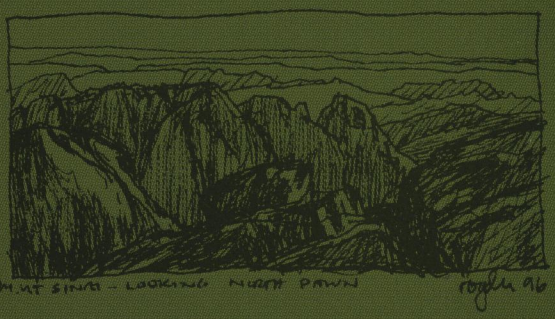
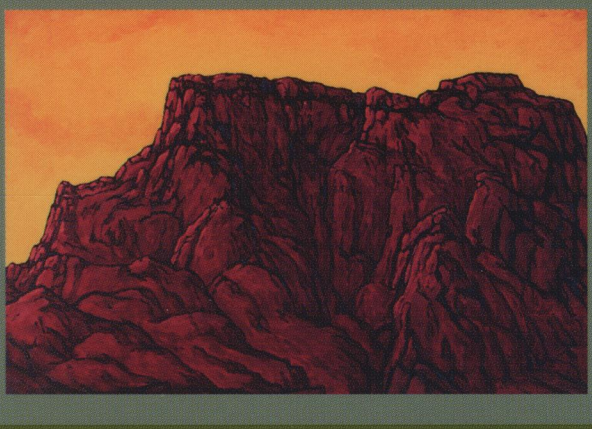
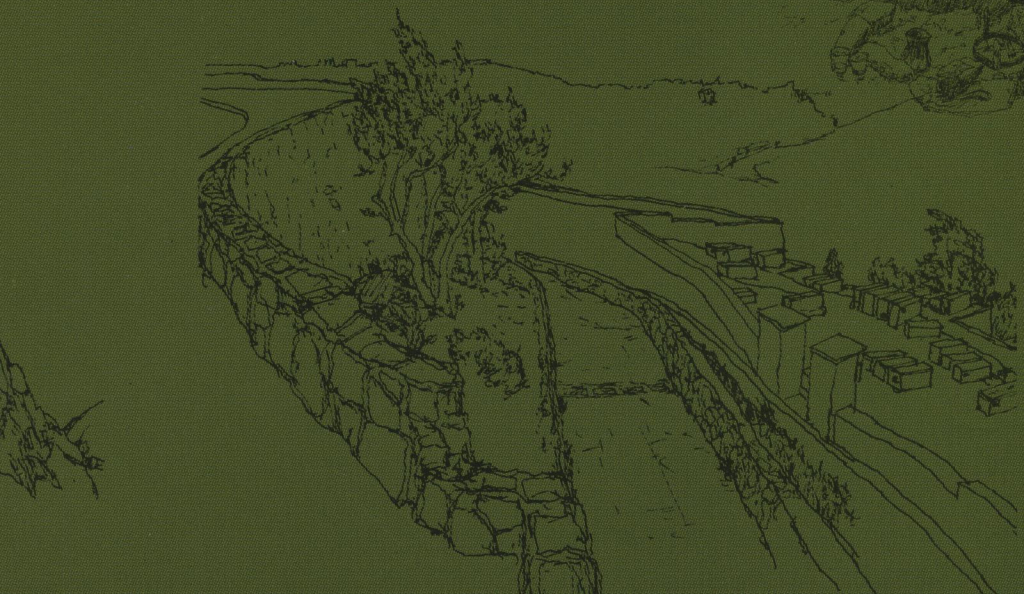
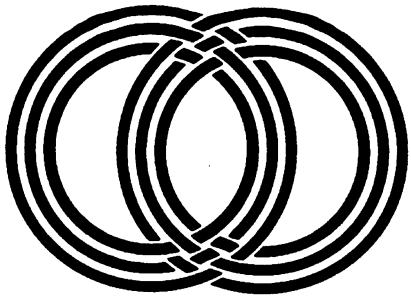
DIALOGUE

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT









DIALOGUE

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT

is an independent quarterly established to express Mormon culture and to examine the relevance of religion to secular life. It is edited by Latter-day Saints who wish to bring their faith into dialogue with the larger stream of world religious thought and 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 ensure accurate scholarship and responsible judgment, the views expressed are those of the individual authors and are not necessarily those of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints or of the editors.

DIALOGUE: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT, VOL. 32, NO. 2, SUMMER 1999

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Dialogue welcomes articles, essays, poetry, fiction, notes and comments, letters to the editors, and art. Preference is given to submissions from subscribers. Manuscripts should be sent in triplicate, accompanied by return postage, and should be prepared according to the latest edition of the *Chicago Manual of Style*, including double-spacing all block quotations and notes. For the reference citation style, please consult issues from volume 26 on. If the submission is accepted for publication, an electronic version on an IBM-PC compatible diskette or as an e-mail attachment, using WordPerfect, Word, or other compatible ASCII format software, must be submitted with a hard copy of the final manuscript. Send submissions to *Dialogue*, P.O. Box 20210, Shaker Heights, Ohio 44120 or inquire at dialogue@csuohio.edu. Artists wishing consideration of their artwork should send inquiries to the Art Director at the same address. Allow eight to twelve weeks for review of all submissions.

Dialogue

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT

Dialogue will present voices of Mormon thought and culture. Voices from a tradition that encourages men to relate their faith to all dimensions of their lives. A tradition that claims unique openness to continual revelation of truth from all sources. Thus, diverse voices. Voices of assurance and inquiring voices. Calm voices and voices of concern. Voices that ask faith to ground itself in reason and voices that challenge reason to transcend itself in faith. Voices that are not uniform but are united by a common heritage or deep concern for it. By a willingness to talk with care and grace and to listen with respect. A willingness to enter into dialogue.

Dialogue is not a journal of liberal opinion. Nor of conservative opinion. Nor an evangelical journal. Not an official publication of any organization. It is a forum for discussion of all points of view on the encounter of faith and reason, on the relation of religious values to contemporary experience and learning. The editorial position of the journal is merely that a dialogue on these matters is possible and valuable. That men can talk to each other about their faith and experience in a way that can bring some pleasure and some truth to all involved. That men need not relinquish their faith to be intellectually respectable nor their intelligence to be faithful. But rather, that they can refine and deepen their faith through intelligent examination and can bring their faith and its moral power into a mutually rewarding dialogue with the secular world.

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An early subscription drive

Reconsidering the Prophet Puzzle

I am somewhat surprised by the decision to publish the "Prophet Puzzle Revisited" in the Fall 1998 issue of *Dialogue*. Though it refers to early LDS historical documents with which the author is well acquainted, it does so strictly on a "proof-text" basis in making an argument that rests primarily on conjecture. If the author were forced to eliminate all the sentences in which the operative terms were "could have," "might have," "would have," and the like, there would not be many of his assertions left. Surely such speculative work does not belong in a journal of scholarship. Are we really that anxious to "explain" (or explain away) Joseph Smith's complex mind? Influenced both by Brodie and by Hullinger (but not taking us very far beyond either), the author seems unaware of the hazards of psychobiography or of the telling criticisms of that genre found in the professional literature.

While cautioning us against considering Joseph's "apparent" treasure-seeking fraud in "either/or" terms (130), the author himself apparently is still hung up on the "either/or" predicament that he finds in Jan Shipps's 1974 essay, and to which he here proposes a "resolution": There seem to be two Joseph Smiths, we are told–the youthful treasure seeker and the visionary prophet—a kind of "schizophrenia" that continues to find expression throughout Joseph's life in various forms of dissembling and in a gap between his private and public personas. Thus, the author tells us (129, in seeming contradiction of himself on 130) that "apologists" must either believe in the treasure-seeking lore of Joseph's day or "come face to face with a Joseph Smith who consciously or unconsciously deceived." The situation is actually closer to neither/nor, and I thought scholars (whether "apologists" or not) had learned, especially since 1974, that biographical complexities need not be reduced to such simple "puzzles." Biographies of all kinds typically reveal a great many ad hoc and contradictory pronouncements and behaviors across time, as individuals seek to assimilate changing experiences and understandings. This is no "puzzle." It is merely a banal regularity in history. The main difference between prophets like Joseph Smith and the rest of us is that their changes, contradictions, and concealments tend to become public and to confuse their followers.

This essay, therefore, would have had more context and balance if the Prophet Joseph had been compared to certain other prophets of history, ranging from Jesus himself to Mary Baker Eddy, Ellen White, or even Martin Luther King, Jr., all of whom periodically attempted public concealments of their real acts and beliefs (recall Jesus' "see thou tell no man" after having apparently healed a leper—Matt. 8:4), and all of whom presented their followers (and history) with various anomalies and contradictions. Thus to portray Joseph as a "pious deceiver or religious pretender" (132-33) for ostensibly concealing a "private" belief in Universalism is nothing but a straw man. We have long since learned from the likes of Alexander, Quinn, and Prince, about the zigs, zags, and vagaries of doctrinal development in Smith's career, which produced many ambiguities and contradictions before some effort at codification was made early in the present century. Joseph's beliefs and teachings were fluid and ambiguous all along. He would see loopholes or inconsistencies in what he believed at a certain point in time and

then undertake to "correct" or modify his understanding and teaching later on. This is not deception (of self or others); it is merely the intellectual groping of a youthful and inventive mind. In his portrayal of young Joseph as a piously deceptive practitioner of magic, the author is almost dismissive of the plausible explanations of Quinn and Bushman. Yet social scientists have come to understand both the socially constructed nature of magic (rather than its "objective reality") and the typical evolution from magic to religion in successful new movements. It was Durkheim who first recognized that there can be no "church of magic," since the durability of religious movements depends upon unfalsifiable promises of benefits in the next world, not upon the ultimately falsifiable outcomes of magical exercises. Thus, for Joseph to become a prophet instead of a magician, and for his followers to become church members instead of clients, it was necessary for magic to give way to religion (see Stark and Bainbridge, *The Future of Religion*, e.g., 109-13, 275-83).

In an either/or argument, the present essay claims instead that, since we know magic isn't "real," Joseph Smith should have known it; and if he did, then he was deliberately deceiving people (though in a sincere belief that it was for a good cause). If he didn't know, then he was himself a dupe. Yet that isn't the way "magic" is understood by those who believe in it. We can see remnants of magical thinking even in the modern church: What happens when the elders administer to the sick and the sick fail to recover (or even die)? There is always an "escape clause." Perhaps the sick person lacked faith (or the elders did), or perhaps it was God's will that the sick person be "taken" despite the desires of church friends and family. Yet if, after administration, the sick actually recover, even occasionally, it is that occasional healing that is remembered and recounted, and which provides intermittent reinforcement for a continuing belief in the efficacy in priesthood administrations. There is no need here to postulate any kind of "pious deception" on the part of priesthood practitioners, but if the LDS church had depended mainly on its win/loss record in healings, it probably would not have lasted this long. Fortunately its promises are redeemed in the next world, far beyond the reach of either pious deceivers or dubious scholarly speculations.

Armand Mauss
Irvine, California

Afterthoughts on the LDS Webpage

The LDS church has just opened a website that achieved 500 hits a second on its first day. My LDS friends at work gloated at how this again proved the church was true.

LDS leaders have not always been so upbeat about the internet. I went to a "study your family's history" class at BYU last year. The teacher from the genealogical department was repeatedly asked about on-line resources. Showing a mild frustration, he explained, "The Brethren have told us not to do much of anything on the internet for the time being."

An awkward silence descended on the room. After a few seconds, the teacher hurried to fill it. "Now I don't need to know WHY they've taken this position. I just need to abide by it."

This is the very essence of being a

Mormon: when the Brethren take a stand, don't ask why, and, if it causes problems or missed opportunities—if it screws up your life in one or a hundred ways—just trust in God to magically make up the difference. I did that for 25 years and got really tired of the results.

My son is a loyal Mormon "teacher" who at age 14 patched together his own website. When I told him about the policy, he burst out, "That' s stupid!"

"But *why* do you think they've said this?" I pressed.

"Probably because they just don't 'get' computers. They're old, like Grandpa and Grandma, who are so scared of their computer that I have to help them turn it on every time." It would be interesting to know: how many of the 100 or so highest LDS leaders could visit the new website without a nerd to assist them? Perhaps 20?

I have my own theory on why they boycotted the net until now: In the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth, the Saints called many sharp minds and unique fellows to high position (O. & P. Pratt, Talmage, Roberts, Widtsoe, J. G. Kimball). Even J. Smith and B. Young had some claim to such gifts. Though part of an all-male, all-white phalanx, these gents allowed one another leeway to openly disagree about important things like politics and doctrine. But in recent decades, on the more rare occasions when such minds are called (e.g., Hugh Brown, Duff Hanks, Dallin Oaks), they are hemmed in by policies of lockstep uniformity. Little surprise that, the older the twentieth century has grown, the less LDS leaders seem to understand it.

But it's good to see that the Lord Jesus Christ has liberalled up about the net, even though the last year has probably seen a tenfold increase in porno and "how to build a bomb " websites.

Alan Rasmussen
Salt Lake City, Utah

Some Thoughts on Faith and Science

re: Glen J. Hettinger's essay, "Hard Day for Professor Midgely. . . ." (Spring, 1999).

BYU Professor Midgely's argument was that Fawn Brodie's bad history of Jefferson suggested that she might also have written a bad history of the prophet Joseph Smith. Hettinger says that this argument is now muted because DNA tests indicate that Jefferson *did* have children by slave Sally Hemmings.

Years ago, of course, there was a rejoinder to Brodie by Hugh Nibley (*No Ma'am, That's Not History*), which didn't do any more to trash Brodie's book than did his article in *Dialogue* (Summer, 1968) to counter the Book of Abraham exposés.

As a result of such defenses of the faith, the church now advises Mormon scholars not to defend the church, as the defenses only call more attention to meritorious criticism.

The publication *Doubletake* recently reviewed the futile efforts of BYU archeologists to verify the Book of Mormon site locations (I think that article went unanswered, thank the Lord).

The trouble with the BYU professors is that they don't understand "faith." Anybody who believes in a god who has a "faith" program should also believe in the corollary—that the god leaves no evidence around (other-

wise the "faith" becomes unnecessary, since proof is available).

Paul Tillich once said that the popular definition of "faith" (i.e.—that it is the same as "belief") is well suited to an uncheckable claim having a low probability. Therefore I think the BYU professors should spend their time coming up with new uncheckable claims to suggest to the Brethren, who can issue them as revelatory. It's a lot easier (and more fun) to come up with such claims than to look for evidence to combat persuasive criticism. Moreover, the new claims can be used to fill voids occasioned by old claims having been shot down (such as the claims not having proved to be "uncheckable").*

The problem with the church's current "mainstreaming" program is that it throws us in league with Christian churches generally, which are growing short on claims. *All* the mainstream churches are being out-gunned on imaginative hypotheses by the physicists and their popularizers, the sci-fi writers.

I am in sympathy with the church leaders who combat the academic freedom sought by the current cadre of BYU professors, mainly because such professors are so short on new ideas. The professors should either be made to conform or to think.

*An example of this revelatory suggestion process occurred in 1981, when a professor at BYU recommended that Book of Mormon verses be changed from "White and delightsome" to "Pure and delightsome."

Joseph Jeppson
(A co-founder of *Dialogue*)
Woodside, California

A "Happy Balance" for Dialogue

I read with interest the excerpt from Henry Eyring's "Reflections of a Scientist" in the March-April 1999 issue of *Sunstone* in which he recounts a meeting with four members of the Quorum of the Twelve and the editors of the church magazines. I remember hearing at the time about Brother Eyring's comments in that meeting. As it was reported to me (by Eugene England or Leonard Arrington? I am not sure after all this time), Brother Eyring said something to the effect that if the church was serious about doing something to enhance the image of its magazines and expand its readership, then they should take a close look at *Dialogue*. As the newly appointed editor of that journal, I remember feeling grateful that someone of Brother Eyring's stature knew about the journal and that he found things in it to recommend. The fact that we were in our own journal committed to, in Brother Eyring's words, getting "some people with independence in there who had real ideas and would come out and express themselves," gave us hope that some of that same spirit would influence church publications. The "happy balance" that Brother Eyring speaks of—"Letting the truth flow forth without either hiding or digging for problems"—was the ideal I strove for as editor, and which I hope will characterize the work of the new editors of *Dialogue*.

Robert A. Rees
Santa Cruz, California

A Farewell to Arrington

As I pondered the meaning of a rooster on the back of my funeral program, Gordon B. Hinckley made an amusing observation about the front. "This picture really captures Leonard," he ventured. "A hearty laugh—with his hands in his pockets holding on to his money."

I sat with Michael Quinn in the back row on folding chairs, squinting at the podium in Parley's First Ward where LDS church president Hinckley eulogized Leonard Arrington—dead at age 81 on February 11 [1999]. "Leonard is the only man I know who can claim Brigham Young as his posterity," quipped Hinckley. Everyone laughed, visualizing Arrington's son James, a well-known Brigham impersonator. But I thought of Leonard's biography, *Brigham Young: American Moses*.

Subtle ironies haunted me. Hinckley was giving genuine praise to the only credentialed scholar who ever served as LDS Church Historian. It was an ideal that couldn't survive. Leonard Arrington was an anomaly, a scholar who didn't spark ire in the hierarchy; yet he sought a standard for Mormon history that was impossible—tell the truth without incurring censorship.

Installed as Church Historian in 1972, Dr. Arrington launched unprecedented use of historical documents in the LDS archives, inaugurating a golden age of Mormon research known as "Camelot." Arrington trained scholars and students to use church collections, hired a staff of professional historians, and set up fellowships that evolved into books.

Ten years later Camelot ended because historians were publishing new findings, changing sanctioned views. Non-traditional Mormon history was emerging under the auspices of the church. Thus, access to archives was restricted and the office of church historian closed. In 1982, Arrington was formally replaced, as recalled in his 1998 memoir, *Adventures of a Church Historian*.

With Hinckley's voice echoing, I remembered front page headlines in the *Seventh East Press*, 1982. "Church Archives Restrict Access," "Arrington Released," and "Historian Responds to Apostle." We BYU students had urgently printed the news, along with Boyd Packer's call for faithful history and Mike Quinn's challenge of such as "bordering on idolatry." National press descended and the story ran in *Newsweek*.

Through it all, Leonard Arrington seemed unruffled, calmly weathering controversy and the loss of his office. Arrington, the deposed church historian, was transferred to BYU to oversee the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute. There he and his colleagues continued their research under new restrictions, without seeming church-authorized.

In 1986, Leonard was released as director of the BYU Smith Institute. *Sunstone* magazine asked me to investigate, but I found no scandal. "They did me a favor," Leonard said, relieved. "Ordering supplies, paying the bills—I don't enjoy that at all. I just write books." He was 69 then, so I asked if he was retiring. "I'm not retired!" he yelped. "I'm still working on six projects. Retirement happens to old people—I'm young—I'm only 45 or so. . . ."

I returned to the present as Hinckley described Arrington as a "model historian." I agree. Leonard managed to straddle inquiry and orthodoxy, conformity and critique, honesty and good will. He united Mormons and non-Mormons, sinners and saints, apostles and apostates, removing bar-

riers between secular and sacred, LDS and RLDS. Leonard nurtured a "new Mormon history," urging historians to be professionals and entrepreneurs.

Then Hinckley gently tugged at the underlying conflict, wondering, "I don't know if there's a place for historians in the hereafter; I'm not sure what they'll do there." Privately I wonder if there's a place for historians in the here and now, where scholars are one of "the greatest threats to the church."

"Maybe they'll find a dusty archive where they can gather and talk about the past," Hinckley mused. "But Leonard has gone ahead. Perhaps he'll prepare a place for others. I imagine Brigham Young greeting Leonard, putting his arms around him, and thanking him for his good work."

Hinckley extolled Arrington as a rare historian, an exception to the rule. "One who looked deeply into history and found happiness there," he noted, adding, "Wouldn't that be nice—if historians would find happiness in history?" Yes, it would, I thought. Yet history holds more.

I gazed at the back of the metal chair in front of me, noticing someone had scratched a swastika into the enamel. Likely the handiwork of a bored deacon with nail clippers. On the next chair were the stenciled words "Third Parley's Fifth."

Rather than happiness, I think Leonard's legacy is the search for truth.

I'm grateful to be one recipient of that legacy. Leonard encouraged me and my work, always offering positive comments. He skillfully mentored students and scholars, particularly Michael Quinn. In turn, Quinn has mentored others. Mike gave me invaluable guidance as I sat in archives and libraries over two decades, sifting documents, reading journals and hand-scrawled letters, notebooks, meeting minutes, tax assessments, land deeds, Polk directories, emigration records, descriptions of the pioneer trail, memoirs of pony express riders, details about buildings and women's private feelings.

In the process, I experienced something that Leonard and Michael both understood. Reading the words of the dead makes "dry bones live." Leonard loved those words from Ezekiel.

Leonard, like myself, came from southeastern Idaho, a place he dearly loved. When his two-volume history of Idaho came off the press in 1994, I hosted a book signing for him in Park City, where he entertained us by singing the Idaho state song. He would sometimes lead entire busloads of scholarly historians in singing.

Hinckley ended his eulogy, pronouncing God's blessings on Leonard. I'm glad Leonard is appreciated today, even though the church he loved couldn't match his generosity, or tolerate his vision of open inquiry.

Some people cling to history, while others dismiss anything prior to yesterday because "it's in the past." Yet the past creates the present—without it, we don't take responsibility for past actions, and fail to create a better future. Past, present, and future are inseparably linked, affecting each other. To deny one, favoring another, is to cripple our own progress.

As Mike and I drove home, he described the sadness of losing his mentor; coincidentally on the same day he submitted all his research files to Yale. Michael is leaving Utah behind; for him, Leonard's death marks the end of 37 years' work on Mormon history. Yet death can be a great motivator. When loved ones leave, their absence urges us on.

When one era ends, another begins. The father of scholarly Mormon history is gone. And a vital successor, Michael Quinn, is quitting. What does their absence bode for the future of Mormon history? Mike says it will continue moving forward, another Arrington will arise, though not another Camelot. I think Mormon history could use some new blood. In the meantime, Mike and I have learned something else that Leonard knew: those who publish honest history will pay a price for truth.

Maxine Hanks
Salt Lake City, Utah

Bearing Your Sanctimony: Monologues on Dialogue

Neal and Rebecca Chandler

IN THE UNABRIDGED *WEBSTER'S*, "DIALOGUE" is listed first as "talking together in conversation." That seems harmless enough, but the second definition is frankly a nest of thorns: "interchange and discussion of ideas," it says, "especially when open and frank, as in seeking mutual understanding or harmony." Now I will concede a certain idealism at work in that definition, yet it does not describe a natural human behavior. As Americans and Mormons, we believe in freedom of speech, but also and no less in truth that prevails, and in not suffering nay-sayers or fools, and, if we've listened to our mothers and file leaders, in saying something positive and faith affirming or not saying anything at all. We also believe there are some things that should not even be thought. It is not easy in discussion to endure someone enfranchised, as we are, to say what is right, who does not. This makes dialogue hard.

In 1980 when *Exponent II* was still a very new publication, my wife volunteered to edit a Kirtland edition in honor of the sesquicentennial of the founding of the church. Then she set about with a will to mine the considerable knowledge of local sisters about history and folklore, architecture and crafts, about the Shakers and the Amish and the Reorganized Mormons in the area, and especially about recent re-invigoration of the church and its program in Kirtland. She held meetings, passed out recent copies of the *Exponent*, explained the enterprise, its commemorative, non-controversial purpose, the publication, its sponsors. Almost everywhere she met enthusiastic ideas and promises of articles.

Still, as deadlines approached, she found, as editors always find, that promises are slender reeds. She besieged the telephone, becoming cheerleader, counselor, tutor, and nag. She extended deadlines, dogged the mails, offered to type, to punctuate, to ghost write altogether, but she ultimately achieved a response rate significantly lower than that for cold calling or junk mail. She and the few close friends who had proposed the

Kirtland issue had also to research and write most of it themselves. Hard work and hard lessons, but unlike the Little Red Hen, they remained eager to share the quite stunning product with everyone, even those who hadn't found time or energy to help.

They gave copies to local sisters and offered to set out free copies on the "crafts and talents" displays at the stake women's conference. "I'm sorry," was the answer, "there's just no space." Well, could they have just a minute on the program to announce the publication, brag about it, and tell how to get a free copy? "I'm sorry," was the answer, "there's just no time." But the conference display tables turned up kind of barren, and the conference agenda turned out kind of thin. And when, in fact, the Regional Representative delayed the conference over half an hour, leaving more than two hundred assembled women to practice hymns and grudging patience while he squired their principal speaker around Kirtland's historical sights, my wife found it a little difficult to remain circumspect. Why can't they give us a couple of minutes at the microphone, she murmured, a couple of square feet on that table? Then a sister from our own ward, a stake Relief Society officer, turned and drew back the veil. "You shouldn't be surprised," she said matter-of-factly. "They told us all a long time ago that this publication of yours was not appropriate for faithful Latter-day Saints."

"Well," my wife countered, and like most telling rebuttals, this one was delivered too late and at home to an innocent audience. "They didn't tell me!" And, of course, no one had. No woman with whom she'd encouraged, challenged, dickered, or brainstormed had admitted that she did not intend to write. Nor suggested why she might not want to. No official had warned or admonished her. No one raised challenges, questions, objections, or doubts. No one had ever been less than polite, encouraging, apologetic, and, yes, even cordially deceitful. She had been beautifully submarined, and submarining is the canniest military art: silent, subsurface, lethal.

Like most households, ours has had rules governing dialogue. We had a lot of children so we needed a lot of rules. In addition to the usual bans on expletives profane, expletives scatological, and expletives insulting, we also proscribed the use of "shut up." "There is not one shy person in our family," our oldest daughter and middlest child once observed, and indeed there is not. We expect people to talk and to keep on talking even if they don't much feel like it. Sulking, for example, is forbidden: no one is allowed to sit in stony silence nursing a slight. At the same time, there are strictly enforced guidelines covering combative and martyred discourse. We also require that dialogue reach an actual conclusion. For instance, no one may begin telling a story, think better of it, and then refuse to finish.

We have banned sanctimony at the dinner table. In our kitchen and dining

room, commentary on anyone else's food is not allowed. No "Have you noticed that peach in your bowl looks exactly like an eyeball?" nor wondering out loud if the milk is actually fresh. No sanctimonious vegetarian references to the entree as "Bambi" or "dead cow." No cackling, wing-flapping struts around the kitchen. No speculative calorie or fat gram counts nor predictions on the need for angioplasty. The rule that has evolved (and I recommend it to you) is this: "You don't have to like it and you don't have to eat it, but you don't get to talk about it."

Because we are both teachers of language, we set our children early on the straight and narrow path to standard English. We warned them against splitting infinitives and advised against ending sentences with prepositions. They received improving lectures on the correct use of the nominative pronoun, the need for the subjunctive mood, and the preferred past participle form of quite a number of verbs they may never actually need. Recently our daughter reported that a boy in her high school choir had been paying attention to her. He wasn't particularly cute, she said, but, "You and Dad would like him. He has great grammar. He knows the difference between 'lay' and 'lie.' We have sometimes worried that we might be overwhelming and repressing our children with all this attention to acceptable discourse, but our fears were recently laid to rest. When our youngest daughter squared off with us and asked, "Does 'anal-retentive' require a hyphen?" we knew we had been on the right track all along.

Not long ago we were at a restaurant with our two youngest children. We were catching up. Our son had been away most of the summer in Wisconsin, where it seemed he had a girlfriend. This was news, and his mother, like any mother was all inquiry. What was she like? Was she in school? Where was she from? How had he met her? And so on and on. He answered stingily, relishing her unleashed curiosity and his own control over the information, until she asked about religion. Suddenly he bristled over his soup.

"Why do you want to know that?"

"I don't know," she lied. "I was just interested."

"Yeah, right," he said, "you just want to know if she's Mormon, like if she's not Mormon, she doesn't count. She couldn't possibly be a good person if she wasn't a member of the Mormon church."

"I didn't say that."

"You didn't have to. I know how you think."

"It's not true," his mother protested, but he didn't believe her for a minute. We ate in silence until she changed the subject. "How's your schedule, dear?" She turned to his younger sister.

"I've got to get to bed. I've got Seminary in the morning."

"And what are you guys studying?" I asked.

"You know what we're studying, Dad, the *Doctrine and Covenants*."

"I mean, specifically, what are you studying right now?"

"Tomorrow, we're just supposed to make a list."

"A list?"

"Qualities, like things you want in the person you marry."

"Oh," her mother perked up. "Have you already decided what's going on your list?"

"It's not MY list," was the answer.

"What do you mean?"

"We're making it together."

"You mean you're making one list for everyone?"

Alexis nodded, "So?"

"One list fits all?"

"What's wrong with that?"

"I don't know, it just seems maybe a little monolithic."

Alexis turned on her mother. "It's not either. It's not some plot. You are just always trying to find something bad to say about the church."

"What? I didn't say anything bad, I just said it seemed..."

"You said 'monolithic,' Mom. You think I don't know what that means?" She excused herself to stomp off to the restroom. When she returned, we were eating in uneasy stillness again, a cease fire, a demilitarized zone. But we are not naturally still people. After a while talk erupted again, talk about pasta and cajun chicken, the equivocal virtues of squash, and about apple vs. chocolate deserts. Before we finished our meal, we were laughing.

My wife and I were with children we adore, and who love and please us in return, whom we know like our own palms, whom we could not wish anything but well, and all of us were talking together and laughing in conversation. We were not, however, engaged in an interchange and discussion of ideas; we were not altogether open and frank in service of understanding and harmony. And why not? Because even (or perhaps especially) among people who matter to one another, dialogue is hard, is fraught with snares and complications, is a risky and dangerous business.

This story goes back to when I started writing. My visiting teacher had dropped by and was dumbfounded to find me putting up new wallpaper in my kitchen. She didn't know that mere mortals put up wallpaper, that it didn't require a certificate from wallpaper school or a union card. She mentioned that her kitchen really needed a lift, so I offered to help her wallpaper there. The work went slowly, but we were pleased with the results and having fun when suddenly something happened that would change my life. Somewhere between hanging the plumb line and applying the seam roller, she mentioned casually that she had published a couple of articles in The Ensign. *I nearly dropped the roll of paper I was holding. I had no idea that mere mortals could write articles for* The Ensign. *I think I thought you had to be set apart or maybe related to a general authority. My visiting teacher actually was related to a general authority, but she*

said that had nothing to do with it. You just wrote something and mailed it in, and a few weeks later the editor would write you a nice letter, thanking you, and would send you a check. A check! I was beside myself. A person could get paid to do this? I couldn't wait to get home to my typewriter. I had four or five ideas knocking around in my mind that I'd pretty much planned to use in a sacrament meeting talk or maybe a Relief Society lesson, but now these great ideas would become published articles in the official church magazine. All my friends would see my name in print and they would marvel.

I wrote, in very short order, three articles and two short stories, exhausting every idea I had, and all but one of these submissions were, in fact, accepted for publication. Moreover, I was paid for my efforts. The first check was, as I recall, for $23.85. I stood by the mailbox and screamed and one of my neighbors thought someone had died. But I was just breaking into print and helping to build the kingdom for cash with my good advice on effective living and I was very excited about this. I was, after all, about twenty-six, had two tiny children, and knew practically everything.

One article was about getting started with home storage (a very big deal at the time). Another piece exhorted parents not only to teach reverence, but aimed at convincing them that children could be taught to enjoy and appreciate sacrament meeting. Pretty heady stuff it seems to me now, but at the time I was unabashed.

I learned a few things from publishing those two articles. Mainly I learned that seeing your words in print can be a very mixed blessing—especially after some nameless, faceless editor you have never met or talked to makes certain unconscionable changes. I read with horror the mangled version of my first masterpiece as it appeared in The Ensign *several months later. And I developed an intense dislike for editors, who were evidently ruthless, power-hungry people with blue pencils who made perfectly unnecessary changes in perfectly good copy just to show who was in charge.*

I further discovered that once a piece of writing has been typeset and several hundred thousand copies are in the mail, there is no going back. All you can do is hope that none of your friends will see it and think you actually wrote those inane words that you now see before you in black and white.

The last article I had submitted was even preachier than the rest. It was called "On Getting Off to Church on Time" and was full of practical suggestions for Sunday morning organization and timely reminders that inattention to the published timetable of any meeting was unspeakably rude, that punctuality was a desirable quality for one to develop, that it was, in fact, probably a prerequisite for celestial glory. I used the example of the angel sent to stay Abraham's hand when he was on the mountain top with Isaac. What if that angel had been even a minute late? Hmmmm? What then?

And the Ensign *had bought this article too, but unlike the pattern that had established itself with the previous submissions, months passed and then years, and it never appeared. For a while I wondered about it and kind of looked for it,*

but then the editorship of the church magazines changed hands, and I assumed it would likely never be used. It was really just as well; I had the $21.00. Besides, I reluctantly admitted to myself, my life had changed a bit. Where before I had been married to a very punctual businessman in pinstripes, now my husband was a laid-back college professor in khakis whose sense of time allowed a substantial margin of error of minus twenty minutes. By this time, I had also acquired several more children. The six or seven or eight or ten of us weren't exactly famous for getting anywhere on time, Sunday meetings not excepted.

Then, one day the article appeared with no warning over my previous married name in a section of The Ensign *called "Random Sampler." My subscription, however, had lapsed, and I was unaware of this fact. There had been a death in our ward and there was a funeral scheduled. I had been running a little late and had been stopped by the police for speeding. But I got to the service before my husband while the prelude music was still pulsating through an unnaturally somber congregation. And I suppose some comic relief was helpful. I suppose that I should be grateful I was able to provide it for so many people. When the service was over, we stood patiently in a very long line that snaked its way from the chapel through the foyer, down one hallway, and across another to the Relief Society room where the family waited to be consoled. That was where a stealth-detective reader of* The Ensign *passed around her current issue with the offending article well marked and a note at the bottom that "our own Rebecca Chandler" was, in fact, the author and just look what Rebecca was advocating. Ten years, another husband, and five or six children after the fact, I was in no position to be sanctimonious about getting off to church or anywhere else on time as the congregation well knew. It was very entertaining, I am sure.*

That was when I learned that there are worse things than an editor's mangling something you've written. There are worse things than not being published at all.

As an undergraduate German major, I took my first classes from a terribly proper, terribly pedantic, terribly Swiss professor who ran his classes with military discipline. He lectured without discussion, buried us in reading and information, bellowed out loudly at latecomers and the unprepared. He scared us to death. And I loved it all, loved it with a masochist's affection, took endless notes, studied late and early for exams. But soon I had to dampen my vocal enthusiasm for this teacher, to which older students and certain younger professors responded with rolled eyes. The man, they explained, was a dinosaur, an adherent of the old historical/biographical school of criticism, which New Critics considered as relevant to literature as alchemy to chemistry or phrenology to medical science. It might have a quaint appeal for some, but was a waste of time. Unlike many, I continued to take his classes, but was wary now. And the pressure seemed to get to him as well. He changed his method and pedagogy, adopting a more fashionable approach. After one such

course, he called me into his office and asked me what I thought. I told him what I would not have told my fellow students. It was okay, I said, but I liked the old way better. "So do I," he replied, confirming what was already evident in his class. His heart was not in this change. He looked forlorn in his fastidious suit and stiff collar. He was an older bachelor and teaching was his life, and we will not know how he would have weathered this difficulty. He died the following summer. It was an unpleasant death, but in some ways seems gentler than the erosion of his reputation and life's work taking place among colleagues and students at the university.

I tell you this in part so that I can tell you that I am often amazed at how much of what I learned in those early classes has stayed with me, how often as a teacher I have without attribution quoted this man, told stories or recounted background drilled into me by a dinosaurian pedant, and how much of the genuine pleasure I get out of what I do is rooted in that experience. But this does not mean that I became an adherent of the historical/biographical method. The truth is that almost all of my teachers were or would have been his critics. And I was very careful, thereafter, to keep up, to make sure my mentors were fashionable. I avoided the dinosaurs and cultivated the bright young turks. I knew who was in power and who was ascending. I stayed on top of things, gave advice. But when I went off for two years to a German university, suddenly and terribly, I found myself in an old predicament. My German professors knew about American New Criticism and thought it interesting, but also narrow and often irrelevant.

This was the late sixties and German scholars were exploring the social and political and philosophical dimensions of literature. Once again I learned new approaches and truly relevant methods that would make my labors respectable: structuralism, literary sociology, reader response theory, and more. I worked hard to master the new questions, to acquire the right answers, and, when after two years I returned to finish graduate school in the United States, I reported with enthusiasm and not a little pride to fellow students what I had been learning. Some, however, listened with narrowing eyes. Word got around that evidently I'd become a Communist. And, indeed, the first grade I got on a paper there was just such a grade as a Communist might well expect to get at a real American university. Some approaches to literature were respectable. Some were not. And you mustn't think this lesson was lost on me. I quite quickly recovered what I had unlearned in Europe, returned to former orthodoxies, and graduated from that institution with, at least, respectable grades.

I should confess that I loved graduate school or at least am enamored in retrospect. Not all of my teachers were so orthodox, and those who were seemed nonetheless talented at what they did, but it is with no small pleasure I tell you that if you went there today, you would doubt-

less discover the latest turks in charge or ascending to be talented women and men who look back on my teachers' critical orthodoxies with indulgent smiles. They see such scholarship as an historical artifact with quaintly restrictive methods and value horizons. They, by contrast, bring productive social, political, and philosophical perspectives to the study of literature and make very certain their students do so as well. These are feminist scholars and/or deconstructionists, reader response theorists, and not least of all the "New Historians," who have put a contemporary face onto that old dinosaur, the historical/biographical method, and brought it back into the classroom with a vengeance. And oh, how I wish my disheartened Swiss professor were there to see it.

In a little book I am fond of, entitled "Confessions of an American Scholar," Simon O'Toole writes the following: "In a moment of modesty the American scholar will concede that much of what is written is misguided and incomplete. He is as ready as the next (person) to take a long historical view and admit that the truths of today may be the follies of tomorrow. But his heart isn't in it, for he knows that there is indeed truth to be arrived at . . . I myself," O'Toole continues, "did a lot of scholarship in the name of truth, and it was all lies."

Of course, what else would you expect from the wisdom of men, the arm of flesh, the intellect without spirit? The really great thing about religion, when you've really got religion, is that it puts the shifting sands of human reason behind you. That was once made clear to me by my home teacher. He is a convert to the church and worried, I think, about my prospects for salvation. He's sure I don't cherish my Mormonism as he does and as I would if, like him, before coming to Mormonism I had had to put up with other churches. The thing that really made him crazy was the way they kept changing everything. Was nothing sacred? After all, God's truths don't evolve or adjust to the times. They are the same yesterday, today, tomorrow, and forever. He had chapter and verse on that. And that's why he'd become a Mormon. In Mormonism, at least, nothing changes.

"Oh," I said. And though I am doubtless incorrigible, I did not bring up speaking in tongues, nor plural marriage, nor the law of consecration, nor certain ceremonial oaths, nor Adam/God, nor any of a number of other true and everlasting principles. I only mentioned the prohibition of the priesthood to black men.

"The what?" he replied.

I had to explain. He'd joined the church in the 80's, and he had never heard of this. It wasn't in the scriptures. It certainly wasn't in the manuals. He blinked and looked at me strangely.

"They couldn't hold the priesthood?" he said.

I nodded confirmation.

It was a moment before he spoke again. "Well, that was obviously wrong," he allowed, and then he recovered, "but the thing is, the gospel doesn't change. That's the beautiful thing." We were talking together, in a conversation. We were not in a dialogue.

Not long ago I found myself in Fast and Testimony meeting presided over and conducted by the bishop of the ward who also offered the opening remarks. In his testimony he referred to the recent appearance of our prophet on the "Larry King Live Show." The telecast had been a great source of strength to the bishop because of something President Hinkley had said right at the end almost by chance. "Have you ever doubted the truth of Mormonism?" the host had asked, and the reply, without hesitation, had been an unequivocal, "No." Never. He never had. Never once. He'd always known beyond a shadow of a doubt. The bishop liked that because it made him feel secure in having a prophet, seer, and revelator who didn't know what it was to entertain or harbor a doubt.

But, now that he thought about it, he too had always known. He just hadn't always realized that he knew. Now that he knew he knew, he felt a lot better. And now that he knew he knew, he realized the he had always known, and that made him feel better yet. He went on to refer to a general and undocumented prophecy that seemed to suggest that the last days are immediately at hand and that in the last days there won't be any middle. People will either have to line right up with the prophet or simply be lost. After challenging us to keep that fact in mind, he concluded with a general catalogue of blessings, which included especially his children, who were mostly grown and gone, but who had also been blessed with strong testimonies and who were all living the gospel. He humbly suggested that this happy outcome hadn't been due to anything he had ever done, that his children had simply come to him that way, and he went on to praise his wife and his wife's family. Had he not been placed with his own goodly parents, his in-laws would have been the very next people he would have wanted to share his life with. How blessed he was to have such wonderful people—all of them filled with the desire to serve the Lord—to claim as his own and to be sealed together with through the holy bonds of matrimony for time and all eternity.

The time remaining was remanded to the members of the ward for the bearing of testimonies, provided they could be finished by 1:25 p.m. His comments had set a tone, one that he undoubtedly intended, and one that I'm sure many members of the ward found inspiring. Congregants filed to the front of the room to lean into the microphone and partake of the tissues. The theme of absolute and unconditional certitude held throughout the meeting, even among the primary children, who trotted up the aisle, and the woman who offered her testimony in song. It could be fairly concluded, from what was offered, that virtually everyone in the room was of one mind. Where, indeed, did a panoply of faith such as this leave an erstwhile doubter? I grew restless and began to wish that someone would put in a word of reassurance for anyone there—anyone at all—who might once have entertained a doubt.

I thought it might be helpful if someone would quote Paul on the subject of spiritual gifts to remind folks that faith is, in fact, a gift, and gifts are variously given, that to some is given faith to believe, and to others, it is given to believe on their words. It's okay to be unsure, because what really matters is the way all of these gifts of God work to benefit the entire community—that all may be edified. This isn't a competition; it's a congregation. And what better place for us to bring our doubts and our fears as well as our triumphs and sure convictions?

I began to worry that someone in that congregation might not be feeling particularly blessed that day for having been born to his or her parents, that maybe someone did not, in fact, have "goodly" parents and might take that as a referendum on his or her personal worthiness or on how much God valued him or her. I wondered how people there might feel whose children had not kept the faith nor risen up recently to call their parents blessed. Did their lives mean and count so much less because of this failure?

I was afraid that some members of the congregation might take that part about being either on one side or the other, about there not being any middle, as a suggestion that the ward would be better off without them—as an invitation to leave. And I didn't want anyone else to leave. We've had enough of that already. I thought it would be helpful if a former bishop of that ward—and I saw him sitting right there—if he would stand up and tell the congregation something he once told me, personally and off the record, that an enormous amount of what he called the "real work of the ward" was then being done by people who, in his words, "did not have testimonies." He had made it a priority during his tenure to see that these saints continued to feel comfortable enough attending that we wouldn't lose them, wouldn't lose their families, their society, and all that they had to contribute.

I thought it might be reassuring for someone to remind the congregation that every ward in the church has its true believers, its hopeful doubters, and its hangers-on. Some wards can count on a loyal opposition, on a few "Oxymormons." And that's fine—as long as we support each other. Some people move over time or in response to changing circumstances in their lives from category to category; others have children who turn out to be in categories different from their own. That too is fine as long as the general direction is toward a community in Christ.

When Christ issued his invitation, "Come unto me," it came without strings attached. It included all of us, as in every one of us, and it would seem also that it included all of us, as in every part of us—our doubts and misgivings, our troubles and failures, too. What matters is that we stay together and help each other through.

I thought someone should say some of those things. But no one did. Not even me. And the testimonies did conclude promptly at 1:25.

Right now I teach workshops for writers. Such courses are taught a little differently. They are not just discussions. They are certainly not lectures. The student delivers his or her manuscript in advance to be read carefully by class members, and then after the reading, there is a discussion, in fact, a dialogue of sorts. But without further input from the writer than what is already on paper. He or she is present, but, except for questions or a brief statement at the very end, is not allowed to talk. No explanations nor exhortations to right thinking as in: "No, that's not right; that's not what it means." You can't, I remind them, follow your book around to police your readers and set them straight. So the writer must pay attention, must take notes, but is forbidden to talk.

The workshop is a kind of test market with a targeted demographic of serious, invested readers. As a focus group it is ideal for telling you as a writer, not what you'd intended, but what, in fact, you have managed or not managed to communicate. It is also completely terrifying. Partly, this is so because when people write seriously, staying up late and long to agonize over the right word, the right image, the right thought, there is more than just seriousness on the line. They have been locked into a bruising struggle, and now, on top of that, must face critics. And a critic, as a writer friend once explained, is someone who walks out onto the battlefield after the battle is over to shoot the wounded.

So why does anyone consent to this? Why is my workshop, why are most such workshops, full of writers? In large part, it is because such classes actually help. They make a difference. Writers who learn to use them and to revise their work get better. And this is so, not least of all, because of the workshop rules, which are, in a way, the difficult and necessary rules of all serious dialogue. They require a willing and very risky submission to scrutiny. Your words are on the table, and now you must listen, must hear not only about their strengths, but about their weaknesses, their fuzziness, their contrivance and preachiness, their lapses and abuses, their surrenders to bad logic and bad taste. What to a writer could be more useful or more harrowing? What could be more harrowing or more useful to any advocate of sincerely held convictions? It's hard, unnatural work, but also, I think, the work of angels.

Plain and Simple

Marilyn Bushman-Carlton

It could have been an impossible day.

And then the wind
helping the *Gardener's Eden* keep its promise:
the outdoor ornaments
suspended from the wrists of the branches
bump up and down,
emit the "soft pure sound,"
the "pleasing alternative" they'd advertised
"to large wind chimes."

I'd sent for six in faith, not to be disappointed
with their durable enamel
cast iron bird and pine cone shapes
which arrived from Vermont
the first week of December.

After emancipating their metal tongues
from the stuffing in their throats,
and levitating like a hummingbird
out from the railing of the balcony,
(my eyes dropped far below),
I bedecked the withered wallflower elm
with their dangling silhouettes.

And there they'd hung,
you can't believe how still,
treading air,
half an instrument—
a violin in its velvet bed, its bow in the shop,
a xylophone with shattered hammers,
a soprano short of breath.

And then the wind
wiping down

the curving ashy sky,
bringing the light blue C's (the birds),
and a spray of pine cone D's
through the window glass,

each note like breaths of sleep,
or the turning engines of sparrows,
like old departed ones,
their teeth clicking,
while their spirits wobble up the front porch steps.

Let me be clear:
This is not aimless chatter,
an agoraphobic panic in response to silence;
not an essay of all they learned
while hanging wide-eared from the elm's bare eaves.

This is the song of that which waits
deep in quiet waters.

Founders of *Dialogue*: (left to right) Eugene England, Joseph Jeppson, Wesley Johnson. Palo Alto, CA circa. 1967

A History of Dialogue, Part One: The Early Years, 1965-1971

Devery S. Anderson

FOR NEARLY THIRTY-FOUR YEARS, *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* has occupied a place, defined by former co-editor Allen Roberts, as the "patriarch (or matriarch)" of independent Mormon scholarship.[1] And notwithstanding an increase of anti-intellectual rhetoric[2] from the church hierarchy in recent years, the journal has managed not only to survive, but continues to provide nourishment for countless Mormons. Despite the fears from above (and their trickle-down effect), publications such as *Exponent II* (1974) and *Sunstone* (1975) followed the founding of *Dialogue* and have gained similarly loyal followings.[3] Even church-sanctioned *Brigham Young University Studies*, which initiated publication several years prior to *Dialogue*, came to feel the competition brought on by the new journal and raised its content to higher levels of scholarship.[4]

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1. Allen Roberts [with Eugene England, Elbert Peck, and Sue Paxman], "How Do *Sunstone*, *Dialogue*, and *Exponent II* Contribute to the Kingdom of God?" Washington D.C. Sunstone Symposium, 13 March 1993, audiotape #26, in my possession.

2. For recent speeches critical of intellectuals, see Boyd K. Packer, "The Mantle is Far, Far Greater than the Intellect," *BYU Studies* 21 (Summer 1981): 269-278; Glen L. Pace, "Follow the Prophet, *Ensign* 19 (May 1989): 25-27; Dallin H. Oaks, "Alternate Voices," *Ensign* 19 (May 1989): 27-30; Malcolm R. Jeppson, "We Shall Not Be Led Astray-III," undated typescript, in my possession; Boyd K. Packer, untitled speech to the All-Church Coordinating Council Meeting, 18 May 1993, typescript in my possession.

3. A serialized history of the Sunstone Foundation is also in progress, beginning with Lee Warthen, "History of *Sunstone*, Chapter 1: The Scott Kenney Years, Summer 1974-June 1978," *Sunstone* 22 (June 1999): 48-61.

4. Indeed, *BYU Studies* editor Charles Tate, upon taking over the journal in 1967, stated, "I will freely admit that if I am able to bring Studies 'of age,' it will be because of the impact of *Dialogue*, which has given the Church a challenge and in that way aided it." Charles D. Tate to Eugene England, 22 August 1967, Dialogue Foundation Collection, ACCN 385, Manuscripts Division, Special Collections, University of Utah Marriott Library, Salt Lake City. See also comments of Eugene England in "An Interview with Eugene England," *The Carpenter* 1 (Spring 1970): 15-18.

Although *Dialogue* and other independent publications remain unknown to most Mormons, they are nevertheless an important presence for thousands within the faith. Some attest to the balance the unofficial organs bring to the official ones. For some Latter-day Saints, outlets such as *Dialogue* remain the only contact they have with anything Mormon. Others maintain that these publications have kept them active in the church. Mormon historian Thomas G. Alexander once acknowledged a faith-promoting aspect of *Dialogue* after witnessing an intellectual friend fall away from Mormonism. Stressing that "the church was meant for all people," Alexander believed that this man, "who had so much to give and needed so much from the church," probably would have stayed in the church had he found like minded Mormons to share his experience.[5] For over three decades, *Dialogue* has aided Mormons in that way.

*

The idea for *Dialogue* predates the project that came to fruition by nearly a decade. As early as the late 1950s, Eugene England and Wesley Johnson, two of the original founders of the journal, were independently envisioning a publication that would unify and bring together an otherwise scattered group of Mormons. Unknown to each other, they started sharing their ideas with friends. Johnson recalls discussions with colleagues in 1959 as a graduate student at Columbia University. The following year, as a pre-doctoral fellow at UCLA, he made the idea for an independent publication his topic for an LDS sacrament meeting sermon. This talk excited the young Mormons in the audience who agreed that there was a need for more scholarly, thought-provoking essays than what they read in the monthly *Improvement Era*, then the official Mormon magazine for adults.[6] Two years before, while an undergraduate at the University of Utah, Eugene England had discussed the idea with some of his friends in Salt Lake City.[7] The idea had come to him after feeling

5. Thomas G. Alexander, "The Pursuit of Understanding," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18 (Spring 1985): 110.

6. G. Wesley Johnson interview, conducted by Devery S. Anderson, 3 August 1996, in Provo, Utah. In January 1971, the *Improvement Era* was revamped and became the *Ensign*, with basically the same content. Other church magazines were also changed and or discontinued at that time.

7. Mary Lythgoe Bradford, "Ten Years with *Dialogue*: A Personal Anniversary," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 11(Spring 1978): 10. Bradford had been one of those involved in these early discussions at the University of Utah. She identifies others present as England's wife, Charlotte, and Karl Keller, who was later teaching English at the State University of New York, Cortland, at the time *Dialogue* was founded. Both Bradford and Keller served the journal from the beginning in editorial positions.

"some uneasiness" about Mormonism's indifference toward people with intellectual gifts.[8] "I was critical of Church publications, in a sense, because I didn't find them very meaningful for me and some others I knew," England recalls.[9] The decade ended without any action, however, as England, graduating with a B.A. in 1958, joined the Air Force, and Johnson, in 1961, went to Africa to write a doctoral dissertation on the political history of Senegal.[10] By the mid-1960's, however, a publication for Mormon intellectuals became, as England later put it, "an idea whose time had come."[11]

I. 1965-66: Five Mormons With a Vision

> I can tell you of my own experience at Harvard and Columbia, seeing good members of the Church leave the fold because they could not reconcile what they were being taught in class with what they learned in [priesthood] meeting on Sunday . . . Our hope is that our magazine may be a reassuring voice to these people, that they should not alienate themselves from Mormonism.
>
> Wesley Johnson to Harvey L. Taylor, 3 December 1965

> I think you state the big problem [for *Dialogue*] perfectly when you say it is to maintain "a highly developed sense of responsibility to the Church." Doubtless many faithful members will be suspicious no matter what you do . . .
>
> Richard L. Bushman to Wesley Johnson, 8 August 1965

By early summer, 1965, interest in a new Mormon publication was brewing, and people were talking. However, few would ultimately act. The project that finally bore fruit began at Stanford University, where England was now a graduate student in English and Johnson was a young professor of history. England and his wife Charlotte (Hawkins), who together had served a mission in Samoa from 1954-56, now had six young children. Johnson and his wife Marion (Ashby) had two.[12]

Unknown to each other, both England and Johnson resumed their discussions with friends about starting a Mormon journal, and at least three of them listened. From these conversations, Frances Menlove,

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8. Eugene England Oral History, Interviews by Davis Bitton, 1975, typescript, 1, Oral History Program, Archives, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

9. "An Interview With Eugene England," 11.

10. Johnson interview, 3 August 1996; Marion Ashby Johnson, telephone interview conducted by Devery S. Anderson on 21 September 1999.

11. England Oral History, 1; "An Interview with Eugene England," 13.

12. G. Wesley Johnson, telephone interview conducted by Devery S. Anderson, 9 August 1999; Eugene England to Devery S. Anderson, 13 September 1999. Johnson had a third child born in 1970, and England's sixth child was born during the summer of 1965, when the *Dialogue* founders first got together.

Joseph Jeppson (friends of England), and Paul Salisbury (a friend of Johnson) became excited enough to pledge their talents to this project.

Getting Started at Stanford

England and Johnson had yet to meet, however,[13] but as it happened, they had a mutual friend. Diane Monson, a political science professor at Brigham Young University, occasionally visited Palo Alto, California and attended church meetings in the Stanford ward. England became acquainted with her from these visits; Johnson's friendship had begun years earlier during his undergraduate days at Harvard. As each excitedly told her about his own ideas, Monson realized that "something was in the air" and encouraged the two, who had only heard of one another, to get together.[14] Remembering these conversations, she refers to her influence as "peripheral yet pivotal."[15] One day after attending a Sunday school class taught by England, she urged him to get with Johnson and the others she was now hearing about. "So at Diane's suggestion," recalls England, "I got the group together at my home and we just talked about these feelings that we had."[16]

Frances Lee Menlove, a recent Pd.D. graduate in psychology, was now a research associate in the Stanford Psychology Department. She "became caught up with the idea" of starting a Mormon publication after conversations with England and Joe Jeppson. She credits her scientist grandfather for her interests in the Mormon intellectual arena. To him, Mormonism was unique, "because its domain, its scope, encompassed all of truth, no matter from what source or on what subject." He passed on valuable advice to his granddaughter: "Never be afraid of inquiry. Never be afraid of ideas," he urged. "The gospel can handle any clash between cultures, or religious faiths or with science." This project appealed to Menlove because, "I thought the idea of helping to provide a forum for ideas was a service. I believed it was an important, potentially significant service to others."[17]

Paul G. Salisbury had known Johnson since their experience as missionary companions in Valence, France, a friendship that had continued into college and beyond. Salisbury had also known Menlove since their days as students at Stanford. Salisbury, then an architect living in Salt

13. England, serving in the bishopric of the Stanford student ward, attended church there, while Johnson and his family attended a local ward in Palo Alto. Ashby Johnson interview, 21 September 1999.

14. Diane Monson, telephone interview conducted by Devery S. Anderson, 16 June 1998; Johnson interview, 3 August 1996.

15. Monson interview, 16 June 1998.

16. England Oral History, 3.

17. Frances Lee Menlove to Devery S. Anderson, 1 October 1997.

Lake City, had long recognized the need for an independent Mormon publication, and, like Johnson and England, had been discussing the idea with friends for nearly a decade.[18] While attending Stanford, he and other students had held in-depth discussions on Mormonism during long drives back to Utah during Christmas and spring breaks and had talked of starting a journal focusing on Mormon history. Salisbury remembers these moments as "conversations that . . . remain in my mind as some of the most stimulating of my college days." Johnson later brought up his idea to Salisbury when they visited in 1965. "The idea caught my imagination immediately as something I had thought about and had wanted to do."[19]

Joseph H. Jeppson, who held degrees in history and law from the University of Utah and Stanford, taught history at the College of San Mateo when the group got together. His friendship with Menlove had begun in childhood when both attended church in the same Salt Lake City LDS ward. His interests in Mormon studies included church history and doctrine, and at Stanford, he had made a thorough study of the Mormon collection in the University library. His research forced him to conclude that official Mormon history often lacked in honesty and accuracy. Jeppson's idea was to begin a newsletter that would remedy this. Mormon critics Jerald and Sandra Tanner had recently started their publication, the *Salt Lake City Messenger*, but Jeppson did not share their evangelical anti-Mormon bias and wanted to produce something "a little more literate and more neutrally oriented." As Jeppson shared this with Menlove, she informed him of Salisbury's similar conversations with her. Jeppson then passed all of this on to England.[20]

Meetings took place throughout the summer at the England and Menlove homes, as well as in Johnson's office at Stanford's history department, and things began to take shape. Remembering the early planning meetings as "upbeat and exciting," Menlove recalls that after they each suggested various formats, the group "began listening to each other's ideas and the outcome was *Dialogue*."[21] England was primarily interested in Mormon theology and literature. Although Jeppson enjoyed theology, he wanted the publication to include Mormon history, as did Johnson and Salisbury.[22] Menlove remembers, "I didn't have a special agenda or area I wanted emphasized. I was hoping for a forum

18. Paul G. Salisbury to Devery S. Anderson, 17 May 1998; Johnson interview, 3 August 1996. Salisbury identifies one of these friends as Richard O. Cowan, who later joined the Religion Department at Brigham Young University.

19. Salisbury to Anderson, 17 May 1998.

20. Joseph Jeppson to Devery S. Anderson, 19 May 1998.

21. Menlove to Anderson, 1 October 1997.

22. Salisbury to Anderson, 17 May 1998.

where many subjects and issues could be discussed rigorously, respectfully and vigorously."[23] Although the others did have specific interests, they also wanted the journal to promote a variety of fields.[24] More importantly, according to Salisbury, the group was "particularly united in our vision that the resources for such a journal lay in the Mormon intellectual community as found on various campuses across the U.S." The journal would fill a void, as Salisbury explains further:

> Early in our discussions we sensed the role of such a journal as helping define or create or bring together such a Mormon intellectual community. We all knew former colleagues, missionary companions, ward members who shared a life of the mind based in Mormonism—for which no forum or outlet or nourishment existed within the church [sic]. *BYU Studies* was the only such forum—and we all knew it—but it had been so fettered by its relationship with BYU, so subject to control and manipulation that it had been a great disappointment.[25]

By August, it became apparent that the group had plenty of commitment—but not enough money to proceed. They temporarily remedied this situation by each pledging $25.00, money to be used to print and mail a prospectus to a few hundred friends.[26] Written by England and signed by all five of the founders, this simple, mimeographed sheet appealed to Mormon intellectuals:

> Many men need some medium in which to consider their historical and religious heritage in relation to contemporary experience and secular learning. Some are excited about the dialogue this encounter provides and the good fruit it bears in their lives. Others find themselves alone in their experience and cut off from such a dialogue—and too often feel forced to choose between their heritage and the larger world.
>
> We are now preparing to publish a journal designed to meet the needs of both these groups. It will be edited by Mormons who value the life of the mind in all its variety and who wish to respond to their Mormon heritage in

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23. Menlove to Anderson, 1 October 1997.

24. Johnson interview, 3 August 1996.

25. Salisbury to Anderson, 17 May 1998. Before *Dialogue*'s founding, Johnson acknowledged that the new journal "will be in competition with *BYU Studies*," but that there was room for both publications. "Most of the articles published in the Studies are written by BYU faculty members, but we think there are hundreds of faculty members who are LDS across the land, plus countless more professional and business people, who would like to contribute to the same kind of journal." Wesley Johnson to John Gardner, 29 August 1965, *Dialogue* Collection.

26. Eugene England, interview conducted by Devery S. Anderson, 8 November 1994, in Salt Lake City, Utah; Eugene England, "On Building the Kingdom with *Dialogue*," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 21 (Summer 1988):129; "An Interview with Eugene England," 12.

> the context of human experience as a whole. We believe there are many in the Mormon community and in other communities of belief or experience who will find the resulting dialogue interesting and valuable . . .[27]

Response to this announcement was immediate and encouraging. People "started sending checks—even though we hadn't announced a price," remembers England.[28] One anonymous donor even sent a hundred dollars in cash. People mailed in enough money, recalls England ten years later, that from that point, "we didn't have to put in any money ourselves. We were able to finance everything from the money that came, which as I look back, is amazing."[29] In addition, Johnson wrote his friends from UCLA who, years earlier, were excited about his ideas and asked them to help finance the project.[30]

Choosing a Name

With plans going forward, a crucial step of course, was naming the new journal. Salisbury recalls "that the selection of a name involved a lot of early discussion and negotiation."[31] After considering various titles, such as "Kairos" (a Greek word meaning "the redeemed time"), England suggested the name *Dialogue* ("a rather trendy term of the 60s," remembers Salisbury), which the team accepted.[32] To avoid confusion, they added the subtitle, *A Journal of Mormon Thought*, to distinguish it from the Lutheran publication, *Dialog*.[33] In a letter to a BYU professor, Johnson said that the title was ". . . of necessity a compromise but nevertheless [it] conveys much of what we are interested in."[34]

Establishing the Editorial Board

Although some supporters worried that *Dialogue* could become a voice for the disaffected, the founders sought to avoid this possibility from the beginning. To insure that *Dialogue* would remain a responsible, scholarly voice, Johnson insisted that the staff establish an editorial board for critiquing and refereeing manuscripts.[35] They began soliciting Mormon academics throughout the country for board positions, and of

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27. "Prospectus," *Dialogue* Collection.
28. England, "On Building the Kingdom with *Dialogue*," 129; England Oral History, 3.
29. England Oral History, 3.
30. Johnson interview, 3 August 1996.
31. Salisbury to Anderson, 17 May 1998.
32. England interview, 8 November 1994; England Oral History, 4; Salisbury to Anderson, 17 May 1998.
33. Salisbury to Anderson, 17 May 1998.
34. Wesley Johnson to Richard L. Anderson, 16 August 1965, *Dialogue* Collection.
35. Johnson interview, 3 August 1996.

those they contacted, most accepted the offer. The first board was impressive by any standard. Among the recruits was Dallin H. Oaks, then a professor at the University of Chicago Law School, and a former BYU classmate of Johnson.[36] Oaks would later become more visible in Mormonism as president of Brigham Young University (1971-1980) and in 1984 as a member of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles. Oaks, who first feared *Dialogue* might be "a rather leftish outfit," became interested when Richard L. Bushman, a history professor at BYU (who would become the book review editor for *Dialogue*), assured him that "our board was composed solely of active members of the church and that we had no intention of taking potshots."[37] After further discussions with Johnson, who had approached him originally, Oaks accepted. Reflecting back on his decision to join the board, Oaks recalls:

> I had some significant concerns about the direction the journal would take over time. I knew the manuscripts it would attract would include some from persons who were struggling with their testimonies, from some who were disaffected or bitter, and even some from enemies of the church, since there were relatively few publication outlets for such persons and some people have a consuming desire to publish things about the church, for one reason or another. The managing editors and the members of the editorial board would perform a very important function in evaluating manuscripts. I could anticipate that with changes in editors or by gradual drift in criteria the journal could become something with which I would not want to be associated. I remember discussing these concerns with Wes Johnson, and receiving enough assurances that I decided to serve.[38]

Chase Peterson, later the president of the University of Utah, also joined the board, as did Diane Monson. Mormon scholars from Harvard,

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36. Johnson interview, 3 August 1996; Dallin H. Oaks to Devery S. Anderson, 10 August 1999.

37. Richard L. Bushman to Wesley Johnson, 7 November 1965, *Dialogue* Collection.

38. Oaks to Anderson, 10 August 1999. In his letter to me, Oaks recalls that "I was generally pleased with the content and quality of scholarship that appeared in the journal during my term on the board." Although Oaks did not communicate his current feelings for *Dialogue*, it is clear that he has not always been pleased with essays published since his days on the *Dialogue* board. His April 1989 General Conference sermon, "Alternate Voices," alluded to David John Buerger's article (Winter 1987), "The Development of the Mormon Temple Endowment Ceremony," which Oaks deemed inappropriate to publish. For the text of Oaks's speech, see *Ensign*, May 1989, 27-30.

Johnson remembers Oaks's contribution to *Dialogue* during these early years. "His reviews were beneficial, wise, well-balanced," and full of "good insights." Johnson continues, saying Oaks "was one of the most prompt reviewers and took the job very seriously. He was an excellent board member who shared the vision" (Johnson interview, 3 August 1996). Oaks served three terms on the editorial board. His third term expired in 1969.

Pennsylvania State, the University of Washington, and Stanford joined several others from Utah universities to pioneer this independent effort.[39]

There were those who elected not to affiliate with the new venture. Church Education employee Kenneth Godfrey, after accepting a position on the editorial board, resigned at the encouragement of his stake president Alma Burton. Burton, referring to the editors as "the modern Godbeites," told Godfrey to "stay away from them."[40] "I have mixed emotions regarding this decision," wrote Godfrey of his resignation. "Because I feel that things one feels deeply about should be supported regardless of the consequences. Perhaps this is the real reason for the resignation because of my feeling that one ought to obey counsel."[41]

Henry B. Eyring, Jr., then a professor in the Stanford Business School (who would later became an apostle also) was approached, but refused. "I think what you're doing is marvelous," he said to England, as the two ate lunch together on a bench near the Stanford LDS chapel. "I think it's needed by the church and that the Lord probably wants it, but I'll have nothing to do with it because it would disturb some of the General Authorities," especially his uncle, Apostle Spencer W. Kimball.[42]

The journal will forever remain indebted to the men and women who served on the first editorial board. Johnson looks with gratitude, to "those who supplied their names, put their reputation on the line."[43] That *Dialogue* came to meet their expectations is evident by a 1967 letter from Dallin Oaks to Johnson: "Thank you for the honor of inviting me to serve another year on the Board of Editors of *Dialogue*. I continue to treasure my association in this worthy project."[44]

Motivated by the response to the first flyer, the group used the funds that came in to create a professionally printed brochure, which included a subscription form ($6.00 per year; $4.00 for students and missionaries), aimed at thousands of prospective supporters.[45] Most of these names became available to the team through the annual *Directory of Members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Higher Education and School Administration*. Published at the behest of BYU president Earnest L.

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39. See the masthead, inside front cover, of *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 1 (Spring 1966).

40. England interview, 8 November 1994; England Oral History, 18.

41. Kenneth Godfrey to Eugene England, 30 November 1965, *Dialogue* Collection.

42. England Oral History, 20, England to Anderson, 13 September 1999. Eyring spoke similar comments to Jiro Numano, the founder of *Mormon Forum*, an independent Japanese publication. When Numano asked Eyring for advice in the late 1980s, Eyring referred to his experience when *Dialogue* was founded, and then concluded that "I cannot encourage or discourage this," but admonished Numano to "try to be in line with Gene England" ("A Mormon Japanese *Reader's Digest*," *Sunstone* 19 (December 1996): 58).

43. Johnson interview, 3 August 1996

44. Dallin Oaks to Wesley Johnson, 27 February 1967, *Dialogue* Collection.

45. England Oral History, 5.

Wilkinson since the mid-1950s, it included names of Mormons associated with Universities all over the United States. This list alone gave the team the exposure *Dialogue* needed.[46]

Informing the Brethren

Before embarking on a major advertising blitz, however, some of the founders felt they should inform the general authorities of the church about *Dialogue*. By late summer, England, Johnson, and others had informed a few in the hierarchy of their plans,[47] so the leadership was not unaware of the emergence of the journal, but a more formal announcement seemed in order. The question was how to go about making such an announcement, and the approach that was eventually taken was a compromise resulting from weeks of debate.

Richard Bushman, who took responsibility for informing the brethren, wrote to an early supporter that the team would likely give "an outline to President [Hugh B.] Brown, not asking for approval, but merely to keep him informed."[48] This plan was vetoed by the others who were in favor of approaching the general authorities individually. Bushman, however, concluded that this approach would be a mistake, as most of the leaders already knew about the journal. "*Dialogue* was brought up in the meeting of the Board of Trustees of the BYU, where quite a number of the Brethren were present," he wrote to Johnson. "[T]he attitude was simply, let's wait and see." Stephen R. Covey, then an assistant to BYU's President Wilkinson, was present at that meeting and "put in a good word for us . . . Chase [Petersen] has had some indication that the journal has been discussed at a Thursday [temple] meeting."[49] Bushman, however, had other concerns about individual interviews:

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46. The directory was not published again after 1965, but in a letter to the editor of *BYU Studies* the previous year, Stanley B. Kimball, a history professor at Southern Illinois University, criticized that publication for its limited scope. Suggesting a format similar to other scholarly magazines, Kimball advocated that *BYU Studies* make use of the thousands of scholars listed in the directory, that "some group consciousness [be] effected and an 'order' for the learned defense of the Mormon faith formed." As it stood, *BYU Studies* remained "rather parochial in concept inasmuch as the Editorial board is all at the 'Y' and since 84% of the articles in the first eight issues came from Utah, 74% from the 'Y' alone, and 37% from individuals at the 'Y' under the rank of associate professor." Kimball's criticisms, coming over a year before the appearance of *Dialogue*, seem prophetic in spelling out the aim of the new journal, a further indication that scholars were sensing the need for such a publication. See Stanley B. Kimball, "Mormon Culture: A Letter to the Editor," *BYU Studies* 5 (Winter 1964): 125-128.

47. Johnson interview, 3 August 1996; Wesley Johnson to Truman Madsen, 12 August 1965, *Dialogue* Collection. Unfortunately, Johnson did not identify who these general authorities were.

48. Richard L. Bushman to Howard Marsh, 27 September 1965, *Dialogue* Collection.

49. Richard Bushman to Wesley Johnson, 7 November 1965, *Dialogue* Collection.

> If I approached Brother [Mark E.] Petersen personally and told him of our plans I would almost force him to deliver an opinion. If he had once spoken, though he was but one man, and speaking personally, if I disregarded his advice, we would indeed be in trouble. Bob Thomas has suggested that we should not approach any authority whose advice we were not willing to take. At present, precedents being what they are, most of the Brethren will be suspicious, and if by a direct confrontation we put them in a position where they have to say something, if only to be civil, we may force their hand at an inopportune moment.[50]

Bushman concluded that writing a letter to the First Presidency was the best way to avoid this problem. He had earlier drafted a two page letter on 25 October 1965 and sent a copy to the team at Stanford. England, initially against writing the presidency, conceded in a letter to Bushman on 12 November: "I surrender. With some misgivings but a good spirit. You state your case well . . ." However, feeling the letter was too long, England convinced Bushman to shorten it to one page. "Our feeling here is that a letter should be sent to arrive just before Thanksgiving," he added. "It should be a warm but fairly formal letter signed perhaps by myself and you."[51] After England suggested a paragraph of loyalty to the church leaders, Bushman responded:

> Doug Alder is the son-in-law of [assistant First Presidency secretary] A. Hamer Reiser. Doug says that people are always lobbying the Brethren for one cause or another and invariably they pour on their testimony. The Presidency much prefers that people level with them, say clearly what they want, and end.

Alder also advised Bushman against sending the letter to anyone but the First Presidency. "If we do each one [recipient] will form an opinion, and many of these will be unfavorable."[52] England, however, countered:

> We would much prefer that they formed an opinion on the basis of our prospectus and a copy of the letter to the First Presidency than that they form it on the basis of someone's writing them (probably a crank letter) after seeing one of our ads or a prospectus.[53]

England's reasoning, in the end, prevailed. Bushman mailed his edited letter to the First Presidency, dated 20 November 1965 (signed also by England), along with the brochure, to all thirty-seven general authorities. He also sent copies to directors of the various LDS institutes, to

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50. Bushman to Johnson, 7 November 1965.
51. Eugene England to Richard Bushman, 12 November 1965, *Dialogue* Collection.
52. Richard Bushman to Eugene England, 18 November 1965, *Dialogue* Collection.
53. Eugene England to Richard Bushman, 22 November 1965, *Dialogue* Collection.

Ernest Wilkinson, Stephen R. Covey, and to Earl C. Crockett, Academic Vice President at BYU.[54]

England took for granted a positive reaction from church leaders. "I just assumed they would approve. I saw our project as wholly in accord with the church's mission, and a contribution to it." He continues:

> One of my growing interests as an Institute teacher at Stanford was young people in the church, and their problems and needs as they were faced with intellectual challenges at college. I realized that the official church wasn't doing much for them—perhaps it shouldn't—there wasn't any particular reason—this was a new problem that was developing. In the spirit of the lay church, I felt that people who saw the problem should try to do something about it.[55]

This concern for young people was the focus of the letter to the First Presidency:

> Our combined experience in many universities has made us keenly aware of the intellectual pressures on our youth. We believe that to hold them we must speak with many voices. A straightforward testimony by a man of spiritual power is most effective; Institute classes and the church schools help a large number. Unfortunately, these methods do not reach certain ones, including some of the finest students. Often these are overawed by the brilliance of secular culture. By comparison their own beliefs, as they perceive them, seem embarrassingly unsophisticated. They ascribe intellectual superficiality to Latter-day Saints and the Gospel itself and feel compelled to choose reason over faith.
>
> We believe that *Dialogue* can help reach these young people. Its contributors have the training and the qualities of mind respected in the universities, and its manner will be suitably candid and objective. At the same time it will display the rich intellectual and spiritual resources of the Gospel as mature men have discovered them and how relevant our faith is to contemporary life. The content of the magazine will be proof that a Latter-day Saint need not abandon thought to be a faithful Church member nor his faith to be thoughtful. All of our young people however firm, should benefit from that kind of testimony.[56]

Although church leaders never answered the letter directly, they later published a statement in the church's quarterly *Priesthood Bulletin*, in response "to questions from stake and ward leaders and from individual members" about the journal. ". . . *Dialogue* is an independent maga-

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54. Eugene England to David Crockett, 11 December 1965, *Dialogue* Collection.

55. England interview, 8 November 1994.

56. Richard L. Bushman and Eugene England to the First Presidency of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 20 November 1965, *Dialogue* Collection.

zine, privately owned, operated and edited. It has no connection with The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints either officially or unofficially." Hence the contents "are never submitted to Church Authorities for approval and therefore are the sole responsibility of the editors."[57] Avoiding an endorsement or censure, the church elected to remain aloof. "This is exactly what we hoped for and expected," says England.[58]

At least one general authority received an additional letter. Jeppson wrote Apostle Spencer W. Kimball about the journal just two weeks after Kimball would have received his copy of the letter to the First Presidency. Jeppson knew Kimball from their experience together walking across the plains as part of the 1947 centennial celebration of the Mormon trek west. "For such a journal to be profitable and faith building," responded Kimball, "certainly it will need to be watched with great care for there are people who would be glad to 'use' its pages to air their ideas and concepts, some of which would not be in harmony with revealed truth."[59] The founders of *Dialogue* certainly welcomed such advice. But with the "wait and see" attitude the leaders had informally adopted, for now, giving advice was a far as they were willing to go.

Spreading the Word

Once they had informed church leaders about *Dialogue*, the Stanford team began advertising the journal all across Mormondom. "Things are going full steam," wrote England. "The last two weeks have been D-Day in Utah, where we've conducted a big advertising campaign in all the papers and spread our prospectuses all over the campuses."[60] In all, the team sent out 10,000 brochures.[61] The response was phenomenal, with some supporters hardly able to contain their excitement. "It is the most exciting news to come out of the West in many years," wrote one Ph.D. candidate to England.[62] For the group at Stanford, this interest seemed incredible. "I think that none of us could have predicted the very great response that we had once we sent out our flyer," says Johnson.[63] Eng-

57. *Priesthood Bulletin*, 3 (March-June, 1967): 1.

58. England interview, 8 November 1994.

59. Spencer W. Kimball to Joseph Jeppson, 10 December 1965, copy in my possession. When the first issue of *Dialogue* appeared in March 1966, Kimball wrote Eugene England a letter of thanks for his complimentary copy. "I have not had opportunity yet to read it, but I will carry it with me to my next long distance assignment and read it" (Spencer W. Kimball to Eugene England, 12 April 1966, *Dialogue* Collection).

60. England to Crockett, 11 December 1965.

61. England, "On Building the Kingdom with *Dialogue*," 129.

62. Frederick S. Buchanan to Eugene England, 15 December 1965, *Dialogue* collection.

63. Johnson interview, 3 August 1996.

land agrees: "Subscriptions poured in at such a rate that by the time we went to press with our first issue, we had enough saved to more than pay for the first year's four issues."[64]

Some unexpected publicity came from the national media. On 12 December 1965, the *New York Times* featured an article on the founding of *Dialogue*.[65] Although several subscriptions came through this exposure, general authorities, as well as members of the *Dialogue* staff, complained of inaccuracies in the article. England took issue with certain statements, noting that the *Times* correspondent "was after sensationalism," that after interviewing Salisbury, the reporter added "a few mis-attributions, and a misleading tone and completely misrepresented us."[66] England further spoke of his displeasure in a letter to family friend and apostle Mark E. Petersen. England assured Petersen, who also found the article disturbing, that *Dialogue* had a loyal purpose, "contrary to publicity in the *NY Times* which misrepresented the church in general as well as our journal." Petersen responded, "I should be glad to read it [*Dialogue*] when it comes.[67]

Two weeks later, the *Times* publicized *Dialogue* again, in a lengthy article by correspondent Wallace Turner. Turner, focusing attention on the erstwhile Mormon doctrine of polygamy and the current practice of banning black males from the priesthood, describes liberal Mormons as "hungry as never before for avenues of discussion." Calling *Dialogue* their answer, Turner noted the nature of the journal: "It will not be antichurch, nor rebellious. But it will be independent of church control."[68]

While on a church assignment in San Mateo, California, Apostle Gordon B. Hinckley, sensitive to church coverage in the press, spent a Satur-

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64. England, "On Building the Kingdom with *Dialogue*," 129. Joseph Jeppson, who was in charge of *Dialogue*'s finances, insisted that the group keep enough money in the bank to pay back subscribers in case the journal, for whatever reason, folded (England interview, 8 November 1994).

65. See "Mormon Scholars Plan a Journal," *New York Times*, 12 December 1965, 80.

66. Eugene England to Richard Marshall, 14 December 1965, *Dialogue* Collection. Reading the *Times* article, several statements would have been disturbing to Mormon leaders and the *Dialogue* staff, the latter insisting that the journal was born out of loyalty to the church. One quotes Salisbury that, "[w]e will of course be concerned with the church stand against the repeal of 14-(b)—[a section of the Taft-Hartley Law permitting state 'right-to-work' laws], the stand of the church against pacifism in the Vietnam War and the position taken by Mormon leaders in relationship to Negroes." Salisbury was also attributed with a claim that the church stifles free thought. According to the article, eighteen members of the editorial board lived outside of Utah "because it is difficult to hold nonconformist views within the church and prosper in Utah."

67. Eugene England to Mark E. Petersen, 25 March 1966; Petersen to England, 29 March 1966, both in *Dialogue* Collection.

68. Wallace Turner, "Mormons Gain Despite Tensions," *New York Times*, 27 December 1965, 1, 18.

day evening with England. After reading the *Times* articles, Hinckley had concluded that *Dialogue*'s aim was to attempt to speak with finality on Mormon issues. England responded to their conversation in a follow-up letter: "I can't emphasize too strongly that *Dialogue* is not a theological journal or anything remotely like one; when we talk about a journal of Mormon thought, we are not talking about the Mormon position on any doctrine. . . ." England also assured Hinckley that Salisbury, interviewed for the *Times*, ". . . was entirely misrepresented and misquoted from the very first paragraph, which erroneously called him the editor. He is a devoted and orthodox member of the church whose association with *Dialogue* can only be to our benefit."[69] Hinckley seemed relieved in his response to England two days later. "The explanation helps," he wrote. However, still concerned about bad publicity for the church, he enclosed "a clipping of the kind which creates the image of *Dialogue* as a journal of dissent."[70]

To counter the negative image that the *Times* article may have caused, Salisbury sought publicity in Utah newspapers, but this proved frustrating. According to England, Salisbury became "miffed over the run-around the Salt Lake papers had been giving him for over a week." The *Deseret News*, the *Church News*, and *The Salt Lake Tribune*, "[are] unwilling to do a straight new[s] story on us for reasons that sound suspiciously like plain fear of anything that even remotely might be controversial."[71] Paid advertising was not always successful either. Ads that appeared in the *Tribune*, "easily got lost," remembers Salisbury. Advertisements appeared in the *Utah Daily Chronicle* at the University of Utah and, thanks to Bushman, in the *Daily Universe* at BYU. Later, Salisbury took out full cover ads in the program of the Utah Symphony.[72] The *Improvement Era* had long advertised items ranging from books to household products. Salisbury submitted ads to that magazine as well, but they were never run (although they were never formally rejected either), even after First Presidency counselor Hugh B. Brown later offered to

69. Eugene England to Gordon B. Hinckley, 7 March 1966, *Dialogue* Collection. Hinckley may have reached the conclusion England refers to from a statement, attributed to Salisbury, that "we seek to give voice to a growing intellectual community, to open the door to a variety of viewpoints impossible to express in existing Mormon church journals" (*New York Times*, 12 December 1965).

70. Gordon B. Hinckley to Eugene England, 9 March 1966, *Dialogue* Collection. Hinckley did not identify this clipping in his letter, nor was I able to find it among the *Dialogue* correspondence.

71. England to Marshall, 14 December 1965. According to the *New York Times*, both Salt Lake City newspapers claimed that "space problems, not the nature of the quarterly," was the reason for the rejection.

72. Salisbury interview, 19 May 1998.

lobby the magazine's editor.[73] The quarterly alumni magazine *BYU Today* did turn them down outright.[74] Salisbury succeeded in advertising on the church owned KSL in Salt Lake City, however, between sessions of the church's general conference.[75] A short, but enthusiastic article announcing *Dialogue* finally appeared in the *Church News* before the end of the year.[76] Salisbury also promoted the journal on several radio call-in programs.[77]

Response to publicity efforts and the obvious high interest in the forthcoming journal from the scholarly Mormon community clearly indicated the need for such an outlet among Mormon intellectuals. Consequently, quality, in terms of content and aesthetics became a priority from the very beginning. "We wanted something that would be of lasting value and something that would make a statement," Johnson recalls. Familiar with the professionalism of the *Stanford Law Review*, he suggested that following a similar format would communicate both.[78] With the tremendous response from pre-publication advertising, subscribers were sending the message that they expected as much.

Salisbury's influence with the design of *Dialogue* cannot be overstated. He describes himself at that time as "fascinated in how journals were put together," and credits the quarterly *Perspectives USA*, devoted to art and architecture, as having a tremendous influence on him. In their discussions, England remembers Salisbury's fear that the publication would be misunderstood without the right look: anything in a cheap or newspaper format would resemble the Tanners' anti-Mormon effort. This reasoning prevailed. "To be acceptable enough not to be dismissed immediately," says England, "was reason enough, in addition to all the other good reasons, for having a really fine layout."[79]

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73. Salisbury to Anderson, 17 May 1998; Paul G. Salisbury, "Notes from a Meeting with President Brown," recorded immediately after an 8:00 a.m. meeting on 29 September 1969 with President Hugh B. Brown in his office, copy in my possession. With regard to placing ads for *Dialogue* in the *Improvement Era*, Brown told Salisbury that "perhaps he could help us. He said he was on good terms with both Elder [Richard L.] Evans and Brother [Doyle] Green and would speak to both of them for us. I told him this would be very important to us, that an ad in the *Era* would help us reach the market we need. He said he would see to it right away." Whatever attempts Brown made to help *Dialogue* advertise in the *Era*, no ads ever ran. Fifteen months after this conversation, the *Era* was discontinued, and the church no longer permitted advertising in its replacement, the *Ensign*.

74. Eugene England interview, conducted by Devery S. Anderson, 17 July 1996, in Provo, Utah.; Johnson interview, 3 August 1996.

75. England interview, 17 July 1996.

76. See "Group Plans Paper on 'Mormon Thought'", *Church News*, 25 December 1965.

77. Salisbury interview, 19 May 1998.

78. Johnson interview, 3 August 1996.

79. England Oral History, 7.

The Mormon History Association

As news of the project spread, groups from at least six other universities and organizations contacted *Dialogue*, saying that they, too, had planned to start a similar publication.[80] Most, however, were happy now to support the project at Stanford instead.[81] Perhaps the most important of these groups was the newly formed Mormon History Association. Leonard J. Arrington, founder and president, invited Johnson to speak at the first meeting of the organization, held on 28 December 1965 at the Sir Francis Drake Hotel in San Francisco. Assuring the group of *Dialogue*'s commitment to Mormon history, Johnson spoke of plans to publish a theme issue each year, and, according to the official minutes of the meeting, proposed "that the Mormon History Association take over the third issue as the first of these special theme issues. Leonard Arrington was appointed guest editor for such an issue."[82] "Our historical community needed an outlet for our serious historical articles," wrote Arrington in his memoirs, "because most historical journals would run articles on Mormon historical topics only rarely."[83] Consequently, the MHA waited nearly a decade to begin publishing its own *Journal of Mormon History*.[84]

A Volunteer Effort

As a member of the bishopric of the Stanford ward, England knew most of the Latter-day Saint students on campus and recruited a dozen or so of them to help with the necessities: typing the mailing list and subscription forms, answering mail, and readying the manuscripts for publication. This volunteer effort, carried out in various rooms on the Stanford campus, lasted for over a year and a half. "It was really a spiritual experience," remembers England.[85] These evenings opened with prayer, and the students found the effort gratifying," for as he explains, "they

80. In their 20 November 1965 letter to the First Presidency, Bushman and England identify groups from "Yale, Michigan, Logan, Princeton, Santa Barbara, and Salt Lake City" (*Dialogue* Collection). See also "An Interview with Eugene England," 13.

81. England Oral History, 3; Johnson interview, 3 August 1996.

82. "Minutes of the Formative Meeting of the Mormon History Association," published in Leonard Arrington, "Reflections on the Founding and Purpose of the Mormon History Association, 1965-1983, *Journal of Mormon History*, 10 (1983):97; Johnson interview, 3 August 1996.

83. Leonard J. Arrington, *Adventures of a Church Historian* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 62.

84. The *Journal of Mormon History*, originally published annually beginning in 1974, became a semi-annual journal in 1992.

85. Eugene England, "'A Matter of Love': My Life with *Dialogue*," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 20 (Spring 1987): 18; England interview, 8 November, 1994; England Oral History, 4-5.

felt that they were aiding the Kingdom."[86] Johnson remembers not only students, but several Stanford faculty members, library personnel, and local business people giving their time. Local Mormons such as Ralph Hanson of the Stanford Library, and Clayne Robinson, an attorney (who went on to teach opera at BYU), were among the volunteers. "People felt they were doing something special," he recalls.[87]

Unsolicited feedback from unexpected quarters only served to affirm such a conviction. In a letter to England and Johnson, Diane Monson tells of her visit with a stake high councilman in Boulder, Colorado. "[He] is enthusiastic in promoting *Dialogue*. He guarantees 25 subscriptions at least, and will circulate brochures, which I will send to him."[88] Another supporter reported talk of the journal in the east: "*Dialogue* is picking up speed and seems to be on everyone's lips in these parts," wrote Mary Bradford from her home in Washington, D.C. "It was even discussed in Priesthood meeting last week."[89]

Such enthusiasm could potentially backfire, and England knew where to draw the line, as evidenced in an exchange of letters months later between him and Monson. Monson enthusiastically informed the staff at Stanford that a Mormon salesman "would very much like to promote the sale of *Dialogue* 'in every home' as a special project for the New York Seventies priesthood group."[90] England, however, saw trouble with this approach:

> . . . it is very tempting, but we feel quite unanimously that we neither want to misuse our connection with the church—such as the Birch Mormons have surely done—nor even appear to be doing so. We'll bend over backwards to avoid that impression.[91]

In fact, due to such widespread publicity, negative rumors about *Dialogue* had made their way into the office before the first issue was even off the press. For example, Johnson received a letter from someone who had heard that LDS Institute of Religion directors were being told not to subscribe to the journal. "Yet in the same morning's mail came a request for several subscriptions to be sent to Institute Headquarters," he wrote to Dallin Oaks. Having also received other "letters of interest"

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86. England interview, 17 July 1996.

87. Johnson interview, 3 August 1996.

88. Diane Monson to Eugene England and Wesley Johnson, 2 December 1965, *Dialogue* Collection.

89. Mary Bradford to Eugene England, 4 Jan 1966, *Dialogue* Collection.

90. Diane Monson to Eugene England, Wesley Johnson, and editors, 3 July 1966, *Dialogue* Collection.

91. Eugene England to Diane Monson, 25 July 1966, *Dialogue* Collection.

from LDS Institutes, Johnson could only conclude that "the first letter was no more than a reflection of a local rumor."[92]

Staff and Organization

The five founders all served as part of the first editorial staff: England and Johnson filled the roles as managing editors; Frances Menlove took on the duty as manuscripts editor; the job of publication editor went to Paul Salisbury, and Joseph Jeppson served as "Notes and Comments" editor. In addition, Leonard Arrington, along with Lowell L. Bennion, former director of the LDS Institute of Religion at the University of Utah, accepted positions as advisory editors. Pioneering this kind of publication, England felt that the team "could use some counsel from wiser and older heads both in terms of the scholarly world and the church."[93]

The history department at Stanford permitted the staff to house *Dialogue* in a portion of Johnson's office—an arrangement that required no rent or utilities expenses.[94] Stanford also hosted the journal's first post office box.[95]

On 11 July 1965, the group held a meeting at Johnson's apartment in Stanford's Escondido Village, and the five founders—now trustees of the proposed *Dialogue* Foundation, "met and unanimously approved" the contents of a list of articles of incorporation and "voted to incorporate a non-profit corporation under the laws of Utah," with Salisbury's home in Salt Lake City designated as the "Principal Office." Jeppson, a licensed attorney, wrote the articles, and he and Salisbury were appointed chairman and secretary respectively.[96] Clyde L. Miller, Secretary of State of Utah, signed a certificate of incorporation on 23 September.[97] Everything was set. From that first official meeting in June 1965, it was to take just about nine months—a normal gestation period—to publish the first issue.

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92. Wesley Johnson to Dallin H. Oaks, 3 March 1966, *Dialogue* Collection.

93. England Oral history, 22. England here acknowledges that the editors used Bennion and Arrington only sporadically. Recalling his experience with *Dialogue*, Bennion said, "I knew it would be a mixed blessing, that it would bring problems and misunderstandings from headquarters . . . but . . . it's creative, intellectual, and I've never been afraid of exposing the gospel to thinking" (Lowell L. Bennion, Oral History, 141, as cited in Mary L. Bradford, *Lowell L. Bennion: Teacher, Counselor, Humanitarian* (Salt Lake City: *Dialogue* Foundation, 1995), 253). For Arrington's comments about his role with *Dialogue*, see Arrington, *Adventures of a Church Historian*, 59-62.

94. Johnson interview, 3 August 1996. Johnson recalls with gratitude the support given him by Lewis William Spitz, renowned scholar and professor of reformation history at Stanford. Spitz persuaded the administration to give *Dialogue* free office space. "He told the administration that it [*Dialogue*] was an intellectual exercise stimulated by our Stanford experience" (Johnson interview, 9 August 1999).

95. England Oral History, 4; England interview, 8 November 1994.

96. "Articles of Incorporation," *Dialogue* Collection; Johnson interview, 3 August 1996.

97. Certificate of Incorporation, *Dialogue* Collection.

II. 1966-1971: Euphoric Beginnings

> Things are going well. We have more than 1,300 subscriptions; a number of good articles are coming in. Interest is being expressed by people from all over the country. We are on our way.
>
> Phillip C. Smith to Diane Monson, 26 February 1966

> . . . I'm almost up to the last issue, and I am thrilled and proud of your cohorts. You are having an important impact in our area. People are pleased and motivated and reinforced. Good work!
>
> Dallin H. Oaks to Wesley Johnson, 6 January 1967

Shortly before *Dialogue* appeared in March 1966, the journal already had 1,500 subscribers; by late October it would boast 3,400; by mid-1967, active subscriptions surpassed 7,500 and would eventually peak at around 8,000 during the England-Johnson tenure.[98]

Dialogue's *Debut*

The eagerly awaited premier issue of *Dialogue* (Spring 1966) more than fulfilled the many widespread and growing expectations. Salisbury designed the cover and layout. Johnson and England both wrote introductory editorials explaining their vision for the new journal.[99] Leonard J. Arrington provided the lead article with his, "Scholarly Studies of Mormonism in the Twentieth Century." This essay, originally delivered at a meeting of the Western History Association in October 1965, included an appendix listing Ph.D. dissertations on Mormonism since the turn of the century. Menlove contributed a thoughtful essay, "The Challenge of Honesty," calling upon Latter-day Saints to be true to themselves and reminding them that an integral part of honesty is to confront doubts and fears, not to suppress them. A further aid to the thinking Mormon was Victor Cline's personal essay, "The Faith of a Psychologist." Cline, a devout Mormon, expounded on why he maintained religious beliefs within a profession where only ten percent claimed any religiosity. Claude Burtenshaw, in "The Student: His University and His Church," examined the college experience of various young Latter-day Saints and their attempts to reconcile their secular experience with religion. R. A. Christmas critiqued the literary contributions of a popular Mormon book with "The Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt: Some Liter-

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98. Eugene England to Douglas R. Bunker, 14 March 1966; England to Dr. Sheldon Murphy, 29 October 1966; Wesley Johnson to Mrs. Robert Redford, 3 June 1967, all in *Dialogue* Collection; England interview, 8 November 1994.

99. See G. Wesley Johnson, "Editorial Preface", and Eugene England, "The Possibility of *Dialogue*: A Personal View," both in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 1 (Spring 1966): 5-11.

ary, Historical, and Critical Reflections." Christmas, acknowledging grammatical and editorial weaknesses, nevertheless maintained that Pratt makes a contribution to Mormonism by giving insight into frontier life and thought. This issue also saw the only contribution ever to appear by Truman Madsen, then director of the Institute of Mormon Studies at BYU. "Joseph Smith and the Sources of Love" was originally delivered as the Joseph Smith Memorial Sermon at the LDS Institute of Religion at Utah State University in December 1965.

Non-Mormons also entered the dialogue. Catholic scholar Mario S. De Pillis, of the University of Massachusetts, contributed "The Quest for Authority and the Rise of Mormonism," detailing the religious milieu of the 1820s and the rival sects contemporary with Mormonism. Joseph Smith, according to De Pillis, wanted "a sect to end all sects," and hoped to squelch the diverse views and contradictions he [Smith] found so offensive.[100] A Roundtable featured protestant theologian (and Stanford professor) Robert McAfee Brown, along with Mormons Richard L. Anderson and David W. Bennett, debating Mormon philosopher Sterling M. McMurrin's recent book, *The Theological Foundations of the Mormon Religion* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1965).

Overall, the first issue of *Dialogue* boldly declared that Mormonism was both to be taken seriously and to remain subject to scrutiny. And for the most part, responses to the debut were enthusiastic. Declaring the journal "long overdue" and "badly needed," one subscriber wrote that he knew of "scores of young college graduates who have been driven from the church by the narrow minded type of Mormon who seems to be in charge at this time. Perhaps your influence will change all that."[101] Another wrote that "The first *Dialogue* is tremendously impressive. I had expected fine fare, but the feast that materialized was astonishing."[102] Perhaps a letter to the editor, published in the second issue, best describes the fulfillment of the editors' aim in founding *Dialogue*:

> People often say, "He has lost the glow and enthusiasm he once had as a new convert." I feel that for some of us the excitement of enquiry and discovery gave us part of that "alive" quality . . .
>
> *Dialogue* is like a refreshing drink of water "in our lovely Deseret." I have properly devoured the first issue and it has revived a near-dead spiritual awareness. The doubts that had gone "underground" and the seeking that

100. De Pillis's essay prompted a roundtable discussion in the following issue of the journal. See Richard L. Bushman, "Taking Mormonism Seriously," William A. Clebsch, "Each Sect the Sect to End All Sects," and Mario S. De Pillis, "Mormonism and the American Way: A Response," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 1 (Summer 1966): 81-97.

101. S. L. Zundell to *Dialogue* staff, undated, *Dialogue* Collection.

102. Robert Flanders to Joseph Jeppson, 15 April 1966, *Dialogue* Collection.

> had become self-conscious and stilted are uniting in a responsible spirit of re-investigation. I think that the active membership I have maintained with effort will be much more honest now.[103]

Not everyone issued a positive critique, however. Ray Chandler Smith, Sr., "Prophet and Seer" of The Center Place in Independence, Missouri, previously having expressed hope that "your new venture will be a veritable success," wrote after examining the first issue, "and throwing it into the waste-paper basket," that he was "thoroughly disgusted!!!"[104] Explaining himself ten days later, Smith elaborated:

> I had expected *Dialogue* would be a lifeline between Jesus Christ and man. But the [i]llusion has been proven inadequate, and undoubtedly the saying is true as far as theology is concerned—"God is dead."[105]

One reader, perhaps expecting content that would mirror the official church organs, was clearly disappointed and described the first issue as "a real blow." "I think most of the contributors find the gospel interesting," the anonymous writer declared, "but there is no evidence that they believe in it." Especially upset by a short satirical piece written by Jeppson,[106] the letter predicted doom: "If you don't choose to control the tone of your articles, *Dialogue*'s demise may be slow, and even graceful, but it will go under."[107]

All of the General Authorities received a complimentary copy of the first issue, sent with a cover letter, of which First Presidency Secretary Joseph Anderson formally acknowledged receipt.[108] The only member of the hierarchy to voice a response was S. Dilworth Young, a member of the Council of Seventy. Young expressed a fear that "sooner or later you are going to run out of material which will be the solid opinion of the leaders of the church, past or present." Consequently, "the material is bound to become speculative, and that could cause trouble." This "trouble," according to Young, would be from liberals pushing their own particular agendas. "If you do resist [them], they likely will brand you as prejudiced, and with that brand on you, you will likely try to remove the brand by proving you are not." Young concluded with some friendly counsel:

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103. Letter from [Mrs.] Lucretia A. Petersen, published in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 1 (Summer 1966): 5-6.

104. Ray Chandler Smith, Sr., to *Dialogue* staff, 22 February and 8 June 1966, both in *Dialogue* Collection.

105. Ray Chandler Smith, Sr., to *Dialogue* staff, 18 June 1966, *Dialogue* Collection.

106. See Joseph H. Jeppson, "Non-Editorial Postlude," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 1 (Spring 1966): 164-165, discussed later.

107. Undated letter from "a Ph.D. candidate," *Dialogue* Collection.

108. Eugene England and Wesley Johnson to the First Presidency, 29 March 1966; Joseph Anderson to Eugene England, 4 April 1966, both in *Dialogue* Collection.

> I know you are sincere, but in your sincerity, remember that undeviating loyalty to the church leaders (1st Pres[idenc]y and the Twelve) is the only standard you can maintain if you want the approbation of the church."[109]

Eugene England already shared Young's concerns. "How much of a risk do we want to take in order to make *Dialogue* useful when issues are crucial?" he wrote to Bushman two days later. "Perhaps the answer is that we're still too young to know and had better err on the conservative side."[110]

Young also took issue with England's editorial, where he had asked Latter-day Saints to consider the possibility that they may be mistaken about many of their long held ideas.[111] In a letter to Young, who felt that a true Latter-day Saint should never question fundamentals, England responded that LDS missionaries expect investigators "to question their most cherished beliefs—to consider the possibility that they might be dead wrong about things they have built their lives upon." With such an approach, England asks, "How can we ask less of ourselves when we (in an indirect proselyting effort like *Dialogue*) offer to talk with people about our religious heritage?"[112]

Also discouraging was a letter from BYU English professor Robert Thomas. Thomas, who was expected to provide a sermon for the second issue, became disillusioned after reading the first. "You mentioned that several general authorities seem to be either favorable or at least non-committed," Thomas states. "I'm afraid my experience with them in regard to *Dialogue* is not so encouraging."[113] Thomas, apparently aware of some objections to the journal within the hierarchy, withdrew his support and promised manuscript.[114]

The over-all praise the first issue received, however, was rewarding—exhilarating even—to the five founders of the journal, who saw their labors well-rewarded. In fact, the issue sold out within weeks, even though the initial run was for twice the subscription amount.[115] More national publicity soon followed, as *Time* magazine featured a short piece

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109. S. Dilworth Young to Eugene England, 28 March 1966, *Dialogue* Collection.

110. Eugene England to Richard L. Bushman, 30 March 1966, *Dialogue* Collection.

111. England, "The Possibility of *Dialogue*," 10.

112. Young to England, 28 March 1966; England to Young, 5 April 1966, both in *Dialogue* Collection; England interview, 8 November 1994.

113. Robert K. Thomas to Eugene England, 14 June 1966, *Dialogue* Collection. Richard Bushman remembers that Thomas's reaction to *Dialogue* was based on Jeppson's satirical "Non-Editorial Postlude." Worried that the editors had crossed the line with this piece, "Bob came into my office and said, 'Well, it's all over'" (Richard L. Bushman, telephone interview conducted by Devery S. Anderson, 25 May 1998).

114. England Oral History, 9.

115. Comments made in editorial titled "In This Issue," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 2 (Summer 1966).

about *Dialogue*. The article included a photograph of England, Johnson, and Salisbury.[116] A brief note in *The Christian Century* also called attention to the journal.[117]

Labors Behind the Scenes

It was no easy task, through this totally voluntary effort, to see this and subsequent issues through the final stage of production. Johnson wrote a board member that ". . . getting out this first issue has been nearly a full-time job . . ."[118] Johnson and England, as managing editors, oversaw the entire project. Both had prior experience editing university publications. As an undergraduate, Johnson had edited the satirical *Harvard Lampoon*, and England had edited the literary magazine *Pen* at the University of Utah.[119] "It would be wrong to say that we didn't have differences," says Johnson of his experience working with England. However, the co-editors remember the overriding concern: "We had a vision of what we wanted to achieve, and we were both ready to sacrifice a great deal of our time and energy to achieve that."[120]

As manuscripts editor, Menlove remembers that she "would receive new manuscripts, look them over, figure out [three] people who might be appropriate to review them and send them out." After the board members assigned to the manuscript would return their critique, "we would decide as a staff, whether to accept, accept with modifications or reject. I would then notify the author."[121]

Salisbury, geographically distant from the team at Stanford, conducted his duties from Salt Lake City. As publications editor, he was in charge of "everything that related to getting the journal in print and to the public." Although the other staff members had a say in certain aspects of the design, "the selection of art work, photos and cover design, [and] the composition of pages were all mine for the first few years."[122] Salisbury contracted first with Alphabet Press in Salt Lake City, but they soon went out of business.[123] Salisbury next accepted a bid from Quality Press, also of Salt Lake City (interrupted later by a brief interlude with

116. "For Ruffled Believers," *Time* 88 (26 August 1966): 59.

117. See "The World Around Us," *The Christian Century*, 83 (13 April 1966): 473.

118. Wesley Johnson to Cherry Silver, 26 February 1966, *Dialogue* Collection.

119. Wesley Johnson to John Gardner, 29 August 1965, *Dialogue* Collection.

120. Johnson interview, 3 August 1996.

121. Menlove to Anderson, 1 October 1997.

122. Salisbury to Anderson, 17 May 1998. Johnson praises Salisbury's talent, creativity, and contribution to the journal. Salisbury's associations with the Salt Lake City artistic community also enabled him to bring their work to the pages of *Dialogue* (Johnson interview, 9 August 1999).

123. Paul Salisbury to Eugene England, 15 March 1966, *Dialogue* Collection.

Bookcraft).[124] His duties required him "to be at the printer's office at just the right moment" to check last minute details.[125]

For Jeppson, working on *Dialogue* became a task that included daily visits to the office, editing manuscripts, and fulfilling his duties editing the "Notes and Comments" column, which featured announcements, news, and short essays on Mormonism. Jeppson, describing himself as representing "the far left of the group," was also "the extant comedian," according to the other founders. He saw to it that humor and satire made their way into *Dialogue*, which he introduced in the first issue with his brief "Non-editorial Postlude." In three paragraphs, Jeppson criticized "the weighty precepts and lofty thoughts which our editors and writers have thrust upon the Mormon people in this issue," and argued that a man seeking true guidance, "needs the help of his Home Teacher."[126] Some readers, not recognizing the intended humor, took Jeppson seriously; others were offended.[127]

Early challenges came to the editors in the form of manuscripts—or lack of good ones. Several of the early submissions had been written years earlier—waiting for the opportunity to be published. Rejecting up to 90% of submitted material, England remembers the early years as a time of "weeding out."[128] "I think by the third year," recalls Johnson, "we finally . . . had gone through all of the Sacrament Meeting talks that people had sent in."[129]

The editors learned early, however, that the best contributions had to be solicited. "You say you are short of manuscripts. I think we will always be short of good ones," Bushman wrote to England. "I doubt if we can ever sit back and let people come to us."[130] The staff sought these writers through various means. One method was to search through back issues of the *Improvement Era* and to contact authors who had published

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124. The Stanford Press actually wanted to print *Dialogue*, and the staff had taken bids from them. However, all things considered, it proved more cost effective to print the journal in Salt Lake City.

125. Salisbury to Anderson, 17 May 1998.

126. See "Non-Editorial Postlude," previously cited. Jeppson continued his satirical editorials for several years under the name Rustin Kaufmann. This pseudonym was inspired by the movie *The Graduate*, starring Dustin Hoffman as a young Jewish man seduced by an older woman. "Kaufmann" reviewed the film in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* (Spring 1969): 111-113. Although this was a tongue in cheek review, at least one Jewish faculty member at Stanford came to Johnson's office to complain that *Dialogue* "was anti-Semitic." "We told him it was a joke," remembers Jeppson, "but he didn't smile" (Johnson interview, 3 August 1996; Jeppson to Anderson, 19 May 1998).

127. Jeppson to Anderson, 19 May 1998. See earlier comments by Robert Thomas to Richard L. Bushman, note 108.

128. England interview, 8 November 1994; England Oral History, 25.

129. Johnson interview, 3 August 1996.

130. Richard L. Bushman to Eugene England, 20 May 1966, *Dialogue* Collection.

there. Nancy Lund, a volunteer in the office, sent a form letter to well-known Mormon scholars, asking them to contribute.[131] As *Dialogue*'s reputation grew, the editors did not have to rely on solicitations exclusively. However, looking back on his own experience, Johnson remembers that "the best manuscripts [were always] commissioned by the editors."[132]

Unfortunately, as England explains apologetically, "we perhaps developed a too complex editorial process." Consequently, "we offended a lot [of writers] by taking so long with the manuscripts."[133] Johnson concedes to a point, but maintains that "[w]hile it is true that we [fell] behind in corresponding with some authors, these in almost all cases have been rejects. Authors who were publishable have been given VIP treatment."[134] England, however, defends the care given to rejected authors To him, "one of our great services to aspiring Mormon writers was some good feedback their first time. So we took seriously the process of critiquing even articles we turned down, and I think we helped a lot of writers develop in the church."[135]

Each issue typically spent six weeks at press. The staff at Stanford would send Salisbury the manuscripts, who took them to the printer, where galley proofs were printed, sent back to Stanford, corrected, then returned to Salt Lake City for the printing of page proofs. At this stage, the authors were given a final chance to make corrections and modifications.[136] From there the journal would be printed, bound, and mailed to subscribers. The earliest issues were produced through hand set type in hot metal.[137] Salisbury remembers that, "shrink wrapping didn't exist when we started and so each issue was [put] in a paper envelope and sealed."[138] Salisbury would organize 8-10 people into "stuffing parties," at his father's Salt Lake City insurance office.[139] England remembers that

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131. See form letter of Nancy Lund, sent to at least fourteen scholars, *Dialogue* Collection.

132. Menlove to Anderson, 1 October 1997; Wesley Johnson to Robert Rees, 14 July 1971, *Dialogue* Collection.

133. England Oral History, 9. England even recalls that the staff lost a manuscript submitted by Mormon historian Juanita Brooks. When England asked her for a replacement copy, she informed him she had not made a duplicate. "I just felt terrible about that for years, and I'm sure she hasn't forgiven us," remembered England a decade later (England Oral History, 28).

134. Johnson to Rees, 14 July 1971.

135. England interview, 8 November 1994.

136. Johnson interview, 9 August 1999.

137. Paul G. Salisbury, telephone interview conducted by Devery S. Anderson, 9 August 1999.

138. Salisbury to Anderson, 17 May 1988.

139. Salisbury interview, 9 August 1999. Salisbury remembers U of U and BYU faculty, as well as Chase and Greta Peterson among the volunteers.

his own staff and volunteers in Palo Alto met every Tuesday night. Keeping track of subscriptions was challenging. Since "we didn't then have any computer lists or anything, [we] did everything by hand."[140] With 8000 subscribers eventually, one can appreciate how crucial the volunteers were to *Dialogue*.

Some Mormon general authorities subscribed to *Dialogue* from the beginning, and, prompted by a suggestion from an early supporter, all of them began receiving gift subscriptions with the Winter 1967 issue. "We will try it for a year," wrote England.[141] The policy actually lasted into the next editorship.[142] A few in the hierarchy, such as Marion D. Hanks, Paul H. Dunn, and First Presidency Counselor Brown, supported the enterprise.[143] Brown even prevented BYU president Ernest Wilkinson from banning *Dialogue* from the university bookstore. Bushman had lobbied hard for placement of the journal at BYU, and wrote England that

> . . . they cannot put *Dialogue* on the stand without Wilkinson's approval (standard procedure for all magazines) and he will not give approval until he speaks with the executive committee which is composed of a half dozen apostles. Lou [Prof. Louis Midgely] is afraid that Wilkinson will present the issue in such a way as to prejudice them against approval and then this decision will be interpreted as general disapproval by the Brethren.[144]

During a meeting of the board of trustees—where Wilkinson argued his case against the journal, Brown countered that if *Dialogue* was too controversial for BYU, then perhaps books by some of those present should be banned also. "That brought the discussion to an end," says England.[145]

Brown went so far in his support for the journal as to later suggest to England that *Dialogue* combine with *BYU Studies* as a church sanctioned

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140. England Oral History, 4.

141. Victor Cline to Eugene England, 23 February 1968; England to Cline, 22 March 1968, both in *Dialogue* Collection.

142. England interview, 8 November 1994. According to England, some general authorities "felt we were trying to counsel them by sending them *Dialogue* to straighten them out and they resented it" (England Oral History, 16).

143. England Oral History, 17.

144. Richard L. Bushman to Eugene England, 29 March 1966, *Dialogue* Collection.

145. England Oral History, 18. Paul H. Dunn told the author a similar anecdote, in a conversation following his address at a single adult fireside in Sandy, Utah, six weeks before his death in January 1998. In 1966 Dunn was present in what may have been the same meeting of the Board of Trustees that England refers to above, yet the details vary slightly. As the board discussed *Dialogue*, one of the general authorities, whom Dunn did not identify, spoke up: "As far as I'm concerned, that book should be burned." Hearing this comment, church president David O. McKay "sat up in his chair and said, 'Now look—in this Church we do not burn books. If we did, I can think of some books by a few of you that I would rather see burned than *Dialogue*."

publication for Mormon intellectuals.[146] Whether Brown felt that church approval would insure a long life for the journal, or that it would reach a larger audience is unknown, but nothing ever came of this suggestion. N. Eldon Tanner, Second Counselor in the First Presidency (and a nephew to Brown), took a different approach. "We have heard since December that President Tanner is also quite encouraging about our journal," wrote England shortly before the first issue appeared. But the Mormon leader

> . . . made the interesting suggestion that the journal should be sure to include articles which attack the Church because that would make it very clear that *Dialogue* is in no way an official Church journal. He would only hope that there be opportunity for rebuttal and of course this is exactly what we want the journal to provide.[147]

Such feedback from church leaders, positive or negative, was for the most part confined to the England-Johnson years.

Seeking Balance

From the beginning, critics accused the editors of having a liberal bias.[148] Although England concedes that, "the very idea [of a publication like *Dialogue*] is a liberal idea and attracts liberals in a relative sense," the editors were "genuinely determined to provide material at cross spectrums and actually commissioned articles from a variety of viewpoints . . ."[149] Evidence in the *Dialogue* correspondence indicates that the editors did

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146. England Oral History, 18; England interview, 17 July 1996. In his "Notes from a Meeting with President Brown," Salisbury writes of Brown's favorable comments toward the journal:

> President Brown said he liked *Dialogue* and felt it was important to the church, but that most of the brethren are afraid of it. He said they are afraid of anything that questions or that they feel challenges their authority and that this is too bad. "It shouldn't be that way. We teach that truth should be able to stand on its own in the market place." He elaborated briefly on the gospel belief that truth can withstand any scrutiny and that I said I felt most of the brethren objected to *Dialogue* without reading it and that I didn't feel this was fair to us. President Brown said, "It's worse than that, it's immature, it's infantile."

147. Eugene England to Douglas R. Bunker, 3 March 1966, *Dialogue* Collection.

148. Indeed, the second issue of *Dialogue* (Summer 1966) contained J. D. Williams, "The Separation of Church and State in Mormon Theory and Practice," which criticized the conservative views of Apostle Ezra Taft Benson. Williams's essay so offended some of the brethren that they withdrew a call about to be issued to Leonard Arrington to serve as a mission president in Italy. Apparently it was guilt by association as Arrington had published in the journal and served as an advisory editor. See Arrington, *Adventures of a Church Historian*, 89.

149. England interview, 8 November 1994.

seek people who would provide balance. Future apostle Neal A. Maxwell, then Executive Vice President of the University of Utah, responded to an invitation to contribute to *Dialogue*. "I fully intend to write something" he responded," although his submission never came.[150] The editors also encouraged Truman Madsen to continue publishing in the journal, but after his piece in the premier issue, he declined any further involvement. According to England, Madsen said he was given "a look" by a general authority which indicated that he "probably shouldn't write for *Dialogue*."[151]

The editors also encouraged general authorities to submit articles. However, Elder Marion D. Hanks, willing to contribute, was denied permission by church president David O. McKay.[152] The only general authority to publish in *Dialogue* was President Hugh B. Brown. His funeral sermon for retired BYU English professor P. A. Christensen appeared in the spring 1969 issue.[153]

This desired balance also extended to political issues, and the staff sought contributors among Mormon scholars for that purpose. L. Ralph Mecham, assistant to the president for special projects at the University of Utah, responding to such a request from Salisbury, suggested three "moderate-to-conservative Republicans who have good standing in the church and who might be willing to write articles."[154]

Maintaining balance remained a constant challenge, however. Acknowledging that the majority of articles to appear in *Dialogue* "could probably be characterized as leaning towards a liberal point of view," Johnson wrote to board member Victor Cline that he would welcome conservative perspectives on issues, "but this can be made possible only if we can locate people who feel this point of view and will also take the

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150. Neal A. Maxwell to Richard L. Bushman, 18 October 1966, *Dialogue* Collection.

151. England Oral History, 10.

152. England Oral History, 17.

153. Hugh B. Brown, "In Memory of P. A. Christensen (1888-1968)," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 4 (Spring 1969): 51-58. Two other general authority sermons (one by Brown) were later published in the journal, though posthumously. See J. Reuben Clark, Jr., "When Are the Writings or Sermons of Church Leaders Entitled to the Claim of Scripture?" *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 12 (Summer 1979): 68-81, and Hugh B. Brown, "An Eternal Quest: Freedom of the Mind," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 17 (Spring 1984): 77-83.

154. L. Ralph Mecham to Paul G. Salisbury, 7 April 1966, *Dialogue* Collection. Mecham gave Salisbury the names of Dr. Charles H. Bradford, Deputy Director for Research, Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, John R. Evans, Minority Counsel, Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, and Robert F. Bennett, Washington liaison with J. C. Penney Company. Only Bennett ever published in *Dialogue*, and that was not until 1977. See Robert F. Bennett, "Some Thoughts on Public Relations," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 10 (Spring 1977): 120-122. Although Bradford never submitted an article, he obviously supported the journal in other ways: his wife, Mary, became editor in 1976.

trouble to sit down and articulate it in an article."[155] England also assured Cline six months later that "the majority of our effort since before publishing our first issue has gone into trying to involve the more conservative and orthodox members of the church in the journal." However, "we keep running into the same old problem of being misunderstood and badly judged—largely by people who haven't taken the time to read the journal with any serious attention."[156] Sometimes, however, the editors inadvertently contributed to the problem.

In retrospect, England insists that he used poor judgment in publishing a letter (Summer 1967) written by church member Stuart Udall, then Secretary of the Interior in the Lyndon Johnson administration.[157] Udall, from a prominent Mormon family in Arizona, had long been an outspoken supporter of civil rights, and now sought to counter accusations that, as a Mormon, he must be racist since his religion denied priesthood office to blacks Thus, Udall decided to openly attack that policy.[158] Because England hoped for "constructive dialogue" on this issue, he first welcomed the Udall piece. Initially he intended to use it as part of a roundtable, but then persuaded Udall to submit his essay as a letter to the editor instead.[159] Udall requested advance copies of the letter, as it would appear in the journal, in order to forewarn Mormon president David O. McKay and other leaders.[160] Criticizing the racial policy, Udall went right to the point: "My fear is that the very character of Mormonism is being distorted and crippled by adherence to a belief and practice that denies the oneness of mankind." Urging a change in policy, he maintained:

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155. Wesley Johnson to Victor Cline, 3 June 1967, *Dialogue* Collection. Johnson even met with conservative Mormon writer Cleon Skousen for nearly three hours in Skousen's home in Provo, Utah, in an attempt to persuade him to publish in *Dialogue*. Skousen refused (Johnson interview, 9 August 1999).

156. Eugene England to Victor Cline, 23 December 1967, *Dialogue* Collection.

157. Udall began serving in this post in 1961 under President John F. Kennedy.

158. F. Ross Peterson, "'Do Not Lecture the Brethren': Stuart L. Udall's Pro-Civil Rights Stance, 1967," *Journal of Mormon History* 25 (Spring 1999): 275. Peterson's essay presents the background and aftermath of Udall's published letter.

159. Eugene England to Stewart L. Udall, 25 April 1967, *Dialogue* Collection; Johnson interview, 9 August 1999. Ross Peterson, however, cites a 20 December 1966 letter from Hank Berenstein, an aide to Udall, where Berenstein convinced Udall to submit the essay as a letter to the editor. See Peterson, "Do Not Lecture the Brethren," 279. However, Udall must have ignored this advice, as four months later, England, in the letter cited above, indicates that the eventual format that the essay took is only now being suggested: "[W]e considered using your essay as part of a roundtable, but that would have to wait for our winter issue because of our prior commitments. We therefore would like to print your essay as our lead Letter to the Editors, with a[n] editor's note specifically inviting response to it."

160. Udall to England, 28 April 1967, *Dialogue* Collection; Ross Peterson notes that in addition to McKay, Udall sent the letter to First Presidency counselors Hugh B. Brown, N.

> The restriction now imposed on Negro fellowship is a social and institutional practice having no real sanction in essential Mormon thought. It is clearly contradictory to our most cherished spiritual and moral ideals.[161]

Udall submitted the letter on 24 February 1967. Coincidentally, *Time* and *Newsweek* began criticizing the Mormon position on blacks in March installments of the magazines, predicting that the priesthood policy would hurt Mormon governor George Romney's presidential campaign.[162] England informed Udall that the *Dialogue* issue containing his letter would be sent to subscribers on May 17. Udall chose that day to release the letter to the Associated Press.[163]

The national media responded by focusing on Udall's plea to church leaders to remove the priesthood restriction.[164] Letters to the editor poured into the *Dialogue* office responding to Udall, twelve of which were published in the following two issues.[165] Among the immediate barrage of letters Udall himself received were hundreds from Arizona Mormons, including apostles Delbert L. Stapley and Spencer W. Kimball, who thought Udall's plea was out of line.[166] Liberal Mormons applauded Udall's "courage" for speaking out.[167] Because church leaders had already received death threats over the black issue, England feared that with national publicity, Mormons would assume *Dialogue* supported those threats. Although Johnson maintains that publishing the Udall letter "was a statement we had to make to establish our credibility in a number of quarters," England believes that this move "did us, and prob-

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Eldon Tanner, Arizona apostles Delbert L. Stapley and Spencer W. Kimball, and Governor George Romney. See "Do Not Lecture the Brethren," 279.

161. Stuart L. Udall, Letter to the Editor, *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 2 (Summer 1967): 6.

162. Peterson, "Do Not Lecture the Brethren," 279. For the articles Peterson refers to, see "Republicans: Romantic Interlude," *Newsweek*, 69 (6 March 1967): 34-35; "The Two Romneys," *Time* 89 (3 March 1967): 24-25.

163. Peterson, "Do Not Lecture the Brethren," 281.

164. Ibid. For newspaper accounts of Udall's letter, see Wallace Turner, "Udall Entreats Mormons on Race," *New York Times*, pp. 1, 23, and "Udall Asks LDS to Reexamine Negro Doctrine," *Salt Lake Tribune*, pp. B1, B2, both 19 May 1967.

165. See the letters to the editor in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 2 (Autumn 1967): 5-9, and *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 2 (Winter 1967): 5-7.

166. Peterson, "Do Not Lecture the Brethren," 283-84. Peterson notes the contrast between the Stapley and Kimball letters. Stapley, whose 26 May letter Peterson described as "a theological defense of racism," declared that, "God himself placed the curse...and it is up to him and not to man to lift that curse." Kimball's 25 May letter avoided discussion of any justification of the priesthood ban, but expressed disappointment in Udall's attempt to "command your God" or "to make a demand of the Prophet of God!"

167. According to Peterson, Mormons praising Udall included activist Esther Peterson, also serving in the Johnson administration as chair of the President's Committee on Consumer Interests, sociologist Lowery Nelson, Mormon bishop Wayne M. Carl, and former BYU professor W. Grant Ivins. See Peterson, "Do Not Lecture the Brethren," 282-283.

ably the church, significant harm."[168] Immediate feedback to England seemed to confirm this. "How do you suppose the brethren react[ed] when they read your name and your publication as the vehicle for such a letter with some ominous ramifications?" asked Richard Marshall, England's former bishop.[169] Ten days later, Marshall wrote again:

> While it is true you've made yourself some good friends among the brethren, it's also true that some are saying now to others: "I told you so."
>
> . . . Imagine how shocked I was to have one of [the general authorities] say in a meeting in my presence that "Gene England is destroying himself."[170]

D. Arthur Haycock, England's former mission president, also sent England a letter, "replete with innuendos that the [sic] good proportion of the general authorities were about to cut me off, if not in fact, at least in their hearts."[171] England tried to offset any damage by writing N. Eldon Tanner, explaining how and why *Dialogue* came to publish the Udall letter. Despite national press which reflected negatively on the church, England assured Tanner that "*Dialogue* made no effort before or after publication to give the letter publicity."[172]

Although the Udall letter helped sour some general authorities on *Dialogue*, it prompted many lay Mormons to speak out on the issue of blacks and the priesthood for the first time. Interestingly, most critical responses avoided justification of the policy, instead, scolding Udall for making a demand of church leaders.[173] Ironically, two supportive letters to Eugene England came from future general authorities. "The Udall controversy was interesting," wrote Hugh Pinnock. "I was surprised to find people becoming as explicit as they did with the article." Pinnock concluded with an admonition:

> You must (hopefully) print such opinions—especially when a government official of his stature speaks, whether he be right, wrong or indifferent. Generally speaking people are pleased with your work—pray that too many don't become satisfied, however, or you will fail in what you can accomplish.[174]

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168. England, "A Matter of Love," 20; G. Wesley Johnson, "*Dialogue*: The Early Years"; responding to a paper delivered by Devery S. Anderson on 16 August 1996, at the Salt Lake City Sunstone Symposium, audiotape #252, copy in my possession.

169. Richard J. Marshall to Eugene England, 19 May 1967, *Dialogue* Collection.

170. Richard J. Marshall to Eugene England, 29 May 1967, *Dialogue* Collection.

171. Eugene England to Steven L. Tanner, 13 July 1967, *Dialogue* Collection.

172. Eugene England to N. Eldon Tanner, 28 June 1967, *Dialogue* Collection.

173. Peterson, "Do Not Lecture the Brethren," 281-285.

174. Hugh W. Pinnock to Eugene and Charlotte England, 29 July 1967, *Dialogue* Collection.

Jeffrey R. Holland, then director of the LDS institute in Seattle, asked for two new subscriptions for the institute. "One copy isn't going to be enough to handle the traffic if the 'Letters to the Editor' keep getting national attention."[175]

Scholars and the Black Issue

As a scholarly voice in the Mormon intellectual community, *Dialogue* could hardly avoid discussion of the sensitive "Negro Doctrine," however. In the years following the advent of the civil rights movement, the church received intense criticism over the priesthood ban.[176] The winter 1967 issue of *Dialogue* gave the topic scholarly attention by featuring "Mormonism and the Negro: Faith, Folklore, and Civil Rights" by Mormon sociologist Armand Mauss. Unlike Udall, Mauss did not attack the church's position, but sought to refute some of the popular explanations as to why the church denied priesthood to members of African descent. Describing as "folklore," the widely believed views of nineteenth-century Mormon leaders (beliefs echoed by many contemporary writers), Mauss demonstrated as unscriptural the notion that blacks were less valiant or neutral in the "war in heaven," or were forever cursed or marked because of the actions of biblical figures Cain and Ham. Keeping balance, however, he also rejected as unsubstantiated the more liberal view that the policy was an infringement on Negro civil rights, as proclaimed by Udall, and, earlier, by the NAACP.[177]

Two years later, the issue found its way into *Dialogue* once again. Stephen G. Taggart, a recent graduate of Cornell University, submitted an essay called "Social and Historical Origins of Mormonism's Negro

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175. Jeffrey R. Holland to Eugene England, 15 June 1967, *Dialogue* Collection.

176. Stanford, which housed the *Dialogue* offices, refused athletic participation with BYU in 1969 over the black policy, as did other universities. Johnson specifically remembers the Stanford incident originating after the assassination of Martin Luther King when the university set out to increase the black presence on campus. The BYU boycott created tension between Mormon and non-Mormon students and faculty, and England feared "the possibility that [Stanford] would broaden their concern about the church to cut off relationships in all kinds of places." Johnson recalls the feeling that "*Dialogue* didn't have much of a future [at Stanford]." However, the journal remained safe until moving to Los Angeles in 1971 ("An Interview with Eugene England," 19; Johnson interview, 9 August 1999). See also William F. Reed, "The Other Side of 'The Y'", *Sports Illustrated* (26 January) 1970: 38-39, and Brian Walton, "A University's Dilemma: BYU and Blacks," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 6 (Spring 1971): 31-36, for an account of this episode.

177. See Armand L. Mauss, "Mormonism and the Negro: Faith, Folklore, and Civil Rights," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 2 (Winter 1967): 19-39, reprinted in Lester E. Bush, Jr., and Armand L. Mauss, ed., *Neither White nor Black: Mormon Scholars Confront the Race Issue in a Universal Church* (Midvale, UT: Signature Books, 1984), 9-30.

Policy," which *Dialogue* agreed to publish.[178] Because of the sensitive nature of the topic, in September 1969, Taggart sent copies of his manuscript to President Hugh B. Brown.[179] Alvin R. Dyer, a special counselor in the presidency, also read the manuscript (Dyer was appointed as an extra counselor in 1967 due to President McKay's declining health). In a meeting with Salisbury, Brown "stated at the outset that it was a very good manuscript," but advised against publishing it "for *Dialogue*'s sake." According to Salisbury, Brown said that "many of the 'brethren' were upset by the article but [Brown] questioned whether they had really read it." Most upset was Dyer, who, according to Brown, called the piece, "an 'abominable' document, 'full of error from start to finish'." Dyer promised to supply Brown with a written response to the manuscript, but failed to do so, even after Brown "asked him about it a dozen times . . ."[180] Dyer finally submitted his ten page review, titled, "An Article," calling Taggart's manuscript "one of the most vicious, untrue articles that has ever been written about the church."[181] Dyer later called Eugene England and recommended against publishing the Taggart manuscript, although he failed to explain why.[182]

Brown, "unequivocally" declaring to Salisbury "that the Church's stand on the Negro question was 'not a doctrine but a policy,'" certainly would have approved of the Taggart manuscript for its conclusion that "[t]he weight of the evidence suggests that God did not place a curse upon the Negro—that his white children did," and Taggart's plea "that the time for correcting the situation is long past due."[183] Brown would

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178. Taggart's paper had previously received "Honorable Mention" in the 1st Annual *Dialogue* Prizes for articles submitted in 1968. See *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon thought* 4 (Spring 1969), inside back cover.

179. Lester E. Bush, Jr., "Writing 'Mormonism's Negro Doctrine: An Historical Overview' (1973): Context and Reflections, 1998," *Journal of Mormon History* 26 (Spring 1999): 238. Bush's essay, an expanded version of a paper presented at the Mormon History Association meeting in Washington, D.C., on 23 May 1998, chronicles his interest in the topic of blacks and the priesthood, including the background of his "The Mormon Negro Doctrine," published in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* (Spring 1973); Salisbury, "Notes from a Meeting with President Brown."

180. Salisbury, "Notes from a Meeting with President Brown."

181. Bush, "Writing 'Mormonism's Negro Doctrine'", 239.

182. England Oral History, 17.

183. Stephen G. Taggart, *Mormonism's Negro Policy: Social and Historical Origins* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1970), 76. Brown was deeply concerned with the church's position regarding black priesthood denial, and was nearly successful in revoking the policy in 1969. See D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997), 13-15, and Edwin B. Firmage, ed., *An Abundant Life: The Memoirs of Hugh B. Brown* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1999, 2nd ed.), 142. According to Salisbury, "Notes from a Meeting with President Brown":

> [Brown] said that there were brethren who believed [the priesthood ban] to be a doctrine (he specifically named Elder Lee and President Joseph Fielding Smith) but that President McKay felt, as did President Brown, that it was only a policy and could be

have felt his views vindicated by Taggart's inclusion of a letter written by Sterling McMurrin to McKay's sons, reporting on a 1954 conversation McMurrin had with McKay about the priesthood issue. McMurrin quotes McKay as rejecting any notion of a curse upon blacks, insisting that "there is not now, and there never has been, a doctrine in this church that the Negroes are under a divine curse."[184]

Dyer, on the other hand, would have opposed the article for the precisely the same assertions. His views on the subject were already a matter of record. In 1961 he addressed missionaries about the priesthood ban, telling them, "what I say is not to be given to your investigators by any manner of means," and went on to reiterate the correctness of the popular explanation of the day: The "Negro [is] cursed under the cursing of Cain," said Dyer, because "those spirits rejected the Priesthood of God in the pre-existence."[185]

Despite the controversy within the hierarchy, however, *Dialogue* remained determined to publish the Taggart piece, accompanied by a reply from Lester Bush, a young physician whose own thorough research on the history of the black policy had led to some fundamentally different conclusions as to its origin. His comments were to be followed by a rejoinder from Taggart. Taggart's untimely death prevented this debate from ever taking place, however, and his family withdrew the article and submitted it to the University of Utah Press where it appeared in book form.[186]

All that ultimately appeared in *Dialogue* was a review by Bush of Taggart's by-then published book (Winter 1969). Although Taggart, like Mauss, refuted racist doctrines, Bush did take issue with Taggart's echoing of the "Missouri Thesis" as the origin of the black policy. This idea, formulated by earlier historians, maintains that the ban was initiated by Joseph Smith in 1834 as a way to appease angry pro-slavery Missourians.[187] In his seventeen page reply, Bush countered that Taggart's sources for

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changed. He then said that Lawrence and Luellen McKay had gone to their father about ordaining a Negro to the priesthood who worked at the Hotel Utah. President Brown said that President McKay agreed to do it but "some of the other brethren got wind of it and put a stop to it." President Brown said he felt this was unfortunate because he said, "It's important that the policy be changed while President McKay is alive—if it isn't we'll be set back several years—as long as Joseph Fielding Smith and Harold B. Lee are in control."

184. Taggart, *Mormonism's Negro Policy*, 74.

185. See Alvin R. Dyer, "For What Purpose?", address delivered to a missionary conference in Oslo, Norway, 18 March 1961, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

186. See the introduction to the reprint of "A Commentary on Stephen G. Taggart's *Mormonism's Negro Policy: Social and Historical Origins*, in Lester E. Bush, Jr. and Armand L. Mauss, eds., *Neither White nor Black: Mormon Scholars Confront the Race Issue in a Universal Church* (Midvale, UT: Signature Books, 1984) p. 31. See note 177 for publication information on Taggart's book.

187. As Bush points out, Taggart was echoing the views of earlier historians. See

this view were few and too many years after the fact. Bush's work, a prelude to his lengthy 1973 study also published in *Dialogue*, argues that the most reliable evidence documents the priesthood restriction as originating with Brigham Young in 1849.[188] Although differing in important aspects, both Taggart and Bush agreed that there was nothing in Mormon scripture that advocated such a policy, and that popular, modern explanations for the ban were based on racist interpretations of what little information was available. Although these conclusions were disturbing to some, for others who had entertained doubts about the necessity of the practice, these scholarly voices were a welcome alternative to the theological explanations then being made abundantly available to members of the church.

Dialogue *and the Joseph Smith Papyri*

Although the issue of blacks and the priesthood was controversial for public relations reasons, other articles would be controversial for more fundamental ones. On 27 November 1967, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City presented the LDS Church with eleven fragments of Egyptian papyri, once belonging to Joseph Smith. Long assumed destroyed in the Chicago fire of 1871, the papyri, which the Metropolitan had possessed since 1947, were "discovered" in the basement of the museum in 1966 by a Dr. Aziz S. Atiya, former director of the Middle East Center at the University of Utah. According to published accounts of the discovery, Atiya happened upon the papyri while doing research for a book. Eighteen months later, after private meetings and negotiations with museum officials, they were donated to the church.[189]

Smith had originally purchased the papyri, along with four Egyptian mummies, from a Michael Chandler who visited Mormon headquarters in Kirtland, Ohio, in 1835. Chandler was following rumors that Smith

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Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet*, 2nd ed. revised (New York: Knopf, 1971) and Warren A. Jennings, "Factors in the Destruction of the Mormon Press in Missouri, 1833," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 35 (Winter 1967): 56-76, both cited by Bush.

188. For the full discussion, see Lester Bush, "A Commentary on Stephen G. Taggart's *Mormonism's Negro Policy: Social and Historical Origins*," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 4 (Winter 1969): 86-103. Reprinted in *Neither Black nor White*, 31-52; Bush "Writing 'Mormonism's Negro Doctrine,'" 231.

189. For news accounts of the discovery of the papyri and their acquisition by the LDS church, see Jack E. Jarrard, "Rare Papyri Presented to Church," *Deseret News*, 27 November 1967, A-1 & A-3; "LDS Given Manuscript Used by Joseph Smith," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 28 November 1967, 16. For reports in Mormon publications, see Jack E. Jarrard, "Church Receives Joseph Smith Papyri," *Church News*, 2 December 1967, and Jay M. Todd, "Egyptian Papyri Rediscovered," *Improvement Era* 71 (January 1968): 12-17.

could translate unknown languages.[190] Smith took an immediate interest in the scrolls and soon announced that two of them contained writings of Old Testament patriarchs Abraham and Joseph.[191] Smith produced what he said was a translation of a portion of the papyri, calling it the Book of Abraham, which the Mormon church in Utah later canonized.[192] Included with the published text of the Book of Abraham were three illustrations from the papyrus, which Smith reproduced as Facsimiles 1, 2, and 3, assigning them Abrahamic themes.[193]

Rumors of the existence of the papyri began leaking out immediately after Atiya claimed to have located them. These rumors did not escape the *Dialogue* office, and a curious Joseph Jeppson wrote Hugh B. Brown for confirmation six weeks before the church acquired the fragments. "I have no personal information on this subject," Brown responded. "[I] have heard it rumored that the scrolls are in existence, but as yet we have not been able to make contact. When we do, undoubtedly, Dr. Nibley will have the information."[194] Nibley had previously established himself as the church's most eminent scholar and defender of the antiquity of Mormon scripture.[195] Jeppson learned more about the existence of the papyri

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190. For more on the history of the papyri and the purchase by Smith, see James R. Clark, *The Story of the Pearl of Great Price* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1955), Clark, "Joseph Smith and the Lebolo Egyptian Papyri," *BYU Studies* 8 (Winter 1968): 195-203; Keith Terry and Walter Whipple, *From the Dust of Decades: A Saga of the Papyri and Mummies* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1968); Jay M. Todd, *The Saga of the Book of Abraham* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1969); H. Don Peterson, *The Story of the Book of Abraham: Mummies, Manuscripts, and Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1995).

191. B. H. Roberts, ed., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1978), 1:236.

192. The Book of Abraham was first published serially in the 1 and 15 March and 16 May 1842 issues of the Mormon newspaper, *Times and Seasons* in Nauvoo, Illinois. It was later included in the first edition of the *Pearl of Great Price* (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1851), and canonized in 1880 when that compilation became the fourth book of LDS scripture. The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints has remained skeptical of the Book of Abraham. For an RLDS assessment of the Book of Abraham controversy, see Richard P. Howard, "A Tentative Approach to the Book of Abraham," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 3 (Summer 1968): 88-92.

193. Nineteenth- and early twentieth-century criticisms of Smith's ability to translate Egyptian were based on these published facsimiles, since the papyri were presumed lost. See studies by French Egyptologist M. Theodule Deveria in Jules Remy and Julius Brenchley, *A Journey to Salt Lake City* (London: W. Jeffs, 1861), 2:539-46, and from early twentieth-century scholars in F. S. Spaulding, *Joseph Smith, Jr., as a Translator* (Salt Lake City: Arrow Press, 1912), and Samuel A. B. Mercer, "Joseph Smith as an Interpreter and Translator of Egyptian," *The Utah Survey* 1 (September 1913): 4-36.

194. Hugh B. Brown to Joseph H. Jeppson, 17 October 1967, copy in my possession.

195. In fact, in the same issue of *Improvement Era* that announced the discovery of the papyri, Nibley began what would be a two-and-a-half-year series on the Book of Abraham. See Hugh Nibley, "A New Look at the Pearl of Great Price," *Improvement Era* 71 (January 1968) to 73 (May 1970).

during a telephone conversation with Dr. Klaus Baer, Professor of Egyptology at the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago, who had some knowledge of the matter (Baer had been Nibley's tutor when the latter studied Egyptian). Baer, according to Jeppson, "let it slip that [the papyri] had not burned up in the Chicago fire. But since he had promised Nibley he wouldn't tell Mormons about it, he clammed up."[196] Evidence from Baer and others indicates that Atiya's "discovery" came with help from some of the staff at the Metropolitan, who wanted the church to become aware of the papyri before the public did.[197] Jeppson also claims that it was his persistence that led the Metropolitan to respond to the rumors. Determined to learn the facts, Jeppson called Wallace Turner, the western correspondent for the *New York Times*, and relayed his conversation with Baer. According to Jeppson,

> [Turner] promised to get "the whole force out looking for [the papyri]." Three days later he told me they had located them in the basement of the Metropolitan in NY. I called [Dr. Henry] Fischer [curator of the Egyptian collection at the Met], and told him we knew they were there. Fischer told me he worried about their safety, and asked me to give him three days to figure out what to do. I did. He arranged to [donate] them to the church. Fischer sent me photocopies of them, in case the church decided to destroy them.[198]

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196. Jeppson to Anderson, 19 May 1998.

197. Letters by Baer also confirm that he was among a privileged few who knew the papyri were at the Metropolitan—even before Atiya supposedly located them. In a 13 August 1968 letter (copy in my possession), Baer wrote to Jerald Tanner that:

> I saw photographs of them for the first time in 1963, I believe, and was asked at the time, on my honor, not to tell anyone where they were and to keep the whole thing confidential. I am sure that other Egyptologists also knew about them, and [Egyptologist John A.] Wilson's letter [*Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 3 (Winter 1968): 54] pretty well represents what we felt we could say in view of our promise to the Metropolitan. About that time I wrote Nibley that some of the Joseph Smith papyri still existed but that I was not at liberty to say where, and he wrote me about the same time that someone in Utah had located a pile of unpublished Joseph Smith papyri...This is about where things were until the [Metropolitan] Mus. photos were shown to Nibley in 1965 (at which time he did not know where the originals were). Atiya's story about "discovering" the papyri is obviously mistaken. He "discovered" them because the [Metropolitan] Mus. wanted them "discovered." It is also pretty clear to me that the [Metropolitan] Mus. didn't want anyone to find out about the papyri before the Mormon church did, at least not publicly, and that they took their own sweet time about it.

A recent statement from Mormon apologist John Gee confirms that the Atiya story is not accurate. In a footnote to his review of Peterson, *The Story of the Book of Abraham*, Gee says that, after examining correspondence between Fischer and Atiya, "I find it impossible to believe that Fischer did not know that the Metropolitan owned the papyri, and knew exactly what they had. I find Atiya's story repeated in Peterson . . . incredible. I understand Fischer was justifiably furious at Atiya's story." See Gee, "Telling the Story of the Joseph Smith Papyri," *Review of Books About the Book of Mormon* 8:2 (1996): 59.

198. Jeppson to Anderson, 19 May 1998. According to Fischer, the papyri were "a gift,

Dialogue's interest in the papyri escalated when Norman Tolk, a member of the editorial board in New York, "through means he chose not to disclose," also secured photographs of all eleven pieces during the church's acquisition process. Tolk sent the photos to the *Dialogue* office and also arranged interviews with Fischer and Atiya for publication in the journal.[199] However, since the church had only published photos of four of the fragments in the *Church News*, Tolk insisted that England receive permission through First Presidency first counselor Tanner to publish the complete set.[200] England complied, but Tanner responded by denying permission until the church could make a general release to the press.[201] Consequently, Salisbury, in Salt Lake City, held up the winter 1967 issue with the understanding that permission was pending. *BYU Studies*, which planned an article on the papyri by Nibley, published a flyer announcing that they too, would soon publish the photographs.[202] Tanner, however, later called Salisbury and told him that the church had reconsidered its earlier decision and had since decided against releasing any additional photographs. Hence, Tanner denied *BYU Studies* permission and asked that *Dialogue* refrain from publishing the Tolk photos as well. Disappointed, England nevertheless had Salisbury pull the photographs and reproduced only those that had appeared earlier in the *Church News*. The issue (Winter 1967) also included interviews with Atiya and Fisher.[203]

In February, when the winter 1968 issue of *BYU Studies* appeared, the *Dialogue* staff was stunned to see photographs of all eleven papyri fragments. Hurt and betrayed, and eager for an explanation, a perplexed England wrote to Tanner for some answers. "Perhaps you can imagine then, the feelings of many of our staff members when they received the copies of the *BYU Studies* yesterday and saw all of the papyri . . . published there." Most disillusioned was Salisbury, who had worked hard to delay the press run. "We proceeded on the assurance that no such release was about to be made," continued England. "If I could just tell [the staff]

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of course, but it was made possible through an anonymous donation which covered the cost to the museum" ("An Interview With Dr. Fischer," under the heading, "The Facsimile Found: The Discovery of Joseph Smith's Papyrus Manuscripts," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 2 (Winter 1967): 64).

199. Eugene England to Wesley Johnson, 23 December 1967, *Dialogue* Collection. Johnson was mid-way through a six-month teaching assignment in Florence, Italy. Aside from some correspondence with the *Dialogue* staff, Johnson, of necessity, left the majority of the editorial duties to England.

200. England to Johnson, 23 December 1967. For the first published photos, see Jarrard, "Church Receives Joseph Smith Papyri."

201. England to Johnson, 23 December 1967.

202. Ibid. The article became Hugh Nibley, "A Prolegomena to Any Study of the Book of Abraham," *BYU Studies* 8 (Winter 1968): 171-178.

203. See "The Facsimile Found," 51-64.

what happened, it would help a lot, and so I hope you can take a few moments to tell me briefly how *BYU Studies* came to get permission to go ahead and why permission was not extended to us at the same time."[204]

Tanner's response is not in the *Dialogue* correspondence, but Charles Tate, editor of *BYU Studies*, sheepishly wrote England a letter of explanation. According to Tate, *BYU Studies* received last-minute permission because he had put himself "in a bind," by promising his readers that publication of the photographs was forthcoming. To avert embarrassment, he and Hugh Nibley had made one more attempt, through Tanner, for permission. Tanner was supportive, but advised Nibley to make a formal request to the First Presidency. Following through, Nibley recommended that all the photos be released on February 1, and the presidency complied.[205] However, the *Dialogue* staff was not informed of this latest reversal. Hence, *BYU Studies*, unbeknownst to *Dialogue*, published the photographs within a week, and the church published a full color spread in the February 1968 *Improvement Era*.[206] *Dialogue*, the first to possess photographs, lost out on what England called, "the scoop of the century." However, as England recalls, this case certainly showed that "we followed counsel."[207]

Although losing out to *BYU Studies* in producing the first papyri photographs, it was *Dialogue* that published the first translations of the papyri by renowned Egyptologists. Jeppson arranged this project by sending the color *Improvement Era* photographs to Baer, John A. Wilson, also of the University of Chicago, and Richard A. Parker of Brown University. These scholars agreed to produce translations for *Dialogue* without pay.[208] Both Wilson and Parker (Summer 1968) identified the majority of the papyri as chapters of the Egyptian "Book of the Dead," dating these particular fragments between 500 and 300 B.C. or later. Wilson offered a translation of six of the papyri pieces, originally forming one scroll, and all part of the Book of the Dead. Parker translated the fragment labeled the "Sensun" papyrus (meaning "to breathe") from the

204. Eugene England to N. Eldon Tanner, 7 February 1968, *Dialogue* Collection.

205. Charles C. Tate to Eugene England, 15 February 1968, *Dialogue* Collection.

206. See photographs of the papyri in *BYU Studies* 8 (Winter 1968): 179-190, and *Improvement Era* 71 (February 1968): 40-41.

207. England Oral History, 16-17. England, recently commenting on this episode, still remembers the effect it had on him and his staff: "I was mainly upset (still am) that we had a chance to make a scoop and show genuine, responsible dialogue concerning important discoveries and issues but were prevented from doing so—and thus from enhancing our image—by behavior that was at best very unprofessional, even unethical, and at worst duplicitous" (England to Anderson, 13 September 1999).

208. Jeppson to Anderson, 19 May 1998.

Book of Breathings, a condensed form of the Book of the Dead, dating from Roman times.[209]

It is the Sensun papyrus, more particularly, the "Small Sensun" (Papyri Joseph Smith XI), that has proved the most troublesome for the Book of Abraham.[210] This is made evident in an essay by Grant Heward, a postal worker and amateur Egyptologist, and Jerald Tanner, a well-known critic of Mormonism, included in this same issue of *Dialogue*. This article demonstrated that in an 1830s Mormon manuscript titled *Egyptian Alphabet and Grammar*, individual characters from the Sensun text had been matched in parallel columns to English passages of the Book of Abraham. This, according to Heward and Tanner, seems clear that Smith believed that the Sensun fragment was the Egyptian text of the Book of Abraham. To complicate things further, according to the authors, each individual character from the Sensun was translated by Smith into dozens of English words—an impossibility in any literal translation.[211] Heward and Tanner also discovered problems with Facsimile Two. Having been damaged prior to Smith's purchase of it, characters from the Sensun text were then used to fill in the missing portions in order to make it more presentable when publishing the Book of Abraham.[212] These additions, however, resulted in the combination of both hieroglyphic and hieratic writings, which, in the Egyptian, created a jumbled, nonsensical text.[213] Because of Tanner's reputation as an anti-Mormon writer and publisher and Heward's recent excommunication from the LDS church for opposing the authenticity of the Book of Abraham, Jeppson "had to push hard" for the staff to agree to publish the article.[214] However, the essay was an important contribution to link-

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209. For these articles, under the heading, "The Joseph Smith Egyptian Papyri: Translations and Interpretations," see John A. Wilson, "A Summary Report," Richard A. Parker, "The Joseph Smith Papyri: A Preliminary Report," and "The Book of Breathings (Fragment 1, The 'Sensun' Text, with Restorations From Louvre Papyrus 3284)," all in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 3 (Summer 1968): 67-88, 98-99.

210. The title and numbering of this fragment (and all of the papyri) come from the published photographs in the *Improvement Era*, February 1968.

211. A photographic reprint of this manuscript appears under the title *Joseph Smith's Egyptian Alphabet and Grammar* (Salt Lake City: Utah Lighthouse Ministry).

212. The original of Facsimile Two was not part of the recovered papyri and is still lost. However, that the original was damaged when Smith came into possession of it is indicated by the fact that a replica drawing, included in the *Egyptian Alphabet and Grammar*, indicates that portions were missing.

213. See Grant S. Heward and Jerald Tanner, "The Source of the Book of Abraham Identified," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 3 (Summer 1968): 92-98. Smith published an interpretation of the hypocephalus, including the restorations inserted from the text of the Sensun fragment. See the Book of Abraham in the *Pearl of Great Price*, 1981 edition, 37.

214. Joseph H. Jeppson, telephone interview conducted by Devery S. Anderson, 23 July 1999. Johnson recalls that he was very much opposed to publishing the Heward-Tanner essay (Johnson interview, 9 August 1999).

ing the papyri—more particularly, the Sensun scroll—with the Book of Abraham.

Baer's own translation of the Sensun text, including the writing that flanked Facsimile One, appeared alone in the fall issue. Baer also translated the individual characters found in parallel columns to the left of the English Book of Abraham text as produced in the *Egyptian Alphabet and Grammar*. This allowed for a comparison between Baer's translation and what came from Joseph Smith.[215] Needless to say, none of the Egyptologists found any similarities between their translations of these late funerary texts to what Joseph Smith published as the Book of Abraham.

Knowing the controversy the translation of the papyri would create, Jeppson recalls that he "expected the roof to fall in" after the articles appeared.[216] However, a response published by Nibley seemed enough to offset any damage caused by pitting Joseph Smith against the learned. Nibley, replying mainly to Heward and Tanner, was confident that, despite experimentation with the papyri by the prophet and his associates in Kirtland, Ohio, no one, including Smith, could have possibly believed nor intended the text of the Book of Abraham to have come from the few characters found in the small Sensun papyrus. Whatever the connection, it remained a mystery for now. Nibley also insisted that Smith could not have invented the Book of Abraham since it resembled too closely other ancient texts to which he could not possibly have had access.[217]

Naturally, many observing Mormons hoped or even assumed, that studies of the papyri would vindicate Smith's ability to decipher Egyptian as it pertained to the translation of the Book of Abraham. When the scholarly community verified that the papyri were simply funerary texts dating from periods up to the time of Christ, several of the *Dialogue* staff worried about accusations of disloyalty from church leaders for giving the unbelieving a forum.[218] However, there was no response from anyone in the hierarchy.[219] Yet Jeppson sees the papyri episode as a defining moment in Mormonism:

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215. See Klaus Baer, "The Breathing Permit of Hor: A Translation of the Apparent Source of the Book of Abraham," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 3 (Autumn 1968): 109-134.

216. Jeppson interview, 23 July 1999.

217. Hugh Nibley, "Phase One," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 3 (Summer 1968): 99-105.

218. Jeppson interview, 23 July 1999.

219. England to Anderson, 13 September 1999. England also recalls that he was not particularly worried about the translations of the Egyptologists. Like many informed Latter-day Saints, England took the stand "that the divine 'translation' process, for both the Book of Mormon and the Book of Abraham, involved much more direct revelation than anything like literal translation from an ancient text." The papyri had served more as "a stimulus to a revelation like that we call [the Book of] Moses [also published in the Pearl of

> When we published the scrolls['] articles, I think we all just sat back and held our breath(s), not knowing what would happen next. Not much did, ostensibly. But I think it changed the scholars of the Church forever, and perhaps the leadership as well. From then on, the Brethren were not nearly so interested in Mormon [d]octrine as in bringing Mormonism on as a "mainstream" religion. . . .[220]

Great Price], so what the Egyptologists made of the actual texts that stimulated Joseph to ask [the] Lord concerning Abraham did not concern me."

220. Jeppson to Anderson, 19 May 1998. Debate over the papyri, and their connection to the Book of Abraham continues. In addition to several articles over the years, Nibley has published two books,*The Message of the Joseph Smith Papyri: An Egyptian Endowment* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co, 1975) and *Abraham in Egypt* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1981). Opposing Nibley is H. Michael Marquardt, who has written the response, *The Book of Abraham Papyrus Found: An Answer to Dr. Hugh Nibley's Book, "The Message of the Joseph Smith Papyri: An Egyptian Endowment"* (Salt Lake City: Utah Lighthouse Ministry, 1975, revised and enlarged edition). See also Marquardt, "The Book of Abraham Revisited," *Journal of Pastoral Practice* 5:4 (1982): 101-120, reprinted by Utah Lighthouse Ministry, 1983. Another brief criticism is Wesley P. Walters's "Joseph Smith Among the Egyptians," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 16 (Winter 1973): 23-45, reprinted by Utah Lighthouse Ministry, 1973. Mormon Egyptologist Michael Dennis Rhoades produced a translation of Facsimile Two in "A Translation and Commentary of the Joseph Smith Hypocephalus," *BYU Studies* 17 (Spring 1977): 259-274. A good discussion of the Facsimiles is found in Edward H. Ashment, "The Facsimiles of the Book of Abraham: A Reappraisal," and Hugh Nibley, "The Facsimiles of the Book of Abraham: A Response," both in *Sunstone* 4 (December 1979): 33-51. Lengthy studies by critics are Jerald and Sandra Tanner, "The Fall of the Book of Abraham," in *Mormonism: Shadow or Reality?*, (Salt Lake City: Utah Lighthouse Ministry, fifth edition, 1987), 294-369D, and Charles M. Larson, *By His Own Hand Upon Papyrus: A New Look at the Joseph Smith Papyri* (Grand Rapids: Institute for Religious Research, Revised Edition, 1992). Recent studies that allow Smith to have been somehow inspired by the papyri in producing the Book of Abraham are Karl C. Sandberg, "Knowing Brother Joseph Again: The Book of Abraham and Joseph Smith as a Translator," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 22 (Winter 1989): 17-37, reprinted in Bryan Waterman, ed., *The Prophet Puzzle: Interpretive Essays on Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1999), and James R. Harris, *The Facsimiles of the Book of Abraham, A Study of the Joseph Smith Papyri* (Payson, UT: Harris House, 1990). Most recently, a discussion of Smith's interpretations of the Facsimiles is Stephen E. Thompson, "Egyptology and the Book of Abraham," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 28 (Spring 1995): 143-160. For a discussion connecting other Egyptian papyri to Abraham, see research of John Gee highlighted in "References to Abraham Found in Two Ancient Texts," *Insights: An Ancient Window: Newsletter of the Foundation For Ancient Research and Mormon Studies* (September 1991), and rebuttal by Edward H. Ashment, "The Use of Magical Papyri to Authenticate the Book of Abraham: A Critical Review," (Salt Lake City: Resource Communications, 1993). See also Gee's response to Ashment, "Abracadabra, Isaac and Jacob," *Review of Books About the Book of Mormon* 7:1 (1996): 19-84. A recent non-Mormon examination is John A. Larson, "Joseph Smith and Egyptology: An Early Episode in the History of American Speculation About Ancient Egypt, 1835-1844," in David P. Silverman, ed., *For His Ka: Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer* (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1994), 159-178.

Dialogue and the First Vision

Competition between *BYU Studies* and *Dialogue* did not end with the Joseph Smith papyri. Another controversial episode involved *Dialogue*'s attempt to defend the church against one of its critics—an attempt which backfired. Wesley P. Walters, pastor of the United Presbyterian Church in Marissa, Illinois, submitted an article to *Dialogue* entitled, "New Light on Mormon Origins from the Palmyra Revival." This essay disputed Joseph Smith's claim that a local religious revival near his home in upstate New York prompted his "First Vision" by showing that no such revival appeared in the historical record (thus, according to Walters, Joseph Smith fabricated his vision). The editors sent a copy of Walters's manuscript to Richard Bushman, who showed it to other scholars at BYU. Bushman recalls that the Walters essay "hit like a bombshell, because it took a story we thought was pretty well settled and turned it upside down."[221] Mormon historians immediately made preparations to respond to Walters's research. Several of them (including Bushman and Leonard Arrington) formed a committee headed by Truman Madsen, which made plans to spend the summer of 1968 doing research in Palmyra and vicinity. After talking with Madsen, England agreed to postpone the Walters essay until the historians were ready to publish a response—which would appear in the same issue of *Dialogue*. The New York research resulted in six articles, but at the last minute Madsen decided to publish them in *BYU Studies* instead.[222] "So *Dialogue* ended up having to publish Walters," a frustrated England remembers. Although *Dialogue* did include a response by Bushman (based on the research of the Mormon historians), it appeared that *BYU Studies* (which did not publish Walters—only the responses) was defending the faith, while *Dialogue* (which did publish Walters) "seemed to be supporting the enemies." England laments this because, "at a few crucial moments like that we could have established a positive image for *Dialogue*."[223] For England, feelings of betrayal, thirty years later, remain. "I think that was a very deliberate and unethical choice by Mormon in-

221. Bushman interview, 25 May 1998.

222. See *BYU Studies* 9 (Spring 1969).

223. England Oral History, 11-12. For the Walters and Bushman articles, see "The Question of a Palmyra Revival," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 4 (Spring 1969): 82-100. For continued debate about the setting of the first vision and the Palmyra revival, see Milton V. Backman, Jr., *Joseph Smith's First Vision: The First Vision in Its Historical Context*, 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980), Marvin S. Hill, "The First Vision Controversy: A Critique and Reconciliation," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 15 (Summer 1982): 31-46, and H. Michael Marquardt and Wesley P. Walters, *Inventing Mormonism: Tradition and the Historical Record* (Salt Lake City: Smith Research Associates, 1994), 15-41.

tellectuals at BYU that betrayed their scholarly as well as Christian responsibilities."[224]

Paying a Price

With *Dialogue*'s growing reputation as a liberal, controversial publication, England found that there was a personal cost in editing the journal. Rumors began to circulate that he was both practicing polygamy and guilty of apostasy. While patently untrue, these stories still caused him "pain and disillusionment."[225] Toward the end of his tenure as editor, he received word that Apostle Boyd K. Packer predicted publicly that England's children would fall away from Mormonism because of his activities with *Dialogue*. "We've been indoctrinated," laments England, into thinking "that [Mormon publications are] either official or else they're anti-Mormon. There's no middle ground."[226] The commitment in time required as managing editor had forced him to delay the completion of his graduate studies for two years.[227] Compounding his personal problem was the fact that his association with the journal would temporarily cost him a teaching opportunity at BYU. Apostle Boyd K. Packer denied England the position in 1975, telling him, "We can't have a former editor of *Dialogue* teaching at BYU."[228]

Johnson also paid a price. He devoted thousands of hours to *Dialogue* over his five-year tenure—time in which he estimates he could have produced more publications related to his field thus enabling him to secure a promotion sooner. "But we had a mission to perform," he insists, "to announce to the world that Mormons had a viable intellectual community."[229]

Making a Difference

Dialogue addressed many timely issues during these early years. The journal kept its commitment to the Mormon History Association, and Leonard Arrington guest edited the third issue (Fall 1966) which included several significant articles. Perhaps the most important was "The Significance of Joseph Smith's First Vision in Mormon Thought," a ground breaking essay by BYU history professor James B. Allen on the evolving use of the story among Mormons. This issue has been highly

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224. England to Anderson, 13 September 1999, *Dialogue* Collection.

225. England, "A Matter of Love," 40.

226. England interview, 8 November 1994.

227. Ibid.

228. England was hired the following year, however, due to the influence of recently appointed Church Commissioner of Education Jeffrey R. Holland. England interview, 16 July 1996.

229. Johnson interview, 9 August 1999.

praised, and was even endorsed by the LDS Institutes of Religion.[230] In another issue, *Dialogue* introduced many readers to liberal Mormon Bible scholar Heber C. Snell, in a roundtable with the conservative and prolific Sidney B. Sperry, along with Kent Robson, a Ph.D. candidate from Stanford (Spring 1967). Snell, "counting . . . on having a 'go' at Sperry," chronicled the decline in use of the Bible in modern Mormonism.[231] A timely discussion on Vietnam published later that year featuring England, Ray Hillam, and John Sorenson, offered insights from varying Mormon perspectives on a particularly divisive topic both nationally and within the Mormon community (Winter 1967).[232]

Perhaps the most memorable piece to appear in the early years of *Dialogue* was Richard D. Poll's sacrament meeting sermon, "What the Church Means to People Like Me" (Winter 1967). In his speech Poll brought lasting comfort to liberal Mormons through his "Iron Rod"/ "Liahona" dichotomy. The only *Dialogue* article ever quoted (not positively) in an LDS general conference, Poll's sermon, delivered in Palo Alto, has been reprinted numerous times.[233]

Of the twenty issues published under the first editorship, five were centered around themes. In addition to Leonard Arrington's issue, Lowell Bennion edited "The Mormon Family in a Modern World," (Autumn 1967), Mary L. Bradford and Garth Magnum produced an issue on "Mormons in the Secular City," (Autumn 1968), Robert A. Rees and Karl Keller guest edited "Mormonism and Literature," (Autumn 1969), and Stanley B. Kimball took over another issue devoted to Mormon history, with "Mormons in Early Illinois," (Spring 1970). Over the five year period, the editors also published twelve roundtable discussions, and eight sermons. Of the artwork that Salisbury included, five issues featured the talents of guest artists. The winter 1969 issue, behind schedule, con-

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230. See *Growing Edge*, 5 (April 1973), published monthly by the Department of Seminaries and Institutes of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, copy in *Dialogue* Collection.

231. Heber C. Snell to Eugene England, 22 January 1967, *Dialogue* Collection. See Heber C. Snell, Sidney B. Sperry, and Kent Robson, "The Bible in the Church," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 2 (Spring 1967) 55-90. For more on Snell and his career in the church educational system, see Richard Sherlock, "Faith and History: The Snell Controversy," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 12 (Spring 1979): 27-41.

232. See Ray Cole Hillam, "Vietnam: A New Perspective" Eugene England, "The Tragedy of Vietnam and the Responsibility of Mormons," and John L. Sorenson, "Vietnam: Just a War, or a Just War?" *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 2 (Winter 1967): 65-100.

233. Harold B. Lee, "The Iron Rod," *Ensign* 1 (June 1971): 7. For reprints of Poll's sermon, see *Sunstone* 5 (July-August 1980): 15-20; Philip L. Barlow, ed., *A Thoughtful Faith: Essays on Belief by Mormon Scholars* (Centerville, UT: Cannon Press, 1986), 1-15; Mary L. Bradford, ed., *Personal Voices: A Celebration of Dialogue* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1987), 49-61; Richard D. Poll, *History & Faith: Reflections of a Mormon Historian* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989), 1-13.

tained moving tributes to President David O. McKay, who died in January 1970. Poetry was included in all but four issues between 1966 and 1971. Fiction, first published in volume two, only appeared in four issues. This genre would become more prominent in later volumes.

This variety attracted a diverse readership. In addition to subscribers, England remembers reports of "shadow readers," who either could not afford the journal or who were reluctant to have their names on the subscription list. In several cases, the editors received word that eight to ten people were reading a single copy. *Dialogue* study groups were also formed in several locales, and Johnson, England, and Salisbury were often invited to speak at these and at firesides throughout the church.[234] On 30 September 1966, England spoke at the LDS Institute at the University of Utah about the founding of the journal, and took questions from the audience.[235] This interest in so many quarters assured the editors once again that *Dialogue* was meeting a need.

From the beginning *Dialogue* also had its critics. Yet England and Johnson both maintain that most criticisms came from people who had never even read the journal.[236] A second-hand report by Apostle Boyd K. Packer to England in 1975 claimed that *Dialogue* had caused two young men within the same stake to leave the church. Reports such as these, however, never reached the editors directly. In fact, England and Johnson both witnessed the journal having an opposite effect: not only did readers report that *Dialogue* gave them reason to stay in the church, some credited it for their conversion, or re-conversion to Mormonism.[237] Students at Stanford and elsewhere reported to England then and in later years that *Dialogue* helped them reconcile their faith with their intellectual lives.[238] All of this confirmed again and again that there was a place in the Mormon community for the forum that *Dialogue* provided.

Growing Pains

By 1970, *Dialogue*'s growth forced the editors to consider full-time paid help. A Mrs. Pat Bacon had been hired to work part-time in the Stanford office, and a few others held part-time positions handling sub-

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234. England interview, 17 July 1996; Johnson interview, 3 August 1996; Salisbury interview, 19 May 1998.

235. See G. Eugene England, "*Dialogue*—The Idea and the Journal," fireside delivered at the LDS Institute, University of Utah, 30 September 1966, published by the LDS Student Association, copy in my possession.

236. "An Interview with Eugene England," 22; Johnson interview, 3 August 1996.

237. England Oral History, 18; England interview, 8 November 1994; Johnson interview, 3 August 1996.

238. England to Anderson, 13 September 1999, *Dialogue* Collection.

scriptions and taking care of other necessities, but this was not enough. "*Dialogue* needs to have a full-time business or office manager in Palo Alto in addition to Mrs. Bacon," declared an assessment in 1970. "This would greatly relieve pressure on voluntary members of the staff, executive committee, and board and allow them to concentrate on planning and editing."[239] Despite this pressing need, however, it would be several years before funds would allow *Dialogue* the benefit of full-time paid personnel.[240]

That same year, the staff established a board of trustees who would oversee the economic health of the journal. Changes in the editorial board and the formation of a student board of associate editors brought "new blood" to the publication in an effort both to keep the enterprise from faltering, and to attract more student subscribers.[241]

This growth, however, occurred with bad timing, and the journal subsequently suffered. In 1970 England accepted a teaching position at St. Olaf College in Northfield, Minnesota, leaving Johnson as the sole managing editor of the journal. Although England retained some affiliation with *Dialogue* as planning editor, this did little to relieve Johnson of the "incredible work loads" that came his way.[242] This, and some new problems with printing and production resulted in more late issues (for example, the fall and winter 1970 issues did not appear until April and July 1971 respectively).[243] "We are at a point of no return on these late issues," Johnson wrote a board member in early 1971.[244] Robert A. Rees, having served on the editorial board since 1969, came to the rescue as issue editor in 1970.[245] But even the addition of Rees, other new members

239. "Statement on *Dialogue*," 1970, *Dialogue* Collection.

240. Johnson interview, 9 August 1999.

241. Unsent letter of Wesley Johnson to Stanley B. Kimball, 27 July 1971, *Dialogue* Collection; "An Interview with Eugene England," 19. The names of the Board of Associate Editors were added to the masthead of *Dialogue* beginning with the autumn 1969 issue, and discontinued in 1971. Although, as England indicated above, there was early interest in the journal by students, especially at Stanford, *Dialogue* was read mainly by academics and other professionals. According to Johnson, the student board was able to do little in attracting their peers to *Dialogue* (Johnson interview, 9 August 1999). Thirty years later, England now sits on the Board of Trustees of *Dialogue* "precisely to answer that question [regarding current lack of interest in the journal by young people] and do something appropriate in response" (England to Anderson, 13 September 1999, *Dialogue* Collection).

242. Johnson to Kimball, 27 July 1971, *Dialogue* Collection. Salisbury adds that England possessed a charisma that aided him in recruiting students and other volunteers, a quality that others on the staff (despite their numerous other talents and abilities) lacked (Salisbury interview, 9 August 1999).

243. Salisbury interview, 9 August 1999. Salisbury remembers that Quality Press was often understaffed or overbooked.

244. Wesley Johnson to Garth Magnum, 17 March 1971, *Dialogue* Collection.

245. Robert Rees to Robert R. Kirsch, 26 January 1970, *Dialogue* Collection.

of the editorial board, and a new board of trustees failed to offset many of the problems that had materialized.

Late issues began to effect subscriptions dramatically. Peaking at 8000 early, and holding at around 7000 by early 1970, subscriptions fell to 5000 eighteen months later. There may have been other factors. Letters from supporters criticized what they saw as Johnson's attempt to publish material more pleasing to the Mormon hierarchy. This criticism, coming from Joseph Jeppson, maintained that Johnson "was more interested in the survival of the magazine than in the novelty of its content."[246] Karl Keller, a supporter from the beginning, made similar comments. "Several of my friends have voiced serious reservations about the last few issues of *Dialogue*, and since I join in their view, I want to write to mention the problem." For Keller, "*Dialogue* was becoming exceedingly thin. By thin, I mean insubstantial and inconsequential." Worried about the direction of the journal, Keller elaborates:

> . . . *Dialogue* has always been and continues to be head-and-shoulders above the [*Improvement*] *Era*. Yet the last few issues suggest that it is moving in the direction of that unfortunate publication in that it seems now much more interested in being doggedly pro-church rather than simply honest, that it now covers topics covered adequately by church publications already rather than exploring areas tabooed and forgotten by them, that its writing is blander rather than bolder, that it is doing exactly what church publications do, avoiding the issues. . . . *Dialogue*'s success will be, it seems to me, in simply being open and honest and bold and carefree. That means that it will be intellectual, liberal, personal, offensive, eccentric, etc. It will please only the liberal fringe of the church—but it will be founded on positions well argued.[247]

Johnson views these criticisms as being without merit. "Had we taken the journal in the direction [some people] wanted it, *Dialogue* would have been put out of business." First and foremost, Johnson felt committed to publishing the best scholarship available. He denies a conscious effort to please the authorities, and insists that the vast majority of readers remained happy with the content through the end of his term.[248]

Leaving Stanford

Other impending changes were about to effect the journal also. Johnson, due to leave for a year's sabbatical in Africa, would of necessity step

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246. Joseph Jeppson to Robert A. Rees, 10 December 1971, *Dialogue* Collection.

247. Karl Keller to Wesley Johnson, 15 September 1970, *Dialogue* Collection. Keller does not say specifically which issues he refers to as "doggedly pro-church," but at the time of his writing, the most recent issues included one focusing on the death of President David O. McKay (Winter 1969), a theme issue on "The Mormons in Early Illinois" (Spring 1970), and a general issue (Summer 1970) with articles such as "Cache Valley Landscape: A Photographic Essay," "When Does an Intellectually Impaired Child Become Accountable?" and "Art, Beauty & Country Life in Utah."

248. Johnson interview, 9 August 1999.

down as managing editor on 1 September 1971. With his departure, *Dialogue* would no longer have access to donated office space at Stanford. Thus, finding a new editor and establishing a new era for *Dialogue* were issues now at the forefront.

The staff knew from the beginning that an eventual change in editorial teams was inevitable. Johnson remembers that he "envisioned a rhythm of changing editors and boards about every five or six years." He emphasizes "that we [the original founders] were building for the future, and we were not going to make the mistake of hanging on to [the editorship]."[249] England remembers a consensus that "for *Dialogue* to achieve its ideals, the editors should always be in their thirties."[250] Of the original founders, Frances Menlove left her position first. After less than a year as manuscripts editor, she moved with her husband to Germany, and Edward Geary, a graduate student at Stanford, took over her duties.[251] In 1970, England moved to Minnesota, and Jeppson, returning to Berkeley to work on his Ph.D., left his position as "Notes and Comments" editor to BYU Political Science Professor Louis Midgley.[252] Salisbury was also ready to leave, although he stayed on through 1972 as an advisory editor.[253] Menlove joined the editorial board and remained there until 1970.[254]

Before departing Palo Alto, Johnson had to appoint a new editor to take his place. Robert Rees, working hard as issue editor since England's departure, and "because of his significant editorial talents and enthusiasm for *Dialogue*," seemed the best candidate.[255] Rees, an English professor at UCLA accepted the offer and began making arrangements to move the editorial offices to Los Angeles. Rees officially took charge of the journal in September 1971.

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After five years, *Dialogue* had become an important voice in Mormonism by successfully addressing issues that were clamoring for a forum. In the process, the editors helped develop the talent of writers,

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249. Johnson interview, 3 August 1996.

250. This policy was short lived and ended with the editorship of Mary Bradford in 1976. All subsequent editors have been in their forties and fifties.

251. Edward Geary to Douglas Bunker, 17 September 1966, *Dialogue* Collection. Johnson's wife, Marion, eventually took over as manuscripts manager (as the position was later called) in 1969.

252. Jeppson to Anderson, 19 May 1998, *Dialogue* Collection.

253. Salisbury to Anderson, 17 May 1998, *Dialogue* Collection.

254. This information is derived from the mast-head of issues of *Dialogue* through the Johnson-England tenure.

255. C. Burton Stohl to William Call, 25 January 1972, *Dialogue* Collection.

artists, and poets. "You have to approach people, you nurture people, you nurture writers, you convince people that they can do something," insists Johnson. "And I think that is what we did. I think that was one of the functions that *Dialogue* served very well."[256] In the years to come, both *Dialogue* and the writers it encouraged would continue to benefit from their association with one another. Johnson's most gratifying moments were seeing *Dialogue* recognized by the larger scholarly community. "Cited in books by the Oxford Press, or the Harvard Press . . . to me as a scholar, [meant that] we'd arrived. And that meant that we were being taken seriously."[257]

The creation in the mid-1960s of *Dialogue* or something very much like it may have been inevitable, given the climate created by voices in the larger society. The America of the 1950s, with its self-image of postwar affluence, reflected best in the baby boom and the emergence of modern suburbia, often overlooked growing racial tensions and poverty that were the plight of many Americans. The sixties generation, embracing diversity and coupled with energy, began to "expose issues and created demonstrations that provoked deep emotions."[258]

Yet the founders of *Dialogue* did not see themselves as rebels. Mary Bradford recalls that, although "Mormon thinkers were responding to the excitement of the sixties," they nevertheless "created a constructive new outlet for individual expression."[259] For the founders of *Dialogue*, true dialogue meant placing Mormonism before the scrutiny of Mormons, non-Mormons, believers, and skeptics alike. Having faith that their religion would hold up, the founders believed that they were aiding the cause. Those who failed to understand the legitimacy of this approach saw the editors as troublemakers, as rebellious, and even apostate. After all, *Dialogue*'s enemies were watching the protests of the sixties, too. For others, just the fact of its existence was enough to provoke deep suspicions.

In a church increasing in respectability, maintaining that respect meant that many issues were not only ignored, but had to remain taboo.[260] *Dialogue* tried to break down many of those taboos, sometimes

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256. Johnson interview, 3 August 1996.

257. Ibid.

258. From the preface of Terry H. Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties: Protest in America from Greensboro to Wounded Knee* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995). Post-World War II studies contrast well the America of the two decades. See James T. Patterson, *Grand Expectations: The United States, 1945-1974* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).

259. Bradford, "Ten Years with *Dialogue*," 10-11.

260. See discussions in Gordon and Gary Shepherd, *A Kingdom Transformed: Themes in the Development of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1984), and Armand

countering the Mormon slogan that "all is well" in the process. Yet despite this boldness and independence, an undergirding loyalty to the institutional church and the gospel meant that *Dialogue* itself was intent on securing the respect and approval of the church hierarchy. Ten years after the founding of the journal, England acknowledged that ". . . if the First Presidency had said to me, 'Kill the magazine,' I'd have done it."[261] In *Dialogue*'s infancy, this seems understandable. But to remain truly independent, that approval would inevitably become less important, and even less desirable. With the end of the England-Johnson tenure, communication between the editors and general authorities would, for the most part, cease. And as in many relationships, when communication ends, suspicion and fear take its place. In the years to come, future editors would experience both the joy and pain of these severed ties.[262]

To Be Continued

L. Mauss, *The Angel and the Beehive: The Mormon Response to Assimilation* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994).

261. England Oral History, 17.

262. Thirty-four years after their first meetings at Stanford, where are the founders now? Eugene England and Wesley Johnson have both retired after long careers at BYU, and both remain in Provo, Utah. England teaches part-time at Utah Valley State College, currently sits on the board of trustees for *Dialogue* and *Sunstone*, and still writes for both; Salisbury lives in San Francisco where he works as an architect; Menlove, who lives on the Oregon coast, is currently a full-time student, studying theology and early Christianity at the Pacific School of Religion at the Graduate Theological School in Berkeley, California; Jeppson lives in Woodside, California and teaches history at Canada College. He still writes an occasional letter to the editor, but no longer under the pseudonym "Rustin Kaufmann." All but Salisbury still subscribe to *Dialogue*.

Wild Things

Lisa Garfield

I've heard of horses—mustangs mostly—who run wild across Nevada's bleak terrain. (*They kind of remind me of Uncle Bill, who ran wild, too, last summer, until Aunt Shirley caught up with him at the border*). Horses know no borders, don't allow limits, except those imposed by a weariness of bone and tendon that won't be ignored. They're wild things, those horses (*and wiser than Uncle Bill*). Sometimes I can hear their thunder a state or two away. Sometimes, just at twilight, I can see their shadows on the far hills, and if I turn just so, catch a whiff of something ripe in the wind, something more than horse. (*Bill looks more than pensive these days, absently slapping at gadflies*). I wonder how far Nevada's border is, and how, once gone, one would ever get back. At twilight, a long, low whinny floats across the mulberry sky.

Day Music

Joy K. Young

The mountain is a redhead
lying on his back
nose and knees pointed
to the sun. His hair
tangles in the rusty city,
while a grizzled beard
covers his ocher knees
and curls in sand
between his toes.

He's a musician
whose tunes change hourly.
Soft pastorals climb his shadows,
where aspens clutch their leaves
like lemon whole notes.
Then, saxophones moan
while tinkling amber jazz
slaloms down a ravine,
spraying our eyes with leaves.

He's jamming, a one-man band
of random color,
whose broad, flat fingers
play each foothill like a keyboard,
sharping this canyon,
mahogany on gold,
flatting that ridge
in a crimson chord
that begs for the resolution
of wind.

TREES + SHADOWS - TEMPLE MOUNT GARDENS

STREET OLD JERUSALEM

Mormon Psychohistory: Psychological Insights into the Latter-day Saint Past, Present, and Future

Mark Koltko-Rivera

SEVERAL YEARS AGO, I was speaking with a fellow Saint and convert at the Sunstone Symposium in Salt Lake City. We described ourselves to each other as "Joseph Smith converts." By that, we meant that we had originally been attracted to the church by the breadth of vision of Joseph Smith. The doctrines revealed through the Prophet Joseph seemed to us, in the early days of our conversions, to be breathtaking in scope, with his vision of endless, inhabited worlds and a saga that connected the ancient Adam with twenty-first-century civilization. It had seemed to us, in our first acquaintance with Mormonism, that here was a religion that gave a new meaning to the term "humanistic," a revolutionary faith that was truly ennobling of humanity. Here we felt we had heard a truth both long-known and long-forgotten, that women and men could become not only god-like, but truly gods. And the Prophet himself seemed in some ways an ideal model of prophetic leadership. Joseph was a complex man with a vivid appreciation of the paradoxes and tragedies that color human life, an appreciation that often manifested as compassion, broad-mindedness, and a dedication to the truth above convenience.

It was a delight to share our testimonies with each other at that Sunstone Symposium (not a rare occurrence, incidentally), but the irony of the situation was not lost on us. We were waiting to hear an address by a scholar who had been disciplined at the church university for doing little else than telling truths about LDS history, truths that had been deemed inconvenient by some of the Prophet's administrative descendants. What had happened? How did a revolutionary, humanistic religion give rise,

within just a few generations, to people who were capable of implementing such repressive policies?

There is a host of contradictions between the religion and ethics that were preached by Joseph Smith in the nineteenth century and what we see in turn-of-the-twenty-first century Mormonism. The Nauvoo *Expositor* incident notwithstanding, the Prophet Joseph seemed overall to be tolerant of various points of view, and disdained rigid creeds and orthodoxies.[1] In our day, however, it appears that there is an official, thoroughly correlated system of doctrinal interpretation among Mormons to depart from which is to invite discipline.[2]

These contradictions go beyond simple matters of interpretation. In earlier days, the leaders of the Saints seemed to have been very comfortable in expounding upon distinctively Latter-day doctrines, teachings that were quite different from the teachings of the dominant churches of the day. Today there seems to be more concern about "fitting in" with other religious organizations, sometimes at the expense of LDS distinctiveness. We find, for example, that some aspects of the doctrine of exaltation, the most prominent doctrinal development of the latter part of Joseph Smith's life, are far less emphasized in this generation, almost as if they were an embarrassment.[3]

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1. A full analysis of the character of Joseph Smith goes beyond the scope of this paper. However, the following incident related by the Prophet Joseph may be considered typical of his approach; consider the implications of the following statement for dealing with differences of doctrinal interpretations in our day:

> Elder Pelatiah Brown . . . has been preaching concerning [one of the figures in the Book of Revelation]; and for this he was hauled up for trial before the High Council.
>
> I did not like the old man being called up for erring in doctrine. It looks too much like the Methodist, and not like the Latter-day Saints. Methodists have creeds which a man must believe or be asked out of their church. I want the liberty of thinking and believing as I please. It feels so good not to be trammelled. It does not prove that a man is not a good man because he errs in doctrine (*History of the Church*, 5:340).

2. Lavina Fielding Anderson, "The LDS Intellectual Community and Church Leadership: A Contemporary Chronology," *Dialogue* 26, no. 1 (Spring 1993): 7-64; "Six Intellectuals Disciplined for Apostasy," *Sunstone* 16, no. 6 (November 1993): 65-73; "Disciplinary Actions Generate More Heat," *Sunstone* 16, no. 7 (December 1993): 67-68; Anonymous, "'Clipped and Controlled': A Contemporary Look at BYU," *Sunstone* 19, no. 3 (August-September 1996): 61-72; Brian Evenson, "Unwritten Rules," letter to the editor, *Sunstone* 19, no. 4 (December 1996): 2-5; Scott Abbott, "On Ecclesiastical Endorsement at Brigham Young University," *Sunstone* 21, no. 4 (April 1997):9-14; "Academic Freedom Organization Investigates BYU," *Sunstone* 20, no. 2 (July 1997): 73-74; Bryan Waterman, "Policing 'The Lord's University': The AAUP and BYU," *Sunstone* 21, no.4 (December 1998): 22-38.

3. A full consideration of this topic goes beyond the scope of this article. However, it is instructive to note the relative paucity of references to the full meaning of the doctrine of exaltation (D&C 132: 19-20) in the public teachings or pronouncements of contemporary church leaders. (For example, the concept that exaltation involves development into godhood was mentioned in only one of the addresses in the most recent LDS General Confer-

It could be argued that this is simply a matter of evolution: times change, and the focus and emphases of the Saints change in order to adapt.[4] Although this is something of a judgment call, it seems to this writer that what we are witnessing over the course of LDS church history involves functional changes in fundamental values. The values espoused by Joseph Smith seem to involve a certain toleration, within broad limits, of differences of opinion. Those limits appear to be much more narrowly drawn today. I take this to be a qualitative difference that indicates not so much evolution as internal contradiction.

This pattern of contradiction appears in the deepest spiritual life of the Saints. The earliest generations of Mormonism saw an acceptance of visionary spiritual experience; it was a time when encounters with divine messengers were publicly savored and cherished. In our generation, the statement of such an experience during Testimony Meeting might result in a worried conference with one's bishop and a hurried referral to a psychiatrist. Saints were once invited to have their callings and elections made sure by way of sacred ordinances (D&C 131:5); now, to even make reference to the existence of such ordinances is to risk administrative displeasure.

Discrepancies also show up in the area of politics. We were once considered so revolutionary as to merit military intervention by the United States Army;[5] now it appears that we are such safe bets that we have a disproportionate representation in the armed forces, the national intelligence establishment, and law enforcement in general.[6] Once upon a time, the Republican Party declared war on Mormonism as the standard bearer of a "relic of barbarism;" now it must consider the Saints to be among the very staunchest of allies.

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ence [*Ensign* 29, no.11 (1999), where it was noted obliquely.) This is in marked contrast to the bluntness with which this doctrine was proclaimed by Joseph Smith in the King Follett Discourse [Stan Larson, ed., "The King Follett Discourse: A Newly Amalgamated Text," *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Winter 1978): 193-208] and elsewhere ["K[ings] & P[riests] unto God & His Father," *The Essential Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City, UT: Signature Books, 1995), 251-255].

4. I am grateful to Marybeth Raynes for pointing out this line of thinking and for other comments made on an earlier draft of this paper.

5. More detailed descriptions of the historical events to which I refer to throughout this article may be found in standard histories: James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1991); Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints*, 2nd ed. (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1992); Jan Shipps, *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1985).

6. Robert Gottlieb and Peter Wiley, *America's Saints* (New York: Putnam, 1984); J. Heinerman and A. Shupe, *The Mormon Corporate Empire* (Boston: Beacon, 1985); cp. Thomas G. Alexander, review of *The Mormon Corporate Empire*, by J. Heinerman and A. Shupe, *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 26 (1987): 417-418.

Within the church family, it is not considered polite to point out these contradictions. I am reminded of the atmosphere one sees within a dysfunctional family, where the violence or addiction of a family member is obvious to all, but is not permitted to be brought up for discussion. Therapists who deal with addiction have a phrase for this phenomenon: it is called the "elephant in the living room" that no one talks about, the obvious problem around which family members silently maneuver but never explicitly mention. In the same way, many of us in the church family make it a point to not discuss the contradictions inherent in modern Mormonism, and those who persist in doing so are often labeled apostates.[7]

When confronted with a person who exhibits inconsistencies in her or his life, professionals often apply psychological principles of interpretation to this person's present and early experiences. Similarly, with a group such as the body of LDS believers, we can apply psychological principles to see how the vicissitudes of LDS history may have shaped the contradictions of the contemporary Mormon psyche.[8] This sort of effort is the development of a "psychohistory," an inner history, as opposed to the external history upon which most textbooks focus. As is the case with the life histories of many individuals, LDS group psychohistory reflects a combination of normal, developmental milestones and reactions to trauma.[9]

To explain how traumas have affected development, either in the person or in an organization, it helps to have some acquaintance with personality theory, so I shall outline briefly a theory of personality that, I think, offers insights into LDS history. I will emphasize the implications that this theory has for explaining the trials that the LDS intellectual community has been enduring in recent decades, and I shall attempt to

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7. See note 2.

8. In this article, I confine myself to the LDS church that is headquartered in Utah.

9. It is a theoretical question of no small import to consider the appropriateness of applying developmental theories originally devised to understand the psychology of individuals, to groups and societies, as I do here. A full consideration of this matter transcends the ambitions of this article. However, several theorists have applied motivational theories originally devised for individual psychology to society. One is Abraham Maslow himself (see references in following note). The Jewish people have been the subject of at least two extensive psychohistorical studies: Avner Falk, *A Psychoanalytic History of the Jews* (Madison, NT: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1996), and Raphael Patai, *The Jewish Mind* (New York: Scribner's, 1977). The historian Peter Gay has argued for a "history informed by psychoanalysis" in *Freud for Historians* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985). Ken Wilber, who has synthesized a number of psychological theories of development into an overarching theory, suggests that the stages of a culture's development parallel those of an individual's [Ken Wilber, *A Brief History of Everything* (Boston, Shambhala, 1996); idem, *Sex, Ecology, Spirituality: The Spirit of Evolution* (Boston, Shambhala, 1995)]. As a final example, almost any article in the *Journal of Psychohistory* involves the application of Freudian psychoanalytic theory to societal development.

be not only descriptive, but prescriptive. That is, I will not only outline what I think has happened, but what we as a people and as individuals might do about it.

The Motivations of Individuals and Organizations

For a theory of group personality and motivation, I rely foremost on the work of Abraham Maslow (1908-1970), a brilliant psychologist and one-time president of the American Psychological Association, who made major contributions not only to humanistic psychology, but to the study of spirituality integrated with psychology that has become known as transpersonal psychology. Maslow's theories are appropriate, in part, because he is one of the very few major personality theorists who has paid serious attention to spirituality in a positive way. He studied not only the personality of individuals but of organizations as well, and as such his theories seem uniquely suited to a discussion of Mormonism.[10]

Readers who have taken an introductory course in psychology may remember Maslow's famous "hierarchy of needs."[11] Simply put, the theory states that there are several different types of motivations for a person's behavior, and that these motivations rise and fall in importance depending upon the changing circumstances of a person's life. As an obvious example: for someone who is starving, gaining food is much more important than seeking out an opportunity for artistic expression. In particular, Maslow outlined a sort of pyramid of needs, a pyramid of six levels (see Figure 1). Although there are important exceptions, people typically must successfully address the needs that are lower on this pyramid before they feel much motivation in addressing needs higher up. On the other hand, once needs that are lower on the pyramid are largely sat-

10. Not all psychologists accept Maslow's theories, especially as applied in this unconventional manner to the lives of groups rather than individuals. I make no apologies here. Overall, Maslow's motivational theory is taught widely and is accepted in virtually every textbook in introductory psychology, motivational theory, and humanistic and transpersonal psychology. His theory of personality and motivation partakes of implicit assumptions, some of which are more consistent with a gospel framework, and some less so. Such is the case with all psychological theories [Brent D. Slife & Richard N. Williams, *What's Behind the Research? Discovering Hidden Assumptions in the Behavioral Sciences* (Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications, 1995)]. As it happens, I find that Maslow's assumptions are more consistent with a gospel framework, on the whole, than those of any other major personality theorist. The application of Maslow's motivational theory in a historical or developmental context to a society is a natural extension of Maslow's own work [as shown by papers collected in Abraham H. Maslow, *The Farther Reaches of Human Nature* (New York: Viking, 1971), and in Edward Hoffman, ed., *Future Visions: The Unpublished Papers of Abraham Maslow* (Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications, 1996)].

11. Abraham H. Maslow, *Motivation and Personality*, 2nd ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1970).

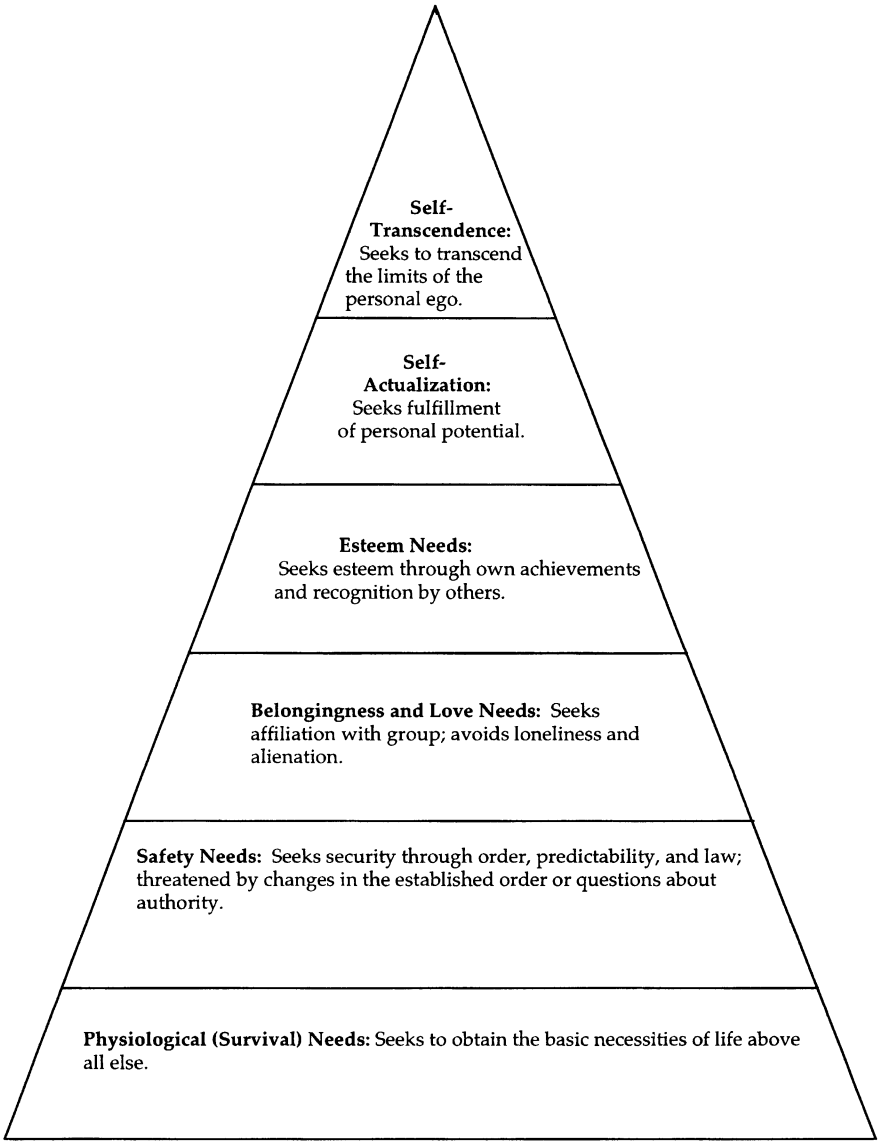

Figure 1. Maslows's Hierarchy of Needs

isfied in a reliable way, needs that are higher up on the hierarchy become quite compelling.[12]

At the base of Maslow's motivational pyramid are the physiological needs. These are the most "prepotent" needs. That is, a person will seek to address these needs before anything else. These are basic survival needs, such as the needs to satisfy hunger and thirst. Once basic survival is assured, the person turns to the need for safety. That is, a person will seek to find or create a life where the world is stable, lawful, predictable, and, above all, safe.

Once the physiological and safety needs have been addressed successfully, a person progresses up the pyramid to levels where different sorts of needs become compelling and must be addressed for the individual to feel happy. Maslow described "belongingness" needs, that is, the need to feel accepted by a group, to love, and to be loved. At lower levels of the hierarchy of needs, the things to be most avoided were hunger, thirst, and threats to law and order. At the level of the belongingness needs, the individual is most threatened by loneliness, and by isolation or alienation from others.

Next to the belongingness needs on the hierarchy are what Maslow called the "esteem needs." Here, the individual feels the need to gain recognition and respect from others. The person seeks to fulfill this need in two ways. One way is to make actual progress in terms of individual competence and achievement. Another is to seek a good reputation and status, recognition and prestige, even as ends in themselves.

The next level of the pyramid is often, but mistakenly, described as the top of the pyramid. This is the level of "self actualization." Here, the need that is most pressing is to live up to one's individual potential. As Maslow put it:

> The specific form that these [self-actualization] needs will take will of course vary greatly from person to person. In one individual it may take the form of the desire to be an ideal mother, in another it may be expressed athletically, and in still another it may be expressed in painting pictures or in inventions. At this level, individual differences are greatest.[13]

(I do not think, incidentally, that Maslow meant to equate the importance of parenthood and athletics in the eternal scheme of things. His point

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12. It is easy to take the pyramid metaphor too literally. As even Maslow pointed out, it is not the case that needs are completely fulfilled at one level before the individual proceeds to another. It is rather that the predominant thrust of a person's motivation progresses from one level to the next. All needs are present all the time; what changes over time is the relative importance and strength of these needs. What does not change is the sequence that is followed, as needs rise or fall in importance.

13. Maslow, *Motivation and Personality*, 46.

was simply that people see their own potential in different, individual terms.)

It was Maslow's feeling that, once the earlier needs had been dealt with, a person would be unhappy, even miserable, if the need for self-actualization were not addressed. Yet even this is not the highest motivation. Towards the end of his life, Maslow noted that there are individuals who have transcended even self-actualization.[14] Such individuals arrive at the top of Maslow's hierarchy of motivation with a strong, undeniable motive towards not just self-actualization but also self-transcendence. That is, the individual seeks communion with the transcendent, with the Divine, and identifies with something greater than the purely individual self. This is the realm of certain kinds of "peak experiences" and mystical experience,[15] and of identification with humanity or the world as a whole, rather than solely with one's tribe or one's individual self. Far from being self-absorbed narcissists, individuals at the highest levels of Maslow's motivational hierarchy are more typically characterized by selfless, ego-less service to and compassion for others.[16]

Such is Maslow's theory of the hierarchy of needs as applied to the motivational life of individuals. And while it is usually to individuals that it is applied, Maslow himself saw that this theory could be applied to groups as well. We may, in other words, be able to characterize the behavior of the church and its membership in terms of the types of motivations predominantly at work at a given moment in church history. These predominant needs exert a powerful influence on philosophies of life, values, the commonly held worldview.[17] Our desire to understand "What

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14. Abraham H. Maslow, "The Farther Reaches of Human Nature," *Journal of Transpersonal Psychology* 1, no. 1 (1969): 1-9; Abraham H. Maslow, *The Farther Reaches of Human Nature* (New York: Viking, 1971), 282. Despite the identical titles, these texts are utterly different. Concerning common misrepresentation of the final stage in Maslow's motivational scheme, see Mark E. Koltko-Rivera, "Maslow's 'Transhumanism': Was Transpersonal Psychology Conceived as 'a Psychology without People in It'?," *Journal of Humanistic Psychology* 38, no. 1 (1998): 71-80; Mark E. Koltko-Rivera, "Lying about Maslow: The True 'Top' of the Motivational Pyramid" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, August 1996).

15. Abraham H. Maslow, *Religions, Values, and Peak Experiences* (New York: Penguin, 1970).

16. This kind of surpassing concern for the welfare of others on the part of self-transcenders is described by several theorists in transpersonal psychology [Frances Vaughan, *The Inward Arc* (Boston: Shambhala, 1986); Roger Walsh, *Staying Alive: The Psychology of Human Survival* (Boston: Shambhala, 1984); Roger Walsh and Frances Vaughan, eds., *Paths Beyond Ego* (Los Angeles: Tarcher, 1993)]. One important approach to psychotherapy in a transpersonal mode has, as one objective, the nurturing of the client's innate compassion toward other creatures [Karen Kissel Wegela, "Contemplative Psychotherapy: A Path of Uncovering Brilliant Sanity," *Journal of Contemplative Psychotherapy* 9 (1994): 27-51], suggesting that compassion is integral to self-transcendence.

17. Maslow, *Motivation and Personality*, 37, 39.

happened to the church?" is a desire to understand the "why?" behind church history, and we have much to gain from looking at that history through the lens of Maslow's motivational theory.

The History of the Church from a Motivational Perspective

Starting at the Apex: Self-Actualization and Self-Transcendence

The earliest era of church history presents something of a paradox. Despite the invariant sequence dictated by Maslow's theory, a sequence in which self-actualization and self-transcendence cannot be emphasized until other, more basic needs have been met, there is from the earliest days of the church a distinct emphasis on these higher order needs. This is not to say that survival or safety issues were ignored—hardly so, given the hard realities of life on the American frontier and the need to protect the Saints from persecution—but there was, in addition to the predictable concern with survival, a noteworthy stress laid upon self-actualization and self-transcendence.

Herein lies the paradox: it appears that in its early days, the church began with a strong emphasis at the top of the motivational pyramid, rather than building strictly from the bottom up. What sense does this make in terms of Maslow's theory?

Actually, it is implicit in Maslow's writing that the origination (or, as we might say, the restoration) of religious traditions is marked by powerful forces exerted at the level of self-transcendence. As Maslow put it: "The very beginning, the intrinsic core, the essence, the universal nucleus of every known high religion . . . has been the private, lonely, personal illumination, revelation, or ecstasy of some acutely sensitive prophet or seer."[18] For Maslow, such illumination or revelation is an expression of self-transcendence needs. Thus, we would expect that the very beginning of a religious tradition would be marked by a special emphasis involving the top of the motivational pyramid, as it were. The very early history of the church does indeed seem to bear the marks of such an emphasis along with a very necessary preoccupation with survival.

An emphasis on self-actualization is evidenced by the attention paid, beginning with the Joseph Smith period, to education, literature, the arts, and cultural achievement generally—an emphasis that is quite remarkable, given the financial circumstances of the saints and the educational and cultural standards of their surrounding neighbors during this time.[19] For that matter, central statements of the latter-day gospel itself exhibit

18. Maslow, *Religions, Values, and Peak Experiences*, 19.
19. See the general histories cited in note 5.

the characteristics of an emphasis on self-actualization, with such notions as "men are, that they might have joy" (2 Nephi 2:25), and such public admonitions as Joseph Smith's: "You have got to learn how to make yourselves Gods . . . ."[20] A collateral emphasis on self-transcendence is suggested by the latter-day scriptures themselves, which, as I have discussed elsewhere, bear the marks of mystical experience.[21]

Moreover, the apex of development in LDS religious practice during this period, the temple ceremonies, conveys the overwhelming importance of both self-actualization and self-transcendence. Although a comprehensive interpretation of the motivational and value structures implicit in the temple ceremonies is beyond the scope of this essay,[22] two broad areas of emphasis may be discerned from official and public documents regarding the temple.[23] First, the objective of the temple ceremonies is to help bring individuals to the expression of their fullest potential, as heirs of God, to the extent of becoming gods themselves (D&C 132:20); the temple is, thus, the ultimate expression of the human potential movement[24] and clearly emphasizes the importance of self-actualization. Second, the individual undergoing the temple ceremonies makes commitments of service and self-sacrifice that just as clearly stress the importance of self-transcendence in the motivational life of both the individual and the community.

Subsequent to the Joseph Smith period, however, the story changes. It happens in the life of an individual that a time of intense stress can force that person to focus on a lower level of the motivational hierarchy. As an obvious example, in wartime, the adaptive artist or writer will

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20. *The Essential Joseph Smith*, 235.

21. Mark Edward Koltko, "Mysticism and Mormonism: An LDS Perspective on Transcendence and Higher Consciousness," *Sunstone* 13, no. 2 (April 1989): 13-19.

22. The definitive work in this area is yet to be published. For attempts at interpretations of the temple that bear on the concerns of this article, see Mark P. Leone, "The Mormon Temple Experience," *Sunstone* 10, no. 5 (1985): 4-7; John M. Lundquist, "C. G. Jung and the Temple: Symbols of Wholeness," in K. Barnaby and P. D'Acierno, eds., *C. G. Jung and the Humanities: Toward a Hermeneutics of Culture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), 113-123; John M. Lundquist, "What is Reality?," in John M. Lundquist and S. D. Ricks, eds., *By Study and Also by Faith: Essays in Honor of Hugh Nibley on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday: Vol. 1* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1990), 428-438; and writings of Hugh Nibley too numerous to cite individually here.

23. As only two of many accessible examples of official LDS church literature about the temple that make for provocative reading when read with an eye toward discerning self-actualization and self-transcendence as motivational emphases, see James E. Talmage, *The House of the Lord* (Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1962, original work published ca. 1912) and *Temples of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City, UT: Church Magazines/The Ensign, 1988).

24. The humorless will doubtless wish to point out that the temple ceremonies of the 1840s predate the human potential movement of the 1960s by over a century.

focus more on ensuring personal safety than on artistic creation. As it is with the individual, so it is with the group. In Mormonism, there was indeed a time of cultural stress so intense that it refocused the energies of the group rather thoroughly. Although an emphasis on education, cultural development, and temple work continued to exist to some degree, the major focus of the group shifted heavily toward survival and safety in a way that seriously de-emphasized self-actualization and self-transcendence. This re-ordering of Mormon motivational priorities, the effects of which are still felt today, began during the time of the nineteenth-century persecutions surrounding issues of Mormon uniqueness.[25]

The Era of Survival and Safety Needs

It is fashionable in some circles to underplay the persecutions of Mormonism that occurred in the first sixty years of its existence. But this is simply revisionist history-making, rather like claiming that reports of the Jewish Holocaust were "exaggerations." It is clear that major violent persecutions of Mormons occurred in the nineteenthth century, persecutions in which many individuals were murdered, or forced into life-threatening circumstances to escape terrorism and murder. Joseph Smith himself and his brother Hyrum, the Patriarch, are only the most prominent murder victims of this period. The Mormon mind has been powerfully shaped by Haun's Mill and other massacres, the Missouri Extermination Order, Carthage Jail, the ordeal at Winter Quarters, and the shallow graves left on the exodus to the Salt Lake valley. I am aware of no casualty figures, but it would seem that hundreds, if not thousands, died in these incidents, a notable proportion of the early church population.

However, a kind of grim capstone to these persecutions occurred once the church had settled in Utah itself. The United States Army was sent to occupy the territory, to put down a supposed revolt that was a fiction created by non-LDS government officials. Ultimately, many church members were disenfranchised, the church was virtually dissolved as an organization, most high-level church officials and many local authorities were imprisoned or forced into hiding, and most church property was confiscated. Ostensibly this was done in order to enforce the laws of the land regarding monogamous marriage. However, as the constitutional

25. The phrase "issues of Mormon uniqueness" covers a lot of territory. It has been noted that the persecutions of the nineteenth century were not simply focused on plural marriage, but on a variety of broadly-defined "religious" issues that included "an economic philosophy, and a goal of community-building that inevitably meant political and economic tension with their neighbors. . . . Latter-day Saint spiritual assumptions and practical community goals were, in important ways, inconsistent with American pluralism" (Arrington & Bitton, *The Mormon Experience*, 62), resulting in prolonged conflict carried out in various ways.

scholar Stephen Carter has noted, what was going on was not law enforcement but persecution.

> When the Supreme Court in 1879 sustained the authority of the state to prosecute Mormons for polygamy . . . one might suppose that the Justices were simply weighing the demands of religious freedom against the general regulatory power of the state. In fact, the Justices were reflecting the anti-Mormon fervor of the age. . . . Mormons, seen as blasphemers, were beaten and sometimes killed, their homes destroyed, their property stolen. . . . The Supreme Court understood perfectly well that the Mormons could not be permitted to be different. Even if it was required by religious belief, the Court wrote, the practice of polygamy was "subversive to good order." In other words, hatred of Mormons caused other people to act disorderly.[26]

What was the result of this history of abuse and persecution? In the framework of Maslow's motivational theory, the church's overall focus was forcibly turned towards matters of physical survival and safety, the foundation of Maslow's motivational pyramid. Certainly at least this much can hardly be considered controversial. It is just common sense to think that mid- to late-nineteenth-century Mormons might be fundamentally concerned with survival and safety. But now we must ask: What are the long-term effects on an organization's being thrust into a struggle for survival? Consider what Maslow had to say about how safety needs can be manifested, and think about it in terms of Mormon history:

> The safety needs can become very urgent on the social scene whenever there are real threats to law, to order, to the authority of society. The threat of chaos . . . can be expected in most human beings to produce a regression from any higher needs to the more prepotent safety needs. A common, almost an expectable reaction, is the easier acceptance of dictatorship or of military rule. This tends to be true for all human beings. . . . But it seems to be most true of people who are living near the safety line. *They are particularly disturbed by threats to authority*, to legality, and to the representatives of the law.[27]

The church was certainly threatened by chaos and annihilation. Apparently in response to this, as a people we "regressed," in Maslow's term. The earliest days of the church had been characterized by a motivational structure in which attention was paid not only to survival and safety needs, but to self-actualization and self-transcendence needs as well. With the onset of the worst persecutions, that motivational structure changed, such that attention was largely withdrawn from self-actualization and self-transcendence concerns, and invested heavily in

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26. Stephen L. Carter, *The Culture of Disbelief: How American Law and Politics Trivialize Religious Devotion* (New York: Basic Books, 1993), 28-29.

27. Maslow, *Motivation and Personality*, 43, emphasis added.

safety and survival needs. Maslow's theory predicts that the LDS community would be "particularly disturbed" by challenges to its authority structure. Certainly this has come to pass.

Look at it this way. In many an old western movie, a wagon train of settlers is beset by a band of Native Americans. The head of the wagon train cries out, "Get the wagons in a circle!" And the settlers present a united front, fighting for their lives, firing rifles, and preparing for hand-to-hand combat while a shower of flaming arrows falls upon them.

Imagine what would happen if, in the midst of this struggle, one of the settlers were to get thoughtful. "Hold on just a minute here," he or she might say. "We don't know what these people are about. For all we know, these folks just look at us as the agents of a treaty-breaking government bent on building an empire right through their sacred lands. You know, you could really hardly blame them for being upset at us. Maybe we could talk this out—establish a dialogue, that sort of thing."

At this point, the head of the wagon train would look at the thoughtful settler and say something like, "Looks like that one's been chewin' on loco weed. GET YER FOOL HEAD DOWN OUTTA THE LINE O' FIRE!" And should this settler attempt to interfere with the defense of the camp—pushing aside other settlers' rifles, say, as they drew a bead on one of the marauders—the wagon train leader would feel he had little recourse but to restrain or even fire upon the thoughtful settler to protect the group.

Note that the hypothetical thoughtful settler of my example was, in fact, correct. The American government has broken most of its treaties with Native Americans, and, indeed, a case could be made that the marauding party was more in the right than the settlers. But we usually feel that a time of threat to physical survival is not the time to involve oneself in ethical discussions like this. Much as I like what the thoughtful settler had to say, if my life or my family's lives were jeopardized by his or her actions, I, too, would probably try to subdue that person by any means necessary, including the use of lethal force.

Think of this in terms of the church. Due to the crisis of prolonged persecution, Mormonism has adopted a siege mentality, like settlers with the wagons in a circle. In a siege, it is often necessary for the community to act in blind obedience to its leaders. There is no time for discussion or dialogue. Differences of opinion are a threat; anyone who promotes discussion is viewed in essentially the same way as the surrounding marauders, and will seem to have become as one of the wolves who threaten the fold of sheep. The circumstances demand that the people adopt a herd mentality that stresses conformity above all else; to think otherwise is to separate from "Us" and become one of "Them." Such an approach was perhaps necessary for the survival of the church in an earlier age. It is easy to see, however, that this is still essentially the attitude

taken by many church members and leaders in regards to intellectual discourse in the church of today.

The Survival of Past World Views into the Present:

"Now hold it a minute!" some readers might object. "All that persecution happened a long, long time ago!"

Did it really? Yes and no. In terms of the calendar, yes, the active and violent, widespread persecutions and imprisonments ceased over a century ago. But it is not the calendar that is at issue. Events may help to form the attitudes of people born up to a generation after the events themselves occurred, as these events heavily shaped the behavior and conversation of parents who were alive when the events took place. Once those attitudes are formed, they can then influence a person's behavior over the course of a long lifetime. The Japanese have a proverb that reflects this truth: "The spirit of a three-year-old lasts a hundred years."[28] As we shall see in the case of Mormonism, this proverb is literally true.

Let us not forget a simple fact: As we entered the last decade preceding the twenty-first century, all the presidents of the church had been born in the nineteenth. (Only with the recent administration of President Howard W. Hunter, born in 1907, and the current administration of President Gordon B. Hinckley, born in 1910, have we had presidents who were born after the nineteenth century.) First-person accounts of the events that I have described, particularly the federal persecutions in Utah and Idaho, would have been the stuff of dinner-table conversation during the formative years of almost every president of the church to date.

Let us consider the life of the late President Benson as an example of a generation of church leadership, in part because he has had the longest tenure of anyone serving in the prophet's office over the last twenty years. Ezra Taft Benson was born on August 4, 1899; he served a mission in the years 1921 to 1923, and married in 1926. To put this into historical perspective, President Benson was born in the year of the Spanish-American War, one year after the death of Wilford Woodruff, who ended widespread plural marriage (1898), and two years before Teddy Roosevelt became president of the United States (1901). He learned to walk before the Wright brothers learned to fly (1903), and was eligible for baptism just after the first great San Francisco earthquake (1906) and just before the death of Geronimo (1909). He went on his mission three years after the end of the First World War (1918), and one year after women won the right to vote in the United States (1920); he returned from his mission a year before Native

28. D. Galef, comp. and trans., *"Even Monkeys Fall from Trees" and Other Japanese Proverbs* (Rutland, VT: Tuttle, 1987), 54.

Americans were declared U.S. citizens by Congress (1924). In the year he was married, the first motion picture with a soundtrack appeared ("Don Juan," 1926); this was still a year before Charles Lindbergh made the first intercontinental airplane flight (1927). He became a father before the crash of the stock market ushered in the Great Depression (1929), and before the Empire State Building opened for business (1931).

Please understand that I am emphatically *not* commenting on President Benson's capacity to lead the church. Rather, my point is this: If a person's basic approach to life is formed early, say by the age of ten, then the world view of many people in the top level of recent church leadership was already fully formed before most of the modern world was. President Benson's world view was formed at a time that was closer to the administration of church president John Taylor than today's missionaries are to the days of U. S. president John Kennedy.

Yes, the polygamy persecutions are long behind us. But they helped to form the world views of many of the leading ecclesiastical authorities of our lifetime—it could not have been otherwise. That is the way human beings are. However, the persistence of this world view into our own day has created some serious problems for our people. Let me return to the thought of Abraham Maslow in this regard.

> The neurotic individual may be described with great usefulness as a grown-up person who retains his childhood attitudes toward the world. That is to say, a neurotic adult may be said to behave as if he were actually afraid of a spanking, or of his mother's disapproval, or of being abandoned by his parents, or having his food taken away from him. It is as if his childish attitudes of fear and threat reaction to a dangerous world had gone underground, and . . . were now ready to be called out by any stimulus that would make a child feel endangered and threatened. . . .
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> The neurosis in which the search for safety takes its clearest form is in the compulsive-obsessive neurosis. Compulsive-obsessives try frantically to order and stabilize the world so that no unmanageable, unexpected, or unfamiliar dangers will ever appear. They hedge themselves about with all sorts of ceremonials, rules, and formulas so that every possible contingency may be provided for . . . . If . . . something unexpected does occur, they go into a panic reaction as if this unexpected occurrence constituted a grave danger. What we can see only as a none-too-strong preference in the healthy person, e.g., preference for the familiar, becomes a life-and-death necessity in abnormal cases. The healthy taste for the novel and unknown is missing or at a minimum in the average neurotic.[29]

In light of Maslow's formulations, a significant portion of that part of Mormon history that has made the newspapers over the last decade or

29. Maslow, *Motivation and Personality*, 42-43.

two might be viewed as a neurotic, even post-traumatic reaction. The reality of our situation, as the twentieth century gives way to the twenty-first, is that we need to take a fresh look at a variety of issues: attitudes towards women, power, and authority; the divine feminine; the subtleties of our history; and, our relation to our ecological environment, to mention just a few. However, for some people, it is as if the persecutions were still with us, and any attempts to take a fresh look at our history or our theology or our practices are perceived by these people as threats, in the same way that the thoughtful settler of my parable would be a threat when the wagons were in a circle and the flaming arrows were pouring in. Yet, the arrows are not pouring in; the wagons do not need to be in a circle anymore; and, it is time for us to continue with our journey.

The matter of how to continue our journey is, however, still ahead of us. Right now I would like to consider the question, What did the church have to do in order to survive early threats to its survival, and how do those survival strategies affect us today?

The Ticket to Survival: Identification with the Aggressor

The acclaimed novel and subsequent movie, *Schindler's List*, can illustrate for us how a minority community may cope with a threat to its survival from a powerful majority. In the story, based on a large number of interviews with Holocaust survivors and focused on the activities of the real-life Oskar Schindler, a number of Polish Jews achieved some degree of security by overtly identifying with the purposes of their Nazi oppressors. These people saw themselves as having little choice, and they prolonged their lives by working for, and making themselves useful to, their masters. Some even seemed to take pride in their roles, working, for example, as internal police among the Jewish community on behalf of the Nazi overlords. There is a term from psychoanalytic theory to explain the strategy of such people: "identification with the aggressor."

The basic idea behind identification with the aggressor is quite simple: if you can't beat 'em, join 'em. That is, someone who is being oppressed takes on the attributes, the values, even the persona of those who carry out the oppression. This happened within Mormonism as a response to the era of violent persecution and imprisonment. I shall mention only two of several possible examples of this social mechanism.

I first thought about applying the concept of identification with the aggressor in regard to a question in, of all things, the field of career development.[30] From a historical point of view, something just did not

30. Mark Edward Koltko, "Religion and Vocational Development: The Neglected Relationship" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, August 1993).

make sense to me. Early Mormons prided themselves on their separation from what they saw as the corruption of the United States government. It is often forgotten in our time that the exodus to the Salt Lake valley was an attempt to put the Saints beyond the grasp of the United States; when the Saints left Nauvoo, the Salt Lake valley was a part of Mexico. In addition, the behavior of the federal government after the arrival of the Saints in Utah did nothing to inspire patriotic devotion, as demonstrated by the Utah War. Yet, there is some reason to believe that a disproportionately large number of Saints now serve in the armed forces, national law enforcement agencies, and the intelligence services of the United States.[31]

This seemed counter-intuitive. Why serve the hand that beat you? The concept of identification with the aggressor helps to explain this paradox. A century after the heyday of Mormon persecution, Mormons appear to be disproportionately represented in precisely the offices under which they were persecuted, or through which Mormons would be persecuted today if the federal government were again to harass us. It is as if, at some unconscious level of social process, Mormons are ensuring that by being in the professions which once harmed them, history will not repeat itself.

Historian D. Michael Quinn was the first to publicly use the concept of identification with the aggressor when he examined a different matter: the paradox of Mormon attitudes towards sexuality.[32]

Consider the doctrine of eternal progression. This doctrine has important implications for Mormon sexuality. The idea that Heavenly Father and Mother have physical bodies and engender spiritual children such as ourselves gives approval to some forms of sexual behavior. Mormonism is unique among Christian denominations in its assertions that God is plural, that the gods have physical bodies, that the gods have gender, that the gods are married, and that the gods procreate.

Given what appear to be statements that some form of sexuality is an important, valuable, and eternal element of human and divine existence, several aspects of contemporary Mormon life appear puzzling. Why are so many Mormons singularly uninformed about sexual matters? Why are Mormon families often unwilling to discuss sexual matters, except to concentrate on what *not* to do?

Quinn used the concept of identification with the aggressor to explain this paradox. The anti-Mormon aggressors of the nineteenth century held to a very repressive form of Victorian morality, at least in pub-

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31. See note 6.

32. D. Michael Quinn, "How the Manifesto Changed the Church" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the Sunstone Symposium, Salt Lake City, UT, August 1990; cassette recording no. 085, Salt Lake City, UT: W. T. Recording Services).

lic. By identifying with their aggressors, Mormons adopted the Victorian reticence to discuss sexuality. Indeed, Mormonism has maintained Victorianism long after the Victorian approach virtually died out in the surrounding society.

There are many other examples that could be used to press this issue, especially in the world of politics.[33] The point is this: the threat to the church's very survival created a situation in which it seemed necessary to join the very group which was persecuting the church. This is why, as some well-informed historians put it, "by the end of World War I, if not before, the Mormons were more American than most Americans."[34] This brings us to the next stage of Maslow's hierarchy: the need to belong.

The Era of the Search for Belonging and Esteem

It is interesting to see the way in which anti-Mormon bias continued into the twentieth century. Instead of threatening the very survival or safety of the church, anti-Mormonism adopted a strategy of exclusion. Perhaps the most spectacular examples of this occurred in the halls of the United States Congress. B. H. Roberts was denied a seat in the House of Representatives in 1898, while Reed Smoot's election to the Senate in 1903 was the occasion of a bitter three-year trial, during which the aged president of the church was compelled to appear in a distant court and was held up to public ridicule in the popular press. The image of the church in the popular press continued to be predominantly negative, probably until World War II. Anti-Mormon messages appeared in popular entertainment, such as films, the stories of Zane Grey, and the first of the Sherlock Holmes stories ("A Study in Scarlet," first published in 1887, and in print ever since). The Mormon was clearly depicted as the dangerous Other, the subversive and deviate Outsider.

The message that American society sent to Mormonism during this time was clear: The surrounding society would permit Mormons to survive, but it would not accept them, and would instead vilify and reject them. This was the message that impressed itself upon the consciousness of members of the church who were born as the memories of the polygamy persecutions faded, from the 1900s through the 1930s—and this message had a consequence for the psychohistorical development of the church.

When society sends a message of exclusion, and when physical survival and safety have been assured, the predominant needs that arise are the belonging and esteem needs in Maslow's hierarchy. These are the

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33. For nineteenth-century examples, see G. O. Larson, *The Americanization of Utah for Statehood* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1971).

34. Arrington and Bitton, *The Mormon Experience*, 184.

needs that were predominant in the church at the time that a new generation of Saints was forming its attitudes and world views, and these are the needs that seem to be most clearly addressed in the policies formed by many within the contemporary generation of church administrators. (The survival and safety needs, however, also remained potent in the motivational life of the community, as is often the case in situations of individual trauma.)

One tries to belong or fit in by seeming to be the same as everyone else, only more so. In a way, the church experience at this stage is like the classic second-generation immigrant experience: the distinctive characteristics of the original culture, however central, are played down, while common elements, however minor, are strongly emphasized.[35] This is what seems to have happened in recent years: Some of our most distinctive doctrines have been underplayed, while we have put on a persona that stresses our identification with classic American values. Some of the doctrines and practices of the church that are most different from a sort of mainstream capitalist Christianity are underplayed in our message to the non-Mormon world. We tend to underplay the doctrine of eternal progression to godhood; we rarely speak among ourselves of some higher ordinances which were common knowledge to an earlier generation.

There is even a darker side to the effort to satisfy the need to belong. I quote again from Maslow:

> This stage can be characterized by the profound hunger for groupiness, for contact, for real togetherness in the face of a common enemy, *any* enemy that can serve to form an amity group simply by posing an external threat.[36]

Surely one way to fit in with American society is to seek to identify with its prejudices. And against whom are those prejudices directed? For three intense decades it was surely Communism, but fear of Communism has abated, and meanwhile, as Richard Hofstadter has demon-

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35. In this sense the LDS experience bears some similarity to the Jewish experience in America where the Reform movement dominates. The Reform movement began in Europe as an attempt, on the part of another persecuted religious minority, to come to terms with modernist values and lifestyles. Reform Judaism discarded the use of traditional Hebrew in liturgy as well as dietary and dress practices that distinguished Orthodox Jewry from their non-Jewish neighbors. A number of doctrinal positions were also de-emphasized or altered (e.g., the belief in the importance of the hereditary priesthood, the belief that the only true Temple is that erected at the direction of the Lord in Jerusalem). Although contemporary LDS religion is not as far removed from the early church as Reform is from Orthodox Jewry, there are suggestive parallels. It is of particular interest to note that, as of this writing (late 1999), the leadership of the Reform movement in America has voted to reintroduce some of the institutions it had abandoned, as in the limited reintroduction of liturgical Hebrew.

36. Maslow, *Motivation and Personality*, 44, emphasis in original.

strated in a Pulitzer Prize-winning study, intellectuals have been perceived as a threat to American society for as long as there has *been* an American society.[37] This can be seen in the realms of politics, education, popular culture, and organized religion over the last two centuries, so the anti-intellectual prejudice is ingrained in American thinking. It is also no surprise that people who call the gender power structure of society into question, such as feminists, are also perceived as a threat to society at large.

Surely if one wished to unite with middle-of-the-road American prejudices, one could do no better than to join with middle-of-the-road America in its condemnation of intellectuals and feminists. The extraordinarily vituperative attacks made on these groups in recent years by some church leaders should be considered in this light. These attacks may be seen both as attempts to "keep the wagons in a circle" against an outside threat, and as attempts to fit in and belong with American culture at large.

Let us now focus on the need for esteem, a need which follows closely upon the need to belong in Maslow's scheme. As I mentioned earlier, Maslow noted that this need is addressed in two general ways: by actually achieving mastery and competence in the world, and by seeking after recognition as an end in itself. Both of these are abundantly in evidence in recent church history.

The power given to the Departments of Correlation and Public Communications demonstrates the value that we place on presenting a united front and our best possible face to the world, even when that process involves a certain cosmetic massaging, distortion, or suppression of the truth. One way to read the tragedy of the Hofmann affair is that Hofmann could flourish because of the desire of several members of the church hierarchy to maintain good appearances at all costs.[38] The church lionizes members who appeal to the mass American popular culture, such as sports and entertainment figures, much more than it recognizes anyone who has the bad luck to gain attention from the intellectual community by winning something like the Pulitzer Prize for making a permanent contribution to the culture.[39] The organization has come to emphasize spin control (e.g., the scandal involving the late Elder Dunn[40]) and external achievement (e.g., numbers of convert baptisms).

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37. Richard Hofstadter, *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life* (New York: Vintage/Random House, 1963).

38. Linda Sillitoe and Allen Roberts, *Salamander: The Story of the Mormon Forgery Murders*, 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989), 546.

39. "BYU Rejects LDS Pulitzer Prize Winner as Speaker," *Sunstone* 16, no. 4 (March 1993): 69.

40. I have been chided elsewhere for bringing Elder Dunn's name into this discussion, given that this was a matter involving individual transgression and individual repentance.

Where Do We Go from Here?

What does this psychohistorical analysis tell us about Mormonism and its future? I feel that there are two contributions that this kind of analysis makes. First, it makes sense of apparent contradictions in the past and the present of the church (see Figure 2). Second, and perhaps more important, it suggests possible futures. In the remainder of this article, I shall focus on the latter point: potential futures and how they might be attained, first from the perspective of the organizational leadership of the church, then from the perspective of the individual Saint.[41] Maslow's model of motivation is implicitly a model of human development. All developmental models are at heart prescriptive; that is, these models lay out a scheme for how development *ought* to proceed, with deviations from that scheme being, by definition, instances of arrested or pathological development. In that spirit, Maslow's model carries some implicit prescriptions for the current situation within Mormonism.

The Leadership Perspective

Institutional Mormonism seems to be at a crossroads. As one possible choice, it may continue to emphasize the lower end of Maslow's hierarchy, and concentrate on issues of survival and safety, belongingness and self-esteem. This alternative has consequences.

What is the problem with all of this? Do we not want to survive? Should we not want to be safe? Is there something wrong with wanting to belong? Do we not want to look good to the world and feel good about ourselves? There isn't anything wrong with any of these things—unless they become ends in and of themselves. As I mentioned earlier, when the satisfaction of the lower needs on Maslow's hierarchy becomes an end in itself, this constitutes arrested development; it is a subversion of the mission of the church.[42]

An emphasis on survival and safety, when our survival and safety are not really at stake, serves only to divide us from one another. It forces

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I do not wish to focus in the slightest on the behavior of the late Elder Dunn; but on a real world example in which some church administrators attempted to make a scandal disappear entirely without reflection or discussion. This, I firmly believe, was a mistake.

41. Here, I am moving from the role of psychosocial analyst to that of junior-grade social engineer, or as some might say, "ark-steadier." The original "ark-steadier," however, did that which was forbidden (Num. 1:51; 2 Sam. 6:6-7). We are not forbidden by the Lord to speak out or act on the issues raised in this essay. Indeed, we might say we are required to take the initiative in considering matters of such importance (D&C 58:26-30).

42. On the other hand, in Maslow's scheme, self-actualization and self-transcendence *are* appropriate ends in themselves. In the gospel the essence of the plan of salvation might be expressed in terms of self-actualization or "magnifying one's callings and gifts," and of self-transcendence or "achieving exaltation," by losing one's life in order to truly find it.

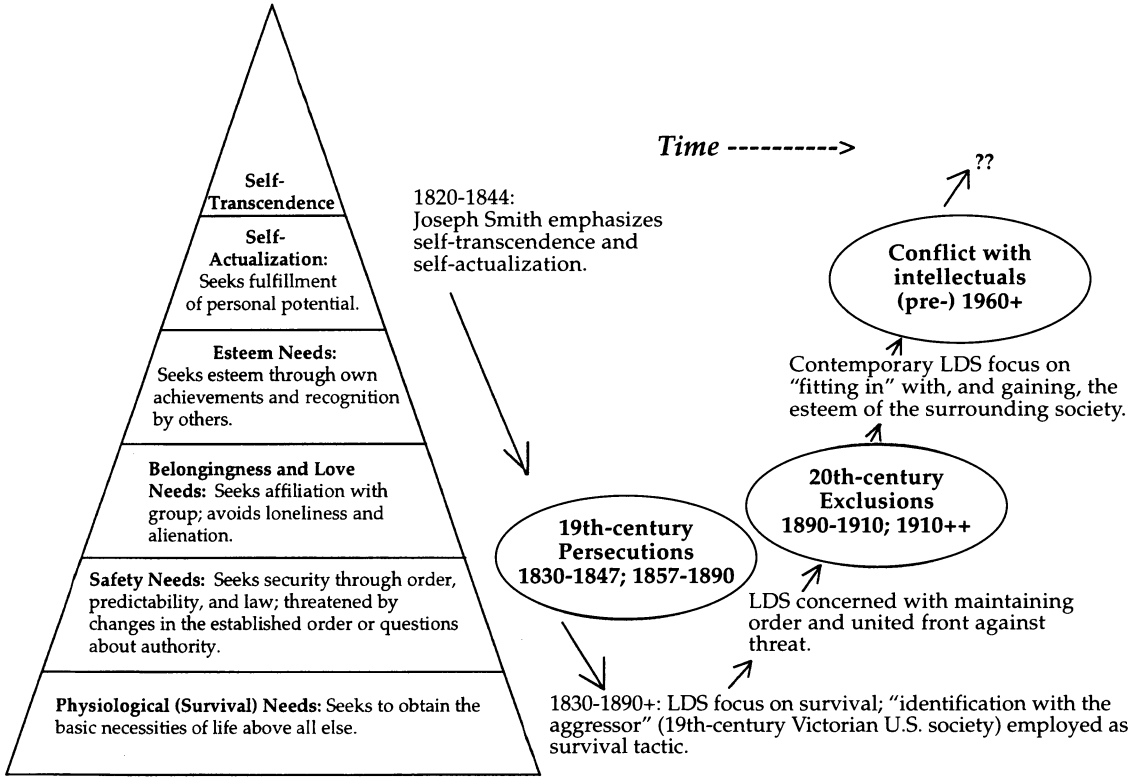

Figure 2. Maslows's Hierarchy of Needs Aligned with Eras of LDS History

the church to cast aside some of its best minds and to under-use the talents of a great number of its members. I am not saying that intellectuals or others who have been recently vilified are heroes or "good guys," or that anyone is a "bad guy." I am saying that we all lose when we label and stigmatize people. We wind up valuing conformity over the search for truth, and nothing could be more damaging to the development of a mature spirituality or more untrue to the spirit of the doctrine of Joseph Smith.

An emphasis on "fitting in" with the surrounding culture forces us to be untrue to who we are and what we stand for. We stand for a radically different vision of Christ and community than that embodied in the values of mainstream American society. An emphasis on gaining recognition from, and "fitting in" with, contemporary American society—or virtually *any* society—forces us to ignore the real and rich complexities of our history and the legacy of our doctrinal heritage. To go further, regarding the other way in which esteem needs are worked out, an overbearing emphasis on achievement forces us to concentrate on the external rather than on the spiritual, which is by nature internal; such an emphasis is behind the abuses of the "baseball baptism" era[43] and many others as well. It is an old and archetypal tale, but one we have not learned well enough: When we focus on fitting in with, and gaining recognition from, others as a primary goal, when we focus on externals, we lose our collective soul.

An alternative would be for the church to choose consciously to realign its institutional focus, that is, to invest more energy in, and put more value on, the motivational levels of self-actualization and self-transcendence. Certainly there are disadvantages to such a choice. A culture that made self-actualization and self-transcendence important parts of its institutional agenda would have to put up with a great deal in the way of idiosyncrasy. However, a non-exclusive focus on self-actualization and self-transcendence would have several distinct advantages as well.

The church and its programs run on service. Individuals whose motivational life emphasizes self-transcendence are particularly given to lives of service—not in order to fit in with others (the belonging needs), nor to get the leadership of the Priesthood or Relief Society off their backs (cynically, the survival and safety needs), but because service is what life is about for people working at the level of self-transcendence. It may be particularly appealing to those with a statistical approach to faithful living to note that a church with a strong emphasis on self-transcendence would see rates for home and visiting teaching skyrocket. Enoch's Zion, which had "no poor among them" (Moses 7:18), would

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43. D. Michael Quinn, "I-Thou vs. I-It Conversions: The Mormon 'Baseball Baptism' Era," *Sunstone* 16, no. 7 (December 1993): 30-44; Richard Mavin, "The Woodbury Years: An Insider's Look at Baseball Baptisms in Britain," *Sunstone* 19, no. 1 (March 1996): 56-60.

seem to be working from a motivational basis heavily weighted towards self-transcendence.

At least in American society, where levels of education have risen precipitously over the last two generations, the church can, by putting more emphasis on self-actualization, broaden its appeal to a group of people who, by and large, expect and want to think for themselves at the same time that they want to receive spiritual direction. These are not mutually exclusive alternatives, either from the perspective of the upper reaches of Maslow's pyramid or from the perspective of the gospel (D&C 58:26-30). What would be required would be a very different institutional approach to issues of intellectual and artistic endeavor. There would need to be a non-defensive, "let us reason together" (D&C 50:10) attitude towards scholarship and a tolerance for artistic endeavor that some will no doubt regard as "edgy" and "out there"—changes which seem reasonable to educated people in general, but which would reflect a major sea-change in institutional attitudes in the church.

A focus on actualization and transcendence would allow for a more full blooming of the Mormon artistic and aesthetic impulse. True art, even true gospel art—*especially* true gospel art—has to be able to investigate questions and issues freely. Mormonism is, I believe, particularly well-suited as a framework for the creation of great art.[44] But this potential can best come to fruition from a position that emphasizes self-actualization and self-transcendence. No one creates great art when trying to look good to someone else. No one creates great art whose overriding concern is fitting in with, or gaining applause from, some crowd. And, for that matter, no one creates great art or great scholarship when he or she feels constrained by the possibility of ecclesiastical discipline.

There is one overriding advantage for Mormonism in paying attention to the upper reaches of this developmental model. As has been pointed out earlier, the root of great religious traditions tends to lie at these levels. Focusing on the lower needs in the motivational hierarchy at the expense of the higher ones cripples us in attempting to fulfill our spiritual mission because a large element of any spiritual mission deals with the transcendent, and that is best addressed by the self-transcendence stage of Maslow's hierarchy.

It could be argued that all of this is an unrealistic expectation from a sociological point of view. The sociology of religion notes a phenomenon called "the institutionalization of charisma." To oversimplify, this refers to a situation in which religious organizations start out with charismatic leaders and ecstatic experiences, and over time the charismatic power becomes

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44. Mark Edward Koltko, "Constrictions, Potentials, and Margins: Thoughts on Mormon Writers," *Wasatch Review International* 1, no. 2 (1992): 109-118.

vested in offices, not individuals, while self-transcendence is expressed through ritual, rather than personal experience. From this point of view, it would be unthinkable for an institution to deliberately re-empower individuals by focusing on self-actualization and self-transcendence.

To my way of thinking, however, this is only a partially accurate analysis in that it describes well the syndrome of events that must follow if a religious institution does not have—or make use of—access to ongoing and widespread revelation. There is at least the potential within Mormonism to function in a way that defies the typical course of religious organizational development, in the same way that physical resurrection will defy the typical course of decomposition. This can come about through the change in world view that accompanies a change in motivational emphasis. As Maslow pointed out, the world simply looks different to people (and, by implication, to organizations and groups) who emphasize different parts of the motivational continuum.[45] If the church leadership decided to invest its motivational emphasis in the higher levels of Maslow's hierarchy, the empowerment of the individual would not seem so much of a threat.

Another sociological objection which might be raised to the program set out here is that it requires too much tolerance within the current social situation of the church. The church is seeing spectacular success in missionary work, but especially so in areas with less education and pronounced survival needs. What sense would it make to adapt an institutional focus away from this success and toward self-actualization and self-transcendence?

It is important to note that self-actualization and self-transcendence are "downwardly compatible." That is, an individual or a group that works from an actualization/transcendence position can adapt to focus, as needed, on survival and safety concerns. The reverse is most certainly *not* true: an individual or group that works primarily from lower positions on Maslow's hierarchy will not successfully address the higher needs. Thus, the church will not lose its ability to help its new converts survive (physically or as members in the church) if it adopts a higher motivational focus. Rather, it will gain the added ability to address the needs of more people in a more comprehensive way.

Let me now turn to the question, What would the church look like if it functioned primarily at the stages of self-actualization and self-transcendence? This is difficult to answer, precisely because these stages are places where idiosyncratic differences are most prominent, as I mentioned earlier. However, perhaps that is the key: individual differences are most valued at these stages. When we understand Zion's "one heart

45. Maslow, *Motivation and Personality*, 37, 39.

and one mind"-edness (Moses 7:18) as a unity of direction rather than as a massive mental cloning (the Stepford fantasy written large), we will be well on the way to being a self-actualizing society in the church. We would value individual differences in more than a lip service sort of way, and would not be threatened by the differences in thought, interpretation, and culture which trouble some in the church now. We would understand that the process of dialogue is a legitimate and important path to truth, and we would give real credence to the statement of Joseph Smith that "by proving contraries, truth is made manifest."[46] We would not be so concerned with fitting in or being accepted by the surrounding society, and would revel in our uniqueness and difference in doctrine and thought. This, I suspect, would be the time of our Miltons and our Shakespeares.

The Individual's Perspective

However, rather than "dream of our mansions above," let us consider (in characteristically Mormon action-oriented fashion) what we might possibly *do* to help the process along. That is, what can we as individuals do to help the church progress to functioning primarily at the stages of self-actualization and self-transcendence? I have both negative and positive advice.

Recall the ancient Hippocratic adage: "First, do no harm." The world view of some leaders still appears to be focused on avoidance of perceived threat, and there is no point in feeding into that expectation. Tactics of confrontation and angry defiance will not get us anywhere. We can disagree without being disagreeable and challenge assumptions without being unnecessarily confrontational.

To echo an ancient Talmudic principle: "Do not separate yourself from your people."[47] I have been pained to hear of the voluntary withdrawals from membership of some members in response to some church leaders' stance toward intellectuals. While I do not judge these people, this behavior seems to me counter-productive if what one wishes to do is to help in the development of Mormon society. The kingdom of God may be somewhat dysfunctional, but that dysfunction does not release us from our responsibility to help build and establish it.

In addition, we must avoid making a reverse error. Those who stigmatize intellectuals seem to place adherence to so-called "orthodoxy" above a mature appreciation of the truth. But it is important not to make

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46. Quoted in Eugene England, *Dialogues with Myself: Personal Essays on Mormon Experience* (Midvale, UT: Orion/Signature Books, 1984), 10.

47. *Al tifrosh min ha-tsibur*. Talmud tractate *Pirkei Avot* ("Ethics of the Fathers") 2:5. Cp. Philip Birnbaum, *Daily Prayer Book* (New York: Hebrew Publishing Co., 1949), 485-486.

the opposite mistake. Intellect is only a tool, and it does not deserve to be venerated in its own right above the virtues of a Christian life. It is easy for intellectuals in any society to set themselves apart as a sort of aristocratic upper class of the mind[48] above the mass of people and the clear counsels of the Lord. Scripture condemns this attitude explicitly (2 Nephi 9:28). One challenge facing Mormon intellectuals is to maintain their faith and practice above reproach, both to serve God with all their minds (D&C 4:2) and yet simultaneously "consider themselves fools before God" (2 Nephi 9:42). Although not an easy task, it is one that many intellectuals valiantly engage.[49]

I have said that we can disagree without being disagreeable. On the other hand, in terms of positive advice, it is important, where necessary, to actually disagree, to stand up and be counted in the proclamation of values and principles you deem important. In the face of speech or leadership styles that emphasize a siege mentality and conformity, we can promote values of open-mindedness, self-actualization and self-transcendence, in the way that we conduct ourselves in our personal associations, in our callings, our home and visiting teaching, our talks, and lessons or discussions in church classes. We can make it a point to support these values from the scriptures and from the teachings and life of Joseph Smith and other prophets. Much can be done, over time, by reemphasizing these values in the church at the local level.

To continue on a positive note, let me suggest that we remember our spiritual roots. We should keep in mind that the true spiritual roots of Mormonism find nourishment in the higher levels of Maslow's needs hierarchy. Thus, we can commit ourselves to improving our own talents and assisting others in improving theirs. We can commit ourselves to nurturing our spirituality and that of others. It is a peculiarly Mormon folk delusion that we see the church as the source of our spirituality; the result of this distorted thinking is that if we have difficulties with the organization, we neglect our spiritual growth. One's difficulties with the administration, even if these difficulties were to result in excommunication, do not in any way release one from the need to heed the call to spirituality. This call comes from the Lord, not from any group of people, not from any organization.

We can apply our imaginations to thinking about what the church would be like if it functioned at the higher levels of the needs hierarchy, and then manifest that visualization in our callings and homes. If enough

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48. J. Carey, *The Intellectuals and the Masses: Pride and Prejudice Among the Literary Intelligentsia, 1880-1939* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992).

49. Anderson, "The LDS Intellectual Community," p. 23; A. L. Mauss, J. R. Tarjan, and M. D. Esplin, "The Unfettered Faithful: An analysis of the DIALOGUE subscribers survey," *DIALOGUE* 20, no. 1 (Spring 1987): 27-53.

of us act in such a way as to promote individual development, dedication to the truth, and emphasis on service and a mature, searching spirituality, then this will affect the course of any organizations that are a part of our lives. In the spirit of self-actualization, we can focus on defining and exercising our talents and potentials, without a lot of concern for what others will think. We have within us universes of potential. Although there are practical issues in daily life to be addressed, we can adopt the sort of "fourth generation" time and life management skills originally promoted in the corporate world, and use these to carve out personal time and resources to devote to the development of our creative talents.[50] The more people who do this locally, the better. One writer, or artist, or artisan, or performer in a ward may be considered "eccentric." Four is an artists' collective.

It is important to pursue self-transcendence on an individual level. One of the best ways to do that is to engage regularly in a contemplative practice, such as meditation. Latter-day Saints are at something of a disadvantage in this regard, in that we have not yet had restored to us a particularly Mormon contemplative tradition, although the temple ceremonies have unrealized potential in that regard. (The development of such a tradition would be one of the more important developments of twenty-first century Mormonism.) However, in this era, it is usually possible to find some instruction in these areas in an atmosphere that is at least not opposed to the LDS spiritual path.[51] Moreover, it is crucial that contemplative development be expressed in service, which may take expression within or outside of typical church channels. It is here that self-transcendence begins to reshape the world.

Finally, I would counsel patience. There is some reason to believe that a new generation of church leadership is rising, a generation not be-

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50. Stephen R. Covey, A. Roger Merrill, and Rebecca R. Merrill, *First Things First* (New York: Simon & Schuster/Fireside, 1994); Hyrum W. Smith, *The 10 Natural Laws of Successful Time and Life Management* (New York: Warner Books, 1994). As a psychotherapist, I regularly recommend these books, with success, to individuals who have difficulty finding time or resources to fulfill their creative potentials.

51. For example, the Shambhala training is a non-sectarian, "secular" way founded by the late Chögyam Trungpa that allows people of any or no religious background to learn a form of Tibetan Buddhist meditation without engaging in Buddhism proper [Chögyam Trungpa, Shambhala: *The Sacred Path of the Warrior* (Boston: Shambhala, 1984); Cynthia Kneen, *Shambhala Warrior Training* (audio tapes; Boulder, CO: Sounds True Audio, 1996)]. These and other Mindfulness meditation approaches can be found, taught in many cities in the United States and Europe, at the least. Several Latter-day Saints have also told me of fulfilling experiences in the study of more traditionally Jewish Kabbalistic forms of meditation, which are taught on the east and west coasts especially by such teachers as David A. Cooper [*God is a Verb: Kabbalah and the Practice of Mystical Judaism* (New York: Riverhead/Penguin Putnam, 1997)] and Edward Hoffman [*The Heavenly Ladder: The Jewish Guide to Inner Growth* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1985)].

holden to the issues that were so compelling for earlier generations. I have been particularly encouraged to see a much-increased emphasis on humanitarian aid in LDS disaster relief and in health and literacy missionary work. This kind of work is *not* characteristic of a siege mentality even when there are other indications that a siege mentality is still alive and well.[52]

It has been noted that in science, new paradigms of explanation do not take hold because eminent scientists become persuaded; rather, the new paradigms succeed because a new generation arises that is not so attached to older, inadequate ways.[53] We can expect much the same thing. But we can help the process along by keeping the questions and ideas alive that are important to us. In this way we fulfill the condition of an ancient proverb from Jewish mysticism, a proverb that has much relevance for the development of Mormonism: "The upper world moves in response to the lower world" (Zohar I, 164a).[54] Ultimately, it is from the "upper world" that the power to transform Mormonism must come; we invite this power into the life of the church when we make a space for self-actualization and self-transcendence, tolerance and intellectual curiosity and exploration, in our lives and in our behavior, both personal and public.

52. Jacob Neusner, "A World Sect," letter to the editor, *Sunstone* 22, no. 1 (April-May 1999): 2.

53. Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970).

54. Sperling and Simon, trans., *The Zohar*, 2nd ed. (London: Soncino Press, 1984), Vol. 2: 129.

Military Funeral in a High Hills Cemetery

Robert L. Jones

An adulterous generation after all,
We seek a sign, some old tune or rhyme
Like Grandfather's Clock, even as we stand
Among the tumbling chaos of death and birth
That is mountains, woods, rivers
And the wind's final word across a grassy knoll.

The impressive soldiers, tall and straight
As poplars in their prime
Make the young widow's grief bearable
By tearing out her heart
And shooting her with blanks.
Tender and wise, they take the flag
And fold it day by day, week by week, year
By year until it is compact as a life
And hand it to her,
Its stitched colors retrieving
Her life's unraveling threads.

Still in formation like the trees,
The soldiers march away.
The last man, in cadence, stoops
To gather the shell casings
And return them to her;
Long, sharp nails now removed from her body
Which I felt shudder like leaves
Torn from the atoning year
Flying past our eyes in bright wind
On a high hill in early spring.

Coupé

Cherie Woodworth

IN WINTER, you get onto the train to Moscow at dusk or at first dark. From the Tallinn train station, you can almost see the lights of the harbor. The train station, though, smells nothing of the Baltic sea. It smells of the coal stoves used to heat the trains in winter. The gritty, brown smoke hangs over the station platforms and brings on the dusk even earlier. The train pulls out at 5:45 p.m., heading east towards the darkest part of the horizon and down into Russia.

The train coupé is small—almost cozy, if you are traveling with someone you know. In each coupé are four bunks, two below, two above, with rolls of bedding; a tiny table under the window; a narrow carpet runner down the middle of the floor. You sit, knee to knee with your traveling companion across from you, the little table to the side and the carpet runner between you. The attendant brings you boiling hot tea. The sugar cube sinks to the bottom of the tea glass and slowly dissolves. Stir. The metal teaspoon clinks intimately against the glass. Beyond the dark window, the iron wheels clank endlessly over their iron rails, and your time begins. Hours of waiting. The train jostles too much for reading or writing and the light is always bad. There is nothing to look at or to listen to except your traveling companion. Six hours of waiting before the border crossing to Russia, followed by another ten hours when you try, hopefully, to sleep.

In the past I have ridden the train when all four bunks were full, but this winter there are always only two in each coupé. Me, and twelve inches across from me on the other bunk, my mate. To spend so much time in such proximity with a stranger seems strained indeed, but by now it is a familiar social relationship that has its own familiar forms. In the first six hours, you drink tea and converse, or not, depending on your judgment of the situation. After the border crossing, you sleep, pretending to be unaware of the person sleeping on the bunk next to yours. In the morning, you wake, assemble your things, and nod the briefest of farewells before disappearing into the city.

I have had, as a coupé mate, a fat, middle-aged businessman who talked constantly, boasting of his adventures. He insisted on taking me to the dining car, a place I usually avoid. I have twice traveled with silent,

middle-aged men dressed in old, down at the heels Soviet suits. The first said only two things: "Good evening," at the beginning of our journey; and "Goodbye," at the end. The second said nothing at all.

I have had a dark-haired woman who talked and talked, though never on the same subject for more than two minutes. She told fascinating fragments of stories from which I pieced together that she had spent her working life as a nurse in a prison in the far north. She had also worked at a medical station in the south during the war in Chechenya. I wanted to ask more, but didn't know what to say without being inappropriate and prying.

And I had, once, a dark, unshaven man, who got on the train at the last minute before it left the Tallinn station and sat heavily, unmoving. After a while he stood and hung up his imitation leather jacket, took off his rough polyester necktie, and then sat again, slumped against the back wall. I sipped my tea and looked steadily at the same four items on the little tray table: teaspoon, mint green, paper tea packet, tiny white ceramic vase with tiny plastic flowers, all sitting on a green square of cloth.

"I just buried my father," he said.

"Oh?" I said. And I looked toward him, though not at him, in a courteous, distant way. I could feel the grief begin to seep out of him, filling the close air of the coupé. Grief closing in, settling heavily on the top of my head like a sediment of heavy ash, laying itself along my shoulders like a shawl. Grief wrapped around us both like a heavy blanket.

"He died last week." And then a long pause as the weariness drained from his body into the bunk. "And I had to come to Tallinn to bury him."

I picked up the teaspoon and put it into the tea glass as I thought of what to say.

"I'm very sorry," I said.

And another long silence, as I sat under the heavy shawl of pain, my unwilling share.

"I buried my mother, too. A few years ago."

The train rattled the handle of the standing teaspoon against the edge of the glass. I took the spoon out, carefully stopped the last drip from the bowl of the spoon against the glass rim, and placed the spoon onto the green square of cloth next to the white vase.

"Did your parents live long in Tallinn?" I finally thought to say.

Maybe he said yes, maybe he just shrugged, either gesture too weak to complete, and then he stared at the latch handle of the coupé door.

"It's not easy to bury your father," he said, his eyes still fixed on the latch handle.

A long pause.

"It's not easy to bury your parents," he said.

I held my hot tea glass as it sat on the table, and took my hand away, and then held the glass again.

"Of course it's not," I finally said.

We sat for another twenty minutes. And then he got up, slid open the coupé door, stepped out, slid the door shut.

A stranger on a train—the beginning of a missionary story. A death, the painful loss of a parent. If this were a missionary story, I should tell him, I have the remedy for your loss, the formula. But the spirit laid a hand across my mouth and said, keep silent. There is nothing you can do to help this stranger, nothing to take away his grief. Nor should you, nor can you escape it yourself. As foreign as he is to you—a nobody, a chance assignment to the same coupé—his fresh, burning grief will burn you as well. Though you have nothing else in common, you will have this.

When he came back, it was late. He was carrying a dark brown bottle of liquor and two beautiful, bright yellow-red apples. He had been in the dining car, dousing his hot grief in vodka. He set the apples heavily onto the little table, and stood the brown bottle beside them, and then sat heavily on his bunk. The jostling of the train counted out at least ten minutes.

"Here," he said to me, and pushed the bottle toward me. "Have a drink. Please."

The bottle was still unopened, and my tea glass had already gone back to the attendant. It was easy to refuse.

"No, thank you."

"Really," he said heavily. "Have a drink." But I shrank from his gestures toward me, his need to make contact. What he offered to share was too bitter, too strong.

"Here," he said to me and slid the bottle toward me another half inch. He spoke slowly, with long pauses as his exhausted words limped across the small table. "Take the whole bottle. You don't even have to open it now. You can save it for later." I shook my head, refusing.

Another long pause.

"I'm giving it to you as a present."

"No. Thank you," I said.

He sat wordlessly, staring at the carpet.

"Then have an apple," he finally offered.

"Thank you," I said, reluctantly, and I took the apple nearest to me. It was a beautiful apple, heavy and larger than my hand. Its yellow-red skin was perfect. I held it low in my lap, not sure what I was going to do.

"Are you going to take the other one?" I finally asked.

"Yes," he said. But he didn't move.

I ate the apple carefully, sucking the juice in each round bite so that it didn't drip. Inside the apple was sweet and white, with red veins near the center. I ate the apple down to the core, leaving the seeds in their cases. I laid the apple core on the green cloth of the table, and then stood up to unroll my bedding. It was finally late enough to go to sleep.

My companion also stood, his back to me. He put his left hand

against the upper bunk and leaned his forehead against it, and with his right hand laid out his bed with deliberation. Then he turned and pulled down the brown plastic window shade the last few inches. He fixed it tightly in the frame, against the ice-covered glass. He switched off the overhead light, leaving only the dim night light.

I lay down, covered myself with the blanket, and closed my eyes, thinking of the train moving through the snow, and me, motionless, moving along with it. I thought of myself lying straight on my hard narrow bed, the bunk above me close like a coffin lid, and of all the other bunks stacked row after row in the long train, and on each one, a person lying silent and still in the dark, like a cemetery.

I do not know when I fell asleep, but sometime later, I woke up, suffocating. The air in the coupé was stifling. I threw off the wool blanket. I opened the window shade, hoping to get a draft through a crack in the window frame. It was no help. I got up and opened the coupé door a couple of inches, but after a few minutes the jostling of the train slid it closed again and it latched shut. In the dark, I folded my wool blanket and wedged it over the heat vent, underneath the little table. I leaned back and tried to breathe. It was no better. I put my hand flat against the ice on the window, held it there. After half a minute I put my cold hand against my face. I did this over and over, wanting but unable to sleep.

Finally I got up, put on my boots, and went out into the little corridor. It was brightly lit but deserted. I pulled aside the flimsy nylon drapes and pressed my face and hands and arms against the window in the corridor, first one side of my face, then the other, hoping to cool off. But the hot air came out from the open coupé door, and I could feel it against my back, pushing against my shoulders.

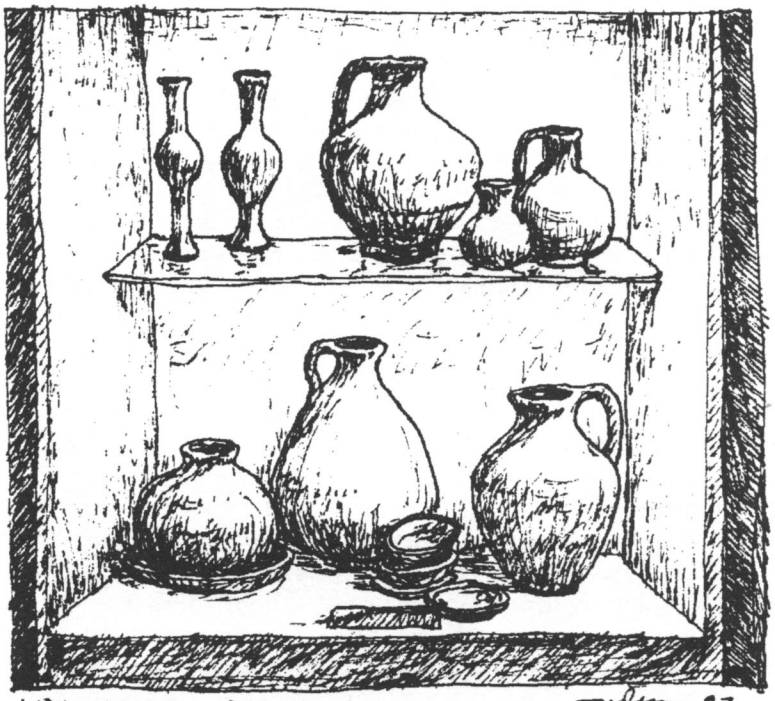
I slid the coupé door shut behind me, and walked up the corridor. I went outside and stood alone on the platform at the end of the car where the winter air from outside came in through the joint to the next car. The snow sifted in from a crack above and fell in a white fan on the grey metal floor. I stood there in my shirt sleeves and jeans until I was shivering, and then I went back to my coupé and tried again to sleep. But every time I fell asleep, I woke up again. Over and over. My coupé mate slept heavily, darkly, on the next bunk. The heat streamed from underneath the little table, and I could not breathe. Half a dozen times, I went out to the platform and stood until I was chilled through. But always I had to return to my coupé. It was the deep of night, my knees were dropping with fatigue. I wanted to sleep, sleep, sleep. But I couldn't.

In the morning, the attendant woke everyone. Business-like, she knocked about from one coupé to the next, wrenching the coupé doors open one after another, then sliding them shut with a bang when she left. She slammed the door open, bringing unwanted tea, then slammed the door shut. Slammed the door open, dragging the bedding out, slammed

the door shut. Then she was back again, collecting the tea glasses and spoons. Slammed open; slammed shut. At every coupé, all along our car.

I was aching with sleeplessness. I sat on my bunk, leaning against the coupé wall, falling asleep and waking with each door slam. When we were already in the Moscow suburbs, the attendant came in for the final time. She handed me back my ticket. Then she turned to my companion and put his ticket onto the table and left. It was the first time I'd looked at him that morning. He was sitting just as I was, slumped against the coupé wall, just as he had sat the previous night. If I looked at anything, it would be unavoidable to see him too, but it was too much effort to keep my eyes open. I kept them closed until I heard my companion stand to gather his things, put on his jacket, collect the brown bottle standing on the table and shove it into his zippered bag. He collected the other apple, too. The train pulled up to the platform, and he walked out to stand in the corridor, to wait for the doors to open. I don't know if he nodded goodbye. I gathered my things, put on my long wool coat, my scarf and gloves. At the last minute, I looked back into the coupé and saw the apple core sitting on the table. Conscience weighed on me. I picked the apple core up and put it into my pocket. Then I stepped off the train and dragged myself into the city.

We speak in symbols, even when we are beyond speaking. I cannot say or know if this man loved his father, only that he grieved. And that I knew I had no wisdom to lift or lessen his grief. For him, a long night of inescapable isolation; for me, in the troubled hours of that same passage, an involuntary brotherhood. We travel, all of us, in a narrow coupé with wordless, well intentioned strangers, through stories that have no easy endings.



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"Those Amazing Mormons": The Media's Construction of Latter-day Saints as a Model Minority

Chiung Hwang Chen and Ethan Yorgason

THE AUGUST 4, 1997, ISSUE OF *Time* featured on its cover a shot of the Angel Moroni atop the Salt Lake City Temple, illuminated against a night sky; the cover's caption read "Mormons, Inc.: The Secrets of America's Most Prosperous Religion." The accompanying article portrayed Mormons as a practical, capable people.[1] It seemed to be just the kind of story that would make most Mormons proud. But the story troubled us. The more we thought about it, the more it resembled model minority depictions of Asian-Americans.

Early Mormons and Asian-Americans experienced similar persecution and discrimination, and remarkable parallels in present-day images remain. Both overcame early setbacks and became exemplary American citizens. The media noted both groups' family focus, hard-working attitudes, educational achievements, and economic successes. Articles describing Mormon success sometimes appear nearly identical to those on Asian American success.[2] Stories about Mormon success sit within what might be called "model minority discourse," even though Mormons are not specifically labeled a "model minority." While overtly complemen-

1. David Van Biema, "Kingdom Come," *Time*, 4 August 1997.

2. "A Church in the News: Story of Mormon Success," *U.S. News & World Report*, 26 September 1966; "Success Story of One Minority Group in U.S.," *U.S. News & World Report*, 26 December 1966; Andrew Hamilton, "Those Amazing Mormons," *Coronet*, April 1952; James C.G. Conniff, "Our Amazing Chinese Kids," *Coronet*, December 1955. See also Figures 1 and 2.

tary, this discourse is profoundly problematic when applied to Mormons, just as it is for Asian-Americans.[3]

Each term of the phrase "model minority discourse" is important. Our use of the term "model" plays upon two important connotations. Models are worthy of emulation and admiration. But model also implies a frozen, static representation of something inherently more real. Models are strangely ahistorical in this sense. "Minority" gains meaning through opposition to the majority. Minority can be defined sociologically (as an identifiable group smaller than another group—the majority) or culturally (as a group whose values or practices clarify the boundaries of the mainstream by symbolizing opposition to majority norms). We depend more on the latter definition. To the dominant culture, minorities constitute sites of difference, strangeness, and otherness. As for the term "discourse," we rely on the Foucauldian conceptualization.[4] Discourses are historically variable frameworks through which particular topics are discussed. Discourses are both epistemologically productive and confining: they open up ways to gain knowledge, yet limit the shape this knowledge takes. "Model minority discourse" encompasses a complex set of ways to create meaning. It glorifies certain culturally dominant values and practices. And it positions a group of people as representatives of, but not full participants in, the social life of the majority. This paper situates U.S. media coverage of Mormons within model minority discourse and explains the problematic nature of that discourse.[5]

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3. Thomas K. Nakayama, "'Model Minority' and the Media: Discourse on Asian-America," *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 12 (1988): 65-73; Keith Osajima (1988), "Asian-Americans as the Model Minority: An Analysis of the Popular Press Image in the 1960s and 1980s," in *Reflections on Shattered Windows: Promises and Prospects for Asian-American Studies*, eds. Gary Y. Okihiro, Shirley Hune, Arthur Hansen, and John M. Liu (Pullman, Washington: Washington State University Press, 1988), 165-74.

4. Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Volume I: An Introduction* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990); Michel Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1972). Because our argument concerns a discourse, it should not be read to imply anything about the motives of individual journalists or the "truth" or validity of individual articles.

5. This paper is based on articles dealing with some aspects of Mormon success published since 1936, when, according to Jan Shipps, the sense that Mormons were worth emulating first crystallized. "From Satyr to Saint: American Attitudes toward the Mormons, 1860-1960," unpublished paper, 1973. We focus on journalistic coverage of Mormons in order to understand the image that emerges from institutions assumed to represent fairness and objectivity. We use mainstream news magazines because of: a) the dominant presumption that they are not greatly biased in one way or another; b) their wide distribution; and c) their easily retrievable nature. We recognize that applications of this study to other media or to the Mormon image as a whole are somewhat speculative at this point.

THE MORMON IMAGE

Many scholars of Mormonism note that Mormon images in the popular American media have shifted over time. In Jan Shipps's memorable phrase, the Mormon has gone from "satyr to saint."[6] As Mormon lifestyles approached the mainstream, Mormons have gone from facing fierce derision, to grudging tolerance, to open admiration. Shipps argues that although journalists gradually saw post-Manifesto Mormons as capable and productive people, 1930s Mormon self-reliance allowed portrayals of a good people, prospering through adherence to a decent system, administered by wise leaders.[7] The church's increasing public relations efforts also helped reshape the Mormon image.[8] Post-World War II codifications of journalistic objectivity, which mandated presenting both sides of an issue, may also have played a role.[9]

Dennis Lythgoe, writing in 1968, saw the Mormon image peak in the 1950s. During that decade, Mormons appeared as ideal citizens. But during the 1960s, Mormon attitudes toward race brought greater negativity.[10] Lythgoe and Stephen Stathis identify a quick reversal during the 1970s.[11] Journalists generally had been painting a positive picture of Mormons through attention to family home evening, LDS health habits, genealogy, prominent Mormons, and the Tabernacle Choir.[12] But events soon forced another reversal. The 1978 priesthood revelation, mobilization against the Equal Rights Amendment, recurring rumors about the Solomon Spaulding/Book of Mormon connection, the First Presidency's

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6. Ibid.

7. Ibid., 21, 24-25.

8. See Thomas G. Alexander, "Reshaping the Latter-day Saint Image," in *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 239-57; Armand L. Mauss, *The Angel and the Beehive: The Mormon Struggle with Assimilation* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 23.

9. Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers* (New York: Basic Books, 1987).

10. Dennis L. Lythgoe, "The Changing Image of Mormonism," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 3, no. 1 (Winter 1968): 45-58.

11. Jan Shipps reads these years a bit differently. Her object (all U.S. mass media) differs a bit from Lythgoe and Stathis's (the print media). She considers approximately 1963-1976 to be the "golden age" of the positive Mormon image, despite the media's apparent negativity on LDS racism. She importantly argues that the country's preoccupation with the Vietnam War and domestic counterculture allowed the patriotic and orderly Saints to easily represent American virtue (Jan Shipps, "The Mormon Image Since 1960," paper presented at 1998 Sunstone Symposium, Salt Lake City, 3-6, 23-24).

12. Stephen W. Stathis and Dennis L. Lythgoe, "Mormonism in the Nineteen-Seventies: The Popular Perception," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 10, no. 3 (Fall 1977): 95-113. The church's newly organized Public Communications Department probably helped convey such an image (Dennis L. Lythgoe, "Marketing the Mormon Image: An Interview with Wendell J. Ashton," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 10 (Fall 1977): 15-20).

stand against the MX missile, and concern about church wealth combined to prevent the media from stamping Mormonism and Mormons with a whole-hearted seal of approval.[13] Jan Shipps notes that sectarian and secular media complaints about Mormons throughout the latter 1980s converged around and were underscored and even legitimized by the Mark Hofmann controversy. But, she suggests, a less sensationalistic and more positive image returned in the 1990s.[14]

As important as these analyses of the changing Mormon image are, however, they obscure as much as they illuminate, especially to the extent that they categorize coverage according to a positive/negative scheme. We prefer to subject these "positive" images to more careful scrutiny. Might not they actually reinscribe a more sophisticated form of marginalization upon Mormons in America? Other groups have found themselves damned by profuse praise. The pedestal restricted white women's social power, and Asian-American scholars argue that setting up Asian-Americans as an example of American success has deeply troubling implications both for Asian-Americans themselves and for other minorities. Thus in this essay we read articles on Mormons differently from the way they are usually read. Reading them through the model minority discourse provokes new and productive ways to think about Mormons' relations with American society, we believe.

Mormons as Models

Mormon Success

Few stories on Mormons or Mormonism fail to assert that the church has achieved remarkable "success." 1997's *Time* magazine article ("Kingdom Come"), for example,[15] makes LDS success a central theme. Statements such as the following appear early and often: "The Mormon church is by far the most numerically successful creed born on American soil and one of the fastest growing anywhere."[16] "The church's material triumphs rival even its evangelical advances."[17] "There is no major church in the U.S. as active as the Latter-day Saints in economic life, nor, per capita, as successful at it."[18] Throughout the piece the author quotes intellectuals and businessmen, produces charts and figures, and refers to

13. Stephen W. Stathis, "Mormonism and the Periodical Press: A Change is Underway," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 15, no. 2 (Summer 1981): 48-73.

14. Jan Shipps, "The Mormon Image since 1960," 6-24.

15. We make this article our most sustained example because it is a broad, recent, and high-quality article; other articles could have served equally well.

16. Biema, "Kingdom Come," 52.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid., 53.

Mormon mores to support these claims. The story concludes by quoting President Hinckley and confirming that Mormons indeed know the secret of success.

> "From that pioneer beginning, in this desert valley where a plow had never before broken the soil, to what you see today . . . this is a story of success." It would be unwise to bet against more of the same.[19]

Two types of success receive emphasis: numerical and financial. Mormons succeed in that others join them, become Mormons, and change their lives, and also by virtue of their money and resources. Group success implies personal success; individual Mormons follow LDS principles and they prosper; many are notably wealthy.

Other stories compound this emphasis on success. *U.S. News and World Report* calls the church "one of the world's richest and fastest-growing religious movements," poised, according to scholar Rodney Stark, to become the first major, international, religious faith since Islam.[20] *National Geographic* suggests that because seventy percent of the state is Mormon, Utah boasts unusually high literacy and life expectancy rates and a low unemployment rate.[21] And a 1994 *Time* article notes the church's numerical, financial, and moral successes in a single breath:

> The Mormon church is now the epitome of family values and commands an estimated $8 billion in assets even as it accumulates the annual tithes from its millions of believers.[22]

Suffice it to say, dozens of news stories in the past several decades make Mormon success a major theme. Journalists thus position Mormons beside other narratives of American success. Familiar narratives make stories easily understandable by virtue of their familiarity, but they also recall interpretations of unrelated events. In making stories both linguistically interpretable and meaningful as journalism, the media create and make use of values, conventions, and significance that are nowhere present in events themselves. They have to do so. Just as in any other text, reporters draw upon narrative strategies that create significance far beyond the sum total of individual sentences.[23]

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19. Ibid., 57.

20. Jeffery L. Sheler and Betsy Wagner, "Latter-day Struggles," *U.S. News & World Report*, 28 September 1992, 73.

21. Donovan Webster, "Utah: Land of Promise, Kingdom of Stone," *National Geographic*, January 1996, 60.

22. Sophfronia Scott Gregory, "Saints Preserve Us," *Time*, 13 June 1994, 65.

23. Asa A. Berger, *Narratives in Popular Culture, Media, and Everyday Life* (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage, 1997).

Mormon success thus calls upon positive social values. But media celebrations of Mormon success also call upon social fear. Veneration slips easily into concern.[24] The articles waver between regarding Mormon success as a source of American pride and viewing it as a threat to society's structure. In model minority discourse, success is profoundly ambiguous. Since success comes through seemingly exemplary actions; journalists imply Americans ought to admire and emulate Mormons. But because Mormons do not truly belong to mainstream society, according to this discourse, threatening signals of too much minority success appear in spite of a "positive" focus on LDS success.

In "Kingdom Come," seemingly innocuous characterizations of Mormon success ("family orientation, clean-cut optimism, honesty and pleasant aggressiveness") sit uneasily beside graphics implying a Mormon threat. The photograph leading into the article shows clean-cut and mostly white male Mormon missionaries seeming to cheer the growing power of the "Kingdom." Mormon conquest, not congeniality, comes to mind here. The multitude of national flags in the background more likely suggests the threat of Mormon power throughout the world than international acceptance of Mormons.[25] Graphics headlined "They're growing . . ." ". . . and they're rich," situated under a photograph representing the strong Mormon financial presence far from Utah, do not calm the reader's unease.[26] And the headlined prominence of such un-American words as "kingdom" and "empire" add to the effect.[27]

The article itself, though much more subtle, also signals that Mormons might be a threat or, at least, that they bear watching. It repeatedly emphasizes church power (wielded overwhelmingly by males) when discussing Mormon success. It numbers Saints in the halls of Congress, mentions the appeal of Mormons to the FBI and CIA,[28] attempts to precisely calculate church assets and income, tells of the "hard-nosed," if unusually honest, businessmen who run the church, and suggests that few impediments can halt Mormon success in a country which values

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24. Stories or discourses about minorities, more than most stories, convey a sense of unresolved threat toward the majority (Teun A. van Dijk, "Stories and Racism," in *Narrative and Social Control: Critical Perspectives*, ed. Dennis K. Mumby (Newbury Park, California: Sage, 1993), 127-28).

25. Van Biema, "Kingdom Come," 49-50.

26. Ibid., 54.

27. Ibid., 49-50, 55. Referring to the Mormon project as an "empire" revives a practice more common to earlier decades. This is a somewhat surprising exception to the increasingly sophisticated and subtle analyses of Mormons and Mormonism over time. See "Change Comes to Zion's Empire," *Business Week*, 23 November 1957; Frances Lang, "The Mormon Empire," *Ramparts*, September 1971.

28. See also Robert Lindsey, "The Mormons: Growth, Prosperity and Controversy," *The New York Times Magazine*, 12 January 1986, 21.

material achievement. The article also uses the common device of comparing Mormon wealth to that of corporations.

> If it were a corporation, its estimated $5.9 billion in annual gross income would place it midway through the FORTUNE 500, a little below Union Carbide and the Paine Webber Group but bigger than Nike and the Gap.[29]

The comparison shows readers just how successful the church is, but it also reminds readers (though perhaps not intentionally) that in America, non-corporate (especially ecclesiastical) wealth deserves immediate suspicion.[30]

Other media articles imply a Mormon threat by suggesting that church success means dominance over a growing geographical area. *U.S. News and World Report* puts it this way: "And while it has long dominated Utah politics, its presence is increasingly felt in other Western states and in Washington, D.C."[31] *The Nation* uses phrases like "an entrenched power in the Rocky Mountain West . . . seek[ing] a greater voice on the national scene," or "In Utah they are a state within a state."[32] And the discourse seamlessly slides between nineteenth-century Mormon "theocratic communitarianism" and twentieth-century church leaders' ties to major resource-based corporations by invoking an image unpalatable to most Americans:

> the church played a role in the economic growth of the areas under Mormon influence similar to a modern central government in an underdeveloped country.[33]

In 1983, *U.S. News & World Report* implied more strongly that non-Mormons ought to, at least, carefully watch the church:

> What happens with the church is of significance to outsiders because of the organization's immense political and social impact on Western states and its growing influence on the rest of this nation and others where it has missions.[34]

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29. Van Biema, "Kingdom Come," pp. 52, 54.

30. See also the "Mormons, Inc." headline on the magazine cover in which the "Kingdom Come" article is found. Other instances of the church being compared to a corporation include: Carl Carmer, "The 'Peculiar People' Prosper," *The New York Times Magazine*, 15 April 1962, 68; Sheler and Wagner, "Latter-day Struggles," 73; Bob Gottlieb and Peter Wiley, "Mormonism Inc.: The Saints Go Marchin' In," *The Nation*, 16 August, 1980, 150; Seymour Freedgood, "Mormonism: Rich, Vital, and Unique," *Fortune*, April 1964, 139; "LDS, Inc.," *Wilson Quarterly*, Spring 1991, 43.

31. Sheler and Wagner, "Latter-day Struggles," 73.

32. Gottlieb and Wiley, "Mormonism Inc.," 150.

33. Ibid.

34. Joseph L. Galloway, "The Mormon Church Faces a Fresh Challenge," *U.S. News & World Report*, 21 November 1983, 61.

To *The New York Times Magazine*, Mormonism's social and political influence reaches "far beyond its numbers" and is "increasing," with a "birth rate almost twice the national average."[35] This narration of a broad, deep, and spreading influence[36] sends the signal that Mormonism will soon influence the lives of all Americans.[37] Thus, deep ambiguity lurks in the theme that Mormons and Mormonism are rich, successful, powerful, and their influence is spreading.

Welfare and Church History

In addition to economic wealth and power, praise for Mormons points to welfare and church history. The claim that Mormons are self-reliant receives constant attention, as does the Americanization of the church and its members' assimilation into American culture. "Kingdom Come" explains the rudiments of the church's welfare system and marvels at how the "group takes care of its own so well."[38] Earlier in the story, the author contrasts Mormons' unwelcome American past to their venerated present:

> For more than a century, the members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints suffered because their vision of themselves and the universe was different from those of the people around them. Their tormentors portrayed them as a nation within a nation, radical communalists who threatened the economic order and polygamists out to destroy the American family.
>
> This year their circumstances could not be more changed. The copious and burnished national media attention merely ratified a long-standing truth: that although the Mormon faith remains unique, the land in which it was born had come to accept—no, to lionize—its adherents as paragons of the national spirit.[39]

These two themes (replete throughout model minority discourse) suggest that Mormons are paragons of American citizenship. But such

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35. Lindsey, "The Mormons," 21, 22.

36. See also "A Church in the News," 90, 92; Hartzell Spence, "The Story of Religions in America: The Mormons," *Look*, 21 January 1958, 58; Thomas McGowan, "The Mormons: Builders of American Zion," *America*, 22 March 1975, 210.

37. Or even many of the world's inhabitants. See the quote predicting Mormonism as the "'next great global tribe'" (note again the un-American terminology) in "Kingdom Come," 57. Even light-hearted anecdotes can work to the same effect: "One Brazilian jovially complained to Elder [Joseph Fielding] Smith last week: 'The danger to the world today is not Communism, but Mormonism. You people work fast in our country with smiles and songs. Then you have lots of children, who study and get ahead of our kids. Then you get yourselves elected to government positions and boom! you pass a law banning coffee and Brazil falls flat on her face.'" See "The Senior Apostle," *Time*, 28 November 1960, 78.

38. Van Biema, "Kingdom Come," 57.

39. Ibid., 52.

notions of ideal American citizenship have always been contested. In fact, journalists' rhetorical decisions are never socially neutral.[40] Their literary techniques inescapably carry political and ideological implications.[41] Though journalists rely upon widely shared meanings, these community meanings do not reflect undifferentiated community interests (these rarely exist). Rather, each interpretation of the world serves some purposes more than it does others. Journalistic practices usually perpetuate dominant power relations and ideologies.[42] Journalists affirm the existing social order through knowing how to write to their audience[43] and by "tacitly assuming that there is indeed a recognized set of values to which all members of a culture subscribe."[44] As a result, existing social structures come to be seen as "natural" and beyond question.[45] Mormons epitomize American success, the model minority discourse suggests; but this is a notion of success that operates in support of status quo power relations.

Mormon success depends on old-fashioned American hard work and self-sufficiency as *Time*'s "Kingdom Come" emphasizes: "The church teaches that in hard times, a person's first duty is to solve his or her own problems and then ask for help from the extended family."[46] The piece carefully notes that the average stay on LDS welfare is only 10 to 12 weeks, and that LDS employment centers help people become independent.[47] Other articles explain the benefits of church welfare and its effectiveness more explicitly. According to *U.S. News & World Report*, Utah officials claim that Mormon self-reliance "saves the state untold millions of tax dollars." The story also emphasizes that welfare comes only as a

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40. Dennis K. Mumby, "Introduction: Narrative and Social Control," in *Narrative and Social Control.*

41. Aníbal González, *Journalism and the Development of Spanish American Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

42. For example: Phyllis Frus, *The Politics and Poetics of Journalistic Narrative: The Timely and the Timeless* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (New York: Pantheon, 1988). We do not see the press as merely a passive reproducer of the dominant culture, however, though clearly it often reproduces such ideologies. Journalists can also question or reformulate dominant understandings, even though doing so is often difficult.

43. Michael Schudson, "The Sociology of News Production Revisited," in *Mass Media and Society*, 2nd ed., eds. James Curran and Michael Gurevitch (London: Arnold, 1996), 152.

44. S. Elizabeth Bird and Robert W. Dardenne, "Myth, Chronicle and Story," in *Social Meanings of News: A Text-Reader*, ed. Dan Berkowitz (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage, 1997), 344.

45. Ibid., 346; Michael Schudson, "The Politics of Narrative Form: The Emergence of News Conventions in Print and Television," *Dœdalus* 4 (1982).

46. Van Biema, "Kingdom Come," 57.

47. Ibid.

product of work; recipients work at whatever their bishops assign.[48] Only then can a person claim church welfare.

The model minority discourse finds Mormon welfare full of lessons for American welfare. *America* reproduces "the Mormon boast that no church member has ever found it necessary to apply for government welfare."[49] And *U.S. News & World Report* noted in 1966 that "while the national average of state and local spending on relief was rising by 40 per cent, Utah reduced such spending by 25 per cent."[50] Right-leaning periodicals, understandably, make the implications of Mormon welfare most explicit.

> Among the Mormons it is an emphasis on self-reliance . . . Self-reliant people take care of themselves and their responsibilities. They are proud and independent, not weaklings and whiners.[51]

Celebrating Mormon ability to care for their own then becomes a secondary concern.

> What some of our great leaders had better figure out, and in a hurry, is that we simply can't have forty percent of the population "eligible" for, much less receiving, all those handouts. We simply can't afford it, period. Somebody had better go about making people ineligible, pronto.[52]

Similar points have been made more recently. *Policy Review* finds that the Mormon welfare system never allows idleness, that in Mormonism happiness depends on work, and that most of the unemployed lack a work ethic. LDS welfare recipients' quick independence reflects "the Mormon belief that accepting welfare might be a necessary evil, but it is always an evil." The article compares LDS efficiency to that of federal programs and insists that "Mormon welfare has . . . crucial themes to offer modern America." These include the notions that "success comes only incrementally and through sustained effort," and "the understanding that the needy can be taught to help themselves."[53] Mormon welfare, within model minority discourse, is used to imply that America should do less to ameliorate cap-

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48. Galloway, "The Mormon Church Faces a Fresh Challenge," 62; see also Carmer, "The 'Peculiar People' Prosper," 68.

49. McGowan, "The Mormons," 210.

50. "A Church in the News," 92; these messages about how the church keeps its people off federal welfare, saves tax dollars, and preaches hard work, reached their zenith in the 1950s and 1960s, but, as is shown, implicit remnants remain.

51. Susan L. M. Huck, "Good Work: How Mormons Solve the Welfare Program," *American Opinion*, April 1975, 17.

52. Ibid., p. 26.

53. Tucker Carlson, "Holy Dolers: The Secular Lessons of Mormon Charity," *Policy Review* (Winter 1992): 31.

italist processes rather than more, and that employment problems reside more commonly within individuals than within the system.

In 1991 *Time* claimed that much of Utah's economic vibrancy results from Mormon values. It noted that Utah has one of the country's best-educated, most productive, and youngest work forces, adding that this work force has become a prime selling-point for global companies looking to expand.[54] Two quotes on Mormon cultural values help explain:

> The church's strict morality . . . reinforces the hardworking nature of Utah's people. A Wall Street bond trader puts it succinctly: "All they do there is breed, pray and make money."[55]
>
> "Utah is a unique place, where you can actually get things done," says [Salt Lake City McDonnell Douglas General Manager Al] Egbert. The cultural norm is to work together and make a profit."[56]

Thus even articles without an overt right-wing agenda justify the American system. The discourse suggests that a people with a productive economic attitude exists. America, therefore, needs fewer exorbitant welfare demands; it only needs more people willing to work.

> The familiar recounting of Mormon history also defends American institutions. Born in trouble, and tempered by persecution, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has become America's largest and wealthiest home-grown religion by offering shelter in stormy times.[57]

The effect of such statements is to minimize the import of persecution and discrimination. Persecution of minority groups does little permanent harm. In fact, it may help if members band together and rely on themselves while internalizing the attitudes of the dominant culture.

> A century ago, the Mormon church was a small, persecuted religious cult whose leaders were being hunted down by Federal marshals as illegal polygamists. It is now the fastest-growing church among the major denominations in the United States and one of the richest. From a largely rural sect with roots in the American frontier, Mormonism has become a predominantly urban faith, controlled by an expanding bureaucracy in Salt Lake City.[58]

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54. See also Sally B. Donnelly, "The State of Many Tongues," *Time*, 13 April 1992, 51.

55. Though not as prominent as in stories about Asian-Americans (probably because racial difference cannot be appealed to), there is implicit in some pieces on Mormons a sense that they are able to work inordinately hard, that they do not need the rest and relaxation most others require. Readers might draw out the notion that fair economic competition against Mormons is difficult with their deep reservoirs of strength. See also John G. Hubbell, "Everybody Likes to Work for Bill Marriott," *The Reader's Digest*, January 1972, 96-97.

56. Sally B. Donnelly, "Mixing Business and Faith," *Time*, 29 July 1991, 22, 23.

57. Galloway, "Mormon Church Faces a Fresh Challenge," 61.

58. Lindsey, "The Mormons," 19-21.

What was the key to Mormons traveling "from poverty and persecution to prosperity and power?" *American Heritage*'s answer is conformance to national norms:

> Having once resolved to surrender on the key issue of polygamy, the Mormon leadership decided further to reduce distrust and dislike by deliberately conforming to the rest of the United States in many other aspects of life.[59]

Mormonism's welfare system and historical progress, in model minority discourse, justify the American system—or more precisely, a particular notion of the American system. Mormons model an America in which little energy is spent worrying about who has been discriminated against, or about society's structural obstacles—an America with minimalist government influence. In this America, independent, hard-working, self-reliant people invariably receive their due reward. *The Reader's Digest* profile of J. Willard Marriott thus symbolizes both the church and typical Mormons by pointing to opportunities for American success:

> Rarely has anyone started with less than Bill Marriott and, by dint of sheer, honest hard work, made more of the opportunity offered by the American system; and shared the resulting opportunities and abundance so generously with those who helped him succeed.[60]

Mormons symbolize hard work. And Mormon hard work is invariably explained through reference to Mormon loyalty and obedience.

Loyalty and Obedience

A third way Mormons appear as "models" is through loyalty and patriotism—by generally embodying the virtues of ideal citizens. "Kingdom Come" mentions Mormon sociability and common purpose and suggests:

> Perhaps in consequence, no other denomination can so consistently parade the social virtues most Americans have come around to saying they admire. The Rev. Jeffrey Silliman, of the same Presbyterian group that made [a] heresy charge, admits that Mormons "have a high moral standard on chastity, fidelity, honesty and hard work, and that's appealing."[61]

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59. Rodman W. Paul, "The Mormons: From Poverty and Persecution to Prosperity and Power," *American Heritage*, June 1977, 82. See also Gregory, "Saints Preserve Us," 65; Hamilton, "Those Amazing Mormons," 28.

60. Hubbell, "Everybody Likes to Work for Bill Marriott," 94.

61. Van Biema, "Kingdom Come," 55-60; see also Sheler and Wagner, "Latter-day Struggles," 74; M. R. Werner, "Since Brigham Young," *The Reader's Digest*, May 1940, 188.

The *New Republic* makes virtually the same point in the 1980s, calling Mormons "thoroughgoing Americans." The LDS faith

> upholds other values cherished by the vast majority of ordinary Americans, which they feel have been seriously threatened in recent years—not least the strength, stability, and attractive numerousness of the characteristic Mormon family.[62]

In the 1970s, *American Heritage* noted that "it almost goes without saying that in the general drive to make peace with middle-class America, the old tendency toward Mormon separatism has been replaced by an earnest patriotism."[63] In the 1960s, *Time* argued, "In many ways, Mormons make almost ideal citizens. They are wholesome, industrious and thrifty, devoted to social welfare and higher education."[64]

Most articles formulate some version of this general argument. Mormons are loyal citizens, possessing a host of virtues most ordinary Americans admire (or ought to admire). But two *New York Times Magazine* stories indicate that nostalgia, for what traditional American values are supposed to have been, produces this admiration.

> The scholar who delves deeper than the tourist into contemporary Mormon living in, say, Salt Lake City will soon feel that he has miraculously entered a period similar in its moral and spiritual overtones to that of America as a whole in the nineteenth century. When to these are added such patriotic solemnities as Pioneers Day and Fourth of July celebrations, and an attitude of praise and admiration toward men in public service, it is not surprising that the historian comes away from Utah with the conclusion that the primary virtues which made the nation what it is are here more honored than in most regions of America.[65]

And:

> or if there is an America that embodies the vision that Ronald Reagan has for his country—a nation of pious, striving, self-reliant and politically conservative "traditional" families where men work hard at their jobs and women work hard in the home raising their children—it is in Mormon country.[66]

Mormons represent an ahistorical ideal: Mormonism's "modelness" depends on its ability to exist outside of American historical change and to represent something that never actually existed historically.

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62. H. F., "Salt Lake City Diarist: This is the Place," *The New Republic*, 2 March 1987, 42.
63. Paul, "The Mormons," 83.
64. "Mormons: The Negro Question," *Time*, 18 October 1963, 83.
65. Carmer, "The 'Peculiar People' Prosper," 64.
66. Lindsey, "The Mormons," 24.

Mormon loyalty and citizenship, like Mormon success, are a double-edged sword in model minority discourse. The discourse reminds readers that Mormons' virtuous American citizenship stems from (and thus might depend upon and be subordinate to) their loyalty to church principles. Characterizations of loyalty thus slide into more negative-toned characterizations of obedience, uniformity, and lack of critical thinking. Readers learn that Mormon prioritization of "traditional" American values and national loyalty is not necessarily permanent. "There are limits to Mormon sociability," *Time*'s "Kingdom Come" claims.[67] When the church senses a loss of control or improperly prioritized loyalties, it has a tendency to close ranks and scrutinize members' obedience. "Kingdom Come" illustrates this tendency by referring to intellectuals and other "dissidents" excommunicated in 1993. It suggests that things could become worse if "as is likely, the church's hard-line No. 3 man, Boyd Packer, some day becomes president."[68]

The discourse often emphasizes obedience, particularly unthinking obedience, as a central characteristic of Mormon culture. A *Boston Globe Magazine* portrayal of missionary life provides a prime example:

> The presentation the missionaries made that day is the same one every Mormon missionary in the world makes upon getting a foot inside someone's door.[69]

And:

> They will read from the booklet when they give the presentation this afternoon. They will also occasionally depart from it, just as they are doing now, for the appearance of spontaneity—something the booklet also prescribes.[70]

The story notes that all Mormon missionaries around the world follow the same rigorous schedule. And it suggests that preparing young men for church leadership is a key function of the missionary experience.[71]

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67. Van Biema, "Kingdom Come," 57.

68. Ibid. The fear of conservative retrenchment lurks in the discourse, though the precise direction of such feared movement varies historically (and predictably). Often a single high-ranking member of the Twelve Apostles (close in line to become church president) embodies such retrenchment. Boyd K. Packer represents anti-intellectualism to '90s journalists; Ezra Taft Benson symbolized ultra-right-wing politics in the '70s and '80s, and Joseph Fielding Smith stood for scriptural literalism in the '60s (Gregory, "Saints Preserve Us," 66; Gottlieb and Wiley, "Mormonism Inc."; "The Mormon Church Faces a Fresh Challenge," 61; Lindsey, "The Mormons," 46; "The Senior Apostle," 78).

69. Dick Dahl, "Door-to-Door for the Lord," *The Boston Globe Magazine*, 18 January 1998, 24.

70. Ibid., 25.

71. Ibid.

Mormon obedience implies that members will follow church leaders and curtail their own spontaneity and personal reservations. In spite of considerable member concern about an Ezra Taft Benson presidency in the 1980s, *U.S. News and World Report* asserted that

> even Benson's critics concede that, in any church split, the vast majority of Mormons would follow him. Church leaders insist that they have no anxiety about Benson's becoming president and prophet of the church.[72]

The New York Times Magazine puts it this way:

> In return [for spiritual and social benefits], the church demands conformity and obedience. It is not a democracy. It expects members to have large families . . . Members may not smoke or drink . . . The church tells them how to dress, how they should cut their hair and what their sexual practices should be.[73]

Mormons do not think for themselves, this discourse suggests.[74] "Unquestioning belief rather than critical self-examination has always been the Mormon style," *Time* maintains while featuring a few Mormons (the new *Dialogue* creators) embarking upon independent thought.[75] Instead, Mormons use their considerable education uncritically to help the church operate more efficiently. The "hard-nosed businessmen" who lead the church are prime examples.[76] According to the discourse, they are practically and managerially able, but theologically and socially unimaginative. These men "rule" the church with "absolute authority."[77] And even more disturbingly, they, along with church members generally, prize church loyalty more highly than civil community membership. *The Saturday Evening Post* tells of a Mormon senator who changed a vote at the last minute. As explanation he said, "My religion comes before my politics."[78] Thus it becomes difficult to read a quote like "The way the

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72. Galloway, "Mormon Church Faces a Fresh Challenge," 61.

73. Lindsey, "The Mormons," 24.

74. This assertion excludes the business sphere where Mormons are portrayed as highly talented.

75. "Mormons: For Ruffled Believers," *Time*, 26 August 1966, 59. Perhaps the media's preoccupation with Mormon intellectuals' seeming alienation from LDS cultural norms discloses a desire to see a chink in the Mormon armor of obedience and organizational efficiency. See Gregory, "Saints Preserve Us," 66; Sheler and Wagner, "Latter-day Struggles," 77; "The Mormon Gender Gap," *U.S. News and World Report*, 14 May 1990, 14; Lindsey, "The Mormons," 38.

76. Van Biema, "Kingdom Come," 55. See also Sheler and Wagner, "Latter-day Struggles," 73; "Busy Like the Bees," *Forbes*, 1 February 1971.

77. Lindsey, "The Mormons," 19.

78. Robert Cahn, "The New Utah: Change Comes to Zion," *The Saturday Evening Post*, 1 April 1961, 42.

church regularly flexes its organizational muscle is the envy of governments"[79] in a wholly positive light.

In any event, the model of Mormons as successful, self-reliant, and otherwise admirable American citizens is burdened with significant ambiguity. In addition to justifying current geographies of American power (especially conservative visions of such) and an ideal of American life that may have never been, the "positive" images easily turn into pictures of a powerful, insular, zealous, and ultimately self-loyal people. This people may retreat from normal American citizenship at any time. Sharpening this picture is the sense that no matter how much of an American model Mormons become, they still do not belong to the mainstream—they are after all an American minority.

Mormons as Minorities

Journalism is as important socially for the ways in which it constructs meaningful communities (and communities of meaning) as it is for its attempts to dispassionately inform us about events.[80] Despite the sense that Mormons represent a certain American ideal, model minority discourse abundantly indicates that Mormons remain a not-completely-assimilable minority. Journalists use a range of methods to signal continuing Mormon otherness. "Kingdom Come," for example, uses a number of techniques that by themselves have little effect, but employed together serve to distance Mormons from mainstream Americans. The story begins by telling of the church's Salt Lake City silo holding 19 million pounds of wheat. The reporter asks why it exists and how it will be used, as an LDS bishop tries to explain:

> . . . the grain in the silo goes nowhere. The bishop . . . is trying to explain why. "It's a reserve," he is saying. "In case there is a time of need."
>
> What sort of time of need?
>
> "Oh, if things got bad enough so that the normal systems of distribution didn't work." Huh? "The point is, if those other systems broke down, the church would still be able to care for the poor and needy."
>
> What he means, although he won't come out and say it, is that although the grain might be broken out in case of a truly bad recession, its root purpose is as a reserve to tide people over in the tough days just before the Second Coming.
>
> "Of course," says the bishop, "we rotate it every once in a while."[81]

In spite of the last paragraph's humanizing touch, Mormons come across as

79. Galloway, "Mormon Church Faces a Fresh Challenge," 61.

80. Barbie Zelizer, "Has Communication Explained Journalism?" in *Social Meanings of News*.

81. Van Biema, "Kingdom Come," 51-52.

ultimately inscrutable. The implication is that Mormons realize they cannot explain themselves to other Americans. Even without any reference to the temple, they appear reluctant to reveal their secrets, almost willing to deny that such exist.[82] The narration of how long it took to find the silo's "real" significance (and the intimation that the reporter had to draw the conclusion himself) suggests that Mormons almost speak another language, one that ordinary Americans need translation to understand.[83]

The actions of ordinary Mormons, and often those of the church, are almost always explained through translation. This is one of few media articles that allows an ordinary Saint to explain Mormon action[84] (though whether readers interpret this "bishop" as ordinary is debatable). But the bishop's inability or unwillingness to fully communicate suggests a gap between ordinary Americans and ordinary Mormons that cannot be easily bridged; thus, the need for translators. To supplement its own translations, the piece draws upon the usual translation department: non-Mormon scholars, Mormon scholars, dissident Mormons, church leaders, and Mormons of special prominence. Non-Mormon scholars inhabit the world of Americanism, but are conversant with the language of Mormonism.[85] Mormon scholars have the converse characteristics and seem to be equally useful for translational purposes.[86] Mormon "dissidents," because they reside within the strange, liminal space between American culture and Mormonism, are also helpful translators.[87] Church leaders and Mormons of prominence can translate because of their extraordinary success in climbing American institutional ladders.[88]

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82. The fact that the summary of Mormon historical Americanization comes directly on this story's heels suggests that Mormons' reluctance derives from a desire to appear as much like ordinary Americans as possible.

83. The constant need to translate Mormon terms such as "ward" and "stake" has the same effect.

84. Interestingly, right-wing glorifications of Mormon welfare contain the main counter-examples. See Carlson, "Holy Dolers."

85. Van Biema, "Kingdom Come," 52, 55; Sheler and Wagner, "Latter-day Struggles," 73, 74, 76; Gregory, "Saints Preserve Us," 66; Lindsey, "The Mormons," 39.

86. "Kingdom Come" uses the late Leonard Arrington, p. 53. Also: Gregory, "Saints Preserve Us," 65; Webster, "Utah," 56-60; Kenneth L. Woodward, "The Mantle of Prophecy Comes only in Gray," *Newsweek*, 27 March 1995, 63.

87. Walter Kirn, "Walking a Mile in Their Shoes: A Lapsed Mormon Takes a Sentimental Journey to the Holy Sites," *Time*, 4 August 1997, 58-59; Sheler and Wagner, "Latter-day Struggles," 77. Mormon feminists serve especially well as representatives of both scholarship and dissidence. See "The Mormon Gender Gap" and Gregory, "Saints Preserve Us," 65-66; Peggy Fletcher Stack, "Mormonism *And* Feminism," *Wilson Quarterly* (Spring 1991), 30-31.

88. Van Biema, "Kingdom Come," 54, 55. Seemingly moderate and public relations-minded church leaders (such as President Hinckley and Neal A. Maxwell) receive the bulk of the column space.

Choosing these people to interpret Mormonism seems innocuous enough for individual stories, maybe even entirely appropriate, but viewed together, as part of a whole discourse, these types of voices drown out those of the rare ordinary Mormon.[89] Mormon women are particularly absent. Ordinary Mormons still appear strange and unknowable, represented more by their conformity, uniformity, zeal, tithe-paying, secret undergarments, secret temple rituals, and belief that they may become gods than for their opinions of the church's role in their lives or their relationships with other Americans.

Recitations of history also reinforce Mormons' minority status. By carefully noting early Mormonism's "un-American" features (not to mention its continuing "un-Christian" attributes), journalists chart out a space of otherness to which Mormons can easily return, and which, despite vaunted assimilation, they probably have never entirely vacated.[90] The discourse constantly reminds readers of how much separates Mormons from the rest of the country. *Time* finds it somewhat incredible that "the Latter-day Saints remain sensitive about their 'otherness'—more so, in fact, than most outsiders can imagine." It suggests, "Perhaps they should just learn to relax."[91] It is ironic, if not entirely unwise, that *Time* offers this tip while simultaneously reinforcing the insider-outsider separation and subsequently carefully detailing LDS "divergences" and "distinctiveness."[92] Polygamy still links Mormons to an unfathomable past.[93] In each of the past several decades, other issues have also put space between Mormons and Americans. 1960s and 1970s journalists wondered at how Mormons could anachronistically continue to withhold the priesthood from black males. In the 1980s it was opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment. In the 1990s, the policing of feminists and church history exemplifies Mormon separation from American norms.[94] Authoritarianism has served a similar function throughout the decades.[95]

All these points suggest that deep ambiguity besets the model minority image of Mormons. Mormons may be quintessentially American, but a vast gulf simultaneously separates them from the majority's culture. While the model minority image appears to display Mormons posi-

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89. Sheler and Wagner, "Latter-day Struggles," 76.

90. Ibid., 78; Paul, "The Mormons," 82; Cahn, "The New Utah," 32.

91. Van Biema, "Kingdom Come," 52-53.

92. Ibid., 53-57.

93. See, for an example, the photographic lineup of Brigham Young's wives in ibid., 52-53.

94. Ibid., p. 57.

95. For example, Gregory, "Saints Preserve Us," 66; Lindsey, "The Mormons," 23; Lang, "The Mormon Empire," 39-42; Gerald W. Johnson, "The Mormons," *The New Republic*, 7 January 1967, 40; Fawn M. Brodie, "'This Is the Place'—And It Became Utah," *The New York Times Magazine*, 1947, 14; Werner, "Since Brigham Young," 191.

tively, it can, with a slight shift in focus, promote fear.[96] Mormons often come across as a friendly, hard-working, patriotic, and civic-minded people. But they can just as easily appear as unknowable and homogeneous people who are almost unnaturally productive and accomplish great communal feats. They conform unthinkingly, with intense loyalty to the commands of wise-to-the-world leaders (with only a secondary, derivative, and perhaps temporary loyalty to the nation) who might unpredictably lead the church in obscure directions.[97] If a plausible picture, this constitutes classic American anxiety toward minorities. While most Americans do not consciously hate minorities, scholars point out that persistent, usually unacknowledged, fear of minorities exists.[98] Differences between people are not well understood, and lack of understanding leads more to mistrust than to celebration. People attribute greater homogeneity and cohesiveness to minorities than they, in fact, possess.

Together, mistrust of difference and a belief in minority cohesiveness result in fear of minority power. Majorities fear that minorities have the power to produce unwelcome change unless the majority maintains a constant vigil. Minorities might either pollute and undermine majority values, or simply impose their homogeneous will on society by virtue of their unnatural fitness to do so.[99] Bonnie Honig asserts that Americans hold profoundly ambiguous attitudes toward immigrants (and her argument might be applied to minorities more generally). On the one hand, Americans value the diversity and flavor different groups bring to society. But, on the other, minorities appear to threaten social stability.[100] The

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96. And it sometimes does so explicitly. "Liberal" fear is explicitly appealed to in articles like Gottlieb and Wiley, "Mormonism Inc."; John Harrington, "The Freemen Institute: A Mormon PAC?" *The Nation*, 16-23, August 1980, 152-53; and Lang, "The Mormon Empire." The arguments on the two ideological "poles" explicate what is implicit in the more ideologically "neutral" articles. Most "objective" journalistic narratives are pregnant with meaning—that is, they contain words and phrases suggesting greater ideological significance to the reader than a literalistic reading uncovers (W. Lance Bennett and Murray Edelman, "Toward a New Political Narrative," *Journal of Communication* 35 (1985): 156-71).

97. Virtually every change in church president occasions speculation over where the church will go next.

98. Teun A. van Dijk, *News as Discourse* (Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1988); Gary Y. Okihiro, *Margins and Mainstreams: Asians in American History and Culture* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994).

99. Because the concept of race implies biological difference, American whites have a long history of ascribing "superhuman" and incomprehensible capacities to racial minorities. Mormons, of course, were racialized in the nineteenth century. But we submit that they have been assigned similar mysterious capabilities in the twentieth century through the (especially Evangelical) Christian discourse of cults and through more secular ascriptions of blind faith and unthinking obedience.

100. Bonnie Honig, "Ruth, the Model Emigrée: Mourning and the Symbolic Politics of Immigration," *Political Theory* 25 (1997): 112-35.

model minority discourse reproduces and sustains both the celebration and the concern. We believe that it is time to start imagining "minorities," including ourselves as Mormons, in new ways.

Implications

The Media and Mormon Society

Journalistic discourses do not exist in a vacuum. Although the mass media may be the most important institution through which Americans learn the model minority discourse, others perpetuate it as well. Scholars share complicity. It should not surprise anyone that media accounts of Mormons have changed in ways roughly parallel to "advances" in Mormon historiography (greater sophistication, a tendency to downplay truthful concerns, a focus on similar topics). While we do not suggest that Mormon intellectuals suppress their concerns about LDS culture and church policy, we urge more attention to the discourses and metadiscourses that are employed. We think the discourse of Americanization, for example, promotes a narrower view of both Mormons' relationships to American society and American society itself than is wise.[101]

Journalism's model minority discourse (at least the "positive" part of it) also bears close resemblance to church public relations images of Mormons. Surely, many Mormons would gladly be called model minorities. We do not suggest that Mormons should flee from the moniker under all circumstances. We could not do so, even if we wanted to, and even if we could, it would probably not be wise. The model minority image is very attractive to certain kinds of people. Even Mormon intellectuals have an interest in affirming the gospel among these people and in building communities with them. Since the model minority image helps toward this end, and because it captures much of what we strive for in our own lives, it has its place. Nevertheless, we think it is wise to consider those who are put off by the model minority image. We work within departments full of good people, most of whom find their predominant image of Mormons as politically conservative, anti-intellectual conformists to be overwhelmingly unattractive. We think that heterogenizing our image could bring unsuspected rewards.

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101. We advocate a kind of restless stance toward discourse. Discourses formulated too often and for too long inevitably become forces of conservatism. Just as the Americanization discourse was useful historiographically in getting beyond Mormon exceptionalism, so the model minority discourse improved on earlier ways of viewing Mormonism by discovering the complexity and integrity of *the Mormon experience*. But this discourse has been around too long and retards understanding of *Mormon experiences*.

Mormons and American Citizenship

John Peters argues that the real political power of the media lies not so much in their ability to change people's opinions (an ability which is quite limited in many cases) but rather in their capacity to shape the space of public discussion.[102] They profoundly affect what constitutes public life and how contributions are made to American democracy. The media help decide questions such as which people can contribute to public debates and how they might do so. Thus, legitimately, model minority discourse may be as important for the way it constructs Mormons' American citizenship as for its ability to persuade people to either like or dislike Mormons. This discourse opens up a strange space of American citizenship for Mormons. Although our supposed values seem exemplary in many ways, our methods of resolving disputes (communal agreement, conformity, and obedience) seem most un-American. Therefore, Mormon contributions to American political life may be easily discounted by the majority. This is the downside of the model minority discourse for Mormons' American citizenship. We hope, therefore, that the media will broaden the Mormon image to allow Mormons greater opportunities to help construct public life.

Meanwhile, our significant relationships are not confined only to the majority. We also have important, if not often productive, relationships with other minorities. We think that a type of model minority posture may actually benefit these latter relationships; but this means reconfiguring the present model minority image. One consequence of the model minority discourse is that minority groups are set against each other in a competition for success and acceptability. White Mormons, however, can work against this tendency if they wisely negotiate their strange position as both majority and minority. They ought to use their history as a persecuted people and their continuing (though partial) otherness within America to develop political solidarity with other minorities.

This does not imply strengthening the already overdeveloped sense of Mormon suffering and innocence. Nor does it mean suggesting that others follow our path to supposed success. It does mean recognizing that other groups face similar or worse discrimination from the majority, that, in fact, Mormons often belong to the persecuting majority, and that Mormons ought not to silently let others face abominations similar to those faced by Mormons in the past.[103] In particular, white Mormons

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102. John Durham Peters, "Historical Tensions in the Concept of Public Opinion," in *Public Opinion and the Communication of Consent*, eds. Theodore L. Glasser and Charles T. Salmon (New York: Guilford, 1995), 3-32, esp. 24.

103. Group political power often depends on developing a persuasive image of group innocence. But we believe that Mormons over-cultivate an attitude of being oppressed and seriously under-cultivate their sense of solidarity with other oppressed peoples. An exam-

stand in a good position to seriously question the privileges of whiteness in America. Rather than feverishly working to prove what normal Americans they are, white Mormons should slow down and ponder what being a minority entails. They should not be patronizing, with a false empathy that suggests being Mormon is just like being Asian American, African American, or Native American. Mormons ought to respect real difference and understand their historical complicity with the oppressive majority. They should instead use their minority experiences to cultivate an America less hostile for all minorities. In the process, a vital contemporary Mormon conundrum—how to accommodate minorities within Mormonism—just might become less important, or even disappear. If they do so, perhaps Mormons will really become a model minority of a different, but more desirable sort.

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ple of all-too-typical LDS attitudes occurred when we spent the summer of 1997 in Ogden, Utah. Two opinions reached the editorial page of the *Ogden Standard-Examiner* at nearly the same time. The first came from a young non-Mormon girl who complained about the difficulties of living in a predominantly Mormon community. A number of Mormons predictably responded that her complaint was an example of Mormons being persecuted and that she should leave the state. The second opinion was a racist diatribe suggesting that Mexican immigrants were responsible for many of the state's woes and should not be allowed to immigrate. Just as predictably, the lack of Mormon response to this opinion was deafening.

Night Thunder at the Cabin

Emma Lou Thayne

In thunder at 2 a.m.
I occupy all my lives
my loves hovering holding
rising with me to the wild night
real as photos I tacked in daylight
to the rough wood wall above the stairs
or secret in the wardrobe of my mind.

Electric, shuddering in wanting more,
the lightning out of sight,
in memory I make my own.

Effortless, taken dripping wet
I mount the sapling maples
where, still small, I, my three brothers
        and six cousins fled
to fly in windy thunder storms,
my ringlets sloshed to curly curl,
my arms and legs wrapped around a slim trunk
like binding on a sprain
till ecstacy let one hand loose
to open to the raging sky
a cup of fingers
reaching for the rain.

Natural Symmetry

Ken Raines

The restaurant juts above the pond,
casting lucent shadows in those moments
that fall still between dinner and dark.
Reflections luminesce against the faces
lingering above the clutter from the meal.
Through the window, those faces seem to grow
brighter, glowing against the diminished light.

A clatter and darkening flurry in the sky
as thirty geese wheel above the water
and come around low, turning in concert
to touch the pond's reflective surface, down
in formation, trailing a welter of ripples and wakes.

The diners gawk, talk stops, their mouths fall
open in dark circles of wonder–black
daubs on white smears behind the broad
panes–as if they had all inspired together
and held their breath, like a chorus expecting a downbeat,
face to face with the indifferent music of nature,
and still they find a single note to sing.

Practicing at Sunrise

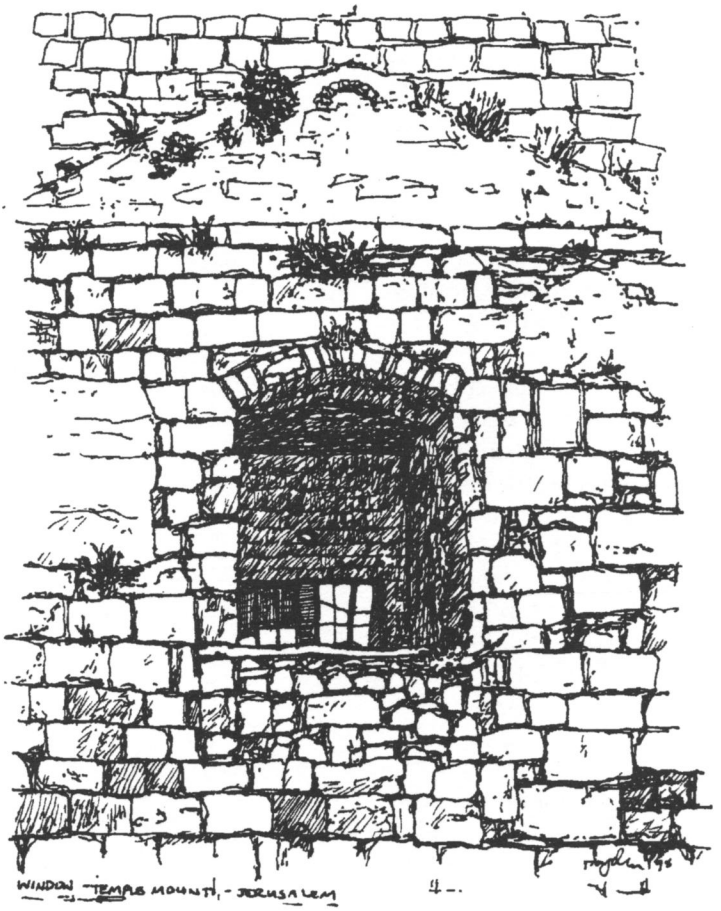
Joy K. Young

In the morning's glissando,
Canadian night wrapped tightly
against opaque windows,
she rises. The brick in her bed
long since cold.
Tugging a starched shift
over her head while
a chill trills her spine,
her teeth clench, knuckles stiff.
She sucks air; listens.

Her mother is a consonance
in the yeasty kitchen,
flames roused, a flat iron
snug between loaf pans
on the wide, black stove.

A quick, descending scale
down the smooth wooden stairs,
where she pulls on a sweater
and rubs her small, white wrists
for a moment
in the melody
of the fire.

Mother enters the parlor,
hot iron in hand,
drapes a tea towel over the keys
of the pianoforte,
and in legato strokes
warms chilled ivory.



WINDOW ON SOUTH WALL OF
TEMPLE MOUNT

Through a Glass Darkly: Mormons as Perceived by Critics' Reviews of Tony Kushner's *Angels in America*

Daniel A. Stout, Joseph D. Straubhaar, and Gayle Newbold

Introduction

Membership in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is expanding rapidly.[1] As the church passes the ten-million member milestone, social science researchers have raised a number of important questions about the rapid growth of Mormonism. Issues include changing Mormon demographics,[2] cultural tensions of church globalization,[3] and the evolu-

1. See Rodney Stark, "Modernization and Mormon Growth: The Secularization Thesis Revisited," in Marie Cornwall, Timothy B. Heaton, & Larry A. Young, eds., *Contemporary Mormonism: Social Science Perspectives* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 13-23; Timothy B. Heaton, "Vital Statistics," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. D. H. Ludlow (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 4:1518-37.

2. See T. B. Heaton, K. L. Goodman, & T. B. Holman, "In Search of a Peculiar People: Are Mormon Families Really Different?" in *Contemporary Mormonism: Social Science Perspectives* 87-117; K. L. Goodman & T. B. Heaton, "LDS Church Members in the U.S. and Canada," *AMCAP Journal* 12, no.1 (1986): 88-107.

3. *Contemporary Mormonism*, 43; L. A. Young, "Confronting Turbulent Environments: Issues in the Organizational Growth and Globalization of Mormonism" in *Contemporary Mormonism: Social Science Perspectives* 63.

tion of Mormon identity and assimilation.[4] Another topic of research focuses on mass media use and the role it plays in the ways Mormons accommodate the larger society.[5] What has not been examined, however, are the ways mass media, such as movies, television, newspapers, etc., tend to describe Mormons.

How religious groups are received by the larger society has much to do with the kinds of information available to citizens. Although messages about Latter-day Saints are disseminated through mass media, little is known about what specifically is said or what kinds of media professionals are involved. New research on this issue could help us understand the ways mass media help create the information environments out of which individuals form impressions or make judgments about various religious denominations.

Scott Abbott[6] argues that society's accommodation of Mormons may be frustrated by recent works of popular literature and drama which depict Latter-day Saints as "narrow" and "bigoted." He offers as examples John Gardner's novel, *Mickelson's Ghost*, Abbey's *Desert Solitaire*, John Le Carre's *The Russia House*, and Tony Kushner's dramatic work, *Angels in America*. Kushner's Pulitzer Prize-winning play, for example, refers to Salt Lake City as a place of "abundant energy; not much intelligence." Abbott fears that these descriptions could make Mormons vulnerable to future stereotyping and biased criticism.

Abbott focuses on a kind of performance art and literature with admittedly small, elite audiences. The question, however, of whether such portrayals have an impact on larger groups—beyond those who actually see or read the play—must take into account other media actors, such as newspaper critics, who help disseminate elements of literary portrayal to larger audiences. In other words, the way such literary characterizations as depictions of Mormons in *Angels in America* diffuse into the larger society has much to do with the way media organizations filter information through critics, editors, and marketing managers before it is finally conveyed to the public. These individuals are what Kurt Lewin[7] has termed, "gatekeepers" who control, shape, and expand information as it

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4. See Armand Mauss, "Refuge and Retrenchment: The Mormon Quest for Identity," in *Contemporary Mormonism: Social Science Perspectives* 24-42.

5. See Daniel A. Stout, "Resolving Conflicts of Worldviews: LDS Women and Television," *AMCAP Journal* 20, no. 1 (1994): 61-79; JoAnn Valenti & Daniel A. Stout, "Diversity from Within: An Analysis of the Impact of Religious Culture on Media Use and Effective Communication to Women," in D. Stout & J. Buddenbaum, eds., *Religion and Mass Media: Audiences and Adaptations* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1996), 183-196.

6. Scott Abbott, "One Lord, One Faith, Two Universities: Tensions Between "Religion" and "Thought" at BYU," *Sunstone*, Vol. 16 (Sept 1992): 15-23.

7. Kurt Lewin, "Channels of Group Life," *Human Relations* 1 (1947), 143-53.

flows from one source to another. This paper looks at what information media gatekeepers communicate about Mormons as well as about what they discard. By doing so, it seeks to increase understanding about mass media as filters of information on religious groups that are undergoing the process of cultural integration.

CASE STUDY:

Angels in America

In order to learn more about the way media organizations filter information about religious groups, the authors examined newspaper reviews summarizing the depictions of Mormons in Tony Kushner's play, *Angels in America*. Considered by some to be the major or at least most visible work of the decade involving Mormons, *Angels* received a Pulitzer Prize and Tony Awards for Best Play of 1993 (Part I) and Best Play of 1994 (Part II). Set primarily in New York City, it dramatizes the complex interplay between religion, politics, and the AIDS crisis. There are several themes and subplots in this long work, which is presented in two parts, entitled respectively: *Millenium Approaches* and *Perestroika*. The action, however, revolves chiefly around Pryor Walter, a homosexual with AIDS, who interacts with three other main characters who are Mormon. At a more general level, the play is about the consequences of the rise of conservative politics and the perceived inability of American religious institutions to offer guidance to contemporary society, as exemplified particularly in society's failure to embrace the homosexual community in a time of crisis brought about by the AIDS epidemic.

To say that the main goal of *Angels* is to criticize Mormon theology would not be accurate. Kushner himself asserts that "Mormonism is treated with respect and dignity."[8] Yet as Abbott[9] observes, there are scenes in the play which, if taken out of context, could evoke stereotypical notions of Mormons as narrow, superficial, and exclusionary. There are scenes, in fact, that would offend many Latter-day Saints. For example, having heard that Mormons believe in angels, Pryor Walter goes to the Mormon Visitor's Center in New York with some questions. There he strikes up a conversation with Harper Pitt, a Valium-addicted, agoraphobic Mormon whose husband Joe has left her to pursue a homosexual affair with Louis Ironson, also a main character.

PRIOR: Do you believe in angels? In the angel Mormon?

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8. Nancy Melich, "A Look at the Characters and Themes of 'Angels'", *The Salt Lake Tribune*, 26 November 1995, sec. E, p. 3.

9. Abbott, 15-23.

HARPER: Moroni, not Mormon, the Angel Moroni. Ask my mother-in-law when you leave the scary lady at the reception desk—if its name was Moroni, why don't they call themselves Morons . . . ?

Later in the play, when Louis finds out his new lover is a Mormon, he is incredulous:

LOUIS: But . . . A *Mormon*? You're a . . . a . . . a . . .
JOE: Mormon. Yes.
LOUIS: But you . . . *can't* be a Mormon! You're a lawyer! A *serious* lawyer!

The issue here is not so much whether these passages fully capture Kushner's depiction of Mormons in *Angels*. Nor does it matter whether viewers of the play "register Mormonism's presence . . . only as a sort of fanciful local color. . . ."[10] The fact is that hundreds of thousands will not see the play firsthand, but will rely on the interpretations of critics in the mass media for a summary as well as an opinion about the play's content and theme. Which depictions of Mormons will critics emphasize in their reviews? Which will they discard? Given that hundreds of major newspapers in the United States have published reviews of *Angels*, such questions are important to those who study the degree to which mass media perpetuates stereotypical notions of particular religious groups.

Media Gatekeepers, Assimilation, and Accommodation

This study brings together the theoretical concepts of *religious assimilation* and *accommodation* as well as the mass communication phenomenon of *gatekeeping*. Given that mass communication researchers and sociologists of religion work in separate fields, these ideas have been studied in relative isolation with no clear bridge of understanding between them. In order to survive and flourish, all religious groups must be accommodated to some degree by the larger society, and media gatekeepers either facilitate or impede this process by providing the information upon which citizens make judgments about various religious groups. Assimilation in this sense does not necessarily imply loss of unique religious identity; it is the condition in which a group is not subordinate, but freely participates in the educational, political, and social institutions of society. Simply stated, those religious organizations that align themselves most closely with the values and norms of the host society are more likely to receive support and accommodation, while those whose

10. Michael Evenden, "Angels in a Mormon Gaze, or, Utopia, Rage *Communitas*, Dream Dialogue, and Funhouse Mirror Aesthetics," *Sunstone*, Vol. 17 (Sept, 1994): 56.

world view runs contrary to societal norms usually do not.[11] Gatekeepers, whether they be movie critics, editors, journalists, or television program directors, help shape the information environments out of which millions engage in everyday conversations about Catholics, Evangelicals, Fundamentalists, mainline Protestants, Mormons, and other religious organizations.

Scholars and popular writers are divided on the question of how mass media aid the acceptance of religious groups. On the one hand, Wade C. Roof[12] asserts that recent television programs, novels, and newspaper stories raise the credibility of mainstream religion by giving "serious attention to the spiritual and religious questions." On the other hand, Michael Medved,[13] in his popular book, *Hollywood vs. America,* dedicates an entire chapter to the way religion is trivialized and degraded in movies and television programs. Similar claims are made by W. F. Fore[14] and G. Lewis.[15]

Even though some important questions are raised by these authors, their work rarely amounts to more than personal speculation about the ability of some artistic works to undermine religious values. How, if at all, are such works filtered through media decision makers and opinion leaders to reach larger audiences? There are two channels of informational flow relative to the diffusion of information about religious groups. Popular writers often restrict their attention to the actual audience of a movie, play, novel, or television program and forget that, first, media gatekeepers and then opinion leaders interpret the work for other individuals, many of whom do not experience it firsthand. Of this *two-step flow* of information, Elihu Katz and P. Lazarsfeld assert that "ideas often seem to flow" from mass media "to opinion leaders and from them to the less active sections of the population."[16] This notion has been updated by Katz and others to be a multi-step flow in which, for example, *New York Times* gatekeepers decide what they will feature, then television news

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11. See Robbins, *Cults, Converts and Charisma: The Sociology of Religious Movements* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1988); also see R. Stark, "How New Religions Succeed: A Theoretical Model," in D.G. Bromley & R. E. Hammond, eds., *The Future of New Religious Movements* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1987), 11-29.

12. Wade C. Roof, "Toward the Year 2000: Reconstructions of Religious Space," *Annals of the American Academy of Social and Political Science* 527 (1993): 155-170.

13. Michael Medved, *Hollywood vs. America: Popular Culture and the War on Traditional Values* (New York: Harper Collins, 1992), 50-69.

14. W. F. Fore, *Television and Religion: The Shaping of Faith, Values and Culture* (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg, 1987).

15. G. Lewis, *Telegarbage: What You Can do about Sex and Violence on TV* (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1977).

16. Elihu Katz and P. Lazarsfeld, *Personal Influence: The Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communication* (New York: Free Press, 1956), 32.

producers use the *Times* to decide what is most newsworthy, and then the resulting television news reaches a mass audience, even though the *Times* does not. In this case, Kushner creates images and characters about Mormons in a play; critics decide whether to mention the Mormon characters and themes, which specific characters and themes to cover, and what treatment to give them. Opinion leaders interested in theater may read the reviews and then discuss them with a broader circle of friends, eventually leaving certain images of Mormons with a fairly broad audience. In this study the authors examine the types of themes and issues gatekeepers focus on when they interpret an artistic work that features a particular religious group, in this case Mormons.

Studies of "gatekeeping" focus primarily on why certain things gain entry to the mass media and why others are rejected. In a recent review of research, D. McQuail[17] argues that there are several factors influencing the decisions of gatekeepers which include: (1) subjective and arbitrary judgments of writers and editors; (2) personal ideologies and opinions, including views about groups like Mormons; (3) organizational habits and routine; and (4) "news value" or the degree to which the phenomenon is perceived to be consistent with the dominant ideologies and values of the audience and/or the degree to which something is perceived as likely to be interesting to the intended audience. These comprise patterns of what gatekeepers are likely to include or exclude. For example, even though Mormons are prominently featured in *Angels*, will they be as salient or interesting to reviewers of the plays as gays or Jews, the other two main groups featured in the play? Few if any researchers have studied the output of media gatekeepers as they interpret artistic works featuring members of particular religious denominations. The following general research questions, therefore, direct the study:

1. Is it possible to identify dominant themes and patterns in the ways Mormons are discussed in newspaper reviews of Kushner's play, *Angels in America*?
2. If so, what are the dominant themes and patterns about Mormons?
3. Given the fears of Abbott and other Mormon observers, is there a tendency by critics to focus on negative images or themes about Mormons?

At a theoretical level, all three questions address the general issue of the manner in which information about religious groups is disseminated to the larger society. By doing so, they get us beyond casual and off-

17. Dennis McQuail, *Mass Communication Theory: An Introduction*, 2nd ed. (London: Sage, 1994): 212-18.

handed claims about the way artistic works either help or hinder the assimilation process.

Methods

The main method of this paper involves textual analysis of reviews of *Angels in America* by theater critics in major newspapers. We read and assessed 368 reviews that had appeared in various newspapers around the country and were available on Lexis-Nexis, an extensive on-line computer database. This approach may have excluded reviews which appeared in some smaller papers. We also included two recent reviews of the Salt Lake production from the two main local newspapers, *The Deseret News* and *The Salt Lake Tribune*.

As our theoretical perspective reflects, we argue that critics may function as gatekeepers for information about these plays to a reading audience that may not see them. Critics' comments about Mormons, as reflected in the plays, also may function as part of a process of image formation about Mormons for those readers. The critics serve as a second step in a multi-step flow of information about Mormons, in this case, beginning from Kushner's creations and flowing through various points until images and stereotypes reach a fairly large audience.

We realize that textual analysis, like content analysis, is very limited in its scope and generalizability. From the text, we really cannot say much about the intentions of the critics, their opinions about Mormons or the way in which these plays may have affected those opinions. We can only look at what they have published as a text which newspaper readers will read. We also cannot assume anything about how those reviews will influence readers.

We realize that media texts, like newspaper reviews of plays, have limited influence. Quantitative studies tend to emphasize the importance of the reader in selectively perceiving, remembering, and interpreting such texts.[18] Qualitative studies about active audiences also tend to reinforce the view that readers are active and can agree with, negotiate, or reject meanings in such texts.[19] However, such texts are part of the overall process of sense-making.[20] So, as readers try to make sense of the world, including such relatively low salience tasks as figuring out who

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18. Jay Blumler and Elihu Katz, *The Uses of Mass Communications: Current Perspectives on Gratifications Research* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1974).

19. J. Fiske, *Television Culture* (New York: Methuen, 1987); D. Morley, *The Nationwide Audience: Structure and Decoding* (London: British Film Institute, 1980).

20. See V. R. Shield and B. Dervin, "Sense-Making in Feminist Social Science Research: A Call to Enlarge the Methodological Option of Feminist Studies," in *Women's Studies International Forum* 16, no. 1 (1993): 65-81.

Mormons are, then past or present reading of such texts may well affect their views in at least a modest way.

Interest in Mormons

Perhaps the first and most obvious finding is that most reviewers of *Angels in America* did not report anything about the Mormon themes in their reviews. Despite the prominence of Mormon characters in three principal roles, only 68 of 370 reviews mentioned Mormons at all. It seems that Mormons are not on the cognitive maps of the reviewers, certainly not as much as gay or Jewish cultures, also prominent in the play.

This is a significant example of reviewers acting as gatekeepers. Most of them acted to filter out of their reviews the fact that Mormons were a significant part of the play. In their written texts, most reviewers removed an emphasis on Mormons that Kushner intended. Several interviews with Kushner reveal that he intended from the beginning to make Mormons a significant part of the plays, even though the two female Mormon characters developed later.

> Kushner told Mr. Eustis he wanted to write a play for five gay male characters, starring Roy Cohn, the Mormons and AIDS. They were sure the N.E.A. would turn the project down. When, to everyone's amazement, they got the $57,000 grant, Mr. Kushner realized that he had proposed a play with five gay men for a theater company consisting of three straight women and one straight man. "I just had to change the story," he remembers. "That's one of the reasons why the play wound up having eight characters. There's a tremendous amount of accident in all this and that's exciting. I had to write a part for an older actress, too, and the part of Hannah"—the Mormon mother of one of the main characters—"is only there because of that. She is tremendously important to the play and so is Harper, one of the other female parts." Harper, who is married to Hannah's son, "is one of the centers of the play."[21]

While most theater critic gatekeepers screened Mormons out of their reviews, a number of them did comment on the Mormon characters and on Mormon themes. The following section discusses the themes and characterizations that the critics as gatekeepers and intermediaries in the process of image formation did pass on to their readers.

Angels in America: General Themes Involving Mormons

Need for Theories, Laws, and Rules:

One of Kushner's major themes is that the approaching of the new millennium shows the need for a grand theory or religion to guide peo-

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21. Susan Cheever "An Angel Sat Down at His Table," *New York Times*, Sunday, 13 September 1992, sec.2, p. 7, Late Edition—Final.

ple. "One of the things the play is saying is that (religious) theory is incredibly important to us and that without it, we don't know where we are going," says Kushner in an interview. Most clearly, at the beginning of the second play, *Perestroika*, the Old Bolshevik character calls for a theory to guide us, "not just market incentives." Most critics seem to like the fact that Kushner addresses such issues. It also seems that several of the critics see a positive reflection on Mormonism in the fact that Kushner chose it as a religion with a theory to offer, featured with Judaism and Marxism, even though Kushner doesn't necessarily agree with any of them.

However, not all critics think Kushner deals well with such material. At least one critic finds Kushner's treatment of religion to be "thin" and "unsatisfying . . . even for atheists and agnostics in the audience." Another evident theme, noted by some critics, is that religious institutions—in this case Mormonism (and Judaism and perhaps even Marxism as a quasi-religion)—have outlived their usefulness in today's world. They see Kushner as saying that religion has always provided important guidelines for people, but religions are not keeping up with the times. Their guidelines are no longer relevant and the people who continue to try to live by their rules are "distorting themselves terribly." They "flounder for guidance" and "flout the laws."

> "Millennium" is a juicy adult-themed soap opera with national (and biblical and Talmudic) scope. In a chaotic, competitive, plague-riddled world, how do you do the right thing for yourself and for your fellow man? Laws of Judaism and Mormonism, laws of the government, laws of realpolitik (where there are no laws, only winners and losers), and the laws of love are all at issue. In a panic, the characters flounder for guidance and flout the laws.[22]

> "I wanted to show characters struggling to maintain their belief systems," said Kushner, "even as those systems were failing to serve them as useful maps."[23]

> "One of the things the play is saying is that (religious) theory is incredibly important to us and that without it, we don't know where we are going," says Kushner. "On the other hand, as systematic approaches to ethics age, get passed up by history, the rules and laws which they had laid down become irrelevant and impossible and we distort ourselves terribly trying to adhere to those beliefs. It is a life and death matter to hang onto your beliefs, but it can also be a life and death matter to know when it's time to say they aren't working anymore."[24]

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22. Nelson Pressley, "Down to Earth 'Angels': Epic Takes on a Novel Look at the Kennedy Center, " *The Washington Times*, 8 May 1995, Style Section, D 01.

23. Everett Evans, "'Angels' Alight: Alley Stages Sweeping Epic on 1980's America,"*The Houston Chronicle*, Sunday, 26 March 1995, sec. Zest, p. 8, Star edition.

24. Hilary de Vries, "A Gay Epic, Tony Kushner's Play Offers a Unique View of America," *Chicago Tribune*, Sunday, 25 April 1993, sec. 13, p. 6, final edition.

Indeed, one of the play's main themes—played out as dialectic between Judaism and Mormonism—is an examination "of how theoretical religion exists in a pluralistic society," as one character puts it in *Perestroika*.[25]

> Most unsatisfying is Kushner's handling of religion. After divine interventions culminating in a trip to heaven by the dying Prior Walter (Stephen Spinella), we are told that angels and religions have nothing to say about life, only death and the hereafter. That is a rather small perception to serve on so expansive a platter, even for atheists and agnostics in the audience. The Los Angeles version (which Kushner labels "a mistake") made heaven feel more comically political and Cohn, the devil on earth, seem more magically powerful. The revised *Perestroika* offers realism with less impact. Kushner even implies that Prior's fevered visions are dreams; he quotes Dorothy's words from *The Wizard of Oz* on returning to Kansas. Dreams are often sources of revelation in the Bible, but this retreat from the phantasmagorical to the everyday feels like a cheat. If Kushner means that spirituality is no substitute for clear morality and positive mental attitude, he shouldn't need the equivalent of a full working day to get that across. [26]

Mormon Iconography and History a Major Part of U.S. Mythology:

Kushner seems to consider both Mormon history and Mormon iconography, or religious symbols, as major aspects of American culture. He gives both prominent space within the play. Kushner uses Mormon iconography, such as angels, buried prophetic books, stone spectacles for translating, and the migration west, even though he reinterprets and reemploys them for his own symbolic ends.

The general sense we gathered from the critics' reviews is that Mormons were a brave, admirable, and courageous people historically, due to the early pioneers' perilous trek across the country in search of religious freedom. Mormon history and theology are seen as mythic, part of *Angels'* "spellbinding" embrace of American legend and iconography, which also, however, includes *The Wizard of Oz*. Many Mormons may not like having Mormon history and imagery put alongside *The Wizard of Oz*.

It appears then that several of the critics see Mormon themes as aspects essentially of American popular culture, more than as reflecting a religion with a unique religious message. The use of words such as "mythology" may make Mormon readers of such criticism feel that, while critics see the early pioneers as people to be admired, the beliefs which drove them west are so much fiction.

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25. Ibid.
26. William A. Henry III, *Time* 142, no. 23 (6 December 1993), U.S. edition.

And then, even more dazzlingly, come the answers, delivered in three and a half hours of spellbinding theater embracing such diverse and compelling native legends as the Army-McCarthy hearings, the Mormon iconography of Joseph Smith and the MGM film version of *The Wizard of Oz.*[27]

Prior's searching pilgrimage is echoed throughout *Perestroika* by the Mormon, Jewish and black characters and implicitly by their pioneer, immigrant and enslaved ancestors. As Prior journeys to heaven, so the Mormon mannequins in a wagon-train diorama come magically to life; Belize is possessed by the ghosts of Abolitionist days while Louis must wrestle with his discarded Jewishness.[28]

This is play writing with a grand design, sometimes written to excess in its wisecracks and philosophizing, but always with an effort to provide historical perspective and political punch to its narrative. In tracing the heritage and odysseys of gays and straights, Jews and Mormons, founding fathers and immigrants, Kushner bridges centuries and cultures for his 20th-century epic, and in so doing he constructs a form and creates a content that in its aspirations and achievements is [sic] rare in American drama.[29]

But even as Mr. Kushner portrays an America of lies and cowardice to match Cohn's cynical view, he envisions another America of truth and beauty, the paradise imagined by both his Jewish and Mormon characters' ancestors as they made their crossing to the new land.[30]

This two-part, seven-hour "gay *Fantasia*" explores the AIDS crisis, Mormon mythology and the late sleazy superlawyer Roy Cohn—with plenty of Ronald Reagan/George Bush bashing along the way.[31]

Here is the ideal heroic vessel for Mr. Kushner's unifying historical analogy, in which the modern march of gay people out of the closet is likened to the courageous migrations of turn-of-the-century Jews to America and of 19th-century Mormons across the plains.[32]

Director Declan Donnellan proves as adept at integrating the play's oddball styles as he was in *Millennium Approaches*, which is revived, somewhat re-

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27. Frank Rich, "Following an Angel for a Healing Vision of Heaven or Earth," *The New York Times*, Wednesday, 24 November 1993, sec. C, p. 11, late edition, final.

28. Ibid.

29. Richard Christiansen, chief critic, "'Millennium' Fits Times: Drama Treats AIDS, Homosexuality with Sensibility," *Chicago Tribune*, Wednesday, 5 May 1993, sec. 1, p. 30, north sports final edition.

30. Frank Rich, "Angels in America; Millennium Approaches; Embracing All Possibilities in Art and Life,"*The New York Times*, Wednesday, 5 May 1993, sec. C, p. 15, late edition, final.

31. David Patrick Stearns, "Daffy and Absolutely Divine," *USA Today*, Thursday, 12 November 1992, sec. Life, p. 13D, final edition.

32. Frank Rich, "Marching Out of the Closet, Into History," *The New York Times*, Tuesday, 10 November 1992, sec. C, p. 15, late edition, final.

> cast, in tandem with this new production. When it comes to clarifying its meaning, he is understandably less successful. For instance, we are presumably supposed to contrast the angel who appeared to Joseph Smith in 1830, and sent him and his Mormon followers bravely across the American wilderness, with the angel who appears here in black describing herself as a bird of prey. Each of them, we are told, is a "belief with wings and arms that can carry you." But the demands the newer of the two is making on Prior remain inscrutable.[33]

> Kushner has said that the story of Joseph Smith's revelation and the Mormon migration west "may be the greatest American story ever told."[34]

> The Angel Moroni led Joseph Smith to the Hill Cumorah, the burial site of the plates on which the Book of Mormon was inscribed. Smith unearthed, along with the plates, "bronze bows" with stones set in them. These I take to have been Bible-era spectacles with rocks for lenses, the Urim and the Thummim. Before he became a prophet, Smith was known in upstate New York for his ability to locate buried treasure with use of "peep-stones." These stones assisted him, as they assist Prior in *Perestroika*, in the act of translating ancient writings.[35]

Mormonism as "Home-Grown," American Religion (Mormon-Jewish similarities):

A few of the critics reflect Kushner's and the plays' views of Mormonism as a home-grown American religion, which can be respected for its place in America's history and as a major, current force as well. Mormonism is seen as the "home-grown" counterpart to Judaism, the other major religion discussed in the play.

> Along with its many historic and pop-culture references (Prior quotes from films such as "Sunset Boulevard" and "The Wizard of Oz"), *Angels* is colored by Judaism and Mormonism. The Jewish and Yiddish influences come from Kushner's Jewish-Lithuanian ancestry. But Kushner also wanted to depict the influences of a home-grown American religion—hence the presence of Mormon figures such as Joe Pitt and his mother Hannah.[36]

> The Mormons I've met have been both right-wing and good-hearted, and that, in my experience, is an unusual combination. Mormonism is America's home-grown religion. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is notoriously homophobic, as bad in that regard as the Roman Catholic Church.

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33. Benedict Nightengale, "Angels Lose Their Direction," *The Times*, 22 November 1993, Monday edition.

34. Melich, "Characters and Themes."

35. Interview with Kushner, "The Secret of Angels," *The New York Times*, Sunday 27 March 1994, sec. 2, p. 5, late edition—final.

36. Evans, "'Angels' Alight."

> But I do find other aspects of Mormon theology appealing. You're judged by your deeds rather than by your intentions. That's something Mormonism and Judaism share: you have to do good to be good.[37]

> Hebrew is a language of great antiquity and mystery, and of great compression. Each letter, each word encompasses innumerable meanings, good and evil. The physical letters are themselves totems, objects of power. The Torah, the Book, is to be treated with veneration. Here is another Mormon-Jewish connection: both are People of the Book—only very different books. The aleph is the first letter of the Hebrew alphabet, the seed word, the God letter. This is why, in the play, God is referred to by the angel as "the Aleph Glyph." The real name of God is, of course, unutterable.[38]

Mormons Key Part of Reagan Era 1980s:

Critics note that Kushner seems to use Mormons as a key and representative aspect of the 1980s, along with AIDS, the fall of Communism, Roy Cohn-style conservatism, and crises in social institutions like marriage. The typical summary by critics of the plays' characters include several negative characteristics, describing Joe Pitt as a "tightly wound" conservative Republican allied with Cohn, and Harper as a Valium-addicted, neurotic housewife.

The reviews make a number of assumptions that ally Mormons with 1980s Reagan issues. One such assumption has to do with the rise of conservative religion (discussed further below) and the reflection of conservative religions in 1980s politics. Even though Mormons are not as visible politically as groups such as the Christian Coalition, the critics seem to agree that Mormons fit that image. Critics note the use of a Mormon couple to reflect crises in marriage and, particularly, the effect that has on Harper, who is typically summarized as a pill-popping, neurotic housewife. They also pick up on the use of Joe Pitt to reflect the contradictions between political conservatism and personal morality crises as Joe begins to come out of the closet.

> When Kushner, now 35, received a commission to write a play five years ago from the small Eureka Theatre in San Francisco, he noted that he wanted to explore three matters in his drama: AIDS, Mormons, and Roy Cohn, the Red-hunting aide to Sen. Joseph McCarthy in the '50s, who had become a New York attorney of legendary evil powers by the time of his death in 1986.[39]

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37. Interview with Kushner, *New York Times*.

38. Interview with Kushner, *New York Times*.

39. Richard Christiansen, chief critic, "'Angels' Treads on '80s sensibilities," *Chicago Tribune*, Friday, 13 November, 1992, sec. 5, p. 1, north sports final edition.

> The play—in two parts, *Millennium Approaches* and *Perestroika*—is a seven-hour examination of Reagan-era ethics that addresses such topics as AIDS, Mormonism and the fall of Communism. Critics have hailed it as a significant step beyond the usual kitchen sink concerns of much contemporary American drama.[40]
>
> But the many fantastic flights of *Angels in America* are always tied to the real world of the mid-1980s by Kushner's principal characters, who include two young couples: a pair of gay lovers, and a politically ambitious, rectitudinously Mormon lawyer and his wife.[41]
>
> Almost anything can happen as history cracks open in *Angels in America*. A Valium-addicted Washington housewife, accompanied by an imaginary travel agent resembling a jazz musician, visits a hole in the ozone layer above Antarctica. An angel crashes with an apocalyptic roar through the ceiling of a Manhattan apartment to embrace a dwindling, Christ-like man spotted with Kaposi's sarcoma. A museum diorama illustrating the frontier history of the Mormons comes to contentious life.[42]
>
> In his sweeping panorama of American life in Ronald Reagan's America of 1986, playwright Tony Kushner escorts us from the hypocritical centers of power to the dark recesses of a loveless marriage, from the gallows humor of an AIDS patient to the smoldering confusion of a taciturn Mormon.[43]
>
> As if writing in his own fever dream, Mr. Kushner brings into dramatic conjunction the America of the Reagan-Bush years, a dying Roy Cohn, some extraordinary Mormons, the ghost of Ethel Rosenberg, tales of loathsome duplicity in positions of public trust, memories of the Old Left and of the immigrant experience, with everything viewed through the prism of Prior Walter's tangled relations with his gay friends and ex-lovers. Hovering over it all are God's angels, who have become more insistently meddling since God's recent, somewhat hasty disappearance from heaven.[44]

Negative Images of Mormons

Most of the negative images were directly or indirectly related to Mormons' roles as emblematic of negative aspects of conservatism. In some cases, that is directly tied to political conservatism and the Reagan 1980s. In other cases, Mormons seem to be chosen to represent religious

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40. de Vries, "A Gay Epic."

41. Frank Rich, "'Angels in America' Truly Astounding in London," *Chicago Tribune*, Friday, 6 March 1992, Chicagoland North edition.

42. Rich, "Marching Out of the Closet."

43. Steven Winn, *Chronicle* staff critic, "Marvelous 'Millennium' First Part of Kushner Opus Strives for Connections in an Alienating Era," *The San Francisco Chronicle*, Monday, 27 May 1991, sec. Daily Datebook, p. E1, final edition.

44. Vincent Canby, "Two 'Angels,' Two Journeys, In London and New York," *The New York Times*, Sunday, 30 January 1994, sec. 2, p. 5, late edition—final.

social conservatives. One critic describes the way "the Mormon couple emerges from the wreckage of their false Donna Reed life to go their separate, risky ways."

Mormons as Politically Conservative:

The Mormon character, Joe, in particular seems to the critics to embody conservative contradictions (along with the Roy Cohn character, to which he is linked). He is usually characterized as Reaganite, Republican, and personally conservative. In Kushner's context, the critics see those characterizations as essentially negative. Another negative is the conflict of his conservatism with his homosexuality. Another is the negative effect on his wife, Harper, who is seen as neurotic and distressed.

> . . . a Reaganite Mormon lawyer.[45]

> Alternating the real and irreal, which is Kushner's basic scheme, Part Two [*Perestroika*] then moves on to the interlocked narrative. Louis Ironson, who lived with Prior for three years then abandoned him when he got AIDS, continues his affair with Joe Pitt, a button-down Mormon Republican lawyer who has abandoned his wife, Harper. Harper, agoraphobic and delusional, is more or less looked after by her widowed mother-in-law, Hannah, who has moved to Manhattan from Salt Lake City.[46]

> There is Harper, the depressed agoraphobic Mormon wife with a Valium addiction, and Joe, her straight-arrow Republican lawyer husband, trying to deny his homosexuality.[47]

> Joe Pitt (Jeffrey King) is a young lawyer, a conservative Republican, a Mormon, an idealist and a closet homosexual. The growing emotional distance between him and his wife Harper (Cynthia Mace) has driven the fragile, agoraphobic woman to Valium-induced distraction.[48]

Mormons as Straight-Laced, Moralistic, and Conservative:

Mormonism is clearly perceived by critics (and by Kushner) as a conservative religion. "Straight-laced," "straight-arrow," "button-down,"

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45. Vit VanWagner, "Broadway Takes a Serious Look at America," *The Toronto Star*, Saturday, November 27, 1993, sec. Arts, p. J3, final edition.

46. Kevin Kelly, "'Angels' II: Life, Death and Laughs; Kushner Completes His Stunning Epic of our Epoch," *The Boston Globe*, Wednesday, 24 November 1993, sec. Living, p. 39, city edition.

47. Linda Winer, "'Angels' On Broadway: Good Trip From L.A.; Tony Kushner's Play Lives Up To The Hype," *Los Angeles Times*, Wednesday, 5 May 1993, sec. F, p. 1, home edition.

48. Greg Evans, "Angels in America: A Gay Fantasia on National Themes," *Daily Variety*, Tuesday, 10 November , 1992.

and "strict" are terms used to convey this "conservative" image. Moreover, these terms are clearly meant to be pejorative. They come up frequently in descriptions of the characters, Joe and Harper, whose personal crises, in the critics' judgement, are only compounded by a moralizing religion. Straining to keep faith with both themselves and their church, they become implicit and explicit images of falseness and hypocrisy. One critic writes of "their false Donna Reed life."

> Joe Pitt, a strait-laced Mormon court clerk, questions his own sexual identity while his Valium-addicted wife, Harper, drifts into hallucinations.[49]
>
> Meanwhile, the tightly wound Republican Mormon attorney Joe Pitt . . . [50]
>
> *Angels* was not only the first gay-centered play to win the Pulitzer Prize for drama, it came to the fore just as the argument about gays in the military was putting the gay cause at center stage for the first time in U.S. history. With its aggressive scorn for Ronald Reagan and Republicanism; for Mormons and moralizing; and its demonic view of lawyer-deal maker Roy Cohn, a gay-bashing closet gay and a top-level G.O.P. influence peddler for more than three decades, *Angels* disproved truisms about the unmarketability of political drama. Instead it compellingly reasserted the theater's place in public debate. Hearteningly to theater partisans, *Angels* generated excitement about a drama comparable to the biggest buzz about musicals.[51]
>
> Kushner's brilliance is in painting a canvas of epic strokes while hugging close to the intimate lives of his characters. Their interwoven stories revolve around the theme of awakening from denial—awakening from the '80s. The Mormon couple emerges from the wreckage of their false Donna Reed life to go their separate, risky ways.[52]
>
> As showy as these performances are, they are not as effective as the solid, less flamboyant work of Jeffrey King, as the tightly wound, sexually confused Mormon attorney Joseph Pitt, and Kathleen Chalfant, whose mournful voice and slight frame are ideally suited for her dual roles as Pitt's steely mother and the implacable ghost of Ethel Rosenberg.[53]
>
> Also on stage are Belize (portrayed by K. Todd Freeman, who took the title role last season in Steppenwolf Theatre's "The Song of Jacob Zulu"), a gay black man who becomes Cohn's private nurse in the lawyer's final agonizing days, and a parade of male and female supporting characters portrayed

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49. Ibid.

50. Steven Winn, "'Angels' is Born Again: Act Puts Its Own Stamp on Kushner's Play," *The San Francisco Chronicle*, 14 October 1994, sec. Daily Datebook, p. C1.

51. Henry III.

52. Dan Hulbert, "New York, New York! Old/New Musical 'She Loves Me' Tops Best of Fall List," *The Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, 5 December 1993, sec. N, Arts, p 4.

53. Christiansen, "'Angels' Treads on Sensibilities."

by two actresses—a doctor, a rabbi, an angel messenger, Pitt's strict Mormon mother, a real estate saleswoman and, in one of the play's most telling touches of fantasy, the ghost of Ethel Rosenberg, who was executed as a Russian spy in 1953 and has now come back to haunt Cohn.[54]

Joe Pitt (Jeffrey King), an ambitious Republican lawyer clerking in Federal court, deserts his loyal but long-suffering wife, Harper (Cynthia Mace), once his homosexual longings overpower his rectitudinous Mormon credo.[55]

Mormons as Conflicted, Neurotic:

The Mormon couple, Joe and Harper, also seems to represent what critics and Kushner see as a neurotic American society. In particular, the characterization of Harper, though often linked by critics to her Mormon religion and Joe's conservatism, is often also described as a broader representation of stressed women in American society.

Harper Pitt (Marcia Gay Harden), pill-popping housewife and devout Mormon, has recurrent nightmares that a man with a knife is out to kill her; she also has real reason to fear that the man is her husband, Joe (David Marshall Grant), an ambitious young lawyer with a dark secret and aspirations to rise high in Ed Meese's Justice Department.[56]

Ms. Harden's shattered, sleepwalking housewife is pure pathos, a figure of slurred thought, voice and emotions, while Mr. Grant fully conveys the internal warfare of her husband, torn between Mormon rectitude and uncontrollable sexual heat.[57]

Here is Harper, the depressed, agoraphobic Mormon wife with a Valium addiction, and Joe, her straight-arrow, Republican lawyer husband, trying to deny his homosexuality.[58]

The theme of '80s denial is hammered in further as we learn that Joe, the well-scrubbed married Mormon, is in fact secretly homosexual.[59]

The other pair contains Joseph Pitt, an earnest Mormon attorney and Cohn protégé whose straight-arrow exterior conceals repressed homosexuality,

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54. Ibid.

55. Rich, "Marching Out of the Closet."

56. Rich, "Embracing All Possibilities."

57. Ibid.

58. Linda Winer, "Pulitzer-Winning 'Angels' Emerges From the Wings," *Newsday*, Wednesday, 5 May 1993, sec. Newspapers and Newswires, p. 63, Nassau and Suffolk edition.

59. Jacques Le Sourd, "Too Much Hype, Too Little Substance," *Gannett News Service*, Tuesday, 4 May 1993.

> and Pitt's wife Harper, a Valium-popping, desperately unhappy woman who fantasizes that she is under the protection of a kind of travel agent angel who will transport her away from her troubled marriage into a clean, clear world.[60]

> Joe Pitt (Jeffrey King) is a young lawyer, a conservative Republican, a Mormon, an idealist and a closet homosexual. The growing emotional distance between him and his wife Harper (Cynthia Mace) has driven the fragile, agoraphobic woman to Valium-induced distraction.[61]

> He (Roy Cohn) ends up crowing about his part in the destruction of the Rosenbergs, fighting a fraud rap in Washington, and, for reasons never satisfactorily explained, persuading a Mormon law-clerk to join him. Here is the play's second strand, and it, too, has its peppy moments. Nick Reding's uptight Utah boy is, it turns out, desperately struggling to keep himself safely shut in the sexual closet: which helps explain the woozy, half-tranquillized hysteria of his wife, Felicity Montagu.[62]

Making Fun of Mormons: Overt Anti-Mormonism?

Mormons provide much of the comic relief in both plays. Some of the laugh lines are meant to be at least somewhat negative, reflecting such negative associations as homophobia, as when, for instance, Harper says, "My church doesn't believe in homosexuals,"and Prior retorts, "My church doesn't believe in Mormons." Only one critic observed that the play made fun of Mormons, particularly of the visitors' centers, and he observed that such anti-Mormon fun was "an easy shot":

> In Cohn, we get self-loathing, self-righteous confusion, repressed homophobia mixed with mad middle-class moralizing that's a plague of its own. Only a few caveats: Kushner doesn't quite fuse the forces set loose in Act I; his gays seem either victims or heroes; the anti-Mormonism is an easy shot; and, finally, I've no idea why two actresses play men's roles.[63]

Most critics noted the humor, but didn't particularly note it as negative and did not cite the most negative examples, unless one considers the comic use of the Diorama Room at the New York Visitors' Center as negative.

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60. Christiansen, "'Angels' Treads on Sensibilities."

61. Greg Evans. ("A Gay Fantasia. . .")

62. Benedict Nightingale, "Aids Stretched to its Limit," *The Times*, Saturday, 25 January 1992.

63. Gerald Nachman, "On the State of Charm, Doom and Portermania," *The San Francisco Chronicle*, Sunday, 23 June 1991, sec. Sunday Datebook, p. 17.

> Along the way is some devastatingly pointed hilarity in the face of disease and betrayal, much of it at the expense of the Mormons. This includes a couple of priceless scenes involving a diorama at the Visitors' Center displaying the Mormon hegira to Utah, and the depiction of heaven as a place of beauty much like San Francisco.[64]
>
> Another depicts Prior and Harper visiting the Diorama Room of the Mormon Visitors' Center in New York, where they envision the dummy of a Mormon pioneer coming to life as Joe—who is then romanced by Louis. In its way, the hilarious scene also conveys the second sight of Prior and Harper in intuiting what has happened to their ex-partners.[65]
>
> There are plenty of flashy and cheeky stage effects in "Perestroika," including Prior's fog-swirled climb to heaven on a neon ladder, an amusing bit of trompe l'oeil that blends live actors with stuffed dummies in a Mormon diorama and Jules Fisher's hellfire-and-brimstone lighting effects.[66]
>
> Designer Robin Wagner has managed to keep the dozens of scenes flowing, with special effects that are spectacular, yet with a sweetly homemade look, especially a Mormon diorama that comes hilariously to life.[67]

Mormons as Homophobic:

Many critics noted Mormons being used to exemplify current institutionalized homophobia, and, in fact, Kushner has made comments to that effect in interviews. In a play which clearly fosters sympathy with the plight of gay AIDS victims, the use of Mormons as the representatives of homophobia is worrisome. Joe's mother, Hannah's, initial negative reaction to his homosexuality is often noted, although she is seen by several critics as a character who develops strong empathy later, particularly for the AID'S victim, Prior.

> What would happen to Joe's old-fashioned Mormon mother, Hannah, who sold her Salt Lake City home and traveled to New York to "rescue" her son from his newly revealed sexual identity?[68]
>
> The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is notoriously homophobic, as bad in that regard as the Roman Catholic Church. But I do find other as-

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64. Jeremy Gerard, *Daily Variety*, Wednesday, 24 November 1993.

65. Interview with Kushner, *The New York Times*.

66. Steven Winn, "Kushner's Angelic Conclusion 'Perestroika' Completes Epic Drama," *The San Francisco Chronicle*, Wednesday, 24 November 1993, sec. Daily Datebook, p. 19, final edition.

67. Linda Winer, "'Angels' II: Still Playful and Still Profound," *Newsday*, Wednesday, 24 November 1993, sec. Newspapers and Newswires, p. 60, Nassau and city edition.

68. Everett Evans, "'Perestroika' Maintains its Brilliance," *The Houston Chronicle*, Friday, 21 April 1995, sec. Houston, p. 1, 2nd star edition.

> pects of Mormon theology appealing. You're judged by your deeds rather than by your intentions. That's something Mormonism and Judaism share: you have to do good to be good.[69]

Mormons as Innocent, Confused:

Rather than charging blatant homophobia, at least one critic sees Mormons as "innocent" and "confused," descriptors with both positive and negative connotations.

> Nor is Joe Pitt the innocent, confused Mormon who must come to grips with his homosexuality portrayed condescendingly.[70]

Mormons as Ambitious:

On the other hand, at least one critic sees Joe as implicitly or explicitly representing 1980s style ambition. While that is not necessarily a negative image to many people, the perceived consequences in this play seem negative.

> Ambitious Mormon lawyer Joseph Pitt (Michael Scott Ryan) and his Valium-addicted wife Harper (Anne Darragh) are the unhappy couple seeking their destiny along separate paths.[71]

Positive Images of Mormons

Mormons as Conservative but Admirable, Transformed:

Not all images of Mormons as conservative are negative. In particular Joe's mother Hannah, who is portrayed negatively in her initial conservatism, is seen later to develop and to emerge as one of the more admirable characters.

> Whatever one thinks of his artistry or his politics, Kushner is a great entertainer. The one-liners are hilarious. Hannah, the prim, severely-coiffed Mormon elder, who emerges as one of the play's most admirable people, asks Prior Walter, the AIDS-stricken unwilling prophet first if he is a homosexual and then if he is a hairdresser. "Well it would be your lucky day if I was."[72]

The Mormon characters seem to show a positively perceived capacity for growth. The clearest example, as perceived by the critics, is this transformation of Hannah, but Joe and Harper are also shown as growing out of

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69. Interview with Kushner, *New York Times*.
70. Jamie James, "Flying Still Higher," *The Times*, Thursday, 6 May 1993.
71. Winn, "Marvelous Millennium."
72. Ed Siegel, "'Perestroika' Caps Kushner's Tour de Force," *The Boston Globe*, Thursday, 16 March 1995, sec. Living, p. 53, city edition.

crises, even if not in ways most Mormons would find admirable: Joe, for instance, finally acknowledges and acts out his homosexuality while Harper decides to leave him and make her own independent way.

> The other revelatory performance in "Perestroika" comes from Kathleen Chalfant, whose playing of multiple roles, including a brief turn as Cohn's doctor, gives the play some of its most memorable moments. Her transformation as the Mormon mother Hannah Pitt proves one of the most humanizing touches in the play.[73]

> Chalfant opens "Perestroika" as an elderly male Bolshevik passionately denouncing the worldwide collapse of idealism, then portrays a grim Mormon matriarch who blossoms as an AIDS caregiver.[74]

> Kushner said he has boxes full of letters from practicing Mormons and former Mormons, people with connections to the LDS church. Most of the letters have concerned Joe. "Many are from Mormon men," Kushner said, "who discovered their homosexuality and either left the church or left their marriage or went through an experience similar to Joe's." With the exception of one letter from a woman in Idaho, all have been positive. And the one negative letter turned into a positive experience. "I ended up having a very nice exchange of letters with her," Kushner said. "We're still in touch. She is a practicing Mormon and her concern was more with the sexual explicitness of some of the material."[75]

> In this same article, Kushner discusses his first "encounter" with a Mormon named Mary, then a teenager. He describes her as "a great kid, incredibly energetic, straightforward, sincere, intelligent—characteristics I associate with Mormons." He also remembers her LDS parents as "decent people who nevertheless opposed what I consider to be a generally progressive agenda."[76]

Mormons as Idealistic:

Some critics perceived Kushner's Mormons, particularly Joe, as idealistic.

> At the center is an idealistic young Mormon man, seduced into the dangerous orbit of 1980s power-broker Roy Cohn (the volcanic Ron Leibman), a demonic gay-baiter who in the Decade of Denial denies he has AIDS.[77]

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73. Malcolm Johnson, "'Perestroika' Concludes 'Angels in America,'" *The Hartford Courant*, 28 November 1993, sec. Arts, p. G1, A Edition.

74. Dan Hulbert, "Broadway Drama Left to 'Angels' while Gurney Revisits WASP Angst," *The Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, 17 November 1993, Sec. B, p. 11.

75. Nancy Melich, "A Look at the Characters and Themes of 'Angels.'"

76. Ibid.

77. Dan Hulbert, "Autumn in New York Broadway Handicapping the Season," *The Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, 19 September 1993, Sec. K, p. 1.

> At the same time, Joe Pitt (David Marshall Grant), a promising lawyer and devout Mormon, is trying desperately to hold his marriage together.[78]

Mormons as Human and Part of a Universal Community:

Many critics comment on the conclusion of the sequence in which Hannah sits in Washington Park with Prior, Louis, and Belize, now her friends and with whom she has made her peace. These wildly antithetical characters have actually become a community, acknowledging one another across their differences, and not least among them the Mormon.

> Consisting of a half-dozen plots that run simultaneously, the play encompasses the AIDS death of superlawyer Roy Cohn, bossy angels, a Valium-crazed woman who chews down a tree like a beaver and the breaking up and coming together of gays, Mormons, families and friends.[79]

> He derides individualism as outmoded and urges an ill-defined group responsibility. But one can challenge his easy assumption that Reagan and all his works have been discredited; his implicit parallel with the Soviet Union is absurd. Russia may be a land in tumult. America is a land in the midst of social tinkering and tolerance, where the old Mormon world and the, truth to tell, just as old urban Jewish gay world may not often intersect but can comfortably coexist.[80]

Misunderstanding Symbols

One final point to remember is that those outside Mormon culture, including the theater critics who are helping interpret the plays to a wider audience of readers, do not necessarily understand the symbols used in the same way that Mormons do. One telling example concerns the on-stage use of temple garments, which many Mormons find offensive. However, the only critic to even mention the garments simply suggests that the "Mormon's white nightgown" echoes Prior's bed sheet, an aesthetic mirroring which the critic sees as "one of many exquisite touches—as Kushner twines his two stories together."[81]

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78. David Richards, "Visions of Heaven—and of Hell; Angels in America—An Epic, All Right, But It's the Details and Future That Count," *The New York Times*, Sunday, 16 May 1993, sec. 2, p. 1, late edition—final.

79. David Patrick Stearns, "Spirit of 'Angels' Lifts 'Perestroika,'" *USA Today*, Wednesday, 24 November 1993, sec. Life, p. 1D, final edition.

80. William A. Henry III.

81. Steven Winn, "'Angels' Gets Even Better, Broadway Production Benefits from Restaging, Recasting," *The San Francisco Chronicle*, Wednesday, 5 May 1993, sec. Daily Datebook, p. D1, final edition.

Conclusion

The most striking conclusion of this study is that theater critics do indeed act as gatekeepers between Tony Kushner and the reading public. The most striking evidence of this is that, despite the visibility in the plays of Mormon themes and characters and despite Kushner's stated intentions, only 68 of 370 national reviews mentioned Mormons at all. It would be interesting for further research to try to uncover why critics make such gatekeeping selections. We can speculate on the reasons for not discussing Mormons: personal ideology, lack of background or interest, focus on topical issues such as AIDS or conservative politics. We do know from earlier studies that reporters and editors tend to focus on stories that have immediacy, that are sensational to readers, that touch on issues and themes familiar to readers, that deal with cultures that are familiar to both media professionals and readers, and that are linked to famous personalities.[82]

On the other hand, a number of critics did mention Mormons in their reviews. One of the most striking aspects of those that did was to view Mormon history and symbols as integral with American culture. Ten critics noted that Mormon symbols and mythology were important to the play and to America. One saw the play as "embracing" the Mormon "iconography of Joseph Smith" along with wildly diverse "legends" from politics and popular culture. In this context, six of the critics mentioned the Mormon migration west and three mentioned the Joseph Smith story. Five noted that Kushner had focused on Mormons and Jews in addressing the relevance of theology at the turn of the millennium. Two critics, including one who interviewed Kushner, noted Mormons as the "home-grown" American religion. All these mentions were essentially positive, although some Mormons may feel uncomfortable with the context or collateral implications.

Other themes in the reviews were more critical. Largely, these came as critics focused on Kushner's Mormons as emblematic of the Reagan era. Some of the reviews which tied Mormons to the 1980s were neutral in tone. However, most mentions of LDS ties to Reaganism were negative. And while most of the positive mentions were linked to major themes involving Mormonism, most of the negative mentions involved specific characters or characterizations. Joe Pitt was characterized by eleven reviews as "Reaganite," "conservative," "Republican," "well-scrubbed," "tightly wound," "taciturn," "straight-arrow," "sexually confused," "closet homosexual," "innocent," "confused," "idealistic," "ambitious," and "a lawyer." Harper was characterized by ten reviewers as

82. Johann Galtung and M. H. Ruge, "The Structure of Foreign News" in *Journal of Peace Research* 2 (1965): 64-69.

"fragile," "woozy," "depressed," "Valium-addicted," "pill-popping," "agoraphobic," "devout Mormon," "shattered," "sleep-walking," and "desperately unhappy." Hannah is shown by four reviewers in both positive and negative lights as "grim," "prim," "severely-coiffed," "old fashioned," but also as a "Mormon matriarch who blossoms as an AIDs caregiver."

Overall, we find a rough balance between positive and negative mentions of Mormonism from theater critics who reviewed *Angels*. So while the LDS community may have some cause to be concerned over the impression that *Angels in America* gives of Mormons, as reflected by its reviewers, the play has evoked positive acceptance of a great deal of Mormon history and imagery. The diversity of reviewers, themes, and images of Mormons cited from *Angels* shows us that we cannot assume, just from our own reading of a text like *Angels*, what the media professionals' or public's discourse about Mormons will be.

The appropriation of Mormon symbols and history into cultural productions not controlled by Mormons bothers some Mormons deeply. In a dialogue carried out on the AML e-mail distribution list, Thom Duncan[83] wrote:

> I am angry because, frankly, it shoulda been us up there. As we left the theatre, I said to Margie, "Well, there goes any chance any Mormon playwright will ever have of telling our story on the big stage. The first time we attempt to show Joseph having his first vision, people will call it derivative of *Angels in America*. Gone forever is any chance for any faithful Mormon playwright to tell our story in a dramatic context that won't look like plagiarism. The most dramatic, mystical, and wonderful symbols we have have been usurped forever. They are no longer distinctively ours."

Scott Parkin,[84] in reply, wrote:

> Just a quibble with Thom's comment that our own icons are now forever lost to us and Kushner will forever get the credit for innovating them. I disagree. Any critic who believes Kushner created the story of the first vision is dangerous to himself and others and should be ignored at all costs. Mormon symbols are no more lost to us than the menorah is lost to Jews or the cross lost to Catholics. It is unfortunate that a non-Mormon found a way to use them for commercial benefit before a Mormon did, but that neither invalidates the icons, nor makes them impossible for further use."

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83. Thom Duncan, "Angry about Angels," on *aml-list@cc.weber.edu* 1995, 11 December 1995, 12:22:40.

84. Scott Parkin, "Angry about Angels," aml-list@cc.weber.edu, 12 December 1995, 23:18:40.

Looking at Kushner's reviewers as well as at Kushner, we find that many Mormon symbols are already in play in American popular culture, sometimes not in ways or in contexts we might have wished, but out there and visible nonetheless. It seems we ought to have more insight into this phenomenon and be able to use it better; moreover, it's clear that, if we don't, others will. We do not think anyone has pre-empted the story or symbols of Mormonism, but we do recognize that both have acquired a life of their own in the American imagination. Kushner's new layer of interpretation builds over earlier layers. In the end, we will have to deal with this popular understanding as well as with our own preferred vision.

The First Christmas Eve at Home

N. Andrew Spackman

The air above my parents' roof is cold.
It pushes smoke back down the chimney,
forcing me to turn off the fire alarm
and open both windows.
My wife and I still can't breathe,
so I hang a wet towel from the mantel
next to the Christmas stockings
my mom made for the family.
On mine she needled 'baby.'
The one she made for Kathy
is black with soot.

Crouched beneath the smoke,
Kathy and I drank eggnog.
On our hands and knees,
we lap it up like kittens.
She hides her hands in my hair
and sponges my face with kisses.
"Be soft," she says
when I bite her lip on the hide-a-bed.
That night, in dreams, I stand before her,
black with soot and tempting.
She says all she wants is a pomegranate.

Informed Scholarship

LDS Perspectives on the Dead Sea Scrolls. Edited by Donald W. Parry and Dana M. Pike (Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1997).

Reviewed by Wade Kotter, Associate Professor of Libraries, Weber State University, Ogden, Utah.

RECENT YEARS HAVE SEEN A REVIVAL of interest in the Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS) among Latter-day Saints, prompted in part by the appointment of several BYU faculty (Donald W. Parry, David R. Seely, Dana M. Pike, and Andrew W. Skinner) to the international team of DSS editors and by publicity surrounding the creation of the FARMS-BYU Dead Sea Scrolls electronic database. In response to this increased interest, BYU's College of Religious Education and the Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies (FARMS) co-sponsored a one-day public conference at BYU on 23 March 1996 entitled "LDS Perspectives on the Dead Sea Scrolls." The presentations made at this conference form the basis for all but one of the chapters in the volume under review.

This collection begins with a brief but useful introduction that includes a discussion of DSS terminology, a timeline describing recent LDS involvement in DSS research, and a list of selected LDS and non-LDS publications on the DSS. This is followed by an excellent beginning chapter specially prepared for this volume by Andrew W. Skinner in which he provides a thorough, well-written introduction to the majority opinion regarding the DSS and the people who created them. One wishes that Skinner had spent more time discussing the issues raised by the small group of serious scholars who question various aspects of this majority opinion, such as those who place the origin of the DSS in Jerusalem or Ein Gedi, but this is a minor quibble. In fact, if the small number of LDS specific passages were removed, this chapter would be a serious candidate for inclusion in any textbook on the DSS no matter the publisher or the intended audience. The same can be said for chapter 2, a discussion by Donald W. Parry of the contribution of the DSS to biblical scholarship. This concise, well-written chapter makes its points clearly and concisely without overwhelming the reader with unnecessary detail.

Chapter 3, by Dana M. Pike, focuses on a topic of more direct interest to Latter-day Saints. Pike examines the DSS in order to discern if their ancient authors' belief system included elements of the LDS "Plan of Salvation." Readers hoping to find a positive answer to this question will be disappointed; the DSS show little evidence to support such a claim. In fact, many central elements of the LDS view are not found at all, while others appear in the form of what Pike claims to be ". . . corrupted echoes of true doctrines . . ." (90).

In the next chapter, David Rolph Seeley summarizes the nature of wor-

ship among the people of the DSS. The approach is less LDS-centric than the previous chapter; in fact, it comes close to the same level of generality as do the chapters by Skinner and Parry. The Old Testament origin of ritual among the DSS community is clear, as are the comparisons to LDS practices of similar origin.

Chapter 5 represents a major change of direction. It is the only chapter contributed by a non-LDS scholar, Florentino García Martinez of the University of Groningen in the Netherlands. It is also the longest chapter and the one that will be of greatest difficulty for the vast majority of LDS readers. Paradoxically, it is also the chapter that makes perhaps the greatest contribution to DSS scholarship. Martinez examines in great detail the corpus of texts that contains traces of what he refers to as the "Messianic Hopes of the Qumran Writings." He identifies at least five distinct messianic figures, none of whom correlates well with the LDS view of the true Messiah. The texts Martinez examines do not provide a coherent view of the community's messianic beliefs and even raise the question as to whether a single, consistent viewpoint ever existed in the community. While this might be disturbing to some LDS readers, it highlights the difficulties that arise when we approach ancient documents with present-day preconceptions.

The next chapter returns to an overtly LDS perspective. This short paper by Stephen Ricks explores several similarities between the DSS and the Book of Mormon, both from an historical and a theological perspective. While the similarities presented are interesting, none is terribly surprising or enlightening, although some readers might find them faith-promoting. As Ricks points out, most of the parallels seem to reflect a common origin in ancient Hebrew culture. Unlike the scholarly tone of the earlier chapters that incorporate a distinctive LDS theme, I found that this chapter reads more like an extended passage from a Sunday school manual or the transcript of a fireside talk. But the original conference was directed to the LDS public, so this is perhaps understandable. Perhaps the previous chapter on messianic hopes would have found a better fit in this collection if Martinez had reworked it with the non-specialist character of this book's audience in mind.

The final chapters are practical instead of topical. In chapter 7, Scott R. Woodward, Associate Professor of Microbiology at BYU, discusses his experiments with DNA typing for piecing together the hundreds of parchment fragments which make up the vast majority of the DSS that are yet to be translated. At the time of the conference, this project was just beginning, although preliminary results were encouraging. Finally, Donald W. Parry, Steven W. Booras, and E. Jan Wilson describe their work on the FARMS-BYU Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Database. There is no doubt that this database will become a productive tool for serious scholarship on the DSS.

In conclusion, given the title of the volume, it seems a little odd that there is not all that much that is uniquely LDS about these papers. Paradoxically, this oddity may, in fact, increase the value of this collection for LDS readers. What we need is more informed scholarship on the DSS such as this collection provides and less uninformed speculation such as still can be found on the fireside circuit. Although not a major contribution to DSS scholarship, this volume does fill an important gap in LDS literature on this fascinating and important subject.

The Book of Mormon as Great Literature

Feasting on the Word. By Richard Dilworth Rust (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1997).

Reviewed by L. Mikel Vause, professor of English and director of the Honors Program, Weber State University, Ogden, Utah.

A NUMBER OF YEARS AGO when I was attending Bowling Green University as a graduate student, I was introduced to the writings of John Muir, the American naturalist. One of the approaches we used in studying Muir was to look at his long narratives and extract passages that were particularly lyrical—poetic. By way of illustration, my professor provided me with several passages poet Gary Snyder had extracted from Muir's work and transposed from prose to poetry. The power of Muir's works jumped off the page. It was because of those few poems that I arrived at the topic for my thesis. I chose to explore the poetic and lyrical passages in a number of Muir's books tracing his growth as a poet and a transcendentalist. In his book, *Feasting on the Word*, Richard Dilworth Rust examines the Book of Mormon for its poetic and literary quality. There can be no question of the importance of the Book of Mormon as a divinely inspired scripture, but seldom is it considered as a monumental piece of literature. The treatment it receives at the hands of Rust places it solidly in the category of not only good literature, but his case for it as great literature is so well founded, it must be accepted without argument.

His approach is that of solid scholarship, and he avoids the didacticism that comes so naturally when dealing with religious writings. I heard Raymond Carver, the American short story writer and poet, once say that his stories needed to be read aloud; in fact it was his contention that all literature is better when it can be experienced on as many sensory levels as possible. Rust, in explaining how he came to this project, told of reading passages from the Book of Mormon aloud to his children and how the poetics became very apparent. By extracting lyrical passages such as 2 Nephi 4:15-16 and transposing them from chapter and verse into poetic verse, Rust makes clear his contention that the Book of Mormon is not only of theological value, but of important literary value as well.

> For my soul delighteth in the scriptures,
> and my heart pondereth them,
> and writeth them for the learning and the profit of my children.
> Behold, my soul delighteth in the things of the Lord;
> and my heart pondereth continually upon the things which I have seen and heard.

Rust's argument is further strengthened by his clear comparisons with such revered writers as Shakespeare and Nathaniel Hawthorne for both style and content. The book is divided into chapters by topical ideas all leading to the conclusion that great literature is that which inspires the reader and elevates the human spirit. The divisions are as follows: introduction, narrators and narratives, epic elements, poetry, sermons, letters and autobiography, imagery, typology, and larger perspectives. By exploring the Book of Mormon from such perspectives, Rust adds a sustaining vote of

support to a truly epic piece of literature and inspired work of art. He calls it "an active epic . . . [that] give[s] meaning to humankind's general destiny" (64).

The broad scope of *Feasting on the Word* is another scholarly aspect that weighs in its favor. For instance, when discussing the literary value of the "letters" of the Book of Mormon, Rust uses a definition of the term "letters" by Hugh Walpole: "[letters] ought to be nothing but extempore conversation upon paper" (149). According to Rust, the letters found within the Book of Mormon "have claim to be examined as literature because they engage our interest both for what they say and for the way in which they are expressed. The imagery found within the *Book of Mormon's* text is also of great import in describing its literary value. According to C. Day Lewis and N. Friedman: "Imagery in a literary sense is 'a picture made of words' . . . and 'refers to images produced in the mind by language . . .'" (167). By way of illustration, Rust cites Alma 26:5-7 as to "the vividness and clarifying power of imagery" (168) found in the Book of Mormon:

> The field was ripe, and blessed are ye, for ye did thrust in the sickle, and did reap with your might, yea, all the day long did ye labor; and behold the number of your sheaves! And they shall be gathered into the garners, that they are not wasted. Yea, they shall not be beaten down by the storm at the last day; yea, neither shall they be harrowed up by the whirlwinds; but when the storm cometh they shall be gathered together in their place, that the storm cannot penetrate to them; yea, neither shall they be driven with fierce winds whithersoever the enemy listeth to carry them. But behold, they are in the hands of the Lord of the harvest, and they are his; and he will raise them up at the last day.

Feasting on the Word is an extremely well done piece of scholarship. It is insightful and thorough in dealing with what Joseph Smith said is the "cornerstone" of Mormon theology—The Book of Mormon. Richard Rust is correct in stating: "On each rereading, the book becomes more significant, deep, and powerful . . ." (219); Rust's work helps clarify just how deep and powerful.

A Handsome Volume

Mahonri Young: His Life and Art. By Thomas E. Toone (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997).

Reviewed by Jessie L. Embry, Oral History Program Director, Charles H. Redd Center, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

MORMONS ASSOCIATE MAHONRI YOUNG with his LDS sculptures: *Seagull Monument* and *This Is the Place Monument* in Salt Lake City, and the Brigham Young statue in Washington, D.C. Yet Young was internationally known for his work, and his pictures and sculptures of the Native Ameri-

cans of the southwest, men at work, and boxers are exquisite.

Thomas E. Toone's biography revolves around Young's art. Toone, a professor of art at Utah State University, explains Young's life based on his work. He describes Young's struggle to receive commissions, his moves, his teaching experiences, and his family life, but the focus is always the painting or sculpting that Young was doing at the time. There are delightful stories such as Young's ability to please the Young family and Utah's congressional delegates by showing his grandfather, Brigham Young, as a gentle father and stern governor. The text is light and a delightful read.

Toone helps us understand more about Young by including brief biographies of other artists—friends and competitors. He shows how Young worked by explaining how he found models and developed his themes. He describes Young's love for the Hopis, Apaches, and Navajos and the love those people had for him as he sketched his way through the southwest.

As with most art books, the illustrations are essential. There are beautiful pictures of Young's art, some in color and most in black and white. I enjoyed the various angles of some of the sculptures such as the backs of the model for Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Wilford Woodruff from *This Is the Place Monument.* The pictures of sculptures, such as the *Gossipers,* capture the three-dimensional aspects of the works. There are also photographs of Young and his family that illustrate the artist's personality.

As a historian, I would have liked more analysis of the people and events surrounding Young's work. For example, how did Young convince Mormon church leaders to construct the *Seagull Monument*? Why did the Utah Pioneer Trails and Landmarks Association insist on a competition for *This Is the Place Monument*? What were the politics in teaching and working in New York and Paris?

But then I realize that there are many types of biographies. While Toone's book is not a complete study of all aspects of Young's life, it does give a clear picture of his art, exactly what Toone set out to do. It is a handsome volume that will liven up any coffee table.

ABOUT THE ARTIST

Royden Card was born in Canada and raised in Utah. His main inspiration and focus have been the red rock landscape. He captures the impact of the desert in basic black and white woodcuts and his small canvasses convey the majesty of the landscape in miniature zen-like views.

Royden received his BFA and MFA from Brigham Young University. His works are held in University and private collections nationwide including the Smithsonian in Washington DC. From 1989 to 1992 the State of Utah honored recipients of the "Governor's Award in the Arts" with a collection of Royden's woodcuts.

Royden has taught part time for the University of Utah and Utah Valley State College. For sixteen years he was a printmaking instructor for Brigham Young University. He now devotes his time to painting and printmaking. Recently his paintings have become larger in scale and more colorful. He resides in Salt Lake but frequently wanders the red rock deserts of the southwest. The line drawings and painting reproduced here were created during recent travels in Israel and Egypt.

LINE DRAWINGS

Cover: (clockwise starting top left)
"Peaks Near Mt. Sinai"
"From Mount Sinai—Looking North, Dawn"
"Gardener's Hut—Wadi Tellah—Egypt"
"Looking Southwest From Seven Arches Hotel"
"Morning of the First Commandments," painting

Back: (clockwise starting top left)
"Jaffa Gate"
"On Temple Mount—Jerusalem—Pillar Bases, Walls, Doors, and Windows"
"Courtyard, Old Jaffa"
"South East of Katherine, Egypt— Near Mt. Sinai"
"Piece of Western Wall"

Inside:
p. 70: "Street Old Jerusalem"
p. 106: "Wohl Museum—Post Shelf"
p. 132: "Window on South Wall of Temple Mount"

Inside Back Cover:
"The Citadel"

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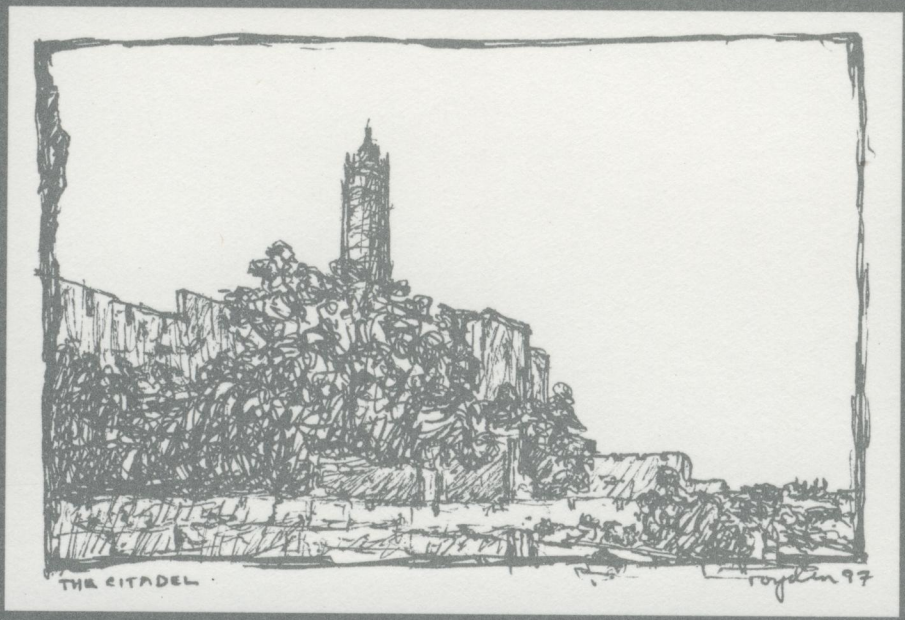
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