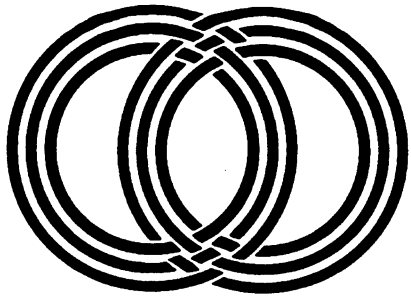
DIALOGUE

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.

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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.

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Left Right Left

There is only one reason I am renewing my subscription to *Dialogue*. It is because I have every issue that was ever published since the first issue. If it was not for that I would not continue to subscribe to *Dialogue* because of the liberal leanings of the articles that you now publish. *Dialogue* started out years ago on the liberal side, being critical of the church and its leaders, but then the articles moved more to the center. Now you are back out in the left field again.

I suppose there are those unfaithful members who have a need to bring others down with themselves. As I said if I did not have a complete collection, my subscription would be history.... Please enter my subscription for renewal.

Gale W. Tenney
San Diego, California

Thank you

I have enjoyed Reading *Dialogue* for several years. I was so grateful to read Grant Boswell's article "'Easy to be Entreated,'" vol. 32, no. 4 (Winter 1999), with his treatment of Wayne Booth's *Modern Dogma and the Rhetoric of Assent*. I love the statement: "to the extent that a person is dogmatic, he or she is not acting as a Christian" (69).

I find it difficult to agree with dogmatic attitudes in leaders or members. They make the gospel teaching so confusing and unbelievable. I hope the letters from readers continue in future *Dialogues*. Feedback is very enriching. I am 85 years old, so I feel like I am fortunate if I can continue reading another year. I rejoice in your efforts to catch up and your excellent desire to give your subscribers an interesting diet.

Rhoda Thurston
Hatch , New Mexico

Scholarly Error is Still Error

In his paper "Did Christ Pay for Our Sins?" (*Dialogue* 32, no. 4) R. Dennis potter makes the same tragic mistake academically which Mormon leaders often make doctrinally—trying to impose a higher law onto a lesser law. The outcome can only be perversion of truth. The fact that Mr. Potter's discussion presents an intellectually correct reasoning process, including footnotes and references, does not make it any less of a distortion. Scholarly error is still error.

The atoning sacrifice of Jesus Christ is a gift of LOVE, offered to humanity by a loving God and accomplished by a loving Christ, both of whom abide in the LAW OF LOVE, the Celestial Law, the highest law. To analyze this gracious manifestation of caring from the point of view of the least law, the Law of Justice, the Telestial Law, is a travesty. It denies the pure essence of perfect love inherent in God's entire plan for us.

Christ's suffering was not "punishment" for our sins; he was tortured and crucified because MEN are jealous, ignorant, and cruel, and because mobs lust for blood. Power-hungry men, sometimes even under the guise of "justice," have inflicted pain equally horrendous on many people. It was not his suffering which made Christ's crucifixion different from any other. It was his magnificent LOVE!! It was his perfect caring, which says, "I UNDER-

STAND your untenable situation, living in a fallen world where you will hurt others and be hurt; I am willing to carry that burden with you as long as you need me to; when you recognize my love and choose it, I will heal you." The quality and extent of love this powerful isn't even comprehended by most of mankind and certainly cannot be explained using the Law of Justice.

In his conclusion, Mr. Potter did look at the Law of Mercy, the Terrestrial Law. But again, he tried to impose it on the lesser Law of Justice. The ability to FEEL mercy (an attribute bestowed by God as "a mighty change of heart") is different from the ability to intellectualize about mercy.

Perhaps Mr. Potter should "pray with all the energy of his heart to be filled with the pure love of Christ" (Moroni 7: 46–48) before he tries to analyze Christ's atoning sacrifice.

Gay N. Blanchard
Holladay, Utah

Oh, Ye of Mere Faith

Glen J. Hettinger's article, "Give Me that Old Time Testimony Meeting" (*Dialogue* 32, no. 4) crystallizes beautifully one of the most important problems of today's Mormonism at the personal level: the reduction of faith to a weakness, or worse. Hettinger's article should, in my view, be read by every member of the church along with this scripture: "To some it is given to know that Jesus Christ is the Son of God. To others it is given to believe on their words, that they also might have eternal life if they continue faithful" (D&C 46:13-14).

Unfortunately, as Hettinger writes, today's members are expected to receive a knowledge, a manifestation or divine confirmation, that the Mormon church is the only true church, Joseph Smith and Gordon B. Hinckley are prophets, and so forth. All worthy members are expected to be able to declare, "I know." Because of this unrealistic expectation, thoughtful members with unresolved religious questions and uncertainties sometimes experience agonizing introspection, emotional difficulties, and self-imposed alienation.

Mormon psychologist Frances Lee Menlove—as published thirty-three years ago in these very pages—described the problem as the "unruffled Mormon syndrome" (*Dialogue* 1, no. 1, Spring 1967). For Dr. Menlove, the unruffled Mormon is a completely fulfilled and integrated Latter-day Saint, untroubled by doubts and questions that afflict others. Oblivious to the pain and probing of other truth-seekers, this member is secure in his or her ability to understand all religious issues.

Although some Mormons may live comfortably close to the unruffled ideal, the majority find themselves unable to achieve and sustain this serenity (the number is thought to be as high as 80% of those baptized worldwide sometime during their lifetimes). Attempts to fit the unruffled mold can create a number of problems. For example, those who repress their natural urge to question, so they can maintain an unruffled image, may settle for appearing to have knowledge in place of actual conviction (e.g., the "closet doubter"). Over a period of time, such self-deception can create emotional conflict and foster feelings of guilt and hypocrisy. They may confide, "I'm living a lie. What's wrong with me? I can't live up to the expectations of others. I feel so guilty; the Lord must hate me." Others struggling for surety are

often caught in an endless cycle of attempts and failures to achieve the perceived perfection of the unruffled state. These defeats can result in feelings of frustration, discouragement, unworthiness, or low self esteem: "I've prayed and fasted, but I still have questions. Why don't I get the same answers as others? I just can't accept a calling while I have these nagging doubts. I don't deserve blessings because I have uncertainties and questions inside."

Members with unresolved doubts may also experience marital conflicts, denial of reality, reduced ability to deal with feelings and emotions, reduced motivation to learn, and feelings of disorientation: "My wife keeps saying, 'Why can't you just believe? Why do you have to question everything?' She thinks I'm not trying, that I'm somehow unworthy of the blessings of a sure knowledge. Why can't she just understand that's the way I am?"

As Hettinger suggests, members desiring to discuss their questions and doubts often find communication difficult or impossible. And when there is no chance to talk with others, emotional, spiritual, and intellectual growth suffer. Such members can feel alienated from the religious community, either through emotional withdrawal or actual decrease in church activity: "If I can't have the same assurance as others, I don't want to participate. I can't talk to anybody about this. If it weren't for the kids (my parents, my wife, my husband), I'd just quit it all."

We know the problem. The question is what to do about it. As they say, all religion is local. Suppose readers of *Dialogue* simply stood up in testimony meeting and told the bald truth about their searching, doubts, struggles, and willingness to live by faith. Would it make a difference? Ten years ago, speaking in our Sacrament meeting, I stated simply (in my closing "testimony") that I didn't know anything for sure, that I was skeptical about some aspects of Mormonism, that I hoped for the best, and that I supported the church and lived the gospel on the basis of faith. Some people in my ward still mention that talk. And it opened an avenue for a few to express their true feelings and beliefs (if only to me).

If we—who understand the problem—don't do it, who will?

D. Jeff Burton, author,
For Those Who Wonder
Bountiful, Utah

Faithful Doubt

Glenn J. Hettinger regrets that there's no room for faith anymore (Winter 1999). Faith isn't good enough. We have to *know* the gospel is true, etc. Personally I think Mormons use faith in at least two different contexts: (1) they have faith that the gospel is true, and (2) they have faith that God answers their prayers. So faith can be belief or confidence.

My own experience is that Mormons use faith to beef up low probabilities (such as the assumptions in (1) and (2) above, for example). Of course, with respect to faith as confidence, there are many secular examples. For instance, Randy Cross says that in the 49er huddles of the 1982 Super Bowl—during that famous last drive down the field—quarterback Joe Montana would say to his team, in stirring tones—"Believe! Believe!" And Joe finally found John Taylor in the end zone with the winning touchdown

pass. The odds were probably with the Bengals during that final drive—but not by much.

What are the odds that there is a Mormon heaven? When I was a student at Stanford, I attended a Sunday service in their chapel to hear revered theologian Paul Tillich speak. The sermon was on "hope," and he distinguished between "true hope" and "false hope"—examples: True hope is a boy's anticipating that he will grow up to be a man. False hope is thinking you are going to heaven. (The sermon was not delivered in a Mormon chapel, of course.)

In his essay, "The Will to Believe," Harvard pragmatist William James said that if it *helps* you to believe your religion, then *believe* it. And British philosopher Bertrand Russell, making fun of this suggestion, said (in his *History of Western Philosophy*) that he had always wanted to meet a man named Ebenezer Wilkes Smith. On a train he saw a man walking toward him, down the aisle, and Russell called out, saying, "Ebenezer Wilkes Smith!" But it turned out that this was not the man's name even though Russell had wanted it to be. (If you don't understand Russell's point, there's no hope for you.)

Let's move to Tillich's definition of "faith"—*ultimate concern*. If you're really caught up in something, then you're faithful to it. Notice what happens to "doubt" in this definition: whereas in normal Christian parlance a doubt is the negation of faith (faith being something like "belief"), under Tillich's construction, a profound doubter could be very faithful—the profundity of his doubt being part of the depth of his ultimate concern.

Oh never mind. . . . Go back to sleep.

Joseph Jeppson
WOODSIDE, CALIFORNIA

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

Devery S. Anderson

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

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

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

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

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

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

III. 1971-1976: "In The Valley of The Shadow"

> I would be terribly disturbed at the prospect of *Dialogue* "going under." I too am mystified at your seeming inability to get more subscriptions. . . . I will of course, keep asking all my friends the *Dialogue* "golden question."
>
> Armand L. Mauss to Robert A. Rees, 6 January 1973

> I have made an in-depth study of content and form through the last ten years, and I would put Rees's performance up against anybody's, considering the great odds under which he worked.
>
> Mary L. Bradford to Robert F. Smith, 10 February 1977

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Move South

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

11. See Anderson, 33.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

17. Ibid.

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

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

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

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

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

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18. *Board of Editors Newsletter*, 6 (January 1972):1 & 2, *Dialogue* Collection.
19. Ibid.
20. "Prospectus," 1971, 3.

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

The Utah Editorial Team

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

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

21. Rees to Anderson, 1 June 1998.

22. Rees to Anderson, 17 August 1999.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Late Issues, Shrinking Subscribers

With *Dialogue* already behind schedule when he began his tenure, Rees faced a difficult challenge. The spring and summer issues of 1971, although several months late, were at press by early November, and would be mailed before the end of the month. The plan was for the fall issue to follow in January 1972.[33] However, further delays caused by converting to a new computer program forced the fall issue to be combined with the winter release, thus becoming the first double issue in *Dialogue*'s publishing history.[34] Although it did not appear until June 1972, this combined issue was a blessing, given the strained finances. In a letter to former editors, Rees wrote: "According to my calculation we

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

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

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

32. Geary to Anderson, 31 January 2000.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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35. Rees to England, Geary, Johnson, and Salisbury, 28 February 1972.
36. T. E. Littlefield to Robert A. Rees, 26 October 1971, *Dialogue* Collection.
37. Rees to Littlefield, 3 November 1971.
38. T. E. Littlefield to Robert A. Rees, 18 November 1971, *Dialogue* Collection.
39. Robert A. Rees to Dr. Harold T. Christensen, 28 October 1975, *Dialogue* Collection.
40. Rees to Anderson, 1 June 1998.
41. Robert A. Rees to Gary H. Driggs, 7 November 1971, *Dialogue* Collection.

Four months later, subscriptions had dropped to 3,800. A year later, they numbered only 2,000.[42] Thus, it was left to Rees not only to manage the journal, but to save it as well.

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

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

Dialogue Chapters and Fund-raising

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Getting Back on Schedule

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

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

46. Rees to Johnson, 11 January 1972.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The change did, in fact, pay off. Through exhausting labor, the Los Angeles team managed to publish seven issues between November 1971 and December 1972, nearly catching the journal up to schedule for the first time since 1969.[58]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

62. Ibid.

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

The Women's Issue

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

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

63. England interview, 8 November 1994.

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

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

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

67. Bushman to Anderson, 14 May 2000.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

70. Bushman to Anderson, 14 May 2000.

71. Ulrich to Anderson, 9 May 2000.

72. Bushman to Anderson, 14 May 2000.

73. Ulrich to Anderson, 9 May 2000.

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

75. Bushman to Anderson, 14 May 2000.

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

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

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

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

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

77. Bushman to Anderson, 14 May 2000.

78. Ibid.

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

80. Ulrich, 30.

81. Ulrich to Anderson, 9 May 2000.

Sisters: Women in Early Utah, edited by Claudia Bushman in 1976.[82] While researching her own lecture for the same institute project that Dushku began, Susan Kohler discovered at the Widener Library a set of the defunct Mormon feminist magazine, *Women's Exponent*, which ran from 1874–1914. With this forgotten voice serving as inspiration, a successor, *Exponent II*, was launched in the summer of 1974. Bushman served as its first editor with Ulrich and ten other women forming the editorial board.[83] The newspaper is still published quarterly out of Arlington, Massachusetts. "I suppose the pink issue gave us confidence that we could do more things," says Bushman, reflecting on the energy that followed it.[84]

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

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

Dialogue and the Beginning of "Camelot"

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

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

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

84. Bushman to Anderson, 14 May 2000.

85. Ibid.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Dialogue's *Dark Days of 1973*

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

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

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

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

92. Rees telephone interview, 9 December 1994.

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

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

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

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

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

More Chapters, More Money

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

An Unlikely Endorsement

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The "Negro Doctrine," Round Two

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

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

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103. Robert A. Rees to Joe J. Christensen, 8 August 1973, *Dialogue* Collection.
104. Joe J. Christensen to Robert A. Rees, 14 September 1973, *Dialogue* Collection.
105. Robert A. Rees to Joe J. Christensen, 26 September 1973, *Dialogue* Collection.
106. Robert A. Rees to Doug Alder, 8 August 1973, *Dialogue* Collection.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Meanwhile, Bush made arrangements with Rees to publish his research as an article in *Dialogue* and sent off his manuscript in March 1973.[116] Two months later, Bush wrote Rees: "On the recommendation of several close friends I have sent a copy (with the errors corrected) of my paper to the Church, and explained my plans regarding it."[117] Two weeks later, Bush received, second-hand, a response from Packer that the Brethren "'were anxious' that I 'not publish the material until after I had talked with a member of the Quorum of the Twelve.'"[118]

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

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

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

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

116. Ibid., 249.

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

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

119. Ibid., 252.

120. Ibid., 254.

121. Ibid., 255.

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

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

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

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

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122. Rees telephone interview, 9 December 1994.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

130. Rees to Bush, 12 October 1973.

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

The Science Issue

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

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

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

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

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

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

134. Ibid.

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

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

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

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

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

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

139. Farmer to Anderson, 3 February 2000.

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

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

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

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

> The statement made by Elder Smith that the existence of pre-Adamites is not a doctrine of the Church is true. It is just as true that the statement: "There were not pre-Adamites upon the earth," is not a doctrine of the Church. Neither side of the controversy has been accepted as a doctrine at all.
>
> Both parties make the scripture and the statements of men who have been prominent in the affairs of the Church the basis of their contention; neither has produced definite proof in support of his views.
>
> Upon the fundamental doctrines of the Church we are all agreed. Our mission is to bear the message of the restored gospel to the people of the world. Leave Geology, Biology, Archaeology and Anthropology, no one of which has to do with the salvation of the souls of mankind, to scientific research, while we magnify our calling in the realm of the Church. . . .[144]

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

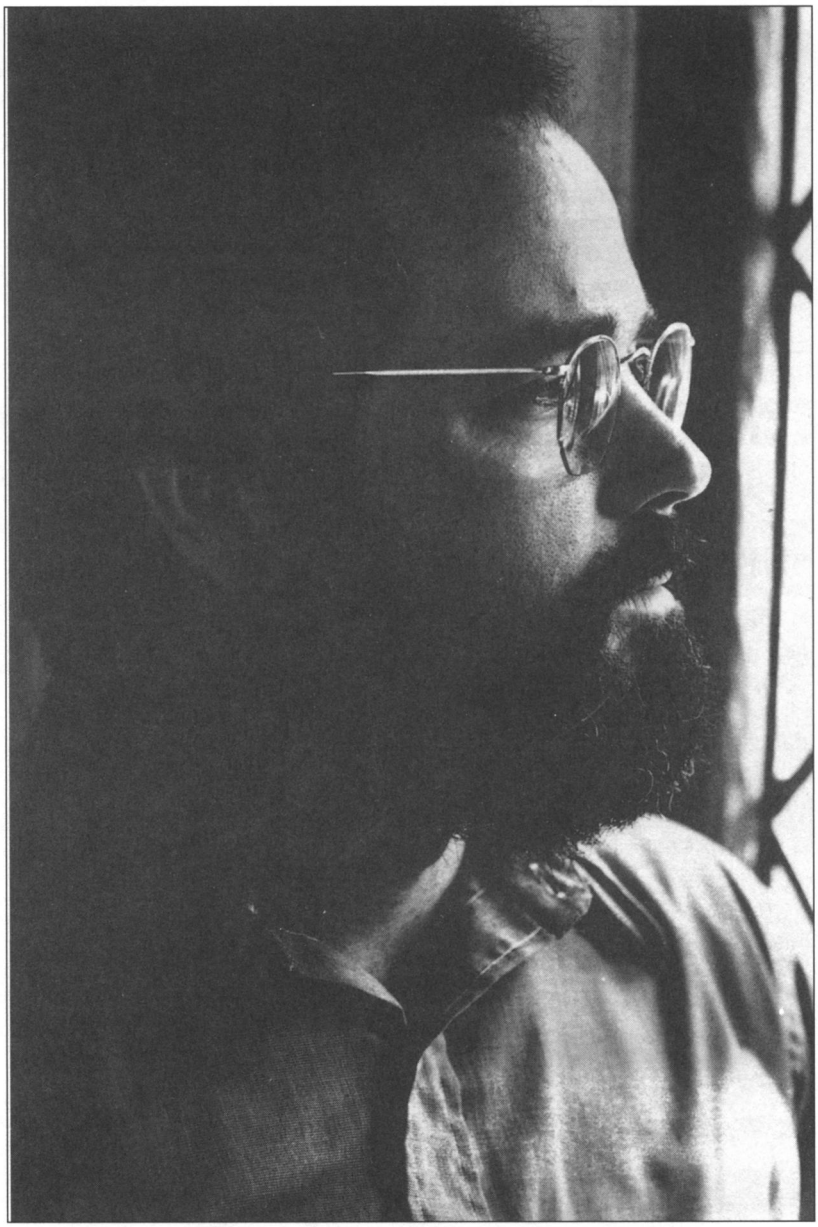
At least one general authority could not contain his displeasure, however. Speaking at a BYU devotional over a year and a half later, Apostle Ezra Taft Benson, then president of the Quorum of the Twelve, criticized what he called a "humanistic emphasis on history." Then, while not identifying it precisely,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

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

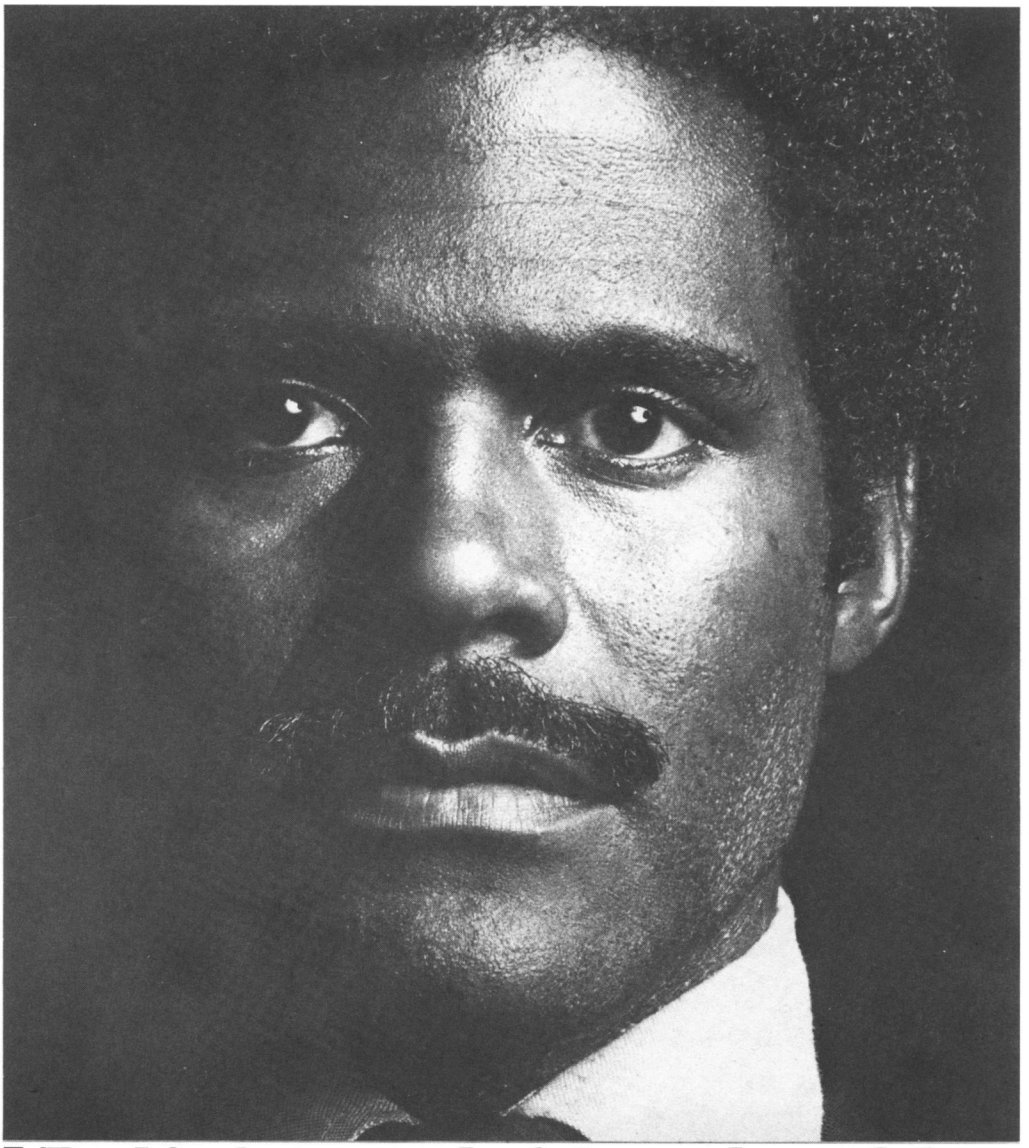
143. Jeffery, 63. See "'Mormon' View of Evolution—Man Created in God's Image," *Deseret News*, 18 July 1925, section 3, v, reprinted in part as "'Mormon' View of Evolution," *Improvement Era* 28 (September 1925): 1090–91.

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

145. Jeffery to Anderson, 6 February 2000.



Robert A. Rees, Editor from 1971 to 1976



"'Darkies' are wonderful people, and they have a place in our Church." -Joseph Fielding Smith (1962)

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

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

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Dialogue

> Elder Mark E. Petersen, who wrote [the] foreword to Elder Smith's book, a book I would encourage all to read. . . .
>
> When one understands that the author to whom I alluded is an exponent of the theory of organic evolution, his motive in disparaging President Joseph Fielding Smith becomes apparent. To hold to a private opinion on such matters is one thing, but when one undertakes to publish his views to discredit the work of a prophet, it is a very serious matter.[146]

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

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

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

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

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

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

147. Jeffery to Anderson, 6 February 2000.

148. Ibid.

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

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

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

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

150. Jeffery to Anderson, 6 February 2000.

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

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

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

Saving the Journal

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

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

153. Rees to England, 30 October 1974.

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

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

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

Annual Subscription Rate $20
RECOMMENDED ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION RATE:

Annual Gross Income	*Rate*
More than 20,000	$25
More than 30,000	$30
More than 40,000	$40

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

154. Robert Rees to Chapter Chairmen, 10 January 1974, *Dialogue* Collection.
155. Undated note from David R. Smith, *Dialogue* Collection.
156. Robert A. Rees to Mary L. Bradford, 19 December 1973, *Dialogue* Collection.
157. Robert A. Rees to Rondo W. Anderson, 26 February 1974, *Dialogue* Collection.

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

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

The Founding of Sunstone

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

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

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

Dialogue associate editor Mary Bradford later wrote Rees regarding

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

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

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

161. Ibid.; Warthen, 50–51.

162. Warthen, 56.

163. Ibid., 53.

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

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

Commitment to Quality

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

173. Ibid.

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

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

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

177. Rees to England, 30 October 1974.

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

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

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

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

179. Rees to Anderson, 1 June 1998.

180. Rees to Anderson, 17 August 1999.

181. Ibid.

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

183. Rees to Anderson, 11 April 2000.

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

Selecting a Replacement

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

Wrapping Things up in Los Angeles

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

184. Ibid.
185. Thomasson to Anderson, 31 March 2000.
186. Robert A. Rees to *Dialogue* Board of Editors, 27 January 1976, *Dialogue* Collection.
187. Robert A. Rees to editorial staff in Los Angeles, 23 January 1975, *Dialogue* Collection.
188. Robert A. Rees to Walter Whipple, 19 September 1975, *Dialogue* Collection.
189. Robert A. Rees to Leonard J. Arrington, 27 January 1976, *Dialogue* Collection.
190. Rees to Anderson, 1 June 1998.
191. Rees to Board of Editors, 27 January 1976.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

196. Rushforth telephone interview, 21 April 2000.

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

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

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

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

198. Rees to Anderson, 1 June 1998.

199. Ibid.

200. Thomasson to Anderson, 31 March 2000.

201. Rees to Anderson, 12 March 2000.

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

IV. 1976–1982: "A Sacred Trust"

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

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

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

Lester E. Bush, 10 May 1978

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

202. Rees to Anderson, 1 June 1998.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

206. Rees to Anderson, 28 May 1998.

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

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

The "West-East Dialogue Trek"

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

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

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

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

209. Bradford Oral History, 2.

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

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

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

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

A Woman at the Helm

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

Rees eventually responded, and a delivery truck arrived in Bradford's driveway. "I have a newly arrived secretary and 86 boxes in my garage and basement," wrote Bradford on 21 May 1976.[216] By prearrangement, Linda Smithana, Rees's secretary in Los Angeles, moved briefly to Arlington to help Bradford get established. Bradford housed her temporarily before Smithana departed for New Jersey three months later.[217]

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

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

213. Bradford Oral History, 3; Bradford, "My Ten Years with *Dialogue*," 11.
214. Mary L. Bradford to Robert A. Rees, 15 October 1975, *Dialogue* Collection.
215. Mary Bradford to Robert Rees, 10 January 1976, *Dialogue* Collection.
216. Mary Bradford to Elisabeth Stewart, 21 May 1976, *Dialogue* Collection.
217. Bradford to Anderson, 26 March 2000.

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

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

The Washington Staff

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

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

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

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

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218. Mary Bradford to Robert Rees, 25 March 1976, *Dialogue* Collection.
219. Lester E. Bush to Devery S. Anderson, 7 February 1999.
220. Bradford to Anderson, 26 March 2000.
221. Lester E. Bush to Devery S. Anderson, 14 April 2000.

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

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

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

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222. Bradford to Anderson, 26 March 2000.

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

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

225. Bradford to Anderson, 26 March 2000.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

231. Bradford Oral History, 4.

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

A "Homey" Atmosphere

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

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

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

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

234. Bradford to Anderson, 26 March 2000.

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

236. Pottmyer to Anderson, 2 April 2000.

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

Reclaiming Lost Sheep

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

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

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

237. Bush to Anderson, 14 April 2000.

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

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

240. Bradford to Anderson, 12 April 2000.

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

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

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

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

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

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

A Baptism by Fire: The Sex Issue

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

243. Mary L. Bradford to Robert A. Rees, 6 January 1976, *Dialogue* Collection.
244. Lester Bush to Barnett Seymour Salzman, 16 August 1976, *Dialogue* Collection.
245. Bradford to Loftus, 9 September 1977, *Dialogue* Collection.
246. Bradford to Smith, 10 February 1977, *Dialogue* Collection.
247. Robert Rees to Mary Bradford, 29 September 1975, *Dialogue* Collection.

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

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

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

> There are more pages, but the paper is the thin kind used by *BYU Studies*. It is fine for them because they don't use illustrations, but disastrous for us, and many people are likely to think we are downgrading the whole thing. If you could spread the word about the mistake and that it won't happen again, I would be grateful!
>
> We are climbing all over the printer, a reputable 100-year-old company that publishes *Foreign Affairs Quarterly*. The binding seems a bit loose, too. So, in your travels, you would need to know these facts. WE ARE CLEARING UP THE PROBLEMS OR WE ARE CHANGING PRINTERS.[251]

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

248. Bush to Anderson, 14 April 2000.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

255. Bradford to Anderson, 21 June 2000.

256. Bradford to Anderson, 26 March 2000.

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

258. Rees telephone interview, 9 December 1994.

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

Official Debut: The Media Issue

The delay of the sexuality issue helped postpone the release of Bradford's long-planned premiere, a theme issue entitled "Imagemakers: Mormons and the Media" (Spring 1977). The media issue was released in September 1977, but the Washington team had actually begun planning it long before their duties began in June 1976.[260] Certainly it was a timely topic, as Bush remembers: "We were interested in the subject because at the time the church had moved very actively into image management, and was also receiving an unprecedented amount of press coverage. It thus was a topical subject, not looked at in depth previously."[261]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

268. Bradford to Anderson, 12 April 2000.

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

A New Concept: The Dialogue Intern

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

273. Moloney telephone interview, 19 May 2000.

274. Moloney, 121.

275. Moloney telephone interview, 19 May 2000.

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

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

After Moloney returned to BYU, Bradford asked her to remain on the *Dialogue* staff, which she did. Her long-distance duties consisted at first of soliciting manuscripts for an upcoming theme issue on the international church.[279] She later joined the editorial board in 1979 after earning a master's degree, and served until 1982.[280]

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

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276. Ibid.

277. Ibid.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Turning Ten at Twelve

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

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

283. Alice A. Pottmyer to Lester E. Bush, 18 January 1979, copy in my possession.
284. Mary L. Bradford to Lester E. Bush, 12 July 1979, copy in my possession.
285. Bradford to Anderson, 21 June 2000.
286. Mary L. Bradford to Lavina Fielding Anderson, 10 March 1982, *Dialogue* Collection.
287. Ibid.
288. Bradford to Anderson, 9 May 2000.
289. Mary L. Bradford to Maureen D. Keeler, 22 February 1978, *Dialogue* Collection.

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

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

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

1978: A New Revelation

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

294. Bradford to Anderson, 9 May 2000.

295. Bush to Anderson, 21 May 2000.

296. Bradford to Anderson, 9 May 2000.

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

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

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

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

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

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

301. Bush to Anderson, 29 May 2000.

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

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

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

The Washington team immediately decided to publish an offprint of Bush's 1973 article[306] and began planning a special theme issue responding to the revelation. "It was just a natural," says Bradford.[307] Bush agrees. "This issue just seemed the obvious thing to do—given *Dialogue*'s attention to the subject over the years."[308] The issue which materialized (Summer 1979), not surprisingly, was edited by Bush, who was spending two years overseas on an assignment. Although it was originally planned as a response to the revelation, a delay in seeing the issue through the editing process turned it into a first-year anniversary cele-

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

304. England interview, 8 November 1994.

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

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

307. Bradford to Anderson, 9 May 2000.

308. Bush to Anderson, 29 May 2000.

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

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

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

311. Bush to Anderson, 21 June 2000.

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

A Time of Tension

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

317. Ibid., 149.

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

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

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

> Now that black people are overcoming their second-class status, Lester and I feel ever more strongly the second-class status of *Dialogue* people. Leonard, we are all active, strong members of the gospel, and it is not right that writers should be forbidden to write for us. How can this be lifted? Can President Kimball be reached on this subject somehow? I am asking this confidentially—I don't want you to say anything to anyone—just tell me truthfully what can be done. You know it isn't right that Dean Larsen would refuse to see me, would actually turn a sister away from his door. You know that it isn't right that the *Church News* would run a whole article on Dick Motta just because he is the [Washington] Bullet coach,[320] when he is NOT active in the Church at all, and then blanch at the suggestion of a special interest article on *Dialogue*. It is not right that people are told that they cannot serve on our Board.
>
> As you know, I would not expect any church authority to ENDORSE us, but I just wish some statement would come forth that would forbid people to interfere in our work by forbidding people to write or to be on our Board. It is not Christian and it is not Mormon—and it is crippling to us, Leonard.
>
> I try not to think about this most of the time, but now that we have the journal on a sound financial footing, with good support from many quarters, and now that we have done our homework, and just about killed ourselves doing it, we notice that our greatest weakness is that we do not get the best articles from the best people. . . . I spend 40 hours a week on the journal; I have it in my home, my husband the Bishop supports me in it. I do it because I love the Church and I love the people who want to write about the Church.[321]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

325. Bush to Anderson, 29 May 2000.

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

327. Bradford to Anderson, 19 May 2000.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Arrington, whose title was officially changed from "Church Historian" to "Director of History Division of the Historical Department," was released from his duties on 25 January 1982.[333] The end of Camelot was met with a gloom that equaled the excitement that began it a decade earlier. Although Bradford and her team felt the pain of that loss, it would be left to future editors of *Dialogue* to endure the real aftermath.

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

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

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

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

333. Fletcher, 47–48.

A Long-Distance Relationship

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

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

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

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

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

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334. Bradford to Anderson, 9 May 2000.
335. Bush to Anderson, 29 May 2000.
336. Ibid.
337. Lester E. Bush to Mary L. Bradford, 22 December 1978, copy in my possession.

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

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

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

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

338. Ibid.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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344. Bradford to Bush, 27 March 1979.

345. Bradford to Bush, 4 February 1980.

346. Bradford to Anderson, 10 September 2000.

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

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

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

The ERA, Sonia Johnson, and Dialogue

Bradford was feeling pressure over other issues during Bush's absence. One in particular remained at the forefront throughout the remainder of her editorship. The Equal Rights Amendment, the proposed Twenty-seventh Amendment to the Constitution, was passed by Congress on 22 March 1972 and ratified by thirty-four states by 1976.[349] Although the LDS church hierarchy at first avoided public comment on the issue, this later changed. On 22 October 1976, the church-owned *Deseret News* published a First Presidency statement opposing the ERA. Maintaining that the church, from the beginning, "has affirmed the exalted role of women in our society," the presidency came to believe that passage of the amendment "as a blanket attempt to help women could indeed bring them far more restraints and repressions. We fear it will even stifle many God-given feminine instincts."[350] With this new stand, church leaders polarized many LDS proponents of the new amendment and began an activist role that would put the church into the national spotlight for several years. For the next half decade, church leaders would actively fight passage of the ERA and encourage its members to do the same. From the 1977 International Women's Year conferences in Utah[351] and elsewhere, which Mormon women obediently attended and raised their voices in protest, to anti-ERA speeches from general church

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348. Bush to Anderson, 29 May 2000.

349. The Equal Rights Amendment reads as follows:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

358. Bradford Oral History, 6.

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

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

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

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

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

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360. Bradford to Bush, 9 January 1980.
361. Ibid.
362. Bradford to Anderson, 9 May 2000.
363. Bradford to Bush, 4 February 1980.
364. Mary L. Bradford to Lester E. Bush, 24 July 1980, copy in my possession.
365. Mary L. Bradford to Chris Rigby Arrington, 17 November 1980, *Dialogue* Collection.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

371. Bradford to Anderson, 21 June 2000.

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

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

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

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

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

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

374. Bradford to Anderson, 10 September 2000.

375. Bradford to Smith, 4 September 1981.

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

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

Readers Respond, Bradford Responds

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

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

> I am sorry you think we are publishing pap. Of course, if I thought we were doing that, I would close down. We simply try to publish the best of what we get, and I am sorry to say, we don't always get what we want. . . .
>
> Every few weeks we get a letter like yours (though usually not as well-written) which seems to assume that we are inundated with lively, challenging, well-written pieces which we are not publishing because we are afraid to. I only wish this were the case.[378]

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

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

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377. Lew Wallace to *Dialogue*, undated, *Dialogue* Collection.
378. Mary L. Bradford to Lew Wallace, 1 March 1978, *Dialogue* Collection.
379. Mary L. Bradford to James L. Farmer, 9 February 1978, *Dialogue* Collection.

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

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

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

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

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

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380. Bradford Oral History, 10.

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

382. Bradford Oral History, 10.

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

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

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

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

Other Important Contributions

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

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

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

387. Bradford to Anderson, 12 April 2000.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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398. Bradford to Bush, 27 March 1979.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The regular feature, "Among the Mormons," which had been published in nearly every issue of *Dialogue* from the beginning, remained when the journal moved to Washington, but under a new editor, Stephen Stathis. As part of that feature in the summer 1979 issue, Gary P. Gillum published an exhaustive General Authority bibliography, listing all book-length published writings of church leaders from 1837 to 1978.[411]

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

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

406. Bradford to Anderson, 12 April 2000.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

413. Bradford to Anderson, 21 June 2000.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Bradford Touch

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

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

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

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

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

421. Bradford to Anderson, 21 June 2000.

422. Shipp telephone interview, 18 April 2000.

423. Bradford to Anderson, 12 April 2000.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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425. James N. Kimball to Mary L. Bradford, 11 September 1979, *Dialogue* Collection.
426. Mary L. Bradford to James N. Kimball, 21 September 1979, *Dialogue* Collection.
427. Bradford to Anderson, 12 April 2000.
428. Pottmyer to Bush, 18 January 1979.
429. Bradford to Bush, 4 February 1980.
430. Bradford to Anderson, 12 April 2000.
431. Bradford to Bush, 11 March 1980.
432. Mary L. Bradford to Arthur Henry King, 9 February 1978, *Dialogue* Collection.

Another Trek West

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

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

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

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

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

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433. Bradford to Anderson, 21 June 2000.
434. Bradford, "Famous Last Words," 20.
435. Bush to Anderson, 21 June 2000.
436. Bush to Anderson, 14 April 2000.
437. Bradford, "Famous Last Words," 20.
438. Bush to Anderson, 21 June 2000.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

442. Bradford to Anderson, 21 June 2000.

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

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

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

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

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

444. Bradford to Anderson, 10 September 2000.

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

446. Bradford to Anderson, 10 September 2000.

447. Ibid.

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

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

To Be Continued

Analyzing LDS Growth in Guatemala: Report from a *Barrio*[1]

Henri Gooren

A New World Religion?

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (usually called Mormon or LDS church) is having enormous success in most parts of the world. Growth is particularly impressive in Latin America. In 1971 there were only 217,500 LDS members on this continent, accounting for no more than seven percent of the church's total membership.[2] In late 1997, on the other hand, 3.4 million LDS members lived in Latin America, over one-third of the total LDS world membership.[3] The Mormon church in Latin America is currently strongest in Chile, Uruguay, Guatemala (and Central America as a whole), and the Andean countries of Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia.[4] Here, between one and three percent (Chile) of the population has been baptized into the Mormon church. The LDS church in Latin America had its highest average annual growth rates for 1995–97 in

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1. A 1996 version of this paper was intended for publication in an anthology that was never published. Mark Leone, John Sorenson, and Andrew Tobiason provided critical commentaries on the original paper. Later, Armand L. Mauss provided detailed comments, which were of enormous assistance in writing this second and completely revised version.

2. F. LaMond Tullis, "Church Development Issues Among Latin Americans: Introduction," in F. LaMond Tullis, ed., *Mormonism: A Faith for All Cultures* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1978), 88.

3. *Church Almanac 1999–2000* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 2000), 544, 547–549.

4. These countries suggest that Rodney Stark is wrong when claiming that "the Mormons are strongest in the most, not the least, modernized nations of Latin America" (Rodney Stark, "Modernization, Secularization, and Mormon Success," in Thomas Robbins and Dick Anthony, eds., *In God We Trust*, 2nd ed. [New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1990], 212).

Paraguay (24%), Nicaragua (18%), Honduras (12%), El Salvador (10%), and Panama (11%). Yet, the 1995–97 average annual growth rate for Guatemala was only 5%, and for Uruguay and Mexico only about 3.5%.[5]

What is the initial attraction of the LDS church for Latin Americans, and why do so many new converts drop out of the church within a year to become inactive? Are there parallels between Mormon growth in Latin America and the success of evangelical Protestantism there?[6] Will the LDS church show the flexibility to include local cultural adaptations in its religious practices, as for instance the Roman Catholic Church has done in the past?

LDS leaders in Latin America are usually very young (between 20 and 30), and their lack of experience often causes them to rely heavily on official church manuals from the U.S. This lack of flexibility causes problems and cultural misunderstandings in Latin America. John Hawkins (1988), for instance, found to his surprise that Mormons had a somewhat scandalous reputation in the small Guatemalan town where he conducted anthropological fieldwork. What was going on? The LDS ward had dedicated leaders who went by the book: "The manuals said to have a youth program and to hold it on a weekday evening."[7] Many callings went unfilled, so Priesthood and Relief Society leaders did not have time to accompany the youngsters to nightly meetings. The youngsters were left to themselves. Two young LDS women had affairs with married men. Catholic friends wondered whether Mormons cared about the reputation of their daughters. So the townspeople reasoned: "Since Mormons did not chaperone their daughters at youth activities—neither during the evening walk to the chapel, nor at the chapel, nor during the night walk home—Mormons must be a loose and immoral people."[8] No wonder LDS church growth was slow in this town.

To illustrate LDS membership growth and attrition in Latin America, I will use evidence from earlier research projects in Costa Rica (1990) and especially in Guatemala (1993–95). I will show that LDS membership growth projections are by definition gross over-estimations and should be used critically.[9] First, I will present information on data and methods.

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5. See Henri Gooren, "Reconsidering Mormon Membership Growth in Guatemala: Statistics, Explanations, and Identities," paper presented at the International Mormon Studies Conference in Durham, UK, April 19–23, 1999.

6. Cf. David Martin, *Tongues of Fire: The Explosion of Protestantism in Latin America* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990) and David Stoll, *Is Latin America Turning Protestant? The Politics of Evangelical Growth* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1990).

7. John P. Hawkins, "Behavioral Differences Are Like Language Differences; or, 'Oh Say, What Is Truth?' vs. 'Do As I'm Doing.'" in, Mary E. Stovall and Carol Cornwall Madsen, eds., *A Heritage of Faith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1988), 159.

8. Ibid., 161.

9. LDS church membership statistics and projections should be used with care,

Then I will discuss the realities and paradoxes of Mormon growth in Guatemala. Finally, I will offer slices of life from LDS members in Guatemala, suggesting the reasons they are attracted to the Mormon church in the first place and the reasons so many drop out within a year. I will end with some preliminary conclusions.

Data and Methods

The information presented here comes from two sources. The first is my Ph.D. study of small-scale entrepreneurs of various churches (Roman Catholic, Pentecostal, Neo-Pentecostal, and Mormon) in and around a low-income neighborhood of Guatemala City called La Florida. The central question was: how does a person's membership in a particular household and church help or limit the operation of a small firm? Fieldwork was conducted from 1993 to 1995 and consisted of participant observation in churches and enterprises, open-ended interviews with church members, 13 tape-recorded life history interviews with entrepreneurs from three churches (two Catholics, three Neo-Pentecostals, and eight Mormons) and a review of literature. All quotations in the "slices of life" section are from the LDS life histories. Unless otherwise indicated, the information presented dates from 1995.

I was able to get the bishoprics' cooperation in conducting a membership survey of both La Florida and Santa Marta wards in 1993.[10] The response rate was only about 25% (N=50), but the results hinted at some small differences between the wards. For the period of the study, Santa Marta had a younger membership (average age 31, against 39 for La Florida) with a high turnover. Half of all members were single, compared to only 12 percent in La Florida. Santa Marta members had higher levels of education. Both wards, however, showed a huge majority of established church members: people who have been in the church for over 10 years. These are the people with important callings and temple recommends.

The second, though less important, source of information is my master's degree study of the growth dynamics and problems of an LDS ward

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especially when extrapolated (far) into the future. Stark's (1990: 206) assertion that `there may well be more than two hundred million Mormons on earth in a hundred years' seems overdone (Modernization, Secularization, 206. See also Rodney Stark, "The Rise of the New World Faith," *Review of Religious Research* 26, no. 1 (1984): 18–27 and "So Far, So Good: A Brief Assessment of Mormon Membership Projections," *Review of Religious Research* 38, no. 2 (1996): 175–178).

10. The survey was conducted on November 28, 1993 (N = 50), so the response was about 25%, much too small to be more than barely suggestive of certain recurrent traits in these wards.

in San José, Costa Rica.[11] The fieldwork took place in 1990 in the residential area of Los Yoses, east of the center of San José. It consisted of participant-observation during various types of church meetings and many informal interviews with members, leaders, and missionaries. The "First Ward" (*Barrio Uno*) comprised a huge area of eastern San José, including the suburbs San Pedro, Sabanilla, Vargas Araya, Lourdes, Santa Marta, Curridabat, and San Ramón[12] (Gooren 1991: 16). It had 330 registered members, 170 of whom (52 percent) were active. The Los Yoses ward certainly had a stronger middle-class flavor than the Guatemalan *barrios*. Costa Rica had 28,000 LDS members late in 1997 or roughly 0.77 percent of the total population. Guatemala, on the other hand, had 164,000 members corresponding to 1.3 percent of its population.

Guatemala, Guatemala City, and La Florida

Guatemala is the second largest of the Central American republics. More than half of its eleven million inhabitants[13] are Indians or *indígenas*. The country's major social problems include (1) a very uneven land and income distribution leading to massive poverty, (2) discrimination and exploitation of Indian labor by the dominant *Ladino* minority, and (3) a highly inefficient state apparatus used to safeguard the interests of the rural agro-export oligarchy and the armed forces.

Between 1944 and 1954 two democratically elected, reform-oriented governments experimented with land redistribution and literacy programs. A CIA sponsored military coup by Colonel Castillo Armas in 1954, however, started a thirty-year period of increasingly inefficient, corrupt, and brutal military governments. Since 1960, various guerrilla forces have been formed and decimated in some of the cruelest counter-insurgency warfare of the western hemisphere. Over 150,000 people have been killed, over 50,000 have disappeared, over 50,000 have left the country and about a million have been displaced inside the country.[14] Since the return to formal democracy in 1985, there have been five civilian presidents. The armed conflict officially ended in 1996 with a peace treaty between the Arzú-government and the guerrillas. However, local

11. Henri Gooren, *De expanderende mormoonse kerk in Latijns Amerika: Schetsen uit een wijk in San José, Costa Rica* (Masters Thesis, Utrecht University, Holland, 1991).

12. Ibid., 16.

13. In late 1997, according to the World Bank. See *World Development Report 1998–1999* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

14. See Robert M. Carmack, *Harvest of Violence—The Maya Indians and the Guatemalan Crisis* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), 295; Hilde Hey, "Gross Human Rights Violations: A Search for Causes—A Study of Guatemala and Costa Rica" (Ph.D. diss., Utrecht University, Holland, 1995), 65–66; and Angela Delli Sante, *Nightmare or Reality: Guatemala in the 1980s* (Amsterdam: Thela, 1996).

and national governmental structures remain weak. Poverty is widespread. Crime rates are very high and keep rising, and the judicial system is ineffective and unable to prevent selective political assassinations (like that of Roman Catholic bishop Gerardi in 1998).

Since the 1970s, poverty and the war have forced many people to move to the metropolitan area of Guatemala City, known as AMG or *Area Metropolitana de Guatemala*. It is estimated that today over two million people, or about one-fifth of the total population, live in the AMG. Two-thirds of these live below the poverty line in a belt of shantytowns, which are often located near the steep gorges that carve their way through Guatemala City. One third live in dire poverty, unable to meet even basic needs for food and shelter.[15] La Florida, the research site, is a low-income neighborhood about 10 kilometers west of the city center with a population of almost 37,000 in an area of one square kilometer, making it the most densely populated part of Guatemala City. First settled by squatters between 1949 and 1952, it is nowadays an established *barrio* or *colonia*: most houses are made of bricks and many of its streets are paved. About half of all houses have water and sewer systems; 75 percent of all houses have electricity. However, these services are interrupted frequently, affecting the LDS church building as well.[16]

Mormon Growth in Guatemala: Realities and Paradoxes

LDS church history in Guatemala started in September 1946 with a preparatory visit by a North American mission president stationed in Mexico. One year later four missionaries were sent to Guatemala and Costa Rica. In 1948 the first Guatemalan was baptized. The Central America Mission was founded in 1952. The 1950s and 1960s were characterized by local church-building (ie., the founding and consolidation of branches and wards) as the number of Mormons kept growing steadily. Costa Rica, for example, went from 3,800 registered LDS members in 1977 to 7,100 in 1986 and 28,000 (0.77 percent of the population) by year-end 1997. But the growth in Guatemala is even more impressive. While in 1956 there were still only 250 baptized members, by 1967 there were 10,000! The latest figure, from year-end 1997, was 164,000 baptized Mormons or about 1.3 percent of the total Guatemalan population.[17]

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15. *Perfil estadístico Centroamericano* (San José, Costa Rica: Facultad Lainoamericana de Ciencias Sociales [FLACSO], 1993), 12.

16. Main sources for this paragraph: Santiago Bastos and Manuela Camus, "Establicimientos informales de hogares populares en Ciudad de Guatemala: Un enfoque de género," unpubl. FLACSO ms. (n.d.: 1993?); and *Caracterización de las áreas precarias en la Ciudad de Guatemala* (Guatemala City: SEGEPLAN/UNICEF/Criterio,1991).

17. *Church Almanac* (1998), 307, 329. Gooren (Reconsidering Mormon Membership Growth) gives detailed information and an analysis of LDS growth periods in Guatemala.

Guatemala has had its own LDS temple since 1984. In late 1993, there were four missions with almost 600 Mormon missionaries. The metropolitan area of Guatemala City (AMG) in December 1993 had between 50,000 and 70,000 LDS church members.[18] This means between 33 and 47 percent of all church members lived there, a considerably higher percentage than the 20 percent of the general population concentrated in the AMG. These percentages seem to confirm David Knowlton's assertion that the LDS church in Latin America is essentially urban-based.[19] But how did it come to this?

The History of LDS Growth in Guatemala Can be Divided into Five Periods

1) 1949–56: high growth—average annual growth rate around 27%.
2) 1956–67: boom years—average annual growth rate around 42%.
3) 1967–78: stagnation—average annual growth rate around 1%.
4) 1978–90: high growth—average annual growth rate around 20%.
5) 1990–98: very low growth—average annual growth rate around 3.5%.

The first crucial time period was 1978–82, at the start of the high growth period. The economic crisis, armed conflict, and political repression were at their worst, and "anomy" (personal or societal lawlessness and chaos) was high, thus, preparing the way for high LDS growth rates in the 1980s. The main LDS boom years in Guatemala were 1978–90. What were the attractions of Mormonism for Latin Americans in general and Guatemalans in particular? Instead of simply repeating the arguments in the general literature, I will construct my own analytical framework of theoretical explanations, starting with the typology in Figure 1.

Figure 1
Analytical Framework for Understanding LDS Church Growth in Guatemala

	(I) Internal Factors	(II) External Factors
Religious	Appeal of the doctrine	Dissatisfaction with Roman Catholic Church
	Missionary activities	Competition with Protestants and RCC
Non-religious	Appeal of organization	Economic and social anomy
	Natural growth/retention	Urbanization process

18. Source: LDS Central America Area Office, Guatemala City, 1993.

19. See Knowlton, "Mormonism in Latin America: Towards the Twenty-first Century," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 29, no. 1 (1996): 169. He correctly notes that David Martin (Tongues of Fire, 96) has a contrasting opinion based on a literature in which rural studies dominate.

Figure 1 asserts that the factors influencing LDS church growth could be either religious or non-religious, and either internal or external to the church itself. There are four external factors: two religious and two non-religious. The *non-religious external factors* have already been discussed in the early literature on LDS growth in Latin America.[20] They refer to the great social, economic, and political changes of the 1960s and 1970s: the urbanization process, the *exode rural*, rapid industrialization, and the formation of military governments using violent repression all over Latin America.[21] More specifically, the economic, social, and psychological anomy that was thought to be caused by these changes would make many Latin Americans ready candidates for conversion to the Mormon church, in parallel with similar theories on the success of Protestantism in the region.[22]

External religious factors have received far less attention in the literature, but the vast majority of people who now consider themselves LDS used to be Roman Catholics—if only nominally. They must have experienced some sort of dissatisfaction with Catholicism in order to abandon it. A few authors mention resistance against the money and time demands of the Roman Catholic *fiesta* system, with its alcohol abuse.[23] Since these elements were also seen as motivating people to became Protestants, a question arises as to whether the Mormon church is currently directly competing with the many Protestant churches and the Roman Catholic Church.[24]

The *internal religious factors*[25] are the appeal of LDS doctrine and LDS

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20. See Wesley Craig, Jr., "The Church in Latin America: Progress and Challenge" *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 5, no. 3 (1970): 66–74; and Tullis, Church Development Issues.

21. The impact of political upheaval is particularly stressed by Knowlton, "Missionaries and Terror: The Assassination of Two Elders in Bolivia," *Sunstone* 13 (August 1989): 10–15; "Thoughts on Mormonism in Latin America," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 25, no. 2 (1992): 47; and Mormonism in Latin America, 166–171.

22. See Emilio Willems, *Followers of the New Faith: Culture Change and the Rise of Protestantism in Brazil and Chile* (Nashville, Tennessee: Vanderbilt University Press, 1967); Bryan R. Roberts, "Protestant Groups and Coping with Urban Life in Guatemala," *American Journal of Sociology* 73, no. 6 (1968): 753–767; and Christian Lalive d'Epinay, *Haven of the Masses: A Study of the Pentecostal Movement in Chile* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1969).

23. David Knowlton, "Mormonism and Social Change in Huacuyo, Bolivia," unpublished paper (n.d.); Annis (1987) elaborates the same idea for Protestantism in Sheldon Annis, *God and Production in a Guatemalan Town* (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1987).

24. The literature only deals with religious competition between Protestants and Catholics in Latin America, e.g., in Stoll (1990); Edward L. Cleary, "Protestants and Catholics: Rivals or Siblings?" in *Coming of Age: Protestantism in Contemporary Latin America*, Daniel R. Miller, ed. (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1994) 205–233, and Daniel H. Levine, "Protestants and Catholics in Latin America: A Family Portait" in *Fundamentalisms Comprehended*, Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby, eds. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1995) 155–178.

25. Internal religious factors are stressed particularly by the church growth move-

missionary activities. Some elements of Mormon doctrine are mentioned as being attractive, especially the fact that the Priesthood is open to all men[26] and the "promise of eternal family bonds and eventual godhood."[27] The Word of Wisdom appeals to many men who have struggled with alcohol problems.[28] Finally, some people like the Mormon church because it teaches members about household budgets, raising children, genealogy, and social skills.[29]

The literature stresses above all the importance of LDS missionary activities. A greater and more efficient Mormon commitment to numerical growth originated in the 1960s, during the tenure of church president David O. McKay (1951–70). The mission program was greatly reorganized: missionaries and mission presidents received better training and the evangelization methods were standardized and professionalized. The time between first contact with an investigator and the eventual baptism became shorter and shorter: from "several months" in the 1950s to between two and six weeks in 1995. Meanwhile, the number of worldwide missionaries sharply increased: from 9,000 in 1950 to over 29,000 in 1985 and 48,630 in late 1995 to 60,000 by the year 2000. The administration of church president Spencer W. Kimball (1973–85) also explicitly stressed international growth.[30]

Its thousands of highly visible, adolescent missionaries give the LDS church an important advantage in the religious market in Latin America. Radiating youth, energy, US culture, and middle-class values, they attract many Latin Americans, who are often about the same age. In part, this also applies to the increasing number of LDS missionaries who are from Latin

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ment in missiology, e.g., Donald A. McGavran, *Understanding Church Growth*, fully revised edition (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1987 [1970]), and in the "resource mobilization perspective," e.g., Keith Roberts, *Religion in Sociological Perspective* (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press 1984), 206–207.

26. Knowlton, Mormonism and Social Change (n.d.).

27. Armand L. Mauss, "Mormonism in the Twenty-first Century: Marketing for Miracles," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 29, no. 1 (Spring 1996): 238.

28. Henri Gooren, *Rich Among the Poor: Church, Firm, and Household among Small-scale Entrepreneurs in Guatemala City* (Amsterdam: Thela, 1999), 154–157, 165–168.

29. Ibid., 158.

30. This paragraph is based on: R. Beekman, "The Mormon Mini-Empire," *NACLA's Latin America and Empire Report* 6, no. 5 (May-June 1972): 2–10, 31; Tullis, Mormonism: A Faith for All Cultures, 102; Mark L. Grover, "Mormonism in Brazil," (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1985), 129; Gooren, *De expanderende mormoonse kerk*, 30; *1997–1998 Church Almanac* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1996): 6, interviews with various missionaries in Guatemala City in 1995; Lowell C. Bennion and Lawrence A Young, "The Uncertain Dynamics of LDS Expansion, 1950–2020," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 29, no. 1 (Spring 1996): 8–32; Gordon Shepherd & Gary Shepherd, "Membership Growth, Church Activity, and Missionary Recruitment," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 29, no. 1 (1996): 35–38, 48; Gooren, Rich Among the Poor; and the *Salt Lake Tribune* of January 15, 2000.

America. Not surprisingly, they too do especially well with the younger generations. By putting pressure on "investigators" (potential new converts), missionaries are able to baptize at least half of them within a month. However, their knowledge of LDS doctrine is rudimentary and many fail to realize the full extent of the obligations of church membership.[31]

The *internal non-religious factors* are the appeal of the organization and membership retention by natural growth. More recently, the importance of high Mormon fertility has also been stressed in the literature.[32] The appeal of the strong, top-down LDS organization has been noted since its early history.[33] Callings—voluntary church assignments—can help members to acquire leadership skills.[34] At the local level, the ward (congregation) also serves as a social community, providing networks and support.[35]

Guatemala is a Mormon success story. However, the membership figures in Figure 2 refer to the number of registered, baptized members, including children under age nine. The concept of church activity is very important for this paper. Basically, an active member is someone who goes to church regularly and who fills his or her calling requirements. "Active" members are expected to go to church every Sunday, and certainly no less than three times a month.[36] According to LDS insiders in Guatemala, the dropout or inactivity rate stands at between about 45 and

31. Thirty years later Wesley Craig's 1970 observation still stands: "Little question remains as to the initial attractiveness of the LDS Church to many Latin Americans. Increasing numbers of baptisms attest to its centripetal force in drawing converts. More salient at this point is the question, 'Can converts become integrated and find satisfaction materially as well as spiritually?' No formal studies have been carried out on the subject of LDS inactivity in Latin America; however, indications are that in many areas there is a high loss of church membership after baptism" (Church in Latin America, 73–74).

32. See Tim B. Heaton, "Religious Influences on Mormon Fertility: Cross-National Comparisons," *Review of Religious Research* 30 (1989): 401–11); Bennion and Young , 25–29; and Armand Mauss, "Guest Editor's Introduction," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 29, no. 1 (Spring 1996): 2–3.

33. In a quote both famous and infamous among Mormon scholars, political economist Richard T. Ely wrote in a 1903 essay on the Mormon Church in *Harper's Magazine*: "So far as I can judge from what I have seen, the organization of the Mormons is the most nearly perfect piece of social mechanism with which I have ever, in any way, come in contact, excepting alone the German army" (quoted in Stark, Modernization, Secularization, 205). On the other hand, Beekman (Mormon Mini-Empire, 6) has criticized the Mormon church for its highly authoritarian organization.

34. See Craig, The Church in Latin America, 68; Grover, Mormonism in Brazil, 139, Knowlton, Thoughts on Mormonism, 47–48, and Mormonism in Latin America; 169–171; and Gooren, Rich Among the Poor, 168–171.

35. See Grover, 128; and Gooren, De expanderende mormoonse kerk, 57–58, and Rich Among the Poor.

36. Yet in North America, the operational definition of "active" member, for record-keeping purposes, is Sunday attendance at least once a month, preferably at Priesthood or Relief Society meetings.

Figure 2
Registered (In)active Mormon Membership in Guatemala and Costa Rica; La Florida and Los Yoses Wards

Guatemala	164,000 (year-end 1997) registered members
	82,000 (estimate) or 50% active members
	82,000 (estimate) or 50% inactive members
La Florida Ward	400 (mid-1995) registered members
	100 (25%) active members
	300 (75%) inactive members
Costa Rica	28,000 (year-end 1997) registered members
	14,000 (estimate) or 50% active members
	14,000 (estimate) or 50% inactive members
Los Yoses Ward	330 (mid-1990) registered members
	170 (52%) active members
	160 (48%) inactive members

75 percent.[37] Taking the low, conservative estimate of 50 percent, this would mean there are about 82,000 active members in all of Guatemala.[38]

The high inactivity rates of 45 to 75 percent of all baptized members suggest that the functioning at ward level is often problematic.[39] Retention of members is extremely low compared to LDS figures in the U.S: only 25 to 55 percent. Weekly attendance in Latin America was only 25 percent in 1990, against 40 to 50 percent in the US.[40] In part, these high dropout rates were concomitant with the extremely high LDS growth rates of 1978–90.

According to the literature, LDS growth in South America picked up primarily after the 1960s and early 1970s.[41] In Guatemala, however, growth was very high even in the pioneer years (1949–67), but the recent boom years were 1978–90 (see above). Many characteristics of the new LDS converts may be found in the literature. The new members were

37. Costa Rica had 50 percent inactive members in 1990; the Netherlands had 65 percent (De expanderende mormoonse kerk, 58).

38. Of, course, all denominations suffer attrition from inactivity. Assuming the membership statistics of other churches in Guatemala are accurate, the LDS Church ranks at least among the five biggest non-Catholic churches. Its number of active church-goers might be the highest in the country (De expanderende mormoonse kerk, 66).

39. These high LDS dropout rates are typical for all of Latin America. Out of 28 new converts I was able to follow in the Los Yoses ward in San José, Costa Rica, only nine (32 percent) became well-integrated into the ward while four others (14 percent) showed up occasionally. See De expanderende mormoonse kerk, 34.

40. Tim B. Heaton (1998: 119): "Vital Statistics," *Latter-day Saint Social Life: Social Research on the LDS Church and its Members*, James T. Duke, ed. (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1998), 105–132.

41. See Beekman, Mormon Mini-Empire, 3; Tullis, Church Development Issues, 102; and F. LaMond Tullis, "The Church Moves Outside the United States: Some Observations from Latin America," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 13, no. 1 (1980): 65; and Shepard & Shepard, Membership Growth, 48.

supposedly typically young—age 20 to 25—married couples living in cities.[42] Their class background has been reported differently as "middle class bureaucrats,"[43] poor and lower middle class,[44] or working class and poor.[45] Women were over-represented among LDS members.[46] But what is the membership profile of the new converts in Guatemala—or at least the ones who stay in the church?

If converts are attracted to the adolescent missionaries, the strict rules of conduct in the LDS church (the Word of Wisdom), the style of worship and hymns, the strong church organization, and possibly even to the doctrine and the proposed path towards salvation,[47] why then do over half of all new members drop out within one year after their conversions? The literature stresses mostly internal factors: the weak church organization in Latin America,[48] the demanding nature of Mormon membership,[49] and particularly the lack of good leadership in the LDS church in Latin America.[50] But one can think of more "down to earth" reasons for the low retention: the high time demands, the responsibility of callings, the need to be able to read and write, and conflicts between members or between leaders and members.

Hence it is important to take a closer look at the LDS church members in Latin America themselves: What kind of people are they? Why do they join? What are they looking for? What are their problems? And, finally, why do so many of them drop out? We can answer some of these questions from learning more about the La Florida Ward where we have a fuller statistical picture and from personal narratives obtained through interviews with members.

The La Florida Ward

In the LDS church building on 5 Avenida, two LDS wards met separately: La Florida and Santa Marta.[51] The branch and wards belonged to a

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42. Knowlton, Mormonism in Latin America, 169.

43. Beekman, 5.

44. See Craig, Church in Latin America, 1970, 68; F. LaMond Tullis, "Three Myths About Mormons in Latin America.," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon thought* 7, no. 1 (Spring 1972): 85; and Tullis, Church Development, 99; Gooren, De expanderende mormoonse kerk, 29, and Rich among the Poor, 78); and David C. Knowlton, "Mormonism in Chile," in Douglas J. Davies, ed., *Mormon Identities in Transition* (London, Cassell, 1996), 70.

45. Knowlton, Missionaries and Terror, 14.

46. Heaton , Vital Statistics, 119–120.

47. In fact, converts in Latin America usually only have a rudimentary knowledge of LDS doctrine.

48. Knowlton, Thoughts on Mormonism, and Mormonism in Latin America.

49. Mauss, Mormonism in Twenty-first Century, 240.

50. Tullis, The Church Moves Outside the United States, 72.

51. Santa Marta was a neighboring *barrio* north of 5 Avenida, which was even poorer

stake also called La Florida. Founded in 1986, it had about 3,500 registered members from ten *colonias* (low-income neighborhoods). Of these only 800 to 1,000 (i.e. 23 to 29 percent) were active. Of the active members only 250 had temple recommends,[52] i.e. were judged and certified by their leaders to be fully orthodox in faith and diligent in attendance and activities.

The huge La Florida church building dated from 1971–72 and looked a bit shabby, though the garden was well kept. The sacrament meeting hall had room for over 200 people. There were two small adjacent rooms with standard LDS folding separations for Relief Society and Priesthood meetings. When the separations were opened, a huge hall was created for stake conferences. The benches were made of fine tropical wood as was the raised platform where the bishopric and speakers were seated. The microphone rarely worked. Church members in general were quite poor. Typical lower-class jobs were bricklayer, washing-lady, *maquiladora* worker, and shop assistant. Typical upper-lower class professions were primary school teacher, *operario* (skilled worker), secretary, junior controller, or plumber.

Four key local leaders in La Florida all happened to be small-scale entrepreneurs: Mario[53] was bishop; Juan was president of the quorum of elders (Priesthood organization); Ramiro was the bishop's first counselor; and Patricio was second counselor. All had been church members for over 15 years, three for over 25 years. All had been through long periods of inactivity.

The La Florida Ward had 300 (75 percent) inactive members and only 100 (25 percent) active members, roughly corresponding to the stake average. The active membership consisted of 65 adults and 35 children under age 12. Three-quarters of the adults had temple-recommends which means they complied with church rules such as paying their tithing, obeying church moral standards, and going to church on Sunday. The average church attendance on Sunday was 90 (roughly 85 to 95), which, of course, corresponded to the number of active church members.[54]

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than La Florida. The ward also had about 400 registered members. Roughly 100 to 130 members were active (25 to 33 percent), but only about 30 of them had a temple recommend. The average attendance was 110 to 120. These figures were similar to those of La Florida ward. Finally, there also existed a Nueva Florida branch, which met in the church building of Primero de Julio, northeast of La Florida. Its members lived in the eastern half of La Florida: all streets and avenues east of 5 Calle. This branch, however, was not included in my 1993–95 study.

52. Source of all stake figures: La Florida stake conference, March 5, 1995.

53. All names are fictitious. The interview quotes as they appear in the section called "Slices of Life from LDS Members in Guatemala" were all translated by me from Spanish. The life history interviews were conducted between March and June 1995.

54. See Figure 2 for an overview of LDS membership statistics for Guatemala and Costa Rica, and for the La Florida and Los Yoses wards.

Personal Narratives from LDS Members in Guatemala

I will use quotes from six informants in this section. They are all from the La Florida and Santa Marta wards of Guatemala City, which are representative of the LDS church in metropolitan Latin America. Guillermo (29, single) had been working as a self-employed shoemaker for a year. He had converted to the LDS church in 1984, but had been inactive for a long time because of alcohol problems. Beatriz (34, self-employed in her tiny beauty parlor for two years) converted to the LDS church when her husband Mario reactivated his membership. Mario (37) had converted to the church in 1978, but had been inactive for eight years. He ran his parents' ironware company. Patricio (39, married with five children) had started his construction company 13 years earlier and converted to the Mormon church while he was struggling with alcohol problems. Bernardo (65, married with five children) had had his carpentry workshop since 1982. Although he'd converted to the LDS church in 1969, he had often backslid because of his alcoholism, which he finally overcame through Alcoholics Anonymous. Ramiro (35, married, four children) had been earning money as a plumber since he was only 13. He was the only second-generation Mormon I encountered, but he too had become inactive during his adolescence while struggling with alcohol and morality problems.

While every person has, of course, his or her own conversion story, one can distinguish certain recurring themes in the accounts of the LDS members I interviewed. Three of these themes are illustrated in the following excerpts:

A. Conversion and Retention as a Means of Achieving a Closeness to God.

For *Guillermo*, a desire for baptism was connected to a new understanding of Christ: "Other religions presented Christ like a tyrant [and] told me I was a son of the devil [who] would go to hell with him. By contrast, when I heard the talk of the Sisters, they presented a Christ of love." Guillermo also saw the hand of God in the little shoemaking workshop he had: "If I go on respecting the covenants with the Lord, He will make me prosper. Because I am only a steward here, He is the owner and. . .I am His worker." *Beatriz* liked the fact that one can learn so many things in church, for instance about running a household, about genealogy and one's forefathers, about leading a spiritual life. *Patricio* came back to the LDS church after a period of drifting into alcoholism and began to "feel this joy inside. . . .It's something that you really cannot explain. It's something very big. You feel more worthy, coming a bit closer to God; that you're more intimate." After overcoming his alcoholism at Alcoholics Anonymous, *Bernardo* had obtained "a testimony that it's the true church, that the people are imperfect, but the doctrine is perfect; it's true, it's God-given. God is the one who governs the church."

B. Conversion and Retention as a Source of Psychological Strength and Social Support for Overcoming Alcoholism, Drug Use, and Other Personal Weaknesses.

Patricio described what happened when he came out of a stupor after drinking continuously for two months, almost without eating: "I knelt down and I felt some hands on my head. And when the hands came I felt nothing anymore. When I managed to wake up, I was in a bed in the Roosevelt hospital. . . . Well, I felt that God did a miracle. I didn't even feel a hangover. There I felt the complete change of the Lord in me. Ever since that day I've never drunk again. I got fully involved in church, and I feel that I've changed a lot." After *Ramiro* became active again in the church, he backslid and started drinking again. "When you're involved in church, you know that if you do something wrong around the corner, it's as if there's someone watching you. . . .I felt bad, because I felt I wasn't doing things correctly, the way the Lord wanted. So this made me experience my conscience; it was hammering into me that I wasn't behaving correctly. So I had to make this choice: either I went straight to the street to live my life, or I stayed in church and tried to use the principles which the church would give me." He stopped drinking and remained active in church from then on. *Guillermo* had lived on the street and was part of a youth gang. He'd used marijuana and had drunk too much. But one day the drugs did not make him feel better anymore. He prayed to God for forgiveness and says that God guided him, in a trance-like state, back to the same Mormon ward where he had been baptized seven years before. "From that moment my life began to change because I stopped using drugs. . . .I made an effort to be a different person, to try to support my family and see how I could get them ahead."

C. Conversion and Retention as a Framework for Personal Growth and Empowerment

Bishop *Mario* (37) explained that the church members "are taught that we have to be self-reliant, that we have to obtain what's necessary to bring well-being to our family. So it's hard for a member to come and say: I don't have anything to eat now, but such cases do exist."[55] *Bernardo* (65) had recently lost over $7,800 (U.S.) in a robbery at his La Florida carpentry workshop. But he did not give up his dream of having his own business because "the church has taught me to be self-reliant. At least now that I've lost everything [to thieves], with what I have learned I can do something. There's no need for anybody to give me anything since I have to struggle to do it myself." *Guillermo* felt his shoemaking firm was

55. In La Florida Ward, five or six families occasionally received welfare assistance, usually in the form of money or canned food. See Gooren, Rich Among the Poor, 92.

a gift from God: "I didn't do anything: the Lord put it in my hands. It happened through a brother of the church. . .more specifically the bishop. He had some money at home and one day he called me, interviewed me, and asked about my work and all that. I told him, and he said: 'Look, Guillermo, I've been thinking. It would be good for you if you become independent, and how much money do you need more or less to achieve that?'"

Another opportunity for personal growth and empowerment is provided by church callings. Bishop *Mario* said: "Any calling in church can give this blessing of knowing that you're useful for other people. But through this service you make progress by knowing people's problems and helping to solve them. It gives you life experience. When you are confronted with these problems, you'll know how to solve them." *Ramiro* often felt uncertain of his capability as a teacher. "But I feel that if I say no, the Lord will stop blessing me. So I have to make a sacrifice trying to do it, even though I don't like it and I think I cannot do it. The Scriptures say that the Lord will not give you a task you cannot accomplish. . . .And the truth is that when you're in this process, you realize that things are going well."

C. Conversion and Retention as an Ongoing Struggle.

The affirming tone in these accounts contrasts with that in others that clearly reveal recurrent struggles of LDS members with obstacles to their continuing activity in the church. I will distinguish between individual struggles with the rather demanding LDS standards of good conduct and behavior and failures in the LDS church system of socialization and retention.

1. Personal struggles with alcohol and morality.

Ramiro, even though he was a second-generation Mormon, spent much of his youth outside the church before finally accepting his family responsibilities: "The truth is, as a kid you don't even know what you want. There are so many things to learn. . .that frankly you sometimes try to do what you want most, instead of what is good for you. . . .Having gospel principles and all the doctrine and knowing the Word of Wisdom—knowing all that—I still had to try liquor, become an alcoholic, go out with the boys [to] the wrong places, like houses of women and all that." *Bernardo* (65) said: "After getting to know the church, I became an alcoholic about 25 years ago more or less. I was already baptized. I was in the church, but suddenly I started to like liquor and I lost it. I didn't go to church for ten years more or less. . . .[The ward members] did everything they could: they visited a lot; they gave me a lot of advice. But since it's like a disease—treacherous, progressive, and, well, incurable—they couldn't do anything. Until I asked God for help and I did my part."

2. Failures of the LDS Church System of Socialization and Retention.

Still inactivity in the church cannot always be attributed to individual lapses. Soon after his conversion to Mormonism, *Guillermo* slid back into drinking again. He complained that the home teachers never visited him during this difficult period: "My mother asked some of my church friends for help and they didn't give it." *Ramiro* said that the church had not been able to help him stop drinking. It was only after his first daughter was born that he realized his evasion of responsibility: his children would suffer if he spent money on liquor. *Bernardo* mentioned the same motivation for finally overcoming his alcoholism.

The leaders sometimes made mistakes as well. *Guillermo* again: "I don't want to disparage the church or the brothers, but there are some brothers who don't make an effort to do their part. . . .[I]f some leaders are failing, how are they going to guide and call to repentance the brothers when they themselves don't have the character to be an example of virtue? They can't say: okay, do this." *Ramiro* pointed out that many new members lacked sufficient motivation and preparation for the demands of membership. When they received callings, they felt too uncertain to perform well and, instead, became inactive.

Conclusion

The LDS church has had enormous success in Latin America and especially in Guatemala. To understand why this has happened, it is helpful to distinguish between religious and non-religious factors, both of which may be either internal or external to the LDS church itself. Non-religious external explanations such as poverty, urbanization, anomy, and the need to build up new communities are also invoked to explain the success of evangelical Protestantism in the region.[56] Poverty, alcoholism, and other social problems cause people in Guatemala, especially young people, to look for a *cambio de vida* or change of life. Husbands strive for a more disciplined and better organized life: to give up drinking, smoking, and womanizing; to take care of the family; and to try to make progress in their work. They simply want a better future for their children. Many young families in Latin America are actively seeking an environment that will help them put their lives in order. They are religious

56. Cf. Willems; Roberts; Martin and Gooren, Rich Among the Poor, and Henri Gooren, "Reconsidering Protestant Growth in Guatemala, 1900–1995, in James W. Dow and Alan R. Sandstrom, eds., *Holy Saints and Fiery Preachers: The Anthropology of Protestantism in Mexico and Central America* (New York: Praeger, 2001). An important addition is the increased religious freedom in Latin America, as pointed out in Anthony Gill, "Government Regulation, Social Anomie and Protestant Growth in Latin America: A Cross-National Analysis," *Rationality and Society* 11, no. 3 (1999), 287–316.

seekers with questions about morality, God, and the education of their children. They can also be seen as "religious shoppers," looking for a church that will fit their needs.[57]

To explain the success of Mormonism, one must also scrutinize the religious factors effecting church growth. It seems clear that certain dissatisfactions with Roman Catholicism prompt many Latin Americans to experiment with other religions. Evangelical growth in Guatemala was particularly strong between 1976 and 1982,[58] in other words, right before the LDS boom of 1983–90.[59] Direct religious competition between Protestants and Mormons might be a neglected factor in the literature. The apex of LDS growth in Guatemala was 1988–90 with average annual growth rates of 25%. This coincided exactly with the start of the growth stagnation in various Protestant churches in 1986–88. More research is clearly needed on this apparently inverse relationship.

Mormonism has strong appeals for Latin Americans. One obvious attraction is its young and enthusiastic missionary force, of course. Yet there are many elements in the LDS doctrine, the LDS rules of conduct, and the LDS church organization that attract Guatemalans. Excerpts from interviews with members of the La Florida Ward provide ample evidence. As we have seen, many people had converted to Mormonism for spiritual reasons as a means to achieve a closeness to God. Patricio explicitly describes the "joy" he felt inside after his conversion. Membership in the LDS church could also be a source of psychological strength and social support for overcoming various personal weaknesses, such as alcoholism and drug abuse. The Word of Wisdom was a valuable source of strength to alcoholics. The community of believers in the ward also provided support, although Guillermo's case is an important reminder that this was not always the case. Finally, participation in church activities and especially callings could help people obtain more life experience, leadership skills, and above all, more self-discipline. So for all active LDS members, church membership became a framework for personal growth and empowerment.[60] The question then is why some converts manage to use the church as a mechanism to improve their lives, whereas the other 50% of new members, who become inactive within a year, apparently do not. Is it, for instance, a matter of self-reliance, something that the LDS church seeks to teach all over the world to people of different cultures, languages, social classes, and levels of edu-

57. Among LDS members in San José's First Ward, there were former Pentecostals, former Seventh-Day Adventists, and even one former Hare Krishna member. Obviously, however, the majority were former Roman Catholics.

58. Gooren, Reconsidering Protestant Growth.

59. Gooren, Reconsidering Mormon Membership Growth.

60. Gooren, Rich Among the Poor. Chapter 6 contains much material on this theme.

cation? The Guatemalan case does suggest that self-reliance is a key concept that is understood very well by small-scale entrepreneurs.

However, church membership comes in many different forms and may have many different consequences. Ramiro, the only second-generation Mormon interviewed, drifted away from the church during his adolescence when he engaged in drinking and fornication. Bernardo actually became an alcoholic *after* converting to the LDS church. If new members are not successfully, or not soon enough, acculturated (socialized) in the LDS way of life, things may go terribly wrong. Even the four main leaders of the La Florida ward had all been inactive for some years at least. Converting to Mormonism, then, is a life-long process and should be understood and studied as such.

The institutional weaknesses of the LDS church in Latin America are, of course, very important factors in the retention process. When the LDS mission is functioning very well and lots of new members are pouring into badly-organized wards with young and inexperienced leaders whose idea of authority is influenced by cultural concepts like *machismo*, things are bound to go wrong—especially if there are insufficient elders to support the bishopric as home teachers and if callings are left unfilled because nobody wants the responsibility.

In low-income neighborhoods like Guatemala City's La Florida, most people are too busy just surviving economically. They can hardly find the time to get involved in church life or in an unpaid calling, and they opt instead for a rather passive role, dodging their responsibilities wherever possible in favor of a kind of "minimalist membership." The new La Florida bishop described them as being in a "spiritual sleep." The interviews show that many go on drinking after converting to the LDS church. Some first had to go to Alcoholics Anonymous to kick their drinking habits, and subsequently were reactivated in the church. The local leaders had simply failed to get these passive members involved in church life. Rotating, unpaid leadership positions did not function well in a situation of poverty and little formal education. Bishops and stake presidents were unable to imitate the North American managerial leadership model. Many bishops wanted to control everything themselves because they felt they could not rely on (passive) ward members. The *caudillo* (charismatic warlord) then became the leadership model instead of the manager. This, in turn, made rank-and-file members even more passive.[61]

These same leaders were often more critical of U.S. influence in the LDS church, and in Latin America generally, than were other members.

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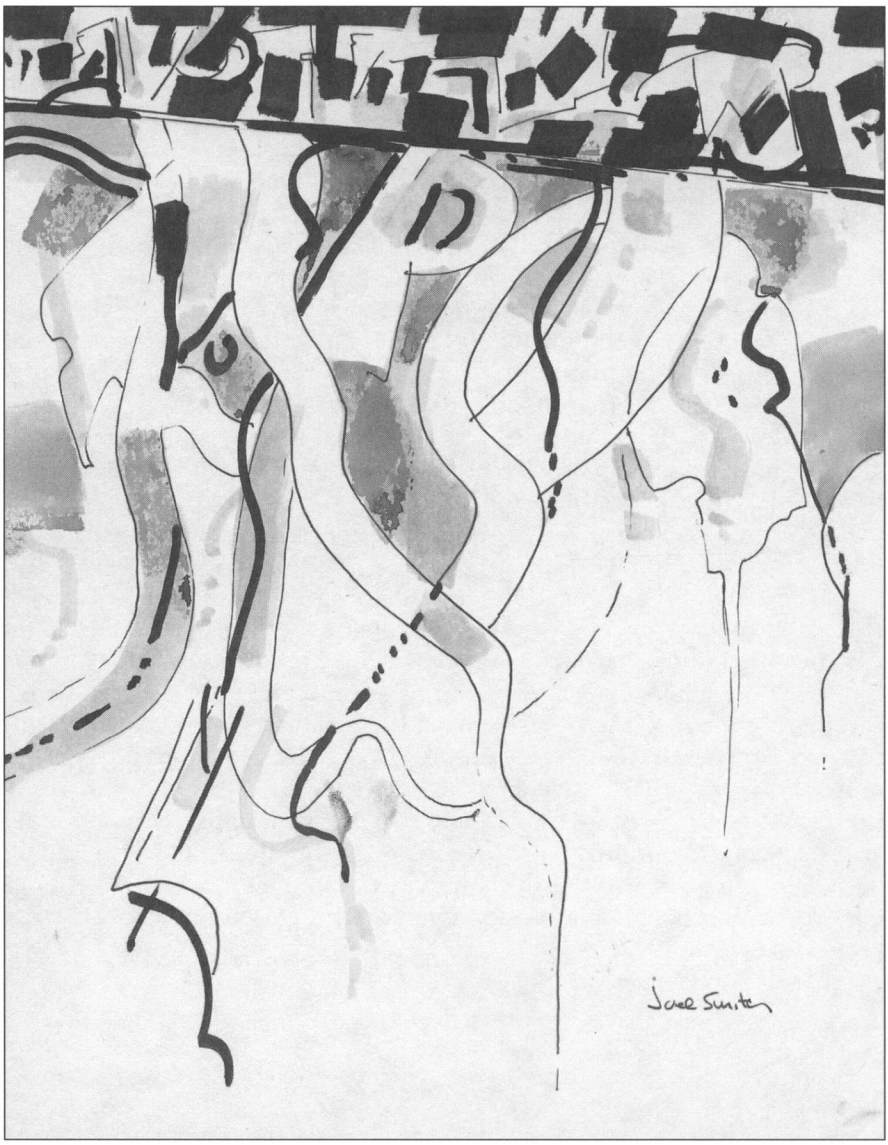
61. A similar process is reported in Pentecostal churches in Latin America. See, for instance, Lalive d'Epinay and Stoll.

To my surprise, anti-Americanism was strongest among well-trained local leaders in Costa Rica and Guatemala who had been to the States and did not like it. They were also at times offended by U.S. nationalism among North American members living in Latin America. However, these leaders were also critical of their own Latin culture with vices like *machismo*, alcoholism, and adultery. Some leaders in Costa Rica told me in private that, according to prophecies, Utah would become a corrupt place and the LDS church would prosper among the Lamanites in Central America. This was reminiscent of the ethnic pride in being "Lamanites" among members in Antigua Guatemala, as reported by Thomas W. Murphy.[62]

Will LDS members in Latin America have the freedom to pursue their own Latin version of being a "good Mormon"? This issue lies at the heart of a particularly relevant theme in the current era of globalization: the interaction between global and local organizations. The theme is not new, of course: the Roman Catholic Church, for instance, has been experiencing it for almost two thousand years. Local expressions of a global religion have often been described in terms of syncretism, popular religion, or local schisms. The LDS church has opted for the term "International Church" but is still in the process of defining what, exactly, this means. So far it seems mostly to mean that procedures in Utah are to be followed all over the world.

After having reorganized the mission program in the 1960s, the LDS church is currently trying to consolidate its membership growth in Latin America by training local leaders, offering new education and job opportunities to members, and by developing programs to find and win back inactive members. If the LDS church in Latin America can strike the right balance between local expressions of LDS doctrine and the U.S. handbooks and manuals, between the Latin and the U.S. "way of doing things," growth might go on at a rate of 5–10% annually for many more years. Depending on this balance, the inactivity rates might also remain high. As long as birth rates in Latin America remain high, there will always be young people interested in joining the Mormon church—if only for a short while.

62. Thomas W. Murphy, "Reinventing Mormonism: Guatemala as Harbinger of the Future?" *Dialogue: Journal of Mormon Thought* 29, no. 1 (1996): 177–192.



Ritual as Theology and as Communication[1]

John L. Sorenson

THEOLOGY IS USUALLY CONSIDERED an intellectual activity for philosophers and educated religionists. Actually, most humans discuss the same subjects, but at a different level than do the pundits. Commoners too cogitate upon the nature of suprahuman power, the possibilities and limitations of humankind, the means by which we and the cosmos came into existence, and our ultimate fate. However, there are two major differences between formal theological and folk discourse on these matters: the level of erudition, and the language dialect used. Unfortunately, formal treatment of these topics by the elite is based on logicoverbal communication, which emphasizes rationality and literacy, and most people are not strong on those two dimensions in a religious context. Consequently, the formal discussions do not speak very powerfully to the public.

Consideration by scholars of the role theology plays in Mormon life has hardly begun. Modest studies by historians and academic philosophers have outlined some of the more self-conscious aspects of theological dimensions among a few of the more vocal LDS ecclesiastical and intellectual leaders. Yet practically nothing has been done to discover and analyze more than anecdotally what common Mormons have believed.[2] This is puzzling inasmuch as Mormons themselves claim it is their beliefs, not ecology, social organization, behavioral norms, nor geography—topics quite commonly examined by scholars—which set them apart.

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1. This is a substantially revised version of "Ritual as Theology," *Sunstone* 6, no. 3 (1981): 4–11. A slightly revised version was published in John L. Sorenson, "Ritual as Theology," Matthew Sorenson, ed., *Mormon Culture: Four Decades of Essays on Mormon Society and Personality* (Salt Lake City: New Sage Books, 1997), 29–37.

2. However, see John L. Sorenson, "Conflict between Mormon Folk and Mormon Elite," *Horizons* 1, no. 1 (1983): 4–18.

Due to their missionary emphasis from the beginning, the Latter-day Saints have encountered practical problems in communicating their beliefs across cultural boundaries. Scandinavia and Polynesia were particularly early laboratories for such attempts, but it has mainly been since 1950 that the problem of transculturizing has become urgent, as the church seriously penetrated first Japan and then other Asian countries, and eventually Africa and other areas. Successfully communicating theologies across cultural boundaries is difficult. Historians and anthropologists particularly are aware of the nigh impossibility of crossing forbidding boundaries of worldview and tongue.

This article broaches the problem by noting how ritual has come to serve as a vehicle, a language of sorts, for exploring and sharing LDS beliefs. Increasing participation by the Saints in rites with sacred content has coincided with the expansion of the LDS church into a multiplicity of host cultures. In the course of that expansion, ritual has come to serve as a simplifying medium and a unifying force.

Media beyond language have served to express matters of sacred belief and practice in every culture. Ceremony, folklore, and myth, as well as drama, come easily to mind as examples. For the modern United States with its heterogeneous population, it might be thought that no shared theology would be possible, yet seminarian John Wiley Nelson argued that the mass media—film, radio, popular literature, and especially television—regularly present a relatively unified "American cultural religion" to a majority of readers and viewers in this country. He claimed that much of television communicates "a systematically arranged set of answers to basic life-problem questions," that is, a functional equivalent to theology.[3] Formal presentations by theologians attempt to express the same thing, but Nelson felt that discussions and sermons by ecclesiastics pale to inconsequence as a cultural force when compared with TV. In television shows and other nominally entertaining media forms, people have dramatically displayed for them recipes current in our culture for managing personal and social dilemmas involving virtue, justice, evil, truth, and every sort of human relationship as well as how to resolve those dilemmas. When the media offer many options instead of a single widely shared solution, the message is changed to "Do your own thing." Viewers respond to the presentations by various forms of feedback, particularly through ratings, from which network "producer–priests" shape messages to resonate closely with what large blocs of the public currently feel and think. Nelson granted that details of the issues raised and solutions offered in this public "church" vary with

3. John W. Nelson, *Your God is Alive and Well and Appearing in Popular Culture* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1976), 20.

fashion and with the needs of the genre, yet he argued persuasively that the ritualized interplay of the esthetic presentations and the audience responses like tension, satisfaction, and laughter, is beyond question.

For Latter-day Saints, dramas traditionally performed in ward "amusement halls" in the first half of this century served a similar function. In 1968, Gary L. Stewart analyzed 45 plays performed frequently as part of the Mutual Improvement Association program from the 1920s into the 1960s.[4] He found a narrow range of stereotyped cultural dilemmas central to all the plays. They raised issues such as loyalty to church teachings, whether family responsibilities should take precedence over personal convenience, and other problems engendered by the competing demands of the American cultural emphasis on individual freedom versus Latter-day Saint and family solidarity. The solutions were presented in terms of traditional LDS values like obedience, optimism, and sacrifice, as well as divine intervention. The message invariably communicated was that when moral decisions are made in accordance with LDS norms, good triumphs, evil is thwarted, and the saintly protagonists figuratively ride off into the sunset as surely as in a classic western movie.

In communication terms, the plays can be seen as an extended dialogue in which the author, acting as the voice for approval-giving church authorities, offers a formulation of LDS theology applied to a familiar situation; the audience then responds collectively and individually throughout the performance.

Myth and lore also serve as communicative media to permit participants in a culture to interpret that culture in terms of ultimates and to apply the results to mundane life. Origin stories and hero tales particularly provide examples by which the inexperienced are enculturated and mature culture bearers have key values, beliefs, and actions clarified and reinforced. Thus, when Mormon missionaries are called upon to explain the nature of God or the need for a modern restoration of the gospel, they are not likely to go much beyond relating the story of Joseph Smith's first vision. Similarly, reciting the tale of how the seagulls' saved the Mormon pioneers from a disastrous cricket infestation, or of an appearance of the ultra-mortal Three Nephites, serves as a shorthand affirmation of shared belief and a guide to approved behavior in the face of challenges. The focus of church activities throughout 1997, the sesquicentennial of the Mormon pioneer trek across the plains, was to reenact that crucial historical event by as many church members in as many formats as possible.

However, the most universal mode for communicating about the

4. Gary L. Stewart, "A Rhetorical Analysis of Mormon Drama" (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1968).

meaning of life and the nature of divine and human powers is, arguably, religious ritual. By religious ritual or rites I mean formal, culturally specified patterns of group behavior in which issues of ultimate significance are affirmed, reflected, or brought into thoughtful consideration in a context of divinity or the supernatural. Words are usually involved, but alone they are insufficient. Rites usually include kinesthetic motion: priests and worshippers bend, kneel, or gesture, and processions move on defined paths. Chanting, singing, and instrumental music are also often a part. Visual elements are important too: dramatic episodes, costumes, architecture, decor, and spatial placement of officiants and respondents are often crucial in a rite. The linguistic forms for religious ceremony are at least stilted, and may be so esoteric or archaic as not to be wholly decipherable by those involved. Didactic elements can be involved, but usually religious ritual makes little claim to teach in a conventional sense. Rather it tends to involve all the senses, thus constituting "thick" learning, to co-opt an apt adjective from Clifford Geertz.[5]

Latter-day Saints generally feel uncomfortable with the idea that religious rites are important in their system of practice. This stems in part from the claim that their church is historically discontinuous from other modern Christian churches, some of which Mormons have seen as excessively ritualized. More significantly, they tend to think of "spirituality," to which they give high value, as contrastive with the "mere ritual" they attribute to others. Church leaders prefer the term "ordinances" for the more obvious LDS rites, yet beyond those particular performances, rites are widely employed in Mormon religious life. The designated ordinances are only the beginning of a list of rituals considerably longer than Latter-day Saints normally recognize.

The use of these rites has increased substantially in recent LDS history. I believe this increase derives partly from the fact that rites have proven helpful in meeting a communication problem. (This is not to say that no other reasons exist.)

In the changeover of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints from a regionally concentrated, culturally homogenous organization toward becoming a world church,[6] issues of "translation" became salient.[7] Several pragmatic ways have been found to reduce the problem of cross-cultural communication. Sharing rituals is one. Rituals provide a more

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5. Clifford J. Geertz, "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight," *Daedalus* 101, no. 1 (1972): 1–37.

6. Rodney Stark, "The Rise of a New World Faith," *Review of Religious Research* 26, no. 1 (1984): 18–27.

7. See, for example, various papers published in *Conference on the Language of the Mormons, 1974* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Language Research Center, 1974), *and Second Annual Symposium on LDS Intercultural Communications and Language Concerns, October 7–10, 1974* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Language Research Center, 1974).

nearly universal language than, say, the localized version of English used in the formative period of church development.

The extent to which Mormons currently employ religious rites can be seen in the accompanying tables. In these tables, one dimension categorizes rites according to the social scale of participation involved; the other dimension rates the degree to which religious elements dominate or infuse the activity. The participation scale ranges from individual through family group, ward, and stake congregations, and from the special case of temple congregations to general church assemblies. (Sub-groups such as quorums or classes, as well as sets of leaders at each congregational level functioning as small groups themselves, have their own less public set of rites which are not considered here.) On the second dimension, some rituals are categorized as patently religious; others are substantially religious, despite other concerns; and a third class consists of largely social rituals with significant religious involvement or overtones. The examples in the table are illustrative, not exhaustive; some historically dated, less common, or infrequently discussed rites are not even mentioned.

The ritual behavior in these activities pervades Mormon life. A normal, active Latter-day Saint could easily engage in more than 100 rites each week; for leaders, the figure would be much higher. On the other hand, to be "less active" likely means only rare participation in ritual events.

In Mormon-dominated communities, the spillover of religious ritual into secular life is ubiquitous, to the cultural consternation of non-Mormons trying to participate in those communities. Numbers gathered in my 1958 study of American Fork, Utah, illustrate this: With the help of many people in the community, I compiled a reasonably exhaustive list of every meeting with five or more persons in attendance held in the town during a two-week period. Church-initiated meetings accounted for at least 20,000 person hours, while all non-church gatherings, not counting school classes or activities, produced only 4,300 person hours.[8] Such numbers would, naturally, differ in other times and places, but the point is that for many Latter-day Saints, organized public life involves levels of religious ritual well beyond what might be found in many other modern groups.

All the behavioral patterns encompassed by the list seem to conform to my definition of religious ritual, although conventional Mormon usage would not give them all equal standing. Some deserve to be called ceremonies, because they comprise sets of component rites. Thus, the sacrament usually includes this essentially invariable sequence: (1) congregational singing; (2) breaking the bread, then kneeling (by the officiant) to

8. John L. Sorenson, "Industrialization and Social Change: A Controlled Comparison of Two Utah Communities" (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Los Angeles, 1961).

Table 1
Some Latter-day Saint Religious Rituals

Individual	*Family*
Local Congregations	
PATENTLY RELIGIOUS RITUALS	Personal prayer
Testimony bearing	
Preparing, giving talk	
Blessing a meal	
Fasting	
Patriarchal blessings	
Tithing settlement	
Home teaching	
Temple attendance	
Temple recommend interview	Family prayer
Family home evenings	
Anointing the sick	
Blessing a meal	
Father's blessing	
Tithing settlement	
Funeral prayer	
Blessing and naming infant	
Scripture study	Devotional segments of any meeting (song, prayer)
Sacrament meetings	
Testimony meetings	
Sustaining and releasing officers	
Baptizing, confirming, ordaining, setting apart members	
Funerals	
Church courts	
Building dedications	
Temple dedications	
Stake conferences	
Rituals with Substantial Religious Components	Scripture study
Preparing and giving lessons	
Genealogical work	
Relief Society visiting teaching	
Journal writing and family histories	Bishopric visits
Home teaching visits	
Family reunions	
Reunion at rites of passage (i.e., infant blessings, baptisms)	Missionary farewells
Sacred holiday commemorations	
Other commemorations (i.e., Easter, Mother's Day, etc.)	
Social Rituals with Religious Components	Genealogical correspondence
Fellowshipping	Wedding receptions
Post-funeral meals and socializing	
Grave visits	Ward work events
Camping trips	
Firesides, study groups	
Youth socials	

Table 2
Additional Latter-day Saint Religious Rituals

TEMPLE	*General Church*
Patently Religious Rituals	Endowments for living and dead
Ordaining, baptizing, confirming proxies	
Initiatory ordinances for living and dead	
Sealing of living and dead	
Solemn assemblies	
	General and area conferences, including sustaining of officers
Special-occasion TV satellite programs	
Solemn assemblies to sustain new presidents of church	
Special church-wide fasts	
Substantially Religious Rituals	Submitting names for temple work
Placing names on prayer rolls	
	Missionary reunions

bless the sacrament; (3) reciting the prayer of blessing (the phrasings of the two prayers, one for the bread and one for the water, are invariable and must be repeated if a noticeable error is made), during which the congregation bows their heads and closes their eyes; (4) Aaronic Priesthood holders marching to the table and aligning themselves there; (5) passing the bread first to the presiding officer; (6) passing it then to the congregation according to a locally fixed pattern; (7) deacons realigning and marching back to the sacrament table; (8) repetition of the sequence to bless and distribute the water; and (9) at the conclusion, officiants dispersing to their seats with family members in the congregation. This ceremony may not be as formalized as the Catholic mass, but it is unquestionably ceremonial. Many activities conducted in the temple are even more elaborately ceremonial: The service in which the endowment is administered uses 99 percent prescribed language and behaviors involving hundreds of essential elements within a period of an hour and a half. The semi-annual general conference, widely shared via television, constitutes ceremony on an even larger scale.

How is theology involved when Latter-day Saints participate in these rituals? Virtually every principle and concept of the gospel are brought to attention, either explicitly or by reflection, by the repertoire of rites. In the sacrament, for instance, the worshipper is expected to ponder such matters as the death and atonement of Jesus Christ, forgiveness for one's own sins, the relationship of the Son to the Father, one's degree of obedience to the commandments, the promise of support from the Holy Spirit, the role of the priesthood as visible officiators, the sense of fraternal sharing with others of the faithful through the act, and many other points. The language, the acts, and the setting not only raise ques-

tions in these domains, but also help the worshipper develop answers. The ceremony is rich enough that repeated participation does not exhaust its possibilities, particularly because of the sensitizing and evocative setting in which it is conducted.

The entire set of words, sounds, actions, sights, and even taste in the case of the sacrament, constitutes a complex communicative medium. Amid the silence of the sacrament service, the Spirit may be thought of as "speaking" to individual worshippers about their condition. Participants "speak" to each other by presenting themselves in the appointed place and manner, and by partaking of the emblems (or, even more eloquently, by not taking them, an acknowledgement of unworthiness) as a social act. Authorities "speak" to lesser priesthood holders, and they in turn to the congregation, by positioning themselves where expected and then performing the required procedures. Worshippers even "speak" to themselves via contemplation. Appropriately, the sacrament sequence proper is considered more consequential than the minor ritual elements that precede it in the service, or than the talks which follow it.

Much of the power of this language resides in its comprehensiveness. Surely it says more, to more persons, than a mere sermon would. The church's insistence on the necessity of certain ordinances further underlines the point of the comprehensive nature of rites as communication. For example, "the mysteries of godliness," the understanding of which one is enjoined to approach through the temple ceremony, are nowhere significantly discussed in the language of ordinary learning or discourse. Minimum verbal explanation is used to lay a foundation for understanding any portion of the temple ceremony upon one's first participation, but only repeated experience of the ceremony itself is supposed to clarify or expand perception of the significance of the situation. Indeed, throughout the ceremony itself, alternation of word and act continues rhythmically to deepen and reinforce the participant's understanding. Yet even the highest church leaders and most frequent temple attenders claim they only partially understand it. In fact leaders themselves participate as laymen when they repeat the temple experience by acting as proxies on behalf of the dead.

Didactic, but symbolically involved, elements in LDS rituals are evident. The Doctrine and Covenants makes the cosmic instructional objective clear:

> To be immersed in the water and come forth out of the water is in the likeness of the resurrection of the dead in coming forth out of their graves; hence, this ordinance was instituted to form a relationship with the ordinance of baptism for the dead, being in likeness of the dead. Consequently, the baptismal font was instituted as a similitude of the grave, and was commanded to be in a place underneath where the liv-

> ing are wont to assemble, to show forth the living and the dead, and that all things may have their likeness, and that they may accord one with another—that which is earthly conforming to that which is heavenly.[9]

More obviously, the person officiating plays the role of a teacher. For example, the one performing a baptism can be said to communicate, in addition to the formulaic verbalization, something like this: "Through my authoritative action, as well as through your obedience, we are jointly manifesting essential, eternal principles as we participate in this ordinance. Treasure this experience."

A rite may also be compared to a text. Repetition, or re-exploration, is as essential in learning from ritual as it is in learning from verbal discourse. Written texts, such as the scriptures, demand repeated searching at several levels; a written sacred text's meanings are not easily exhausted. Rereading invites continuing reassessment or mental redaction; thus the reader participates in a process, not in a single event. Ritual, even where language and behavior are specified, as in the temple ceremony, functions the same as does a rich text.

Many people find such satisfaction in ritual that the forms tend almost inexorably to become more elaborate. Church officials sporadically discover manifestations of this tendency. Without going into nineteenth-century examples, we can note the elaboration of rites that took place during World War II, at a time when church supervision of local affairs was at a low ebb. After the war, some Mormon congregations in Europe were found to have begun using candles in worship services, while in Pacific islands some church members were discovered to be placing bottles of consecrated oil in house corners to protect against evil spirits. In Deseret itself, church leaders have periodically combated a tendency for local leaders to dress Aaronic priesthood youths in virtual uniforms and specify processional demeanor for them during administration of the sacrament. Also, for years many orthodox Mormons coached their children to take the bread or water only with the right hand, despite repeated statements from Salt Lake City denying any authoritative basis for such a practice. Further adjustments may lie ahead for the church in coping with this human tendency. Yet the increase in ritual to which I refer is a matter not only of elaboration, but also of frequency.

The level of activity among Latter-day Saints has increased greatly in the last half century. For instance, my American Fork study revealed that between 1928 and 1958, the amount of time spent by the average person in church meetings increased by almost 700 percent.[10] Since it is in meet-

9. D&C 128:12–13.
10. Sorenson, "Industrialization and Social Change," 181.

ings where much ritual occurs, the number of rites experienced by the average person must have also increased greatly. In the subsequent four decades, the figure could easily have doubled again. In geographical areas beyond Deseret, the increase is likely to have been of the same magnitude.

Family rituals are also more frequent and general now than at most times in the past. Additionally, more officers are set apart, more members participate in conferences, and the increased number of temples around the world has meant a marked rise in the proportion of members who participate in that heavily ceremonial setting. In fact, the huge increase in temples has been brought about precisely so that ritual participation by members might be multiplied.

While ritual has increased, formal theologizing has decreased. Both tendencies, I suspect, have been related to the increasing cultural diversity of members. In the early decades of this century when the major systematizers of Mormon theology—Talmage, Roberts, Ballard, Widtsoe, and the young Joseph Fielding Smith—were active, most of the Latter-day Saints lived in "Deseret" and shared a common cultural background and language. Today, members in over a hundred nations and from very differing educational and class backgrounds share much less in experience, ideas, standards, and especially language. Efforts are indeed made to teach them the special Mormon vocabulary and to gain some acquaintance with the essential history of the church through standardized lessons and media presentations, but the faster growth proceeds, the less quickly and completely comprehensive internal learning of Mormon culture can be realized. The need for a minimal unity of the diverse membership might be met by simply increasing the rate of verbal communication from headquarters to the members, but that solution is hampered by literacy, translation, and economic constraints. For example, the church has its own satellite system to reach some areas, but it does not extend worldwide and remains only lightly used. One response has been to rely on the scriptures as a unifier. The theme "Study the Scriptures" is constantly stressed. Scriptural language thus provides, partially at least, a minimally shared set of terms and symbols for the conduct of church communication. Meanwhile, in doctrinal matters, basic principles are emphasized, for extended theological discussion can only be divisive, given the great differences in background and experience of members. With so many new members having limited knowledge of scripture, church history, or the language of LDS discourse in Utah, it is little wonder that communication among the Saints about theology in its usual sense is stifled.

The increase in ritual helps fill this gap. The universal quasi-language provided by the sacred events in which members participate—baptism, prayer, the sacrament, family home evening, ordination, temple

ordinances—applies wherever Mormons live, as much in Japan, Nigeria, or Poland as in St. George or Dallas. The labored, bookish, nineteenth-century vocabulary used by James E. Talmage in once-popular theological treatises such as *The Articles of Faith* is being largely ignored, but the core experiential language of the ceremonies speaks immediately to new and old members alike.

Moreover, there is a helpful ambiguity to ritual so that specifications and definitions do not have to be spelled out. Mark Leone argued that the LDS system currently leaves individuals substantial freedom to shape their own configurations of belief. By a "do-it-yourself-theology," he observed, members who are exposed to questions of belief in instructional classes end up resolving the issues for themselves because instruction normally pretends to few authoritative answers on issues of real moment to the participants (whatever the lesson manual writers might have intended those issues would be).[11] Individuals settle upon their answers in terms which fit their spiritual, social, cultural, and psychological circumstances and needs. The instructional materials do, of course, direct the attention of all the saints to certain topics chosen by the leadership, as well as setting limits, usually phrased in scriptural terms, to how much variance one is allowed in interpretation. Still, Mormons have been able to articulate personal versions of their gospel with lifestyles and sociopolitical ideologies as varied as vegetarianism, apartheid, liberalism, capitalism, fundamentalism, socialism, libertarianism, militarism, and pacifism. One can shape one's Mormonism into more or less agreement with any of those ideological or political positions, it appears.[12]

The core beliefs one must hold in order to retain standing in the church are few, but all are expressed and reiterated in the rites and ceremonies. Mormons have apparently come to maintain such unity as prevails on the basis of conformity to and acceptance of the crucial rites, more than through linguistic discourse about doctrine. Interestingly, many members who might appear on the grounds of everyday behavior and words to have lapsed from loyalty to the church still manifest a core commitment by calling on the elders for the ritual of anointing the sick.

Increased participation in ritual will predictably compound the tendency toward individual interpretation. We have already noted that the temple ordinances are not significantly explained or interpreted. Even baptism is little discussed, aside from a brief review of certain related

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11. Mark P. Leone, *Roots of Modern Mormonism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), 167–93.

12. Compare Sorenson, "Conflict between Mormon Folk and Mormon Elite," and A. Bert Horsley, "The Consideration of a Possible Heretical Trend Developing in the Religious Philosophy of the Latter-day Saint People in a Given Geographical Area" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1954).

scriptures plus a few traditional statements, about which many members remain somewhat vague. Meanwhile, the format for the rite of prayer is so loose that a contact being instructed by LDS missionaries can hear the essential guidelines for prayer in about one minute. Thus, prayer is pretty much what Mormons make of it in the act, and it is the same with nearly all the other sacred rites. Members are left to their own exegeses of these behavioral texts.

Whether by plan or by the unintended force of events, the increased use of ritual among the Latter-day Saints seems to be providing a universal language, a *lingua franca,* which all may share beyond the hundred discursive tongues of today's officiants. I have suggested that one consequence of increased ritual is the shrinking of formal theological talk; Latter-day Saints now more often share experiences and testimonies in the church setting without doing much defining of terms or arguing issues of belief. Nor do most of us consult or desire theological handbooks, however they might be labeled. Increased reliance on communication through ritual seems to be moving believers toward an ideal mentioned in the Doctrine and Covenants: "[M]an should not counsel his fellow man" because "every man might speak in the name of God."[13] The consequences of this tendency for other aspects of Mormon life remain to be seen, but they are likely to be substantial.

13. D&C 1:19–20.

Parallelomania and the Study of Latter-day Scripture: Confirmation, Coincidence, or the Collective Unconscious?

Douglas F. Salmon

What has been is what will be, and what has been done is what will be done; there is nothing new under the sun. Is there a thing of which it is said, "See, this is new"? It has been already, in the ages before us.

—Ecclesiastes 1:8–9

THERE HAS BEEN AN EXEGETICAL TREND during the last several decades to draw endless parallels to texts from the ancient Near East and beyond in an attempt to validate the writings in the Book of Mormon and Pearl of Great Price. The pioneer and leader in this effort has been the great LDS scholar Hugh Nibley. In recent years, the Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies (FARMS) has continued this legacy. The number of parallels that Nibley has been able to uncover from amazingly disparate and arcane sources is truly staggering.[1] Unfortunately, there seems to be a neglect of any methodological reflection or articulation in this endeavor. This article looks at some of the ways parallels have been used by Nibley in the exposition of latter-day scripture, the types of parallels employed, and some of the problems that arise from this comparative exercise.

1. One of Nibley's editors has remarked, "Hugh Nibley has probably quoted from apocryphal writings more than anyone else in the world" (Gary P. Gillum, "Apocryphal Literature—Those 'Hidden' Books in the Stacks: A Selected Bibliography," in *Apocryphal Writings and the Latter-day Saints*, ed. C. Wilfred Griggs [Provo, UT: Religious Study Center, BYU, 1986], 127).

For the purposes of this discussion, a "parallel" is the occurrence in a separate text of a key phrase, idea, or term that closely matches the same one found in the text under consideration. That parallels exist in a wide variety of texts—separated temporally, geographically, and culturally—is an undeniable fact. The challenge is to adequately explain what the existence of the parallel means. Does it mean that there is some type of relationship between the two texts? Did one of the authors know the work of the other, either directly or through some intermediary text? If no relationship between the texts can be established, how do we explain the similarities in thought? Is it simply coincidence, or is there some other theory that can adequately explain the similarities?

There are essentially four different things which parallels to latter-day scripture can tell us. First, the existence of a parallel in an ancient text can confirm the prophetic insight of Joseph Smith. The reasoning is usually that only through divine inspiration could Joseph produce the translation/revelation of an ancient text, the details of which are properly situated in their historical and theological milieu—that is, since Joseph was a somewhat uneducated lad and lacked access to these texts. Second, the existence of a parallel in a text contemporaneous with the prophet, but published before his own works, can demonstrate a literary borrowing on the prophet's part. The issue of Joseph's access to, and knowledge of, this parallel text then becomes of greatest importance. Third, the parallel is simply due to coincidence. There is a likelihood that two authors, when describing the same type of event or idea, will use similar language. Fourth, the parallel is due to the essential unity of all religious experience. The parallel is either evidence of some psychic unity, such as the "collective unconscious," or some religious/spiritual unity possibly akin to the LDS notion of the "light of Christ."

Nibley has usually employed parallels for the first use, castigated the second use, and ignored the third and fourth uses. He first began employing parallels from the ancient Near East for the exposition of latter-day scripture in the course of his studies on the Book of Mormon. "Does the author or translator of the book [the Book of Mormon] display any knowledge concerning that part of the world in which it claims to have its origin?" writes Nibley in a 1948 article in the *Improvement Era*. He then outlines his method for testing the authenticity of the author/translator: "We shall match the story step by step with a number of Old World parallels, and after a few general observations let the reader decide for himself just what significance should be attributed to these parallels."[2] He has continued this technique, now for over fifty years, and extended it to

2. Hugh Nibley, "The Book of Mormon as a Mirror of the East," *Improvement Era* 51 (April 1948): 202.

include the authentication of the writings of the prophet Enoch (Book of Moses), the patriarch Abraham (Book of Abraham), and even the temple endowment.

There are, however, some problems with the way in which Nibley, FARMS, and others have employed the use of parallels. In fact, a case could be made that Nibley is guilty of parallelomania. The term "parallelomania" has been used to describe the overuse or improper use of parallels in the exposition of a text. As the Jewish scholar of the New Testament Samuel Sandmel explains, parallelomania is "that extravagance among scholars which first overdoes the supposed similarity in passages and then proceeds to describe source and derivation as if implying connection flowing in an inevitable or predetermined direction."[3] Nibley himself has employed the term to criticize this type of excess: "It isn't merely that one sees parallels everywhere, but especially that one instantly concludes that there can be only one possible explanation for such. From the beginning the Book of Mormon has enjoyed the full treatment from *Parallelomaniacs*."[4] In his 1946 review of Fawn Brodie's book *No Man Knows My History*,[5] Nibley was quite insistent that parallels do not "prove" anything.

> There are "outside" parallels for every event in the Old and New Testaments, yet that does not prove anything. Of recent years literary studies have shown parallels not to be the exception but the rule in the world of creative writing, and it is well known that great inventions and scientific discoveries have a way of appearing at about the same time in separate places. . . . The fact that two theories or books present parallelism, no matter how striking, may imply a common source, but it certainly does not in itself prove that the one is derived from the other.[6]

This is not to say that parallels are not useful in the exposition of a text, nor that they should be avoided. Furthermore, I agree with Todd Compton that "we need not pay any attention to those shallow critics of Nibley who merely shout 'Parallelomania,' as if it were a magical incan-

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3. Samuel Sandmel, "Parallelomania," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 31 (1962): 1; reprinted in idem, *Two Living Traditions: Essays on Religion and the Bible* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1972), 291–304.

4. "The Book of Mormon: True or False?" in Hugh Nibley, *The Prophetic Book of Mormon*, John W. Welch, ed., *The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley* [hereafter *CWHN*], vol. 8 (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Company, 1989), 230.

5. Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, The Mormon Prophet* (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945; New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1995).

6. "No Ma'am, That's Not History," in Hugh Nibley, *Tinkling Cymbals and Sounding Brass: The Art of Telling Tales about Joseph Smith and Brigham Young*, David J. Whittaker, ed., *CWHN*, vol. 11 (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Company, 1991), 8.

tation, and reject his whole methodology and corpus out of hand."[7] Nevertheless, there are several valid concerns that scholars have raised concerning the way in which the parallels are chosen and used. In addition, there often appears to be a lack of thought as to the implications that arise in accepting certain parallels as authentication of the prophetic status of Joseph Smith.

For purposes of illustration, let us consider Nibley's discussion of the writings of the prophet Enoch.[8] Latter-day Saints have in Moses 6:25–8:3 what are properly termed "Extracts from the Prophecy of Enoch" or what Nibley has referred to as the "Joseph Smith Enoch." Nibley has written a great deal on this work[9] and points out that it is an attractive document for study, in that it does not stem from an actual physical manuscript in the prophet's possession and consequently there are no issues of translation or manuscript authenticity to distract our attention. Nibley's most extensive treatment of the Enochic parallels is found in a series of articles that originally appeared in the *Ensign* from October 1975 to August 1977 under the title "A Strange Thing in the Land: The Return of the Book of Enoch."[10]

It should be clear at the outset that Nibley's aim is an apologetic one. For Nibley, the examination of the excerpts from the prophecy of Enoch "offers the nearest thing to a perfectly foolproof test—neat, clear-cut, and decisive—of Joseph Smith's claim to inspiration."[11] What Nibley sets out to do is the execution of just such a "test."

> The problem is perfectly simple and straightforward: There was once indeed an ancient book of Enoch, but it became lost and was not discovered until our own time, when it can be reliably reconstructed from some hundreds of manuscripts in a dozen different languages. How does this Enoch redivivus compare with Joseph Smith's highly condensed but astonishingly specific and detailed version?. . .[W]e have only to place the Joseph Smith version of the book of Enoch—Moses 6:25 through 8:3 with the associated texts—side

7. Todd Compton, review of *Lehi in the Desert. . .* ,by Hugh Nibley, *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon* 1 (1989): 115.

8. Although the Old Testament account of Enoch is a scant 7 verses (Gen. 5: 18–24), he "holds a prominent place in Latter-day Saint scripture and tradition as a prophet, seer, and builder of Zion" (*Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, s.v. "Enoch"). Indeed, the great literary critic at Yale Harold Bloom writes, "Smith was haunted by the figure of Enoch" (Harold Bloom, *The American Religion* [New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 1992], 99).

9. Nibley mentions on one occasion: "I've written over a thousand pages on it, and I haven't even scratched the surface" (Hugh Nibley, *Enoch the Prophet*, Stephen D. Ricks, ed., *CWHN*, vol. 2 [Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Company, 1986], 1).

10. Reprinted in Nibley, *Enoch the Prophet*, 91–301.

11. Ibid., 94.

by side with the Enoch texts, which have come forth since 1830, to see what they have in common and to judge of its significance.[12]

Unfortunately, the problem is not really all that "simple" or "straightforward." There are a lot of issues that are not discussed anywhere in the investigation. For instance, what is the methodology for selecting the parallels? Are the parallels examples of verbal agreement, or are they simply examples of similar thought patterns? Is the dual occurrence of a single word enough to establish a parallel, or is an entire phrase required? Does the phrase or the single word have to occur in a similar context in the text? What are the criteria for selecting the texts that are to be mined for parallels? Is the religious community from whence the text comes important? Is it enough that the figure Enoch is mentioned in the text, or does it have to contain the actual words/writings of Enoch? Does the age of the manuscript of the selected text matter at all? Does the age of the tradition contained in the manuscript matter? Does the provenance of the manuscript matter? Is the original language of the manuscript and/or tradition important? None of these questions are addressed.

Methodology

The most methodological statements on the use of parallels in comparative studies that I have been able to discover in Nibley's vast corpus are found in his 1939 unpublished dissertation.[13] In this study he used comparative materials from many different countries and cultures to illuminate the remnants of an ancient year-festival/drama in the Roman games. Nibley informs us that "the practice of resorting to foreign materials when local sources fail is neither new nor unproven; Mommsen, Roscher, Usener, Wissowa, etc., did not hesitate to bring distant evidence under contribution in dealing with ancient institutions, not only for illustration but as proof. The only question is how far such a practice may be carried: at what point does a parallel cease to be significant?"[14] Unfortunately, Nibley does not answer this most significant rhetorical question though he does say more about the endeavor. "'Parallels' must be more than superficial resemblances which have caught the eye of the investigator in a hasty survey. . . .If the student confines himself to consideration only of very conspicuous and well-established objects, things thoroughly treated and universally agreed upon, the evidence for which is

12. Ibid.

13. Hugh Nibley, "The Roman Games as a Survival of an Archaic Year-Cult" (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Los Angeles, 1939).

14. Ibid., ii.

easily available to all, and if his whole concern is not with symbols or interpretations but with the tangible and objective aspects of every case cited, he may be justified in drawing upon widely-scattered sources."[15] These guidelines raise a fairly high bar for the admissible evidence to clear. There are very few "thoroughly treated" sources, the nature and meaning of which may be described as "universally agreed upon." Furthermore, how can one be sure that s/he has hold of the "tangible and objective aspects of every case"? How, for instance, can it be determined that an "aspect" that appears in a polemical work or in a work with a hidden or not-so-hidden agenda is truly an "objective" aspect and not merely a rhetorical device or hyperbole employed to make the author's case?

As an example of this difficulty, consider one of the works that Nibley uses to obtain traditions about Adam, the so-called *Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan*.[16] This work is universally agreed by scholars to be a Christian production, usually dated to the 7th century of our era;[17] yet Nibley feels confident that "[p]erhaps the oldest Adam traditions" are to be found in this work.[18] There is cause for caution, however, when we read in one of Nibley's citations from the *Conflict*: "And the Lord said to Adam and Eve: As you have made this sacrifice to me, so I will make an offering of my flesh when I come to earth, and so save you."[19] Though it is certainly possible to find ancient traditions in later manuscripts, this particular saying serves a demonstrably Christian agenda and would at least require some justification as to why we should consider it as anything other than a Christian production. The same problem is once again evident in Nibley's last parallel from this work: "Adam, offering sacrifice as was his custom, Satan appeared in the form of a man and smote him in the side with a sharp stone even as Adam raised his arms in prayer. Eve tried to help him as blood and water flowed on the altar."[20] This passage sounds amazingly close to John 19:34—"But one of the soldiers pierced his side with a spear, and at once there came out blood and water." The author of this tradition was obviously aware of this, for he has God tell Adam, at the conclusion of Nibley's citation: "Finish thy sacrifice, which is most pleasing to me. For even so will I be wounded and

15. Ibid., ii–iii.

16. The work exists in an Ethiopic and Arabic version. An English translation is available in S. C. Malan, *The Book of Adam and Eve, also called the Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1882). Nibley's citations are his English renderings of a French translation of the work available in *Dictionnaire des Apocryphes*, 2 vols. (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1856–1858).

17. Some scholars date it as late as the eleventh century; see Michael E. Stone, *A History of the Literature of Adam and Eve* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1992), 98.

18. Nibley, *Enoch the Prophet*, 167–68.

19. Ibid., 171.

20. Ibid., 171–72.

blood and water will come from my side." Thus, a reasonable case could be made that this narrative is nothing more than a reworking of John's account of Jesus' sacrifice.[21]

Extreme Selectivity

The next type of problem that exists with Nibley's comparative method is the extreme selectivity with which the texts are chosen. Only texts that support his position are chosen and are excerpted without any regard as to their representation of the original text *in toto*. This type of exercise is referred to as "proof-texting" and is one of the objections that are often raised against Nibley.[22] Kent P. Jackson has well-stated the problem:

> Nibley shows a tendency to gather sources from a variety of cultures all over the ancient world, lump them all together, and then pick and choose the bits and pieces he wants. By selectively including what suits his presuppositions and ignoring what does not, he is able to manufacture an ancient system of religion that is remarkably similar in many ways to our own—precisely what he sets out to demonstrate in the first place. There are serious problems involved in this kind of methodology. The various religious communities from whose documents Nibley draws his material had mutually exclusive beliefs in many areas. By removing their ideas from their own context (thus rendering them invalid) and joining them with ideas from other communities—similarly removed from their own context—Nibley creates an artificial synthesis that never in reality existed. The result would be unacceptable and no doubt unrecognizable to any of the original groups.[23]

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21. The Christian origin of this pericope is bolstered by the fact that Adam is not a messianic figure in Jewish traditions. On the other hand, the apostle Paul clearly taught that Adam "is the figure of him that was to come" (Rom. 5:14); "The first man Adam was made a living soul; the last Adam was made a quickening spirit" (1 Cor. 15:45); cf. W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, 4th ed. (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1980), 36–57; John R. Levison, *Portraits of Adam in Early Judaism* (Sheffield, UK: Sheffield Academic Press, 1988).

22. For example, in a review of the first volume of *CWHN*, *Old Testament and Related Studies*, Keith E. Norman writes: "Missionaries and seminary students are trained to proof-text, gathering only those scriptural verses that appear to support a particular doctrine, without regard to the context of the quotes. But although he possesses more than enough sophistication and analytical ability to rise above such techniques, it seems that Nibley's standard methodology with virtually all his sources, scriptural or not, is proof-texting. His glib freedom in wrenching hitherto unimagined insights and novel connections from ancient documents makes more methodical scholars cringe, including many who are equally devoted to Mormonism" (*Sunstone* 11, no. 2 [March 1987]: 34).

23. Kent P. Jackson, review of *Old Testament and Related Studies*, by Hugh Nibley, *BYU Studies* 28, no. 4 (Fall 1988): 115–16.

Lack of Precision

Another problem in Nibley's work is the occasional lack of precision in the handling of sources. This lapse may be observed in his handling of other scholars' comparative studies on Enoch.[24] R. H. Charles, in his English translation of 1 Enoch, asserts that "[n]early all the writers of the New Testament were familiar with it, and were more or less influenced by it in thought and diction."[25] To bolster this claim, Charles includes a section with two types of parallel passages: those "which either in phraseology or idea directly depend on or are illustrative of passages of 1 Enoch" and "[d]octrines in 1 Enoch which had an undoubted share in moulding the corresponding New Testament doctrines."[26] When Nibley first cites this evidence, he says that the "influence" of 1 Enoch "is apparent in no less than 128 places in the New Testament."[27] Later, this information is changed to "R. H. Charles lists no fewer than 128 *citations* from Enoch in the New Testament."[28] Finally, he says that Charles "discovered there were no less than 128 *quotations* in the New Testament from the Book of Enoch."[29] These statements are an inflation of what Charles actually uncovered—he did not list "citations" nor "quotations" from 1 Enoch, but rather passages that "directly depend on" or are "illustrative of" the book. These "parallels" are often quite a stretch. For example, how close in dependence is Revelation 3:12, "The New Jerusalem" to 1 Enoch 90:29, "A new house"?[30] As James C. VanderKam points out, "Charles may have been correct in claiming that some New Testament wording was influenced by 1 Enoch, but only in a few cases may we say with confidence that something in the New Testament

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24. As another example, see the detailed analysis of Nibley's use of the *Book of Jasher* by Edward J. Brandt, "The History, Content, and Latter-day Saint Use of the Book of Jasher" (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1976), 141–159, esp. 142, 144. Though Brandt concludes that Nibley's citations are "very accurate as he has used them," a review of his evidence points to a contrary conclusion.

25. R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1912), ix, n1.

26. Ibid., xcv.

27. Nibley, *Enoch the Prophet*, 95.

28. Ibid., 116, emphasis mine.

29. Hugh Nibley, *Teachings of the Pearl of Great Price: Transcripts of Lectures Presented to an Honors Pearl of Great Price Class at Brigham Young University Winter Semester 1986* (Provo, UT: FARMS, n.d.), Lecture 1, p. 10, emphasis mine.

30. Charles, *Book of Enoch*, xcvii. Charles only lists the phrases quoted; the full text of the two passages reads: "Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall go no more out: and I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, which is *new Jerusalem*" (Rev. 3:12) and "I saw till the Lord of the sheep brought a *new house* greater and loftier than the first, and set it up in the place of the first which had been folded up" (1 Enoch 90:29), emphasis mine.

shows influence from an item or theme in 1 Enoch. Enoch himself is mentioned rarely in the New Testament, and themes specifically associated with him are found in only a few passages."[31]

Misrepresentation of Sources

As an example of simply misrepresenting what an ancient author wrote, consider Nibley's use of the *Apocalypse of Adam*.[32] According to him, this work "claims to be taken from a book handed down from Adam himself, containing an exposition of the gospel of salvation but dwelling with particular emphasis on the baptism of Adam." Nibley points out that "this is particularly intriguing since the wonderfully condensed and powerful presentation of the gospel plan in the Joseph Smith book of Enoch devotes a whole page to the baptism of Adam."[33] Unfortunately, the *Apocalypse of Adam* never speaks of Adam being baptized. The reference that Nibley cites is the closing paragraph of the *Apocalypse* which reads: "These are the revelations which Adam made known to Seth his son. . . . This is the hidden knowledge of Adam which he gave to Seth, which is the holy baptism of those who know the eternal knowledge through those born of the word and the imperishable illuminators, who came from the holy seed."[34] It should be clear that the subject here is the apocalypse itself, the "revelations" and the "knowledge" contained therein—*these* are the baptism. The term "baptism" is used metaphorically here—it does not refer to an actual physical baptism in water of a believer. One of the world's leading experts on Gnosticism, Kurt Rudolf, has called attention to this interpretation, noting that "cultic acts were 'spiritualized,' i.e., reduced to spiritual models or interpreted symbolically." In particular, he notes that there "are numerous examples. . .where the act of 'knowledge' (*gnosis*) is understood as baptism as at the close of the 'Apocalypse of Adam.' "[35] Thus, far from finding a parallel work that dwells "with particular emphasis on the baptism of Adam," we find a work that only in its closing lines speaks of the knowledge contained therein as a symbolic baptism for all those who accept its teaching.

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31. James C. VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man For All Generations* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1995), 169.

32. The *Apocalypse of Adam* is a Gnostic work that was part of the Coptic papyri found in Egypt in 1945 and known as the Nag Hammadi library.

33. Nibley, *Enoch the Prophet*, 144.

34. *Apocalypse of Adam*, 19–29, 85, English trans. in *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, 3rd rev. ed., James M. Robinson, ed. (San Francisco, CA: Harper & Row, 1988), 286 [hereafter *NHLE*].

35. Kurt Rudolf, *Gnosis: The Nature and History of Gnosticism* (San Francisco, CA: Harper & Row, 1987), 220.

On other occasions there are questions as to the accuracy of Nibley's translations of primary sources. For instance, Nibley renders a parallel from the *Apocryphon of John* as "The heavens, they cannot be numbered to man."[36] At first glance this passage seems to be a very close parallel to Moses 1:37—"The heavens, they are many, and they cannot be numbered unto man." However, the key phrase that establishes this parallel, "they cannot be numbered to man," never occurs in the original text. It only says, "And he provided all aeons and worlds."[37] As it stands, the original text contains little textually that would justify it as a parallel, to say nothing of the fact that Moses or Enoch are nowhere mentioned in the section.[38]

Closeness of Parallels

There are usually questions that arise as to how close the two "parallels" are to one another. For example, Nibley tells us that of "the many striking figures of speech which definitely link the peculiar language of the Joseph Smith Enoch with that of the ancient sources, none is more interesting than that dealing with the preservation of the Ark, a passage which obviously puzzles the Ethiopian scribes, but which stands out clearly in the Joseph Smith text."[39]

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36. Nibley, *Enoch the Prophet*, 238. The *Apocryphon of John* is another Gnostic work from the Nag Hammadi library. Nibley's citation is "p. 27" [=BG 27.1] which refers to the shorter version of the work, codex BG 8502,2.

37. Michael Waldstein and Frederik Wisse, *The Apocryphon of John: Synopsis of Nag Hammadi Codices II,1, II,1, and IV,1 with BG 8502,2* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), 30. Unfortunately, *NHLE* does not translate BG 8502,2.

38. In addition to these frustrations, Nibley invariably neglects to inform his readers of the availability of English translations of his primary sources; nor, with a few exceptions, have the editors of the Collected Works addressed this issue. Thus, for the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, Nibley never mentions G. H. Box and J. I. Landsman, *The Apocalypse of Abraham* (London: S.P.C.K., 1918) or even the translation that appeared in the LDS periodical *Improvement Era* ([August 1898]: 705–14, 793–806) but instead translates a German translation of the Slavonic text (*Enoch the Prophet*, 159–167). Nor does he mention for the Hebrew Enoch, H. Odeberg, *3 Enoch or The Hebrew Book of Enoch* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1928) which, in addition to an English translation, contains a superior Hebrew text. As a final frustration, Nibley does not even properly identify the later source as 3 Enoch (which since the time of Odeberg's edition has been the standard designation) but rather designates the Greek fragments of 1Enoch with this title (*Enoch the Prophet*, 116ff). Today's reader will benefit from consulting the collection edited by James H. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2 vols. (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983–85) for the aforementioned texts and related literature.

39. Nibley, *Enoch the Prophet*, 272. The "puzzlement" is partly due to the fact that the Ethiopic text simply has the term for "wood." Matthew Black, *The Book of Enoch or I Enoch: A New English Translation with Commentary and Textual Notes* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985), renders this as "wooden (vessel)."

> And now the angels are making a wooden (building) and when they have completed that task I will place My hand upon it and preserve it (1 Enoch 67:2). Wherefore Enoch saw that Noah built an ark; and that the Lord smiled upon it, and held it in his own hand (Moses 7:43).

For all their similarities there are important differences here. First of all, in 1 Enoch the Lord is talking to Noah—"the word of the Lord came to me, and he said to me: 'Noah'" (v. 1)—there is no mention of Enoch. Most importantly, the 1 Enoch account has the angels constructing the ark—Noah plays no part in its construction. On the other hand, both accounts agree that the Lord's "hand" contacts the ark. The conclusion of Moses 7:43—"But upon the residue of the wicked the floods came and swallowed them up"—makes it clear that there is a preservation connotation in the phrase "held it in his own hand," which is explicitly stated in the 1 Enoch version. This example illustrates the quandary that the parallels often present—Which is most important, the agreement or the divergence? Which is more important: that both passages mention God's "hand" in preserving the ark or that 1 Enoch says that angels, rather than Noah, constructed the ark?[40]

Neglect of Bible for Verification

There are times when Nibley turns to the Apocrypha for insight when common sense and the traditional biblical account would seem to adequately answer the quandaries he puts forth. For instance, Nibley expresses amazement at Enoch's protest to the Lord, that he was "but a lad" (Moses 6:31) although he was sixty-five at the time. "How is that strange anomaly to be explained? Joseph Smith could have known of none of the writings below which also deal with it. Where did he get the idea? Certainly not from apocryphal sources, although it appears not uncommonly in them."[41] Nibley then quotes from a Jewish folklore compendium, the apocryphal *Book of Adam*, two different Jewish midrashim, and the *Zohar* to illustrate parallels for this usage. However, common sense would argue that there is nothing at all anomalous in that lan-

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40. William J. Hamblin has pointed out this methodological problem in Nibley's work on the Book of Mormon: "In attempting to draw parallels between ancient Near Eastern cultures and the Book of Mormon, Nibley often ignores equally significant differences. What is important here is not that the differences between the Book of Mormon and ancient Near Eastern cultures somehow threaten to undermine the historicity of the Book of Mormon, but rather that the differences are often just as important evidence as parallels in obtaining a more complete understanding of the ancient historical setting" (William J. Hamblin, review of *An Approach to the Book of Mormon*, by Hugh Nibley, *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon* 2 [1990]: 124).

41. Nibley, *Enoch the Prophet*, 208.

guage. It is quite likely that Enoch (whose father Jared was then 227) would have looked at father Adam (then in his 687th year) and naturally have felt that he was "but a lad" at the tender age of sixty-five. In fact, as far as we are told, no one in the Adamic family had yet died of natural causes!

On another occasion, Nibley comments that "Enoch is dumbfounded to learn that God himself weeps!" For in Moses 7:28–29 we read: "And . . .the God of heaven looked upon the residue of the people, and he wept; and Enoch bore record of it, saying, How is it. . .that thou canst weep, seeing thou art holy, and from all eternity to all eternity?" Nibley informs us that this "bold concept (quite inadmissible to the Fathers of the fourth century) is attested to in the other Enoch texts,"[42] and then cites from *Lamentations Rabbah* a parallel: "When God wept over the destruction of the Temple, Metatron [Enoch] fell on his face and said: I will weep, but weep not thou! God answered and said: If thou wilt not suffer me to weep, I will go whither thou canst not come and there will I lament."[43] Though God does weep in both texts, the latter text's setting of the destruction of the temple is entirely different; furthermore, it is not an excerpt from any writing or vision of Enoch, he simply appears in the narrative. Once again, we need look no further than the canonical Old Testament for a parallel of God weeping: "Pay heed; be not too proud to listen, for it is the Lord who speaks. . . .If in those depths you will not listen, then for very anguish I can only weep bitterly; my eyes must stream with tears, for the Lord's flock is carried off into captivity" (Jer. 13:15, 17 [REB]).[44]

Lack of a Full Account of the Evidence

There are a number of difficulties that arise in Nibley's discussion of the concept of a plurality of worlds, and these illustrate his tendency to tell only the portion of the story that suites his purposes. Nibley first cites the Joseph Smith Enoch: "And were it possible that man could number the particles of the earth, yea millions of earths like this, it would not be a beginning to the number of thy creations" (Moses 7:30). He also lists a couple of verses from the vision of Moses: "And worlds without num-

42. Ibid., 189.

43. Nibley cites this source as *Jewish Encyclopedia*; the source cited there is *Lamentations Rabbah* 24. An English translation is available in *Midrash Rabbah*, 13 vols. in 10 (London: Soncino Press, 1939), 8:41.

44. Though some commentators maintain that it is Jeremiah who is speaking in verse 17, the rabbinic tradition has consistently held that it is indeed the Lord speaking here. See for example: *Babylonian Talmud, Hagigah* 5b; *Pesikta Rabbati* (trans. W. Braude) 33.11; *Tanna Debe Eliyahu* (trans. W. Braude) pp. 115, 154. Furthermore, the very wording of the *Lamentations Rabbah* parallel is a paraphrase of Jeremiah 13:17.

ber have I created. . . .The heavens, they are many, and they cannot be numbered unto man" (Moses 1:33, 37). Nibley then tells us that this notion of a plurality of worlds was offensive to "the d tors" of the church, "countering, as it did, a basic teaching of Aristotle and the evidence of common sense that this world, being heaviest, must necessarily be in the center of everything. . . .Quite the opposite with Enoch."[45]

However, not all "the doctors" were equally offended by such a notion. The great third-century church father Origen, for instance, though he did not believe in other worlds existing at the same time, did believe in a succession of worlds: "God did not begin to work for the first time when he made this visible world, but. . .just as after the dissolution of this world there will be another one, so also we believe that there were others before this one existed."[46]

More importantly, there were other ancient philosophers who like Enoch believed in a plurality of worlds that did exist concurrently. The first whom we know with certainty held the notion of a plurality of worlds was Democritus in the 5th century BC. According to the church father Hippolytus, he said that "there are innumerable worlds of different sizes. In some there is neither sun nor moon, in others they are larger than in ours and others have more than one. These worlds are at irregular distances, more in one direction and less in another, and some are flourishing, others declining. . . .Some of the worlds have no animal or vegetable life nor any water."[47] The much younger contemporary of Aristotle, Epicurus, also held that "there are infinite worlds both like and unlike this world of ours. For the atoms being infinite in number. . .are borne on far out into space. For those atoms, which are of such nature that a world could be created out of them or made by them, have not been used up either on one world or on a limited number of worlds. . . . So that there nowhere exists an obstacle to the infinite number of the worlds."[48] Roughly two hundred years later, the great Roman poet, Lucretius, would once again articulate the same notion of a plurality of worlds: "There are other worlds in other regions, and diverse races of men and tribes of wild beasts. This there is too that in the universe there

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45. Nibley, *Enoch the Prophet*, 238.

46. Origen, *On First Principles* (trans. G. W. Butterworth) 3:5:3.

47. Hippolytus, *Refutation of all Heresies* 1.13.2, trans. W. K. C. Guthrie in *A History of Greek Philosophy*, 6 vols. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1962–81), 2:405. Guthrie comments (p. 405): "One cannot but admire a man whose scientific imagination reached so far beyond the limited experience of his time as to paint this picture of an infinite variety of cosmic systems, in some ways so suggestive of modern cosmological knowledge."

48. Epicurus, *Letter to Herodotus* 45, trans. Cyril Bailey in *The Stoic and Epicurean Philosophers*, Whitney J. Oates, ed. (New York, NY: Random House, 1940), 5.

is nothing single, nothing born unique and growing unique and alone. . . .Wherefore you must confess in the same way that sky and earth and sun, moon, sea, and all else that exists, are not unique, but rather of number numberless."[49]

Furthermore, when one considers literature contemporary with Joseph Smith, there are quite a few parallels that discuss the notion of a plurality of worlds. Nibley cites Jonathan Edwards as an example of the dismissal of the notion. However, one of the most widely read and discussed works at the turn of the nineteenth century, Thomas Paine's *The Age of Reason* (1794), discussed the notion at some length.[50]

> Though the belief of a plurality of worlds was familiar to the ancients, it is only within the last three centuries that the extent and dimensions of this globe that we inhabit have been ascertained. . . .[T]he Creator, instead of making one immense world, extending over an immense quantity of space, has preferred dividing that quantity of matter into several distinct and separate worlds, which we call planets, of which our earth is one. . . . Beyond this, at a vast distance into space, far beyond all power of calculation, are the stars called the fixed stars. . . .The probability therefore is that each of those fixed stars is also a sun, round which another system of worlds or planets, though too remote for us to discover, performs its revolutions, as our system of worlds does round our central sun. By this easy progression of ideas, the immensity of space will appear to us to be filled with systems of worlds; and that no part of space lies at waste, any more than any part of our globe of earth and water is left unoccupied.[51]

Erich Robert Paul has discussed several other authors who similarly held the notion of a plurality of worlds: Thomas Chalmers, Timothy Dwight, and Thomas Dick.[52] The work by Dick, *Philosophy of a Future State* (1829), is particularly interesting since we know that the prophet actually owned a copy.[53] Nevertheless, Paul concludes that while "it may

49. Titus Lucretius Carus, *On the Nature of Things* (trans. Cyril Bailey) 2:1075–78, 1084–86.

50. We know that at one time Paine's book was in the Smith family home. Joseph Smith, Sr., was given a copy by his father when he started attending Methodist meetings with his wife Lucy, and told to "read that until he believed it" (Lucy Smith, "Preliminary Manuscript," in Dan Vogel, ed., *Early Mormon Documents*, Vol. I [Salt Lake City, UT: Signature Books, 1996], 250). There is further evidence that he did just that (ibid., 597).

51. Thomas Paine, *The Age of Reason*, Part I, in *Collected Writings*, Eric Foner, ed. (New York, NY: The Library of America, 1995), 704, 706, 708.

52. Erich Robert Paul, "Joseph Smith and the Plurality of Worlds Idea," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 19 (Summer 1986): 13–36. This article was revised as Chapter 4 in his *Science, Religion, and Mormon Cosmology* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1992).

53. It is one of the thirty-four non-Mormon titles that the prophet donated to the library in Nauvoo in January 1844 (see Kenneth W. Godfrey, "A Note on the Nauvoo Library

be doubtful that Joseph Smith consulted any of these works, it is probable that he heard them discussed in formal or casual conversation. Indeed, we can posit with reasonable confidence that Joseph first heard of the plurality idea during the revivalistic meetings of his youth."[54] Thus, it should be clear that in the case of the notion of a plurality of worlds, Enochic literature is by no means unique in providing parallels; and in this particular case, there were many sources from which Joseph might have encountered the notion.

Inconsequential Parallels

Perhaps most importantly, the majority of parallels to latter-day scripture that can be established is of an inconsequential nature. The really big and important ideas, such as Jesus Christ being the savior of mankind, are not found in any of the Enochic materials. Even though in "the Joseph Smith Enoch, all the writings from Adam on down have one central perennial theme—the atoning mission of Jesus Christ, which emerges full-blown in a succession of dispensations,"[55] there are no such passages in 1, 2, or 3 Enoch.

The usual trend in manuscript transmission, particularly in a text that is to be used for religious purposes, is to perfect the text, to remove awkward readings, to correct any omissions, and to add any extra material that fleshes out the narrative and enables the text to better serve its devotional purpose. As a result of these scribal modifications, the majority of New Testament manuscripts is of the same text-type (the Byzantine) which is characterized by

> "the desire for elegance, ease of comprehension and completeness. It tends to put most of its effort into attaining literary correctness: better balanced sentences, better chosen words: a text, in short, for people of letters. It further displays a studious preoccupation with clarity, for it tries in every way possible to explain difficult passages. Finally, it aims to lose nothing of the sacred text, by freely amalgamating the different readings of a passage. The result is a kind of 'plenior' [i.e. full] text, one which is longer but also full of major faults."[56]

The great historian of religion, Mircea Eliade, has noticed this

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and Literary Institute," *BYU Studies* 14 [Spring 1974]: 387). It was also one of the titles available in the Manchester Library (see Paul, *Science*, 83).

54. Paul, *Science*, 82.

55. Nibley, *Enoch the Prophet*, 153.

56. Léon Vaganay, *An Introduction to New Testament Textual Criticism*, 2nd ed., rev. by Christian-Bernard Amphoux (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 109. For this reason one of the so-called canons of textual criticism is *lectio brevior lectio potior* ("the shorter reading is the more probable reading").

tendency to perfect and ennoble a tradition as being characteristic of all religions. In discussing the most elemental of religious phenomena—the manifestation of the sacred, or *hierophany*[57]—Eliade remarks that, "whether or not a hierophany comes into contact with another religious form, like or unlike itself, it will tend, in the religious consciousness of those who perceive it as such, to be expressed *as totally, as fully as possible.* This fact explains a phenomenon which we find everywhere from end to end of the history of religion: the ability of every religious form *to rise, to be purified, to become nobler.*"[58] Thus, the fact that we have here texts which do not show the elevated theology of the Joseph Smith Enoch does not fit well with the observed tendency in transmission history.

It is true that in the Similitudes (or Parables) of Enoch (1 Enoch 37–71) there are some moving passages concerning the "Son of Man." However, Matthew Black has pointed out that

> "there is nothing specifically Christian in these chapters; the terms 'son of man' and 'elect one' are well attested in Jewish sources, if not as messianic titles, nevertheless of symbolic or historic figures, the substantive basis for messianism. It is truly remarkable, if the Parables are a Christian composition, that there should be no reference anywhere to the Founder of Christianity. On the contrary, the Son of Man who is to come as the Judge of all mankind is identified, not with Jesus of Nazareth, *but with Enoch himself.*"[59]

The new project under the auspices of FARMS on the Book of Abraham as ancient scripture seems to be a victim of this same sort of problem. Recently, John A. Tvedtnes presented a summary of research for a forthcoming FARMS book, tentatively entitled, *Early Traditions about Abraham Relevant to a Study of the Book of Abraham.* He told listeners that he and other researchers had uncovered "over seventy ancient and medieval texts relating to Abraham that cover topics mentioned in the Book of Abraham, but that are missing from the Genesis account in the Bible."[60] If the thirty or so examples given in the lecture are representative of the entire collection, they are somewhat unremarkable: Abraham's father worshipped idols (cf. Josh. 24:2); the idols were Egyptian;

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57. "Hierophany" is a key term for Eliade: "It is a fitting term, because it does not imply anything further; it expresses no more than is implicit in its etymological content, i.e., that *something sacred shows itself to us*" (Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion* [San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1959], 11).

58. Mircea Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion* (New York, NY: Meridian, 1974), 463, emphasis mine.

59. Matthew Black, *The Book of Enoch,* 188.

60. John A. Tvedtnes, "Abrahamic Lore in Support of the Book of Abraham" (transcript of a lecture presented 10 March 1999 as part of the FARMS Book of Abraham Lecture Series), 1.

children were sacrificed (*cf.* Deut. 12:31); Abraham was actually fastened when he was placed on the altar; Abraham prayed while he was being sacrificed; Abraham made converts while he lived in Haran (*cf.* Gen. 12:5); there was a famine in the land of Chaldea (*cf.* Gen. 12:10); Abraham possessed written records; Abraham wrote a record of his own, and so on. What is missing here, and would indeed be quite remarkable if found, is an ancient source that mentions the star named "Kolob" which is nearest to the throne of God, and its unique time-reckoning (Abraham 3:3–16); or an account of the creation of the earth by a council of Gods who "organize" pre-existing matter (Abraham 4);[61] or the use of the term "intelligences" to signify the pre-existent spirits (Abraham 3:22); or the notion that the intelligences "have no beginning; they existed before, they shall have no end, they shall exist after, for they are gnolaum, or eternal" (Abraham 3:18). In short, it is interesting that narrative details concerning Abraham's life are similar in a wide variety of ancient texts, yet those details are not all that different from those concerning Abraham and other figures in the Old Testament. The great lacuna in all these parallel traditions is the absence of any confirmation of the real "pearl of great price" of the Book of Abraham—its unique theology.

So far, we have been discussing problems that have been attendant in the way Nibley has used parallels to serve an essentially apologetic function. This is not to say that there are no legitimate parallels between documents from the ancient Near East and latter-day scripture. The problem lies in the explanations given for the observed similarity. Other scholars—most of whom Nibley respects—have noticed similarities between different religions and offered viable, alternate theories for the parallelisms.

Myth and Ritual School

In the first half of this century, there was an important school of interpretation known as the "Myth and Ritual" school. The British version of this school that focused on the ancient Near East developed around the work of S. H. Hooke.[62] Their primary thesis was that "in early Egypt,

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61. It is not enough to simply note parallels that do not contain the standard *creatio ex nihilo* account; what needs to be located is the unique use of the verb "to organize" (used 10 times) and the interesting corollary notion that matter is an independent agent which actually obeys the order to organize given by the Gods: "And the Gods watched those things which they had ordered until they obeyed" (Abraham 4:18).

62. S. H. Hooke edited the key books in which the central notions were defined, and different religious traditions were analyzed: *Myth and Ritual: Essays on the Myth and Ritual of the Hebrews in Relation to the Culture Pattern of the Ancient East* (London: Oxford University Press, 1933); *The Labyrinth: Further Studies in the Relation Between Myth and Ritual in the Ancient World* (London: SPCK, 1935); *Myth, Ritual, and Kingship: Essays on the Theory and Practice of Kingship in the Ancient Near East and in Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958).

in the early city states of Sumer and Akkad, and in Canaanite cities before Hebrew settlement in that area, certain common factors in cult practices and their associated myths were observed to exist, and were characteristic of agricultural communities in the ancient Near East as early as the beginning of the third millennium BC, and probably earlier."[63] Because their thesis maintained that there was a common pattern in ancient Near Eastern ritual, it became known as "patternism." They held that the observed pattern did not spontaneously emerge, but was spread by the contacts of the cultures involved. As Hooke explains: "If it be recognized that a fragment of a myth or ritual may travel far from its original setting. . .it is also possible to conceive of the carrying of the larger ritual pattern with its associated myth from one country to another by one of the various ways of 'culture spread,' such as commerce, conquest, or colonization."[64]

Nibley may be considered to be part of this school, for his 1939 dissertation was a splendid uncovering of this common pattern in the Roman games. However, he moved considerably beyond the school in that he saw the ritual pattern being present in religions quite removed from the ancient Near East.[65] He continues to see patternism as a phenomenon of all religions. For instance, he writes in his article "What is a Temple?" that "the same comparative studies that discovered the common pattern in *all ancient religions*—a phenomenon now designated as 'patternism'—have also demonstrated the processes of *diffusion* by which that pattern was spread throughout the world—and in the process torn to shreds, of which recognizable remnants may be found in *almost any land and time.*"[66] This extension of the thesis is unfortunate, for the problem the scholarly community has had with the Myth and Ritual school is that it "claimed too much for the pervasiveness of the pattern of ritual observance in the societies studied." It "reconstructed patterns that turned out to be not nearly so widespread as its members thought,

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63. Hooke, *Myth, Ritual, and Kingship*, 10. According to Hooke, the common pattern contained a dramatic representation of the death and resurrection of the god; the recitation or symbolic representation of the creation myth; a ritual battle which depicted the victory of the god over his enemies; a *hieros gamos* (sacred marriage); and a triumphal procession in which the king played the role of the resurrected and victorious god (*Myth and Ritual*, 7–10).

64. Hooke, *Myth and Ritual*, 4.

65. Nibley states in his dissertation: "The regions chosen for comparison are the Scandinavian North and Germany, Celtic Gaul, Britain and Ireland, the Slavis [*sic*] and West Semitic countries (Palestine, Syria and Arabia), Babylonia, India, Persia, Africa and Greece" (Nibley, diss., iv).

66. Hugh Nibley, *Mormonism and Early Christianity*, Todd M. Compton, ed., and Stephen D. Ricks, *CWHN*, vol. 4 (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Company, 1987), 366–67, emphasis mine.

such as ritual marriage and the death and resurrection motif."[67] Nibley does not present any evidence of the actual "process of diffusion" for the additional societies and cultures in his extended examination that would negate this criticism.

Common Religious Experience

Not all scholars who have noticed similarities in ancient Near Eastern literature have concluded that these parallels are due to some process of diffusion resulting from cultural contact. For example, the Oxford scholar, G. R. Driver, conducted an investigation of the Psalms of Israel in light of Babylonian research and concluded:

> Although, however, it is concluded that in general the Babylonian exerted but slight, if any, influence on the Hebrew Psalmists, what inferences are to be drawn from the detailed points of resemblance to which I have drawn attention? I am convinced that many, if not the majority, of them are the result of *independent reflection;* for it is possible to shew that not only a number of figures of speech but also certain definitely theological ideas recur in the religions and mythologies of other peoples who, as far as it is possible now to say, owe nothing to the Babylon. *Due allowance must therefore be made for the common instincts of mankind.*[68]

The late Morton Smith of Columbia University examined the literature of the ancient Near East and found a very different "common pattern" from that of the Myth and Ritual school.[69] For Smith, this common theology did not appear in the different cultures due to some process of diffusion: "That it did develop independently in each is strongly suggested, I think, by the uniformity of the results, which can be explained better by postulating relatively uniform causes, that is, social, psychological and rhetorical patterns, rather than accidents of historical transmission." He concluded that "parallels between theological material in the OT and in 'Ancient Near Eastern Texts' cannot be taken off hand as indicating any literary dependence, common source, or cultural borrowing." Rather, it is "only when the texts are parallel in some peculiar, accidental detail, something which *cannot* be explained as a probable product of

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67. Walter Harrelson, "Myth and Ritual School," in *Encyclopedia of Religion,* Mircea Eliade, ed., 16 vols. (New York, NY: Macmillan, 1987), 10:284.

68. G. R. Driver, "The Psalms in the Light of Babylonian Research," in *The Psalmists,* D. C. Simpson, ed., (London: Oxford University Press, 1926), 173, emphasis mine.

69. Smith's "one over-all pattern" was that "[p]rayer and praise are usually directed to one god at a time, and peoples and persons are often represented as, or appear to have been, particularly devoted to the worship of a single god" (Morton Smith, "The Common Theology of the Ancient Near East," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 71 [1952]: 137–38).

natural development, that parallelism can be taken as *proving* literary connection." [70]

Mircea Eliade, who is regarded by many as the premier historian of religion this century, held that there was a definite unity of religious experience for all people. This unity allowed him to identify certain patterns running throughout the known religions of the world. In the first pages of his monograph where he sets out these patterns he states: "The greatest [religious] experiences are not only alike in content, but often also alike in their expression."[71] According to Eliade, "almost all the religious attitudes man has, he has had from the most primitive times. From one point of view there has been no break in continuity from the 'primitives' to Christianity."[72]

Eliade used the technical term *homo religiosus* to refer to this religious mode of humanity. As John Cave explains, "Eliade uses the term *homo religiosus* to refer to all humans. It is not meant for only the charismatic individual, such as a mystic, as it does for Schleiermacher, Max Scheler, and also Joachim Wach. For Eliade, *homo religiosus* designates a quality of the human condition."[73] Part of being human is being religious. Even when an individual deliberately insists on being determined in no way by religion, the insistence itself is in essence religious. As Eliade explains, "[n]onreligious man *in the pure state* is a comparatively rare phenomenon, even in the most desacralized of societies. The majority of the 'irreligious' still behave religiously, even though they are not aware of the fact."[74] In one of his last published writings, Eliade once again stressed the continuity of the religious nature of man: "we discover that the latest activities and conclusions of scientists and technologists. . .reactualize, on different levels and perspectives, the same fears, hopes and convictions that have dominated *homo religiosus* from the very beginning."[75]

The common religious mode of humanity is the reason peoples of widely differing times, locations, and cultures express themselves similarly when they speak of the sacred. Every culture tends to draw from a common, collective set of symbols when they articulate their own individual myths concerning the origins of the cosmos and man's place

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70. Smith, "Common Theology," 146.

71. Mircea Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion* (1949; New York, NY: Meridian, 1974), 3.

72. Ibid., 463.

73. John David Cave, *Mircea Eliade's Vision for a New Humanism* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1992), 92.

74. Eliade, *Sacred and the Profane*, 204.

75. Mircea Eliade, "*Homo Faber* and *Homo Religiosus*," in *The History of Religions: Retrospect and Prospect*, Joseph Kitagawa, ed., (New York, NY: Macmillan, 1985), 11.

within it. Eliade refers to these common symbols as "archetypal" symbols, or simply "archetypes," by which he means a type of "exemplary model" upon which subsequent manifestations of symbols are based. Eliade speaks of the

> tendency of every "historical form" to approximate as nearly as possible to its archetype, even when it has been realised at a secondary or insignificant level: this can be verified everywhere in the religious history of humanity. Any local goddess tends to become *the* Great Goddess; any village anywhere *is* the "Centre of the World," and any wizard whatever pretends, at the height of his ritual, to be the Universal Sovereign. It is this same tendency towards the archetype, towards the restoration of the *perfect form*—of which any myth or rite or divinity is only a variant, and often rather a pale one—that makes the history of religions possible. Without this, magico-religious experience would be continually creating transitory or evanescent forms of gods, myths, dogmas, etc.; and the student would be faced by a proliferation of ever new types impossible to set in order.[76]

Since the key religious symbols and myths are constructed of archetypes, they continually reappear throughout all time periods. This eternal repetition is the notion that the author of Ecclesiastes was trying to get at in the verses cited (1:9–10) in the epigraph to this article. In LDS scripture this notion is found in the phrase for the course of the Lord, which is "one eternal round" (1 Ne. 10:19; D&C 3:2, 35:1). There is no beginning, there is no end, there is simply one eternal now. As Eliade explains:

> [T]he very dialectic of the sacred tends indefinitely to repeat a series of archetypes, so that a hierophany realized at a certain "historical moment" is structurally equivalent to a hierophany a thousand years earlier or later. This tendency on the part of the hierophanic process to repeat the same paradoxical sacralization of reality ad infinitum is what, after all, enables us to understand something of a religious phenomenon and to write its "history." In other words, it is precisely because hierophanies repeat themselves that we can distinguish religious facts and succeed in understanding them.[77]

According to Eliade, the archetypal symbolism manifests itself "in a coherent and systematic manner on the plane of the 'unconscious' (of dream, hallucination or waking dream) as well as upon those of the 'trans-conscious' and the conscious (aesthetic vision, ritual, mythology and *philosophumena*)."[78] The term "transconsciousness" is one that Eliade

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76. Mircea Eliade, *Images and Symbols* (London: Harvill Press, 1961), 120–21.
77. Mircea Eliade, *Shamanism* (New York, NY: Pantheon Books, 1964), xvii.
78. Eliade, *Images*, 119–20.

coined to represent the more mystical and religious aspect of the unconscious.[79] "[A] certain zone of the subconscious is ruled by the archetypes which also dominate and organise conscious and transconscious experience. Hence we are entitled to regard the multiple variants of the same complexes of symbols (such as those of 'ascension' and of 'binding') as endless successions of 'forms' which, on the different levels of dream, myth, ritual, theology, mysticism, metaphysics, etc., are trying to 'realise' the archetype."[80] Eliade also spoke of "a sub- or trans-conscious 'logic'" which could be used to explicate the meanings of these symbols, since "symbols, of every kind, and at whatever level, are always consistent and systematic."[81]

Collective Unconscious

Many of the notions of Eliade have confirmation from the realm of clinical psychology. The great Swiss psychologist Carl G. Jung put forward the notion that we have both a "personal" and a "collective" unconscious: "While the personal unconscious is made up essentially of contents which have at one time been conscious but which have disappeared from consciousness through having been forgotten or repressed, the contents of the collective unconscious have never been in consciousness, and therefore have never been individually acquired, but owe their existence exclusively to heredity."[82] Jung explains that he chose "the term 'collective' because this part of the unconscious is not individual but universal; in contrast to the personal psyche, it has contents and modes of behavior that are more or less the same everywhere and in all individuals."[83] The contents of the collective unconscious are known as "archetypes."[84] These archetypes are what might be referred to as "pri-

79. As Mac Linscott Ricketts explains: "The state of the activated *transconsciousness* is that of the man who knows the supreme bliss of mystic oneness with the eternal One, an experience in which the divisions and limitations of worldly existence are transcended. In the transconscious state the archetypes find their truest expression and fulfill their ultimate function: the revelation of absolute Being or pure spirit. . . .The transconscious, like the High God, is from *above*: it is not given in nature, but constitutes a rupture of the human plane" ("The Nature and Extent of Eliade's 'Jungianism,'" *Union Seminary Quarterly Review* 25 [1960]: 228–29).

80. Eliade, *Images*, 120; cf. *Patterns*, 450, 453–54.

81. Ibid. and *Patterns*, 453.

82. C. G. Jung, "The Concept of the Collective Unconscious," in *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung*, 20 vols. (Bollingen Series XX; Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977), 9.1:42 (hereafter *CWCGJ*). Jung comments: "Probably none of my empirical concepts has met with so much misunderstanding as the idea of the collective unconscious" (Ibid.).

83. C. G. Jung, "Archetypes of the Collective Conscious," *CWCGJ* 9.1:3–4.

84. For Jung, the "archetypes" were an explanatory paraphrase of the Platonic "forms" or "ideas." Just as the Platonic forms are never perceived directly, but rather their

mordial images." As Jung explains: "There are present in every individual, besides his personal memories, the great 'primordial' images, as Jacob Burckhardt once aptly called them, the inherited powers of human imagination as it was from time immemorial. The fact of this inheritance explains the truly amazing phenomenon that certain motifs from myths and legends repeat themselves the world over in identical forms."[85]

There are many points of similarity in the thought of Jung and of Eliade, and it may be fairly concluded that they were kindred spirits.[86] They both used the term "archetype," though it meant subtly different things to each man. As Jung explained in a letter to Eliade: "I identify the archetype with the 'pattern of behavior.' You have used the term 'archetype' too, but without mentioning that you mean by this term only the repetition and imitation of a conscious image or idea."[87] Eliade agreed with this analysis and explained that he

> "used the terms 'exemplary models,' 'paradigms,' and 'archetypes' in order to emphasize a particular fact—namely, that for the man of the traditional and archaic societies, the models for his institutions and the norms for his various categories of behavior are believed to have been 'revealed' at the beginning of time, that, consequently, they are regarded as having a superhuman and 'transcendental' origin."[88]

Eliade was also very close to Jung in his notions of the unconscious. In discussing "profane man," who as a descendant of *homo religiosus* cannot wipe out his own history, Eliade explains:

> a great part of his existence is fed by impulses that come to him from the depths of his being, from the zone that has been called the "unconscious." . . .Now, the contents and structure of the unconscious exhibit astonishing similarities to mythological images and figures. We do not mean to say that

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representations (we do not see "Justice," but, rather, just people), so the archetypes are never presented directly to consciousness. "The archetype is essentially an unconscious content that is altered by becoming conscious and by being perceived, and it takes its colour from the individual consciousness in which it happens to appear" (*CWCGJ* 9.1:5).

85. C. G. Jung, *The Psychology of the Unconscious*, *CWCGJ* 7:64.

86. Eliade, on more than one occasion, acknowledged this similarity. In his conversations with Claude-Henri Rocquet, he remarked: "I don't know exactly what I owe to Jung. I have read a good many of his books, notably *The Psychology of the Transference*. I had long conversations with him at Eranos. He believed in a kind of fundamental unity of the collective unconscious, and I likewise consider that there is a fundamental unity underlying all religious experience" (Mircea Eliade, *Ordeal by Labyrinth: Conversations with Claude-Henri Rocquet* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982], 162–3).

87. C. G. Jung to Mircea Eliade, 19 January 1955, in *C. G. Jung Letters*, 2 vols. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975), 2:212.

88. Mircea Eliade, *The Myth of the Eternal Return, or Cosmos and History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), xiv.

> mythologies are the "product" of the unconscious. . . .Yet the contents and structures of the unconscious are the result of immemorial existential situations, especially of critical situations, and this is why the unconscious has a religious aura. . . .In other words, in so far as the unconscious is the result of countless existential experiences it cannot but resemble the various religious universes. For religion is the paradigmatic solution for every existential crisis.[89]

This notion that some aspect of the unconscious is the result of "countless existential experiences" which are "immemorial" is precisely the notion that Jung was trying to get at with his term "collective unconscious."

Light of Christ

Within traditional LDS belief there is a doctrine that in many regards is an analog to the notion of the collective unconscious—the "light of Christ." "The light of Christ refers to the spiritual power that emanates from God to fill the immensity of space and enlightens every man, woman, and child."[90] This light or spirit is ubiquitous and is no respecter of persons. It "giveth light to every man that cometh into the world" (D&C 84:46). It "is the same light that quickeneth your understandings; which light proceedeth forth from the presence of God to fill the immensity of space—the light which is in all things, which giveth life to all things, which is the law by which all things are governed" (D&C 88:11–13). As Parley P. Pratt explains: "This is the true light that in some measure illuminates all men. It is. . .the intellectual light of our inward and spiritual organs, by which we reason, discern, judge, compare, comprehend, and remember the subjects within our reach. Its inspiration constitutes instinct in animal life, reason in man, and vision in the Prophets, and is continually flowing from the Godhead throughout his creations."[91]

All of humanity, by nature, is subject to the influence and inspiration of the light of Christ. On this view, the light of Christ would go far in explaining why there are so many similarities among the world's religions. They are similar because the same light of Christ has touched each of the various participants. From a recent statement of the First Presidency, we hear: "The great religious leaders of the world such as Mohammed, Confucius, and the Reformers, as well as philosophers including Socrates, Plato, and others, received a portion of God's light. Moral truths were

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89. Eliade, *Sacred and Profane*, 209–10.

90. *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, s.v. "Light of Christ."

91. Parley P. Pratt, *Key to the Science of Theology* (1855; rev. ed. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Company, 1979), 25.

given to them by God to enlighten whole nations and to bring a higher level of understanding to individuals."[92] This notion has been articulated by many LDS leaders. For example, B. H. Roberts commented that "while it is held by the Church. . .that there is but one man at a time who is entitled to receive revelations for the government and guidance of the Church,. . .it is nowhere held that this man is the only instrumentality through which God may communicate his mind and will to the world. It is merely a law operative within the Church itself and does not at all concern the world outside the Church organization."[93] Orson F. Whitney told conference goers that apart from prophets and apostles, other good and great men "not bearing the Priesthood, but possessing profundity of thought, great wisdom, and a desire to uplift their fellows, have been sent by the Almighty into many nations to give them, not the fullness of the Gospel, but that portion of truth that they were able to receive and wisely use. Such men as Confucius, the Chinese philosopher; Zoroaster, the Persian sage; Gautama or Buddha, of the Hindus; Socrates and Plato of the Greeks; these all had some of the light that is universally diffused."[94]

The notion of the ubiquitous influence of the light of Christ goes hand in hand with the notion that Mormonism is not the sole possessor of truth. Many of the early sermons in the Salt Lake tabernacle were replete with acknowledgements that Latter-day Saints were not the only denomination that contained truths of an eternal nature. For example, Brigham Young told listeners:

> Some who call themselves Christians are very tenacious with regard to the Universalians, yet the latter possess many excellent ideas and good truths. Have the Catholics? Yes, a great many very excellent truths. Have the Protestants? Yes, from first to last. Has the infidel? Yes, he has a good deal of truth; and truth is all over the earth. The earth could not stand but for the light and truth it contains. The people could not abide were it not that truth holds them. It is the Fountain of truth that feeds, clothes, and gives light and intelligence to the inhabitants of the earth, no matter whether they are saints or sinners.[95]

Perhaps the most developed and far-reaching statement of this notion comes from President Joseph F. Smith:

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92. Statement of the First Presidency, February 15, 1978, quoted in, Spencer J. Palmer, *The Expanding Church* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Company, 1978), v.

93. B. H. Roberts, *Defense of the Faith and the Saints*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret News Press, 1907), 1:514.

94. *Conference Report*, April 1921, 33.

95. *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool: F. D. & S. W. Richards, 1855–1886), 12:70 (hereafter *JD*); cf. *JD* 1:243–44, 7:283–84, 18:359.

> The Father, Son and Holy Ghost, as one God, are the fountain of truth. From this fountain all the ancient learned philosophers have received their inspiration and wisdom—from it they have received all their knowledge. If we find truth in broken fragments through the ages, it may be set down as an incontrovertible fact that it originated at the fountain, and was given to philosophers, inventors, patriots, reformers, and prophets by the inspiration of God. It came from him through his Son Jesus Christ and the Holy Ghost, in the first place, and from no other source. . . .He [Christ] was the inspirer of the ancient philosophers, Pagan or Israelite, as well as of the great characters of modern times. Columbus, in discovery; Washington, in the struggle for freedom; Lincoln, in emancipation and union; Bacon, in philosophy; Franklin, in statesmanship and diplomacy; Stephenson, in steam; Watts, in song; Edison, in electricity, and Joseph Smith, in theology and religion, found in Christ the source of their wisdom and the marvelous truths which they advocated.[96]

Thus described, the light of Christ seems a viable and more directly religious explanation for the similarities observed in different religious traditions. Religious thinkers, to the degree that they can discern the illumination of the light of Christ, can arrive independently at many important ideas, images, and illuminations. Why is it that various medieval Jewish authors, an eleventh-century Islamic historian, a fifteenth-century Ethiopic monk, a fourth-century archbishop of Alexandria, and an Essene from the Qumran community all agree on some aspect concerning Abraham, Adam, or Enoch? It is because they were all influenced/inspired by the light of Christ as they recorded that particular detail. The reasons that they did not get the entire story "straight" have to do with historical and cultural limitations and with personal idiosyncrasy. The time of the "restoration of all things" had not yet arrived.

Conclusion

Our investigation has sought to illustrate the wide variety of problems attendant in the parallel questing that is typified in the works of Hugh Nibley and his followers. The first and foremost problem in this endeavor is the lack of a clearly articulated methodology. It is imperative that readers are informed as to what the existence of parallels is supposed to prove. The details of the hypothesis that is supported by the existence of parallels must be spelled out, for the reader of this type of literature is usually left struggling to read between the lines in an attempt to piece together the real argument. Documents that are used should be

96. Joseph F. Smith, *Gospel Doctrine* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Company, 1939), 30–31; cf. Joseph Fielding Smith, *Doctrines of Salvation*, 3 vols. (Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1954–56), 1:178–83.

discussed as to their relevance in the supply of the parallel. The date, location, language, author, culture, and *Weltanschauung* (world-view) of the various texts must be considered, and obviously problematic details must be addressed.

The use of parallels from apocryphal literature to prove the prophetic status of Joseph Smith is a misguided endeavor. It is misguided because apocryphal parallels—at least the parallels that have been uncovered to date—are simply ill suited for the task. The vexing question that is begged in this endeavor is where did the author of the parallel text get the detail? How in the world did the ancient, non-LDS, and usually non-Christian author get it right? What was the source of this important detail? A physical manuscript or an oral tradition? Were there Books of Abraham, Prophesies of Enoch, Acts of Adam, etc., circulating continuously and extensively, or were there simply oral traditions that were derived from them? What is the evidentiary basis for making the determination between these possibilities?

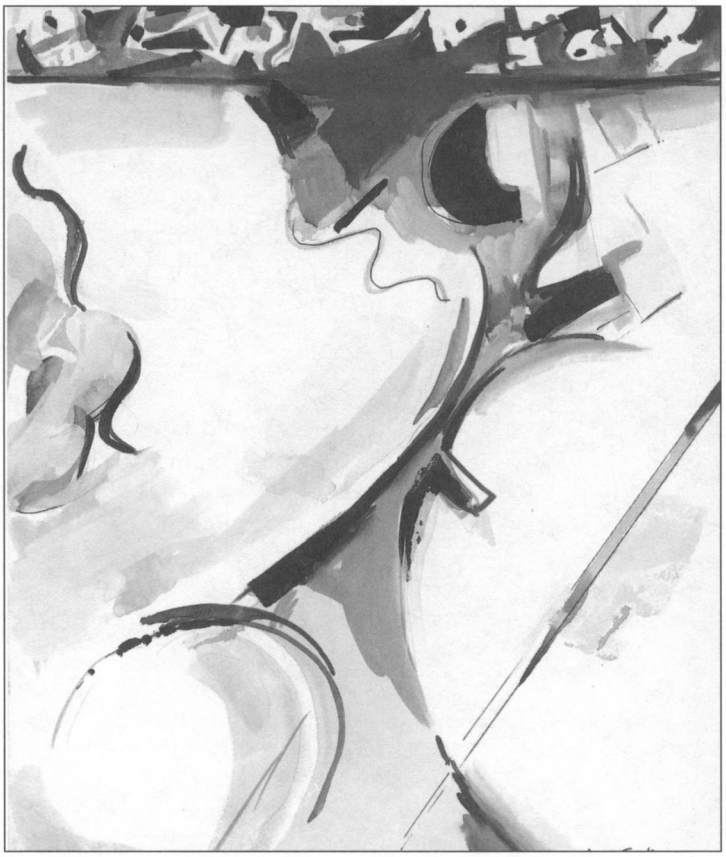
The fallacy of this line of reasoning may be seen in the following consideration. If some common oral tradition or text was the source for the occasional agreements with latter-day scripture found in apocryphal literature, one should be able to construct from these different sources some version of the Prophesy of Enoch or Book of Abraham. For instance, in New Testament research the agreement of passages in Matthew and Luke has prompted scholars to postulate an early document (Q) which both Evangelists would have used in the construction of their respective gospels.[97] Likewise, in Old Testament research literary characteristics and the dual occurrence of narrative units have led scholars to postulate the existence of an early source (the Yahwist) which was used by later compilers of the Pentateuch.[98] The key point is not that these hypothetical documents actually existed, but that there is a preponderance of evidence that makes such hypothetical constructions plausible. It becomes quickly apparent that the task of constructing a similar hypothetical source from the apocryphal literature used by Nibley would be impossible. None of the necessary features for such an

97. The designation "Q" is an abbreviation for the German word, *Quelle*, meaning "source," "spring," or "fountainhead." See John S. Kloppenborg, *The Formation of Q* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1987); Arland D. Jacobson, *The First Gospel: An Introduction to Q* (Sonoma, CA: Polebridge Press, 1992).

98. The source known as the Yahwist is so named because of the consistent use of the Hebrew word *Yahweh* (KJV "Jehovah") for God. It is also known as "J" from the German spelling *Jahweh*. For an excellent discussion of the Yahwist and the other sources proposed, see Anthony F. Campbell and Mark A. O'Brien, *Sources of the Pentateuch: Texts, Introductions, Annotations* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1993); Richard Elliott Friedman, *Who Wrote the Bible?* (New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1989).

exercise are discernible. There are no narrative units, no unique vocabulary or literary styles, in short, no identifying features whatsoever that reappear in the different sources and would make possible the construction of a hypothetical source.

Yet the parallels from apocryphal literature are indeed significant. The problem is that their significance has not been appropriately appreciated. They clearly demonstrate that humanity does share a great deal in common. There is something very special that makes the religious experience of mankind immediately recognizable to others separated by a huge gulf of time and geography. There may very well be a collective unconscious that we as humans inherit; it is essentially impossible to disprove such a notion. More importantly, from an LDS perspective the parallels offer confirmation of the workings of the light of Christ. They indicate the activity of good and honest persons striving to hear the whisperings of the still, small voice, struggling to glimpse the truth illuminated by the light of Christ.



Down on Batlle's Farm

Patrick Madden

THERE'S AN EXERCISE IN CONTRASTS a few blocks east of Belloni up among the Pacheco streets north of Danubio in the barrio of Piedras Blancas. Former President of the Republic Jose Batlle had a farm there with an immense gray stucco plantation home. His fields once flowed with vegetables and cattle, but like anything I guess, his time came and went, and through the intervention of the military dictatorship in the 1970s, the property ended up in the hands of the Uruguayan government. People said that during the 1980s it had been a museum and a nice place for a Sunday afternoon picnic, but by the time Elder Hubble and I got there, the museum was gone and the building had fallen into disrepair. Meanwhile, several abandoned apartments and stores in the Ciudad Vieja had been condemned by the inspectors, and the ejected squatters who had occupied the dilapidated downtown buildings sought out another homestead. They made their way to Batlle's fields and set up camp—government land was free as long as the government didn't care—and they erected stick and corrugated metal structures, which they never bothered to improve. Maybe their recent experience had taught them not to invest much because it might all be taken again.

That was the attitude of the *gente de mal vivir*: the people of the bad way of life. It showed in their dirty, sun-callused faces when they peeked out of their shacks or when we encountered them wandering aimlessly outside. They were almost never working except to wash clothes in dented tin buckets of dirty water they brought from the spigot on the corner. The water always flowed on the corner, and we often stopped to watch some of their young children splashing in the muddy street. Once we saw a blonde-haired boy, probably only three years old, who plopped himself down in a pothole. People walked by and hardly noticed him, and when an odd car, generally a sputtering 1940s Ford, rolled by, it had to drive slowly around him. He wasn't about to move. We smiled at his determined innocence but grimaced at his certain future as a child of the *cantegriles*.

I'm not sure I ever asked about the origin or meaning of that word, *cantegril*. I learned it by seeing a run-down settlement on the outskirts of town and being told its name. But I always imagined that the word was

formed from two words it almost contains: the verb *cantar*, to sing, and *grillo*, cricket. Thus, for me, the *cantegriles*, with their tall grass on the banks of filthy canals and their dilapidated shacks, brought to mind a more pleasant scene: "Where the crickets sing."

The first time we stumbled across the mansion with its backdrop of unimproved huts, Hubble took one look at the rows and rows of shacks and said, "What would your physics degree mean out here?" The silence that followed was as good an answer as "nothing" would have been. It was near sundown, and the shanties, silhouetted against the sun's orange flame, sprawled out like sucking vines, burned an unforgettable image in my brain. We spent the rest of that day and the next talking about our find, inventing scenarios and explanations for the current state of the fallen farm.

If we hadn't been warned ahead of time by local "good" people, we might have thought this was like any other settlement of the poor. We'd worked in the *cantegriles* before and found we often had success teaching religion among the down-and-out. But the *gente de mal vivir* weren't living badly just because of their rundown shantytown and lack of sanitation. Just as they assumed rights to lands that weren't theirs, rumor had it they made their meager livings as thieves. From the look of things, they didn't steal anything they could use to live better.

After passing by the settlement several times in a week and making short reconnaissance runs to the borders and looking in, we decided to talk to the people there. On the way, we warily locked up our bikes several blocks away.

When we arrived at the southern gate, a thin, rusty wire looped over the jagged tops of two sticks in the mud, the women and children just inside stirred. They were dressed in thin, stained floral skirts and plain white tank-top shirts, and we were wearing the prescribed mission dress—button-down white shirts, ties, slacks, and dress shoes. They weren't wearing shoes for the most part. We came from another country, the great and imperialistic *Estados Unidos*, and they had lived their whole lives between here and downtown. A little girl looked at us shyly and ran away into her hut yelling, *"Mamá! Los Mo'mones!"* We weren't the only ones wary of contact.

In Uruguay, knocking at someone's door usually means clapping your hands loudly outside their front gate. When it was clear that no one was going to come talk to us of their own accord, we timidly slapped our hands together, careful not to make too much noise or seem too urgent. All the women looked up from what they were doing, and one brave representative came closer and asked, "What do you want?"

It was actually said a lot nicer than it sounds on paper, somewhere short of "May I help you?"

"We wanted to come and talk with you," I answered. "We're missionaries from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints."

The woman looked to the sky in what seemed like frustration, or bother, then sighed, "I suppose you can come in."

We walked right in, saying, "Great! Thank you very much!"

The woman quickly turned away, and we were left on our own to investigate. After asking around we found out that there was a sort of chief of the whole place, an older man with nicer clothes than the rest, and after speaking to him and explaining our mission, we were granted free reign to knock on all the doors we wanted. He said he thought it would be good for the people to have some religion, but he wasn't personally interested in what we had to say.

It was a lonely, dusty day, and we felt uncomfortable walking from house to seemingly empty house, knowing that somewhere behind the burlap curtains and corrugated wall scraps, women were watching.

Eventually a woman opened her door to greet us. She was young and beautiful and thin and dark, and she wore a tight sleeveless shirt that, in light of mission restrictions against interaction with members of the opposite sex, made me fidgety and kept my eyes averted and darting around the dim interior of the hut behind her. I saw the silhouette of a cast iron bed frame butted up against the back wall where a light breeze blew the greasy curtains through an open window. The mattress was thin and lumpy, but the bed was made up with gray sheets and a blanket, tucked in tight, with a pale green pillow thrown against the headrest. I heard the sound of trumpets and maracas with a high-frequency whine from an unseen television in front of the bed. She had been sitting on the bed watching a variety show when we knocked on her door, I imagined. I was the one always assigned to speak at doorsteps, and as I explained to her who we were and why we were there, I began, cautiously, to notice the dignity of her slender face. Her hair was disheveled, her cheeks were thin, and she stared at me directly and squinted her eyes ever so slightly whenever I mentioned anything new or different. She was paying attention.

She invited us to sit down outside in some 1960s-style plastic kitchen chairs, and we talked a short while with her. Meanwhile she tended to two young children, a boy and a girl, who scampered around her. She said her name was Paola, and she expressed her interest in learning more about God. We, having learned not to split up families, asked when her husband would be home, so we could talk to him also. She looked startled and laughed, "Husband? Well, whatever you want to call him." She paused for a second then continued, "He should be home soon."

When I met her lover, my stomach knotted. He was only a boy, younger than I. He was thin and short and had a mat of wild hair that stood on end and was the color of dirt. He smiled with his upper lip jutting out under his pug nose, and I hated him for sleeping with her.

He strode past us and into the shack with a grunt that caused Paola to jump up, excuse herself, and follow him inside. When they appeared again, she sat down quietly and he stood in the doorway, shirtless and

grinning like a lunatic, with a newspaper in his hand. "Come here," he whispered, as if his newspaper were some dark secret. "Come take a look at this." He was obviously excited, and very possibly unstable, so we stood up to see what he wanted to show us.

He held out the rumpled mess of papers and pointed to an article, which I quickly scanned. The night before there had been a shootout with police after a robbery gone bad. One policeman was shot and in serious condition in the hospital. Of the three robbers, two escaped, but the one who was caught had apparently spilled the beans, and the police were looking for H. M. and R. C. The article only used their initials. I have no idea why.

I summarized the article to Hubble, whose Spanish reading comprehension after only a few months in Uruguay still wasn't very good, then looked at the kid lunatic. "And?" I asked.

"That's me," he said, grinning and pointing to the initials R. C.

"What's your name?" I asked dubiously, as if he couldn't make up a name with the correct initials on the spot.

"Richard Cruz," he said triumphantly. "Just ask her," he added, pointing to Paola.

I turned to look at her, and before I could say anything, she nodded and said, "It's him." The look on her face said, "Oh, brother."

For the moment, despite his wild-man hair and twitching grin, he seemed quite civil, so I delved further into the story. "You mean *you* were in the shootout with the police?"

"Of course," he replied. "Can't you read?"

"But, how did you get away?" I added, incredulously.

"Cops are stupid," he said. "They shot my friend, but I got one of them too."

"But they know who you are?" I asked, and frounced my brow in skeptical doubt.

"Yeah."

"Why don't they just come get you?"

"Don't know where I am, man!" he laughed, a bit too long, relishing his cleverness. He was untouchable, I imagine now, convinced of his own immortality. His difficult life had worn away any shyness or fear, and the police weren't a threat to him; they were part of his game. The rush of a robbery was cheaper than wine, and with the money he stole he could buy cigarettes and alcohol anyway. I imagine him breaking those fine things he couldn't sell and spitting on the floors of the houses he robbed, just for spite. He was Robin Hood, man.

He showed off his initials in the newspaper as if he had scored the winning goal in the last seconds of the city soccer championship. If he had had a refrigerator, I'm sure he would have clipped the article and stuck it on the door with a magnet. But a refrigerator was probably much

too heavy to cart all the way back here from his job sites. I hoped he'd never find out where we lived.

"Well," I started, searching for words under his steady gaze, "that's very interesting. Have you spoken to missionaries like us before?"

We spent the next half hour entertained by his opinions on God and religion. Along with his trade, he had learned to be his own best audience, and he spoke to make himself laugh. The clock dragged, and I started beginning all my sentences with, "We have to get going now, but. . ." And then, just as the opportunity came—one of the children complained of being hungry, and Paola told Richard they should get something to eat—a friend, whom they called *"El Chino"* (the Chinese Guy), appeared and Richard announced, "Hey, these guys want to take you to their church."

El Chino was a thin, thinly bearded man with a hawk-like nose and perpetual smirk. His straight black hair was receding and looked like some sort of spiked helmet. He wasn't Oriental, but his black eyes were shaped by tight eyelids into a slant that seemed Oriental; thus, his nickname.

He answered his friend, "Oh yeah?" without taking much notice of us and stood lazily behind the chairs in the shade of the hut's roof. He was wearing only torn denim shorts, and the olive skin from his neck to his ankles bore the raised marks of savage cuts, each about two inches long and scattered at odd angles. One day, a month later, after I had been transferred to Colón, Hubble found out where they came from. He returned to visit Paola and the children and found Richard and El Chino sitting outside smoking hand-made cigarettes while El Chino hacked away methodically at his arms with a razor blade. He was collecting the blood in a rusty beer can. But that day I imagined he had been caught in a mess of barbed wire running to escape the police or had been tortured by some malicious gang. Turns out he was tortured by a voice in his head.

He showed less interest in our message than his friend had. He ignored our startup questions and started his own conversation with Richard. They quickly became engrossed in their plans and bragging, and we took advantage of their disinterest to say goodbye to Paola and make our escape. We agreed to come by on Sunday to bring Paola and the children to church.

As we finally stood to leave, Richard, apparently not oblivious to us, jumped up, ran inside his shack and reappeared with something in his hands. He called us over to him, and we approached him suspiciously. "What do you want?" I asked, slightly agitated.

Without answering, he raised his left arm to the sky with his hand knotted and held his right arm tightly to his chest. A small red fist carved out of wood protruded from his own right fist. He looked fixedly at the sky above us, then slowly and painstakingly lowered his furious gaze and his left arm, all the while spouting gibberish.

I elbowed Hubble, who in turn asked me, in English, "What's this guy's problem?" I hadn't a clue, but figured if I asked it might interrupt the strange incantations. "What are you doing?" I asked finally. No answer. He continued his frantic speech. I asked again and loudly, "Hey, what are you doing?" But he continued, engrossed in his rite.

As we made to leave, he suddenly stopped. "Hey," he said, "have a *really good* day."

"What were you doing?" I asked.

"Macumba," he said, naming the African-born spiritualist religion. "I cursed you."

Whether he did or not, we could never tell. But from then on whenever anything bad happened we blamed it on the curse. When Hubble slipped and almost fell, Macumba. When I lost control of my bike and crashed into a barbed-wire fence, tearing up my shoulder, Macumba. I saw Richard months later in another part of town, walking through the *feria*, a weekly street market. He smiled when he saw me, shook my hand as if we were the best of friends, and asked about Elder Hubble. I explained that I had been transferred and that Hubble was in Tacuarembó. Richard seemed genuinely interested. He was as civil as a gentleman, as courteous as an ambassador. Then he disappeared into the crowd, and I never saw him again.

The day after we visited Paola and Richard and El Chino, we told our local church leader, Branch President Espindola, about the *gente de mal vivir*. His face lit up immediately and he said, "Elders, we have to go there. There must be hundreds of people, humble and ready to hear the gospel." We tried to explain that we had tried that already, but he was excited for the work and no doubt infected by the same stories we'd heard about missionaries baptizing whole cities. There was no way to dissuade him. We set off at once.

We made it to the Farm after fifteen minutes of slow walking and fantasizing about the missionary opportunities in the *cantegriles*. Presidente Espindola wasted no time in finding someone to talk to. He walked through the front gate, shouted out an "*hola!*" to no one in particular, and took a young woman firmly by the hand. She jumped and made a move to pull away before she realized what was happening. "How are you, little one?" he said. She stared and swallowed before saying, "Fine. And you?"

"I'm doing great today!"

"Okay. . ." Her voice trailed off uncertainly.

Still holding tightly to her hand, he turned to introduce us. "These are my friends the missionaries. And boy do we have an important message for you!" The young woman smiled at us sheepishly and looked back at a friend who had also stopped to see how this would all play out. I worried about the woman. I would have been startled too if he'd had a hold of my hand for that long. Presidente Espindola soon noticed the

other young woman waiting and moved to shake her hand with lightning speed. "Let me tell you about our church," he said excitedly. He gathered them both in front of him and started to talk. Hubble and I took a step back to observe.

"When you come to our church, you'll learn about Jesus and the plan he has for us and how we can all return to live with him and God when we die." The women shuffled uneasily in the sun, squinting and shading their eyes with cupped hands. They listened politely, but without any sign of comprehension. "But we don't all go to the same place," he continued. "And it's not only heaven and hell like they tell you in the Catholic Church. Are you Catholic?" He didn't wait for an answer, and they didn't seem to notice the question. "There are three levels of glory reserved for the faithful. The Celestial, the Terrestrial, and the Telestial. Celestial is the highest, like the glory of the sun, for the most holy and faithful people. You have to be married to get there. Paul mentions it in the Bible, so it's not just a Mormon thing." I think that was the first mention of what church we were from. The women stood patiently in their faded blue tank tops, cut-off jeans, and flip flops, shifting their weight from one hip to another every now and then. ". . .it's called the new and everlasting covenant. Jose Smith received the revelation in section 132." Hubble jabbed me in the ribs with an elbow. I looked at him in a mock squint with raised eyebrows. "What the. . .?" We laughed silently and let Presidente Espindola keep going.

The force of his urgency and excitement was enough to keep the women still, almost spellbound. "Now, you'll have to give up smoking and drinking if you want to come to our church," he was saying. Presidente Espindola forgot himself and chattered on about the deeper doctrines of Mormonism, thinking perhaps that somehow the Spirit would come and grab hold of these two women and convince them. They were probably thinking about what they would eat that night. Espindola was thinking it would be a good idea to explain baptisms for the dead. A young girl came and tugged on her mother's shorts. It could have been the woman's chance to escape, but she shushed her child, too polite to interrupt Espindola's sermon.

"*Hola*, little girl!" he interrupted himself just before he got to outer darkness. The girl hid behind her mother's legs. "When you go to church, she'll go to the Primary, with all the other children, and you two will go to the Relief Society. It's so nice in the Primary. The children learn about Jesus and they sing and play games." He was bending over to see the little girl at her level. She peeked around her mother's thighs, but darted back quickly.

Since "okay" the women hadn't said a word. Finally Espindola asked them their names. They were Silvia and Susan. He kept on for another few minutes, then politely excused himself, invited them to church the following Sunday (they agreed), and called us to follow him to the next set of unsuspecting women.

After a couple of hours observing Espindola's homilies and their trance-inducing effects, we told him we had to go. He had signed us up with the people as a sort of taxi service to come get the women and children the next Sunday before church and walk them down to the chapel. Fine, we thought. We walked slowly home in the twilight. Espindola was beaming. We were skeptical.

We showed up anyway the following Sunday afternoon about an hour before church services. The encampment was especially quiet, and there were very few clothes hanging on the lines. We went first to visit Paola. She opened the door slowly and slipped outside, closing it behind her. She was wearing the same clothes she'd had on two days before. "I can't go," she whispered.

We whispered back, "Why?"

"Richard doesn't want me to go."

"But. . .what would happen if you just went?"

"It's just. . .No, I can't go."

"Oh, we understand."

"Besides," she wanted to explain, "I really can't go looking like this."

She was right, really. Sort of. I considered trying to convince her that it didn't matter how she dressed. How God didn't look on outward appearances. But I didn't. Instead, I invited the children. Paola liked the idea and went back in her house to get them ready.

Meanwhile we went searching for the houses Silvia and Susan had described. They lived next to each other, and they both told us the same thing that Paola had. "How about your children?" I asked. "Can they go?" Yes, they said, they'd like that very much. It was time to teach the kids about God and maybe get them out of the *cantegriles.*

Soon enough we were standing in the dust near the front gate in the middle of a group of thirteen kids. Some were so small they could barely form complete sentences and still waddled when they walked. They stood with their older sisters, their black hair still shiny-wet from a paramedic combing. They looked up into the sun, squinting to see us, then looked back towards home to make sure it was okay. The older children were confident. They seemed to sense the adventure and didn't care about their dirty clothes. Many mothers had washed their children's faces, but whether they thought we weren't going to come or they simply didn't have other clothes, they hadn't dressed the children very well. I was glad that even though *they* would have felt embarrassed to go to church without a clean dress and fine shoes, the mothers let their children go dressed as they were.

We led the rag-tag bunch through the streets, weaving to avoid mud puddles, and singing the only Spanish songs we knew. The kids all sang along with shrill voices and laughs. *"Arroz con leche. Me quiero casar con una señorita de San Nicolás, que sepa cocer, que sepa bordar. . ."* Something about wanting to marry a woman who knows how to cook and sew. We

were enforcing macho stereotypes and loving it. "*La cucaracha! La cucaracha! ya no quiere caminar. . .*" What exactly the cockroach is missing that dissuades him from walking has never been clear to me. My seventh-grade Spanish teacher told us it was because he wanted to drink some hot chocolate. Most of the kids that day seemed to think it was because one of his legs got ripped off. Some of the older kids I've met (none in this group, thankfully) like to think the poor cockroach needed a joint to feel up to the task. Anyway, what is clear is that he didn't feel like walking. Neither did some of the children after a little while, and so Hubble and I each picked up and carried the two smallest.

Church that day was hot, crowded, and entertaining. There was no piano in the building, and Hermana Vecchio mixed up the sacrament song music and lyrics, as usual, singing the words from one hymn to the music of another. We ended up confused and stuttering at the end of a line of music when there were still more words to fit in somehow. Hubble and I started to laugh silently, and the kids, watching us for cues, took that as an excuse to laugh also. After sacrament meeting the members mostly worked hard to make the Batlle Farm children feel welcome, but it was almost too hard. "*Hola!*" they sang. "How are you, little ones?"

"Fine," the kids answered, looking around shyly and shifting their feet.

"Children!" Presidente Espindola came to greet them. "How would you like to learn about Jesus?"

"Okay," they answered.

None of the well-dressed children in the congregation came to greet them. Only grinning adults.

I squatted to talk to the group at their level. "Kids," I said, "now we have a special class for you to learn more about Jesus. Go with the nice lady, and she'll introduce you to the other children, and you can all have fun and learn."

"Okay." This time it was only one girl, tall and thin, with deep green eyes, who answered. They all followed her to their class, and we went upstairs to the loft for ours. I had wanted to help them feel comfortable, not just then, but in general, but I settled for convincing them to go off to class.

The experience comes back to me often, and I think about it much more now than I did then, but even at that moment, when the kids went off to Primary, I started to realize that it wasn't only about the gospel. I liked to believe that the difficulties posed by social class and nationality and language were easily overcome. I would like it to be that way, but it's not. Although I have seen the Spirit work miracles, I think sharing the gospel with others often requires more effort than most of us are willing to give. Who could really believe that we would welcome those children fully into the church? That they would feel comfortable and return week after week? We are not only members of a church, we are members

of a society that actively seeks division and classification at the expense of its weak or unfortunate members.

I wonder about those kids, imagining that the older ones were already learning that their adventure was little more than a confused confrontation with another class of people. These were the kind of people their fathers stole from. They were the people who had everything. Sure, they treated you nicely, but when the three hours were up, they went back to their nice homes where they didn't have to think about you. Back to their individual beds and their televisions and soda pop. The cliché says that the road to hell is paved with good intentions.

When the meetings were over, we found a group of the children huddled outside the building talking. I asked them, "What's wrong? Why aren't you inside?" Nobody answered. I counted only ten of them. "Where are the other three?" Hubble bent down and set a small girl on his knee.

"Went home," said a boy sullenly.

"How long have you been out here?"

"Who knows?"

They were somber. We had interrupted their conversation. Hubble whispered patiently to the little girl on his knee. A brown-haired boy stared at the ground and mumbled, "Just wanna go home." I looked quickly and saw ten tousled children staring with confused eyes. I knew they were feeling shame, some of them perhaps for the first time in their lives. And I wondered then, as I do now, about our role in all of this—strangers from far away, tall, rich, blonde guys with nice clothes who took them to church and would take them back home again and maybe never give them a second thought or, if we did think about them again, it would be this: writing and reflecting in comfort far away, hoping that the "seeds" we planted might, in some unsure future, "bear fruit," convinced of the impossibility of actually returning and doing anything now, sure they wouldn't remember us or care if we did return.

"Let's go then." I tried to sound upbeat as I started walking.

The children gathered themselves up and filed in behind. Hubble carried the little girl, and I took two older kids by the hand. "It's not you," they seemed to be saying as they held on tightly and skipped alongside me. "It's just, we don't fit in. We can't be comfortable there."

"I know," I whispered to myself, staring forward, biting hard, unsure about where *I* fit in. What to do. Whether to feel good about being genuine and interested in these kids and their parents, or. . .of course I couldn't feel good.

We walked silently for a few minutes into the ragged parts of town. Past the whorehouses and witches' hovels. Within yards of drunken, shirtless men passed out on the side of the road. Over flattened toads and dog excrement. A few blocks east of Belloni, up among the Pacheco streets. To that exercise in contrasts. It wasn't just their parents who felt it now.

Ice Fishing

Douglas Thayer

"WHY YOU WANT TO GO OUT and sit all day on the ice just to catch a fish, I'll never know. Ed, you're going to freeze to death one of these days, or catch pneumonia."

He didn't say anything.

"The TV says it's going to snow later today."

"I know, love. Be sure to tape the BYU-Utah game."

"Oh, I'll remember, and for heaven's sakes be careful and get home before dark. You don't want to be driving down that canyon after dark. You could hit a deer"

Beth put on a sweater and followed him out to the pickup. "You're not as young as you used to be, you know. You could stay home and watch the game. You'd be nice and warm."

"Yes, I know."

"You're going to miss Les. Poor Betty. I've got to call her again. It's hard."

Ed looked at his wife. "Poor Betty?" It was Les who had done the dying, not "Poor Betty."

Ed nodded. Beth kissed him on the cheek. He got in the truck and rolled down the window.

"I'll have supper ready when you get home. You can have a nice hot bath and watch your game. Be careful."

He nodded. He backed out of the driveway. Beth waved and he waved. When he got home, Beth wouldn't tell him the score. She knew he didn't like to know who won. It took some of the pleasure out of watching the taped game.

He shifted and turned up the street. No need to hurry. They didn't get up before daylight anymore to go fishing. He looked up at Mount Timp, grey-white with deep snow in the morning light coming through the clouds. He wondered how cold it got on top in the winter, probably thirty or forty below. He stopped at the stop sign, looked both ways twice, and pulled out. It was cold in Provo, down to ten above at night, but no new snow for two days.

They'd been ice-fishing Scofield Reservoir on the twenty-third, and Les had died on the twenty-fourth, two weeks ago. But then younger friends than Les had died. Ed was sixty-eight. He'd planned to retire at sixty-five, but the plant had asked him to stay on and he had. He would retire in April.

He stopped and picked up Bob. His wife waved from the porch.

"Nice day, no wind," Bob said looking up through the windshield at the sky.

"Fishing should be good."

The clouds were high, but would be getting lower. Coming home they'd be out of the canyon before the highway got slick. Ordinarily Ed liked storms and the cold, but he didn't like to drive slick canyon roads. He liked things white and cold and clean.

Ed glanced over at Bob. Bob didn't speak again. Ed knew he wouldn't say anything about missing Les. Bob had always sat on the outside because of his long legs, Les in the middle. Being in the truck together was part of the pleasure of going fishing. Mostly they told stories about other fishing trips, the stories going back thirty years some of them, but still true, still important, still pleasing to repeat in the intimacy of the truck cab.

Bob was retired; Les had been retired too. Ed tended to categorize the older men he knew as either retired or not retired. It made a difference now, although it didn't used to. You really had nothing to do, except mow your lawn and shovel snow. Some men he'd known at the plant seemed to lose respect for themselves when they retired, as if only their jobs had made their lives worthwhile.

In the rest homes Ed had seen the ghosts of good men he'd known all his life. You shook hands with a man in high priest meeting on Sunday, and the next Sunday he was in a rest home, paralyzed from a stroke, or was dead. A heart attack was usually a faster way of going than a stroke.

Just before Ed took the off-ramp at Spanish Fork, they passed a semi and trailer jackknifed and smashed on the side of the freeway. A flattened car lay near the semi. The ambulances were gone. Two cruisers, their lights flashing, reflecting off the aluminum sides of the semi, still sat at the edge of the freeway.

"Looks like a bad one," Bob said turning from his window. "Probably hit a patch of black ice earlier."

"Probably."

The freeway was dry except where the plowed snow had melted and the water spread out in patches on the outside lane and then froze at night.

As they approached Spanish Fork Canyon on Highway 6, four semis in a row passed them headed for I-15. Six was one of the main routes out

of Denver. More people were injured and killed in Spanish Fork Canyon in traffic accidents than in any other canyon in the state.

You saw skid marks, maybe fifty feet long, but no debris, or the skid marks went off the highway onto the shoulder, gouging into the soft soil. Sometimes you saw a dead deer, or maybe an elk, and you knew the story, but most of the time you didn't know, except there had been danger and somebody had escaped. Hitting an elk was as bad as hitting a horse or a cow.

He and Bob and Les had never talked about death when they went fishing (they wouldn't talk about Les's death today). They didn't talk much about their families, their jobs at the plant, or football either. In fact, they didn't really talk about anything except fishing; they told stories about other fishing trips. It was as if certain topics were forbidden to them because they needed to keep the pleasure of fishing, and to talk about certain things would destroy that pleasure.

They didn't see each other except to go fishing, although they phoned each other to set up trips, talk about the weather, new equipment, and repeat information they'd heard about where the best fishing was. They could have been strangers except for the fishing. It was as if their fishing put them in another minor world. They visited each other at Christmas to drop off a gift that always had to do with fishing.

Ed kept his eyes on the road. He watched for deer crossing. Three ravens flew up from something they were feeding on at the side of the highway.

Les's death had not stunned or shocked Ed. He was used to his friends dying, but he felt the loss deeply. Les's death was very important because of fishing. This trip was to see if ice-fishing was gone too. After you were sixty, maybe a little older, you began not to do certain things, the circle of your life beginning to tighten a little. Ed wasn't particularly afraid of dying, as long as there wasn't great pain and he didn't rot away in some rest home wearing a diaper and connected to a catheter. But Les's death had opened the door a little more for him, he knew that. People kept asking him when he was going to retire and if he was looking forward to it. When you retired, you crossed the divide.

Going to work every morning he saw retired men out walking—for the exercise but also to get out from under the wife's feet. A wife wasn't used to having a man around all day. She had her own life between eight and five. Or he saw men in the passenger seat of the car, the wife driving, the man strapped in, looking straight ahead, not smiling, as if in a state of shock at what had happened, or perhaps it was embarrassment.

He and Beth had talked a little about what they would do after he retired, but they hadn't decided anything. Beth wanted to go on a mission,

but the idea didn't interest him much. Beth was more religious than he was. She always liked going to church.

Ed had gone to church all his life, but it surprised him how little difference religion made to him now. It was as if he'd learned as much about religion as he was going to and now the thing to do was wait. He assumed when he got to the other side, he would visit with all of his friends and relatives, but what he'd do after that he didn't know or really think about. Preaching the gospel, doing temple work, or creating worlds didn't particularly interest him. When he looked around at his ward high priest group on Sunday, there weren't any potential gods as far as he could tell. Most of them had all they could do to deal with their wives and families. Hell.

"We shot some nice bucks up there." Bob bent forward to look up through the windshield. They were passing Diamond Fork on the left.

Ed nodded.

The three of them had hunted Diamond, Lake Fork, Tucker, and Sheep Creek, all drainage feeding down into Spanish Fork Canyon.

"Four head of deer over on that slope."

"Any bucks?"

"No."

Ed didn't take his eyes from the road. Bob knew he wouldn't. Bob and Les had always reported the deer and elk they saw in the canyon, but Ed paid attention to his driving. On a two-lane highway you had to pay attention to your driving every minute. The snow brought the deer and elk out of the high country down to the mouth of the canyons and across the foothills above Utah Valley.

Ed glanced over at Bob. They should be telling hunting stories now. Les was always the best story teller, had the best memory for details. Watching the highway, Ed had the feeling that they should just turn around and go home. It wasn't going to work with just the two of them. But he didn't say anything to Bob. They might as well keep going now they'd come this far.

They'd stopped hunting nearly twenty-five years ago, about the time they were all forty, as if by common consent, their concern, or perhaps guilt, mutual. Shooting animals and birds, killing them for no reason except the enjoyment of killing them, became wrong, even threatening to their own lives because to kill was to hold life cheaply. And the older they got, the more they desired that life not be held cheaply. But he, Bob, and Les had not talked about these things. They didn't reason about them. Hunting was simply something they stopped doing, an activity that had become too personal. They still had their guns, but they didn't hunt.

But they still went ice-fishing. They didn't troll or fly-fish anymore, but they still went ice-fishing. They released most of the fish they caught. It didn't seem important anymore to take a limit home.

Fishing was not wrong. Fishing was more basic than hunting. Fish did not breathe air, walk, or make sounds; they were not full of blood, did not have heavy bones and skeletons. You didn't think of fish as being male and female. Fishing was more mysterious than hunting, particularly ice fishing, which had become the most important kind of fishing for some reason they didn't understand.

The canyon topped out at Soldier Summit, a valley three or four miles long and a half a mile wide. The snow was deeper, two feet at least. By the end of the winter it would be four or five, if it was a good snow year. With snow that deep the whole landscape became rounder and smoother—and whiter, the white mountains fading into the pale winter sky so that things seemed not to have a beginning or an end. Soldier Summit had once been a small railroad town, but all the houses were gone; only the cement foundations remained, now mounded under the snow.

The small black flags on the snow poles marking the sides of the highway moved only when a car or truck passed. There was still no wind. A windy day took some of the pleasure out of ice fishing, but snow increased the pleasure for Ed.

Semis and open coal and ore trucks passed headed down Spanish Fork Canyon. Ed had seen the smashed cars, sometimes two or three, as if one were not enough, the jackknifed truck, half a dozen cruisers and three ambulances nested around the accident, lights flashing off the white snow. Ed never stopped. The big semis rocked his truck when they passed, covered his windshield with spray and slush if it was raining or there was snow, big, looming, pounding trucks that could grind you to pieces if you skidded ten feet on black ice, the big front end coming at you at seventy miles an hour like a metal wall, and in that split second, terrified, you knew you were doomed. But at least it was quick. Ed turned off the highway onto the road leading up to the reservoir. Ahead of them were two big extended-cab pickups pulling long, white snowmobile trailers. A man could have fifty thousand dollars tied up in an outfit like that. Ed didn't understand where a man got that kind of money, why his wife would let him spend it that way if he did. He knew that Beth wouldn't put up with that kind of expense just to go racing across the snow.

The south side of the canyon was fenced all the way, a tire hung on a fence post every hundred yards with "Keep Out" written in white paint, the tires capped with snow. Ed didn't like the tires; he didn't like the canyons and mountains posted. Farms and ranches, yes (he could understand why they needed to be posted), but not the mountains. He wanted the mountains free. How could you feel you were in the mountains if some scissorbill ran ten miles of fence line with tires saying "Keep Out"? How could a man own a mountain, or even want to?

They topped out into Scofield Valley and then the north end of the reservoir was visible, the sky a layer of high winter-grey clouds. The small black dots were fishermen; the bigger dots were tents and black ice shelters. A few fishermen were out by the island. The black flags on the guide poles along the road still hung limp.

"Looks like a crowd," Bob said.

"It's Saturday." Ed didn't feel much of the old anticipation.

They started around the reservoir toward the shallow south end. From that distance some areas on the reservoir were patches of black where large numbers of fishermen were congregated in the most popular spots. The pattern was always the same, like flocks of large black birds lit across the ice. A line of four snowmobiles was moving out just below a parking lot. A snowmobile had broken through last year in the shallow end where a spring had weakened the ice. He'd seen pictures of ice fishermen in Minnesota and Michigan pulling huts out on the ice with trucks. Sometimes a truck broke through, only the back bumper showing as it sank.

He, Bob, and Les had never wanted an ice shelter; they came to be outside, not sit all day cooped up in some black shelter. It would be like fishing in a cave.

In high school Ed had read a story about a man hiking alone in Alaska with his dog. The man in the story fell through the thin ice over a spring and wet his feet. The temperature was seventy-five degrees below zero. He built a fire under a tree and the snow from the tree fell on it and put it out. Freezing, the man tried to kill his dog to cut it open and thrust his hands into its warm guts, but he couldn't catch the dog and froze to death sitting by the side of the trail. Ed had always remembered the story. The coldest weather he'd ever been in was thirty below.

They crossed the dam. The railroad tracks ran fifty yards above them on the left. The tracks followed the Price River down the canyon; they didn't follow the road. The trains carried coal from the mines above the town of Scofield. In 1900 one of the Scofield mines had blown up, killing at least two hundred men. It was one of the greatest mine disasters in the west. They had to bring in coffins from as far away as Denver. Ed had seen a picture of a railroad flat car stacked high with coffins. One woman lost her husband, a brother, and two sons.

People had pretty well forgotten about the mine disaster. Nobody ever talked about it. Ed knew you were soon forgotten after you died. But that didn't bother him. He was more concerned about how hard growing old was going to be than he was in being remembered. Seventy was the beginning of growing old. He liked the idea in the church that families were eternal, but it wasn't something he thought about much.

Both he and Beth had prepaid funeral plans and their lots. Beth kept

after him to write down what he wanted on his program, but he wasn't about to do that. One thing he didn't want was all his grandkids lining up to sing some song about families being together ɔrever, and then his kids speaking, bawling, telling how wonderful he was and making everybody embarrassed. It was all too personal. As far as he was concerned they could forget about the funeral. Like his mother used to say, die and let the stink bury you.

They drove to the south end of the reservoir where they always fished. Ed parked just above the snow-packed dirt road leading to the reservoir. He didn't drive down it, too easy to get stuck. Five years ago they would have parked farther back and climbed down the steep bank, but it was too easy to slip. Break a hip and you were really fixed. Going slowly blind, deaf, and lame was bad enough without breaking your hip and getting a jumpstart on the whole process.

They got out of the truck and pulled on their snowmobiling outfits and insulated boots. Bob helped Ed lift the sled out of the back of the covered pickup. Ed liked the feeling of being warm and protected. They spoke few words. What they were doing was habit. Bob carried the assembled rods; Ed pulled the sled with the power auger, chairs, and five-gallon buckets. Les had always helped pull the sled.

They walked down to the end of the road and walked out on the ice. The ice was hard. Sometimes a layer of slush three or four inches deep lay between a thin, frozen top layer and the heavy ice underneath. You always broke through. Ed didn't like that.

He heard the loud whine of snowmobiles. He looked out across the reservoir. Two snowmobiles were going hell-bent for leather across the reservoir out toward the island. Two kids probably—as if going sixty miles an hour was the only thing that made life worthwhile. When Ed was ice-fishing, he didn't want noise. He had read in *National Geographic* that the Eskimoes used snowmobiles now. They didn't have dog sleds anymore.

Ed and Bob followed the path through the two-foot deep snow, which was easy walking, and then cut left to get away from the crowd. Pulling the sled through the unbroken snow was work.

He, Bob, and Les had always liked fifty yards between them and the next group of fishermen. Some of the groups had fifteen or twenty fishermen, fathers, sons, grandfathers, whole families except for the women. Some brought dogs. Some brought heaters, charcoal broilers, propane stoves, tables, and turned the ice into a campground, people shouting to each other, kids running around hollering and playing games. Ed didn't come to the ice for confusion. The ice was a place for simplicity. Occasionally you saw a woman on the ice, but not many. Women didn't like the ice. It was a man's sport.

They had several places they fished, so they could pick the spot that

was least crowded. Of course, when you started to catch fish, people sometimes crowded in. You couldn't do anything about that. Most people were decent and didn't try to horn in. A man would let you know if he wanted you to fish by him.

They always caught fish, but not many big fish anymore, the three- and four-pounders, maybe one apiece each season. They'd fished the deep water out by the island, where the big fish were reported to be, but they had never found the right spot. The last two or three years they'd stopped trying. It was too far out to the island if they didn't catch bigger fish than the ones they caught near the east shore.

Ed looked out toward the island. A lone fisherman fished off the south tip of the island about a hundred yards. Ed had seen him there the two times they were out before Les died. The fisherman was always in the same place. Most fishermen set up closer in by the rocks. Ed wanted to ask him what the fishing was like out there in the deep water. They'd always left before the fisherman came in.

Ed and Bob moved off the beaten trail to cut left. The sled was harder to pull in the deep snow; the walking was harder. Bob dropped back and took a hold of the rope. He always did that.

Ed checked the east shore, the big clump of willows and then turned to look south at the old fence coming down to the edge of the reservoir. He checked the distance out from each point. They were about right.

"What do you think?"

"Looks good, Ed."

Les had always been best at finding the right spot. The old holes were frozen over and covered with snow.

They each had their jobs. Ed cut the holes, Bob set up the chairs and got the buckets out, and Les had dipped the holes clean of ice. They always cut a half a dozen holes. Once one of them had a hot hole, they cut holes for the other two maybe three or four feet out. That's when it was best, when they were fishing close together. Sometimes you had to cut three or four sets of holes before you found a hot hole. The three of them together was just right.

They'd chipped in and bought the power auger three years ago. The hand auger became too hard to work finally. Early in the season when you had only four or five inches of ice, the hand auger was okay. But once you got fifteen inches, cutting holes had become too much for the three of them. They didn't use a fishfinder. It made fishing too scientific, too easy. It took the fun out of fishing. There was a new camera out that you dropped down the hole on a coaxial cable so you could watch the fish on a screen when they took your bait. Hell. You might as well drop a stick of dynamite down the hole and get it over with. They'd joked about being old men and having to buy a power auger.

Ed drilled a hole six inches into the ice and left the auger upright. He didn't like an auger lying on the ice; too easy to trip over.

Bob was baiting his jig. Ed stood there. There needed to be three of them. A raven croaked. Two ravens flew slowly by. Ravens patrolled the reservoir looking for fish guts and pieces of sandwiches.

Ed set his chair and bucket where he wanted them and then baited his jig. He always put on two wax worms. He didn't thread them; he hooked them just behind the tail. With two wax worms, if he missed the first bite, he might hook the fish on the second. A rainbow would usually keep biting unless you nicked him with the hook. Ed had one split-shot eight inches above the jig.

He dropped his jig into the water, released the bale on his spinning reel and let the monofilament line play out. When it stopped, the line coiling on the surface, he knew the split-shot was on the bottom. He lowered the end of the pole to the surface of the water and turned the reel handle to engage the bale and tighten the line. Then he laid the pole on the bucket. That way he knew his jig was about six inches off the bottom. You had to fish close to the bottom; that's where the fish fed.

He sat down in his chair. Looking out at the two or three hundred fishermen on the ice, he knew that a lot of them had their bait right on the bottom or too high up. He watched the end of his rod, an old five-and-a-half foot Browning ultra-light spinning rod. It was a beautiful rod for ice-fishing. You needed a very limber tip or you couldn't see the bite. Most fishermen fished with too heavy a rod; they might as well be fishing with a broomstick. It was satisfying to sit and watch the end of his rod.

The layer of clouds hung just above the low, white mountains. They wouldn't get any sun today. It would begin to snow later, and they'd get wind.

The ice cracked almost under his chair, the cracking sound fading off along the break. Sometimes the ice cracked all day. Ed didn't know why. He assumed it depended on the temperature and thickness of the ice. Some fathers had to take their young sons back to the car when the ice cracked too much. The boys became frightened; they thought the ice would open and they would be swallowed up. Ed had heard of such things happening.

He stood up from his chair and dipped out his hole, and then went over and dipped out Bob's hole.

Sitting down again, Ed looked out across the ice. He'd read in the *National Geographic* of a polar expedition whose ship got caught in the ice and sank. The men got off and tried to get back to civilization pulling their own sleds, but they all starved to death. They left notes pleading with their government to take care of their wives and children. They were English.

Sitting in his chair, Ed pulled back into his heavy, warm clothes, settling down in his chair. He didn't wear gloves. It wasn't that cold yet. He felt his hands deep in his pockets. But that's where the cold started, in the hands and feet, and then moved up.

People driving along the road above the reservoir must think they should have had more sense than to sit out on the reservoir all day staring down at a hole in the ice. Particularly the women would think that. He was glad he hadn't had to give up everything he enjoyed, at least not yet.

Ed watched the tip of his rod, waited for his first bite. He knew he would get bites. He always did. He knew how to fish. He watched the tip of the rod. He liked that simplicity about ice-fishing. All you had to do was watch the end of your rod. Watch for that slight dip, dip, that meant a bite, and always brought pleasure. You had to concentrate on the tip of the rod. Ice-fishing took concentration, but it let you sink into yourself, too. You didn't have to move. It wasn't like trolling from a boat or fly-fishing.

He looked over at Bob, silent, sitting in his chair.

Les wasn't there. Les should have been there. Later when one of them got a hot hole and the other one would move in, that's when they would miss Les. That's when you talked, although you didn't talk about anything much except the fishing. Perhaps it was hopeless without Les. Ed knew this could be the last ice-fishing trip for him and Bob, something else lost to him. Soon he would be reduced to reading the paper and watching TV. The doctors kept you alive too long now. His parents and grandparents had gone quickly. They hadn't taken a handful of pills night and morning.

He'd heard of fishermen, ardent fishermen, who quit fishing overnight, and it didn't have to be the dying either of a life-long fishing partner that put an end to fishing. A bad fall wading, partial loss of night vision, a nervous wife, inability to launch your boat alone, a slight stroke or heart attack, or loss of your driver's license, and it was all over after going fishing every week, and sometimes two and three times a week, for fifty years, one of the things you enjoyed most in life. You could be in good health one day and in the hospital the next, paralyzed; all it took was one small artery to bust in your brain, the blood spreading, building up pressure, cutting you off. A heart attack was quicker usually. Alzheimers was the worst; old Bill Spencer had sat tied in a chair for seven years.

Ed looked down into his hole. The ice was fifteen inches thick. He liked at least six inches. Some fishermen would go out on three inches of ice. He'd done that, but he didn't do it anymore.

The end of his pole dipped—once, twice.

Ed smiled, felt the satisfaction. He lifted the rod off the bucket. He

took the monofilament line between the thumb and index finger of his left hand; he took most of the slack out. He stood up. He liked a rod long enough that he could stand up to fight a fish.

"Looks like you got a bite, Ed."

He nodded.

The end of the rod dipped. He lifted the rod sharply, setting the hook, and knew instantly that he had a good fish. He loosened the drag to let the fish run, lifted the rod against the fish, adjusted the drag again. The rod took a deep bow against the fish. Up through the line and the rod he felt the heavy fish. He loosened the drag a little more, let the fish run.

"Looks like a nice one, Ed."

"Looks like it." Bob stood beside him.

"Seen it yet?"

"Not yet."

"Hey, looks like you got a nice one."

Ed looked up. A short, heavy fisherman dressed in a red snowmobiling outfit walked toward him.

"Looks like it."

"I've been watching you. I been here for over an hour and ain't had a bite yet. You get a bite ten minutes after you set up. What you usin'?"

"Wax worms."

Ed fought the fish. He tightened the drag. Down through the hole he saw the fish flash. The fish was tiring. He got its head up in the hole, but then it went deep again. He brought it back. Again it went deep.

"There it is. I can see it." The red fisherman was down on his knees by the hole. "It's a whopper."

Ed got the trout's head up in the hole and brought it halfway out. Bob reached down and helped scoop it up on the ice.

"Gee, that's some fish."

It was a brightly marked rainbow of about three pounds. It was the biggest fish of the season. He'd caught bigger fish when they had trolled at Strawberry Reservoir, but then Les had sold his boat last year and that ended that. Ed had stopped fly-fishing after he'd slipped on the slick rocks and fallen twice. The rocks in the Provo River were very slippery. Even with felt-soled boots you slipped.

Ed took the short piece of rake handle from his bucket and hit the big rainbow twice sharply across the head. He didn't like to let a fish flop around on the ice until it died. Beth had told him if he got three or four nice trout to bring them home. She wanted to have a trout supper for some friends. Beth's mother had been Finnish, and Beth had learned to cook fish from her. She did a beautiful job. He took out the hook.

"That sure is a nice fish. Wish I could get one like that."

"What you usin'?" Ed slipped the trout into a plastic bag.

"Just cheese."

Ed took his small tackle box out of the bucket and gave the fisherman a white-skirted jig. He took half a dozen wax worms from the plastic bait container in his pocket, where he kept them so they wouldn't freeze. He explained to the fisherman how to fish the wax worms just off the bottom.

"Gee, thanks. Thanks a lot."

Looking down at his cupped hand, the red fisherman hurried back to his ice shelter. Ed watched him go into his ice shelter. At least he hadn't asked if he could move over and fish by them.

When Ed turned to look over at Bob, he was fighting a fish. Ed stood for a moment to see if he needed to go help Bob, but Bob lifted the small trout out of the hole.

"Well, you got one."

"Looks like it."

Ed turned to bait his jig and drop it back into the hole. He sat down. He had another bite almost immediately. It was a small trout. He turned it loose. He baited up again and sat down. He looked down at the water in the hole. He'd read of two fishermen who had drowned at Scofield years ago ice fishing. The one fisherman had broken through. The other had put his ice auger in a hole and tied off with a piece of nylon rope, tied the rope around his waist, and gone after his friend. There had been a storm. The sheriff's search party didn't find them until the next morning. They found the ice auger with the rope tied to it and vanishing into the ice, which had obviously been broken and frozen over. The sheriff and his men broke the ice. When they pulled in the rope, they brought up both bodies. The fisherman with the rope tied to him held the other fisherman in his arms. The two men were older, both retired. The story about one fisherman holding the other one didn't surprise Ed when he read about it in the *Herald*.

Bob brought over a bag of cookies. Ed took two.

"Thanks."

"Looks like some of them are already giving up early."

Ed turned his head to look across the ice. Maybe a dozen fishermen were pulling their sleds back toward the parked cars and trucks.

"Probably no luck."

"Probably, or they're afraid of the storm. It's getting colder." They both looked up at the lowering clouds. The first flakes of snow were coming now. A pair of ravens flew along the shore.

Bob walked back to his chair and sat down. He lifted his rod off the bucket and then put it back down.

Ed stood up. He walked ten yards out from his hole to urinate. It was a simple pleasure, and one of the reasons he didn't like women on the

ice. The red fisherman in the red outfit came out of his shelter holding a fish. He waved. Ed waved back.

Before he sat back down, he dipped the thin skim of ice out of his and Bob's holes. He heard a raven and turned to watch it.

Ed caught two more small fish; he kept one. He watched Bob catch two fish. The fishing was good, but neither of them had a hot hole. They would not fish close together. Les would have been fishing a hole between them; then they could have talked back and forth. Pulled into his heavy clothes, Ed sat watching the end of his rod.

The wind had picked up a little. More fishermen were leaving the reservoir. Ed turned in his chair to look toward the island. The lone fisherman was still there. The snow would not make the road slick for two or three hours. The heavy truck traffic helped keep the road clear.

He liked to fish in a snow storm. He liked the isolation, the feeling you were the only human being alive on the face of the earth. It was as if he were closed off, dying perhaps, leaving the world. He often thought about dying. He didn't want to die, but he thought about it, even before Les had died. When would it be? How would it be? Sitting on the ice in a heavy storm, able to see only Bob's and Les's vague, dark silhouettes through the wind-driven snow, was a little like slipping off into some unknown world, receding into the enveloping storm, pulling down, down into yourself toward that final point of light or darkness.

Ed brushed the snow off of his shoulders and knees.

On those snowy days, looking out across the ice through the swirling storm, he could sometimes imagine seeing the *Titanic* going down, just the bow slipping under the waves, vanishing, all those men going down with her, the surviving women and children watching from the lifeboats.

He hadn't read the articles in the *National Geographic* about finding the *Titanic* and the *Bismark*, the big German battleship. He hadn't really looked at the pictures. They should leave the two ships alone. Let the dead rest. Beth had gone with her friend May to see the movie about the *Titanic*. She said it was a wonderful love story. The biggest ship ever built sinks, fifteen hundred people drown, and they make a love story out of it. Hell.

Ed looked up. The red fisherman held up another fish. Ed waved.

Ed watched the end of his rod. It was good just to have that to do, to make his life that simple. His hands and feet were getting cold. He got up and stomped his feet. Maybe he was getting too old for this. The snow was heavier now.

He caught three fish as fast as he could lower his baited jig, all about eleven inches. It was discouraging to catch so many small fish. It was as if he didn't have any skill.

The trout were below him under the ice. The eight-inch hole was his only entry, that small circle of water. He had heard that fish were at-

tracted to the light coming down through the hole, every hole a point of light from an upper world. Ed liked thinking about the fish under the fifteen inches of ice, shielded, protected, in their own world in the darkness without light.

He'd heard that some ice-fishermen lowered waterproof flashlights down into the water to attract the fish. It wasn't illegal.

Ice fishing, Ed had at times half-expected a seal to poke its head up through the hole. It would not have greatly surprised him. He thought of himself sometimes as an Eskimo, silent, still, harpoon ready, waiting with infinite patience hour after hour at the blowhole for a seal to appear. Great sheets of ice broke off and the Eskimo hunter was set adrift, or he was attacked by a polar bear, the hunter become the hunted, the white bear creeping up quiet as falling snow. Or the hunter got too close to the edge of the ice and a killer whale leaped up out of the water to seize him in its jaws and wiggle its way back into the cold sea. Killer whales were smart.

Ed looked at his watch. Nearly four hours gone already. Time passed quickly ice-fishing. He wondered how the Y was doing. The game was an hour old. It would help make it a nice day if they beat Utah. Some fishermen brought radios to listen to their favorite game. He, Bob, and Les had never done that. He liked the silence more, and not knowing the score until he watched the tape.

Ed looked over at Bob, who sat hunched in his chair, both hands in his pockets, the snow turning him white. Bob was getting old. If he could see that in Bob, he knew Bob could see it in him. Ed knew he'd had a good life. He wasn't complaining—Beth and the kids, grandkids, friends, a job he liked, good health still, the church. He didn't envy younger men anything, not sex or any of the rest of it. Why did younger men think that the thing older men missed most was sex or that they wanted to be young again? Good digestion was important, and being able to sleep, and being able to walk. Not having prostate problems was important. Being able to remember things. He'd heard of men who suddenly overnight couldn't remember their telephone number, their address, even their own names.

He didn't want to be embalmed or have an expensive casket. He wanted to be wrapped in a clean white sheet, put in a pine box made out of new wood, and buried in clean sand. Actually cremation would be okay, but the church was against that. He figured they wanted you all in as big of pieces as possible for the resurrection. Well, lots of luck on that one. Beth would do what she wanted. None of his dead friends had outlived their wives, and he didn't suppose he would—didn't want to.

Ed kept watching his rod. Who would be next, him or Bob or somebody else close? Whose little square grey picture would appear in the *Herald* next? Every morning when he went out to get the paper, he stood to look at the obituary page before he went back in the house. It was bet-

ter to get it over with outside in the open air, that mild shock of seeing a familiar face and name, the picture sometimes forty years old but the face still recognizable, somebody he'd played football with in high school or worked with out at the plant years before. Sometimes there was two pictures, one when the dead man was in high school or in the army, and you knew that face.

After he'd read the obituary, there was nothing to do about it except go in and tell Beth and give her the paper so that she could read it for herself. Why did a wife put in the second picture? Probably to convince all the friends, neighbors, and family that her old man had been worth marrying once, as if being young and good looking were more important than anything else. Ed was always afraid he would be asked to speak at a funeral.

His rod dipped. He hooked the fish, but it got off. He baited his jig and dropped it down the hole. He brushed the snow from his hat and shoulders. He got his thermos and extra cup out of the bucket and walked over to talk to Bob and see how he was doing. Bob had three fish on the ice. He had a neighbor who liked trout. The fish were covered with an inch of snow.

"It's okay." Bob stood up from his chair. "About average."

"Want a cup of hot chocolate?"

Ed always brought the hot chocolate. He and Les and Bob would stand around drinking hot chocolate and watching each other's rods. It was almost a joke to tell the other man he had a bite, to see the dipping rod before he did, hear him say "hell" or "damn" and run for his rod, spilling his hot chocolate, the dipping rod more important than anything else.

After they emptied their cups, Ed went back to his chair. He turned to look back at Bob. Ed knew it was probably the last trip; the two of them weren't enough to keep it going. Things were always changing, and not always for the better. You had to accept that.

He heard the coal train coming down from Scofield. He watched it come, maybe eighty or ninety cars, the crushed coal in four large mounds at the top of each car, the train coming slow, not blowing up the snow. They'd probably sealed that mine where the explosion had killed so many miners a hundred years ago, but not if there was still money to be made. You could count on that.

The ice cracked under him, the sound low like faint, distant thunder. He wondered if the sound frightened the fish. Did the sound of the power auger frighten them, or did they get used to it?

He dipped out his and Bob's holes. The skim ice was thicker. When he sat down, he looked up into the falling snow.

He caught two more fish; he kept them for Beth's trout supper. Although they weren't as big as the first two, they would do.

Suddenly the storm became fierce, the wind blowing the snow hori-

zontal to the ice, blanking out everything. Ed couldn't see Bob. Ed didn't think it would snow hard for long. It would let up and snow more gently. It was probably just a squall. He'd watched the weather report on TV last night. At times he regretted that the storm couldn't last for a week or a month, pile up snow six feet deep, a great storm down out of Alaska and the Canadian arctic like they got out in the midwest, so that Utah Valley itself was filled with snow, the whiteness spread across the part of the world he could see. They used to get bigger storms when he was a boy growing up in Provo.

Ed sat watching the ice hole fill up with the wind-driven snow. He did not brush the snow from his body. He sat, not dozing, but motionless, watching the snow through half-closed eyes, his ungloved hands deep in his pockets, only his face uncovered and capable of feeling. It was as if he were fading off, slipping away, turning white, life and the world becoming less important, even less necessary, as if there were some middle world between life and death that he must enter first.

It would be a good way to die, simply sit out on the reservoir all night and freeze. No pain in that. The sheriff would find you the next morning sitting in your chair, eyes open, looking down at the ice hole. Perhaps you would have a fish on. In *National Geographic* they had pictures of men who'd died climbing Everest. There was no way to bury them. Other climbers passed the frozen bodies.

"Ed, Ed, you got a bite."

"What?"

He looked up. Bob walked toward him.

"You had a bite. Your rod was just about touching the ice. Looks like he's gone now. Must have been a nice fish. Too bad."

Ed looked down at his rod. He reached down and picked it up and reeled in the line. He stood up, brushed off the snow. The jig had been stripped clean.

"Looks like the storm blew nearly everybody off the ice."

Ed looked up. He could see across the reservoir. It had pretty well stopped snowing; the wind was down too. In the hour the storm had lasted, most of the fishermen had left, some still making their way to their cars and trucks, lines of dark forms against the snow, men afraid they would lose their sense of direction, wander in circles through the night, until they fell exhausted, although the reservoir wasn't that big. Yet the fear was there when you couldn't see ten feet in front of you. Or perhaps they merely feared the wind.

The clouds hung low, obscuring the surrounding hills and mountains, all the upper and lower worlds turned grey.

Ed turned in the chair and looked out toward the island. The lone fisherman was still there. He was the only fisherman by the island now. The storm hadn't scared him. The red fisherman was gone.

The roads would not be snow-packed yet. The snow squall hadn't lasted that long. Ed heard a raven croaking; he turned but he couldn't see it. He pulled his hand out of his pocket to look at his watch.

"We've still got an hour if you want to stay, Bob."

"Might as well. Who knows when we'll be back. It's getting colder, but it's not bad."

Bob turned and walked back to his chair.

Ed watched Bob and then he baited his jig and sat back down. He leaned forward to dip out the hole.

He turned to look at Bob hunched down in his chair.

He turned again in his chair. There wasn't a fisherman within five hundred yards of where he sat. Far out on the ice toward the island one lone fisherman moved toward them pulling a sled. Ed watched him come. It was the lone island fisherman, the figure slowly growing larger and darker. Ed wondered what kind of a day he'd had. He was leaving early. He would pass fairly close by them.

Ed looked down at his rod. He hadn't had a bite for nearly an hour. It would soon be time to leave. They needed to get out of Spanish Fork Canyon before it got dark. He knew that it would be a quiet drive home. He and Bob would not talk about what a great day they'd had. Before, the three of them had always finished their lunches driving back, joked, told stories, already making plans for the next trip, anticipating that repeated pleasure. Driving back there would be no anticipation now. Neither one of them would say anything about the next trip. They didn't have to.

Ed wanted one more bite before they left. He wanted to feel that pleasure one more time before they left.

He stood up and walked out from the hole to urinate, and then came back and sat down again. Ed watched the end of his rod. He felt the first flakes of snow against his face. The snow was starting again, the clouds dropping.

He turned. The lone fisherman angled off the trail toward them. Ed watched him.

The fisherman stopped.

"Hello, Ed."

"Hello." Ed leaned forward in his chair to try to identify the fisherman. He didn't recognize the voice. The face was hard to see because of the scarf pulled up around the chin and the hat earflaps pulled down low.

"It's Wade Clark."

"Oh, Wade, I didn't recognize you." Ed stood up. Wade had run the maintenance department at the plant; he'd retired that fall. "I didn't know you were an ice fisherman."

"Oh, I just started this year. It's very peaceful up here. That's Bob Ward over there isn't it?"

"Yes, that's Bob."

"Nice guy. Les Johnson used to fish with you didn't he?"

"Yes, he did."

"Too bad about Les. Heck of a nice guy. He said you fished together."

"Yes, he was. How was the fishing over by the island?"

"Good. I don't think I caught a fish under two pounds."

"Good for you. It's a little far for me and Bob."

"Oh, it isn't so bad if you take it slow and get on a snowmobile track."

"We've fished it, but could never find where the big ones were."

"They're out there. I had an uncle that told me where to fish. He used to fish Scofield a lot. Dead now." Wade Clark tightened into his sled rope and then turned. "Les really was a heck of a nice guy. Easy guy to talk to."

"Yes, he was."

Ed watched Wade stop to talk to Bob, then continue through the falling snow on toward their two trucks still parked at the edge of the reservoir.

Ed sat back down. He watched Wade move up the side road to his truck. He'd parked on the main road, too. Ed watched him load his stuff in the back of his truck and drive out. He honked as he left, and both Ed and Bob waved.

Ed sat back down. He looked over toward the island. Fishermen who knew where the best spots were usually didn't spread the word.

The snow was getting heavier. It was the main storm. Bob came over.

"About time to pack it in I guess, Ed."

"I suppose."

"You know Wade Clark?"

"A little."

"Seems like a nice guy. Easy to talk to."

"Seems like it. Sounds like he knows how to fish the island."

"That's what he said. Big fish. Said the walk's not so bad if you take it slow. He comes every Saturday. Said we ought to try it."

"Did he?" Ed stood for a moment to look back out over the frozen reservoir. The snow would cover all the holes. When they came back, it would all look new and clean, as if no fishermen had ever been there. The wind had picked up again. The main storm was coming.

Ed looked down at his rod. The end of the rod dipped. He reached down for it, feeling the pleasure again, setting the hook, the fish pulling hard, the last fish of the day.

Later, driving down Spanish Fork Canyon, Ed got behind a big semi all the way. He just stayed back far enough so they didn't catch the spray. If the semi hit a deer, the driver wouldn't stop. Ed didn't turn on the radio because he didn't want to hear the score on the game. They got out of the canyon just as it began to turn dark.

Ed dropped Bob off.

"See you next Saturday, Bob?"

"Yes, I think so."

When Ed got home, Beth told him to go up and take a hot bath and she would have his supper ready. He smelled fresh pies.

"The game's all taped and ready."

He could tell by her voice that the Y had won. But that was okay; he still didn't know the final score. He kissed Beth on the cheek.

"You are getting romantic. The fishing must have been good. Did you bring me some home?"

"Yes. I'll clean 'em."

Later Ed went upstairs to take his bath. He liked the water deep. He liked to lie back so the water was up to his chin; he covered his face with a washcloth wrung out in the hot water. He liked that feeling of being totally warm. It took the chill out of his bones. The warm washcloth over his face, Ed closed his eyes and slipped down until the water touched his bottom lip.


Joel Smith

Being Joseph Smith

The Sword of Laban: Joseph Smith, Jr., and the Dissociated Mind, by William D. Morain (Washington, D.C.: American Psychiatric Press, 1998), 246 pp., $31.95
Inside the Mind of Joseph Smith: Psychobiography and the Book of Mormon, by Robert D. Anderson (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1999), 263 pp., $19.95

Reviewed by Janet Brigham, research psychologist, SRI International, Menlo Park, California.

New York Times reviewer Christopher Lasch, reviewing Erik Erikson's psychobiography of Mahatma Gandhi in 1969, wrote: "Erikson understands that to reduce illustrious men to their symptoms explains everything except the one thing that most needs to be explained—their greatness itself" (*New York Times*, 14 September 1969). The standard that Erikson set in *Gandhi's Truth* has been difficult for others to match, due in part to Erikson's groundbreaking re-inventions and applications of psychodynamic theory.

Few pianists can play like Liszt, yet playing Liszt's music is a worthy endeavor for pianists, if sometimes a frustrating exercise. Similarly, few psychological theorists can achieve insights parallel to those of masters such as Erikson; the question, then, is whether others should try the same endeavor. Is engaging in Erikson-like life analysis a benign task, analogous to an amateur pianist attempting Liszt? Or is it dangerous, like an amateur attempting brain surgery?

Two authors recently have applied psychohistorical techniques to Joseph Smith. Though both authors use similar tools, they take differing approaches, and the books vary in tone and in conclusion. Both attempt to crawl inside Joseph Smith's psyche to explain Joseph's behaviors and beliefs. Everything from Joseph's sexual behaviors to the manifest content of scriptures and spiritual events he recorded are fair game in the hands of authors William D. Morain (*The Sword of Laban: Joseph Smith, Jr., and the Dissociated Mind*) and Robert D. Anderson (*Inside the Mind of Joseph Smith: Psychobiography and the Book of Mormon*).

For Morain, being inside Joseph Smith involves analyzing a traumatic incident from Joseph's childhood and applying it to the remainder of his life. Morain focuses on the familiar account of young Joseph's leg surgery, followed by a period in which he was sent away to recover in the care of relatives before returning home. Morain dissects the particulars of the events and seeks evidence of repetition of those elements throughout Joseph's life. For example, the surgeon's knife morphs throughout Joseph's life into the sword of Laban.

The inner world of the Joseph that Morain describes is dark and driven, with the one traumatic childhood event pervading all other meaningful activities and purposes in Joseph's life.

In Morain's analysis, the childhood trauma tossed and tumbled Joseph's psyche like a leaf in a hurricane; Joseph is seen as having few inner resources. The assumptions that Joseph was emotionally fragile and was emotionally wounded form the core of Morain's argument, which is equivalent to describing Joseph as the sum of his failings. In Morain's view, Joseph existed to endlessly relive his childhood trauma.

It is hard to see how this depiction of Joseph matches the image of the man who attracted thousands to a new religion. Joseph was, by many accounts, charismatic and attractive. Morain's description leaves Joseph as what Jung would call Shadow, not as a man merely striving and struggling with conflicts. Morain sees no positive life force within Joseph. He assumes from the outset that this event was "tragic" and that Joseph exhibited "psychopathological patterns" and "bizarre behavior" (xxiv). Morain considers Joseph's adult behaviors as "adult symptoms arising out of his personal horrors" (xxiv). He claims that Joseph was "driven by powerful inner forces that neither he nor those around him could understand or control" (2). He asserts: "No subsequent event could have engendered even a small fraction of the impact on his behavior and character that was induced by those events occurring prior to his departure from New England"(7). Morain then follows those assumptions to their conclusions.

In Morain's view, Joseph's life thus was an endless acting out, replay after replay, of the early trauma. The Joseph whom Morain describes virtually becomes the embodiment of the trauma. It is as if Joseph were trapped in some *Star Trek*-like time warp, endlessly repeating his own history but with no chance to work through it or get it right in the succeeding relivings. If Joseph's life were the movie *Groundhog Day*, Joseph would never leave Punxsutawney, Pennsylvania.

This is the stuff of serial killers, perhaps, or of bad plot lines in mediocre murder mysteries. But it is not the stuff of the reportedly cheerful man who organized a church and became a beloved, if controversial, leader. It is not the stuff of real life.

Psychologically, the retelling that Morain attributes to Joseph is a psychological hell, a place of unredeemable misery, of unquenchable thirsts. In reality, few people live out their lives in a twisted replaying of the wrong ending to a bad drama. A more affirming view of life would have us see this replaying as a process or movement toward health.

The author stretches the point imaginatively but unbelievably in his dozens of descriptions of life events that he purports emanated from Joseph's childhood surgery. Among the more far-fetched reasoning is Morain's assertion that Joseph "seems to have developed a genius for getting himself attacked by all-male mobs in reenactments of the original trauma" (38). While the Doctrine & Covenants makes it clear that Joseph did appear to bring a certain amount of grief upon himself, claims such as this seem a distant stretch.

Anderson's explanation of Joseph's mind and behavior makes fewer assumptions and presents them with less rashness. Nonetheless, Anderson is not reluctant to reach conclusions and make judgments. For instance, Anderson writes of the accounts surrounding Joseph's surgery: "As a psychiatrist, I find something troubling in this description. . . . The father, overwhelmed with anxiety, burst into

tears and 'sobbed like a child.' This was not a helpful response at a time of crisis. What the child needed at this moment was not childlike instability in his father, but stability and effectiveness" (26).

Obviously, the extraordinary circumstances triggered an unusual response in Joseph Sr., which may be why it was recorded. Perhaps Joseph Sr.'s empathy with his son's pain was in some way comforting to a young boy who may have felt alone in his pain—we cannot know, nor can we judge.

Anderson's desire to elucidate the unexplainable and wring knowledge from the unknown mars an otherwise unique approach. He examines the Book of Mormon through the lens of Joseph's early experiences and struggles, postulating how Joseph's life colored his explanations of events in the Book of Mormon. Anderson concedes: "I am profoundly aware of how offensive this interpretation may be to devout Mormons." He adds: "This very dark view of Joseph Smith's early infancy and childhood is admittedly extreme speculation, and there is no historical documentation of such emotional deprivation from his mother's history that would justify such furious hatred in the [Mulekite] story" (212).

This reading back is the hallmark of Anderson's approach. He extrapolates from the Book of Mormon to explain what he then assumes must have happened in Joseph's early life. He justifies his approach through the rationale that interpolating elements of the Book of Mormon into Joseph's history may provide the most accurate view possible of Joseph's psyche.

Or not. It could be equally interesting—and perhaps more intellectually challenging—to explain Joseph's inner life without a summary dismissal of all of his claims of divine and revelatory events.

Where Anderson treads on firmer ground is his explanation of projective identification as a framework for understanding the relationship between Joseph and his followers. True, Anderson does explain away supernatural phenomena as having an unconscious basis, but at least he describes a transpersonal process that can explain deep loyalty and connection.

The question remains whether these psychohistories represent benign exercises. Studying the life of Joseph Smith through various lenses is an interesting exercise, but it may not present a rich picture. Psychological theory is still developing and maturing, and the field of psychology remains far from being explained by a grand, unifying theory. Nor has psychology done an adequate job of explaining things that poets and writers explain so much better—love wisdom, patience, tolerance, forgiveness, growth, and epiphany, to name a few. The most respected psychological theorists' explanations of growth and development seem shallow and hollow when matched with Millay's "Renascence" or Cather's *Death Comes for the Archbishop*. But that is understandable; literature is a far older discipline than psychology.

Perhaps the greatest risk in Morain's and Anderson's works is that they make the process of psychological understanding seem too easy. I am reminded of a giant puzzle that my husband assembled this year while recovering from a January malaise. Its border was all black, several pieces deep, consisting of almost identical shapes. As I helped him assemble the border, pieces in the outer layer often seemed to fit together readily; it was only when we attempted to fit in the

second and third rows of black pieces that we realized that the seemingly identical puzzle pieces differed just enough so that the wrong piece kept the inner layers from fitting. Sometimes, the only way to judge whether the correct piece was in place was to see whether the puzzle bulged or remained flat.

Those seeking to understand Joseph through the lens of psychology must remember that, like the surgeon's knife, psychology's power to heal is also its power to destroy. The healing and insightful power of psychology often resides in the practitioner's ability to manage ambiguity, discern subtlety, educate his or her intuition, and excise his or her own arrogance. This is as true of the literary practice of psychology as it is of its practice in the therapy room. C. S. Lewis wrote "the kind of explanation which explains things away may give us something, though at a heavy cost. But you cannot go on 'explaining away' forever: you will find that you have explained explanation itself away. You cannot go on 'seeing through' things forever. The whole point of seeing through something is to see something through it. . . . If you see through everything, then everything is transparent. But a wholly transparent world is an invisible world. To 'see through' all things is the same as not to see."[1] Morain and Anderson present new insight into some of Joseph's more puzzling behaviors. Nonetheless, the presentations are at times disconcerting in their confidence. When they reach the inner layers, does the puzzle bulge? And, more tellingly, do we see Joseph more clearly, or do we merely think that we see through him? And, seeing through him, do we fail to actually see him?

The Life of a Controversial Biographer

Fawn McKay Brodie: A Biographer's Life, by Newell G. Bringhurst (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 350 pp., $29.95.

Reviewed by M. Guy Bishop, Woods Cross, Utah.

WINNER OF THE 1999 "Best Biography Award" from the Mormon History Association, *Fawn McKay Brodie* measures up to the honor. A biographer commonly finds varied reasons for selecting his or her subject. Newell Bringhurst candidly discusses his motivations for researching and writing about Fawn McKay Brodie. "She was born of stalwart Mormon pioneer stock," he notes, "her ancestors having migrated to Utah during the mid-nineteenth century" (xiv). This background is quite similar to Bringhurst's own.

After questioning childhood beliefs during their adolescence, both Brodie and her biographer began drifting away from the faith while attending the University of Utah. Each experienced a sense of despair over what they saw as the seeming "contradictions" of Mormonism. For Brodie, doubt came from years of "meticulous research" into the career of Joseph Smith, which led her to conclude he was a "conscientious imposter"—in

1. C. S. Lewis, *The Abolition of Man* (New York: MacMillan, 1975), 91.

short, a fraud. For her biographer, the Mormon policy of denying LDS priesthood authority to black Americans proved a stumbling block. "Like Brodie, I developed a sense of 'moral outrage' at what I saw as the contradictions and tortured reasoning used to justify Mormonism's now-defunct policy of denying priesthood to blacks," Bringhurst writes (xiv).

As she assumed the path of the life writer, Brodie became influenced by the work of two noted psychologists—Sigmund Freud and Erik Erikson. In fact, she proclaimed that her best-known biography, *Thomas Jefferson: An Intimate History* (1974), was "similar in spirit to Freud's classic study of the psychosexuality of Leonardo Da.Vinci" (3). Similarly, Brodie praised the great psychobiographer Erik Erikson, the author of *Young Man Luther: A Study in Psychoanalysis and History*, as an "authentic genius" (4). Her professional training in psycho-history fused with her Mormon childhood and adolescence in Huntsville, Utah, to shape Brodie, the biographer.

In illuminating the links between Brodie's early life and her later career, Bringhurst is at his analytical best. Reared in a loving, encouraging Latter-day Saint home, Brodie judged her childhood to have been "idyllic" (7). Bringhurst skillfully weaves a narrative of youthful contentment, which came to be troubled by increasing religious disaffection. By the time she enrolled in college, Brodie's alienation from Mormonism had become full-blown.

Bringhurst convincingly shows that Brodie's growing break with Mormon beliefs may well have been linked to her maternal grandmother, Flora Brimhall, whose dislike of polygamy may have led to Brodie's own discontent (14). Hence her later attack on Joseph Smith and plural marriage in her first biography, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith* (1945). Students of Mormon history will have at least a passing familiarity with *No Man Knows My History*, the publication of which sparked an instant, usually negative, reaction in Mormon circles, leading eventually to Brodie's excommunication for apostasy in June 1946.

Biographies of Thaddeus Stevens, Richard Burton, Thomas Jefferson, and Richard Nixon followed, each as controversial as the last. *Thaddeus Stevens: Scourge of the South* (1959) tackled touchy questions of the reconstruction of the post-Civil War South. Following a "long, arduous process," the book enjoyed only "limited [commercial] success" (151). This disappointment was offset for the author by the praise heaped upon the book by reviewers. The *Washington Post*, for example, called it an "exceptional" study "filled with insight" (151).

After *Thaddeus Stevens* came *The Devil Drives: A Life of Sir Richard Burton*. This biography of the eccentric nineteenth-century English explorer was published in 1967. While researching and writing an introduction for a new edition of Burton's 1862 travel narrative, *The City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains to California*, in 1964, Brodie quickly found herself "lost" in the man's life (165). For Brodie, this book proved a joy to write.

Her *Thomas Jefferson: An Intimate History* (1974) truly launched a firestorm of debate among American historians. In many ways the response was comparable (on a larger scale) to the furor among Mormons over *No Man Knows My History*. In the Jefferson biography, Brodie unflinchingly tackled the topic of Jefferson's sexual affair with his slave mistress, Sally Hemings, as she had earlier done with Joseph Smith and polygamy.

This ultimately became Brodie's best-known biography. It was, without a doubt, her most popular work, appearing on the *New York Times* best-seller list for thirteen weeks. Never intending to look at Jefferson's entire life, Brodie instead concentrated on the private man. To Brodie, the psychobiographer, Jefferson was "trapped by a fundamental dilemma": if he freed his slaves, in conformity with his conscience, then he feared he would lose his love, Hemings. According to Bringhurst, Brodie's frank treatment of this liaison was "especially timely given the state of American society during the late 1960s" (186).

While eminent Jefferson scholars "predictably" had a negative response to *Thomas Jefferson*, the "intense controversy" generated by the book brought strong sales, thus giving Brodie the final victory. *Thomas Jefferson* "sold eighty thousand copies during its first year of publication" (219). Interestingly, recent DNA testing of Hemings's descendants seems to vindicate Brodie's once-disputed assertions.

Her final biography *Richard Nixon: The Shaping of His Character* (1981) was, in many ways, Brodie's most difficult biography to write. Personally, she "despised" Nixon as an "aberration in the American democratic process" (225). In addition to the time-consuming Nixon project, Brodie was burdened by family and personal problems during the 1970s. In November 1977, Fawn's husband, Bernard, was diagnosed with cancer. His condition rapidly worsened, and in July 1978 he was hospitalized. While she admitted that it was "not an easy marriage," the couple drew strength from their differences (235). The day after Thanksgiving 1978, Bernard Brodie died. She found his loss a heavy weight to bear. "I didn't know how much I depended on him," she later confided to fellow Mormon historian Jan Shipps (237).

Two years later, as she was finishing her biography of Nixon, Fawn Brodie learned of her own cancer. Reflecting upon her condition, Brodie rather openly noted, "I have not been promised a long life, unless God is more compassionate than I have been in recent years led to believe" (250). As death neared, Brodie "found herself embroiled in one final controversy," according to Bringhurst. When her brother, Thomas McKay, visited her in the hospital, he was surprised when Fawn blurted out: "Oh, Tommy, Tommy, give me a blessing" (255). He blessed her.

Within days of this unforeseen request, Brodie felt, in the author's words, "the need to issue a public statement clarifying her motives." On 31 December 1980, less than two weeks before she died (10 January 1981), Brodie released a statement attempting to explain her behavior by the fact that her own father had given such blessings for comfort in her childhood home. She did not wish this act to be seen as asking "to be taken back into the [Mormon] church at that moment. I strictly repudiate [this] and would for all time" (255–56).

This biography has few flaws. One could possibly accuse the author of seeing himself a bit too much in Brodie's life. But even that might be an unfair accusation. It is clear that he wrestled, in a solid scholarly manner, with the reasons behind Brodie's plea for a priesthood blessing. He finally concludes that while Brodie "was clearly repelled by Mormonism per se," still she was "paradoxically attracted" to certain features of the faith. While Fawn McKay Brodie may have "hated" Mormonism, in the end "she couldn't shake it" (257).

Missionary Roots of Change

What E'er Thou Art, Act Well Thy Part: The Missionary Diaries of David O. Mckay, edited by Stan Larson and Patricia Larson (Salt Lake City: Blue Ribbon Books, 1999), 353 pp., $24.95

Reviewed by Frederick S. Buchanan, Emeritus Professor of Educational Studies, University of Utah.

IN THE CENTURY since twenty-five-year-old David Oman McKay made his last formal entry in his missionary diary in Glasgow, Scotland, Mormonism has metamorphosed from a small religious group centered in Utah's Wasatch Front to a church with truly international dimensions. Indeed, while the main challenge of the nineteenth century might have been keeping diversity out of the church, the challenge today might well be learning how to cope with invited diversity. Ironic though it might be, Salt Lake City's Olympic motto—"The World is Welcome Here"—is a reflection of Mormonism's shift from an exclusive to an inclusive institution. These missionary diaries of the man who was at the helm as the church began to shed its Utah patina in the 1950s give insight into the ideals, principles, and practical experiences which shaped him and which, in turn, played a significant role in shaping the church he led for almost twenty years.

As an apostle and as president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, McKay bestowed upon the Mormon people a rich legacy of religious faith, commitment, sensitivity, tolerance, and idealism. His diaries as a missionary, president of the Scottish Conference, and church emigration agent clearly demonstrate the beginnings of these traits. They also reveal the extent to which his service in the industrial environs of Glasgow was probably a crucial proving ground for his future leadership of the church. The ease with which he related to non-Mormons, his use of Scottish dialect, his references to Scottish history, and his enjoyment of the theater (albeit with some guilt) reveal the young McKay to have been a person of considerable cultural breadth and tolerance—traits indispensable for the international expansion of the Mormon church which began under his leadership.

These insightful and eloquently written diaries show how, as president of the Scottish Conference, he dealt with infighting and jealousy between local leaders and strident opposition from anti-Mormons with patience, firmness, and tact. Frequently frustrated by the small-mindedness of local leaders, he never resorted to excommunication as a means of disciplining wayward members unless personal moral issues were involved. In his words, he was determined to "continue in a course of kindness, yet using a firm hand" (193). By disposition and training, McKay was inclusive rather than exclusive; he was, after all, a consummate teacher, a profession that demands inclusivity. On a number of occasions when the actions of recalcitrant and troublesome members had been questioned, McKay concluded his accounts of meetings to consider their cases by reporting that it was decided to give them a second chance. Such episodes surely must have tried his patience severely, but no bitterness nor animosity show through. His maturity of spirit and willingness to overlook persistent pettiness served him and the church a

half-century later. During his administration many came to see the gospel as the gospel of the second chance.

Central Scotland with its coalmines and blast furnaces was, of course, light years away from the idyllic Ogden Valley of his youth. However, young McKay learned important lessons in the workshop of the British Empire when he came face to face with some of the perplexing problems of industrialism: poverty, drunkenness, disease, family disintegration, and spousal abuse. This is not to say that every entry is an insightful commentary on gospel principles or a remark of historical relevance—even McKay's diaries have their share of the generic "got up—did tracting—went to bed" entries. However, when he set about making an observation, he did so with precision and eloquence. His exposure to literature and history is readily apparent, and one comes away from these diaries wishing that today's missionaries had such a rich background for playing their role as emissaries of the Kingdom. It is no accident that McKay took to heart the words carved in Stirling sandstone: "What e'er thou art, act well thy part." He perceived himself as playing a serious role in life's drama, and his diaries display the sense of earnestness with which he took his assignment. It is also quite clear that he relished opportunities to debate and to engage others in serious discussion of gospel principles. He undoubtedly would have had a difficult time teaching the gospel using a predetermined set of questions and responses. But then he had a rich background and a mature perspective to draw upon. Absent this, the systematized "Elder Smith, meet Mr. Brown" approach used by less prepared missionaries since the 1950's has perhaps been necessary.

Of course, McKay recorded gloomy feelings of discouragement and even depression on occasion, but the gloom is frequently dispelled by a glint of the famous McKay wit, which shines through even the murkiest Scottish mist or the impenetrable stubbornness which he found in many local leaders. His attempts to sing at street meetings with his companions gave rise to gentle, self-deprecating humor. McKay was also very honest in expressing vehement dislike of tracting (did any missionary ever enjoy it?). He was particularly depressed by the task of distributing tracts just as word came that the United States had gone to war with Spain. On April 6, 1898, he noted in his diary, "McKinley's message will mean war [with Spain]," and added, "I believe I would as lief fight as distribute tracts!" (85).

He was not immune from thinking critically about some aspects of church history. When informed that an early convert had abandoned her husband in order to gather with the Saints in Utah, he observed, "Many queer circumstances happened in the early part of this church" (180). Given his commitment to family unity, it is doubtful that he would have condoned the breaking up of families even to fulfill the call of the gathering.

The manner in which these diaries are presented is a template for the publication of future journals. The footnotes are a rich gold mine of biographical information about the missionaries and members with whom he worked. Collateral diaries are used to tease out some of McKay's meanings and to give additional depth to events he records. In addition, the book contains perceptive interpretive essays by Marion D. Hanks, Leonard J. Arrington, and Eugene England, which help to place McKay into historical context. Not only a window into Mormon missionary history, these diaries also contribute in-

sights into the social and religious history of Scotland as viewed by an American Mormon. Appropriately, McKay titled the bound volume of the diaries covering the period January 1, 1898, to July 1899, "A Few Happenings of My Daily Life in Scotland, 1898–1899."

In a day in which it is too easy to centralize and correlate Mormon history (my own mission to the Sheffield and Scottish districts of the British Mission in 1951–53 is now listed in membership records as the "England Mission"!), it is gratifying that McKay's reflections have preserved a slice of Mormon history with a rich layer of local color. The text of the diaries—with their frequent literary allusions and use of Scottish dialect—holds the reader's attention throughout. In addition, the editors have included a rich variety of superb black-and-white photographs of Scottish scenes at the turn of the century. Also included is a guide to Scottish words and an excellent index.

While the editing of these diaries is generally admirable, in a few instances some words of explanation about the different offices in the LDS priesthood would have been helpful to the non-Mormon reader. Likewise, when the diaries record that McKay "went through the Temple," a brief explanation would have been appropriate (4). But these are slight oversights and do not detract from the diaries' importance.

The McKay family is to be commended for their willingness to permit these diaries to be published almost verbatim. I say "almost" because the editors note that, in response to family suggestions, two short statements were omitted because "they did not seem relevant" and were replaced with the traditional ellipses (xlii). My historical interest piqued, I examined the original diaries in the Manuscript Division of the University of Utah Marriott Library. The first deletion was found under August 7, 1897 (the date McKay left Ogden on his mission). At that time he recorded that because the train was so crowded, he and three other missionaries gave up their seats to ladies and went into the "smoker," adding: "*Full of Negroes and Dagoes*! Couldn't stand such company, so hired a berth in a sleeper" (4; deleted text in italics). The diary does not indicate why he was offended, but it may have been crude language, boisterous behavior, or even the smoke from cigars, pipes, or cigarettes. Perhaps it is simply the response of a young man coming into contact for the first time with the world outside of Ogden Valley.

The second ellipsis was found under March 30, 1898, at Glasgow. McKay wrote:

> At night went to a concert given by Loudin's Original Fisk Jubillee Singers. We crossed the Atlantic together last August. The audience was small, but the singing was nonetheless excellent. At the close I stepped to the front and shook hands with them. They seemed pleased to see me, and I am sure I was glad to see them. *Although, I do not care much for a negro, still* I have a warm spot in my heart for these beautiful singers (82; deleted text in italics).

Given his enjoyment of the concert, this comment is certainly puzzling, but I am not at all sure that these short statements of a young, relatively provincial elder should have been deleted as irrelevant (was that the criterion applied to other parts of the diaries?). In retrospect, these statements suggest how much real growth occurred in McKay following 1898. Consider, for example, the significant role he played in making the church more inclusive of people other than north-

ern Europeans and in preparing for the removal of the priesthood ban on black men. Ironically, when he wrote about the Jubilee Singers' performance at the religious service on the *S. S. Belgenland* in mid-Atlantic seven months earlier (August 22, 1897), he copied into his journal the chorus of one of their songs, apparently with approval:

> If you want to know a Christian,
> Just watch his acts and walks;
> If you want to know a Christian
> Just listen how he talks (8).

Over twenty-five years later, when McKay was president of the British Mission, the Jubilee Singers were still on his mind when he wrote the essay "Persons and Principles."[1] Here he expanded considerably on his diary entry, describing how some passengers on the ship had made disparaging comments about the "colored" singers and how the singers were deeply hurt by these taunts. However, he added, they showed great self-control in not responding. A few days later one of their soloists sang the song quoted above at the worship service. McKay praised his performance as "a sufficient answer as well as a gentle rebuke to those who in rudeness had given offense." His experience with the Jubilee Singers prompted him to ask, "Of what value are the lofty principles of Christianity if they are not introduced into our daily lives? . . . It is not easy I know, but the true Christian is he who exemplifies in his 'acts' his 'walks' and his 'talks' that which his tongue says he believes."

In the context of his larger life, the off-hand comments in his missionary diary in no way reduce McKay's stature as one of Mormonism's most socially conscientious leaders. They show him to be capable of change and growth. Indeed, McKay may have been thinking of his own earlier responses in 1924 when he asked what good it does to preach brotherhood "and then step from the pulpit to the street and rail against and denounce any who should be included in this Brotherhood." The essay "Principles and Persons" strongly suggests that his experience with the Jubilee Singers on the ship and in Glasgow was an important catalyst in shaping his fundamental conviction that "the potency and power of a church or a religion are largely determined by the way its adherents introduce into practice the tenets and principles advocated." He ended the essay by paraphrasing the song he had heard in 1897:

> If you want to know a "Mormon,"
> Just watch his acts and walks;
> If you want to know a "Mormon,"
> Just listen how he talks.

Far from being irrelevant, the words deleted from the diaries are highly relevant indices of McKay's growth and character. A brief explanation in a footnote, putting his negative comments into perspective would have added to, rather than diminished, the value of these inspiring missionary diaries.

These straightforward, uplifting, thoughtful, and highly literate reflections of a young Mormon missionary at the turn of the twentieth century are a tribute to David O. McKay as a person. They are also a tribute to the missionary system which gave him and thousands of other young Latter-day Saints (then and since) the opportunity, in spite of adversity and human weakness, to act well their roles on life's stage and to grow thereby.

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1. *Millennial Star* 86 (January 31, 1924), 72–74. All quotations from the essay are from p. 72 except the last, "If you want to know a 'Mormon,'" which is from p. 74.

One Well-Wrought Side of the Story

Sagwitch: Shoshone Chieftain, Mormon Elder, 1822–1887, by Scott R. Christensen (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1999), 272 pp., $19.95 paper, $36.95 cloth.

Reviewed by P. Jane Hafen, Associate Professor of English, University of Nevada, Las Vegas.

SCOTT R. CHRISTENSEN has made an auspicious entry into the realm of Mormon history with his book *Sagwitch: Shoshone Chieftain, Mormon Elder, 1822–1887*. Already the volume has won the 1999 Evans Handcart Prize and the Award for the Best First Book in Mormon History from the Mormon History Association. Indeed, the book, developed from Christensen's 1995 M.A. thesis at Utah State University, is a meticulously documented, well-illustrated expansion upon Brigham Madsen's inquiries into nineteenth-century Shoshone history. Christensen often warns that Mormon interactions with Shoshones were hampered by a typical Anglo ethnocentrism. Despite his empathy with his subject and his research efforts, his narrative often falls into the same pitfalls of failing to see issues and events within a larger context.

Christensen begins by establishing a basic cultural and social context for the Northern Shoshone, relying primarily on authoritative secondary sources from Smithsonian publications. Once he launches into the historical narrative of his subject, however, his language becomes tenuous. He often assumes that Sagwitch, because of his tribal authority and prominence, is "probably" or "likely" in attendance at significant events but cannot offer direct evidence (e.g., 16, 18, 45, 101). Christensen also includes information from interviews with Sagwitch's descendants, which he attributes to the repetitive "family traditions" (e.g., 9, 12, 14, 18, 29, 37, 67, 179). Of course, because written documentation of his topic reflects solely Anglo points of view, Christensen is placed in the difficult situation of having to make these assumptions, but this methodology also makes the book less a biographical study, more a regional historical recounting.

Once the narrative moves to the sequence of events leading up to the 1863 Bear River massacre, its documentary evidence is more sound, yet more revealing. Christensen has thoroughly examined and quoted representative contemporary newspaper reports, letters, and records from LDS church archives and Bureau of Indian Affairs records to discuss events in Cache Valley in the 1850s and 1860s. While he tries to remain sympathetic to a Shoshone point of view, however, his narrative shifts its focus from the life of Sagwitch to local history. In recounting events, Christensen slips into the language and point of view of the settlers by referring to the Indians as "troublesome" (38) and as committing "depredations" (30). Although he supports a linguistic shift from Bear River "Battle" to Bear River "Massacre" to describe the mass killing of Shoshone Indians in 1863, he also uses the settlers' description of "massacre" to depict the killing of five white men in 1859 (28).

As thorough as this focused and detailed history of Northern Utah is, it lacks context, particularly in the history of American Indian tribal nations

in the west. For example, the author states that the Bear River massacre "has the ignominious reputation of representing the single greatest loss of Indian lives in battle with whites" (xiii) in the Trans-Mississippi West. The narrative gives the number of dead Indians as "about three hundred," although it later cites official reports numbering the dead between 224 and 235 (xiii, 53). The Bear River events are similar to the more famous, yet unmentioned, Sand Creek massacre of approximately 200 Indians just over a year later in neighboring Colorado, the Washita River massacre of 1868, and the Marias River massacre of 1871. The religious sentiments of some Mormons, who justified the events at Bear River as "intervention of the Almighty" (58), could easily be compared to the historiography of the Puritans, who justified the Pequot massacre in Biblical terms, or to their doctrinal rhetoric of what would later be labeled Manifest Destiny. While the author's purpose is to focus on Sagwitch and the consequence of the Bear River massacre in his life, providing such historical and geographical context would have been helpful.

Likewise, other significant Utah and Mormon historical events connected to American Indians, like the Mountain Meadows massacre (1857) and the "Paiute prophet" (Wovoka or his father, Tavibo, neither named in the text), are also glossed over. The "Corinne Indian Scare" should have been elaborated further in relation to the complex and supposed Indian role at Mountain Meadows, and also the Fetterman Massacre of 1866 where Crazy Horse and his followers killed 80 U. S. soldiers in Wyoming, and other contemporary events in the U. S. west. The roles of Indian agents such as Reverend George W. Dodge, who was assigned to the Northern Shoshone (77), and their religious affiliations are not discussed or considered in the analysis of events. Other United States policies regarding American Indians, such as the Dawes Allotment Act of 1887, surely had an impact on the Northern Shoshone community, but they are not addressed.

Most frustrating is the lack of analysis, despite detailing of chronological events, regarding Sagwitch and the Shoshone relationship with the Mormon church. For the non-Mormon reader, the connection between American Indians and the belief that they are "Lamanites" of the scriptural Book of Mormon needs fuller explanation. Clearly, as Christensen outlines, the initial Mormon attitude toward indigenous peoples generally differed from that of many colonizers of the American West. But the agenda of assimilation in the guise of "civilization" and education, even so far as the belief that Indians could become "white and delightsome," had more in common than not with the mainstream. The Mormons' theological imperatives need to be discussed more explicitly. Christensen offers some religious practices such as healings, dreams, and visions that the nineteenth-century Shoshone may have found in common with Mormons. Nevertheless, the author admits that "it is impossible to know" (84) why Sagwitch and hundreds of Shoshones chose to be baptized into the Mormon church, nor is it clear why Sagwitch and some of his family later became disaffected. Although his descendants offer some speculation, as does Christensen, Sagwitch's voice is conspicuously silent here, as through most of the narrative.

When I, as an American Indian, read this narrative, I recognize the desire of the author to present a balanced

view. However, I am not necessarily part of the "we" of the narrative who interpret events a particular way. Reading *Sagwitch: Shoshone Chieftain, Mormon Elder*, I am aware that this is not the story as the Shoshone historians would tell it or even the story an ethnohistorian would reconstruct.[1] Granted, reconstructing histories from oral traditions when the preponderance of documentation presents a singular point of view can be tremendously challenging, and Christensen has made a valiant effort. In her landmark book, *The Legacy of Conquest*, Patricia Nelson Limerick notes: "Scholars have long been preoccupied with the image of 'the Indian' in the Euro-American mind; now, it is clear, others must make comparable studies of the image of 'the white man' in the Indian mind. In thinking about American Indian history, it has become essential to follow the policy of cautious street crossers: Remember to look both ways."[2] Christensen's book brings one aspect of Mormon history and Indian relations to the intersection.

Good Book about the Good Book

An American Bible: A History of the Good Book in the United States, 1777–1880, by Paul C. Gutjahr (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 256 pp., $40.50

Reviewed by Grant T. Smith, Associate Professor of English, Viterbo University, La Crosse, Wisconsin.

PAUL GUTJAHR, Assistant Professor of English and American Studies at Indiana University, has written an elegant and engaging study of "The Good Book" in America. Readers of *An American Bible: A History of the Good Book in the United States, 1777–1880* enter the surprisingly fascinating world of America's print culture: a world filled with memorable anecdotes, colorful players, lofty motives, and shifting attitudes and practices. It is a world that Gutjahr argues has played a pivotal role in the evolution of the Bible's influence upon American readers since the early 1700s. Indeed, Gutjahr asserts that the reasons for the diminishing role of the Bible in American print culture are found ironically in the very evolution of content and packaging of the Holy Scriptures (3).

In chapter one, "Production," Gutjahr relates the attempts of The American Bible Society to produce and distribute hundreds of thousands of Bibles in the United States. By making the Bible the most accessible written text in America, the society's Board of Managers hoped to ensure the religious and civil well-being of all citizens. However, Gutjahr concludes that the society's attempt to place a Bible in every home brought unintended results—a fragmentation of the American Bible market that eventually led to more than 1,700 editions by competing publishers.

In chapter two, "Packaging," Gut-

1. For an example of this kind of history, see Loretta Fowler's *Arapahoe Politics, 1851–1978* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982).

2. Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: Norton, 1987), 181.

jahr turns his attention to the binding, exterior decoration, color, size, and annotations of the Bible. Chapter two also contains 25 illustrations which support Gutjahr's assertion that in their attempt to clarify meaning and add insights into the biblical text, the publishers of the Bible simultaneously reinforced nineteenth-century cultural attitudes regarding gender, home, and of course the role of "The Good Book" itself.

As more and more editions of the Bible appeared, clerics, scholars, and publishers became concerned with the "purity" and "reliability" of the sacred text. In chapter three, "Purity," Gutjahr discusses the tension publishers felt as each attempted to produce a Bible that retained the sacred voice readers expected to find and yet was also free of typographical errors, inconsistencies, and ambiguities (such as the definition of "baptism"). He describes as well how Biblical translations were as subject to whim, politics, bias, and economics as they were to inspiration. Gutjahr chronicles the debate between the traditional King James Version and the new Revised Version, noting that though the Revised Version attracted only five to ten percent of the market, it still opened the door for Americans to deliberate seriously which core biblical text they would choose for their homes.

In chapter four, "Pedagogy," Gutjahr reveals the conflict between Catholics and Protestants in America as each group attempted to assure that its preferred version of the Bible was placed into their children's classrooms. This conflict, he argues, would "lay the foundation for displacing the Bible as America's most commonly read text by challenging the role of religious sectarianism in the country's public schools" (118).

Mormon readers may find Gutjahr's fifth chapter, "Popularity," the most provocative, for here he devotes seven pages to the Book of Mormon, "the most audacious rendering of Christ's life to appear in the nineteenth century" (151). He asserts that although most nineteenth-century Protestants decried the corrupting influence of fictional writing (as did Brigham Young), those same Protestants paradoxically began to turn to fictional adaptations of biblical stories "as a viable means. . .to become imaginative participants in the Bible's narrative" (147).

Gutjahr cites several sentimental works—including Susan Warner's *The Wide, Wide World*, Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and Lew Wallace's *Ben-Hur*—as examples of nineteenth-century novels that achieved unprecedented popularity because they exposed readers to the values of the Bible within contemporary settings. However, he argues, this continued evolution of "The Good Book" (now into a secular romance) served to diminish further the active role of the Bible in American homes. The family's Bible maintained a site of high visibility in the home, but the parents and children were reading *Ben-Hur* instead because it was easier to understand and more exciting to read.

It is not unreasonable to apply Gutjahr's thesis to the Book of Mormon. Mormon readers may no longer grapple with the core text of the Book of Mormon because, although videos, tapes, and CDs may make the Book of Mormon more accessible, those same media dilute the Book of Mormon narrative. As a child, I read Delta Petersen Neeley's four volumes of the "condensed version" of the Book of Mormon. My children watched *The Living Scriptures: Animated Stories of the Book of Mormon* videos published by J. S. Publishing, Inc. (1992), as well as *Book of Mormon Stories* videos published by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (1978), and they listened to

The Tennis Shoes Adventures by Chris Heimerdinger (1998). I can thus imagine how—in our print, video, audio, and hypertext culture—the Book of Mormon may be following the same path as the Bible.

Mormon readers may find unsettling, however, Gutjahr's inclusion of the Book of Mormon alongside several popular works of nineteenth-century fiction. For although it is true that the absence of biblical formatting in the 1830 edition of the Book of Mormon makes the narrative more seamless and more like a novel, it is also true that the Book of Mormon so differs from *The Wide, Wide World* in tone, style, and content that a discussion of the two works in the same chapter becomes problematic.

Gutjahr assumes that Joseph Smith chose the binding for the Book of Mormon, "imitated" King James English, placed Jesus in the American continent, and represented the Savior as "the ultimate example of moral behavior" (156) with the intent to invoke a sacred authenticity in the text, appeal to readers' nationalism, satisfy readers' curiosity regarding Native American origins, and also provide an "uncorrupted biblical text" that stood as an "answer to a mutilated Gospel record" (153). In making these assumptions, he suggests that Joseph Smith was either a creative artist comparable to Harriet Beecher Stowe or a cunning charlatan passing off fiction as scripture.

As an historian and close reader, Gutjahr demonstrates considerable skills. However, he fails to provide convincing evidence that the conversion appeal of the Book of Mormon lay in its linkage of the Christian Messiah with the American continent (a section that comprises only 29 pages in a book of 531 pages) or its explanation of how American Indians arrived on American shores. Gutjahr fails, for example, to note any of the numerous spiritual conversion testimonies of the Book of Mormon by early members of the church. The Book of Mormon may indeed have been an integral part of a new religious tradition that offered the chance to restore and enjoy Eden-like bliss in the United States (158), but to produce 37 British and American editions by 1880, the Book of Mormon may have been as much a sacred text as a creative romance to be shelved alongside *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

An American Bible belongs in every college and university in the United States. It belongs in the home of anyone interested in the evolution of the Bible in America and the effect the print medium has had on one of the Mormon church's four standard works. Gutjahr's tone is fair; his style is clean and concise; his scholarship is thorough yet accessible. *An American Bible* also belongs in the hands of any individual who has a personal connection with The Bible. I have vivid memories of reading my family's leather-bound copy of the Consolidated Book Publishers' *The Holy Bible, the Good Savior Edition* (1950) and of studying its numerous reproductions of original paintings by J. James Tissot. Gutjahr's text caused me to reflect upon those memories. It caused me to ask why I still cling to my missionary Bible even though the spine is broken and several pages are torn. It caused me to ask tough questions about how the Mormon church is now marketing the Book of Mormon. This is the test of a "good book." Does it allow the reader to enter into the conversation of the text? Gutjahr's study passes the test. As a non-Mormon scholar of Mormonism, Gutjahr should be welcomed to extend his interests and research to Mormon texts and embraced as a scholar whose expertise in cultural studies can only add new insights into a neglected area of American history.

Busing to Kolob

Leaving the Fold: Candid Conversations with Inactive Mormons, by James W. Ure (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1999), 253 pp., $19.95

Reviewed by Maureen (Marnie) E. Leavitt, therapist and court advocate for First Step Project on Domestic Violence & Sexual Assault; research associate, Policy Research on Women & Drugs, School of Social Work, University of Michigan.

YEARS AGO, I visit-taught a single mother of three young boys whose grasp of Mormon doctrine seemed patchy, at best. Our so-called "lessons"—punctuated by frequent smoking breaks—were seldom more than lively recitations regarding her latest live-in partner. Why, I wondered, did she keep plugging away at a religion so at odds with her lifestyle? The answer, when it finally came, was less complicated than I had anticipated: she wanted her kids to attend church, and the Mormon chapel was only a half block north of the bus line.

For her, the choice was obvious. She owned no vehicle. How else was the family going to get to church? Raised with the notion that truth is the be-all and end-all of any religion, this was my first exposure to other reasons for choosing—or not choosing—the Mormon church.

The series of 18 interviews with inactive Mormons in James W. Ure's book, *Leaving the Fold*, forces us to examine our preconceptions about inactivity, to grapple with what it means to be Mormon, and to identify our own relationship to the community.

Ure is an author and journalist who lives and works in Utah Valley where 69 percent of all residents are LDS. According to pollster Dan Jones, 45 percent of the total number of church members in Utah are, by their own accounting, "somewhat active" or "inactive" (xii). Extrapolating from these percentages, there may be as many as 2.5 million inactive Mormons worldwide (xiii). Conventional wisdom has it that the reason for inactivity is very simple: "Mormonism is not an easy religion. Those who can't live it, leave." However, as these interviews demonstrate, the motives behind disengagement are as multi-layered as the personalities themselves.

In the fall of 1996, Ure began with a list of about 75 possible interview subjects, primarily from the Salt Lake valley area. He targeted individuals who were, by his definition, "Jack Mormons"—i.e., formerly active long-term members still on the records of the church who no longer attend regularly nor pay tithing. Roughly six months, 42 interviews, and 800 pages later, he had pared down his selection to the narratives of six women and twelve men for this volume.

As anyone who has ever attempted a formal interview knows, an interview is really a dialogue in disguise—influenced as much by the perspectives and skill of the interviewer as by the insights and storytelling abilities of the respondent. Some interviewees seize up at the sight of a tape-recorder or at the prospect of being publicly identified, as is clearly the case with one—maybe two—of the three anonymous interviews in this compilation (see Business Woman, 57; Civic Worker, 183). However, the remaining interviews are refreshingly candid, as the subtitle promises.

If I were to make any stylistic changes, it would be to encourage greater uniformity of questions across interviews (facilitating qualitative research comparisons) in addition to substituting more open-ended prompts. For example, "Tell me more about that," is a better follow-up than a leading yes/no question such as, "The demands of the church—did they seem rigid to you?" (107). I would also jettison the dedicatory epigraphs heading each chapter; without benefit of the prefatory explanation, they bear no obvious relation to the text.

Like so many of us steeped in Mormonism, Ure appears to have been motivated by guilt. He started this project as a way of working out his feelings regarding his own "less active" status. It is no surprise then that he interviewed his mother, Helen Bowring Ure. In her chapter, as well as in the interview with William Mulder, the author foregrounds his own agenda—"I'm being interviewed by you now. But I'm responding and thinking of my own experience" (36)—suggesting that these two interviews may have been among the earliest in this collection.

An informal poll of male and female readers in the mission field—okay, the four people I knew who, at the time of this review, had finished the book—indicated an overwhelming preference for the Ed Firmage chapter, followed closely by those of Shauna Adix and Ardean Watts. Why did these particular interviewees stand out? "Because," as one reader pointed out, "you can tell that they really had to struggle with their beliefs and they were able to articulate that. Some of those other people, well, you wonder if they ever had testimonies in the first place."

It is true that for many of the respondents, Mormonism appears to have been, from childhood, mostly a way of life—an historical, social, cultural, or tribal/ethnic affiliation. For example, Beth Condie explains that although she was "all those things you are supposed to be when you are raised a Mormon woman. . .basically, I never had a testimony of the church" (122). Scott Burton echoes the comments of others when he says that "the historical and social aspects of Mormonism were interesting and comforting, but as a doctrine, as a belief system, I just never could buy it" (85). For these folks, living the LDS lifestyle was not the core issue.

Even among those who were raised as believers, eventually there came a time when, as Adix says, "It just stopped working for me" (176; see also Murphy, 23, and Watts, 207). Despite being unable to accommodate the orthodoxy, many respondents would identify with Stewart Udall when he describes himself as "my own unique kind of Mormon" (74). Firmage characterizes himself as a member of the Mormon church, as well as a member of the Mormon ethnic group or tribe. But, he continues, "My religious practice is Episcopal, my theology is catholic—small "c"—and my spirituality is a blend of Catholic, Episcopal, Buddhist, and Hindu spirituality, with one huge center—Jesus as Christ" (232–33).

Levi Peterson, who also claims a kind of "tribal" Mormonism, points out the irony of excommunicating true believers such as Lavina Fielding Anderson when Jack Mormons like himself make up a large percentage of the official membership (52). Which brings us back to the questions, "What is a Latter-day Saint anyway?" and "Who gets to decide which of us belong in the fold?" There are those, I'm sure, who would insist that living on the bus line isn't enough.

Intricate, Lucid, Generous

Dancing Naked, by Robert Hodgson Van Wagoner (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1999) 364 pp., $20.95

Reviewed by Neila C. Seshachari, Professor of English, Weber State University, Ogden, Utah.

FEW FIRST NOVELS PUBLISHED in Utah in the last three decades have earned the popularity and notoriety of *Dancing Naked*. When Robert Hodgson Van Wagoner did a "pre-publication" reading from the book at the *Writers@Work* conference in July 1999, all the advance copies were sold out in one evening. After the novel's official release, Van Wagoner did his first reading at Weber State University, his alma mater. The novel sold briskly on that occasion and thereafter during a reception hosted by the English Department where eager fans bought the book in triplicate to give away at Christmas. For days afterward, students and faculty at WSU talked about how amazing, riveting and, above all, daring the book was. Subsequently, when *Dancing Naked* went into a third printing and reached number one on the list of books sold in Utah, I was not surprised.

I was very surprised, however, when I attended the annual conference of the Association for Mormon Letters in February 2000. As usual, in that warm and exhilarating literary gathering, readers and critics especially sought out writers for kudos. The best novels, collections of short fiction, and poetry were discussed, not only in the foyer outside, but inside the auditorium at session-papers as well. The one thing I was acutely aware of by the end of the day was that nobody had mentioned *Dancing Naked* or its author! It was very unusual for the membership of AML to ignore a Mormon writer whose award-winning first novel had become the talk of the town. Was it some unarticulated fear? Or was it plain embarrassment that Van Wagoner had dealt at length with topics that exposed our deepest obsessions bordering on homophobia and moral intolerance?

Dancing Naked has not been a comforting read for most readers though it has been a compelling one. Ours is a society that indulges in make-belief as an antidote to all the genuine and imagined problems in society. If we wish to wipe out certain differences from what we think of as normal human behavior, such as homosexuality in relation to heterosexuality, we pretend that these differences do not exist or that they can and should be cured. Such moral inflexibility has brought a strong streak of intolerance into our thinking and behavior—intolerance of lifestyles, gender behaviors, and family relationships that do not conform to those traditionally held up as exemplary. Van Wagoner, in contrast, is painfully, brutally honest. At the center of *Dancing Naked* is protagonist Terry Walker's intolerance of homosexuality and the psychic wounds inflicted on him by his father for Terry's childhood proclivity for masturbating.

Terry, now a mathematics professor at the University of Utah, is given to writing weekly tirades against homosexuals which appear conveniently disguised as letters to the editor in the city's newspaper. The novel opens

with Terry discovering that his fifteen-year-old son Blake has hanged himself in the bathroom with the shower faucet on full blast and the pages of a magazine featuring a gay couple in ecstasy lying open on the bathroom floor, leaving no doubt as to his sexual orientation. The discovery opens the floodgates of Terry's anger at the disgrace, his sense of betrayal by his son, his memories of his own childhood traumas and guilt inflicted by his father, his early fixation on his mother, his resultant inability to relate to loved ones in his adult life, and finally his grief and recognition of his own role in his son's death. How Terry deals with this tragedy becomes the fascinating unfolding of this novel.

We realize that Terry's father was a cruel, homophobic, and bigoted man, who chastised his son at every opportunity, thus rendering him ineffectual in dealing with human relationships. While growing up, Terry tried desperately to please him, yet hated him passionately. There is even a suggestion that Terry may have married his wife Rayne just to spite his father, since his father was convinced that she, as a gentile, was a bad influence on his son. Rayne is an aggressive wooer. She is genuine but brash, attractive but assertive. And she is a working mother. Award-winning teacher, wife, and mother, she is a liberal, especially when it comes to understanding human nature. Singular in every way, she is disturbing for the average Utah woman to accept as a role model, neither submissive nor feminine enough. Yet she is the one who holds her family together after the death of their son. All these situations add up to one complex world for a young writer to tackle. And Van Wagoner tackles it competently.

Dancing Naked is an extraordinarily well-written first novel. The writer's apprenticeship in writing award-winning short fiction is reflected in a nu' ber of ways: development of character in short situations; enumeration of seemingly little incidents that have colossal repercussions and subtexts; development of vivid scenes that add to the cumulative effect in highlighting the drama and the trauma of life's vicissitudes. Van Wagoner is superb at developing character. Even the two policemen who interrogate ten-year-old Mindy in chapter 2, "Coffin Shopping"—the one with wide hips and the other short, referred to as Hips and Shorter—emerge within their miniscule parts as two very different individuals with distinct personalities.

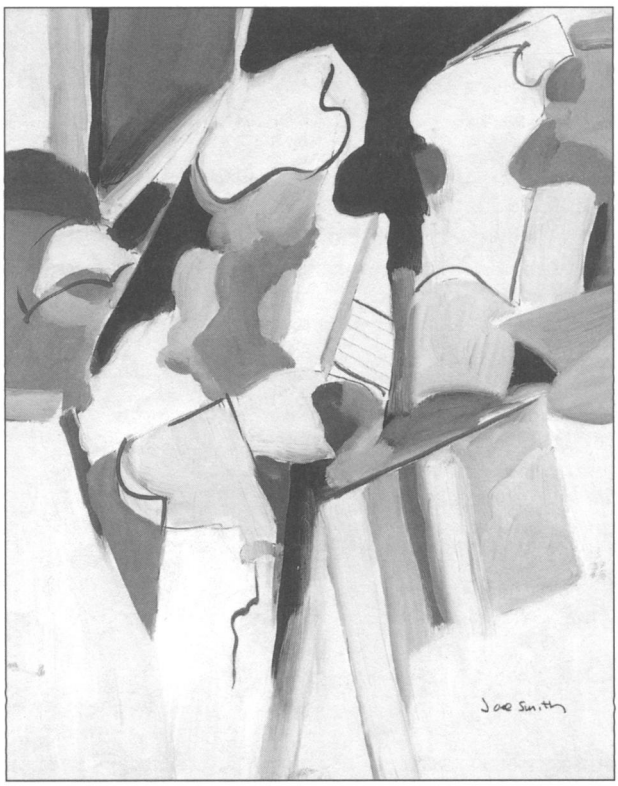
Terry Walker is a very complex character. Van Wagoner excels at fleshing out Terry and simultaneously providing the novel with intellectual and philosophical ballast through a third-person narrative limited to Terry's point of view and to the workings of his mind. The novel ends up spelling out all the essentials of character and psychology, even philosophy, leaving little to the reader's interpretive skills. Not much is left for transactional intuition or imagination. Ordinarily, such an approach may lead to a reader's dissatisfaction. But this does not happen in *Dancing Naked*: the reader's reward is discovering the intricate nuances of Terry's contorted mind that has matured into a recognizable replica of his father's. Terry holds our interest, though not our sympathies always. Van Wagoner exposes Terry's convoluted mind with such eloquent lucidity that the book continues to fascinate the reader even on a second reading.

The narrative technique of *Dancing Naked* is worth noting. Written in the present tense, the narrative slips in

and out of the past tense seamlessly as it swims through Terry's memory, intellectual speculation, and current happenings. We become swimmers in the flux of Terry's mind.

Utah readers who see the novel's close ties to the Mormon belief system may tend to consider it an exclusively Mormon novel. Not true. Van Wagoner's novel is neither an attack on nor a defense of Mormonism. Mormon Utah is simply its milieu. No situation that arises in the novel fails to relate to human predicaments at large or to other people in other states in the country. Terry could have lived in the Bible belt, for instance. *Dancing Naked* is no more only Mormon than any novel by Graham Greene is only Catholic, or any by Philip Roth only Jewish. As a writer, one must flesh out one's fictional world from one's own real world. And despite Van Wagoner's recent move to Washington State, his lifelong immediate world happens to be Mormon Utah. A preoccupation with the novel's implicit local culture may blind us to the literary merits of the book. Michael Cunningham's 1998 Pulitzer Prize-winning novel, *The Hours*, has reminded us anew that good literature often deals with unsettling issues. What we find in all good novels, including *Dancing Naked* and *The Hours*, is the writer's commitment to understanding human nature and to writing about it honestly without malice toward anyone.

Everyone deserves to read *Dancing Naked*.



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DOUGLAS THAYER lives in Provo, Utah, with his wife Donlu and family. He teaches creative writing at BYU. He has published the novel *Summer Fire* and two collections of short stories, *Under the Cottonwoods* and *Mr. Wahlquist in Yellowstone*. He is currently working on other fiction.

ABOUT THE ARTIST

Joel Smith was born in Draper, Utah, in 1929 and grew up in Provo with summers on the family farm in Logandale, Nevada. He attended BYU High School in Provo then earned a degree in Art Practice from Brigham Young University where he studied with Roman Andrus and Brent Larson. He also studied at the Otis Art Institute in Los Angeles, and while earning a Master's degree in Art from the University of California at Berkeley, he resorted to fruit picking, window display, dishwashing, cannery and lumber mill work, social welfare, and insurance investigation to finance his education. Since completing his degree, he has taught life drawing, basic drawing, design, watercolor, and painting at seven universities throughout the U.S. and in Canada. He has been in many exhibitions internationally and his artwork is included in noted museum collections, including among others the museum of Modern Art in New York; Tate Gallery, London; Los Angeles County Museum of Art; National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo; and the National Gallery of Canada. Since he left teaching in 1994, he paints morning, noon, and night in Colchester, Illinois, near Nauvoo where he has his studio. He takes occasional painting trips to southern Utah.

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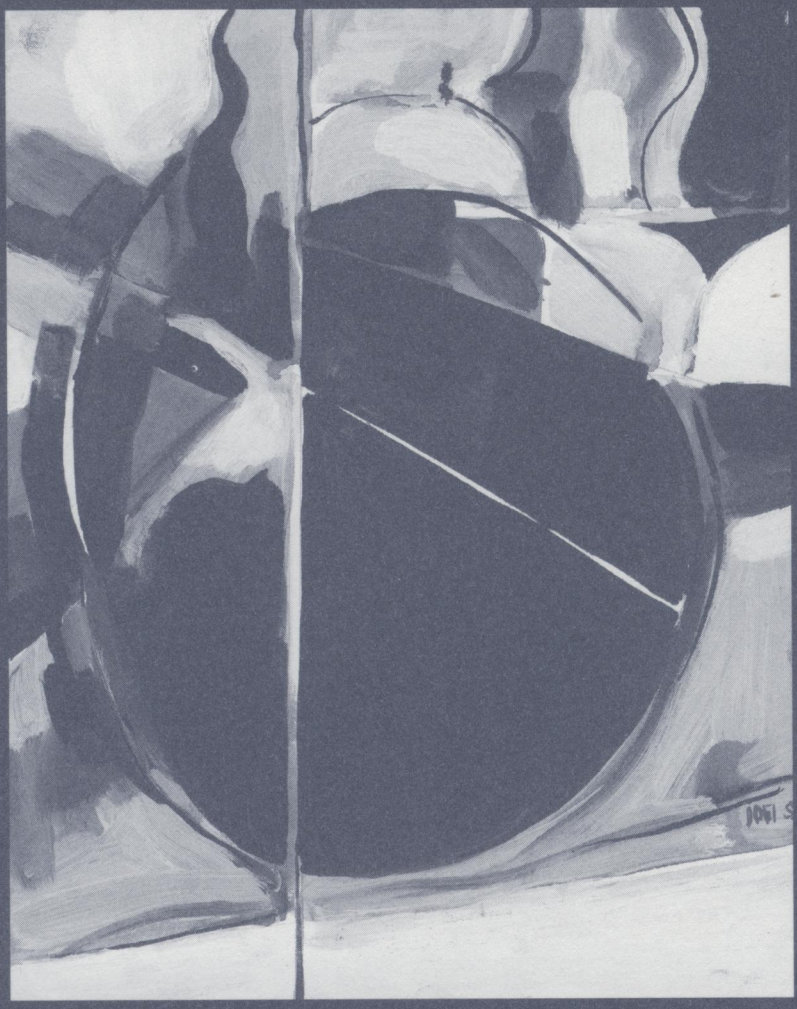

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