. The new resolution read as follows:

> Because the incidence of out-of-wedlock pregnancy is increasing at an alarming rate particularly among teenagers, and because the mores contained in the media have encouraged premarital sex, we the women in Utah would like to see an encouragement of chastity of both men and women, in schools, in media, and by society. If and when out-of-wedlock pregnancies do occur, we affirm that abortion is not a solution, that good prenatal care, emotional support, good nutrition should be available to teenagers or to any woman who has a problem pregnancy and encouragement be given to give life to the preborn child rather than killing the preborn child to solve someone else's social problem. We deplore the so-called progressive education that is now present in our schools. We desire to have Utah schools free from sex education. We reserve that right to ourselves as parents of those children.[12]

Clearly, the participants wanted to make explicit that they did not favor abortion or sex education in the schools as possible solutions to the problem of teenage pregnancy.

The Friday evening plenary session, which amended the conference rules to extend the time limit on debate, managed to vote on the emerging resolutions from only 4 workshops. The session dragged on until 1:30 a.m. Differing sides later agreed that participants were not leaving or voting to recess because of fear that the Coordinating Committee would reconvene the session on the sly and pass resolutions which the majority would oppose. Finally Barbara Smith's motion to recess (solicited by the Coordinating Committee) was accepted by the body. Even then, the audience refused to disperse until the Coordinating Committee had left the podium.

The following morning I moderated the workshop on Lifespan Planning for Young Women, having been recruited only a few days earlier. The task force

presenters were moderate in tone; the atmosphere was charged and somewhat suspicious, but behavior was reasonably courteous. After an hour of presentation and an hour of parliamentary debate, the workshop emerged with two recommendations for the plenary session. One was an original task force resolution urging improved sex education for parents and the helping professions so that sex education could be strengthened in families. The other was a modified resolution urging home and school training of young women in "decision-making skills centering around conscious life choices" to prepare them to be self-supporting and to be adequate wives and mothers if and when either option arose. The workshop defeated a task force resolution urging less sex role stereotyping in career counseling and instructional materials. The two resolutions emerging from the workshop were later defeated in the plenary session.

By Saturday the results of the national resolutions, voted on by secret ballot the day before, had been tallied by the computer. Every one of the national resolutions had been defeated.[13] In addition to rejecting unpopular resolutions supporting the ERA, the right of a woman to control her own body (abortion on demand), enforcement of non-discrimination in education on the basis of sex (Title IX), and day-care programs, the registrants defeated a host of more moderate resolutions, examples of which are quoted below:

> *Arts and Humanities*: Judging agencies and review boards should use blind judging for musicians, singers, articles, and papers being considered for publication or delivery, exhibits, and grant applications, wherever possible.
> *Child Care*: Education for parenthood programs should be improved and expanded by local and state school boards with technical assistance and experimental programs provided by the Federal government.
> *Credit*: The Federal Equal Credit Opportunity Act should be vigorously, efficiently, and expeditiously enforced by all the Federal agencies with enforcement responsibilities.
> *Employment*: The Executive Branch of the Federal government should abide by the same standards as private employers.
> *Female Offenders*: Federal and state governments should cooperate in providing more humane, sensible, and economic treatment of young women who are subject to court jurisdiction because they have run away from home, have family or school problems, or commit sexual offenses ("status offenders").
> *Legal Status of Homemakers*: More effective methods for collection of support should be adopted.
> *Older Women*: Public and private women's organizations should work together to give publicity to the positive roles of women over 50 and to provide the services that will enable elderly women to function comfortably in their own homes instead of moving to institutions.
> *Rape*: State and local governments should revise rape laws to provide for graduated degrees of the crime to apply to assault by or upon both sexes; to include all types of sexual assault against adults; and to otherwise redefine the crime so that victims are under no greater legal handicaps than victims of other crimes.
> *Women in Elective and Appointive Office*: The President, Governors, political parties, women's organizations, and foundations should join in an effort to increase the number of women in elective and appointive office, including especially judgeships.

A major factor in the negative vote was obviously the acknowledged philosophical opposition of the majority of the participants to both feminism and to the women's movement. They had no wish to examine individual issues on their merit but rather were present to make a political statement in opposition both to the very legitimacy of the need for the conference, and to the role of the federal government in establishing state coordinating committees and the upcoming convention in Houston.

But an explanation for the defeat of *all* the resolutions, even supposedly noncontroversial ones, must go beyond this. Great numbers of conference participants had

attended pre-conference caucuses and were heavily swayed by the judgments and attitudes of caucus leaders. Attendees stated that caucus leaders had urged the defeat of the national resolutions, had voiced fear of radical feminist control of state and national conferences, had cited "horror stories" from other state conventions about homosexual life-style support and pornographic movies, had expressed open distrust of the IWY Coordinating Committee in Utah and had distributed anti-ERA, anti-abortion delegate slates. Every vagueness in the wording of the national resolutions was seen as conspiratorial and devious. Some caucuses were told not to bother to read the resolutions because some of them might "sound good" and therefore might deceive the reader.[14] Caucus leaders had represented the politically conservative forces opposed to abortion, the ERA and the women's movement in general. They had used the Church's organizational mechanisms and their own Church affiliation to encourage attendance at the caucuses.[15] Many persons in attendance accepted such representations unquestioningly, neither challenging the sources of the information nor checking its accuracy.

Another contributing factor was that for many participants the conference was the first introduction to the women's movement and its concerns. The complexity of many of the issues may have made many women feel too ignorant to make sound judgments; under these circumstances, they simply adopted the old adage which has defeated many another political issue: "When in doubt, vote no."

While all the national resolutions had been disposed of, most of the state resolutions were still in limbo. Saturday afternoon was spent voting on those state resolutions not voted on the previous evening, which were most of them.

A word of explanation about the plenary sessions. The Coordinating Committee had hoped publicly that the plenary sessions would reflect a spirit of cooperative searching for solutions to problems. Such an idealistic hope was based on several assumptions: (1) that most conference registrants would not be hostile to the women's movement, (2) that they would come to learn, and (3) that they would be willing to examine issues with open minds. Even so, it was optimistic to think that resolutions emerging from 26 workshops could have been discussed throughtfully and voted on in the 5 scheduled hours of plenary session. Twelve minutes per workshop is not much time to search together for solutions, under the best of circumstances. Given the ultimate makeup and size of the conference and, more importantly, the political purpose of the sessions—it was naive to believe that the plenary sessions could have been anything but the political battleground they became. There was little inclination to explore the rationale behind various resolutions or to strike compromises which would honor minority needs and rights. Rather, pre-determined points of view fought for supremacy in the balloting.

Although 11 hours were ultimately consumed in plenary sessions, time constraints made it impossible to vote on most workshop resolutions item by item, and therefore many workshops found all their resolutions either accepted or rejected as a package, depending on who was at the microphones to explain and justify the resolutions or to maneuver for modification or rejection.

The actions taken on state resolutions tend to confirm and extend the impressions set forth above as to the causes of the defeat of the national resolutions. Most of the original state task force resolutions were modified or stricken in the workshops. Those which did emerge intact were frequently defeated on the floor of the plenary session. This may appear paradoxical, since the plenary sessions were attended by

the same people who attended the workshops. One might suppose that task force resolutions which survived the workshop would survive the plenary session. Perhaps one reason they did not was because all registrants had not had the benefit of the two-hour workshop discussion and therefore did not understand the issues as well as workshop participants did. Or perhaps registrants did not distribute themselves evenly at workshops, stacking some and ignoring others at their "peril", as they later perceived it. At any rate, if the purpose of the resolution was not clear on its face at the plenary session, it was usually in trouble. It also became evident that there were several emotionally loaded terms which, if mentioned, boded ill for any workshop resolution; suspect terms were *abortion, ERA, sex education, sex-role stereotyping, Title IX, affirmative action, taxes, welfare programs* or, for that matter, *any* federal government program. Irrespective of the extent of the problem or the established roles of various levels of government, as soon as the resolution hinted at one of these subjects, it was slated for defeat.

Killed either in the workshops or on the floor were *all* the original task force resolutions from 10 of the 26 workshops. In some of these, substitute resolutions were passed which merely negated the original task force resolutions; e.g., in lieu of proposals suggesting sex education courses, improvements in day care, and dissemination of information about the ERA, resolutions were substituted which rejected any movement toward sex education, government day care, ERA, etc. In other cases, no substitute resolutions were prepared and the state platform remained silent, for instance, on equal pay for equal work, credit opportunities and access to elective and appointive office.

The one set of task force resolutions to pass the plenary session intact was that on "Women in Utah History," which urged recognition of the fact that women have contributed to the history of society.[16] Task force recommendations urging expanded mental health services and improved services for battered wives remained essentially intact with added qualifications about the need for community involvement and local control. Passed with modifications and some substitutions, were *some* of the task force resolutions from 11 other workshops. Among them were specific resolutions supporting counseling for minority students, repeal of mandatory retirement provisions under the Social Security guidelines, tighter control of child abuse, reduction in sexual exploitation by the media, reform of inheritance tax laws to help homemakers, improved services for female offenders and more effective prosecution of rape cases. The Lifestyle and International Interdependence task forces did not prepare resolutions, and the Lifestyle workshop purposefully did not entertain any from its participants. The International Interdependence workshop wrote its own anti-international-interdependence resolutions (see appendix), most but not all of which passed the plenary session. A lifestyle resolution forbidding advocacy of homosexuality by the public school system was introduced and passed on the floor.

A detailed summary of action on workshop resolutions forms an appendix to this article.[17] Analysis of these actions reveals some common threads. A fear of federal encroachment has already been mentioned. Also apparent are both the relative satisfaction with the status of women and the open hostility to affirmative action and to equal access by women to labor markets, equal credit, even equal promotions and, in one case, equal pay. There is satisfaction with current role definitions and pronounced disagreement with pleas for less sex-role stereotyping. There is dissatisfaction with both state and federal social service programs and spending, unless

they directly benefit participants (such as extending disability provisions to homemakers and not taxing transfers of property between husbands and wives). The delivery of expanded social services (food and housing programs, bilingual education, child care services, improved health programs) to the disadvantaged are rejected. Paradoxically, compassion for the female offender is demonstrated—by acceptance of the need for more appropriate and effective governmental programs on their behalf. The legitimacy of the federal government's role in helping to operate a welfare system is strongly challenged. Any new governmental spending, either state or local, to accelerate non-discrimination on the basis of sex or to enforce existing rights of women under the law is rejected. The body of decisions was politically conservative and out of spirit with the national women's movement.

While rejecting government participation in many social concerns, participants demonstrated that they felt it was appropriate for government to enforce the participants' perceptions of morality. Governmental programs were seen as legitimate when they restricted pornography, homosexuality, child abuse, abortion, wife abuse, and rape of women. Governmental programs which were seen as protecting traditional family responsibilities were sanctioned (e.g., a mandatory Family Court system in Utah, juvenile court judges and social workers to help reduce child abuse, and the Utah Parentage Act to help determine paternity and establish the financial obligation of unwed fathers). Parenthetically, maintaining the traditional family unit appears to have been more important than rewarding the role of the woman in that family; for instance, participants were not interested in having Social Security benefits accrue equally to the employed spouse and to the homemaker.

Feminists and nonfeminists alike were able to unite in their disapproval of all forms of sexual exploitation. Pornography, rape, wife abuse, and exploitative advertising and newspaper reporting were all abhorrent to both groups.

Judging from the plenary sessions, most of the national resolutions would have gone down to defeat even if the balloting on them had been held after the plenary sessions instead of before them. There were a few, but not many, inconsistencies in the two sets of votes. A number of state rape resolutions were accepted while similar national recommendations were defeated. Similarly, support for school district parenting classes and more effective methods for collection of child support were accepted in state resolutions but rejected in national resolutions. However, given the conference's suspicion of the federal government and its rejection of the federal role in sponsoring the IWY meetings, it is likely that even those national resolutions would have been rejected either out of protest or out of fear that they would not be left to state and local control.

That conference attendees were there not to work out compromises but to triumphantly acclaim their own value system was driven home when the duly elected slate of 14 delegates and 5 alternates to the Houston convention was announced on Saturday afternoon. In contrast to the balance on the IWY slate, all but one of the nineteen were Mormon, all were Caucasian (one was a Chicana), all were middle-class, all but one were over the age of 40, all but one were Republican, and all were from the anti-ERA and anti-abortion slates distributed at and before the conference.[18] The rights of the majority were supreme.

How much of the results of this conference, either good or bad, can be laid at the doorstep of the Church? Did it anticipate its exploitation by the political right? Did it do anything to prevent it? What evidence is available to suggest whether church leaders were happy or displeased with events at the conference?

Certainly the large turnout at the conference can be attributed to the Church's calling of 10 women from each ward. The church's organizational mechanisms are superb, as those who watched it work after Idaho's Teton Dam disaster can testify. Use of both the priesthood authority and the quota system made the invitation to attend acquire the nature of a call, with the intended result: people came.[19]

What transpired after the initial phone calls from President Benson's office is unclear, but it is clear that messages farther down the line (from stake Relief Society Presidents to ward presidents to ward members) stated over and over again that the Relief Society wanted women at the conference to defend Church positions and to prevent domination by radical feminists. Concern about the nature of the conference, rather than the desire to encourage community participation by LDS women, was the dominant theme of countless messages relayed down the chain. Given the IWY Committee's personal request to the Relief Society to support the IWY Conference by inviting its women to attend, some may question whether the actual way in which the Church chose to accept the invitation was either generous or gracious.

Both before and after the conference the Church insisted that it had not told its women how to vote; it had only encouraged them to attend. It seems obvious that members did not need to be told explicitly how to vote. Their attitudes about the conference had already been shaped.

The Church has acknowledged in a variety of ways that it received an avalanche of agitated inquiries from its own members about its role in Utah's IWY conference. In a form letter responding to many of these inquiries, the Relief Society Presidency tried to spell out its involvement to the satisfaction of inquirers.[20] The letter notes that the Committee suggested that the Relief Society prepare an informative fact sheet for its members so they would attend the conference as informed citizens. This, the letter observes, the Relief Society declined to do for fear that some would think they were trying to "manipulate the thinking of our women." Hindsight being better than foresight, one can wonder how an informative fact sheet could possibly have been more manipulative than what actually happened.

The letter of explanation goes on to say that many persons approached the Relief Society before the conference seeking support to try to "unite" LDS women at the conference. To each, the Relief Society suggested they act as individuals, as the Relief Society did not want to take sides. Relief Society Board members state privately that although they did not realize it at the time, their attempts at neutrality allowed a vacuum to be created into which the right wing moved. Some of the right wing organizers have stated publicly[21] and privately that they felt they had the silent blessing of the Relief Society for their actions in organizing pre-conference caucuses.

In an article in the *Salt Lake Tribune* of August 14, 1977, Relief Society President Barbara Smith is quoted as saying that she holds herself partly to blame for the confusion in the minds of many people between the conservative caucus activities and those of the Relief Society. As she puts it, "I didn't say, 'Don't use the Relief Society.'" She acknowledges in the article that the Relief Society was used by the "far right." One wonders, however, whether the Relief Society's tolerance of the use of its informal machinery for right-wing purposes was as innocent as is implied. If, instead of the anti-feminist Phyllis Schafly report, the caucuses had distributed the latest pro-abortion flyer, would the Relief Society have remained as passive?

While the Relief Society may have been dismayed by the storm of controversy in which it has found itself, the Relief Society Presidency did not seem disappointed with decisions reached by the conference. Its letter of explanation is revealing both

for what it *does* and does *not* say. While acknowledging that it was "unhappy" over the passage of the motion not to hold future IWY meetings, the Relief Society Presidency did not express unhappiness over any other conference action. Instead, the letter claims "huge success" for the conference, "even though there were some happenings that caused personal distress." Privately Relief Society Board members have expressed satisfaction with the "unity" of the actions taken and with the Mormon-dominated slate of delegates. The *Deseret News,* in an editorial close on the heels of the conference, declared the conference a success,[23] while the *Salt Lake Tribune* was editorializing that it feared "the community at large has suffered a net loss."[24]

If the Church is not worried about the actual conference decisions, because to a real extent they reflect the socio-political values of many of our present leaders, there are indications that at least individual church officials[25] and a good number of church members are concerned about the Church's role in shaping those decisions. Its failure to control its own bureaucracy does not square with its statements of official neutrality. Also the ambiguity of the Relief Society position was risky. Ambiguity is a powerful tool for giving general direction while leaving implementation to individual interpretation. For this very reason, it is exploitable, sometimes in ways which cannot be anticipated. In political situations it may be cleaner and less manipulative of members to either stay completely out of or to jump openly into issues of special concern. Allowing others to use the Church for purposes which it can technically disavow smacks of either too little or too much political sophistication.

The behavior of conference participants in reaching their decisions is also something with which the Church ought to be concerned. The conference was too often characterized by distrust, self-righteousness and a battlefield mentality which demanded unconditional victory. For women with Judao-Christian roots, too many behaved in unchristian fashion. Politics has been known to elicit such behavior before and is likely to again.

We in the Church often cite with pride Joseph Smith's pronouncement: "I teach the people correct principles and they govern themselves."[26] When we are gullible, unquestioningly believing persons who are acting in secular capacities and trading on their Church ties, one may ask whether we have indeed been taught correct principles. When we do not make time for community service without church pressures such as quotas and priesthood authority, can we say we have learned correct principles? When we are unable to participate in the political arena with love, courtesy, compassion and respect for all persons, including those whose beliefs are different from our own, can we say we have learned correct principles?

How can the Church improve the behavior of its members? Perhaps it needs to write lessons on how to employ more skepticism and scholarship in the search for light and truth—a skepticism which insists on knowing sources of information and instruction, a scholarship which searches out evidence, that forms preliminary judgments and tests them. Perhaps it also needs to explore better ways to generate community activity among more church members. Can wards create or promote ways to effectively recognize the value of community service, not just to the community but to the Lord? Finally, ward members need to practice, in church settings, how to acknowledge conflict and how to disagree on important matters without ceasing to respect and cherish each other. Perhaps we ought to address some hard social issues in Relief Society, and other church meetings, with clear church sanction and clear church acceptance of divergent solutions among its

members. If church members do not practice correct principles under conditions of stress, how can we say with assurance that we know how to govern ourselves? If we cannot do it even among ourselves, how can we do it in the larger world?

NOTES

[1] Letter of June 3, 1977 on Relief Society letterhead, addressed to all regional representatives in Utah and signed "Relief Society General Presidency." The letter began, "This is a follow-up on the phone call you received from President Ezra Taft Benson's office, and here is what should be done."

[2] Later, after the IWY Conference became so controversial, my friend declined to identify the bishop.

[3] *Salt Lake Tribune,* June 23, 1977, p. B-1.

[4] *Deseret News,* June 23, 1977, Editorial Page.

[5] *Deseret News,* June 23, 1977, p. B-1.

[6] *Salt Lake Tribune,* June 23, 1977, p. B-1.

[7] The letter of June 3, 1977 enclosed enough copies for stake presidents and bishops and concluded with a deadline for their distribution. Some found the letter innocent. Others attributed hidden meanings to it. The ambiguous clauses quoted in the text were seen by some as subtly encouraging a defensive posture from the outset on the part of recruited ward delegates.

[8] Linda Sillitoe, "Women Scorned: Inside Utah's IWY Conference," *Utah Holiday* VI:12, August, 1977, p. 28.

[9] Jan L. Tyler then Asst. Professor of Child Development and Family Relations, BYU.

[10] Katie Dixon, Salt Lake County Recorder.

[11] *Draft Copy, A Proposed State Plan of Action* (Working Paper Developed by the Task Forces of the IWY Coordinating Committee), a copy of which is on file with the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women, Utah State Capitol Building, Salt Lake City, Utah, 84114.

[12] *Transcript of Recommendations Coming Out of Workshops, Utah State IWY Meeting,* June 24-25, 1977. Filed with the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women, Utah State Capitol, Salt Lake City, Utah 84114.

[13] All the nationally-formulated resolutions were printed in the *Deseret News,* June 16, 1977, p. C-1-3. They were a summary of major recommendations appearing in *To Form a More Perfect Union,* the report of the National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year, copies of which were available to the first 5,000 registrants at the conference.

[14] Numerous attendees, representing women of varying persuasions, confirm that these were the attitudes and statements made by caucus leaders. At the Provo caucus, one of the caucus speakers, representing the Conservative Caucus and the American Party, went so far as to argue that the IWY Commission wanted to legalize rape. Kathleen Flake, a member of the Utah IWY Coordinating Committee, was present at the Provo caucus and took the podium to attempt to clear up such misconceptions.

[15] Groups inspiring and/or conducting the caucuses were the "Conservative Caucus," a coalition of various right-wing interests led by self-described "Bishop" Dennis Ker (an LDS Bishop), and "Let's Govern Ourselves," led by Republican state legislator Georgia Peterson. Caucuses were held in Bountiful, Ogden, Kearns, Provo, Salt Lake City (Highland High School), and Logan. The author has substantiated reports from five separate Salt Lake Valley wards that Church machinery was used to invite women to attend these caucuses. For additional documentation of caucus activities and use of Church organizational mechanisms and ties to publicize the caucuses, see Sillitoe, pp. 63-65.

[16] It is interesting but perhaps just coincidental that on Wednesday, June 22, Thursday, June 23, and Friday, June 24, i.e., the two days preceding and the first day of the conference, the *Deseret News* ran feature articles providing information developed by the Women's History Task Force on the role of women in Utah's development.

[17] The following three documents were available after the conference from the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women, Utah State Capitol, Salt Lake City, Utah 84114. They form the basis for the summaries provided in the appendix.

(a) *Draft Copy, Proposed State Plan of Action, A Working Paper Developed by the Task Forces of the IWY Coordinating Committee.*

(b) *Transcript of Recommendations Coming Out of Workshops, Utah State IWY Meeting, June 24- 25, 1977.*

(c) *Recommendations Approved by the body in Plenary Session, Utah Women's Meeting, June 24- 25, 1977.*

Recently these documents have been combined into a soft-cover monograph, *Utah State Plan of Action, The Utah Women's Meeting, June 24- 25, 1977,* which also includes minority reports filed with the Utah IWY Coordinating Committee. Limited copies of this document are available, but one is filed with the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women, Utah State Capitol Building, Salt Lake City, Utah 84114. This document is the one being forwarded to the National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year. However, there are at least two errors in its reporting of the final recommendations. The correct version is to be found in the separate printing of recommendations cited in (c) above.

[18] *Salt Lake Tribune,* Sunday, June 26, 1977, A-1. *Salt Lake Tribune,* Thursday, June 30, 1977, B-11. Sillitoe, p. 68.

[19] Earlier, informal attempts by the Relief Society to encourage LDS women to attend the grassroots mass meetings had met with only partial success.

[20] The copy in my possession is dated July 11, 1977. It is written on Relief Society letterhead and is signed by all three members of the Relief Society Presidency.

[21] "Bishop" Dennis Ker is quoted by independent sources as having stated (at the Highland High Caucus) that although the Relief Society had not authorized these caucuses, they were aware of them and wanted their members to be informed, thus inferring that the Church did not disapprove.

[22] Page 1 of Lifestyle Section.

[23] *Deseret News,* Monday, June 27, 1977, Editorial Page.

[24] *Salt Lake Tribune,* Wednesday, June 29, 1977, Editorial Page.

[25] Private communication.

[26] *Journal of Discourses,* V. 10, p. 57.

APPENDIX

A summary of the action taken at the plenary sessions is included as an appendix for those who wish more detailed evidence of the philosophy dominating the conference. Recommendations surviving the workshops were voted on in plenary session. Task force recommendations killed in the workshops were not resurrected.

Workshops are listed in the order of their discussion at the plenary sessions.

Aging

Three task force recommendations survived the plenary session. Passed were recommendations to reform the Social Security guidelines by raising the earning limitations, repealing the mandatory retirement provisions, and continuing SSI benefits during periods of temporary institutionalization. The session defeated task force recommendations supporting (1) maintenance of individual Social Security accounts without regard to marital status and (2) relaxation of the eligibility requirements of separated couples for individual SSI benefits. Earlier, the workshop had killed task force recommendations to fix responsibility in a single agency for enforcement of laws prohibiting age and sex discrimination and to encourage the mass media to hire women without regard to sex or age.

Child Abuse

Surviving the plenary session were four task force recommendations plus an additional workshop recommendation to expand outreach programs. The four recommendations included appointment of more juvenile court judges, expansion of the State Advisory Committee on Child Abuse, establishment of a central registry within the Utah Division of Family Services, and funding for increased social workers in the Division of Family Services and for training programs on the prevention of child neglect and abuse. Killed in the workshop was a task force resolution promoting cooperative nursery schools, crisis nurseries, the Crisis Center (at the University of Utah), and Great Britain's "new mother" program.

Arts and Humanities

One task force recommendation survived the plenary session, although all had survived the workshop. The session passed the recommendation urging better public education regarding availability of grants and grant application procedures. The session amended a follow-up recommendation, substituting "equal" for "special" consideration for rural, remote communities of the state. Defeated was another follow-up recommendation, this one added in the workshop, to allocate state funds to employ a public information person within the State Division of Fine Arts. The plenary session also defeated task force recommendations urging blind judging for music auditions, for articles submitted for publication, and for grant and entry applications. Three other resolutions which were introduced and passed in the workshop and which urged upgraded art education in the schools were never discussed or voted on in plenary session, due to time limitations imposed on workshop debate. This was the only workshop unable to present all its emergent recommendations to the plenary session.

Child Development

No task force recommendations survived the plenary session. The session defeated a task force recommendation asking for junior high, high school, and post high school parent education classes using teachers competent in areas of child development and family relationships. In place of a series of task force recommendations urging better training and increased financial resources for child care providers and state administrators, the workshop had substituted a recommendation stating that day care should be the responsibility of the family first and that better child care services should be developed by the local community, church, and businesses for those who need them. This substitute resolution passed the plenary session. Killed in the workshop was a resolution to have the Utah Office of Child Development report directly to the Governor's Office. (It presently reports to the Utah State Board of Education.)

Teenage Pregnancy

One modified task force recommendation survived the plenary session; it urged that reviews by local school districts (the original resolution had stated "reviews by the Office for Women") take special note of the vocational training needs of pregnant students and students who are parents. In addition a resolution was introduced on the floor and approved which opposed abortion and sex education in the schools as solutions to the problem of teenage pregnancy. Defeated in the workshop were resolutions urging school compliance with Title IX for pregnant students and students who are parents and urging a state plan to reduce teenage pregnancy through education and through school referral to sources of information about birth control responsibilities.

Power: Elective, Appointive, and Personal

No task force recommendations survived the plenary session. Although all the task force recommendations emerged intact from the workshop, all were defeated as a package on the floor. Summarized, they included: (1) requests of the legislative and executive branches at state and local levels to fill appointed positions with equal numbers of men and women, (2) advocacy of a campaign within political parties to work for equal distribution of public financing to men and women candidates, (3) encouragement of the recruitment and support of women candidates for political office and launching an educational program within the political party system to inform women on how to become more involved.

Reproductive Health

No task force recommendations made it to the plenary session. The workshop rejected them and substituted their own. Defeated in the workshop were recommendations pressing for comprehensive sex education in Utah schools (grades K-12) and establishing a timetable and guidelines for its implementation. The plenary session passed as a package the substitute recommendations espousing (1) sex education classes for parents sponsored by local religious and civic organizations to help parents assume their responsibility for sex education,* (2) parenting classes in schools under the direction and control of parents in each school district and excluding sex education,** (3) the illegality of all state and federally funded abortions, (4) the Right to Life Amendment (and urging that funds now used for abortion be used for medical research and for help with adoption procedures), (5) retention of the distinction between male and female gender in textbooks, (6) outlawing of sex "training" in classrooms and textbooks "with the exception of basic anatomical natural reproduction" training, which is not to begin until the 6th grade, and (7) prohibition of public school instruction in "unnatural sex acts such as homosexuality and self-stimulation."

* A similar recommendation was later defeated under the "Lifespan Planning for Young Women" workshop.

** A similar but less restrictive proposal had been defeated earlier under the "Child Development" recommendations. Essentially that same proposal was later accepted as part of the "Mental Health" package of recommendations, while still another proposal urging *mandatory* parenting classes was defeated under the "Men" recommendations.

Mental Health

Modified task force recommendations survived the plenary session. The workshop accepted the thrust of the original resolutions but specified community control, local funding, and other restrictions on the training and services recommended. The plenary session passed, as a package, recommendations supporting parenting classes within the secondary system, community education programs, and local funding of services in the areas of job preparation, financial management, cooperative day care and temporary welfare programs.

Enforcement of Laws

No task force recommendation made it into the plenary session. Defeated in the workshop were recommendations urging (1) public information programs to educate married women on the need to establish credit in their own names, (2) education of women about their rights under consumer credit laws, and (3) assistance to Utah high schools in educating students about proper use of credit. Also defeated in the workshop were recommendations urging equal opportunity for women in competitive sports in Utah. No substitute resolutions were offered, either in the workshop or on the floor, so there were none for consideration by the plenary session.

Women as Educators

No task force recommendations survived the plenary session. A lengthy series of recommendations, enlarging upon the original task force recommendations, emerged from the workshop. Summarized, the recommendations included the following: less sex-stereotyped career counseling and instructional materials, compliance with federal and state anti-discrimination laws, dissemination to prospective educators

of information on employment rights and protections, state legislation to enforce the spirit of the State Affirmative Action Study, school district incentives to reward higher levels of teacher preparation, skill, and experience; more hiring of qualified women in administrative and other positions. The plenary session defeated all the recommendations as a package.

Media

Five task force recommendations and an additional workshop recommendation survived the plenary session. Task force recommendations had been accepted, refined, and enlarged in the workshop session. Initially all were passed as a package in the plenary session but were later reconsidered one at a time. Passed were recommendations urging (1) placement of news by subject matter not sex, (2) elimination of exploitation of men and women to add irrelevant sexual interest, (3) elimination of personal details (sex, sexual preference, appearance, religion, etc.) in a news story when irrelevant, (4) granting the same respect to women's activities and organizations that is shown to men's, (5) public education by the media on the violence of rape rather than the sexual appeal of rape, and (6) withdrawal of all TV and radio commercials concerning women's personal health products (a workshop addition to the task force recommendations). Ultimately defeated was a recommendation establishing as a goal the employment of women in policy-making positions, urging special efforts to employ qualified and knowledgeable women, and supporting equal pay, opportunity, training, and promotion of women in the media. Also defeated were recommendations respecting a person's right to determine for publication her (or his) own title and encouraging the media to broaden the subject matter of news stories to include more activities of women in the population.

Minority Women

No original task force recommendations made it into the plenary session. The workshop struck the original resolutions, which were concerned mostly with assessing minority needs and urging involvement of ethnic minority women in the larger women's movement. The workshop objected to the language of the original recommendations which suggested that minority women felt isolated from white women and had unusual needs. The workshop substituted its own recommendations, which the plenary session voted to take up one at a time. Passed on the floor were recommendations urging that teachers-in-training have at least 5 credit hours of cultural awareness courses prior to certification, that qualified "ethnic people" be hired to teach these courses, and that counseling be provided for minority students. Defeated were recommendations that adequate minority representation at the National Conference in Houston be assured, that adequate funding for child care services for low income women be advocated, that a coalition be formed to take a stand against the Bakke decision,* that teachers be required to take the equivalent of one credit of cultural awareness training every 5 years, and that bilingual education should be provided in educational institutions.

* In the Bakke case, then on appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court, the California Supreme Court upheld the white plaintiff's argument that he had been discriminated against in his admission to medical school because of the University of California at Davis' affirmative action policies guaranteeing a certain number of spots to minority students.

Legal Status of Homemakers

Five task force recommendations survived the plenary session. Passed were recommendations supporting the Utah Parentage Act and urging the establishment of a mandatory Family Court System to deal with domestic problems, tax reform to allow tax deductions for expenses accrued by disability of fulltime homemakers, tax reform to eliminate taxation on all transfers of property between husband and wife at death and all gifts between same during their lifetimes, and cooperation of women with State and County Recovery Services. Defeated in the plenary session was a task force recommendation urging that the Social Security Act benefits presently accruing to the spouse employed outside the home accrue equally to the homemaker and the spouse. Previously killed in the workshop was an endorsement of the Utah Uniform Probate Code.

Women Offenders

All three emerging task force recommendations, some of them enlarged in the workshop, survived the plenary session. Included were recommendations: (1) urging adequate health services for female offenders and the inclusion of a woman on the medical staff at the Utah State Prison, (2) encouraging job training services, community treatment facilities, generous visitation rights, and counseling for the offender with children, and (3) requesting the appointment of an independent and diverse body of citizens, including women, to inspect local jails, state institutions, and community programs to assist the legislature in setting uniform standards for such facilities. Killed in the workshop was a recommendation asking for support of affirmative action in the recruitment and hiring of women to staff positions within the Division of Corrections and the Department of Social Services.

Basic Needs

No task force recommendations survived the plenary session. Concerned primarily with single-parent (usually female) families receiving welfare, the emergent task force recommendations focused on job training to help recipients become self-sufficient and capable of holding their families together. In the plenary session these recommendations were struck, and floor substitutes were passed which deplored the trend to a welfare state and which recommended that people meet their own basic needs through their own earned income. Local measures and private good will, not federal programs, were recommended for those who could not provide for themselves. Additional substitute recommendations were passed, urging evaluation, consolidation, and enforcement of present supplementary food programs and organization of voluntary committees in each city of the state to evaluate basic needs for food and housing and to forward their recommendations for action to the Utah Legislature. Earlier, the workshop had defeated task force recommendations urging improved and expanded governmental food and housing programs.

Equal Rights Amendment

The original task force recommendation did not make it into the plenary session. Recognizing the controversial nature of the ERA in Utah, the task force had recommended that a special committee of equal numbers of proponents and opponents be appointed by the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women to locate neutral facilities and to disperse information reflecting both sides of the issue. This public education approach to the ERA was defeated by the workshop and a resolution substituted opposing the ERA and opposing the use of any public funds to promote or oppose the ERA. The workshop went further and passed a resolution directing the U.S. Congress to appropriate no new funds for IWY. These recommendations passed in the plenary session along with another, introduced on the floor, which added that the national convention in Houston should be told that "rights for women can better be accomplished by more efficiently enforcing existing laws and applying pressures to society in other ways. We the women of Utah recognize that any government which is powerful enough to give its people everything they want is powerful enough to take away everything that we have."

Employment

No task force recommendations survived the plenary session. They had been refined in the workshop and a new one had been added. They concentrated on fair employment practices, hiring of more women at administrative levels, designation of more CETA funds to advance the training of women, studying merit and civil service systems to remove barriers to women's advancement, development of programs to attract women business owners to Utah, and directing the Small Business Association to consider women as an economically disadvantaged group and to develop technical assistance programs for them. Every recommendation was defeated in the plenary session with the exception of the new one, which stated that employers should not be bound by quota laws except where the job applicants were equally qualified in every respect for the job in question.

Men

This workshop did not have recommendations prepared in advance by its all-male task force. Three were formulated in the workshop. The plenary session first passed the one urging stronger control of the distribution of pornographic materials and stringent enforcement of existing antipornography legislation. Another recommendation focused on providing alternative living accommodations for victims ("usually wives and children") of family violence. Alternatives were to be provided through private or public facilities. This recommendation passed after being amended to limit the public role to "temporary public funding for facilities." A third recommendation, that parenting skills be made mandatory training at the secondary school level, was defeated by the plenary session.

Lifespan Planning for Young Women

No task force recommendations survived the plenary session. The workshop had accepted a task force recommendation urging sex education for parents, the medical profession, clergy, and counselors so that sex education in the family and for the helping professions could be strengthened. The workshop also passed a modified recommendation urging better preparation within the home and school system for both motherhood and vocational self-sufficiency. Both these recommendations were defeated in the plenary session. In their place a substitute resolution was passed, encouraging each woman to "seek knowledge through the private and public resources now available" and deploring "government agencies assuming more authority, responsibilities, and control." Defeated earlier, in the workshop, was a task force recommendation urging less sex-stereotyped career counseling and instructional materials in the public schools.

Wife Abuse

All task force recommendations survived the workshop and plenary session, some in modified form. Two new recommendations were added in the workshop, one of which passed the plenary session. Recommendations included establishment for battered wives of a network of emergency shelters

sponsored by local organizations and the Division of Family Services (a similar recommendation had passed earlier under the "Men" workshop discussion), encouragement of stronger state laws for punishment of wife abusers, establishment of laws requiring a husband to pay for losses (medical expenses, child care during recovery, etc.) suffered by his battered wife, and a request (one of the workshop additions) that law enforcement bodies maintain separate statistics on wife-abuse incidents. Not adopted was the other new workshop request urging that private groups and the media educate the public about wife abuse.

International Interdependence

There were no preprinted task force recommendations for this workshop. The workshop emerged with its own resolutions against foreign aid, international interdependence, and "any world government body which attempts to dilute our national laws and personal sovereignty." In addition it resolved that the right to trial by jury should be "restored" as a basic right of all citizens, not to be limited by Supreme Court decisions. Lastly it resolved that separation of powers be "reestablished" and that the executive branch be prohibited from establishing administrative regulations which have the status of law. The plenary session adopted all the resolutions except the one against foreign aid.

Health Education

Two task force recommendations survived the plenary session, one asking that the Food and Drug Administration compile and distribute a table of generic drug equivalencies and the other supporting removal of taxes from eye glasses and hearing aids. The plenary session denied support to workshop-prepared recommendations asking better preventive health education by local health professionals using state funds, improvement in existing school health programs, placement of more women in policy-making health positions, and abolishment of sex discrimination by insurance companies. The workshop had earlier defeated task force recommendations encouraging health care deliverers to better educate their patients about their own bodies and encouraging better public health education by public health organizations.

Rape

Four of the task force recommendations survived the plenary session. Four did not. The original recommendations had been accepted and refined by the workshop session. The emerging recommendations urged increased medical sensitivity to the needs of the victim, freedom of choice in terminating or sustaining pregnancy resulting from rape, compensation to victims for property damage, loss of income, and medical and counseling expenses; training for prosecutors and law enforcement officials in collection of evidence and prosecution of rape cases, prohibition of introduction of evidence of past sexual conduct unless clearly relevant to the case, elimination of language in Utah laws which discriminates on the basis of gender of attacker or victim, the bringing of rape and sexual assault laws into harmony with other criminal statutes by including spouses as victims, and the offering of workshops to inform people on how to report a rape and avoid rape and incest situations. Half were passed. Defeated were those recommending freedom of choice in terminating or sustaining a rape-induced pregnancy, inclusion of spouses as victims under criminal statutes, elimination of gender-based discrimination in statutory language, and compensation to victims.

Women as Students

No task force recommendations made it to the plenary session. Killed in the workshop were the original recommendations urging public education on the Title IX regulations and elimination of sex bias and stereotyping in all textbooks, counseling materials, and educational institutions. In their place were recommendations that the Title IX regulations be eliminated, that Congress state the intent of the Title IX statute at the time of passage, and that Congress specify enforcement procedures. Also added were recommendations supporting the Utah State Board of Education's pending suit against Title IX and rejecting any movement to eliminate gender from children's textbooks. All these substitute recommendations passed the plenary session.

Women in Utah History

The original task force recommendations survived both the workshop and the plenary session. They specified "that women be included in the history of Utah as it is written in textbooks and monographs, as it is taught in the public schools and institutions of higher learning, and as it is ritualized in programs, pageants, and monuments" and "that institutions responsible for the care and dissemination of materials and information relating to Utah history hire more women in managerial positions,* actively collect women-related historical materials, and conscientiously promote the inclusion of women in Utah history. . . ."

* This was the only time out of several tries that a recommendation urging the hiring of more women in managerial positions passed the plenary session.

Lifestyles

There were no recommendations planned for the lifestyle workshop because lifestyles were seen by the task force as "so much a personal matter." The workshop discussion was intended rather to define lifestyles and outline conditions which influence them. Therefore no recommendations were entertained in the workshop. On the floor of the plenary session, however, a recommendation was introduced and passed which stated that drastic cultural changes including lesbianism and homosexuality should not be advocated or taught within Utah's public school system.

We must attempt to meet the challenge of honesty, realizing that our honesty is enmeshed within a whole framework of values, and that honesty, like truth, is always a partial achievement. There is only the latest word, never the last.

Frances Lee Menlove
Vol. I, No. 1, p. 53

Through the process of estrangement and reconciliation, of sin and atonement, and apparently no other, man is able to reach the depths and thereby the heights of his soul's capacity—to know fully his capacity for evil and to know the full freedom and strength of soul that come uniquely through being caught up in response to the "full love of Christ."

Eugene England
Vol. I, No. 3, p. 144–5


JM Conkle '77

ZINA'S VERSION

LEWIS B. HORNE

Zina thought: Ha, what now? She peered through her front door window at the old man crossing Lizzy's backyard. He was skinny as a bunch of sticks, splotchy, and wrinkled as a raisin. His hair was white as alkali flats. He was her brother, and when he pushed aside the oleander branches to get to her door, her energy bugled at the prospect of a new quarrel. What else would she expect when he entered fresh from Lizzy's back door?

"Come in."

She didn't add his name: "Frank." She didn't hold the door open for him, but turned and let it shut behind her. By the time he reopened it and stood inside, she was back at her typewriter. Let him think she'd been there the whole time he talked to Lizzy. Let him think she hadn't gotten up as soon as she heard his car and watched from her window the whole time he sat in Lizzy's house. She straightened her papers, noticing her hands, as wrinkled and splotched as his. When he failed to speak, she turned.

"Sit down."

Even then he was quiet, leaning forward, his elbows on his knees, his large bony hands locked together. An old scar crawled out of his shirt collar and across his neck. Finally he said, "Where do you want to move to now?"

"Move to?" She concealed her surprise. How could she quarrel with that? "What do you mean move to?"

"Lizzy says you got to leave."

"What does Loren say?"

"The same thing." When she snorted, Frank said, "What do you expect him to say, Zina? He's Lizzy's only son, and you've been a strain on his mother. Both of them tried to be nice to you."

Foothold at last. "I've been a strain on her? On Lizzy? And do you think she treats me, her husband's sister, well?"

Frank took from his pocket a piece of paper and held it toward her. For a moment she wanted someone to speak to, but drew back from the wish in the same way she might jerk herself out of sleep. Since when had she ever needed anyone to lean on? She had looked after herself all her life—managed her own money, traveled once to Hawaii alone, once to the World's Fair in New York, recognized and countered the ploys of those out to trick her. She needed no one to rise up for her now. But she wouldn't touch the paper. It was a testing she refused to face.

"That," she said, "is a private document. Where did you get it?"

"I got it from Loren. He got it from his mother—"

"And where did she get it?"

"Lizzy found it on her front porch. You must have dropped it by the mailbox."

"It's like her to read a person's private mail. I told her before that I want my own mailbox."

He read aloud: "*I'm so sorry, Zina, that you have to live with such a terrible woman. One needs privacy. To have her snooping about your house when you're gone, to have her charging so much rent for the wretched little shack you live in—I don't know how you tolerate it.*" He stopped. She lifted her chin. "You going to tell me that what you wrote your friend is the truth?"

How did he know it wasn't true? Saying it was so or wasn't so—it depended on how you saw it.

"You can't come back to my place," he went on, frowning at her silence. "You got Glenna so upset she won't have you around. Doesn't make sense. You even got Billy's and Roger's wives to pulling hair with your stories. When Lizzy offered to let you take this little place of hers—"

"Everybody likes Lizzy."

"I'll look around for something else. Lizzy says you can stay here till we find something, but the sooner you go the better, she says. Loren, too."

"And me," said Zina. "I say the same."

"I don't know why you despise anyone who does you a good turn. The same monkeyshines all over again. . . . What sense does it make—acting spiteful?"

From behind the curtain she watched him cross to Lizzy's door, spine stiff as a broomhandle. She had a good straight back herself, as though she'd been raised in the Czar's court. She never let her back touch a chair. The Corliss girls had marvelled at that when they were small.

For a moment she felt homesick for California, for the Corliss girls and their families, for their compliments. But the fiber in her body, reflecting the tension of battle, stiffened and knotted. She was among equals here and could think of conquered cities. She had her own story to tell. She put a clean sheet of paper in her typewriter. Tek, tek, tek, went her fingers, slowed by arthritis. *Dear Jean and family,* she typed. She hardly ever hit the wrong key. *Would you like to guess what she's done now*?

The Corliss girls wouldn't question what she'd said. She'd stood in the Corliss house years ago—the house looking like a Spanish hacienda with its inside courtyard and pool, balconies with wrought-iron railings, tall palm trees rising above its second story—she'd stood there when their mother brought each one of the two, red and wizened, home from the hospital. Sometimes she had let herself think of them as her children—almost. Even over the years after she left the Corlisses, she kept in touch. The girls remembered her on her birthday and at Christmas time, whether she was working at the Meekins', the Days', or with whatever family. The girls liked her. And she? She had sat in the second row of the Baptist church when each one was married, and seen their children in the hospital nursery almost as soon as Mr. and Mrs. Corliss did.

Now, all the way to California Zina had sat stiffly against the rocking of the train, staring out at the desert, open and flat under the sun, herself stony with the sense of injustice. The yammering wheels, the sage growing out of sandy earth, the mountains pale and emaciated in the distance scarcely impinged on her own cut-out memories. Paper-doll number one: her father. Number two: Frank, sick in bed, badly burned, long convalescence before him. Number three: Zina herself. And then with features scarcely definite enough to be recognized: John Young. Her fiance.

"It will be necessary," said her father with awkward formality, "to delay your marriage to John. It will be necessary to help nurse Frank. I have explained the need to John."

"And?"

"He agrees, of course."

Of course. "And me?"

"You are Frank's sister. What else would you do?"

He was surprised that she argued with him. What else would she do? he asked. She would marry John Young today and relieve herself of her 27-year-old spinsterhood. That's what she'd do. Six years her brother Roy had been married to Lizzy. Children came like rabbits out of fat Lizzy, but all dead—all dead but for Loren. When would she stop having children? Why shouldn't Zina marry? She continued the argument. Her father resisted.

"Either I marry now," she said, "or I don't marry at all."

Too long her father resisted, for "not at all" was an easy defense against other demands. Her father said at last, "Have it your own way," and that's what she did, leaving behind her young Frank with his bandages and potato poultices and pain, sitting in the thudding passenger car on her way across the southwestern desert. Sitting there with intense anger and the exquisite pleasure of knowing her father's anguish, his punishment for destroying her prospects. It was like a victory. It was like an escape, too—that unyielding pressure on her, the fact of her Mormon maidenhood. Who would marry Zina and propagate his line through her? No man now, she thought, and tossed her head as though at God himself because she'd escaped the impossible pain of childbirth. What she'd seen Lizzy go through, time and again. Something she'd never have to face now, multiplying and replenishing. She would have done it, she thought, if—. They were to blame. Even John Young for being so spineless, pleading with her at the train depot: "Please, Zina." Such big feet and hands. It wasn't her fault. It was theirs for what they'd done to her.

She found her job with the Corlisses through Mr. Corliss' law partner, a member of the Church—housekeeper, a good one. When the girls were little she let them comb her hair, listened to them marvel that, like Rapunzel's, it was so long she could sit on it. She was frugal. By the time Mr. Corliss became a state senator in the Thirties, she had saved money enough to buy desert properties on his advice. It was only right that he should advise her. Didn't he and Mrs. Corliss owe it to her as compensation for their distrust? "Zina, you just can't say those kinds of things to the girls. Don't look that way. You know what I'm talking about. You've even got them questioning us. . . . " And when she left for the Orstad's, the couple with nearly-grown children that the Corlisses recommended her to, . . . "The girls will miss you." But not a word, she thought, about being sorry. If only they'd say they were sorry to see her go . . . . "You'll come back and visit, won't you? Now and then? Come and see us and the girls?" She wouldn't promise, but of course—however indignant she felt—she did go back. What would she do without the affection of the Corliss girls?

When she started work, one of the first things she bought for herself in her room off the kitchen was a typewriter. She used it for letters, memos, copied out page after page of her genealogy on it. When after a year her father wanted her to return home, she answered on the typewriter: *When you wouldn't let me marry John Young. . . .* That was how she put it. She knew she could say: *When you made me postpone . . . ,* but the ache and anger were more firmly supported by her version. An oldest daughter deserved some consideration after all. If her mother

had made demands, that would have been one thing. She would have expected that. But her father . . . everyone said she resembled her father. Oughtn't he to have understood? She bore, and bore proudly, the abuse described in her versions, and though she would never admit it—thinking of her father—the more she hurt herself in them, the prouder, the stronger, the happier she became. She wrote home not frequently but regularly, for she wanted to keep channels open, memories alive.

As Zina grew older, all that dark Rapunzel hair grayed. Her skin wrinkled like a deflated balloon. Her voice shriveled. John Young married a girl half Zina's age. When she heard about it, she shuddered at the thought of his big hands, big feet and then thought no more about him. Her father died in the flu epidemic after World War 1, and she cried at his funeral, angry at the tears channeling over the wrinkles dug in so early. Roy collapsed in the field one day and spent six hours under the summer sun before Lizzy, boiling fig jam, had sense enough to send Loren for supper-call. He spent the next two years paralyzed and speechless, then died. She felt sorry for fat Lizzy, and spent her vacation that year with her. Lizzy had tried and lost as wife and mother.

Her fingers punched the keys slowly, evenly. . . . *running me out,* she wrote. *I pay good rent, but of course that makes no difference.* No difference that she could afford better. When she retired from her work with the Corlisses, Mr. Corliss had invested her money from her properties for her, "We want you to have a good income, Zina," he said. Mr. Corliss was good to her. It was his wife, she thought, who was the troublemaker. Other women always were. When she sat in Lizzy's house with Frank and heard Frank tell Lizzy, "It's crowded out at our place, and it would be nice if Zina had a house of her own," she thought—all those silly women.

Lizzy said she would enjoy Zina's company.

"She'd pay you rent of course," said Frank, as though she were an object in another room.

"That's not necessary," said Lizzy. "The house is just sitting. If she could take care of her utilities. . . . "

"I shall pay," said Zina, "I shall pay—" and she quoted a sum perversely beyond the little house's worth.

"That's too much," said Lizzy.

"—or I don't stay at all."

She then had something immediate to write about. She always had something to write about. She wrote now after Frank's visit: *It's just as well she wants me to leave. For the money I pay, this house is anything but satisfactory. And do you know what else? Do you remember your letter—*

Struck by a new idea, she stopped. Why not? she thought. She changed her dress, tidied her hair resting on her head like a great gray cushion. After talking with Frank, she needed a walk.

He was just stepping off Lizzy's porch when she came up the driveway from the oleanders.

"Going to town?" he asked.

"Yes."

"Hop in. I'll give you a ride."

Chin high, she walked on. It was hot, but she was accustomed to heat. "Zina," she heard Frank say, "I can't make any sense out of you."

Her shadow was dark and sharp behind her on the sidewalk. The sun burned in her eyes. She stayed as near the buildings as she could to avoid the sun. Ordinarily it didn't bother her. What bothered today was the way it glared in her eyes. She

held her back straighter, imagining Frank following in the car, his burn scar pale, making her think of his old pain, waiting for her to falter.

She was relieved to get inside the hardware store, safe from Frank, safe from the sun. With the air-conditioning, the air made little icicles on her arms. After the glare, she stood in the doorway, uncertain which way to move, unable to see clearly her way.

"Is anything the matter, ma'am?"

She couldn't make out the man's features. She squinted. He wasn't much taller than she was, butu his face was all shadow.

"Of course, nothing's the matter."

He took her arm anyway. "Sit down over here," he said. "It's a real hot one today."

She wanted to protest, but she was beside the chair and then in it before she could muster denial. Tired, she felt her limbs relax, until she made herself sit forward, back straight. The man came clear—piggy face, red hands. She tightened her muscles, withdrawing. Fat red hands.

"I want a mailbox," she said.

"Yes, ma'am," he said. "If you sit there, I'll find someone to wait on you."

She looked about the store at lawn mowers, bags of lawn fertilizer, lawn chairs. . . . She sat in a lawn chair. It reminded her of the way Mrs. Corliss used to sit beside their pool in her chair. Relaxed. Or Lizzy on her daybed . . . she lay on her daybed listening to soap operas, silly things, but she relaxed, too, until Zina came. Although starch packed her bones as she thought of the snit she'd thrown Lizzy into, the idea of relaxing couldn't help but appeal to her. For the first time the prospect of moving into another place discomforted her.

Here was the mailbox. She bought also a hammer and nails. With the sun behind her, the walk back on McPherson was less trying. She was eager to get back, and the eagerness made the pavement less warm under her feet, the still air less hot as she moved through it, stepping—tap, tap, tap—on her own shadow.

At home, her face showed no strain. In the mirror, it looked as impassive as ever—wrinkled, Roman-nosed, slope-chinned. Hard to tell what Zina was thinking. Just like her father. She changed back into her housedress, glanced at the uncompleted letter in the typewriter. She already knew what she would write. She scarcely needed to go through with the action, for it couldn't change what she wanted to write. Lizzy in a snit. She took up mailbox, hammer, and nails, and went forth to perform what had—to her mind—already been written.

The oleanders had overgrown her doorway so that in her rush she brushed her hair, snagging a strand loose. She'd told Lizzy to have them trimmed. But that was after the quarrel started, and Lizzy had ignored her. She let her hair go, saying to herself, "Drat!" and moved on up the driveway, wishing she could sweep down the whole row. She couldn't see Lizzy watching. In a spell with her soap operas, no doubt. She'd failed these last years, Lizzy had, after Loren's oldest boy was killed in Korea. Feeble old woman. Zina felt sorry. She'd liked Loren's children, what she saw of them, but Lizzy had taken those risks and had to live with them.

Nailed to the house beneath the front porch roof was the mailbox Lizzy insisted they both use. The hammer trembling in her hand, Zina spotted a place for her box just where Lizzy would see it each time she pulled out her own mail. She drew a scratch with a nail. She would have placed it higher, but she grew short of breath if she raised her arms too high. That's what getting old did to you, she thought

grimly. It wasn't easy to hold the box up, the nail through the hole, levy the hammer. But she would do it. Bang, bang, bang. She almost hit her own hand. The nail split into two nails as her sight blurred. Determined, she waited for them to draw back together. Bang, bang, bang. With that nail in far enough to hold the box, she was free to get another for the other side.

And here came Lizzy.

Zina ignored her, stared at the sun-brightened wall in front of her. She put the nail through the other hole, straightening the box. It was warm under her fingers.

"What are you doing?"

She missed the nail and it fell.

"Zina, get out of my flowers."

She wouldn't look at Lizzy. She stood there in her patterned housedress supporting herself with an arm on the corner of her house, there in the fulness of her side vision. Not fat Lizzy anymore, Lizzy with the firm white arms, the bright rose petal cheeks. Now Lizzy's skin had failed her, shriveling on her arms. Her eyes, very pale and washed very blue, had cataracts. Her hair was white and thin. She couldn't hobble to town anymore. Fat bouncy Lizzy had nothing on her.

Bang, bang, bang. The other nail held.

Lizzy reached over and pulled on her arm, but she batted her away. She struck at the nail but missed. Lizzy stepped off the porch.

"Out of my flowers now—"

Zina aimed at the nail. And, then—! Lizzy reached up to pull on the box and the hammer struck Lizzy's hand. Lizzy cried out, a low pale cry, and clutched her hand against her stomach, a hand as old as Zina's and a body as unsupple. She released her hand to glance at it, then pulled it and its pain into her dress again. The mailbox clattered to the ground.

"You knocked it down," said Zina. Only now—without wanting to—did she look directly at Lizzy. She looked at Lizzy and in her mind, the memory nudging the roots of her hair so that her scalp tingled, she saw Lizzy again—fat dimpled Lizzy—saw her in a kind of double vision when the first dead baby was born and then Loren, saw the round face as it was then squeezed and sucked with pain. She had looked grimly on at Lizzy's taut body, held bitterly the sweating hand, when the pains took hold. Lizzy had gambled and this was what she got. This pain. And for what? Dead children. Zina could not tolerate physical pain. She saw this, remembered it, as she looked at Lizzy, all the lines of her face drawn above to the shut eyes and below to the O of her mouth. Shriveled Lizzy in pain. "Keep your hands to yourself and you don't get hurt," she said.

Lizzy stepped back up on her porch. "Cantankerous old woman," she said, half-mutter, half-moan, holding her hand to her mouth.

Zina let the mailbox lie. The oleanders loosened more of her hair. In the house she laid the hammer on the bed. Then she sat at her typewriter. She felt too shaken to type. Her assault and what should have been her victory, what should have buoyed her in the stress she'd stirred up, had failed, had mustered her feelings and turned them back on her. Much in her mind seemed to be in pieces. She closed her eyes and saw Lizzy's hand slip in underneath. She knew she couldn't change the hammer's direction. It was too late.

With her lids shut over her dry eyes, she saw Lizzy's house, too, dusty and hot in the sun. Yellow frame house with untrimmed honeysuckle climbing over the porch. Floors sagging. Doorways uneven. She thought of the Corliss' house with longing, its large Spanish lines, the long circular drive through manicured lawns,

immense palm trees. Lizzy's house was drab. She'd lived in it ever since Roy died. Sold the farm and moved into town. In the Corliss house there was little pain, and that little easily soothed.

Zina noticed that she had slumped in the chair. Straightening, she thought: Just like Lizzy to put her hand in. . . . She took a fresh sheet of paper. *Do you know what she did when I tried to put up my own mailbox*? She stopped, uncertain what to add. Just like Lizzy, she muttered.

Frank arrived before long. First at Lizzy's. Then entering her own house without knocking, he stood in the doorway, heaving a big sigh as though he were the one so sorely put upon. Twice in one day.

"Get some stuff together," he said. "Lizzy wants you out now. I'll have to come back later and pack up for you."

"Because of her hand—"

"Why can't you use the same mailbox?"

"And how is her hand?" she said stiffly, resenting her own worry.

"Oh, her hand is all right. Be a bruise on it. It's a good thing you're so poor with a hammer. Where you going to go? That's the problem. I suppose we can get you a motel room for a couple of days till we find something."

She lifted her chin. "A motel, you say?"

"I'm afraid so," he said. "I told you Glenna doesn't want you at our place—"

"I see."

The indignity of it braced her like a fresh wind. A motel . . . Her fingers flexed, anxious for the typewriter. Frank wanted to leave it behind until later, but she insisted on taking it. He carried it to the car while she was packing.

A motel, she thought.

As they drove out the driveway past Lizzy's house, Zina looked straight at Lizzy's window. The curtain, sure enough, was lifted back. That same hurt hand. She thought of Lizzy's angry mutter: "Cantankerous old woman!"—and held her head a bit higher.

A Note on Lewis B. Horne

Since 1968, if my information is correct, Lewis B. Horne has been publishing stories in various literary quarterlies, stories that draw mostly on his Mormon background in Mesa, Arizona. His literary skill won him the Hopwood Award in Fiction at the University of Michigan in 1960 and, more recently, a place in *Best American Short Stories 1974*. Yet I doubt many of *Dialogue's* readers have heard of him or his work—at least not of his fiction (his modified sestina, "Vision of an Older Faith," appeared in Vol. IX, No. 4). I came upon his work quite by accident when I saw his story "Dream Visions" cited in *Best American Stories 1973* and recognized his name as that of a writer who had submitted some poems to *Dialogue*. From there (though it would have been simpler, if less fun, just to write to Lewis Horne himself), it was a matter of backtracking through contributor's notes to come up with the following list of Horne's stories, a list which may not be complete and may well be out of date by now. But for any of *Dialogue's* readers who may wish to see more of Lewis Horne's work, it is something to start with.

"Peggy and the Olivers: A Memoir of McKennow Road." *Descant,* 13, 1 (Fall 1968), 2–15.
"When Dry Summers End." *Discourse,* 12, 1 (Winter 1969), 42–53.
"A Summer to Sing, A Summer to Cry." *Prairie Schooner,* 44, 2 (Summer 1970), 95–120.
"Thor Thorsen's Book of Days." *Cimarron Review,* 12 (July 1970), 67–79.
"Dream Visions." *Ohio Review,* 13, 2 (Winter 1972), 86–93.
"Mansion, Magic, and Miracle." *Colorado Quarterly,* 22, 2 (Autumn 1973), 189–202; reprinted in Martha Foley, ed., *Best American Short Stories 1974* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1974).
"The People Who Were Not There." *Kansas Quarterly,* 5, 3 (Summer 1973), 27–37.

Bruce W. Jorgensen

MARDEN CLARK

GOD'S PLENTY

For Bishop Leon Clark*

* *Killed when a grain-filled silo burst.*

I

The harvest poured til you could bear
  No more, till you
Could neither know nor care.

Immersed: the word rings clean and true,
  Immersed you in
God's plenty that cost us you.

The best harvest you had tasted
  But a great belly
Burst and a good man wasted.

Great concrete gates swung wide, no doubt
  But not to let
You in: the harvest out.

You took full measure of His blessings
  And left
To us the sad assessings.

* * *

Every way I think or say
  It comes out
Bitter irony:

Under the harvest yourself desired.

MARDEN CLARK is professor of English at BYU.

Why?

The question teases on the edge of sense
  Suspends darkly
Over dark parentheses

And we can only wonder. . .

II

When our father took us out to see what you had done
With Deep Creek, out over the ridge past Bear Hollow
To look down on rich green pasture where only sagebrush
Interrupted by an occasional chokecherry or serviceberry
Had grown, the hillside green sloping away toward the creek,
Cattle near the bottoms belly deep in green by a clump of trees
Beside the stream—a poet's pastoral dream, including the backdrop:
First the pasture land sloping up and away, then deeper scrub-oak
  green
Then pines covering all the steepening slopes,
Climbing fast now, to the ragged stretches of the Wasatch range
Defining our valley, both bounds and character,
All the way up Monday Town (where no town was)
Up past First Hollow, where I'd tipped my first header box over
And been buried in harmless headings,
Past rust-brown silhouettes of old headers and combines,
Outline history of our dry-farm struggles,
Past alfalfa on both sides of Monday Town gulch
(He had to stop and wade with us out through it
And out through wheat further on, both wondrously green
Against my memories of six-horse teams trudging in dust
To pull two-bottom plows along these stretching slopes
Through almost any of my growing-up summers)
Up and over Bear Hollow ridge and down through the hollow,
Fallow that year, on up and over to all that green.

Outside the car, as our children scattered through the green,
He stood and looked, stretched out his arms,
Moved them in gentle arc,
Then turned and looked at us, softly sharp, for long moments
To see if we were glowing too.

An hour we stood and talked,
Re-lived long summers of clearing and burning brush
And burning ourselves
And watching helplessly burning wheat
Under the unjust sun
And spreading bait along the squirrel-ravaged periphery
And finding the sickly pale and acrid green of stink weed patches;
Re-lived the early autumns of Uncle Carlos skinning header teams
Along side hills no plow should even have touched,
We marveling at the skill and at the stream of expletives
When chain came off or canvas carriers clogged;
Remembered old Brother Johansen and his threshing machines
The slip of headings under our feet
The trick father taught us of levering with knee
Sewed sacks of grain onto wagon or truck
The marvel of Mother's cooking for thirty threshing hands
The first combine, that made such meals obsolete
The first crawler cat, to pull the combine and to pull
The first disc plow, that left twelve feet of new-turned soil
Our slow discoveries about steep-slope pastures
And how alfalfa holds moisture on gentler slopes
And builds soil toward the best hay in the valley

Remembered all this—and saw the deepening glow
In his eyes when he saw the answering glow
In ours.

He turned, stretched his arms again in that slow
Arc of benediction, full circle now
To enclose us all,
Saw all those years
Fulfilled beneath his arms,
Fulfilled in all of us,
Fulfilled at last and most in you.

III

. . . And satisfy ourselves in wonder
At God's plenty that gave us you
And that you gave us
God's plenty in your family
God's plenty in the memories
God's plenty under the arc
Of Father's arms.

MARILYN MCMEEN MILLER BROWN

GRANDMOTHER

Were you cold?
I was cold and the wind was bitter
The canyon wide and deep and chill,
The cabin walls as thin as paper.
Hold my hand.
Yes, I will.

Were you sad?
Bent, like a flower
Blown in the salt marsh by a gale,
Bathed by the moon and the ice of a shower.
Warm my hand.
Yes, I will.

Were you ill?
Yes, ill and lonely,
Lying on the blackened floor,
The children crying "Mother, mother!
Give us water. Give us more!"

MARY McMEEN MILLER BROWN, author of *Rainflowers,* is writing a collection of poetry based on the life of Vontella Hess Kimball from which this poem is excerpted.

Did you help them?
Yes, I gave them
The dregs of water from the well.
On my knees I crawled to bathe them,
Touch their lips with the empty pail.

Were you thirsty?
Yes, I thirsted
But not for water, milk, or food;
I thirsted for my God's pure mercy.

Did he save you?
As he could.

Are you cold?
Yes, cold and lonely,
Walking toward the blowing night.
Have your warm hands come to take me?
Yes, that is right.

GOSPEL BY THE MONTH

DAVID BRISCOE

Ensign

In 1971, all official church magazines were literally swept away and replaced by three colorful, professional, slick publications, each aimed at a different age group—the *Ensign* for adults, the *New Era* for young people and the *Friend* for children. At the same time fifteen "unified" international magazines began publishing articles in fifteen languages taken from the other three. (They had earlier replaced locally published missionary magazines.)

Among publications axed was the oldest continuous magazine in the church, the *Millennial Star.* Begun in 1840 by Parley P. Pratt in London, with the promise that it would "stand aloof from the common political and commercial news of the day," it had covered the death of the Prophet Joseph Smith.

With the demise of the *Relief Society Magazine,* Mormon women lost their official magazine voice for the first time since 1872 when the *Women's Exponent* first appeared.

The new publications meant the discontinuance of advertising, a feature of most official church periodicals since 1929. No official mention was made of this change. One can only speculate on whether it was the result of the Church's increasing growth outside Salt Lake City—most advertising was aimed at Utahns—or whether concern was raised over possible implied church sanction of advertisers. At any rate, church sources say the magazines are now largely self-sustaining. And at 50 cents or less an issue, they are among the least expensive periodicals sold.

The comments of editors of church publications abolished at the end of 1970 show a sometimes begrudging acceptance of the new era in church publications.

The *Millennial Star* published letters from several British stakes. A spokesman for the Manchester Stake wrote that the *Star* had reported "everything possible of happenings here in more detail than we will be able to expect in the new church magazines."

The editor of the Sunday School magazine, *The Instructor,* wrote: "We have an optimistic view of the new Church magazines to appear starting in January. This does not prevent a touch of regret and nostalgia for the magazine that has been part of the Sunday School almost since the *Juvenile Instructor* began publication in 1866." The magazine was described as one of the oldest in America, but its editor acknowledged the new church publications would be "even more interesting, more instructive, more spiritual, and more authoritative than the periodicals they replace."

The most supportive statement came from Marianne C. Sharp, first counselor in the Relief Society, in an editorial in the last issue of the *Relief Society Magazine.*

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But even she made it clear who killed the magazine. "As we detail and recall nostalgic memories, we will, obedient to the priesthood and receiving direction from them, face forward in step with the new era of the 1970's with anticipation and a sense of dedication and support for the all-adult magazine. *Moriurae te salutamus."* She urged members to preserve copies of the defunct magazine, as "a treasure house of inspiring material."

The promise of the new magazines went beyond that. The *Ensign's* editor, the late Doyle L. Green, suggested an effort that would make it "the best religious magazine for adults published anywhere in the world."

That boast contrasts with the humble beginnings of an earlier church magazine, *The Contributor,* published between 1879 and 1896, forerunner of the *Improvement Era,* now the *New Era.* Wrote its editors: "We do not claim high literary excellence or profundity of matter in the columns of our magazine, its merit in those respects will be whatever the talent of the young ladies and gentlemen in whose interest it is published will make it."

Although no specific reasons were given for abandoning the long-standing church publications, the purpose of the new magazines was clear. President Harold B. Lee in 1972 said, "They are designed not only to strengthen the faith of Church members, to promulgate the truths of the everlasting gospel, and to keep members informed on current and vital policies, programs and happenings, but also to provide worthwhile articles to entertain and enrich their lives."

The new publications—like the new lesson material, the new visitors centers, the new church office building and a host of new General Authorities—have apparently gained wide acceptance as the unchanging gospel adapts to changing times.

"General reaction around the church to the changes of the past five years has been positive," said church spokesman Don LeFevre. "Many letters are received, most of them laudatory and many of them are published."

No circulation figures are released, but certainly a majority of the world's 3.75 million church members have some exposure to one or more of the magazines. If the latest issue isn't found in the home, discreetly placed on an end table when home teachers call, then church-going members are exposed to the magazines' stories disguised as $2\frac{1}{2}$-minute talks or their lavish illustrations held aloft by an instructor.

President Joseph Fielding Smith heralded the new publications with the statement: "Recognizing a need to strengthen the family, the basic unit of the Church, the brethren have directed that three new publications . . . begin publication in January."

The most obvious changes to readers of the new magazines were the graphics. Modern typesetting, more colorful and creative illustrations and an all-around cleaner, crisper, more-professional look characterize each. No longer the quaint reflections of a peculiar people, the new magazines have a fresh, creative, modern look—something in keeping with the modern technology that has become a prominent component of the modern Gospel.

Through it all, an aura of wholesomeness, of conformity to Gospel principles prevades. Even though format of the July 1976 interview with Church Historian Leonard J. Arrington is modern, the questions and answers are, with few exceptions, middle-of-the-road. Only one question approached controversy:

"Ensign: What happens if some of the research shows aspects of Mormon life that might not fit our image of the ideal pioneer ancestor?"

Arrington acknowledged this does happen. "These people weren't perfect," he says, adding that descendants might not want it mentioned that an early bishop "occasionally served coffee or performed acts for which he was later sorry."

Arrington says, "We consult with members of the family, with friends, with professional historians, both members and nonmembers, and with appropriate church officials. We also pray for good judgment, wisdom, and proper direction and try to be prayerful in carrying out all of our assignments and callings."

But controversy is hardly the staple of church magazines.

The new publications are a key part of the great, self-reinforcing gospel mandala. They put into writing, drawing and photograph the same ideas that flow from the pulpit. Spiritual ideas, once outlined only in grey type find a lively format. Film, tape and records do the same thing. But it is the print media that is the most enduring, the most direct and the most personal. While the images of a day in church, of a church-produced film, or even a cassette scripture fly by, a devotee can curl up with his *Ensign* and take in the gospel at his own pace. A bedside *Bible* or *Book of Mormon* offer a similar experience. But the new magazines provide something else. They have taken the additional step of putting gospel ideas in formats more acceptable to modern taste.

In some cases, even the ideas themselves represent a halting step away from the inspirational story, cute poem, "in" joke, talk by a General Authority and more good news about the Church.

There have been no in-depth articles on the Equal Rights Amendment, racial prejudice, political attitudes of Mormons, challenges to the authenticity of church scriptures, church businesses, attitudes towards homosexuals or numerous other issues recently in the gentile news. But there have been short, usually one-sided, pieces touching on these and other subjects. And a few articles in both the *Ensign* and *New Era* show a willingness to deal with problems previously ignored.

In the March 1976 *Ensign* issue on "Women and the Church", Associate Editor Lavina Fielding writes of inadequate marriages, of failure in motherhood and of women who are concerned about their own needs beyond that of their families. She even suggests that separation or divorce might be an acceptable answer for some problems.

Ms. Fielding notes advice from spiritual leaders concerning children and quotes a grandmother looking back on a life of financial hardship and cultural deprivation as saying, "The children made it all worthwhile." Then the writer adds " . . . like other couples in today's society, Mormon couples usually can choose to remain childless or to choose a predetermined number of children." She quotes another mother, after prayer about having another baby, as saying, "The answer I got was just that having another child right now is not something I'm required to do. When the time comes again, I'll be ready."

That is a sentiment likely shared by many Mormon women but one rarely, if ever, acknowledged from the pulpit.

The September 1971 issue of the *New Era* reports on an international conference of the church Student Association, covering such mildly controversial subjects as the environment, campus unrest and women's issues.

One young participant was quoted as saying, "I'm a good member of the church, and have full respect for all it teaches. But dissension and protest do not mean to me the opposite of patriotism, especially when they are performed within constitutional law."

A search of the five-year index of church periodicals, with nine columns under conversion, shows only a handful of references to such potentially controversial topics as abortion, birth control, Negroes, ecology or women's issues.

A fair appraisal of church magazines must recognize, however, that most church members are not as concerned with controversy as they are with strengthening their own faith. The magazines reflect this. Certainly, most, if not all of the material published by the Church has value for a segment of church members. To fulflll the spiritual and intellectual needs of all members is beyond the scope of any magazine.

The periodicals have obvious reference value for teachers, speakers, writers and, most importantly, parents. The conference issues, now published literally within a few days of the close of semi-annual conferences, are a valuable tool, providing complete texts of nearly all speeches. Although it is difficult to imagine anyone rereading all the conference speeches after having heard them, the texts can fill gaps, contribute to discussions of things heard or misheard and provide complete reminders of what for many are spiritual experiences.

The authoritative nature of speeches by General Authorities is rarely questioned. But other features in church magazines lead to the question of whether their contents should be taken as official doctrine.

The August 1977 issue of the *Ensign* addresses the question to Elder Dean L. Larsen of the First Quorum of the Seventy, who oversees church magazines.

Elder Larsen notes that articles "receive not only the scrutiny and judgment of the editing staffs, but are also subject to clearance by the Correlation Review committees. Committee members are called as a result of their expertise in such areas as Church doctrine, Church history and Church administration, and serve three different age groups: adult, youth and children."

He continues, "Much care is exercised to make certain that the official publications of the Church carry messages that are sound in doctrine and fully in harmony with currently approved policies and procedures. A constant effort is maintained to upgrade and correct the content of these materials so that they can merit the confidence and approval of church leaders and the general membership."

That everything written in church magazines has been somehow homogenized into doctrinal harmony by the Correlation Review committees is a worrisome matter for anyone looking for more openness and diversity in church publications. In journalistic terms, the inevitable conclusion is that church publications are highly censored and can never accurately reflect the true spirit of a free people. It is censorship for a worthwhile purpose, to be sure, and probably censorship more often self-imposed by the writer than by any Correlation Review committee. But how much valuable thought goes unspoken because a well-intentioned, devout writer has second-guessed the General Authorities or their representatives in lower echelons?

On the other hand, perhaps the assurance that church magazines carry only messages that are "sound in doctrine and fully in harmony with currently approved policies and procedures" is a comforting one for those seeking the spiritual solace which seems to be the main offering of these magazines.

BYU STUDIES, HOW SHE IS

LAURA WADLEY

Brigham Young University Studies

A Voice For the Community of LDS Scholars

People are always asking me how I like working at *BYU Studies.* I say:

- It's not as good as playing softball behind the Meadow Ward meetinghouse.
- It's not as bad as leprosy, hog cholera, or stepping on a nail in the barnyard.
- It's not as good as drinking chocolate milk and reading *Tarzan and the Jewels of Opar* on a long afternoon in the summertime.

That's what I would like to say. What I really say is that work is, after all, work, and it is a mercy when any work has its moments—as work at *BYU Studies* certainly does.

Some of those moments are bad moments:

"Could you tell me whatever happened to that article I submitted to you in 1968 I think it was?"

- It fell down behind the stove.
- It was seized in a Correlation Committee *blitzkrieg.*
- Rats ate it.

That's what I would like to say. What I really say is that it is out to a reader right now. What I don't say is that the reader was lost off the coast of the Philippines in the Spanish-American War.

"But why *can't* you use my article on 'Chiasmus in the *Nauvoo Expositor*'?"

- Three graduate interns have already perished of ennui while trying to read it.
- Too long.
- Too short.
- Too much jam on page three.

That's what I would like to say. What I really say is, "We have three special issues coming up. Why don't you send it to *Dialogue*?"

But through it all I am restrained from throwing my typewriter through the window by the fact that I have no window. Also, by the fact that *BYU Studies* has its good moments as well. Such as . . .

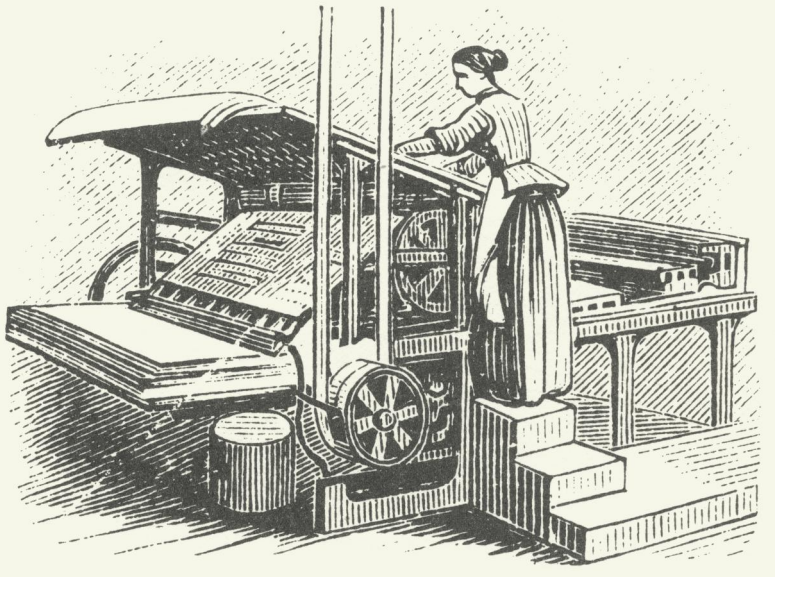
- When we get an envelope in the mail from Stan Kimball with SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT: THESE ARE POSITIVELY, DEFINITELY, AND PERHAPS THE LAST OF THE CHANGES typed on the outside, and on the inside a manuscript that looks like *The Rape of the Sabine Women.*
- When I'm proofreading a set of galleys, and I read: "At the peak of this agricultural stagnation and business acceleration, the dark daks of economic depression descended."

LAURA WADLEY is the assistant editor of *BYU Studies.*

- The realization, finally, that a scholarly journal has its own aesthetic: black ink on thick cream paper. Author, title, place of publication, publisher, date of publication, page number. And that when a fine mind, a good heart, and an unfailing faith unite in impeccable *order* on that cream-colored page, that is lovely and fine.

Did you like "Beyond Politics," "Liberating Form," "The Meaning of Christ," "Joseph Knight's Recollection of Early Mormon History," "The Old Philosopher"? I read them before you did and helped set them on the page. And when I cut the plastic wrap on the first copy of a new issue, that's a good day.

That's what I want to say. And that's what I do say.



A WIDER SISTERHOOD

CLAUDIA L. BUSHMAN

EXPONENT II

Many readers were surprised and delighted when *Exponent II* burst upon the scene. "You have lifted my thoughts from the mundane and sweetened my dreams of fulfillment," wrote one. Another commented, "A newspaper for Mormon feminists? Far out! Maybe there *is* a place in the Church for women like me." Still another reader wrote that when she read through an issue, she wept, "not because the articles were particularly emotional, but because I had found someone, at last, who understood the feelings and thoughts I have had the past few years." A young wife wrote that her husband was "floored to discover timely LDS-related articles."

Exponent II, a quarterly, twenty-page, tabloid newspaper, was begun in emulation of and admiration for the *Women's Exponent* (1872–1914), the first long-lived feminist periodical in the western United States. The publishers were domestic women who decided to put out a newspaper on the side. Could today's women do the same? For generations the church community in the Boston area has been filled with bright young men aspiring for professional excellence and their equally bright wives who tended babies and kept house, but who still had a little leftover energy. Over the years this energy has been channeled into church work, community work and a steady stream of other projects.

One of these projects was *A Beginner's Boston,* a guidebook first published in 1966 and revised three times since. It is still sold in Boston bookstores and has furnished thousands of dollars for the Relief Society and the welfare fund. The Cambridge Ward provided capital and encouragement, and the local women did the research and writing.

Then in 1971, Robert Rees, editor of *Dialogue,* entrusted a special issue of *Dialogue* to them, which became known as the "pink Dialogue" or the woman's issue. What should such an issue contain? Some articles were generated locally, others invited from around the country and all celebrated faithful diversity. While some critics felt that hard-core problems had been evaded, others found the volume readable, supportive and inspiring. While working on the issue, the editors developed an understanding of the natural network of women in the Church obviously eager to be in touch with each other.

The next autumn some of the same women organized a class on nineteenth century Mormon women at the Cambridge LDS Institute which met with a different leader each week. This class may have been the first of many such classes held over the United States. (These informal presentations were later written up and published as a book, a collection of twelve essays entitled *Mormon Sisters: Women in Early Utah.*)

CLAUDIA L. BUSHMAN, founding editor of *Exponent II,* is pursuing a PhD in American Studies.

It seemed that after the Institute classes, not much was left to try. "Have you ever thought of putting out a newspaper?" asked one of the husbands. No, they never had. In fact, nobody in the group had ever even worked on a high school newspaper. On the other hand, simple news stories seemed easy after writing scholarly articles. People all over the country had interesting things to say. The paper could include information about study groups, reading lists, guest speakers. Such information in print would be a public service. Several members were skilled at layout, and others could do the typing, art-work and paste-up. All could do the writing. The group already had a good track record of the kind of cooperation needed for such a venture. The staff therefore incorporated as "Mormon Sisters," a title later changed to "Exponent II, Inc." In July 1974, the first issue announced itself as "poised on the dual platforms of Mormonism and Feminism": with its purpose "to strengthen The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and to encourage and develop the talents of Mormon women." That those aims were consistent they intended to show "by our pages and our lives." While this was a heartfelt stance, most of the rhetoric of the paper tended toward whimsey, understatement and wit.

A feminine version of an old abolitionist phrase, "Am I Not a Woman and a Sister?" appeared as a slogan, but was later dropped because some people heard it as a battle cry. The first issue ran a neat eight pages. Each succeeding issue grew by four pages until the present twenty pages was reached.

Some people accused the group of publishing an "underground" press because, to them, the format looks a little racy. A swift perusal of the contents indicates otherwise. The format was chosen because it has a casual, throw-away quality. The paper was begun on a shoestring, "out of the grocery money," and the first issue was distributed free. By the time a second issue was ready, enough subscriptions had come in to pay the bills. By limiting expenditures to hard costs (which meant no salaries), the staff kept the paper afloat. When Susa Young Gates published her *Young Woman's Journal,* she paid her contributors "something, if ever so little," (even herself). That "just compensation" has, as yet, not been possible for the present staff.

During its first year, the paper was regularly taken to task for blandness. No ringing manifestos, no hard stands could be found in its pages. Some said the paper was untrue to its glorious heritage—the first *Exponent*. Some readers were hoping for a tough stand on Church mores and practices. These criticisms always seemed naive to us. Courage is measured against its background. It took no great courage for the writers of the *Women's Exponent* to criticize the national government which was daily violating the constitutional rights of the whole Mormon populace. The paper was merely echoing popular opinion. Brigham Young encouraged the spunky tone of the paper for it served as excellent propaganda to those who opposed polygamy on the grounds that it enslaved women. The more independent and lively, the better.

But the *Women's Exponent* never criticized the Church itself, and people who think that Church leaders today would listen to strong stands are naive. Church leadership is democratic in that each faithful member gets the chance to run some small domain, but the power lines all run down from the top. There is no mechanism for criticism from the grass roots. In fact, critics are studiously ignored if not too vigorously excluded. The simple truth is that angry females, clamoring for their real or supposed rights, offend the canons of womanliness and femininity. The harder such women fight, the tighter the ranks close against them.

Church members have been more polarized by the woman question than they should be. If opposing sides could move past slogans and scare issues, they would probably find themselves in basic agreement. *Exponent II* encourages this unity in a wider sisterhood, believing that fighting is bootless.

In most cases repression is more often imagined than real. Ambitious women with unusual goals may not get much encouragement, but when they finally succeed, they are lauded. Rather than rage in print about the limitations that women suffer, *Exponent II* talks about the women who have prevailed over their difficulties.

Not all women can be nuclear physicists, but most can do a little writing and get their names in print. Unfortunately, many feel that other women have "talent" while they have none. They think writing, or painting, or poetry comes easily to the talented ones. Actually, writing is hard and painful for most of the people who do it. Those who go through the initial miseries, however, who revise their writing while accepting suggestions from others, can usually work up a publishable piece. The editors of *Exponent II* are happy to help in this process.

The paper has always felt as much responsibility to build the contributors as to entertain the readers. As a result, each issue contains material that probably would not be published elsewhere. *Exponent II* aims to "rise *with* the masses, not *from* the masses," and a broad production of literary endeavors is necessary to that end. The aim is for participation as much as for excellence. On the other hand, graceful writing and pieces of real importance have been published.

It was feared that only known literate Mormon women would send in their pieces, but the representation has been surprisingly wide. Exciting pieces appear unsolicited. Everyone is invited to contribute—in each issue, by word of mouth and often by letter. A good percentage of what is received is published.

Beginning writers are published next to noted writers who have generously written for the paper or allowed their work to be reprinted. The stars receive no more billing than the lesser-known and less-skilled writers. Here we are all sisters (and some brothers) together. The inclination to identify writers by their professions, church assignments, number of children, degrees, or husband's occupations has been resisted.

The personnel of the editorial staff of *Exponent II* has changed markedly since it began. Of the twelve original members, six have peeled off for various reasons. Most have moved away. The group is considered elitest by some, but the edges have always been loose. Anyone interested in being involved who is willing to work will usually be absorbed.

Many good Church members question whether a paper like *Exponent II* should exist within the Church community. Certainly those involved in the unofficial Church press take the risk of being misunderstood or dismissed as heretics. Many readers judge the writings of others by some undefined standard of orthodoxy. Certainly, the example of *Dialogue* has helped to upgrade the official Church publications and has provided a forum for unknown writers. (A recent anthology of church literature—*A Believing People,* compiled by Richard H. Cracroft and Neal E. Lambert—leaned heavily on reprints from *Dialogue.*)

An "outside press" can project a reality impossible in official Church magazines. An important justification for *Exponent II* is the preservation of Mormon women of the 1970's in all their confusion, diversity and faithfulness. The paper aims to record the interchange between sisters for the future, just as the *Woman's Exponent* crystalized the past.

Some pieces are peculiarly at home in an unofficial woman's paper. Orma Whitaker's skillful and moving poem is a good example:

After Surgery

No more brown eyed people will come to this house.

I have been hollowed and scoured and made
as polished as the inside of a drum,
and I echo with the silence of
unborn voices.

Come to me, all my children who will never be,
and I will tell you about the shortness of the summer
and how the pruned stubs throb.

We will be sad together for a while.
I have saved a lot of sighs to wrap you in,
and I will lay you down with songs of
how I might have loved you.

And then—goodbye.
Sleep softly. Murmur sometimes and I will
come to hush you in my dreams,
while all my days press forward, turning,
searching for another
season.

Women respond to this poem, sympathizing in sorrow with this peculiarly female experience. One reader said it was so good it should be "published." (She meant *really* published!) Nearly universal, powerful and true as this poem is, it would probably not have found a place in the standard church magazines. Though it speaks of motherhood, the reality of the experience is too "negative" for a publication which by definition must be optimistic and proscriptive.

The editors of *Exponent II* may or may not have begun such a venture if they had known at the paper's beginning what they now know. Much has certainly been learned in the process. After three years, the paper has a skillful and energetic core of workers and a faithful following. Financially healthy, it has always published on time. No power struggles, no schisms have marred its history. A group of sisters have done it together!

SUNSTONE

SCOTT KENNEY

SUNSTONE

"Oh," lamented Job, "that mine adversary had written a book." Logic and syntax—even basic facts—which are unmistakably clear and irrefutable in manuscript form have a way of breaking down when committed to print. And when they do hold up, one can always find typographical errors, printing smudges and design problems. Something of a poet himself, Job understood the hazards of publishing. But apparently he had never heard of nonprofit quarterlies, for publishing problems are multiplied a hundred-fold when trying to meet three-month deadlines with no paid staff, new writers and illustrators with every issue, printing delays, subscribers who seem to move weekly without notification, computers that are always "down" and endless forms to fill out for the Post Office, the IRS, state and local tax boards and the copyright office.

How sweet would have been Job's revenge had he been able to get his adversary into publishing! Not only are its afflictions legion, but publishing is addictive as well. Once printer's ink begins to course through the veins, not even insomnia, chronic headaches, assorted nervous disorders and paranoia can induce one to give it up. If one is also religiously motivated, publishing can become an obsession bordering on demonic possession.

To this day I am not sure what started *Sunstone*. Some good intentions, I think, mixed with a lot of optimism and obvious naiveté. Originally the idea was to mimeograph a modest newsletter in religious studies for circulation among Latter-day Saints. I had just completed my second year at Berkeley's Graduate Theological Union, and I had discovered several friends at Harvard Divinity School and others in social work, law and medicine who were willing to support a regular periodical. I had big plans for a bi-monthly, to begin in January, 1975—after just four months' preparation! Fortunately, cooler heads prevailed, and we settled on a quarterly, to begin only when funds were available. All agreed there was a need for a publication where young people could express themselves, sharing their discoveries and concerns without being intimidated by the professional literary and academic standards of the established journals or the editorial mauling associated with some church publications. We wanted to be able to experiment. No doubt some tares would sprout with the wheat, but we were prepared to make mistakes. Our organizing group had very little editing experience and no publishing experience, but that inexperience kept us from taking ourselves too seriously.

The first name selected for the publication was "Whetstone." It seemed to express our desire to provide a forum where new ideas could be produced and refined through free exchange and discussion; and it had possibilities for visual imagery which could convey attachment to our pioneer heritage. Unfortunately, it also had

SCOTT KENNEY is associate editor, *Sunstone*.

the potential to work against us, for as *Dialogue's* Bob Rees pointed out, the first time we printed an article someone didn't like, the word and the picture would be out, "Whetstone is sharpening its knives to stab . . . in the back." Bob suggested "Sunstone," and it stuck: Nauvoo temple, light, truth, intelligence, sun/Son.

While discussing a name, and roughing out a loose editorial policy, we began to look for funding. In November, Susan Hobson suggested using old photographs from the Church collection to produce and market a Mormon history calendar. Church Archives granted permission; Maria Humphrey (Sanchez) put up the $800 down payment for the printer, and she drove the finished product from San Jose to Salt Lake City in a rented station wagon, arriving December 22, 1974. The calendar season was long past, but we had enthusiastic friends who helped with sales. As inexperienced in business as in publishing, we set the price too high ($5) and alienated some by lowering it to $3.50 in January after they had twisted arms for the higher amount just a few days earlier. Except for that unfortunate happening, sale of the 1975 calendar was successful. We paid all our bills and banked several hundred dollars for promotional work in the spring.

Though we had no organizational ties with *Dialogue* editors, when they heard of the project, they offered valuable advice and support. Not only had Bob helped with the name, but Eugene England—whom I first met while selling calendars in front of a Salt Lake supermarket—spoke to a group of *Sunstone* workers one Sunday evening after Christmas. By spring, we were ready to use the *Dialogue* mailing list generously offered by Bob. Five thousand fliers were mailed and distributed by hand in Salt Lake, Provo, Logan, Palo Alto and Berkeley. The results were gratifying—600 subscriptions arrived at the Berkeley post office (which we anxiously checked twice daily) through the summer of 1975. But the 600 proved a mixed blessing—enough for a hopeful beginning, but not enough to sustain us. Without institutional funding or large donations, we have had to scramble from issue to issue to stay out of debt and keep up a fairly regular publication schedule.

Our original intention was to direct *Sunstone* at college-aged Latter-day Saints, but in spite of expensive advertising efforts on Utah campuses, our subscription list remains fairly consistent at two-thirds non-students. We have therefore come to think of ourselves as a youthful magazine for Latter-day Saint students of all ages. Each issue has contained a variety of Mormon experience, scholarship, issues and art.

With Volume II, Number 2 a major change was made: from a journal to a magazine format. To a great extent the change was dictated by financial pressures. The larger size with a stapled binding saves several hundred dollars and nearly doubles the article space we can afford. The journal format may have been too pretentious, too academic-looking for a publication directed at a general readership. In addition, the larger format provides greater opportunity for graphics, a strong element from the beginning.

It may be that some subscribers feel a bit unsettled by the continuing changes in *Sunstone,* but our 33% increase in readership over the past two years seems to indicate that most find the changes are for the better, and we look forward to more growth in the future. After all, for all *his* trouble, "the Lord blessed the latter end of Job more than his beginning."

Note: As this issue goes to press, Sunstone has made yet another change. It has merged with The New Messenger and Advocate, as a bimonthly under the direction of Scott Kenney, Kevin Barnhurst and Peggy Fletcher. The first issue under the new format carried advertising and was sent free of charge to 10,000 Mormons.

THE NEW MESSENGER & ADVOCATE

KEVIN BARNHURST

The New Messenger & Advocate

A magazine is supposed to be one of the easiest businesses to start. It requires no office, no equipment (printing and even mailing can be farmed out to local businesses), no staff as long as volunteer or freelance writers will do the job and only a small amount of ready cash. All it really takes is time. But who is willing to put in the time? This question is especially loaded when applied to independent religious magazines. Religion is a touchy subject even within the safety of official publications, as anyone on the church correlation committee can confess. And without official sanction, independent publications hardly have a leg (not to mention a budget) to stand on. With all the pitfalls of our sticky religious feelings, and no financial lure, it seems *miraculous* that any independent religious magazines are published at all. And yet there *are Dialogue* and *Exponent II* and *Sunstone* and newsletters and journals of almost a dozen Mormon associations. Now there is the *New Messenger & Advocate.* What is the sense in all this? Why do we do it?

The question crossed my mind while I was working for *Dialogue.* After all those sessions of sorting envelopes into zipcode order or processing address changes, and especially after the night we crawled among stacks of brochures until three in the morning, I wondered. I had subscribed to the journal for only a year, and frankly, I had found most of the articles rather dull and longwinded. But when the routine crises of publishing *Dialogue* arose—lost manuscripts, art not arriving, printing difficulties, writers' complaints—I felt each time more strongly that *Dialogue* just *had* to survive. For some reason unknown to me then, and not entirely clear to me now, the publication *had* to come out again. There always had to be a *Dialogue.*

My experiences with *Dialogue* convinced me that I should return to BYU to work on a degree in publishing, so I left Washington and allied myself with a small group of writers now called the Guild of Mormon Writers which was meeting monthly in Provo, Utah. The group was frustrated by the lack of outlets for our writing—especially because the publications that would print our stories and poems wouldn't *pay* for them. One member of the group had recently published his own book and needed a way to let Mormons know about it. I felt that *Sunstone* might also benefit from advertising, and a trial balloon sent to potential advertisers brought an excellent response.

KEVIN BARNHURST is a graduate student in journalism at BYU and associate editor of *Sunstone.*

Professional organizations of Mormons supplied us with mailing lists in return for news coverage. The members of our writers' group provided the manuscripts—a rather varied array of popular magazine articles, news articles, a short story, features and poetry—which we printed along with the advertising. The result was the *New Messenger & Advocate.*

The first issue was mailed in June to over 10,000 Mormons in the United States. This gave us a chance to gauge what readers wanted us to print. We learned that American Mormon readers don't want general-interest features—they get all they need in the official Church publications. Neither do they want half-baked scholarly articles. If it isn't good enough to be printed in *Dialogue,* or other professional journals, it shouldn't be printed at all. What readers really want is news about that fuzzy interface between the Church and the world, an area that has been left in mystifying twilight by both official and independent publications, even by the *Church News.* American Mormons are flooded by scholarship, by creative writing and by internal Church news, but they really need to know about the area of friction or compatibility between being a Mormon and being an American. That may seem dangerous territory, but perhaps by using a straight news-reporting approach and occasional personal essays, we can cover it without offending anyone.

I and my staff are excited about publishing a new national magazine for Mormons, and we hope it will be successful. But if it isn't, we are prepared to stop publishing rather than become a magazine without a strong idea. Since I am largely responsible for it, I have viewed the idea with some distrust. My willingness to turn back at every juncture has been annoying to some of the staff members, who perhaps see the idea clearly than I do. But publishing, especially about religion, carries heavy responsibilities that no one can shoulder lightly. Although I am a publisher by trade, I prefer to use my leisure time writing, and I would find producing the *New Messenger & Advocate* an annoying task if I didn't feel some of the same devotion to it that I feel to *Dialogue.* My devotion is growing as the idea develops, and to my surprise I have found the same commitment to it in staff members. After keypunching thousands of names for the mailing list, one staff member said, "I don't know why I'm doing this. There doesn't seem to be much chance I'll ever be paid for it." But she seemed to think it *had* to be done, that somehow it was very important that it be done. The idea for the *New Messenger & Advocate* is still developing, but it does have some of the strength that has carried *Dialogue* through ten difficult years.

Ed. Note: Since this article was written, the New Messenger & Advocate *has merged with* Sunstone *under the direction of Kevin Barnhurst, Scott Kenney, Peggy Fletcher and the staffs of both.*

WINDMILL JOUSTING AND OTHER MADNESS: *CENTURY 2*

RANDY JOHNSON AND SUE BERGIN

century

Jousting with windmills is a bit out of fashion nowadays, insanity even more so. But every now and then some glittering-eyed individual comes by with an idea most people do best to ignore.

Take Steve Piersanti, for example. In February of 1976, Steve decided that BYU needed a good student journal, an outlet for students seeking to break into print and a workshop for those interested in magazine editing and illustrating. Those-in-the-know agreed with the concept, but they told him it was financially impossible. They explained that very few students would pay to read the thing. So, where would the money come from? Can any good come out of a student's head? When Steve told them he planned on making the journal a professional-quality monthly, illustrated and edited by an all-volunteer staff of students—well, they dismissed him as an amusing but mad eccentric.

Despite knowing smiles and prophecies that the journal would "crash and burn," Steve and his staff of about twenty (all as mad as he) worked thousands of hours that summer and through the following school year to establish *Century 2* as a permanent part of the university. They persisted even when the project threatened not to crash and burn, but simply to die.

The struggle created a unique spirit of camaraderie: All those late-night proof-reading parties and even later-night trying-to-meet-deadlines-with-the-aid-of-pizza-from-Heaps-marathons. Having just been assigned our new office in the basement of BYU house for the third time in less than a year, we sometimes feel like dungeon-mates resigned to living our lives in the dark.

But the struggle has produced results. The journal is a reality. We have had valuable help along the way. Robert Thomas and President Dallin Oaks gave us their full moral and promotional support. Many of the college deans and department chairmen encouraged their students to subscribe to the magazine. Don Norton as faculty advisor and teacher, gave help, as did Dean Bruce B. Clark and Chairman Richard Cracroft.

But the real work was done by Steve and his Sancho Panzas. All of us came to

RANDY JOHNSON is associate editor of *Century II*.
SUE BERGIN is editor of *Century II*.

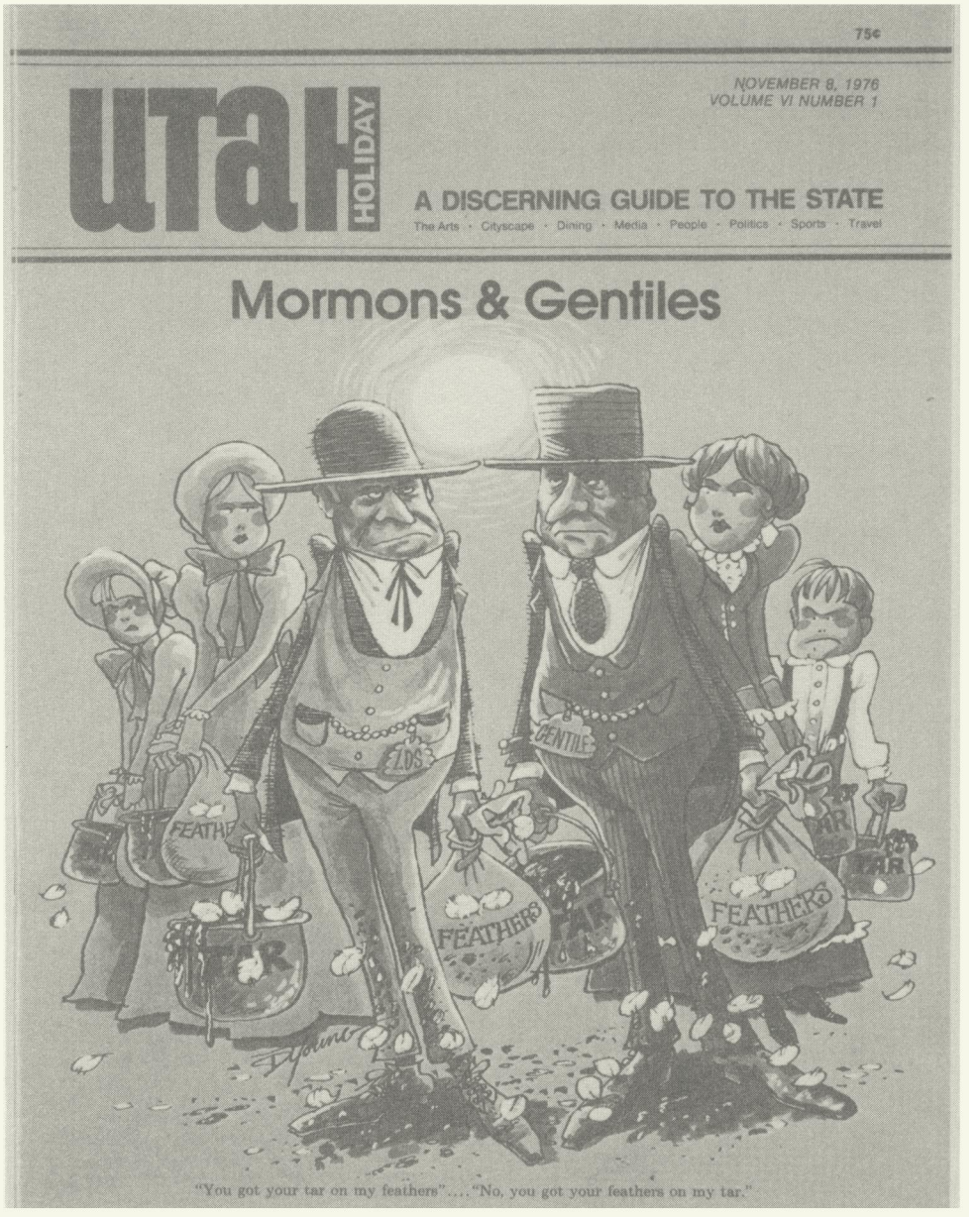
the staff with little or no idea of what publishing was all about. We simply knew that we liked the idea, hoping that the magazine would encourage a higher degree of academic and creative excellence at the "Y," as well as prepare us for future work in editing and illustrating. Yes, we have made mistakes—plenty of them—but somehow the journal has survived. With eight issues behind us and three more in various stages of production, we find that the journal has a readership, albeit a small one, and a professional air to it.

We have great hopes for *Century 2.* Its name is meant to be significant: it was born in the first year of BYU's second century and we hope it will greet the third. We hope it will help BYU students to think more clearly, write more effectively and live more perceptively. At this point, we have limited ourselves to material produced only by students from the Provo and Hawaii BYU campuses. (We are not, however, so inflexible as to refuse a significant paper sent to us from an LDS student at another school.) Occasionally we will print an interview with or a bibliography of a professional educator or artist, but we feel our unique role among the "Mormon magazines" is to provide students with the means to publish the best academic and creative work they can produce. Although we do not labor under the delusion that we have published all that is the best at BYU, we have published some of it. We are constantly searching for those "professional amateurs" who, perhaps unknown to themselves, are producing publishable work. The bulk of what we publish is first written for an honors seminar, a biology course or an English class, so we hope that professors will encourage their students to send their best work to *Century 2.*

We are not interested in printing only Mormon-oriented material; rather, as a quasi-official voice for the university, we seek simply to reflect the intellectual life of the BYU community. One may find within our pages an article on the Venus Flytrap, another on e. e. cummings, interviews with William Stafford and Clinton Larson, a research paper on Matsuo Bashō or a short story about a missionary's struggle with temptation. Since the journal is written, edited and illustrated by Latter-day Saints, we feel that LDS values will pervade everything we do. We have been pleased with the latitude allowed us by the powers that be, and we seek to fulfill their trust in us by publishing a tasteful and responsible journal.

So we've been jousting with windmills for a year now. In spite of the bruises, we still find a certain mystery and wonder in our work. We still worry about where the money is going to come from. We still fluctuate between hope and despair at the slowness of BYU students to read the magazine and contribute their work to it, at the loss of both Steve Piersanti and Mel Thorne (our courageous managing director and our patient editor-in-chief) who have graduated.

But—what the flip. The sun is in front of us, our pencils are sharp, and at our backs is a group of editors and illustrators as lunatic as we are.



"You got your tar on my feathers"...."No, you got your feathers on my tar."

"UTAH TAKES A HOLIDAY"

An interview with Paul Swenson

Dialogue: How long has *Utah Holiday* been in business?

Swenson: It will be six years in November 1977. It started in the basement of Bob Coles' home. Bob is the publisher of the magazine. He had been publishing industrial magazines for several years (*Intermountain Contractor, Intermountain Industry*) and he had always wanted to start a city magazine—leisure and entertainment-oriented. He felt that Salt Lake could support one, so in October, 1971, the first issue went out with very little editorial content and some reviews of the arts. It included a story on the building of the Mormon tabernacle with some heretofore unpublished drawings, and so *Utah Holiday* was born!

I was a reporter on the *Deseret News* at the time. Bob knew that I had wanted to do some movie criticism, so he asked me to write a review for the first issue. By the second issue I was recruiting all my friends to write for the magazine, and without really realizing it, I was becoming the editor!

Dialogue: When did you actually take over?

Swenson: I can't remember exactly when I was put on the masthead. It was probably about five or six issues into the first year. I was still working at the *News*, and I continued to do so. *Utah Holiday* wasn't much work at first, not nearly what it later became. It was possible for a while to work full-time and still put out the magazine.

Dialogue: You say the magazine had a modest beginning. Describe what it is today.

Swenson: I think it compares both esthetically and in content with most other city magazines, such as *Los Angeles Magazine*, the *San Francisco Magazine* and the best one, in my opinion—*The Texas Monthly*. Our average size now is 84 pages. Interestingly enough, we had hoped to come out every two weeks, but after two issues it became apparent that was going to be too much work. A monthly would be the logical cutback, but because of the immediacy of some of the reviews, we decided to put it out every three weeks. It was probably the only publication in the world to come out every three weeks.

PAUL SWENSON was interviewed for *Dialogue* in Salt Lake City, September, 1977 by David Briscoe.

Dialogue: And it came out every three weeks for four or five years?

Swenson: Well, until this year, in fact (1977). We finally faced facts. Because we did go monthly, we were able to jump from 59 pages an issue to 84 pages. Strangely enough, our readers didn't seem to notice that we'd made the change!

Dialogue: What is the circulation?

Swenson: The total press run is 22,000. That is 14,000 resident issues and 8,000 visitors issues. We do two editions—one for tourists and visitors, and one for residents and general readers. The subscription rate is $8.50. Originally it was $4.00, and we were putting out 17 issues, so maybe it was a better bargain. But, of course we were not doing the stuff we're doing now.

Dialogue: Has the philosophy of the magazine changed at all through the years?

Swenson: I think Bob Coles and I both knew what we wanted to do from the first. We had been missionary companions, and although we had not been close for a number of years, we did know each other's interests and ideals. We have never really argued about it. Right from the first we knew we couldn't get into too many heavy issues because we were too small and did not have the necessary space for solid, in-depth reporting. We did have a committment, however, to serious criticism of the arts. We think that set the tone for analytical positions on a whole range of issues. We noticed that when we criticized a play, the roof of the Pioneer Memorial Theatre did not fall in, so we decided we could apply the critical eye to other things.

Dialogue: You began with the name *Utah Holiday*, but the magazine seems to have gone beyond that rather official-sounding title.

Swenson: Yes, the name really is an anachronism. *Utah Holiday* does not really describe what we are doing. Stories about travel and vacations, of course, fit the title, and our visitors identify with that. But eventually, we will probably have to drop the *Holiday* and become, simply *Utah Magazine*. (A magazine using that same name went two years and then dropped out of sight, but they still have the rights to the name.)

Dialogue: Is it possible that an innocuous name like *Utah Holiday* has enabled you to do more than you might have done if you had called it *Dissent* or something a little more hard-hitting?

Swenson: That's interesting. I never thought of that. I suppose the gap between what people assumed we are going to print and what we actually do print does soften the blow—I don't know.

Dialogue: The main reason for this interview is that we would like to discuss some of the articles in *Utah Holiday* which would interest *Dialogue* readers. Could you run through some of your projects that relate to Mormonism and the Mormon culture?

Swenson: Most of these have been written in the last three years. I suppose the first in-depth reporting we did was the story on the Salt Lake City newspapers in November, 1975. Although it didn't relate directly to Mormonism, it did comment on the *Deseret News* and the Church's ownership of the paper and the part played by its Board of Trustees, the Quorum of the Twelve. It discussed the paper's policy and the interplay between church authorities and governance of the paper.

Dialogue: Was it the first story to actually analyze the local media in any depth?

Swenson: It may have been. Books and articles have been written about both papers, of course, but this was an attempt to make judgements about the job they do in reporting the news in Salt Lake City. We compared the two papers, discussed their competition or lack of it. That story brought in many letters asking us to do more.

Dialogue: Did you hear from your former colleagues at the *News*?

Swenson: I got some cold stares, but I also got some warm congratulations. As I remember, the *Deseret News* came off looking pretty good. Some people don't like anything that smacks of criticism, but, for the most part, people responded in a rewarding way.

I was asked "What qualifies you as a critic of journalism?" Well, I don't know how you become qualified. We did it because nobody else was doing it, and I had always been interested in both of the newspapers. I had always wanted to read such a piece myself.

Probably the most gratifying response was a call from the president of the Deseret News Publishing Company, Gordon B. Hinckley, who said, "I saw nothing particularly upsetting about your piece." I was cheered by that, and then he went on to say that he thought it was good that somebody had done it, that some of the suggestions in the article could help in planning long range improvements for the *Deseret News*.

If I remember correctly, he told me some of the points he disagreed with, and I really appreciated his open response. When you do such a story, there are always those who say, "Hey, listen, don't do it. It will make somebody mad, and you won't be able to publish anymore." So it is encouraging to see that the sky doesn't fall in just because you try to take an honest look at something. Sometimes you do a bad job of it, but that's different from being accused of striking at the roots of civilization!

Dialogue: What was your next investigative article?

Swenson: Well, let's see, I'm trying to remember what we did after that. I think we started three regular columns on politics, on city architecture and on media. Naturally some of these touched on Mormon subjects, since Mormonism does enter politics sometimes. We did another media cover story on television news which analyzed the three local commercial channels including Church-owned KSL. That same year, 1975, we did a cover story on the state legislature. It analyzed to some degree persistent rumors that the legislature is controlled by calls from the Church. The myth is that if someone in the church office building makes a call to his legislator on the floor, certain issues will be quickly settled. As far as we could tell, those

rumors are just that—rumors. Although some legislators take indirect hints from church leaders on certain issues, it is extremely rare for the Church to step in—officially or unofficially.

Dialogue: What were some of your other stories?

Swenson: In 1976 we really geared up on a number of cover stories directly or indirectly involving the Church. Earlier in the year we did a story on Judge Ritter, the controversial judge who is rumored to be antipathetic toward the Church.

In the same year we did a cover story on the power structure of the Salt Lake City government and its economics, attempting to delineate the most powerful people, how they operate and what kind of relationships they had with each other and with the Church and other Mormons. Some of the people discussed in the story were not only Mormons, but were Mormon General Authorities. In fact, the story made the point that during President McKay's presidency, he often met with government and civic leaders. President McKay, Gus Backman and John Fitzpatrick, who was then the publisher of the *Tribune*, and in some ways the very voice of Gentile Utah, were a kind of tripartite power structure. I don't think they went out of their way to exercise great power plays, but Gus Backman was the Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, and so the three men were able to communicate to the Gentiles what the Mormons wanted, and vice versa. In some ways it was a good arrangement. The article traced the continuing progress from that to the power structure of today, which is more broken up and not as easily defined. We listed President Ezra Taft Benson, President N. Eldon Tanner, Gordon B. Hinckley and Wendell J. Ashton, managing director of church public communications, as powerful voices in the community. I would like to know what the General Authorities thought of it. We had excellent response to the issue but we never did hear from any General Authorities.

That same spring we published a cover story by Bill Beecham and David Briscoe of the Associated Press which analyzed LDS Church finances. It was originally an Associated Press article transmitted nationally but never carried locally. We felt it was a valuable story, so we asked Briscoe and Beecham to expand on it a bit and to update it for us. We received only one negative letter and only a few negative phone calls.

About this time some people were beginning to think that somehow *Utah Holiday* was—if not *anti*-Mormon—at least willing to print things that reflect negatively on the Church. I admit this bothered me a great deal. Both Mormons and non-Mormons seemed to think that. Some of the non-Mormon letters would say, "I'm glad to see you are doing something nobody else is, even if it reflects negatively upon the Church." Others would say "I'm glad you've seen fit to expose the evils of Mormonism."

Dialogue: So critics on both sides were misrepresenting you?

Swenson: Right. Most of it I could laugh at. Some letters were ludicrous enough to be laughable, but others would bother me. Being attacked from both sides doesn't necessarily mean you are being balanced! What it may mean is that people are finding you hard to pigeonhole, and many people are so used to thinking of articles as black-white, Mormon or anti-Mormon, that they cannot realize the possibility of

there being a broad middle ground. I think we've done articles that reflect very positively on Mormons and on the Mormon Church.

Dialogue: You haven't done any articles that could be said to come right out of the Church public relations office, have you?

Swenson: Well, no, we haven't. I think the Church public relations office is doing its job as it should. I think, however, that it is the responsibility of the local newspapers, both Mormon-owned *Deseret News* and the *Salt Lake Tribune* to treat stories coming from the Mormon Chruch as they would stories coming from any other news organizations. They should ask the right questions, the tough questions that get at the truth, whatever that truth may be. I don't mean to imply that I think the Church is covering up. I really don't think it is. I think the responsibility is on the reporter or the journalist to ask the questions that give an in-depth picture. It isn't always the job of the public relations department to give the answers that the reporter is supposed to dig out.

Dialogue: Have you ever had a public relations office suggest a story to you?

Swenson: No, not that I can think of. We get their releases all the time.

Dialogue: You are on their mailing list, then?

Swenson: Yes. They sometimes comment on stories that we're interested in and give valuable background. Even if we were running that kind of material, we wouldn't publish a straight news release. We're not a daily operation, after all.

Dialogue: You say you try to do stories the newspapers don't do. Has this perhaps resulted in your doing more stories on Mormonism? I'm under the impression that most of the stories in the Salt Lake newspapers or in any of the Utah media, are covering events of interest to the Church rather than stories that ask probing questions.

Swenson: Yes, I think like all too many newspapers, the traditional way of doing things is to cover events by press release, or by meetings so that the crush of daily events preoccupy the staffer and use up the space. The *Deseret News*, by the way, has really done some trail-blazing in terms of serious, in-depth stories and investigative reporting in the past couple of years, unlike anything done in Salt Lake before.

Dialogue: Even involving Church issues, even the stories of the polygamist murders . . .?

Swenson: Exactly! Yes, the *Deseret News* has been courageous in many ways, and you know, if both papers did more investigative work, I'd be glad to see it. There would be more news and more interesting things kicked up that we could use. We're never going to run out of stories to do because the fact is that there are more than we have space or time to publish. The frustrating thing is that you don't have space enough to use them all.

Dialogue: There were other articles having to do with Mormonism?

Swenson: Yes. The most recent one, and I am as proud as anything that it was done—is our story on the International Woman's Year Conference in Salt Lake City, around which much controversy was aired in the newspapers, not only in the news columns but in the letters sections too. There developed a great polarity between the Mormon and non-Mormon community in Salt Lake and in the state as a whole. I knew that we should carry something. We thought it would be difficult to find someone to do it because the conference had already happened, and we had not realized how big it was. So we were fortunate in finding someone who had written for us in the past, Linda Sillitoe. She had attended the conference and was personally concerned about what had happened. We asked her to try to find out why there was such a cauldron of bad feeling. And I think she did a remarkable reporting job! That is the kind of story we would like to do more of. She put that story together in about 12 days—which is truly amazing—but she really got beneath the surface.

Dialogue: Hadn't you already done a women's issue?

Swenson: Yes, we did an issue on Utah Women in May of 1977, a series of small stories on the lives of what we called the New Utah women, women who were in one way or another breaking traditional patterns. And then we did a story called "Beyond Fascination Towards Assertion" essentially on Mormon women some would label feminist, others would not, but Mormon women who believe there are positive things about the women's movement. It is ironic in that it painted such a rosy picture just before the women's conference when they were virtually unheard there, although several of them—like Christine Durham, who was on the cover, did speak at the conference. It became apparent that there were many Mormon women who regarded the whole movement not only with suspicion, but with hostility and fear.

Another of our cover stories focused on the relationships between Mormons and non-Mormons. We called it "Mormons and Gentiles." And we had six people working for a total of 35 interviews. Then we tried to make sense out of relationships between Mormons and non-Mormons and their historical development. We looked at what both groups need to do to better those relationships. I think it was a very interesting issue. I'm afraid, however, that it did not delve as deeply as it should have. Some readers thought there was too much emphasis on what Mormons should be doing to better things, and not enough on what Gentiles could do. In looking back, I think they may be right.

What I'd really like to do now is have somebody write a story from a Mormon viewpoint about how difficult it is to build a relationship with someone when they bring pre-judgments, prejudice and condescension to that relationship, never asking questions about your own feelings. I think Mormons in this community as well as elsewhere have the feeling that they are being shut out. In some departments at the University of Utah there are no Mormons teaching. There seems to be a feeling that somehow Mormons would pollute or dilute the academic mix, that somehow Mormons cannot teach in certain disciplines. Yes there are still stories to be told.

Dialogue: You won an award for an article last year that had a church connection, didn't you?

Swenson: Yes, in fact there were two articles in the same issue that received Honorable Mention from Sigma Delta Chi in 1976. The one was on the *power people* article I just discussed, and the other was a story called "Strange Harvest." It was an involved story about a fruit grower and processer down in Orem who lost his business and his home, virtually all his assets by what he claimed was collusion between high state and church officials. I can't say much more about it because it is still being adjudicated. One thing I regret is that we edited out a nasty comment made by a church authority. Even though it was terrible, I think now that we should have printed it—let the chips fall where they may. It was not an important part of the story, but I regret that we cut it out.

Dialogue: Have you ever considered publishing fiction?

Swenson: Yes, we published the chapter from Emma Lou Thayne's *Never Past the Gate*. I would like to do more of that. I would like to publish poetry too. I suppose we haven't encouraged it enough.

Dialogue: Perhaps one rather cynical way to look at some of the things you've done would be to say that there really isn't the need for the self-censorship that often occurs on Mormon-related stories. I get the impression that many subjects are just not dealt with because of the fear of criticism. Some of the stories you've done point out that you can do them, as in the case of the article on church finances.

Swenson: Right. The way you phrased that comment—"cynical reaction"—reminds me that I sense that reaction more often in non-Mormons than in Mormons. They say, "Hey, listen, how do you get away with that? When are they going to crack down on you?" A former Mormon writes to me about every two weeks hoping that I won't be censored for what I am doing, and asking if I have already been censored. I responded personally to his last letter because it represents an unfortunate point of view. People have disagreed with us and have pointed out our errors as well they should, and there have been angry letters and even angry people, but, my goodness, there just hasn't been that kind of "crack down" people seem to fear. In fact, I regard it as ludicrous that such a crack down could even be expected!

Dialogue: There hasn't even been pressure on your advertisers or through your advertisers, has there?

Swenson: Not that I know of.

Dialogue: In a nutshell, to what do you attribute the success of your magazine?

Swenson: Success is really a relative word. . . .

Dialogue: I was going to ask you if it *was* successful, but I think we can assume that.

Swenson: It is successful in that I think we are finally having an impact on the community. I see that people are noticing the magazine, realizing that we are going to stick around, and they are interested to see what we will do next. Financially we are still struggling, and it would be nice if *Utah Holiday* could hire some full-time writers. In that way we are far from the success we'd like.

Dialogue: Most of your writing is unpaid?

Swenson: No, everything is paid. But not paid what they are worth. We have some excellent writers who are loyal to us, but it would be nice to have some full-time investigative writers. The degree of success we have reached has to do in large degree with that fact that there are enough good writers in Utah who want an outlet for their talents. We could not have survived if we had paid people what they are worth.

Dialogue: Is there something about the character of Salt Lake City that insures survival of the magazine?

Swenson: Yes, I think that Mormons and especially Utahns, because of their low wages, are used to doing volunteer work and getting their kicks out of a job well done. I think many of the people who write for the magazine are in that category—my Mormon friends. Perhaps, too, it is the close-knit character of the society. On a college campus you can get people to work for nothing, as in the Peace Corps. And if you have people who feel close to each other and dependent upon each other, they will volunteer to put out magazines. *Dialogue, Exponent II, Sunstone* and others rely on that same spirit. It would be difficult to imagine such a magazine arising out of a city like San Francisco. It would probably be laughed out of town!

I read an article once which stated that a minimum of six million dollars is needed to start a city magazine. I think Bob Coles had 300 dollars, and he borrowed a couple of thousand from his father. During those first two years there was virtually no growth, and if we had really stopped to consider that, we might have given up in despair. But we were always too busy getting the next issue out to stop and think about it.

Dialogue: In a way it is kind of a neighborhood magazine in the spirit of a small community. People who contribute are friends, people you know. And it has grown into something that is gaining wider recognition. You were even mentioned in the Columbia Journalism Review, weren't you?

Swenson: Yes, little encouragements like that kept me going at first, but now we have turned enough corners to be able to stick around.

I think the city format is a lot of fun. It is a mix of serious stuff and light stuff, and it's informative. People want to know where to eat. They want to get somebody's opinion on theatre and films and music and what else is going on in the community. If, in addition we can give them good reporting, then they are hooked!

THE RISE AND FALL OF *COURAGE,* AN INDEPENDENT RLDS JOURNAL

WILLIAM D. RUSSELL

Courage: A Journal of History, Thought and Action

For the past two decades, a number of books and articles have been published that sometimes conflict with certain traditions[1] in the RLDS[2] heritage. Many of the writers of these books have been employed in the Church's departments and its publishing house, and some have been on the faculty at Graceland College.[3] Some adult church school study texts in Biblical studies, church history and world religions, published by the Religious Education Department, reflected perspectives not common to typical Reorganized saints, who accept Joseph Smith's teachings rather uncritically—especially his pre-Nauvoo utterances. Church Historian Charles Davies wrote articles reflecting a willingness to take an objective look at the history of the RLDS Church, and his successor, Richard Howard, published *Restoration Scriptures: A Study of Their Textual Development*[4] which documented the changes in the texts of the *Book of Mormon, Doctrine and Covenants* and the *Inspired Version of the Bible.* Howard used his evidence to promote a liberal interpretation of scripture.

In the early 1960's, under the editorship of Roger Yarrington, the *Saints' Herald* (an official publication of the RLDS Church) became more of an open forum in which differing views were published. James Lancaster's article on the method of translation of the *Book of Mormon* seriously questioned Joseph Smith's account of the translation process and shocked many Reorganized saints. Other articles challenged such cherished beliefs as the virgin birth, the existence of the devil and the *Inspired Version of the Bible.*

The *Herald* also addressed contemporary social issues, thereby drawing heavy criticism for its sympathy with the nonviolent civil rights movement. As a result, by about 1967, the top leadership of the Church concluded that the *Herald* should avoid controversy and promote subscriptions by whole congregations. (For example, the First Presidency instructed the *Herald* editors to avoid discussing the Vietnam war.) In short, the "house organ" function would be emphasized and controversial articles shunned.

Several members of the faculty at Graceland College felt this change in *Saints' Herald* represented a great loss for the Church, since they believed that the Church should confront certain serious theological, historical and ethical issues. After finding the Church leaders uninterested either in changing the house organ function of the *Herald* or in beginning a new journal, five members of the Graceland faculty began

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plans for a new journal, to be called *Courage: A Journal of History, Thought and Action.* Other interested persons contributed $100 each, and a pilot issue, dated April 1970, was published in time for sale at the 1970 RLDS World Conference in Independence. A subscription list of nearly one thousand was soon built up, at six dollars per year, for four issues. By the end of the first full year of publication, the journal reached its peak of about fourteen hundred subscribers, but during the next two years the list was reduced to less than eight hundred, and in the summer of 1973 the journal folded for financial reasons.

The *Courage* editors intended to publish articles, editorials, reviews and letters in history, theology and other areas of interest to the broad Latter Day Saint community. Most of the historical articles, for example, dealt with issues the editors felt needed re-examination. Richard Howard's article on Joseph Smith's conception of revelation was intended to question the propositional character of revelation which was common with the prophet. The traditional faithful view of the historicity of the *Book of Mormon* was challenged by Wayne Ham. Melvin Petersen's article on Joseph Smith's editing—and altering—the revelations for publication revealed a historical fact that is difficult for some RLDS members to accept. Kathryn Olson, in comparing "instant canonization" of latter-day revelations with the longer canonization process of Biblical writings, found the former process wanting, and an editorial in the same issue questioned the need for canonizing writings at all. Richard Howard's article on the Book of Abraham questioned its "fallacious translation" as well as its racial teachings. Two reviews dealing with publications about the *Inspired Version of the Bible* found Robert Matthews of the Utah Mormon Church appreciative of the "New Translation," while William Russell, of the Reorganized Church, (which accepts this version) found little value in it.

Several articles discussed various presidents of the Church. Howard Booth's and Richard Howard's articles, mentioned above, dealt with Joseph Smith, Jr. William Russell wrote a favorable review of the second edition of Fawn Brodie's *No Man Knows My History,* a biography of Joseph Smith which is usually condemned by Mormons of whatever faction. Daniel Muir wrote an article encouraging research in the life of Joseph Smith III, the first president of the Reorganized Church. In an article that won an award for the best historical article in the first year of *Courage,* Clare Vlahos dealt with Zenos Gurley, Jr.'s challenge to centralized power in the time of Joseph III. Larry Hunt, who is writing his Ph.D. dissertation on Frederick M. Smith, the son and successor of Joseph III, contended that "Fred M." was simply a product of his time, and not a prophet "ahead of his time," as many Reorganized members have contended. An editorial criticized the method of presidential succession which is customary in both the Reorganized Church and in the Utah Church.

Two other historical articles dealt with significant leaders in the Church, Mark McKiernan dealing with Sidney Rigdon and Paul Edwards with David H. Smith. Edwards' article won the award for the best historical article in the second year of *Courage.* The Cutlerite splinter group was discussed by Biloine Young, and Alma Blair wrote an article on the Haun's Mill massacre.

Robert Mesle and Geoffrey Spencer contributed articles on the nature of the early Christian Church while Bruce Lindgren wrote on the development of the priesthood in early Mormonism. The effect of these articles was to challenge the common assertion among saints that Joseph Smith had completely restored New Testament Christianity and its organizational pattern. A related article by Grant

McMurray treated the Reorganized Church's practice of closed communion, while an editorial endorsed by the Editorial Committee and a letter by Robert Mesle advocated open communion.

An Editorial Committee editorial and an article by Paul Edwards affirmed the need for honest historical examination, and strongly criticized the Council of Twelve in Independence for not granting historians access to Council of Twelve minutes that are nearly 100 years old. The Twelve did not alter their policy.

Other articles in *Courage* usually were designed to foster discussion of significant issues. An over-riding issue is what might be called the intellectual struggle between the traditionalists (or fundamentalists) who resist change in church doctrine and "liberals" who demand change. Several major articles by men with strong conservative positions were published.

A major battle in recent years has revolved around the traditionalists' resistance to the new church school curriculum which was then in the planning stage by the Department of Religious Education. Its director, Donald Landon, articulately stated the department's position in the lead article in the pilot issue. An insightful piece which sheds much light on this whole development is the review of the book published by the Committee on Basic Beliefs entitled *Exploring the Faith.* Carl Bangs, a professor of historical theology at the Methodist seminary in Kansas City and past president of the American Society of Church History, detected "Protestantizing" trends in the Reorganized Church as seen in this "new creed."

In the late 1960's the approval by the Council of Twelve of the baptism of East Indian polygamists particularly agitated the conservative wing. In one issue of *Courage* Maurice Draper of the First Presidency wrote an article defending the Twelve, while Verne Deskin vigorously criticized the policy, and the Editorial Committee took a more liberal position than did Draper.

The Editorial Committee advocated greater contact and communication between the Reorganized Church and the Utah Church and sought to involve Utah Mormons in writing for *Courage.* Besides the article by Melvin Petersen of BYU, book reviews were written by Milton Backman, Robert Matthews, Albert Payne, Paul Cheesman and LaMar Petersen. To this writer's knowledge, the major contact in the past decade has been the history departments of the two churches and by those of both churches who have joined the Mormon History Association.

Articles were not limited to discussions of Mormon theology. Dayle Bethel sharply criticized United States involvement in Vietnam. John Swomley, colleague of Carl Bangs at Saint Paul School of Theology and a leading pacifist, discussed the draft. William Raiser dealt with the population crisis. Another issue with implications for the churches as well as society at large is sex discrimination. The Editorial Committee favored ordaining women. Major articles on the feminist movement were written by Chris Piatt, Carolyn Raiser, and Barbara Higdon and Larry Moffet.

Courage attracted considerable attention during its three-year life. When the pilot issue came out, the *New York Times'* Wallace Turner discussed Richard Howard's challenge to the Book of Abraham. The second issue elicited another story in the *Times* on the liberal RLDS challenge to some traditional beliefs, as reflected particularly in Wayne Ham's article, and Howard Booth's article on the personality of Joseph Smith. Some other newspapers, especially in the Independence area, occasionally commented on *Courage,* and *Dialogue* carried favorable reviews by Robert Flanders and James Clayton.

Although *Courage* struck a responsive chord in quite a few hearts, its readers did not support it to the extent the editors had expected. Appealing only to a minority in a small church, and without either sufficient subscribers or a financial "angel," *Courage* died after its eleventh number (Winter/Spring 1973). Its eleven issues are still available upon request, and many libraries with significant Mormon collections have a complete set.

Note: The founders of Courage were Paul Edwards, who teaches history and philosophy; William Russell, religion and history; Barbara Higdon, literature and speech; Lorne White, religion; and Roy Muir, English. Higdon, Muir, Russell and White had previously edited church publications; Edwards and Russell had written books published by Herald House. They invited four others to join them on a nine-member Executive Editorial Committee: Roger Yarrington, former Saints' Herald *editor; Joe Pearson, former editor of the church's youth magazine,* Stride*; Clifford Buck, former Director of the Religious Education Department; and Judie Schneebeck, former English professor at Graceland who was at the time teaching in the public schools in Iowa City. Russell was selected as Editor. Later, Carolyn Raiser, a part time Graceland faculty member in English, joined him as co-editor. Another thirty persons were invited to serve on an Advisory Board. Barney Newcom, a professional artist, did the art work and layout.*

NOTES

[1] For a discussion of this tension between liberals and traditionalists in the RLDS Church, see William D. Russell, "Reorganized Mormon Church Beset by Controversy," *Christian Century,* June 17, 1970, 769-771.

[2] The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints will be referred to simply as the "Reorganized Church" or the "RLDS Church."

[3] Graceland College was founded in 1895. It was the only RLDS college until the Church recently acquired Park College, Parkville, Missouri, which for one hundred years had been a Presbyterian college.

[4] Independence: Herald Publishing House, 1969.

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2. "Mormons' Book of Abraham Called Product of Imagination," *New York Times,* May 3, 1970.
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4. "A Challenge to Some Hallowed Tenets of Mormonism," *New York Times,* October 18, 1970, 9E.
5. "Problems in Interpreting the Book of Mormon as History," *Courage,* Vol. 1, No. 1, September 1970, 15-22.
6. "An Image of Joseph Smith, Jr.: A Personality Study," Vol. 1, No. 1, September 1970, 5-14.
7. See, e.g., "RLDS Journal Editors Urge Ladies' Ordination," *Independence Examiner,* February 27, 1971.
8. "Dialogue East," *Dialogue,* Vol. V, No. 3, Autumn 1970, 100-103.
9. "Courage," *Dialogue,* Vol. VI, No. 1, Spring 1971, 71-73.
10. "Latter Day Saint Scriptures and the Doctrine of Propositional Revelation," *Courage,* Vol. 1, No. 4, June 1971, 209-225.
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13. William Russell, "The Problem of Canonization," Vol. 2, No. 2, Winter 1972, 385-386.
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17. "The Challenge to Centralized Power: Zenos H. Gurley, Jr., and the Prophetic Office," Vol. 1, No. 3, March 1971, 141-158.
18. "Frederick Madison Smith: Saint as Reformer," Vol. 3, No. 1, Fall 1972, 3-21.
19. William Russell, "Needed: A New Method of Succession," Vol. 2, No. 1, September 1971, 326-327.
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21. "The Sweet Singer of Israel: David Hyrum Smith," Vol. 2, No. 4, Summer 1972, 481-491.
22. "Minnesota Mormons: The Cutlerites," Vol. 3, Nos. 2-3, Winter/Spring 1973, 117-137.
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25. "The Spirit and the Forms: Church Life and Order in the First One Hundred Years," Vol. 2, No. 2, Winter 1972, 353-367.
26. "The Development of the Latter Day Saint Doctrine of the Priesthood, 1829-1835," Vol. 2, No. 3, Spring 1972, 439-443.
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29. "A Confession," Vol. 2, No. 2, Winter 1972, 401-402.
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GAMBIT IN THE THROBS OF A TEN-YEAR-OLD SWAMP: CONFESSIONS OF A *DIALOGUE* INTERN

KAREN M. MALONEY

How does an English graduate student who wants a visit to the East Coast, instruction in the American political system and an introduction into the Mormon publishing world *satisfy* these three ambitions in one two-month gambit? Simple—she packs herself off to Washington D.C. on the BYU Washington Seminar program, spends Thursday evenings and Fridays learning about government from government officials, and works Monday through Thursday as the first official intern for *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought.* My two-month stay provided me with more than eight units of academic credit.

Memories of my internship are merged with memories of the weather. I didn't believe the descriptions I had heard of Washington's summers—no one had effectively conveyed the strange sensation of living in a swamp three hundred million years ago (a phrase I lifted happily from an apropos Smithsonian exhibit). I blessed Mary Bradford's air-conditioning every time I entered her home and descended (after having revived myself with three cups of water at her kitchen table) to the basement office of the journal. I spent a lot of time in that basement, answering an endlessly ringing phone, reading back files, typing, keeping abreast of submissions, proofreading galleys and leaving my critical gems in the folders of manuscripts under consideration.

The pervasiveness of my weather memories surprises me now but may help to explain, though not entirely, the feeling of loneliness I associate with my internship. Occasionally for several days running I was the only staff member working there, sometimes neglected, sometimes with too little work to keep me involved and productive. Perhaps the ever-lurking weather intensified the oppression I sometimes felt.

There were other moments of reckoning. I was taken aback when a fellow excitedly inferred from my employment with *Dialogue* that I was a "liberal Mormon," a term I had earlier used myself as a tool of censure. I felt acute disillusion when some dear friends overseas refused to submit articles for the upcoming international issue—on principle. And I felt frustrated noting that my major accomplishment for the week had been to finagle a car and take a pile of backed-up manuscripts to the photocopy center: when a writer fails to submit his manuscript in triplicate, a staff member must have two or more copies made before the manuscript can be mailed to board members for critiques.

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But there was excitement, too, not the least of which was the arrival of the daily mail. The *Dialogue* office anchors one end of countless hotlines leading to points all over the country. Who could pass up the chance to read letters from people as diverse as *Dialogue* contributors, editors and readers? Through reading the daily mail—as well as reading widely in the magazine—my glimpse into the Mormon publishing world became characterized with some very real, very interesting people.

There was also excitement the day boxes of the "media" issue arrived—and staff members scattered throughout Washington D.C.'s environs gravitated quickly to Mary's basement. Even I, who had not worked on the issue, felt the curious pleasure of seeing ideas turned into print. Excitement throbbed, too, when the galleys arrived for the Book of Mormon issue.

And I felt respect—respect for Lester Bush in his willingness to track the Spalding manuscript story in all its convolutions, aiming always, in his thoroughly scholarly fashion, at the truth; respect for the complimentary professional skills of Mary Bradford and Alice Pottmyer; respect for a manuscript submission process which not only selects quality writing for publication, but also makes the submission process itself learning experience (manuscripts are returned with individual comments, not a form letter); and respect for an editorial board whose time and energy are devoured by this process, but who receive no tangible compensation for their service. Certainly, were the process abandoned of securing three individual critiques on each submission, manuscripts could be returned to writers far more speedily. But the board is committed to helping writers improve. Though critiques may be inaccurate as well as divergent, at least the writer knows how his work has been received. A form letter contains no such individual feedback.

However, the experience which I recall as the most satisfying occurred at the typewriter downstairs. I had been delighted when Mary assigned me to solicit articles, essays, stories, poetry and artwork for a future issue of international theme. Largely owing to my own travels, I am committed to recognition of overseas Mormons, persons out of the mainstream of American Mormon intellectual life and whose achievements are, therefore, often overlooked. Now as never before ours is an international church; the Gospel is not more true in American Fork than it is in Thailand, though perhaps in Thailand we can see its principles more freshly, vividly for its relief against a foreign surface. Writing letters to my overseas contacts and others who had previously expressed interest in the project carried for me the sweet satisfaction of doing something about something I believe in.

It was rewarding to know that in Mary's basement my ideas and abilities were trusted. This was a professional, not an academic experience. Reading manuscript submissions from some of my own professors, manuscripts not always selected for publication, faded the distinction for me between teacher and student. For example, Mary asked me to critique the poetry of a professor who had been less than thrilled in my own writing ability. And there was heady satisfaction in using whatever critical acumen I have developed as an English major, not on literature of past centuries already acknowledged as great, but on literature being written now by very real, very interesting people. How revealing to learn the process whereby one submission is rejected while another heartier piece is embodied in print and launched on a career of its own! The value of cooperative education lies, of course, in just such realizations as these.

I got to know *Dialogue* in Mary's basement last summer. Spot-checking the

journal's new ten-year index and filling orders for back issues were good ways to acquaint myself with individual issues. Later, when I arrived home in California at the end of my internship, I spread my newly acquired set of *Dialogue* back issues on our dining room table. The effect was dramatic. I could not deny the pride I felt in having contributed (even when simply herding correspondence, files, telephone messages and Mary's three children) to the general body of talent and skill which has produced ten years of artistic, scholarly journals. Not every article within those pages appeals to me; but I will remember my joy last summer in discovering the poetry of Margaret Munk, Sherwin Howard and Clifton Jolley. And I will remember reading Eugene England's "Great Books or True Religion," Mary Bradford's personal essays, Thomas Schwartz' essay on Clinton Larson's poetry and Bruce Jorgensen's appraisal of the verse of Carol Lynn Pearson.

I joined the Church in 1969 and started college as an English major two months later. I have been wondering ever since what role good writing should play in the Church. After all, I have met at least one Church member who circumspectly removed all novels from his bookshelves because he didn't feel the Savior would approve. I have sat through countless discussions in BYU English classes on the subject of Mormon literature, sometimes despairing at the futility of theorizing rather than writing. And I became familiar last summer with one journal's attempt to perpetuate not only quality writing in a spectrum of disciplines, but also quality format. My experience as a dialogue intern was sometimes frustrating and lonely, is tied to the oppressiveness of a Washington summer, and though I cannot always endorse everything *Dialogue* does, nevertheless, before I returned from my two-month sojourn to the crisp Utah air, I left ten dollars (student-rate) in the basement and became a subscriber to *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*—a project which carries for many the sweet satisfaction of doing something about something they believe in. I have been defending it in office and cafeteria discussions ever since.

Paul Salisbury, Eugene England, Edward Geary, Robert Rees, Wesley Johnson

BOOK REVIEWS

Provoans

EDWARD GEARY

"Under the Cottonwoods" and Other Mormon Stories. By Douglas H. Thayer. Provo, Utah: Frankson Books, 1977. 229 pp., $4.00.

Little of the Mormon fiction published thus far has dealt significantly with the central issues of Latter-day Saint religious life. On the one hand there is the propagandistic fiction, found chiefly in the church magazines, which ignores or distorts real problems as it parades conventional characters through unconvincing conflicts to predictable conclusions. On the other hand there is the regional fiction, some of it very good but usually concerned more with Mormon folkways than with Mormon faith. Maurine Whipple's *The Giant Joshua* is a powerful novel but humanistic at the core. Virginia Sorensen's novels evoke vivid pictures of Mormon life but always from a slightly alienated point of view. There is a kind of centrifugal tendency in most regional writing. It may begin in the peculiarities of Mormon experience, but it reaches out toward wider issues for a wider audience. Ms. Sorensen has described the task of the regional writer as to "manage somehow to expand" his limited materials "into the necessary importance by finding their place and meaning in the world at large. . . . " She went on to say that "As a writer and as a person, I can honestly say that I am not particularly interested in Mormons. Not *particularly*. It is by a series of accidents of birth that I must fill out the blank of myself with such words as 'white' and 'female' and 'American and 'Mormon.'"

In contrast to this centrifugal tendency, Douglas Thayer's tendency is centripetal. He is particularly interested in Mormons, not just as a regional culture but as a faith. His major characters all are, or have been, committed Latter-day Saints; the problems they face center on their religious lives; and the stories will speak more powerfully to members of the Church than to others. Powerfully, but not reassuringly; for Thayer's book is a kind of Mormon *Dubliners*, examining the moral and spiritual paralysis of Mormon lives in ways that most of us, I think, will find rather uncomfortable.

The resemblances to Joyce's *Dubliners* are extensive enough to suggest an influence. All of the characters inhabit one provincial town, in this case Provo, Utah. The stories, though separate, gain additional meaning and impact when read as a group, and they are arranged roughly in order of the advancing age of the protagonists. The stories have little action in the usual sense, depending instead for their effect on developing insight. (Some of Thayer's stories, notably "Second South," "The Clinic," and "Under the Cottonwoods," even have Joycean "epiphanies.") Thayer's range of characters and incidents is narrower than Joyce's, and his narrative technique is less complex. We see Thayer's major characters mainly from the inside without the ironic play of moral and intellectual distance typical of Joyce. Unlike Joyce, Thayer clearly intends to show the strengths as well as some of the shortcomings of Mormon life, but the prevailing effect, for me, at any rate, is emptiness and frustration.

The blurb on the dust jacket describes the stories in these terms: "Poised on a decisive moment, a story may follow the fractional turnings of a character choosing his way through a crisis. Or it may follow him into the gap between the limitations of his own understanding and the full enlightenment of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. The result may be devastation; it is more often renewal." I would reverse the last

statement. The result, in Thayer's fiction, may be renewal; it is more often, if not devastation, desolation.

The positive themes are there, make no mistake. "Elder Thatcher" strongly affirms the reality of testimony and is, moreover, the most realistic treatment of missionary experience that I have ever read. "Greg" is a positive story: a young priest faces the temptation to run away from his moral responsibility for his girl friend's pregnancy and at the end is on his way to confess to his bishop and to begin setting his life in order. "Testimony" is positive, though rather slight. "The Clinic" is my favorite story in the volume, largely because of its hard-won affirmation. But these stories are surrounded by others much bleaker in vision, stories which suggest that many Mormons lead lives of quiet desperation.

Thayer's fictional world is chiefly composed of men and boys with no-nonsense names of one or two syllables—Greg, Allen, Troy, David, Paul, Glen, Reed, Jared—"normal" names for normal people, (very different from Don Marshall's comic Mormon names). These are characters we are invited to see from the inside, as representatives of Mormon norms, not extremes. However, they are not exactly typical Mormons, being more given to introspection than most and almost entirely humorless. (These characteristics may be accounted for in part by the fact that the stories explore crisis situations.) They are perhaps a little neurotic and more than a little puritanical, people for whom life is a spiritual struggle and faith a strenuous discipline.

The protagonists are surrounded by conventional figures. Their fathers are upright and manly and understanding. Their mothers are less understanding but intensely devoted, constantly buying them new clothes and fixing bedtime snacks and holding the highest hopes for their futures. Their wives are younger versions of their mothers, wonderfully virtuous and spiritual, smiling, patient, perfect housekeepers who never get cross (not even when left pregnant, with three tired children in a hot car at a freeway rest stop while Hubby takes a leisurely stroll in search of his lost boyhood). And yet there is something terrible about these perfect wives and mothers who seem to have no inner lives. It is as though the protagonists were trapped in a diorama on Temple Square where they were the only living beings amid a crowd of animated manikins.

There is something peculiar in the sexuality of Thayer's fiction. His married protagonists have children by their wives (one, indeed, has had seven pregnancies in nine years, counting miscarriages), but through all of their reflections they betray scarcely any awareness of their wives' bodies. Similarly, Greg, the young boy who has got his girl friend pregnant, has remarkably little awareness of her physically. For the most part he longs simply to annihilate the act, to will it out of existence and to recover cleanliness, though there are occasional moments when he feels the desire to "be carnal, just let his body take over and always be that way." Even then, however, it is his own body he is conscious of, not hers. That is the way it tends to be with Thayer's characters, the unconsciousness of women's bodies and the intense consciousness of their own. They are remarkably fastidious, with more bathing and washing and lathering than one will find in a book of this length. David Thatcher's true conversion, while he is on his mission, is signalled by a new relation to his body: "He'd been able, finally, on his mission to forget about his body, not even be aware of it, as if it had become air or light, or some special kind of rare metal." Paul, in "Under the Cottonwoods," is trying to recover the physical sensations of pre-adolescence, the sensation of diving into the cool water, the sensation of sun on his bare skin. At puberty, in his passion for exemplary purity, he had "lost all delight in his body. He distrusted it, became uneasy because of what he now felt, and so after fourteen he had no memory of his body being wonderful." His longing for freedom and renewal takes the form of a longing to rediscover his body: "He wanted to find his body, take back the responsibility for his own life so that he could begin to love out of himself." When Troy, in "Opening Day," receives a deer rifle from his father for his sixteenth birthday, he virtually has an affair with it: "That night after I showered I got the .270 out of the case again to hold it against my body." And in the end, despite his intentions to perfect his life, the rifle seduces him to violence.

And so it goes. Except for a hug or two in "Indian Hills," the only real variation from this narcissistic sexuality comes in "The Clinic." Here again the protagonist's spiritual condition is symbolically reflected in his relation to his body. Steve has come home from Viet Nam feeling alienated, unworthy, emotionally dead, and he has also brought home with him a persistent skin infection. "At times his whole body burned faintly. The army doctor had told him that some men lost all control and lay in bed scratching themselves until they had deep infected sores. He had always liked the shower after he had played basketball or tennis. His body had always been light and clean." Neither condition, the fungus infection nor the spiritual malaise, is easily curable. As the old family doctor says, "It's one of those things you're going to have to learn to live with. One way or another we all have something." But the doctor gives him a prescription for some salve which will relieve the itching and at the same time offers a prescription for the spiritual disease: "Start going to church. You're not better or worse than most of us. And get married. You need to hold a wife in your arms for about six weeks to thaw you out." On his way to the drug store to get the salve, Steve sees a girl and grows conscious of her body: "She swung her purse gently across her legs, and her shining dark hair fell down over her bare arm." It isn't much, but it is the beginning of feeling, and feeling for something beyond his own skin. It is one of the things that make "The Clinic," to my taste, the most satisfying story in the collection.

Despite their peculiarities, however, Thayer does succeed in making his characters representative. Their crises are crises we all might have to face. The forces which threaten their lives are a danger to us all. Thayer's most pervasive theme is that Mormon lives are too often planned-out, programmed, consumed by abstractions. This theme is present in every story in the book, but is treated most explicitly in the title story. Paul, the protagonist of "Under the Cottonwoods," is outwardly a shining example of the Mormon success story, but his life has become nothing more than a list of achievements:

> He had graduated from Provo High School, filled a mission for the Church, been in the army, gotten married, graduated from BYU and then dental school, finished an orthodontics residency and been in practice one year. He would build a house, a clinic of his own, he and Beth would have three or four more children, and he would probably move up from second counselor to bishop of the Palo Alto Ward, be on the high council, maybe be stake president in ten years. He had done and would do all of those things he was expected to, but his whole life seemed so ordered, predetermined, rushed, tense. At times he felt like a robot, had little sense of controlling his own life, being individual.

As he returns home to Provo for a vacation, Paul begins to realize that his life is barren, stripped of meaning like the old swimming hole that has been dredged by the Army Engineers leaving only a barren channel under the cottonwoods. The life he longs to recover, the "pure careless joy" and "sense of being," he can now approach only symbolically, in the image of the trout caught on his line and then set free to "flash back into the deep water, vanish." Clearly Paul is a fish hooked and landed, but by whom, or by what? Partly by his own drive for success. Partly by the pressure of the women in his life: "He had spent his life trying to achieve the happiness and perfection his mother wanted for him, and now he was doing it for Beth." But partly too, it seems, by a religious climate that has reduced life to programs, obligations, discipline, and awards, as if achieving goals were more important than living and "as if being an example were more important than being a person."

Thayer's most interesting character is probably Jared in the concluding story, "Zarahemla." Like Paul, Jared is outwardly successful in his profession, in his family life, and in the Church. He is a CPA living in Provo instead of an orthodontist in Palo Alto (both dentistry and accounting are favored occupations among Mormons, seeming somehow "safe" as well as respectable). Like Paul, he makes a pilgrimage to his boyhood home and attempts to reconcile the quality of his present life with the remembered dreams and aspirations of youth.

Even more strongly than "Under the Cottonwoods," "Zarahemla" deals with the Utah-Mormon nostalgia for the rural past. In conversation Thayer has said that the story examines the question of whether Mormonism is viable in the last half of the twentieth century, as an urban and a worldwide faith, or whether it is essentially rural and regional. Thayer did not say what answer, if any, the story gives to the question. Presumably, however, since the story ends with Jared severing the tangible links with his past and looking somewhat hopefully toward the future, the answer is intended to be affirmative. But the affirmation strikes me as half-hearted at best.

Jared's faith has been shaped by the living tradition in which he grew up, embodied in the figure of his great-grandfather, Nathaniel Thatcher, who settled the remote southern Utah town of Zarahemla, built a beautiful stone meeting house there as well as four stone houses for his four wives. He served as colonist, missionary, bishop, patriarch and as exemplary man of faith in the stories Jared's grandmother told him as he was growing up:

"'My son,' she said to him often, 'your great-grandfather was one of the noblest men ever to draw a breath of air on this earth. He was God's servant, and if ever a man deserved the celestial kingdom, he did.'"

Now the village has gone to seed, and the house Jared inherited is the last of the four stone houses remaining in the family. He had hoped to maintain a physical tie with his traditions by keeping the old house in Zarahemla as a summer home, but he must face the fact that his life is now caught up in middle-class Wasatch Front Mormondom and that his wife and children have no feeling for the past beyond a collector's interest in antiques. After one last visit to the town, Jared decides to sell the house to a physician from Los Angeles who wants it for a retirment home. However, he will use the money not, as he had thought of doing, to build a cabin closer to Provo but for his sons' missions and after they are grown for another mission for himself and his wife. To sell the house, therefore, is to put the past behind him and accept the present and future. To sell it and use the money, not for material comforts but for the work of the Lord is to affirm a faith based on living principles rather than dead traditions.

So, at least, I take Thayer to intend in the story. The problem is that the values supposedly affirmed are not very convincingly established in the story. The immediate situation of the story, with the visit to Zarahemla sandwiched in between a trip to Disneyland and a little league baseball game, calls into question the quality of life that has supplanted the pioneer traditions. So do the descriptions of life in Provo: "Many people in their ward had cabins, some as far away as Bear Lake. If a family didn't have a cabin, it had a camper, trailer, or motor-home, and some had boats. All of the houses in Indian Hills were new, and comfortable, and most of the families young. Their ward was one of the most active in the whole Church." This looks like a satirical commentary on the confusion of spiritual and material values in the Mormon middle class, but apparently no satire is intended.

The same ironic tension appears again and again in the story with the same equivocal treatment, as though Thayer's usually firm control of his materials has broken down here for some reason. The modern Church is persistently characterized by lists of abstractions: "youth leadership, chastity, testimony, and mission preparation"; "education, social services, chapel construction, missionary work, welfare, genealogy, and family life." Intermixed with these are comparable lists of middle-class materialistic values: "In Provo they had their friends, stereo, color TV, closets full of clothes, own rooms, and their league games. They both took swimming, diving, and tennis lessons again this summer"; "In Indian Hills families had life, health-and-accident, maternity, and disability insurance, and retirement programs." In contrast, the nostalgic values are intensely concrete in rendering: stone buildings with the chisel marks still visible; cool shade beside the creek; the smell of sagebrush after a rain; the smell of baking and ironing; the taste of home-bottled fruit: "His grandmother made it almost a sacrament when they ate fruit from the old glass-topped jars that had been her mother's." The new chapel in Provo, "based on the

seven or eight basic plans permitted by the Church architect's office," is "big, efficient, carpeted, air-conditioned—comfortable." The old meeting house in Zarahemla, built by Jared's great-grandfather, has six stained glass windows for which the people of the village had to save for twenty years. The sun coming through the windows fills the chapel with "a hazy golden glow. And it was as if Brigham Young, the Prophet Joseph Smith, the Angel Moroni, the Father, the Son, and the other figures stood suspended in air, each window a vision."

In virtually every way life seems to have grown cheaper, more standardized, less authentic. Jared, growing up without a father, has had to work hard and accept responsibility all his life. His sons, however, "didn't need poverty or a depression to motivate them. The boys in Indian Hills expected to be presidents of corporations, doctors, lawyers, generals, cabinet members, or scientists, so counted on success always. The Church helped to breed that kind of ambition; doctrine, leadership, organization, programs, and dedication had become the most important things now." When Jared takes his sons to the creek where he used to swim, "they seemed almost afraid. They wore their trunks, didn't run and yell, didn't really enjoy the rope swing." And yet these sons are both the product and the hope of the new Church: "Their generation would be the new bishops, stake presidents, mission presidents, and other leaders the expanding world Church needed. And they would be successful doctors, lawyers, scientists, professors, and businessmen."

Another list of abstractions; another generation of planned-out lives. But at the end of *Under the Cottonwoods* it is far too late for us to be convinced of the value of these things, far too late to be convinced that Jared's dream of a second mission to Mexico holds anything but an illusion of fulfillment.

EDWARD L. GEARY is professor of English at BYU, and a founding editor of *Dialogue*.

The Hill Version of the Prophet's Life

RICHARD L. BUSHMAN

Joseph Smith, the First Mormon. By Donna Hill. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1977. pp. xix, 527, $12.50.

Prospective Latter-day Saint readers of Donna Hill's biography of Joseph Smith will want to know two things: Is there anything new, and is it sympathetic to the Prophet? The answer to both questions is definitely yes. Historians of Mormonism have been more active in the past ten years than ever before in the Church's history. Although this is her first venture into history, Donna Hill has read their reports and incorporated the new findings. She acknowledges the aid of her brother Marvin Hill, associate professor of History at Brigham Young University. As one of the most astute and best-informed scholars of early Mormonism, Professor Hill is an excellent guide to the current research, much of which he has done himself. The historians have made few startling discoveries, but at innumerable points details have been added and perspectives enlarged. *Joseph Smith, the First Mormon* affords Latter-day Saints convenient access to the new material.

The book is a friendly reading of the facts new and old. "As a descendant of Mormon pioneers who crossed the plains in faith and hardship," Donna Hill confesses in the Preface, "I cannot deny that my sympathies lie with the Saints." That is not to say that the biography was written to please a Mormon audience. On the doctrinally crucial question of revelation, the book does not take a clear stand. A comparison of Joseph's written revelations with Sidney Rigdon's sermons, she says at one point, "makes it apparent how much Joseph's revelations were indebted to inspiration, how-

ever that may be defined, in religious terms or in those of spontaneity and intensity of feeling." On the other hand, she does not explain away the revelations by attributing them to cultural influences, imagination, or psychic perversity. For the most part, she presents the revelations as facts without calling their authenticity into question. The reader interprets them for himself. Mormons will rarely find themselves arguing with the book over the source of Joseph Smith's inspiration.

There will be more arguments about his actions in the Hill version of the Prophet's life. Mormons may not believe he did all the things she says he did, and particularly that he took plural wives long before 1841. Hill presents evidence that Joseph married or had relations with Nancy Johnson while he and Emma resided on the Johnson farm in 1832, and goes on to imply that this incident and similar ones troubled Joseph for many years until he was reassured by the Lord that he was not an adulterer. The book also has Joseph marrying, spiritually at least, women who were already married to other men. By their nature, such matters are usually conjectural, and to imply involvement on the basis of hints or partisan accusations borders on gossip. Some Mormons may prefer to pass over such ticklish points so long as we lack trustworthy evidence.

Even at the points where Mormons are most likely to take offense, however, it should be recognized that Hill never forces the evidence or tries to degrade the Prophet. She discounts the idea of polygamy as an outgrowth of "excessive sexual needs" or as an attempt on Joseph's part to relieve "his strict Puritan conscience which would not allow extramarital sex." In trying to fathom the personal meaning of celestial marriage for Joseph, she gives much more credence to his "enormous capacity to love" and "his wish to bind his loved ones to himself forever, in this life, in the millenium and throughout eternity," a generous interpretation and one in greater harmony with Joseph's total personality.

Mormons would do an injustice to Hill to discredit her work because they differ with her treatment of Joseph in a few instances. Casual readers may overlook the many places where hostile biographers have maligned the Prophet, and where she chooses to put him in a favorable light. The money-digging episodes, Zion's Camp, the Book of Abraham, the Kirtland Safety Society, bankruptcy in Kirtland, the Nauvoo Legion and land dealings in Nauvoo, among many, have at one time or another been used to blacken Joseph's character. Hill consistently treats the sore spots neutrally or finds evidence of good sense, courage and compassion in the midst of adversity. It is clearly to the Church's advantage to have this book in public libraries. We at last have a volume to recommend to readers who react more favorably to a balanced story than to accounts of flawless heroes.

Joseph Smith, the First Mormon is not a deep book. It makes no pretense of plumbing Joseph's character, or of setting him and the Church in place in American culture, or even of explicating Joseph's teachings. The book's strength lies in its narrative line. Hill's mind takes hold when there is conflict or a clash of character. The most gripping chapter is the one on the expulsion from Jackson County. She sketches scenery and character masterfully.

When it comes to doctrine, the book skimps. The priesthood, the temple, Israel, the restoration of all things, the gathering, the last days, the worlds beyond are dealt with in a few sentences each. Not that she disparages Joseph's teachings or denies the importance of doctrine, but the abbreviated treatment affects the picture. Joseph Smith's life becomes a story of motion, of building, of persecution, dissension and conflict. It was all that, but it was also vision and idea. The motive power of the action is lost to us without an understanding of the prophet's depiction of heaven and earth, of past, present, and future, and of providential forces moving the peoples of the earth toward a grand confrontation with the powers of heaven. Without this Hill cannot develop the insight of a visitor to Nauvoo who wrote that Joseph Smith's hold on his followers arose from his dominion in the "empire of their consciences."

Donna Hill sees in Joseph Smith "the enthusiasm and the imagination of a child at play." She never doubts his sincerity or will; she admires him for hanging in when "the fun began to wear thin." But given the narrative strategy she has chosen, she cannot convey to readers the intense seriousness underlying the childlike ebullience. There are no words to express the compelling purposes of Joseph Smith's life apart from the visions of eternity God opened to his view.

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Timing, Context and Charisma

GARY L. BUNKER

Prophetess of Health: A Study of Ellen G. White. By Ronald L. Numbers. New York: Harper and Row publishers, 1976. 271 pp., $10.00.

Seldom does the motivation for a book begin with a serendipitous finding. Such, however, was the case for this partial biography of Ellen G. White, the founder of Seventh Day Adventism. The author, a specialist in history of medicine, discovered an unusually close correspondence between the language of Ellen White's *Christian Temperance and Bible Hygiene* and an earlier work of Dr. L. B. Coles' *Philosophy of Health*. Mrs. White had steadfastly maintained that her religious and health ideas were the undiluted by-products of inspiration. She disclaimed any significant indebtedness to the works of health reformers like Coles. From this initial discovery of evidence in support of secular influence on the development of the Adventist movement, the investigation broadened and was finally published.

The author, reared as a Seventh Day Adventist, doesn't seem to have an axe to grind. The work is not apologetic, but neither is it intended as a frontal assault upon the tenets of Seventh Day Adventism. Even though serious questions are raised about some of the secular roots of Mrs. White's prophetic inspiration, she emerges as a woman whose indefatigable efforts provide impressive health dividends to her people. Whatever one's emotional response to the conclusions of the book, most will agree that there is evidence of fairness ("honest persons can look at the same evidence and see fundamentally different things"), courage and impressive documentation.

The most disappointing aspect of the book is the author's recurrent, but brief, psychological diagnoses of Mrs. White. Although the author denies both the inclination or expertise to delve into the mental health of Ellen White, he finds it difficult to restrain the impulse to entertain, though obliquely, psychological hypotheses for her behavior. Repeatedly, he refers to her "troubled mind," "deep despair," "terrible feelings of guilt," and then links these to the beginnings of her religious dreams. He cites instances of her losing touch with the world; collapsing on the floor; temporary loss of eyesight, speech and hearing; fainting spells; and being struck over the heart with a ball of fire.

After stimulating the imagination of the reader by these brief, suggestive, psychohistorical forays, he withdraws to safer ground. By such a tactic he is able to have it both ways. Unwilling or unable to give a thoroughgoing psychological analysis, he lays suggestive groundwork in the mind of the reader for the "validity" of a psychological explanation of her religious behavior. Many readers will fail to realize how difficult it is to arrive at psychological profiles of the living that are acceptable to different schools and practitioners; retrospective analysis of the dead is doubly difficult. Ultimately, Numbers retreats to a more conservative social learning explanation for Mrs. White's spiritual experiences: her social milieu was full of visionary models, among them Joseph Smith.

The major theme of the book revolves around the charge that the founder of Seventh Day Adventism borrowed, from contemporary religious colleagues, health reformers, and other movements (e.g., phrenology), ideas which she had attributed to personal inspiration. Although some of the evidence is circumstantial, the author builds a well-documented case for substantial indebtedness on the part of Mrs. White to the Health Reform movement. A comparative analysis of texts, particularly the work of L. B. Coles, leaves little room for alternative explanations to the borrowing thesis. Moreover, there is indisputable evidence that she was influenced, as were many others, by the phrenological movement. For example, her fears that hair pieces and wigs worn by women inflamed the passions by heating the base of the brain had definite phrenological overtones. Such borrowing would not have serious implications for Seventh Day Adventism except for Mrs. White's persistent insistence that her religious and health ideas were independent of human influence.

For Mormons, particularly Mormon historians, the book is not only interesting but a rich source of ideas. The restoration grew out of a temporal and spatial context overlapping the emergence of the roots of the Adventist movement. Temperance, revelation, prophets, adventism, persecution—these and other interests were shared concerns of the two organizations. Their common and differential responses to these matters and to the general secular culture make an interesting study in comparative religion.

A Latter-day Saint cannot help but reflect that Joseph Smith, who of course claimed heavenly inspiration, was also sensitive to the movements and conditions of his time. The extent to which any specific statement or idea is drawn directly from the divine source of knowledge, or prompted by ideas and values in the surrounding environment, or is some mixture of the two, is a question that believers have had to wrestle with from at least as long ago as the Biblical prophets. Many religious believers have found it quite unnecessary to believe that the prophets operated in a vacuum by ignoring the surrounding culture. On the other hand, to say that they simply took over existing notions and restated them seems a naive reductionism that fails to consider the nature of all creativity, the different ways in which inspiration can occur, and the importance of timing, of context and of charisma. While continuing to think through the implications of such ideas, readers of this book will learn much about the fads, enthusiasms and genuine religious commitment of many nineteenth-century Americans.

GARY BUNKER is associate professor of Psychology at BYU.

It Bears the Arrington Hallmark

STANFORD J. LAYTON

From Quaker to Latter-day Saint: Bishop Edwin D. Woolley. By Leonard J. Arrington. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1976. xiv + 592 pp, $6.95.

From Quaker to Latter-day Saint is an unfortunate title. Neither interesting nor particularly descriptive, it combines with the design and size of the volume to suggest one of those wearying biographies of a minor figure primped and corsetted with reams of family "begats" into the role of someone major.

Unfortunate indeed. Whoever is willing to look beyond the cover will be well rewarded. Edwin D. Woolley was one of those solid, prosaic nineteenth-century Mormon businessmen and long-time bishops trusted and valued by Joseph Smith and Brigham Young alike. Because of this, *Quaker* is more than a biography; it is also a good look at the church's formative years. And bearing the Arrington hallmark, it is filled with engaging anecdotes, colorful details, strong descriptive writing and plenty of good humor. Few historians are as gifted as Leonard Arrington in coaxing the best from his sources. If young Edwin's diary contains no interesting material about his trip from Pennsylvania to the Ohio River Valley in 1830, Dr. Arrington turns to diaries of other travelers for tidbits of adventure on those frontier thoroughfares. If the eulogizing becomes a bit heavy or the meetings get a little stuffy, the reader is suddenly refreshed by the simple eloquence of the Indian in testimony meeting: "Mormon tick-a-boo [friend]. White man, son of a bitch." Light verse and nonsense gleaned from the *Expositor* and Woolley's journal, a poetic repartee from W. W. Phelps and Parley P. Pratt on the challenge of polygamous living, doggerel rhyme from Carson Valley about Mormon girls—these and many other light touches beckon the reader and keep the narrative lively.

Ironically, the one obvious deficiency in the makeup of the book relates to the very matter of readability. Throughout, *Quaker* is burdened by long direct quotes, few of which are as interesting as an Arrington paraphrase would have been. They also add needless bulk to the book. Less bothersome, but begging mention in this regard, is the matter of too much detail and some repetition. In places the book simply lacks discipline. Chapter 12, for example, will fairly smother the reader with day-to-day comings and goings, including an account of an overland journey eastward that is a virtual mirror image of the westward account given in chapter 10.

But however viewed, this book is packed with good history. The account of early home building, homemaking, and farming in the Salt Lake Valley

is especially good. The dynamics of a barter economy and the administration of the early public works program in Utah are also discussed here with insight and understanding. Those who seek a good capsule summary of the Utah Expedition, the Godbeite schism, or the duties of a ninereenth-century Mormon bishop will find all that and much more in this busy book.

It is true, leading bits of *obiter dicta* have crept into the manuscript here and there ("Edwin had committed himself to Mormonism, and, like many another strong-minded man, he enthusiastically submerged his will to the vision of the thirty-four-year-old prophet") but *Quaker* is generally free of didacticism. Indeed, such indelicate matters as the growing irascibility of Brigham Young, the turbulance of polygamy and the strange excesses of the Reformation (Jedediah Grant "threatened to send the police around to wash the bishops if they wouldn't do it themselves") are discussed as a matter of course. For anyone who prefers his history without the golden questions, here, for the remarkable price of $6.95, is a golden opportunity.

STANFORD J. LAYTON is Managing Editor of the *Utah Historical Quarterly.*

Militant Morman

GLEN M. LEONARD

The Kingdom or Nothing: The Life of John Taylor, Militant Mormon. By Samuel W. Taylor. New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., and London: Collier Macmillan Publishers, 1976, 406 pp. $15.00.

The publication of two biographies of major figures in Mormon history within a year is no small event. That both Donna Hill's *Joseph Smith* (Doubleday, 1977) and Samuel W. Taylor's *Life of John Taylor* have issued from national publishing houses confirms once again the proposition that Mormons can write dispassionately about their own history for the commercial market. It was specifically this goal Sam Taylor had in mind when he set out to recreate the life of his grandfather, an apostle and third president of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. While the book does its share of debunking, dustjacket sensationalizing and humanizing, it retains a warmness, a specialized vocabulary and a particular set of assumptions that infuse it with unmistakable *Mormoness.*

The John Taylor presented to us through the pages of this carefully crafted book commands a physical and intellectual presence considered by the author to be akin to that of Joseph Smith. A dashingly handsome man who attracts and marries only culturally sensitive and beautiful women, Taylor is typecast as a debonair, English gentleman set against the stereotyped frontier of Brigham Young's Utah. The author would have us believe that Taylor relaxed the authoritarian rule inherited from Young, and he portrays his grandfather as more comfortable with worldly fare than his immediate predecessor: Taylor as author, scholar and intellectual finds a bond of mutual respect in his encounters with Richard Burton, T. B. H. Stenhouse, William S. Godbe and Edward W. Tullidge and other Mormons who were "liberals and idealists, intellectuals who had chafed under Brigham's regime."

Sam Taylor wants his grandfather to live, to be a real person, so he clothes him with

human traits: a lifelong liking for black tea, an eye for pretty girls and a conservative skepticism over newfangled inventions such as electric street lighting. The emerging portrait includes other consistent elements: Taylor's unbending commitment to the Kingdom, particularly to its nineteenth-century marriage system; his dependence upon divine guidance when the going got rough; and his constant concern for wives and family. Sam Taylor molds these facts into a believable whole, a multi-faceted portrait of an admired ancestor.

The book deals with such interesting events as Taylor eluding the federal agents ("skunks"); Brigham Young's death; George Q. Cannon jumping train to escape the feds; the controversial 1886 polygamy "revelation." Sam Taylor tries to "set the record straight" or to poke at traditional and strandard historical interpretations. The author's collaborator and brother, the late Raymond W. Taylor, of Provo, Utah, pursued all available avenues to information. Among the most delightful of his finds was the frank 1849-52 missionary diary of Curtis E. Bolton, John Taylor's companion in France, which offers an inside view of their not always successful proselytizing.

However, readers should be warned that some of Sam Taylor's speculations deserve careful investigation, especially his resurrection of the poisoning theory as the cause of Brigham Young's death. Informed historians find no foundation whatever to this, and they use as part of their evidence the diaries of attending physician Seymour B. Young.

Sam Taylor is first of all a writer, competent at his craft and experienced in scenario. Readers of *The Kingdom or Nothing* should not expect methodically footnoted and historically reliable biography. This book is skillfully staged, and the scenes are molded with commendable skill without precise attention to historical context. The result is true-to-life, but fictionalized history. His technique is that of the novelist. Traditional Mormon sources, family folklore, non-Mormon writings, unpublished documents and journalistic reports all provide fodder for Sam Taylor's dramatization. Dialogue, characterization, and conflict are woven into scenes that the reader can readily visualize. The tension builds and wanes with each confrontation: the overplayed strain of the Taylor and Young personalities at odds; the comic seriousness of a cops-and-robbers game of hide-and-seek on the "underground"; the counterpoint of Gentile prostitution set against Mormon polygamy. Literary techniques bring events within Taylor's consciousness, causing the subject of this study to stand forth as an aware, thinking, active character on the stage of Mormon history.

The Kingdom or Nothing is less adulatory than the B. H. Roberts portrait of John Taylor written in 1892, yet it is still laudatory. More readable than most family history it is also more entertaining, but it is less dependable than the work of traditional biographers. This book will inform non-Mormons without offending them and it will probably dismay and delight the Latter-day Saints.

GLEN M. LEONARD is a research historian and associate editor of *Journal of Mormon History.*

Great truths—whether of science or religion—should be available to all who seek them. If it means anything at all, "free agency" insisted upon by the Church means freedom to think and to act. In no quest is freedom more to be desired than in the pursuit of the truth of scripture, for here we confront God in his supreme Revelation.

Heber C. Snell
Vol. II, No. 1, p. 74

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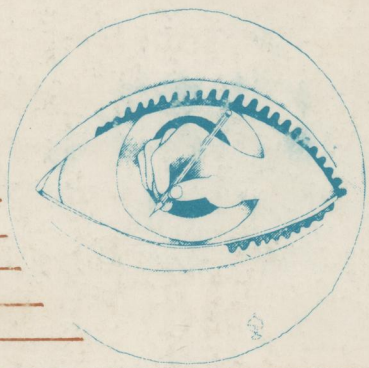

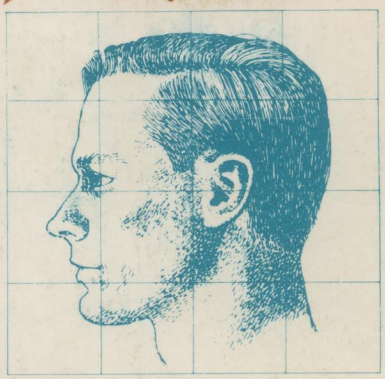

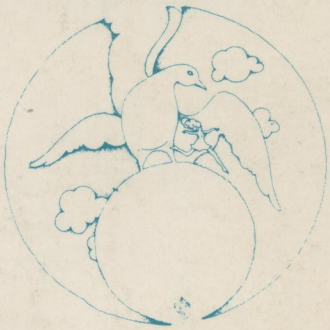

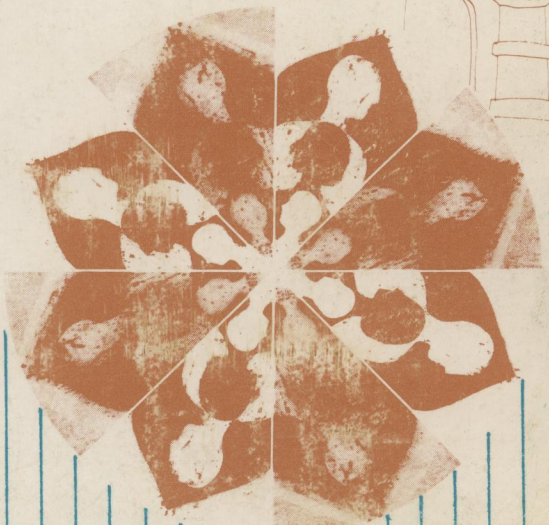

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