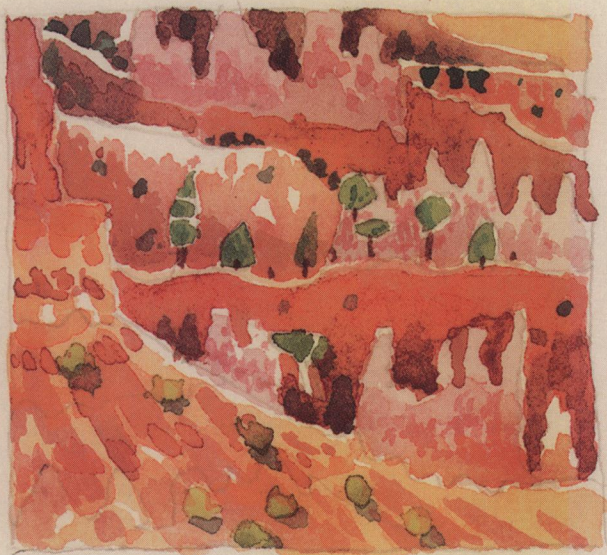


DIALOGUE

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT



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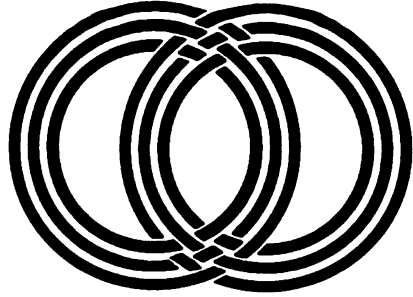
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DIALOGUE

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
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Latter-day Saints or of the editors.*

Contents

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR		v
ARTICLES AND ESSAYS		
A HISTORY OF <i>DIALOGUE</i> , PART THREE: THE UTAH EXPERIENCE, 1982-1989	<i>Devery S. Anderson</i>	1
WHEN THE MORMON CHURCH INVESTED IN SOUTHERN NEVADA GOLD MINES	<i>Leonard J. Arrington and Edward Leo Lyman</i>	73
CORRELATED PRAISE: THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SPANISH HYMNAL	<i>John-Charles Duffy and Hugo Olaiz</i>	89
LIONS, BROTHERS, AND THE IDEA OF AN INDIAN NATION: THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION IN THE MINDS OF ANTHONY W. IVINS AND REY L. PRATT, 1910-1917	<i>Craig Livingston</i>	115
DEFENDING MAGIC: EXPLAINING THE NECESSITY OF ORDINANCES	<i>R. Dennis Potter</i>	139
PERSONAL VOICES		
LAST SUPPER	<i>Stephen Carter</i>	147
SONG OF SHIBLON	<i>Nathan F. Christensen</i>	151
BLOOD SPORTS	<i>Garth N. Jones</i>	157
FICTION		
KEEPSAKES	<i>Steven Cantwell</i>	167
ON FILM		
GOD'S ARMY: WIGGLE ROOM FOR THE MORMON SOUL	<i>David G. Pace</i>	181
POETRY		
ASPIRATION	<i>Ken Raines</i>	72
EVE'S PSALM	<i>Anne Elizabeth Berbert</i>	88
WITHOUT QUESTION	<i>Emma Lou Thayne</i>	114
WEDDING VOWS	<i>Anne Elizabeth Berbert</i>	150

BOOK REVIEWS

AN OTHER MORMON HISTORY *Thomas W. Murphy* 189
Hispanics in the Mormon Zion, 1912-1999
by Jorge Iber

PLURALISM, MORMONISM, AND WORLD *Cherie K. Woodworth* 191
RELIGION *Mormons and Mormonism:*
An Introduction to an American World
Religion, edited by Eric Eliason

CONTRIBUTORS 194

ABOUT THE ARTIST 196

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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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The Board of Directors of the Dialogue Foundation Announces

A CALL FOR EDITORS

to edit *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*

For a 5-Year Term from January 1, 2004 through December 31, 2008

EDITOR'S JOB DESCRIPTION

Organize an editorial team and conduct editorial tasks to produce a high quality, quarterly journal of Mormon thought of approximately 200-300 pages per issue. The editors will interact regularly with scholars and artists in Mormon and religious studies worldwide, soliciting, collecting, editing and preparing for publication manuscripts in the scholarly and literary fields of history, theology and scriptural studies, arts and sciences, personal essays, fiction, poetry, reviews, and letters, among others.

The editors will work within with mission statement of Dialogue, a thirty-seven year old journal, and help sustain its cutting-edge role in influencing and advancing Mormon studies and thought. The editors will work closely with the Board of Directors and Business Manager who will jointly provide resource support as well as editorial and foundation policy. Together, the larger Dialogue team will plan and direct related foundation activities and events such as a celebration of Dialogue's fortieth anniversary. The new editors will work with the current editors for a transition period of several months during which they will learn the tasks needed to produce the journal.

DESIRED QUALIFICATIONS

- Previous experience as an editor, external reviewer or referee for scholarly or literary journals, magazines or books
- General familiarity with the literature of Mormon and religious studies of recent decades
- Commitment to balance, fairness and relevance
- Commitment to spending the time and focused effort needed to publish the journal on time and within budget while maintaining the journal's high level of literary and artistic content
- Two or more letters of recommendation from knowledgeable supporters

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Compensation will be comparable to those of other, similar scholarly and literary journals.

We invite individuals or teams to propose themselves or recommend others.

The search and selection process will be competitive with the best team and editorial proposal being selected. Include in your proposal a suggested editorial team organization and roles chart and your proposed approach and management strategy for accomplishing the work.

The Dialogue Editors Selection Committee will review all proposals.

Proposals should be submitted by January 6, 2003. Editors are expected to be selected by March 31, 2003.

Send inquiries and proposals to Allen Roberts at 130 S. 1300 E. #806, Salt Lake City, Utah 84102; phone (801)-364-3262 , or e-mail: allen@crsarchitects.com

LETTERS

Under One Cover

Your last issue (Vol. 34, No. 1&2) was great. Even though many of the articles you included in the issue can be found easily on CD, it was great having those landmark writings in one issue.

Greg Oman
Bountiful, Utah

Sins of Omission

I have read with interest your introduction to the Commemorative Issue of *Dialogue* (Vol. 34, No. 1&2), celebrating its thirty-five years of vigorous exchanges and expressions among the Mormons and honoring many of the best writers and thinkers. It is nice to have within one volume so many landmark articles and to have the opportunity to relive the impressions they made when they first appeared. Gary Bergera is to be congratulated on what must have been a most difficult task of selection.

You state in your Introduction that such a collection will not satisfy everyone's idea of what has been most important over this third of a century, and this is certainly true in my case. As much as I like the collection (and it would be difficult to decide what to omit from it to make room for some of my choices), I feel it has two glaring omissions—anything by Eugene England, the guiding force of Mormon thought since he helped establish the journal in 1966; and anything of an artistic nature.

In regard to Gene, I can think of many of his pieces that could have been included: "The Possibility of Dialogue: A Personal View," which set the tone for the journal in its first issue, "Are Mormons Christians?" "Blessing the Chevrolet," "Great Books or True Religion? Defining the Mormon Scholar," and "On Fidelity, Polygamy and Celestial Marriage" (which is as much a challenge to Mormon orthodoxy as any of the articles you include). Of course you are devoting a future issue to Gene (see Vol. 35, No. 1), which will be a wonderful tribute to the long light with which he illuminated the work of the journal, but something by him in this collection would have been nice. My personal choice would have been "Blessing the Chevrolet."

Which brings me to my second lament about the collection—the total absence of art, poetry, drama, fiction, scriptural exegesis, literary criticism, and, with a couple of exceptions, personal essays. What I have in mind is such things as Thomas Asplund's "The Heart of My Father," Lowell Bennion's "Carrying Water on Both Shoulders," Wayne Booth's "Art and the Church," Edward Geary's "The Last Days of the Coleville Tabernacle," Karl Keller's "Every Soul Has Its South," Carol C. Hansen's "The Death of a Son," and Laurel Thatcher Ulrich's "Poor Mother"; Bruce Jorgenson's literary criticism; poetry by Robert Christmas, Mary Bradford, Emma Lou Thayne, Karl Sandberg, Linda Sillitoe, Iris Parker Corry, Edward Hart, Clinton Larson, Arthur Henry King, Ronald Wilcox, Timothy Liu, Holly Welker,

and others; fiction by Douglas Thayer, Karen Rosenbaum, Levi Peterson, Brian Evanson, and Michael Fillerup; and art and graphic design of such artists as Trevor Southey, David Willardson, and Kim Whitesides. Such a list is not meant to be definitive but suggestive. It may not be apparent to some *Dialogue* readers that such expressive works represent as much of a contribution to the growth of Mormon culture as historical and doctrinal articles, but in their own way they have been as much a challenge to certain entrenched ideologies as are the expository pieces you include. What is surprising is that you make the case for such expressions in your discussion of mythos and logos and yet your selections almost all come down on the side of logos—thoughtful, rational expositions about Mormon thought and doctrine—at the expense of mythos—imaginative explorations into the lived essence of Mormon culture, those pieces that you identify in your editorial introduction as “stories, histories, and images that address deep emotional and psychological needs.” More than the discursive discussions you include, these “tell us something about the meaning of lives, their ultimate promise and obligation, the way they ought from an eternal perspective to be lived.” Many of these expressions have also had “watershed significance.” As you note, “we can[not] obviate. . . the human need for mythic kinds of knowledge.”

It would be nice if for its fortieth anniversary issue *Dialogue* would issue a volume commemorating the more imaginative expressions that have graced its pages from the beginning. As you note—and as I note in a forthcoming essay on Joseph Smith and the American Renaissance (See *Dialogue* Vol. 35, No. 3)—we need both logos

and mythos to make meaning out of the world.

Robert A. Rees
Brookdale, California

Poet to Poet

I do not know if you allow poetic response to published poetry. The following is my comment to the poem “Love is a delicate chain of moments” by Marilyn Bushman-Carlton published in (Vol. 34, No. 3&4) Fall/Winter 2001, page 165.

A Response To “Love is a delicate chain of moments”

Love laughs at moments set in stone
like buttons seen as love full grown.
It is not what was pictured here
that makes the absent one so dear.

But rather gaps between the day
when love becomes the only way
to make, from moments long since past,
a memory that never lasts

the loss is all there is.

Paul M. Edwards
Independence, Missouri

Christianizing the LDS Church

Please accept our deepest gratitude for the publication of Keith Norman’s fine article “Taking Up the Cross” (Vol. 34, No. 3&4). It lucidly reflects our sentiments about the LDS church’s reluctance to become identified with the widely accepted Christian symbols and rituals. We are aware of the recent changes in several areas that

the church is making to become more readily identified as Christian, such as the changed name emphasis, and the emphasis in church publications more on Christ than Joseph Smith.

Dr. Norman's article expressed our similar thoughts written in a letter to Elder Dallin Oaks which we sent a year or so ago. We expressed in it our hope that "if we increasingly observed the Christian calendar" and "designed [LDS chapels] to look more like sanctuaries, places of worship, rather than mere meeting rooms," people of other faiths would "think of us as fellow members of the Christian community, not members of some erratic 'cult.'"

Thank you for your increasingly important journal. We learn much and receive much joy in reading each issue.

Monroe and Shirley Paxman
Provo, Utah

The "Mormon" Cross

Thanks for publishing Keith Norman's reflections on "Taking Up the Cross" (Vol. 34, No. 3&4). Topics such as the cross and Holy Week clearly show the tensions in a religion that insists on being both Christian *and* peculiar. Although Holy Week has been the object of some enlightened discussions in several Mormon forums (Rees, Sunstone Symposium, 2001, session 264; and Austin *Dialogue*, Vol. 28, No. 4), it does remain alien to Mormon culture, and probably most of us have had the experience at one time or another of attending an Easter Sunday sacrament service where Christ's resurrection was not even mentioned.

The question of the cross as a Mormon symbol is even more intriguing.

Mentioned both in the Book of Mormon and in the Doctrine & Covenants, the cross was rejected early on as Joseph Smith appropriated and developed more idiosyncratic symbols (such as the clasped hands and the all-seeing eye) which, as shown by Allen D. Roberts, were also eventually discarded (*Sunstone*, May 1985). And yet the cross has sometimes reappeared in the places one would least expect it; B. H. Roberts' grave in Centerville, for instance, is adorned with a massive marble cross purchased by the missionaries who served under his direction in the Eastern States Mission. Unlike other religious movements, which often display crucifixes and invite their members to "come to the cross," Mormons are asked only to "endure," "suffer," and "take up" the cross (e.g. 2 Nephi 9:18, Jacob 1:8, and D&C 23:6). For Mormons the cross has usually been a symbol of personal suffering. Robert Rees, for instance, has encouraged single Mormons to "bear their sexual cross gracefully" (*Dialogue*, Vol. 24, No. 4), and Eugene England has stated that the ban on Blacks holding the priesthood was a cross all Mormons had to bear (*Dialogue* Vol. 8, No. 1).

What might the future hold for the cross in Mormonism? The Mormon replica of Thorvaldsen's *Christus*, now prominently displayed on the LDS official website, seems to have recently replaced all other symbols of our faith—even the Angel Moroni. As LDS leaders try harder than ever to present Mormonism as Christian, will they ever dare to reclaim the most universal symbol of the atonement, or will the cross remain only a symbol of personal suffering?

Hugo Olaiz
Salt Lake City, Utah

Which "Abomination" is Yours?

G. Kevin Jones (who I believe was a member of an LDS Gospel doctrine class I once taught) made a good suggestion in *Dialogue*, Fall-Winter 2001. He said I should have included "the most important historical documents, the scriptures" in my article about the LDS church's campaign against same-sex marriage. To support his statement that the "scriptures specifically condemn homosexuality," he first quoted from the Law of Moses the following: "Thou shall not lie with mankind, as with womankind: it is abomination" (Leviticus 18:22).

To be sure that we're talking about the same Hebrew word when we cite references to "abomination" in the King James Version, I consulted Robert Young's *Analytical Concordance to the Bible*, 22nd American edition, pages 6-7. All these "Old Testament" references to "abomination" in the KJV translate the Hebrew word *toebah*, a term that has the same meaning in each usage.

Consider that it is *toebah* (translated as "abominable thing") to eat pork ("swine") or seafood without "fins and scales" (Deut. 14:3, 7-8, also Lev. 11:10-12). It is also "abomination" (*toebah*) when a woman wears "that which pertaineth unto a man" or when a man wears "a woman's garment" (Deut. 22:5). It is "abomination" for a man to remarry a wife he has previously divorced, if she was widowed or divorced by her next husband (Deut. 24:4). It is "abomination" to carve or sculpt "any" image of a human or animal, even if it is not used for worship (Deut. 27:15). It is also "abomination" (*toebah*) to have "a proud look" (Proverbs 6:16-17) or to be "proud in heart" (Proverbs 16:5).

The Apostle Paul insisted that if you have violated one commandment

of the Law of Moses, you are guilty of violating all of its commandments (James 2:10). An official editorial in the LDS church's newspaper on 11 February 1996 also insisted: "homosexual activities and practices are an abomination, not just some 'alternative lifestyle' no better or worse than others." But in the Hebrew Bible, one "abomination" is also "no better or worse than others."

Therefore, it as an "abomination" as serious as a man having sex with "mankind" if a biblical literalist has ever eaten bacon, shrimp, lobster, a ham sandwich, or a sausage pizza. It is an "abomination" of equal gravity if a female has ever worn bluejeans designed for males. It is an "abomination" as serious as male-male sex if a woman has borrowed her husband's shirt or if a male has put his coat around the shoulders of a female who was chilled by the weather. It is the same "abomination" if a male has ever put on a dress for a comic "drag show" in school, in the military, or in an old-time LDS "roadshow."

It is an "abomination" for children to pray that their divorced parents will remarry after their mother has been widowed or divorced by her second husband, and it is an "abomination" if their divorced parents do remarry. Therefore, according to the Law of Moses, it has been an "abomination" for any LDS official to solemnize the remarriage of a previously divorced couple, where the wife had been temporarily married to another man. Likewise, biblical literalists insist that it has been an "abomination" every time a Protestant minister or Jewish rabbi has solemnized a same-sex marriage in recent years.

According to God's ancient commandment (which was not specifically changed in the New Testament or LDS revelations), it has also been an "abom-

ination" as serious as male-male intercourse for Mormon artists to sculpt the statues of Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith, and the Handcart Pioneers on Temple Square in Salt Lake City. In the context of the Law of Moses, the adjacent Seagull Monument is "an abomination" because it invites religious veneration of a carved animal. Because it is sculpted in human form, the statue of the Angel Moroni is an "abomination" towering over LDS temples. Those applications of Deuteronomy are as legitimate as its current use for condemning homosexuality.

And for all biblical literalists, you have committed a secret "abomination" as serious as male-male intercourse if you have ever felt pride in your heart about an achievement in your life. You were guilty of "abomination" if you have ever had "a proud look" when being congratulated for something.

Which "abomination" is yours? According to the New Testament, each of these violations of the Law of Moses is as serious as any of them. Committing one "abomination" listed in the Hebrew Bible is as serious as committing all of these abominations combined. Remember this whenever someone quotes Leviticus or Deuteronomy to claim that "scriptures specifically condemn homosexuality."

D. Michael Quinn
New Haven, Connecticut

Issue Excessive

I am a fairly recent subscriber to *Dialogue*, having been introduced to it by a long time subscriber who generously has allowed me to read old copies.

Your Spring/Summer Thirty-Fifth Anniversary issue was truly fascinat-

ing; however, the current issue, Spring 2002 was a great disappointment. While I am certain that Eugene England was a gifted and talented man, to devote virtually one issue to him seems excessive. My interest in *Dialogue* is the provocative, informative, and challenging articles I have read in the past, not an issue devoted almost entirely to one contemporary individual.

I have a feeling that Eugene England would not have approved of giving this much valuable print space to one individual, himself in particular.

John D. Van der Waal
Prescott, Arizona

Issue Superb

From his place on high, Eugene England looks down on the journal he helped create and sings, "It is good."

The England memorial issue is superb—from its imaginative, poignant cover art, to Clifton Jolley's anguished grief cry. The poetry, the speeches, the articles, the reprints are all mirrors of Gene's genius. Thanks too for all the Virginia Sorensen papers.

Mary L. Bradford
Leesburg, Virginia

The Mathematics of Miracles

In his letter to the editor ("The Problem of Miracles," Vol. 35, No. 1, v-vi), Timothy Griffy decries the apparent arbitrariness of miracles. Specifically, he states, ". . . if God is rational, then we could probably discern such a pattern with miracles. This is certainly not the case. . . miracles, if they occur, seem to be utterly random." (iii)

I for one believe that God is both rational and constant and, therefore, predictable in his behavior. Primitive man no doubt found only chaos in oceanic tides and lunar cycles—we now understand the laws that govern and relate those two phenomena. Similarly, the challenge with miracles lies in delineating the criteria upon which God dispenses his favors. After some reflection, I believe it is possible to employ the statistics of gaming theories to predict the probability of a miracle. Just as in rolling dice or playing blackjack, the chances of achieving a positive outcome are greatly enhanced when the rules of the game are understood. I propose that miracles, too, follow the basic concepts of what is known in mathematics as heuristics and the frequency theory. Consider the following formula:

$$p(M) = \frac{w(I) e(I) T}{d(M)}$$

$p(M)$ represents the probability of a miracle occurring and has a maximum value of 1.0. In other words, if $p(M)$ equals 1, then the miracle will certainly come to pass. If $p(M)$ is 0.5, then the chance of the miracle is about the same as correctly calling the toss of a coin. If $p(M)$ is less than 0.001, then the chance of the miracle is remote indeed.

Now consider the numerators. $w(I)$ refers to the worthiness of the individual involved and has a maximum value of 1.0. The scriptures show that God favors those who live pious lives. Daniel praying in the lions' den is miraculously preserved; despite his fervent supplications for God's help, Korihor meets a miserable end.

$e(I)$ reflects the efforts of the individual involved and again has a maximum value of 1.0. A well-known maxim in the church states that we should pray as if everything depended on God, but work as if everything depended on us. God will not grant miracles without expecting some sacrifice in return.

T represents time, maximum value of 1.0, referring to the cosmic cycle. All millennia are not created equal. Miracles were abundant during Jesus' earthly ministry and will be plentiful again in the last days. If, however, you lived during the Neolithic period, your chances of miraculously outrunning a saber-toothed tiger were slim indeed.

The denominator is also of significance. $d(M)$ reflects the difficulty of a miracle and has a minimum value of 1.0, with no maximum value. (A value of 1.0 would indicate the chance of a set outcome without any divine intervention.) The math then supports the observation that while simple miracles are common, complex miracles are less so. By way of example, God is more likely to banish the vague aches of arthritis ($d(M)$ of close to 1.0) than he is to regrow a severed limb. $d(M)$ for this latter case is apparently infinite, as no documented cases exist.¹ $d(M)$ can also refer to the method that God employs to achieve his miracle. In an example culled from a recent issue of *Dialogue*, if your car breaks down while doing the Lord's work, he is more likely to lead you to a good mechanic than he is to carry you to your destination aloft on the wings of angels.²

Let's test the formula with some real life examples. A recently returned

1. For a more in-depth discussion of this problem, see Carl Sagan, *The Demon-Haunted World* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1996), 234-236.

2. Eugene England, "Blessing the Chevrolet," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 35, no. 1 (Spring 2002):37-41.

missionary with a $w(I)$ value of 0.94 (based on church attendance, frequency of prayers, etc.) sincerely desires to acquire a wife—the one special soul mate with whom he covenanted in the pre-existence. He goes to BYU and dates a different girl every day of the week, for an $e(I)$ score of 0.99. The value for T is difficult to estimate, but exhortations from various church leaders indicate we are in the Latter Days (c.f. the most recent official name of the church), so let's say that T equals 0.97. Finding a spouse at BYU even for the uninspired is not terribly arduous; $d(M)$ for this case is 1.01. Plugging the numbers into the formula, we find that $p(M)$, the probability of our missionary meeting his miracle girl, is 89 per cent. Any Vegas regular would gladly take those odds and usually win, as the number of bridal shops in the Provo/Orem area clearly attests.

A second example: let's say Illinois Governor Thomas Ford (whose nefarious deeds earn him a $w(I)$ of 0.05), while dying of tuberculosis in 1850 (say

a T value of around 0.85^3), sits at home ($e(I)$ equals 0.1) and prays for a miracle cure. Though it is now possible to successfully treat TB, in Ford's day antibiotics had not been discovered, so $d(M)$ in his case equals about 5. Doing the math, $p(M)$ for this long standing foe of Mormonism is 0.00085. And indeed, Ford is dead and buried.

Bruce R. McConkie observed that, "All things are governed by law; nothing is exempt. . . . Once a law has been ordained, it therefore operates automatically; that is, whenever there is compliance with its terms and conditions, the promised results accrue."⁴ I have attempted mathematically to clarify the seeming randomness behind miracles. Time and experience will no doubt show that there are other factors that influence the equation. I believe that, when all is revealed, we will see that there is no arbitrariness at all to God—he simply operates by an arcane set of rules.

Robert Patterson
Roosevelt, Utah

3. Some might argue that the year 1850 deserves as high a T value as 2002. While many miracles were performed in the early church during the active phase of the restoration of the Gospel, the charismatic nature of the church changed dramatically after the death of Joseph Smith in 1847. In fact, some doubted Brigham Young's claim to leadership because he did not possess the same credentials as Smith. See John Quist, "John E. Page: Apostle of Uncertainty," *Mormon Mavericks*, eds. John Sillito and Susan Staker (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2002), 24.

4. Bruce R. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1979), 433.

A History of Dialogue, Part Three: “Coming of Age” in Utah, 1982-1987

Devery S. Anderson

By 1982 *DIALOGUE: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT* had been publishing for sixteen years and had operated at both ends of the U.S. under three different editorships. It was born, flourished for several years, then nearly died before recovering somewhat under the care of its first two editorial teams in California. Then, it rebuilt a dedicated readership under a third group near Washington, D.C.¹

As the Washington team’s numbers began to dwindle toward the end of its six-year tenure, those who remained looked westward for a group to replace them. That *Dialogue* would eventually move to Salt Lake City had always been a likely, although reluctantly faced, possibility. Certainly many supporters resided there, and, as the eastern team began to wane, this seemed like an ideal time to make a home for *Dialogue* where so many might give it the nurturing it required. However, long-time supporters knew that moving *Dialogue* close to LDS church headquarters could prove costly for this journal which had maintained its independence for so long. The words of one subscriber were quite clear: “I regret very much the decision to move the office of the journal to Salt Lake City. I am fearful that it may not be successful in resisting the germ of mediocrity that blights most publications coming from the headquarters of the Church.”² Such fears notwithstanding, and beaming with

1. For the story of these earlier editorships, see Devery S. Anderson, “A History of *Dialogue*, Part One: The Early Years, 1965-1971” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 32, no. 2 (Summer 1999): 15-65, and Anderson, “A History of *Dialogue*, Part Two: Struggle Toward Maturity, 1971-1982” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 33, no. 2 (Summer 2000): 1-96.

2. Judge John T. Vernieu to Mary L. Bradford, 13 August 1982, Dialogue Foundation Collection, ACCN 385, Manuscripts Division, Special Collections, University of Utah Marriott Library, Salt Lake City.

optimism, the outgoing team arranged a transfer to Utah where *Dialogue* stayed for nearly seventeen years. In time, the journal would celebrate both its twentieth and thirtieth anniversaries in Salt Lake. However, despite efficient operations, the journal managed to ruffle ecclesiastical feathers now and then.

As the 1980s dawned, most Mormon intellectuals could no longer imagine life without the independent forums which had become such an integral part of their lives. Gone were the days when thinkers had to go it alone or when the interaction in small groups such as the "Swearing Elders" of the 1950s had been rare treats for independent-minded Mormons who lived in close proximity to one another.³ Although these gatherings were intellectual havens for those few involved, many other Mormons of similar bent, lacking such support, eventually fell by the wayside. By the time *Dialogue* had moved to Utah, Mormon intellectuals had become accustomed to the journal, and a new generation was discovering it. Moreover, the offerings had grown. Since the mid-1970s, *Sunstone* magazine had also appealed to many in the *Dialogue* constituency, and in 1981, Mormon scholars founded Signature Books, increasing the number of outlets for Mormon studies that had been non-existent a decade-and-a-half earlier.⁴ As supporters came to take all this for granted—an indication that these enterprises had established permanence—occasional clashes with conservative LDS church leaders still gave supporters reason to take stock now and then. It was this roller coaster journey that best defines *Dialogue's* Utah sojourn.

V. 1982-1987: In the "City of the Saints"

Dialogue's previous editors have established a tradition of scholarship, literacy, and intellectual inquiry which, we feel, has made unique contributions to Mormon studies. We intend to maintain that tradition.

—Linda K. and L. Jackson Newell to Steven F. Christensen, 12 January 1983

3. The Swearing Elders was a group of Mormon academics who met from 1949-1955 at the University of Utah to discuss theology and philosophy. Among their number were Sterling M. McMurrin, Lowell L. Bennion, O. C. Tanner, Richard D. Poll, T. Edgar Lyon, and Brigham D. Madsen. For the story of this unique group, see Thomas A. Blakely, "The Swearing Elders: The First Generation of Modern Mormon Intellectuals," and Richard D. Poll, "The Swearing Elders: Some Reflections—A Response to Thomas Blakely," both in *Sunstone* 10 (October 1985): 8-17.

4. For a history of *Sunstone*, see Lee Warthen, "History of *Sunstone*, Chapter 1: The Scott Kenney Years, 1974-1978," *Sunstone* 22 (June 1999): 48-61; Lavina Fielding Anderson, "History of *Sunstone*, Chapter 2: Dreams, Dollars, and Dr. Pepper: Allen Roberts-Peggy Fletcher Years," *Sunstone* (May 2000): 44-54; John Sillito, "A 'Most Outrageously Ambitious Project': *The Sunstone Review*, 1981-1984," *Sunstone* (April 2002): 46-55; Martha Sonntag Bradley, "Theological Discussion or Support Group? A History of *Sunstone* Symposiums," *Sunstone* (July 2002): 33-44. More articles on the history of *Sunstone*, bringing the story to the present, will be forthcoming.

I feel that the journal has finally arrived as a fully professional enterprise on a solid financial footing and reliable publication schedule. The quality of the work, furthermore, has remained high and even improved. You've all done just a magnificent job!

—Armand L. Mauss to Linda King Newell, 14 January 1987

In the spring of 1981, Mary Bradford, *Dialogue* editor since 1976, began making preparations to step down from her post. She and her team in Washington, D.C. had worked from the Bradford basement in Arlington, Virginia, for six years. When Bradford began looking for a replacement, nobody on her local staff had the time or inclination to take over the editorship. Given this, she reasoned, the time was right for moving *Dialogue* to Utah. Certainly, among all of the readers and supporters in Salt Lake City or thereabouts, a new team was just waiting to be formed. With this in mind, Bradford and her executive committee made plans to complete a transition by June 1982.⁵

Bradford's first move toward the transfer came in November 1981, when she awoke one morning thinking of Fred Esplin, a Utah supporter and *Dialogue* board member: "It had occurred to me that he had the right talents for finding our successors by the deadline we had set for ourselves." Bradford asked Esplin to put together a transition and finance team consisting of *Dialogue* board members and readers. Esplin responded by doing just that, with the promise that his group would find a successor by the following February.⁶

By late November, the transition team had met twice and accumulated a list of twenty-five potential candidates for the position. Committee members were assigned specific candidates to contact and discuss their interest and abilities.⁷

Three candidates stood out: Linda King Newell, a writer and histo-

5. Mary L. Bradford to the members of the transition/finance team, 13 April 1982, *Dialogue* Collection.

6. Ibid. Those recruited to the transition/marketing team included: Douglas D. Alder, Thomas G. Alexander, Leonard J. Arrington, Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, James L. Clayton, Richard J. Cummings, Jill Mulvay Derr, William E. Dibble, Eugene England, Fred C. Esplin, James L. Farmer, Peggy Fletcher, Bruce Jensen, Clifton Holt Jolley, Randall A. Mackey, Val D. and Maryann Olsen McMurray, Frank McEntire, Allen D. Roberts, Annette Rogers, Gene A. Sessions, George D. Smith, and Paul Swenson (typed copy of "The Transition/Finance/Marketing Team," in *Dialogue* Collection).

7. Those on the initial list of possible candidates were: Dean L. May, Douglas D. Alder, Richard W. Sadler, Levi S. Peterson, Davis Bitton, D. Michael Quinn, L. Jackson Newell, Linda King Newell, Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, Ronald W. Walker, David J. Whittaker, Linda P. Wilcox, Carol Cornwall Madsen, Rebecca Cornwall, Dixie Snow Huefner, Gary James Bergera, Scott G. Kenney, Allen D. Roberts, Lavina Fielding Anderson, Sharon Lee Swenson, Linda Sillitoe, Phyllis Barber, Kent E. Robson, F. Ross Peterson, and Shirlene Pope ("Dialogue Transition Team Meeting, 29 November 1981, Minutes," *Dialogue* Collection).

rian; her husband, L. Jackson Newell, dean of liberal education at the University of Utah; and Lavina Fielding Anderson, former associate editor of the official LDS magazine, the *Ensign*. Committee members approached them individually to determine their interest in taking over the journal. When Maureen Ursenbach Beecher invited Anderson to take the position, Anderson refused outright. Her reasoning was simple: she was busy with her toddler son and wanted to continue to devote her free time to him. Also, she had recently been fired from her position with the *Ensign* for giving a copy of a "delivery text" general conference sermon to *Sunstone*. "[I] felt that this was not a good credential for *Dialogue*." She had also recently begun her own business, Editing Inc., and wanted to be able to focus on building it. "In essence [in accepting the *Dialogue* editorship] I would be postponing any personal career plans for at least five years." Beecher tried unsuccessfully over the next few weeks to persuade Anderson to reconsider, but her answer remained the same.⁸

When Richard and Julie Cummings informally invited Linda and Jack Newell to take over the editorship, they were flattered, but declined. They too, had very good reasons: Jack was awaiting news concerning his possible promotion to full professor at the University of Utah, and Linda was recovering from a recent surgery. However, Linda's most pressing issue was completing her biography of Emma Hale Smith, wife of Mormonism's founder. This project, co-authored with Valeen Tippetts Avery, had been in progress since 1975 and was under contract with Doubleday.⁹

Several months later, however, the Newells received a phone call from Fred Esplin and Randall Mackey, who arranged to meet with them at their home. It was a Sunday, remembers Linda. "They both had suits on, coming two by two like a couple of missionaries."¹⁰ Esplin recalls a similar scene, noting that he and Mackey "set out like a couple of missionaries to 'convert' the Newells."¹¹ The committee had made up their minds. According to Linda, once inside the Newell home "they 'called' us to be the editors. They said that they had made the decision and that

8. Lavina Fielding Anderson to Devery S. Anderson, 5 March 2001. For more on her firing from the *Ensign*, see Lavina Fielding Anderson, "The LDS Intellectual Community and Church Leadership: A Contemporary Chronology," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 26, no. 1 (Spring 1993): 15-17.

9. Lavina Fielding Anderson, "Reflections from Within: A Conversation with Linda King Newell and L. Jackson Newell," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 20, no. 4 (Winter 1987): 19; Linda King and L. Jackson Newell interview, conducted by Devery S. Anderson, 3 November 1994, Salt Lake City. The book referred to was published during the Newells' tenure with *Dialogue*. See Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery, *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1984). The University of Illinois Press released a second edition of the book in 1994.

10. Newell interview.

11. Fred C. Esplin to Devery S. Anderson, 2 March 2001.

we were it." Although Esplin and Mackey left that evening without a commitment, they received a promise from Linda and Jack that they would think it over.¹²

Indeed, the Newells' situation had changed since they had originally been approached, and as a result, they were willing to give the invitation some serious thought. Jack had received his promotion and felt he was now in a position to try something new. For Linda, work on the Emma Smith manuscript was nearing completion.¹³ Taking a week to think it over, the couple spent the evenings walking around the streets of their neighborhood, pondering every aspect. A major concern for both was the well-being of their four children, ranging from elementary to high school age. Linda had not been working outside the home; the work involved in managing *Dialogue* would change that, possibly to full-time.¹⁴

After much deliberation, the Newells agreed to accept the editorship. When Mary Bradford interviewed them on 21 February 1982, the Newells expressed their willingness to serve if Lavina Fielding Anderson would join the team as associate editor.¹⁵ When Linda approached Anderson about this condition, she agreed to come on board in that capacity. Anderson, who often enlisted the Newell children to babysit her young son, had known Linda for several years, and in 1979 had invited her and Valeen Avery to publish an article about Emma Smith in the *Ensign*.¹⁶

After Bradford returned to Virginia and met with her staff, she wrote the Newells on 18 March 1982 to formally offer them the positions, with "the full approbation of my executive committee here." One problem remained, however. Taking charge of *Dialogue* before the end of the summer would be difficult for the Newells because they had already planned a lengthy family vacation for that summer. But as Bradford explained to Anderson, she (Bradford) could not keep the journal past June: "I am

12. Newell interview.

13. Ibid. Later, however, after submitting to Doubleday what they thought was a completed manuscript, the authors learned their job was by no means over. In a letter to Mary Bradford, Linda writes: "By the way, I think I told you that *Emma* is back in our lap. They [the publisher] want us to cut 340 pages—that's a third! It's like killing one of your children" (Linda King Newell to Mary L. Bradford, 29 August 1982, *Dialogue* Collection). As a result, the book would not be published for two more years, appearing in October 1984.

14. Newell interview.

15. Fred Esplin to transition team members, 13 February 1982, *Dialogue* Collection; Mary L. Bradford, "Famous Last Words, or Through the Correspondence Files," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 15, no. 2 (Summer 1982): 20; Anderson, "Reflections from Within," 20.

16. Anderson to Anderson, 5 March 2001. The article became Valeen Tippetts Avery and Linda King Newell, "The Elect Lady: Emma Hale Smith," *Ensign* 9 (September 1979): 64-67. It was the first article on Emma Smith to ever appear in an official church publication.

afraid in talking with my crew here, that if you don't take it, I will be sitting here doing it alone. My secretary is quitting the middle of April. Alice [Pottmyer] is leaving in May. I am sure Lester [Bush] will stick by me, but with all my children and their friends at home for the summer, I am afraid it would just have to slide." Bradford suggested the answer might lie in *Dialogue's* Washington, D.C. BYU intern, Julie Randall.¹⁷ Randall, who had agreed to move back to Utah, was anxious to work with the new team and help them get established.¹⁸ Bradford writes, "She knows most of the process now, is very efficient and nice to work with, and could get the office going until Linda comes in."¹⁹ Even with this promise, the Newells were hesitant to agree on a June takeover. However, Bradford began sending boxes of *Dialogue* files and manuscripts to Salt Lake, forcing an earlier than preferred transition. The remaining supplies came with Bradford as she returned to Utah in May 1983 to attend Mormon History Association meetings in Ogden.²⁰ Jack recalls: "It was not a smooth or happy transition for us, much as we admired and soon came to love Mary Bradford."²¹ Thus, the Newells officially began their tenure on 1 June 1982.

"THIS IS THE RIGHT PLACE"

The Newells' appointment as co-editors of *Dialogue* was announced in their Salt Lake ward. "I have no idea what this is about," said the bishopric counselor to the congregation, "but if Jack and Linda have anything to do with it, then it must be something good."²²

The Newells had subscribed to *Dialogue* from its inception, having first read about the venture in *Time* magazine in 1966.²³ As they read

17. Mary L. Bradford to Lavina Fielding Anderson, 10 March 1982, *Dialogue* Collection. Alice Pottmyer had served Bradford as her publications editor while Lester Bush had served as associate editor.

18. Julie Randall Aldous to Devery S. Anderson, 19 December 2001.

19. Bradford to Anderson, 10 March 1982. In addition to the hectic schedule due to their family vacation, the Newells' summer was also a busy one because of a large number of house guests. As Linda Newell explained to Mary Bradford: "Jack figured out our guest occupancy this August—we had 23 house guests who stayed an average of three nights each. . . . I don't know what we would have done without Julie, but she has just about gone under, too" (Newell to Bradford, 29 August 1982).

Julie Randall Aldous recalls her contribution in helping with the transition as "passing on basic information to keep the journal on schedule & making sure it was in the hands of those who cared about it as well" (Aldous to Anderson).

20. L. Jackson Newell and Linda King Newell to Devery S. Anderson, 18 February 2002; Anderson to Anderson, 5 March 2001.

21. Newell and Newell to Anderson, 18 February 2002.

22. Newell interview.

23. Anderson, "Reflections from Within," 19. See "For Unruffled Believers," *Time* 88 (26 August 1966): 59.

these early issues, their reactions were typical of others who were discovering the journal. Linda explains: "It just really filled a need. I think it was largely responsible for keeping us in the church at that time."²⁴ Linda, who grew up attending church meetings without her parents, and Jack, a convert to Mormonism as a young man, had lived and served in several LDS wards before moving to Salt Lake in 1974. Neither had ever worked with *Dialogue* prior to their editorship although Jack had published an essay in the journal in 1980.²⁵

To help ease the transition, Mary Bradford, Lester Bush, and Alice Pottmyer had prepared a *Dialogue Idiot Book* for the Salt Lake team in order to answer questions and provide complete instructions for producing an issue of the journal.²⁶ However, Anderson found they still had to learn by trial and error: "As the saying goes, 'When you idiot-proof something, someone will always come along and invent a better idiot.'" Anderson remembers that Julie Randall, the transplanted intern from Bradford's team, saved the day early on. "We would have been floundering a lot longer than we did" had it not been for her. "Julie staffed the office, answered phone queries, explained procedures, and was incredibly and unfailingly pleasant and cheerful. Walking into the office was like stepping into sunlight."²⁷

The Newells immediately began to establish an executive committee after accepting the editorship, and the combined talents of the various members helped immensely in covering all of the bases. In addition to the Newells and Anderson, transition team leaders Fred Esplin and Randall Mackey joined the committee. Also, former *Sunstone* editor Allen Roberts was soon added to the team.²⁸ For the next five-and-a-half years, this executive committee met every other Tuesday evening in the Newell home. Roberts recalls the contributions of the committee members:

The important thing is that the new executive committee rallied around the Newells from the first and worked hard to get *Dialogue* off on the right foot from the first issue on. Although the Newells were not experienced at [journal] publishing, Lavina and I were. Moreover, Fred Esplin was experienced

24. Newell interview.

25. Newell and Newell to Anderson, 18 February 2002; Anderson, "Reflections from Within," 19. For Jack's article, see L. Jackson Newell, "Personal Conscience and Priesthood Authority," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 13, no. 4 (Winter 1980): 81-87.

26. This thirty-two-page guide was divided into three sections. Lester Bush wrote the first section, on obtaining manuscripts and organization of issues; Mary Bradford wrote the second section, on editing manuscripts; Alice Pottmyer contributed the third section on subscriptions, publication, and promotion. Bush also provided outlines for several upcoming issues (see *The Dialogue Idiot Book*, typescript, a copy in my possession).

27. Anderson to Anderson, 5 March 2001.

28. Roberts had co-edited *Sunstone* along with Peggy Fletcher in the late 1970s. For the story of their joint editorship, see Anderson, "History of *Sunstone* Chapter 2," 44-54.

and competent at keeping the books and giving good business advice, and Randall Mackey had previous experience with meeting the foundation's legal requirements. Thus the Newells were surrounded by experience. More importantly, the executive committee's chemistry was good and everyone was enthusiastic and worked diligently. This executive committee was one of the finest groups I have ever worked with.²⁹

When the Newells had first contemplated taking over the editorship, one of their foremost concerns was where to house *Dialogue*. Linda recalls: "We decided we did not want it in our basement like Mary Bradford had done in Virginia. For the sake of our children and for our own psychic well-being, it had to be somewhere else."³⁰ Thanks to Allen Roberts, they secured office space quickly. Roberts had asked his friend and neighbor, C. Dean Larsen, for free space in the Boston Building, of which Larsen was part owner. He was happy to provide it.³¹ Lavina Fielding Anderson recalls that the two-room setup, located in downtown Salt Lake City, was at first in "pretty sorry shape although it had wonderful, large, south-facing windows. We had no storage shelves, one battered desk—things like that. Not even a waste basket."³² The team soon joined together in painting the office, and in an effort to make it function effectively, the Newells sent a letter to subscribers asking for donations in the form of crucial office items.³³ Several supporters responded, and soon the needed supplies and furniture made their way to the office. As indicated in a letter to one such donor, the Newells were grateful for the response: "We would like to thank you for the very generous donation of a desk to *Dialogue*. Just as we were beginning to wonder where our associate editor would work, you came through with the desk."³⁴ On 28 July 1982, the *Dialogue* team hosted an open house in the new office, inviting all subscribers to attend.³⁵

The office provided very little extra space, and back issues of *Dialogue* had to be stored elsewhere. Linda explained the temporary solution to Mary Bradford: "The truck load of back issues arrived yesterday and [they] are stored in a neighbor's basement. I don't know if she can take the rest of them when they come but we will see. Once we get them sorted and

29. Allen D. Roberts to Devery S. Anderson, 20 February 2001.

30. Newell interview.

31. Allen D. Roberts to Devery S. Anderson, 25 October 2001.

32. Anderson to Anderson, 5 March 2001.

33. Aldous to Anderson; Linda King Newell and L. Jackson Newell to *Dialogue* Readers, 23 June 1982, *Dialogue* Collection.

34. Linda King Newell and L. Jackson Newell to Ray Phillips, 12 August 1982, *Dialogue* Collection. That same day the Newells also sent a letter of thanks to supporter Gordon Wakefield for his gift of a typewriter.

35. Newell and Newell to *Dialogue* Readers, 23 June 1982.

in some order on shelves we will be able to see how many more we can store there.”³⁶ Twenty years later, Linda remembers that “there were literally tons of back issues that we unpacked and placed on steel shelves that we bought and bolted together. It was a physically as well as mentally demanding task to relocate *Dialogue* in a new city. But volunteers just crawled out of the woodwork to help us.”³⁷ One in particular was G. Kevin Jones, a dynamic young government lawyer packed with enthusiasm for *Dialogue*. After he burst into the Newells’ lives at the open house, they put him in charge of new subscriptions. In that capacity he manned the *Dialogue* table at nearly every Sunstone Symposium and at the annual Mormon History Association meetings. Linda recalls that one executive committee member commented on his proficiency, “He almost sold *me* a subscription and I’m a charter subscriber!” *Dialogue*’s steady increase in readership was due in no small part to Kevin. He had enormous health problems during those years, but still worked hard on behalf of the journal on many fronts—always with praise, encouragement, and sound advice.³⁸

Seven months after moving into the Boston Building, *Dialogue* was forced to move when another tenant decided to expand. Again, Roberts was instrumental in securing space, and as before it came free of charge. The new office would be housed in a building owned by Roberts’s business partner, Wally Cooper, the same building where the firm Wallace N. Cooper, Architects and Associates, operated.³⁹ In addition to office space, this new arrangement allowed *Dialogue* use of the firm’s word processor, photocopy machine (at a small cost per page), conference room, and basement for storage space. In return, *Dialogue* would pay for custodial services for the building and answer phone calls during the secretary’s lunch hour.⁴⁰ Fred Esplin, writing to Cooper to confirm the arrange-

36. Newell to Bradford, 29 August 1982.

37. Newell and Newell to Anderson, 18 February 2002.

38. Linda King Newell to Devery S. Anderson, 13 September 2002.

39. The Cooper building had been built around 1916 and was originally the home of Heysteck Grocery. It later served as a laundromat before Cooper purchased and renovated it. Roberts recalls: “The interior was pretty well trashed and the front facade had been covered with pink concrete block. It was in every respect an ugly and forlorn building. We found an old tax photo and used it to restore the exterior to its original appearance.” Roberts received his architectural license in 1984, mid-way through the Newells’ tenure, and the firm became Cooper/Roberts Architects at that time (Roberts to Anderson, 31 January 2002).

40. Fred C. Esplin to Wallace N. Cooper II, 18 January 1983, *Dialogue* Collection; Allen D. Roberts to Devery S. Anderson, 31 January 2002. Julie Randall Aldous remembers “answering the phones for the architects when their secretary went to lunch. That was sometimes a frustration because I didn’t know what was going on in their office and couldn’t be very helpful. Their offices were upstairs (except for the receptionist desk inside the front door). *Dialogue*’s offices were at the back of the building—past the receptionist desk and down the hall” (Aldous to Anderson).

ments, also promised to respect Roberts's work schedule: "We are aware of the importance of not infringing on Allen Roberts's time during the normal business day and will confine any *Dialogue* business he is part of to the lunch hour or after work."⁴¹ After *Dialogue* moved to the new office in early February, 1983, Roberts did his best to keep Esplin's promise. "Linda and I, and sometimes other staff members, would often have lunch and talk through *Dialogue* concerns, but I never found *Dialogue* to be a major distraction to my architectural work."⁴² The following year, Randall described a happy setting to a former member of Bradford's staff: "If only you could see that *Dialogue* is now run from a very pleasant, professional office, you'd be amazed. . . . Linda Newell is in the office most of the time; Lavina works out of her home. . . . Everyone works hard and tries to keep on schedule."⁴³ Randall recently added: "We didn't have that much interaction [with the architects], and I can't recall any friction."⁴⁴

EARLY ACCOMPLISHMENTS

The Newells decided to make some structural changes in their editorial board. While Bradford's board had included thirty-one members, the Newells announced they would have a much smaller board: "The new editorial board will number only twelve people, serving staggered, three-year terms. Our aim is to work closely with each member of the board of editors, encourage them to play a much more active role in advising us about the journal and seeking manuscripts for consideration."⁴⁵ The Newells found success with this change, yet later modified it somewhat, as Linda recently noted. "We wanted a working editorial board behind us, not an honorary society. . . . [Twelve] is a magic number in Mormonism, of course, but was just a convenient number to us. As time went along, we added a few more members to gain strengths or perspectives we discovered our original group lacked."⁴⁶

Since Jack was busy in a full-time position at the University of Utah, he and Linda agreed that Linda would carry the majority of the *Dialogue* workload. Jack recalls: "From the beginning, the idea was that Linda would manage the day-to-day operation on a part-time salary, and I would join with her on evenings and weekends to share the policy and

41. Esplin to Cooper, 18 January 1983.

42. Roberts to Anderson, 25 October 2001.

43. Julie Randall to Sandy B. Straubhaar, 5 September 1984, *Dialogue* Collection.

44. Aldous to Anderson.

45. Linda King Newell and L. Jackson Newell to Former Members of the Board of Editors, 30 August 1982, *Dialogue* Collection.

46. Newell and Newell to Anderson, 18 February 2002.

decision making responsibilities."⁴⁷ Yet Linda's *Dialogue* duties became a full-time job, which she divided between the office and home: "I wasn't at the office forty hours a week. I'd go in during the morning and tried to be back by the time the kids got home from school—although I didn't always make it. But I never went home without a bag full of stuff to work on when I got there." Still, Linda is quick to acknowledge Jack's crucial role: "I would call Jack several times daily. We'd also talk about *Dialogue* at night and in the morning, and I relied very heavily on his judgement and advice, and so I felt like [the] decisions I made were joint decisions. I think we worked very well as a team." Jack provides more detail on their work relationship, adding that "we shared the reading of manuscripts for serious consideration, public contacts, and talking to the press. . . . We also shared chairing of the meetings of the *Dialogue* editorial team. We thrashed out all of the tough decisions at great length together."⁴⁸ Randall, looking back, sums it up nicely: "Jack and Linda were hard-working, well-grounded, bright, caring people. I was amazed at how much they could accomplish—Jack as a dean & teacher at the University, Linda trying to finish her Emma Smith biography, working at the *Dialogue* office, and taking care of their family."⁴⁹

Other office staff proved essential to a smooth production. In addition to the members of the executive committee, Annie Brewer, a friend of the Newells, came on board as an office assistant while working on her master's degree at the University of Utah. At *Dialogue*, she worked closely with Randall for two years and, as Linda describes it, became "a pleasant part of our office life."⁵⁰ Brewer's brother, Daniel Maryon, later worked with the team in the same capacity for four years. "Dan was wonderful," remembers Linda. "He carried a huge load. He was very reliable, he was there when he was supposed to be, he worked hard, and he was pleasant to work with." And with the addition of other volunteers, "the desks were usually always occupied with someone."⁵¹

47. Ibid.

48. Newell interview.

49. Aldous to Anderson.

50. Linda King Newell and L. Jackson Newell to Devery S. Anderson, 9 September 2002.

51. Newell interview. Maryon, who went on to work for Word Perfect, could no doubt credit *Dialogue* with important training that played a role in his future. Linda Newell explains: "We set up the computer program, and when he first came to *Dialogue* he didn't know how to use a computer. We paid for him to learn, after which he set up our whole system for renewal cycles. He had someone [Linda's sister, Charlene King Kotuku] who would call people after we had sent them all of the renewal notices. He took care of all of the mailings as well as other nitty gritty work, which allowed us to concentrate on working with the authors, the manuscripts, and other types of correspondence" (Ibid.).

Susette Fletcher Green also offered to help after attending the *Dialogue* open house in July 1982. Soon she became what Lavina Fielding Anderson describes as her “right hand,” as part of the editorial staff, and later as an additional associate editor. “Susette was in a class by herself. From the very first, she had a special interest in the technical parts of editing that was pretty unusual. She was very hard-working, very consistent, and serious about deadlines while being so pleasant to work with and talk to.”⁵² After her official hiring as a second associate editor in September 1985, she and Anderson began to split the \$6,500 annual salary provided. “You obviously won’t get rich in this position,” wrote Linda.⁵³ And considering the number of hours involved, Anderson adds, “It probably came out to about 25 cents an hour, but it definitely was the thought that counted.”⁵⁴

Julie Randall stayed on as an editorial assistant until moving to Oregon in 1984 and was the only full-time paid staff member beside Linda.⁵⁵ In addition to her various office duties, she did proofreading and editing, and sent manuscripts to the members of the editorial board as needed. She also ran errands, which included “shuttling manuscripts and galleys to and from” the typesetter.⁵⁶ After her departure, she was replaced for a time by Lisa Aston. Linda Thatcher, who served as book review editor, is also remembered for her dedication to *Dialogue*. Linda describes her as a “quiet worker who did her job without fanfare or prodding.”⁵⁷

At the time *Dialogue* transferred to Utah, the Newells were happy to report that the journal was “debt free and with a substantial file of good manuscripts to publish.”⁵⁸ The Washington team had, in fact, already accepted papers and made tentative plans for the four issues of volume fifteen, as well as the spring issue of volume sixteen even though the Salt Lake team would do final editing on all but the Spring 1982 issue.⁵⁹ That issue, bearing the imprint of the Washington, D.C. team, was not released until mid-summer.⁶⁰

52. Anderson to Anderson, 5 March 2001.

53. Linda King Newell to Susette Fletcher Green, 3 September 1985, *Dialogue* Collection.

54. Anderson to Anderson, 5 March 2001.

55. In 1985, Linda Newell revealed to one potential author that, of *Dialogue*’s \$126,000 annual budget, “about \$40,500 of that pays the salary of two full and three part-time employees” (Linda King Newell to Ernest Pulsipher, 9 May 1985, *Dialogue* Collection). At one point, Randall Mackey tried to cut Julie Randall’s hours in order to save on costs, but Linda insisted she remain full-time (Aldous to Anderson).

56. Aldous to Anderson.

57. Newell to Anderson.

58. Linda King Newell and L. Jackson Newell to Judge John T. Vernieu, 9 August 1982, *Dialogue* Collection.

59. “The *Dialogue* Transfer Timetable,” undated, *Dialogue* Collection, and *Dialogue* *Idiot Book*, 25-29.

60. Newell and Newell to Vernieu.

The Newells kept Bradford's and Bush's original plan, with a few exceptions. For example, a planned issue responding to anti-Mormon arguments, slated for the fall of 1982, was dropped during the transition, according to Bush, because "two of the five principle [sic] papers have fallen through—despite 1½ years of reassurances."⁶¹ One essay for the proposed issue, Marvin S. Hill's "The First Vision Controversy: A Critique and Reconciliation" did appear in Summer 1982, summarizing the various theses advanced to defend or dismiss Joseph Smith's 1820 theophany. Hill's fresh look at the evidence raised the level of discourse in what is considered a classic study. An essay by BYU anthropologist John Sorenson, titled "Digging into the Book of Mormon," originally scheduled for the Summer 1982 issue, was also pulled by the author. Sorenson later published a two-part series with the same title in the *Ensign* in 1984 (discussed later).⁶²

The Newells' first official issue (Summer 1982), released in late September, contained departing essays by Mary Bradford and Lester Bush.⁶³ The following issue (Fall 1982) included an introduction by the Newells. Their essay, "Ongoing Dialogue," spelled out their philosophy and the purpose of the journal: "There are many who believe that faith and scholarship are at cross purposes. We believe this view is flawed." Instead, they declared: "Faith provides ideals by which believers navigate their course. Scholarship, by contrast, helps us to measure our progress with some objectivity. Both are essential to thoughtful people and to the church. Scholarship and faith do different things, but we believe they may both be found in the service of legitimate religion."⁶⁴

Trouble with the typesetter turned the production of their first issue into a "nightmare," as Linda described it.⁶⁵ Nearly two decades later, that memory is still clear in Lavina Fielding Anderson's mind: "We had a very unsatisfactory experience with that typesetter. Each batch of corrections we asked for produced new errors. I remember at one point (this was when slicks had wax stripes on the back that acted as glue) we had so many layers of corrections pasted down that the press complained that it couldn't get all the page in focus at one time." To avoid further disas-

61. *Dialogue Idiot Book*, 25.

62. See John L. Sorenson, "Digging into the Book of Mormon: Our Changing Understanding of Ancient America and its Scripture," *Ensign* 14 (September 1984): 27-36, and *Ensign* 14 (October 1984): 12-22.

63. See Mary L. Bradford, "Famous Last Words, or Through the Correspondence Files," and Lester E. Bush, Jr., "Valedictory," both in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 15, no. 2 (Summer 1982): 11-30.

64. L. Jackson Newell and Linda King Newell, "Ongoing Dialogue," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 15, no. 3 (Autumn 1982): 12.

65. Linda King Newell to Lester E. Bush, 5 October 1982, *Dialogue* Collection.

ter, the team switched to Don Henriksen, a hot-lead artist formerly employed by the University of Utah Press. "Don was a real artist and wonderful to work with because his standards were so high. He used to say that he could tell if he'd hit the wrong key because the rhythm of the slug falling into the slot would be wrong."⁶⁶

To keep any typesetter, of course, the Dialogue Foundation had to have money to pay him. *Dialogue* had always depended on raising funds, and this would not change in Salt Lake. The first fund-raising attempt under the Newells came in August at the 1982 Sunstone Theological Symposium. Linda Newell wrote Mary Bradford of their success there: "We did well on both the sale of back issues and subscriptions."⁶⁷ They also raised money through their annual Christmas fund-raiser, four months later. Through this mass mailing, they secured 203 new subscriptions, fifty-nine gift subscriptions, and received three renewals. The drive, which cost \$3,264 in printing, postage, and labor, brought in a total of \$5,279—a profit of \$2,015.⁶⁸ More importantly, regular donors, such as O. C. Tanner, continued to give generously. Tanner, assuring Linda Newell that he was "aware of the struggle to keep a magazine going," enclosed a check for \$2,500. "While I do not wish to be bound by a promise, I have completed instructions here that I should send \$1,000 each year."⁶⁹ The *Dialogue* prizes, which had been awarded annually for the best articles and poetry published in the journal, had long been supported by grants provided by the Silver Foundation. In July 1983, Linda thanked the Silvers for their most recent check for \$1,000. Three months later, however, Cherry Silver informed the Newells that the 1983 gift would be the last donated for that purpose, as Harold F. Silver, beneficiary of the Foundation, had decided to limit grants for educational purposes only.⁷⁰ Thereafter, it became necessary to adjust the *Dialogue* budget in other ways to continue to fund the awards.

Fund-raising seemed easier now, and Roberts remembers other benefits of being in Utah: "It was handy to have the typesetter, proofreaders, graphic designer, press, binder, staff, and several board members near by. . . . It was also convenient to have easy access to so many Utah authors

66. Anderson to Anderson, 5 March 2001. See also Anderson, "Reflections from Within," 21.

67. Newell to Bradford, 29 August 1982.

68. "1982 Christmas Mailer Income and Expense Summary," undated, *Dialogue* Collection.

69. O. C. Tanner to Linda King Newell, 9 December 1982, *Dialogue* Collection. Tanner continued to give generously to *Dialogue*, later donating \$4,000 in 1984 alone (Obert C. Tanner to Linda King and L. Jackson Newell, 12 November 1984, *Dialogue* Collection).

70. Linda King Newell to Barnard and Cherry Silver, 1 July 1983; Cherry Silver to Linda King Newell, 18 October 1983, both in *Dialogue* Collection; Cherry Silver to Devery S. Anderson, 25 June 2002.

and reviewers, as well as the Salt Lake Sunstone Symposium, Mormon History Association, Association for Mormon Letters, and related gatherings." Roberts also acknowledges that proximity to church headquarters allowed for "intangible, symbolic value to having *Dialogue* in the very shadows of the church center where it can have its finger constantly on the church's pulse and be immediately aware of important LDS developments."⁷¹

While the *Dialogue* team began to enjoy these advantages of moving to Salt Lake, it experienced its share of disadvantages as well. One downside was being in the middle of the Mormon rumor mill. "It was probably the most distasteful part of the job," remembers Linda. "People assumed that, since we were at *Dialogue*, we would be able to confirm or deny any kind of rumor about the church. So people would often call with the rumors and it became quite tiresome." Early on the executive committee made a decision never to pass on any of the rumors that would come their way. Too often, when someone passes on a rumor, "they give it its genesis."⁷² Sometimes, however, these rumors had substance.

THE PETERSEN "INQUISITION"

One disturbing story that made its way into the *Dialogue* office in April 1983 understandably sent a chill through the Mormon intellectual community. During an executive committee meeting, someone announced "that several authors have been called in for worthiness interviews because of an unidentified General Authority letter." With no details beyond that, the committee decided to take no action for the moment, but agreed to "monitor [the] situation closely and console authors who have been confronted. We want to avoid rumors and bad publicity."⁷³ More information came forth by the next meeting of the committee ten days later. Linda Newell reported that "a serious problem may be developing because seven people have been called in by their stake presidents based on a call from a General Authority. If this continues some of the long-term effects could seriously impair *Dialogue*'s growth. Gossip could decrease subscriptions. Fear of losing one's temple recommend might discourage new people from writing for *Dialogue*." The committee also learned at this meeting that the general authority behind the investigations was Apostle Mark E. Petersen.⁷⁴

71. Roberts to Anderson, 25 October 2001.

72. Newell interview.

73. "Dialogue Executive Committee Meeting Minutes," 26 April 1983, *Dialogue* Collection.

74. "Minutes, Dialogue Meeting, Friday, 6 May 1983; 4:15–6:00," *Dialogue* Collection.

The committee debated how to respond. One idea raised was to write a letter to Petersen, but this was rejected immediately. Another possibility was a "campaign to inform the public about *Dialogue* and defuse rumors that it is an anti-Mormon publication." The committee worried that this approach could also backfire: "It is possible that this would be considered a challenge to Church leaders and would direct more negative attention to us."⁷⁵

Soon the news spread that at least fourteen scholars from around the U.S. had been called in to their local leaders, including not only writers who had published in *Dialogue*, but also those who had written for *Sunstone* and the *Seventh East Press* (an independent BYU newspaper founded in 1981, and only recently defunct). Working with Roy W. Doxey, head of Church Correlation, Petersen identified authors whom he found troublesome and sent their names to their local church leaders. These leaders, in turn, would grill them about their worthiness, faithfulness, and their writing.⁷⁶ While some of the writers found the interviews painless, even pleasant, others felt "beaten up."⁷⁷ Among those called in were Lester Bush, Armand L. Mauss, Gary James Bergera, Sissy Warner, David John Buerger, Peggy Fletcher, Scott Faulring, Edward Ashment, Jeffrey Keller, Richard Sherlock, and "three BYU professors," including historians Thomas G. Alexander and Marvin S. Hill.⁷⁸ In many of these cases, local leaders told writers to "write faith promoting stories or their church membership will be in jeopardy." Gary Bergera, who had earlier written for *Dialogue*, was told by his stake president that "what I had written [in the *Seventh East Press*] was anti-Mormon because it wasn't uplifting."⁷⁹

Soon the scope widened, and the Newells found that they, as editors of *Dialogue*, were also being investigated. According to Linda:

A church authority called our bishop, who was out of town, and got the first counselor in the bishopric instead. The next Sunday, when our family went to church, he greeted us on the steps. "Okay, Linda, he said, I want to know

75. Ibid.

76. Robert Gottlieb and Peter Wiley, *America's Saints: The Rise of Mormon Power* (New York: Putnam, 1984), 249.

77. Armand L. Mauss telephone interview, 28 November 1994, conducted by Devery S. Anderson.

78. Sources for the names of those investigated by Petersen are Anderson, "LDS Intellectual Community and Church Leadership," 20-21; Dawn Tracy, "LDS Leader's Challenge Y Professor's Faith," *Provo Daily Herald*, 25 May 1983, 3; and David John Buerger diary, 27 May 1983, box 1, folder 7, David John Buerger Papers, Ms 622, box 1, folder 7, Manuscripts Division, Special Collections, Marriott Library.

79. Dawn Tracy, "LDS Bishops Want 'Faith-Promoting' Articles," *Provo Daily Herald*, 22 May 1983, 3.

what General Board you are being called to serve on!" Truly puzzled, I asked what he was talking about. "Oh, I got a phone call from someone high up who wanted to know if you and Jack were members in good standing. Under his breath he asked someone in the background to hand him 'the file on Linda Newell.' He wanted to know if you and Jack were the same couple that edit *Dialogue*. So I'm sure they are about to call you to some lofty responsibility." We laughed, knowing what the call was really about.⁸⁰

The counselor told the Newells he had given the caller a positive report. Linda recalls: "This brought to my attention how differently we were viewed by those who knew us and those who didn't. Jack was the second counselor in the bishopric at the time." The phone call ended the investigation of the Newells, and they were never asked to speak with their local leaders. The incident did, however, alert the Newells to the fact that the church was keeping a file on them.⁸¹

Another editor, Peggy Fletcher of *Sunstone*, had a similar experience. Her bishop also received a telephone call from someone at church headquarters inquiring about her, which led the bishop at first to assume that an important calling was in the works. He assured the caller that Fletcher was a member in good standing. After the bishop informed Fletcher of the phone call, however, she sought an appointment with First Presidency Counselor Gordon B. Hinckley to discuss the investigation and its impact on her and the writers involved.⁸² At the time, Hinckley was the only functioning member of the presidency.⁸³

The meeting occurred on 17 May 1983. During their meeting, Fletcher asked Hinckley if the church had taken an official position against writing for such publications as *Dialogue* and *Sunstone*. Hinckley denied that it had, but said the Twelve may have approved such a policy without his knowledge. Hinckley also told Fletcher that the matter "is between you and Mark Petersen; there is nothing I can do about it." Concerned about the possibility of bad publicity over the incident, however, Hinckley seemed anxious to keep the matter from appearing in the national press. After Fletcher made it known that *Newsweek*, *Time* and other national publications were aware of the story, she offered to do whatever she could to keep anything from appearing in the press and expressed

80. Newell and Newell to Anderson, 18 February 2002.

81. Ibid.

82. Peggy Fletcher Stack telephone interview, conducted by Devery S. Anderson, 24 June 2002.

83. George Boyd, a brother-in-law of church president Spencer W. Kimball, visited the ailing prophet the following fall and described him as "pretty much incoherent—can't recognize people, etc." First Counselor Marion G. Romney "is in much worse condition," described by Boyd as "senile." See Buerger diary, 13 November 1983, Buerger Papers, box 1, folder 8.

her hope that Hinckley could use his influence to put an end to the investigations. David Buerger, who was aware of the Hinckley-Fletcher meeting, wrote in his diary that evening that, "my impression is that the visit was not very fruitful."⁸⁴

With local media aware of the details, the story "finally hit the fan." Linda explained to a concerned subscriber that "we have, with the help of Peggy, kept it out of the press for nearly a month," but had finally decided to issue a statement "when we knew it was ready to get out."⁸⁵ In a press release, the Newells stated: "We are aware that some Mormon scholars have recently been questioned by (LDS) church authorities about their research, some of which has been published in *Dialogue*. . . . We are gravely concerned that the faith of any Latter-day Saint would be questioned on the basis of his or her commitment to legitimate scholarship."⁸⁶ Stories about the investigations appeared in Utah newspapers between 22 and 26 May 1983.⁸⁷

On Thursday, 26 May, Fletcher told Linda she had heard that Hinckley did address the apostles regarding the investigations. Linda passed the news on to Buerger: "Hinckley said that the intellectuals are to be LEFT ALONE; that they are a valuable asset in the Church, and free inquiry is needed as well. Hinckley specifically noted that Sterling McMurrin and *Dialogue* were to be left alone."⁸⁸ A year later, Fletcher spoke with Buerger directly, giving him the same details that she had earlier given to Linda.⁸⁹ Today, as then, Fletcher maintains that she received this information from a reliable source "close to the Twelve."⁹⁰

Apparently the Apostles listened. One month later, Linda reported the investigations had stopped and added that "Whatever he [Hinckley] said, it seems to have diffused the issue and things have returned to normal. Whatever that means!"⁹¹ However, the press maintained an

84. Buerger diary, 17 May 1983, Buerger Papers, box 1, folder 7; Buerger diary, 24 May 1984, Buerger Papers, box 1 folder 9.

85. Linda Newell to Marjorie Whitman, 23 May 1983, *Dialogue* Collection.

86. Tracy, "LDS Bishops Want 'Faith-Promoting' Articles," 3.

87. In addition to the articles quoted in notes 77 and 78, above, see "Mormon Editors Told to Promote Faith," *Ogden Standard Examiner*, 23 May 1983, 2A; "LDS Church Telling Editors to Use Only 'Faith Promoting' Stories?" *Salt Lake Tribune*, 23 May 1983, 10A; "Several LDS Writers Say Officials Caution Them to Promote the Faith," *Deseret News* 23 May 1983, 2B; "Editor Upset over Efforts to Silence Scholars," *Ogden Standard Examiner* 26 May 1983, 1B; Connie Thornton, "Y Historians, Writers Claim No Pressures from LDS Authorities," *The Daily Universe*, 26 May 1983, 1; "Mormon Brethren Silencing Scholars," *Salt Lake Tribune* 26 May 1983, 4B. See also "Current Events," *Utah Holiday* 12 (August 1983): 77.

88. Buerger diary, 26 May 1983, Buerger Papers, box 1, folder 7.

89. Buerger diary, 24 May 1984.

90. Stack telephone interview. Stack remained at *Sunstone* until 1986. Since November 1991 she has been a religion writer at the *Salt Lake Tribune*.

91. Linda Newell to Jolene Rockwood, 23 June 1983, *Dialogue* Collection.

interest in the story. Linda detailed in amazement the length one reporter went to in order to obtain more information about the controversy:

I'd have to say she is persistent. We were having dinner with Jack's aunt and uncle in Martinez, California (we were there a total of two hours). To find us, she had to call the *Dialogue* office [which] gave her Jack's office number. Jack's secretary told her we were visiting my brother in Sacramento. She called there and got the name and number of the friend we were staying with in San Francisco and found out where we were having dinner.

However, Linda explained, "we told her we had nothing to add to our earlier statement—poor thing."⁹²

A year later, after the *Los Angeles Times* had mentioned the Petersen probe in an article about *Sunstone*, Jack Newell explained to the religion editor who wrote the story that it was both *Dialogue* and *Sunstone* that helped quiet the affair: "I think the decision to stop the inquisitorial campaign was a product of our having brought it into public view, and *Sunstone's* private appeals to LDS authorities. It was an unspoken division of labor."⁹³

Before the Petersen controversy occurred, the Newells had already resolved "that we would not be intimidated." They were committed to publishing scholarship based on responsible research, "and our task was to make sure that it *was* responsible scholarship."⁹⁴ Yet some authors *were* intimidated. Saddened that throughout their tenure even non-controversial articles were pulled from publication by fearful authors, Linda observed: "The Church's intimidation of writers has done nothing but polarize a certain type of writer that we tried to nurture—the true believer; the one that writes out of their faith."⁹⁵

DAVID BUEGER AND THE SECOND ANOINTING

This determination to remain unintimidated was put to the test during the Petersen investigations. In 1981, *Dialogue* had published a letter to the editor from a stake patriarch in Washington state suggesting "it would be interesting to have one of your historian-type writers do a piece on 'second anointings'—what they were, qualifications for selection, and why they have disappeared from current temple ceremonies." Prompted by this letter, writer David Bueger began research on this

92. Linda King Newell to Mary L. Bradford, 29 July 1983, *Dialogue* Collection.

93. L. Jackson Newell to John Dart, 5 September 1984, *Dialogue* Collection. See John Dart, "Dedicated Group of Intellectuals Makes Some Headway in Being Accepted by Mormon Church's Conservatives," *Los Angeles Times*, 1 September 1984, 4-5.

94. Newell interview.

95. *Ibid.*

very topic and planned to submit the essay for publication in *Dialogue*.⁹⁶ The article was published in the Spring 1983 issue as “‘The Fulness of the Priesthood’: The Second Anointing in Latter-day Saint Theology and Practice.”⁹⁷ It was an early version of this essay which had led to Buerger’s trouble with Petersen.

In early 1982, Buerger had completed a draft of his paper and submitted it to the Washington team for consideration. However, after BYU history professor and *Dialogue* board member D. Michael Quinn responded with ten pages of recommendations, Buerger felt he needed to make major revisions to the article and spent August 1982 doing so. Buerger submitted his revised essay to the new team in Salt Lake City on 7 September 1982.⁹⁸ Still, the executive committee had some remaining concerns, as pointed out by Lavina Fielding Anderson in a letter to Buerger:

So far the only reservation anyone has is the possible impropriety of describing the actual process of the anointing in such detail. We would have reservations about describing the existing endowment in such detail and that’s something on the staff we’re just going to have to hassle through and see how important we think it is and how willing we are to justify the decision. I think it should be there. But of course I also think the endowment could be discussed in much greater detail than current standards allow.⁹⁹

The editors next sent the paper to former *Dialogue* associate editor Lester Bush (who now served on the editorial board) for “reorganiza-

96. Ken Earl, “Second Anointings Anyone?,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 14, no. 1 (Spring 1981): 7. After the Buerger article was eventually published, Armand Mauss introduced Earl, then president of the California Oakland Mission, to Buerger in Oakland after Mauss had spoken at a fireside. Earl told Buerger, “I’ve read your second anointing article several times and really enjoyed it.” Buerger subsequently recorded in his diary: “I was really taken back to hear this (Earl was in his sixties, etc.). But later I discovered that Earl was the patriarch from Washington who had written to *Dialogue* several years ago encouraging them to get one of their ‘historian types’ to do an article on the second anointing, and it was Earl’s letter which got me thinking and prompted to take on the project. What a small world.” (Buerger diary, 6 September 1983, Buerger Papers, box 1, folder 8).

97. Buerger, who would publish two essays in *Dialogue* on temple ordinances (the second discussed later in this essay), expanded his research and later published it in book form. See David John Buerger, *The Mysteries of Godliness: A History of Temple Worship* (San Francisco: Smith Research Associates, 1994).

98. David John Buerger to *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* Editorial Office, 1 August 1982; David John Buerger to Lester E. Bush, 7 September 1982, both in Buerger Papers, box 3, folder 14.

99. Lavina Fielding Anderson to David John Buerger, 28 September 1982, *Dialogue* Collection.

tional editing."¹⁰⁰ The revised essay was reviewed by Quinn and also given to Anthony Hutchinson, formerly of the Washington team.¹⁰¹

Fully aware that the topic was sensitive, Buerger also gave a draft of his essay to Richard Hunter, the son of Apostle Howard W. Hunter. The younger Hunter seemed fascinated with Buerger's research, and the two men held many conversations about it. After a telephone conversation on 22 October 1981, Buerger recorded that Hunter "doesn't know if the doctrine is a secret. The main question raised was 'why don't we know about this ordinance; why aren't we told more about it? When [and] how do I find out more?' He wants to pass it by his dad. I said ok."¹⁰² Later, after revising the paper, Buerger gave a copy to Richard, who then gave it to his apostle father. Richard Hunter reported the apostle's reaction to Buerger, who recorded the following in his journal: "When asked his opinion regarding the publication of my paper on 2A's [second anointings], Howard didn't know whether it was appropriate or not to do it. He wasn't opposed to the idea, but he didn't condone it either. Richard was careful [to explain] that I was not trying to 'air dirty laundry'; that I am a faithful member of the Church, etc."¹⁰³ Buerger himself had sent the apostle an early draft of his paper in November 1981, asking for "his views on the propriety of publication." Although Apostle Hunter was later willing to express his opinion to his son, he never replied directly to Buerger.¹⁰⁴

It soon became obvious that Hunter had given the paper to at least two of his colleagues. In early April 1983, as part of his investigation into writers, Mark E. Petersen contacted Buerger's stake president, Owen P. Jacobsen, during the church's General Conference in Salt Lake City. "Petersen indicated that he was 'concerned' about me, and the possible negative impact my writing might have among some members. He also made reference to my upcoming paper on the second anointing."¹⁰⁵

100. David John Buerger to Lester E. Bush, 5 October 1982, Buerger Papers, box 3, folder 14.

101. D. Michael Quinn to David John Buerger, 18 November 1982; David John Buerger to Lavina Fielding Anderson, 29 March 1983, both in Buerger Papers, box 1, folder 14. Quinn, who was a BYU professor at the time, chose not to be acknowledged for his critique and suggestions. Buerger wrote to associate editor Anderson: "Overall, I'm very pleased with the outcome of this paper. I feel it was a true team effort on the part of yourself, Lester, Tony, and Michael. I'm sorry Mike won't allow me to publicly thank him for his significant contribution" (Buerger to Anderson, 29 March 1983).

102. Buerger diary, 22 October 1981, Buerger Papers, box 1, folder 5.

103. Buerger diary, 8 December 1982, Buerger Papers, box 1, folder 6.

104. David John Buerger to Lavina Fielding Anderson, 9 December 1982, Buerger Papers, box 3, folder 20; David John Buerger to Scott Dunn, 30 July 1983, Buerger Papers, box 1, folder 7.

105. Buerger diary, 10 April 1983, Buerger Papers, box 2, folder 7.

Buerger, at the suggestion of Jacobsen, wrote a letter to Petersen explaining his beliefs and reassuring the apostle of his faithfulness.¹⁰⁶

Six weeks later, on 15 May 1983, during a church-wide satellite broadcast, Apostle Boyd K. Packer made vague references to Buerger and his yet unpublished article. After first noting that "The sacred ordinances of the Temple are now held up to open ridicule by enemies of the Church [an obvious reference to the anti-Mormon film, *The Godmakers*, which had been released in late 1982¹⁰⁷], Packer said:

Some foolish members take license from this and in an effort to defend the Church have been led to say more than is wise. Some, out of curiosity or claiming their interest is only academic or intellectual, presume to speak or to write about sacred ordinances.

In their speaking and writing they sometimes wade the muddy paths of opposition and apostasy. Then without changing their boots, they seek to push open the doors of the temple and stride into those hallowed precincts to discuss the sacred ordinances.

In doing so they assume an authority that is not theirs. Do not be drawn to them.

Packer then made reference to the content of Buerger's letter to Petersen, in which Buerger had defended his motivation for writing on the controversial topic: "They say that they love the Church and that, in their own way, they are protecting it. They would do well to heed the voice of the Almighty as He commanded Moses: 'Put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground' (Ex. 3:5)."¹⁰⁸

The next day, Lavina Fielding Anderson told Buerger that "Linda

106. Buerger makes reference to this letter in "Press Release From David John Buerger to *The Provo Herald*," 21 May 1983, Buerger Papers, box 9, folder 12.

107. Released by Jeremiah Films in 1982, *The Godmakers* was the brainchild of J. Edward Decker, a former Mormon and director of Ex-Mormons for Jesus. A book by the same name followed. See Ed Decker and Dave Hunt, *The Godmakers* (Eugene, Oregon: Harvest House Publishers, 1984). The film was shown widely throughout 1983 and 1984, and two sequels were later produced: *The Temple of the Godmakers* in 1984, and *The Godmakers II* in 1992. For a thorough rebuttal to the book, see Gilbert W. Scharffs, *The Truth about "The Godmakers"* (Salt Lake City: Publishers Press, 1986). For some of the questionable tactics used in producing the film, see Robert L. and Rosemary Brown, *They Lie in Wait to Deceive, Volume 4* (Mesa, Arizona: Brownsworth Publishing, 1995). The film was also critiqued at the Salt Lake Sunstone Symposium on 23 August 1984 and the remarks of the panelists were published in *Dialogue*. See the following, under the general heading, "The Godmakers Examined": Randall L. Mackey "Introduction"; Sharon Lee Swenson, "Does the Camera Lie? A Structural Analysis of *The Godmakers*"; Allen D. Roberts, "The Godmakers: A Content Analysis"; and Donald A. Eagle, "One Community's Reaction to *The Godmakers*," all in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18, no. 2 (Summer 1985): 14-39.

108. Boyd K. Packer, "Come, All Ye Sons of God," from an address delivered 15 May 1983 at a church-wide fireside commemorating the restoration of the priesthood, *Ensign*

Newell's phone has been ringing off the hook this morning." Calls from former editors of *Dialogue* expressed the fear that Packer's remarks may result in the Newells' excommunication if Buerger's essay were to appear. Buerger adds: "Lavina said that until this time, half of the staff believed no one would bother to read the article, and the other half weren't worried about any repercussions. Jack and Linda are now thinking that it might be wise to delay publication. . . and not let it come out on the heels of Packer's talk." The Newells left the decision to Buerger, but quickly prepared an article to take its place should Buerger decide to withdraw his essay. The typeset issue was set to go to "blue line" (the final proofing stage before printing) in two days.¹⁰⁹

The staff met on 17 May to discuss further strategy. "The executive committee wants to meet and be of 'one mind' in backing me on this deal," Buerger writes, "(even if it means everyone's excommunication)."¹¹⁰ Several changes were suggested, including the elimination of the words "evolution" and "evolutionary" in exchange for "progressive" and "changing," so as to avoid "unnecessary ill feelings from more conservative readers."¹¹¹ Buerger later wrote, "Many of us across the U.S. (from Gene England, Mary Bradford, and Lester Bush in Washington to Bob Rees in L. A.) were on the phone continually for the next several days ironing out phraseology and content."¹¹² Jack clearly remembers the days following the Packer speech as the executive committee debated what to do next:

Some of us were prepared to proceed as planned, while others saw their membership as too valuable to risk. We met far into the night that week, and it was cathartic. I was determined that legitimate scholarship could not be suppressed, and argued that we should proceed after (1) being absolutely certain that our information was unimpeachable (plentiful and double-

13 (August 1983): 68-69. The following fall, Packer spoke at Buerger's stake conference and seemed to refer briefly to Buerger: "We've got people talking—in the Church—about the Temple ceremonies. . . . Some things are sacred. Now all the intellectual inquiry in the world isn't going to unravel them. It will lead to confusion, will lead to mischief, and as the days unfold, those who have the central faith will be all right. Those who do not will march through life with some semblance of activity in the Church, but it will be the case—and it's easy to prophesy this—parents eat the sour grapes that their children's teeth are set on; or, 'I will visit the iniquities of the parents upon the children unto the fourth generation.' Sometimes I mourn over those who attempt to steady the ark to make sure the Church is running right" (Boyd K. Packer, remarks made on Saturday, 12 November 1983, in the Saratoga California Stake Center, 7:00-9:00pm; adult session of stake conference. Notes made by David John Buerger, Buerger Papers, box 9, folder 9).

109. Buerger diary, 16 May 1983, Buerger Papers, box 1, folder 7; Buerger to Dunn.

110. Buerger diary, 17 May 1983.

111. Ibid.

112. Buerger to Dunn.

checked footnotes) and (2) removing any direct references to information that temple-going members vow to keep sacred. . . . Some considered taking their names off the editorial executive committee and resigning from the staff. But in the end, everyone chose to stick together and to do what we thought was the right thing. We scoured the manuscript one last time the following week, then published it. I have seldom seen such courage, or felt greater affection for a group of people, than I did as I looked around our living room before we parted that night. I will savor that night of agony and ultimate resolve as long as I live. I will always be honored to call each person there my friend.¹¹³

Buerger was not happy with many of the changes made to his essay, yet acquiesced, being "assured that those guiding the publication of my article are doing their best to react in as mature a manner as possible in the current emergency."¹¹⁴ The issue, containing the last minute changes, went to press and was ready for subscribers by early June.

There was more controversy ahead, however. On 3 June, Linda Newell phoned Buerger with the news that Mormon scholar Andrew F. Ehat was going to sue *Dialogue* for publishing the Buerger essay. Buerger wrote in his diary that "apparently he's very upset, and is claiming that I 'stole' the article from him, which is, of course, absurd. . . . Linda said the 4,000 copies of the issue are in the *Dialogue* office, and she thinks the authors' copies were mailed today. They will mail everything on Monday; she's concerned that Andy might try to have an injunction slapped on them to stop the shipment of the journals."¹¹⁵

There is no question that Ehat had researched extensively on the subject. The previous year, he had completed his master's thesis at BYU dealing with temple ordinances.¹¹⁶ Early in Buerger's research, Lavina Fielding Anderson had asked Buerger about his sources, expressing concern about any uncredited use of Ehat's research or that of another writer, Lisle Brown. "We want to be absolutely fair about giving credit where credit is due, and wanted to raise the question about the research history. Should there be an acknowledgment? Was there collaboration or sharing of sources early on? etc."¹¹⁷ Buerger responded that "all of my

113. Newell and Newell to Anderson, 18 February 2002.

114. Buerger diary, 16 May 1983, Buerger Papers, box 1, folder 7.

115. Buerger diary, 3 June 1983, Buerger Papers, box 1, folder 7.

116. See Andrew F. Ehat, *Joseph Smith's Introduction of Temple Ordinances and the 1844 Mormon Succession Crisis*, master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1982.

117. Lavina Fielding Anderson to David John Buerger, 9 July 1982, Buerger Papers, box 3, folder 14. The Lisle Brown article referred to here had been submitted for publication to *BYU Studies* in the mid-1970s, but was rejected. The paper was then shared quite extensively in manuscript form without Brown's permission. However, in 1995 he placed an authorized version on the internet. See Lisle G. Brown, "The Holy Order in Nauvoo," currently available online at <www.lds-mormon.com/holyordr.shtml>. See also Lisle G.

research was done independent of Ehat," although he later acknowledged that he, Ehat, and others had exchanged some materials.¹¹⁸

However, Ehat had known well in advance of Buerger's plans to publish the essay and had been asked early on by the Newells to critique the manuscript. He had been given Buerger's early draft, and Linda mailed him the revised copy in September 1982. In mid-October, Ehat promised to send his critique to the *Dialogue* office, but failed to do so. In late December, Linda Newell again asked Ehat for his critique and again he failed to send it. However, on 27 May, Ehat called and expressed his view that the essay—now at press—should not be published, claiming that he had "114 objections to the text and 48 to the notes." However, it was too late to stop publication. Linda said, "I would certainly have checked them out before we published it had he sent them when he said he would last winter. . . . I told him it was too late for changes; we had edited it carefully and had probably caught many of his objections. Anything further would have to come in a letter to the editor. He would not tell me any of his specific objections over the phone."¹¹⁹

Ehat's attorney, Gordon Madsen, called the Newells and read a letter from Ehat stating the objections: "He told Gordon he could read it to me, but I was not to have a copy."¹²⁰ Madsen, however, convinced Ehat that the lawsuit would not hold up in court and that he would need to find a different attorney should he insist on pressing charges.¹²¹ This put an end to the threats.

After subscribers finally received their copies of the Spring 1983 issue, as hoped for, things quieted down. Perhaps Hinckley's influence in ending the Petersen probe halted any disciplinary action that might have been taken against Buerger or others involved in publishing the essay. Indeed, no further discussion nor any action aimed at the article came from church headquarters. The following year Buerger's research received validation at the annual meeting of the Mormon History Association where the essay won the 1983 MHA award for best article. However, in 1987 (as discussed later), there would be *deja vu* for Buerger, the Newells, and the *Dialogue* executive committee just before the Newell tenure came to a close.

Brown, "Temple Ordinances as Administered in Nauvoo, Illinois, 1840-1846, *Research Report: A Bi-monthly Publication of the Southwest Center for Religious Research, Mesa, Arizona* 1 (March/April 1990): 1-21, and Lisle G. Brown, "The Sacred Departments for Temple Work in Nauvoo: The Assembly Room and the Council Chamber," *BYU Studies* 19 (Spring 1979): 360-74.

118. Buerger diary, 3 June 1983; Notes on Andy Ehat/David Buerger," 14 May 1984, *Dialogue* Collection.

119. "Notes on Andy Ehat/David Buerger."

120. *Ibid.*

121. Buerger diary, 3 June 1983.

DIALOGUE BEYOND ITS PAGES

Many of *Dialogue's* essays had been recognized for the contributions they had made to a greater understanding of Mormon history, doctrine, and culture. Therefore, a "Best of *Dialogue*" volume was an idea that had been discussed toward the end of Mary Bradford's tenure.¹²² In 1982, University of Utah Press editor Trudy McMurrin began contemplating a series of books along these lines, an idea which had also been on the minds of the Salt Lake team. Lester Bush and Armand Mauss had already compiled a manuscript of *Dialogue's* past articles dealing with the issue of priesthood denial to African males and had submitted it for consideration to both the University of Utah Press and Signature Books. At the May 1982 meeting of the Mormon History Association, they discussed "the possibility of a series of three or so (perhaps more) books to commemorate on the scholarly level the twentieth anniversary of the journal."¹²³ Mauss and the Newells were excited about publishing through the university press (according to Jack, because "the University of Utah press provides the best combination of scholarly review and distribution") and began making arrangements with McMurrin. Despite McMurrin's high hopes for the book, however, her departure from the University of Utah Press during the planning stages ended interest in the project there.¹²⁴ Although disappointed, the Newells turned to Signature Books where there were certainly some benefits. Steven F. Christensen, a Salt Lake businessman with strong ties to the Mormon intellectual community, had already donated \$5,000 to that press to encourage the Bush-Mauss volume as a Signature-*Dialogue* collaboration.¹²⁵ The finished project, *Neither White nor Black: Mormon Scholars Confront the Race Issue in a Universal Church*, appeared in June 1984 with a foreword written by Jack Newell.¹²⁶ Linda recalls: "The decision to publish the book came easily. All of our back issues with articles about Africans in the church had sold out—or nearly so. The priesthood issue had just recently been resolved, and people wanted to know what led up to the change in church policy and practice."¹²⁷ Jack wrote the director of Signature Books upon the vol-

122. Minutes of the "Dialogue Promotional Meeting," 24 October 1981, *Dialogue* Collection.

123. Trudy McMurrin to "The Editors," 17 March 1983, *Dialogue* Collection.

124. L. Jackson Newell to Armand L. Mauss and Lester E. Bush, 13 January 1983; Armand L. Mauss to Linda King Newell, 25 February 1983; L. Jackson Newell to Trudy A. McMurrin, 28 April 1983; L. Jackson Newell to Scott Kenney, 29 April 1983, all in *Dialogue* Collection; Newell and Newell to Anderson, 9 September 2002.

125. Scott Kenney to *Dialogue*, 28 January 1983, *Dialogue* Collection.

126. See Lester E. Bush, Jr., and Armand L. Mauss, eds., *Neither White nor Black: Mormon Scholars Confront the Race Issue in a Universal Church* (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1984).

127. Newell and Newell to Anderson, 18 February 2002.

ume's release: "We must do everything we can, both *Dialogue* and Signature Books, to maximize sales and justify the time and money you have invested in the project. If this volume sells well, we should certainly explore the possibility of similar collections on other major themes."¹²⁸

A second volume followed three years later. *Personal Voices: A Celebration of Dialogue* was edited by Mary L. Bradford and also published by Signature Books.¹²⁹ It featured twenty-four personal essays which had appeared in *Dialogue* over the years. Linda describes *Personal Voices* as "an effort to perpetuate the distribution of the most-frequently demanded essays from back issues of *Dialogue*."¹³⁰ The foreword, written by the Newells, states:

The personal essay is a hallowed form of writing, combining as it does the process of personal development with that of public expression. In Mormonism, as elsewhere, it has become the means by which many of us have sought to understand and clarify our struggle to reconcile some of the fundamental dichotomies of life: faith and reason, loyalty and conscience, innate spirituality and institutional religion. Personal essays are at once dialogues with ourselves, dialogues with the issues we face, and dialogues with kindred spirits who struggle along the same road as we.¹³¹

The two volumes appeared as partial fulfillment of the original goal to produce a "Best of *Dialogue*" series. Certainly the groundbreaking research in *Neither White nor Black* and the introspection that fills *Personal Voices* represent the best of *Dialogue* and what *Dialogue* does best: celebrating the intellectual and spiritual as important components in the quest of the thinking Latter-day Saint.

A DEBATE ABOUT PROPRIETY

Although no one could doubt the contribution *Dialogue* essays had made to serious Mormon scholarship throughout the years, some readers complained that the editors sometimes used poor judgment in their decisions. In 1985, a debate about judgment and responsibility resulted in several exchanges between *Dialogue's* editors and some scholars associated with the Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies (FARMS).¹³² Earlier that year, Mormon scholar George D. Smith had

128. Jack Newell to Scott Kenney, 22 June 1984, *Dialogue* Collection.

129. See Mary L. Bradford, ed., *Personal Voices: A Celebration of Dialogue* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1987).

130. Newell and Newell to Anderson, 18 February 2002.

131. L. Jackson Newell and Linda King Newell, "Foreword," in Bradford, *Personal Voices*, un-paginated.

132. FARMS was founded in November 1979 by John W. Welch, an attorney then living in Los Angeles. Its purpose was to coordinate and make available scholarly research on

published an article in *Dialogue* about B. H. Roberts, a member of the LDS First Council of Seventy from 1888 until his death in 1933. The essay, "‘Is There Any Way to Escape These Difficulties?’: The Book of Mormon Studies of B. H. Roberts," chronicled Roberts’s attempts to deal with many difficult questions about the authenticity of the Book of Mormon posed to the church in a 1921 letter from James F. Couch, a non-Mormon.¹³³ Roberts had been asked to respond to Couch’s questions and by the end of the year had produced a 141-page manuscript he titled "Book of Mormon Difficulties." He presented his report to President Heber J. Grant and other general authorities in early 1922 but "was quite disappointed" that they had little interest in seeking conclusive answers to what Roberts considered important questions.¹³⁴ This led Roberts to a more intense study, and in 1923 he completed a second manuscript, the 291-page "A Book of Mormon Study." Here, he examined Ethan Smith’s 1825 *View of the Hebrews*¹³⁵ as a possible source for many Book of Mormon ideas, and explored the possibility of Joseph Smith having written the book himself based on available materials and prevalent ideas. Roberts’s two manuscripts remained unpublished until 1985.¹³⁶

In his paper, Smith summarized Roberts’s two studies and the relevancy of the questions he raised. Smith also addressed what to him was

the Book of Mormon. The organization moved to Provo in 1980 and became affiliated with Brigham Young University in 1997. It has published numerous papers and books on scriptural research, as well as pertinent reprints from several publications, including *Dialogue*. Since 1989 it has published the *FARMS Review of Books* and, beginning in 1992, the *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies*.

133. Couch’s questions were originally sent to Apostle James E. Talmage by Couch’s associate in Washington D.C., William E. Riter. Talmage then passed them on to Roberts. Since Riter prefaced Couch’s questions by identifying him only as "Mr. Couch," his exact identity remained unknown until recently discovered by Richard F. Keeler. See Keeler, "Mr. Couch and Elder Roberts," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 29, no. 2 (Summer 1996): 141-147.

134. George D. Smith, "‘Is There Any Way to Escape These Difficulties?’: The Book of Mormon Studies of B. H. Roberts," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 17, no. 2 (Summer 1984): 98. Just prior to the appearance of this essay, Smith had published elsewhere on the subject. See George D. Smith, "Joseph Smith and the Book of Mormon," *Free Inquiry* 4 (Winter 1983/1984): 20-31. This article was reprinted in Robert Basil, Mary Beth Gehrman, and Tim Madigan, eds., *On the Barricades: Religion and Free Inquiry in Conflict* (Buffalo, N.Y.: Prometheus Books, 1989).

135. See Ethan Smith, *View of the Hebrews; or the Tribes of Israel in America* (Poultney, VT: Smith & Shute, 1823). A second edition appeared in 1825. In 1996, Brigham Young University republished the second edition, edited by Charles D. Tate, Jr., through its Religious Studies Center.

136. Roberts’s manuscripts were published the year following the appearance of Smith’s essay. See B. H. Roberts, *Studies of the Book of Mormon*, edited and with an introduction by Brigham D. Madsen (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985). A second edition was published by Signature Books in Salt Lake City in 1992.

a dilemma for modern Mormon apologists: In promoting a hypothesis which limited Book of Mormon lands to Mesoamerica, apologists must dismiss the declarations of Joseph Smith himself.¹³⁷ The paper also addressed the issue of Roberts's possible loss of faith in the Book of Mormon as a result of his 1921-1923 studies, citing evidence on both sides of this question, but not drawing a definite conclusion.¹³⁸

Prior to publication, the Newells sent a copy of Smith's essay to FARMS president John W. Welch. Welch objected to publication of the paper, as he recalls, because he felt Roberts's questions were outdated

137. See Smith, "'Is There Any Way to Escape These Difficulties?'," 104. Mormon anthropologist John L. Sorenson, in his monumental work, *An Ancient American Setting for the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1985), 1-2, insists that Joseph Smith's views on Book of Mormon geography were not presented as revelation, and are therefore irrelevant. However, he does not address the specific statements of Joseph Smith regarding Indian origins as cited by George Smith. Elsewhere, Sorenson provides a summary of the various hypotheses presented throughout the years that have sought to map the Book of Mormon. See John L. Sorenson, *The Geography of Book of Mormon Events: A Source Book* (Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1990, revised, 1992). For Sorenson's most recent work on Book of Mormon geography, which bases distances and locations of sites strictly on statements within the Book of Mormon itself, see *Mormon's Map* (Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 2000).

138. See Smith, "'Is There Any Way to Escape These Difficulties?'," 111. The state of Roberts's faith in the Book of Mormon from 1921 until his death has been debated by modern scholars. See Truman G. Madsen, "B. H. Roberts after Fifty Years: Still Witnessing to the Book of Mormon," *BYU Studies* 19 (Summer 1979): 427-45; Madison U. Sowell, "Defending the Keystone: The Comparative Method Reexamined," and George D. Smith, "Defending the Keystone: Book of Mormon Difficulties," both in *Sunstone* 6 (May-June 1981): 44-54; Truman G. Madsen and John W. Welch, "Did B. H. Roberts Lose Faith in the Book of Mormon?" (Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1985); John W. Welch, "Finding Answers to B. H. Roberts's Questions," (Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1985); John W. Welch, Spencer J. Palmer, and William L. Knecht, "An Unparallel: Ethan Smith and View of the Hebrews; Substitute for Inspiration?" (Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, ca. 1985); John W. Welch, "New B. H. Roberts Book Lacks Insight of His Testimony," *Church News* (December 15, 1985), 11; John W. Welch, "B. H. Roberts: Seeker After Truth," *Ensign* 16 (March 1986): 56-62; Brigham D. Madsen, "B. H. Roberts's Studies of the Book of Mormon," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 26 (Fall 1993): 77-86; Brigham D. Madsen, "Reflections of LDS Disbelief in the Book of Mormon as History," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 30 (Fall 1997): 87-97; George D. Smith, "B. H. Roberts: Book of Mormon Apologist and Skeptic," in Dan Vogel and Brent Lee Metcalf, eds., *American Apocrypha: Essays on the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2002), 123-155. See also James R. Spencer, "The Disappointment of B. H. Roberts: Five Questions that Forced a Mormon General Authority to Abandon the Book of Mormon," (Boise: Through the Maze, 1991). In response to Spencer, see Daniel C. Peterson, "Yet More Abuse of B. H. Roberts," *FARMS Review of Books* 9:1, 1997: 69-86. For an examination of Roberts's and his earliest writings on the Book of Mormon, see Davis Bitton, "B. H. Roberts and Book of Mormon Scholarship, Early Twentieth Century: Age of Transition," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 8:2, (1999): 60-69.

and would soon be answered by anthropologist John L. Sorenson in his long-awaited book, *An Ancient American Setting for the Book of Mormon*. "My only caution to the editors of *Dialogue* was that George and they might want to wait to see John's work before jumping off into print, since good dialogue presupposes good data."¹³⁹ However, the *Dialogue* team saw enough merit to the paper to proceed with publication. Linda Newell responded to Welch on 10 May 1984: "Although you have expressed your opinion that we should not publish George Smith's piece, I hope your view of *Dialogue*, Jack, and me does not rest on this one article. It has indeed been a complicated issue and one for which we could see no solution that made everyone (or even anyone) happy." She added that "*Dialogue*, as an open forum can and should provide an outlet for a variety of views. We, as you know, welcome and encourage yours."¹⁴⁰

After the essay appeared, there was little reaction from *Dialogue* readers, and published letters to the editor are silent about it. However, it appears that some concern began to develop at church headquarters. On 3 July 1984, Elder Neal A. Maxwell of the Quorum of the Twelve sent a memo to members of the Church Board of Education Executive Committee and the Special Affairs Committee regarding four projects he wished to propose. After suggesting that scholarly articles appear in the *Ensign* dealing with Joseph Smith's First Vision, and that a possible monograph diffusing "the recurring charge that [we] are a cult," be produced, he said:

A third project would concern the Book of Mormon. It could be a response, without being obviously directed thereto, to the recent ramblings of George Smith. The point would be to show the interior consistency of the Book of Mormon along with recent and relevant external evidences, if the latter were desired.

There are a number of B. Y. U. professors who could help in this project, including Professor John Sorenson.¹⁴¹

Two months later, the first of a two-part series on the Book of Mormon by Sorenson titled "Digging into the Book of Mormon," appeared in the *Ensign*, in September, and concluded the following month (referred to earlier; see note 60). Smith, who had become aware of the Maxwell memo, wrote a letter to the editors of *Dialogue* (published Summer 1985) in which he referred to it and announced that Sorenson's work had "apparently served as this [Maxwell's intended] 'rebuttal'" to problems of

139. John W. Welch to Devery S. Anderson, 26 June 2002.

140. Linda King Newell to John W. Welch, 10 May 1984, *Dialogue* Collection.

141. Elder Neal A. Maxwell to members of the Church Board of Education Executive Committee and the Special Affairs Committee, 3 July 1984, copy in my possession.

Book of Mormon geography and Indian populations that Smith had addressed in his writings.¹⁴²

After Smith's letter appeared in the journal, both he and *Dialogue* came under attack—Smith, for his assumptions about the motive behind Sorenson's essays, and *Dialogue* for providing Smith a forum for making his claims. The most vocal critic was Robert F. Smith, a FARMS researcher and volunteer, as well as a long-time *Dialogue* supporter.¹⁴³ He wrote Lavina Fielding Anderson on 16 July 1985: "Surely you knew as a former employee of the *Ensign* that any 3 July 1984 memo (such as George claims exists) would hardly be early enough to cause the preparation and correlation of an article for a magazine which would be rolling off the presses a month-and-a-half later!" He reminded Anderson that Sorenson, as well as the *Ensign* staff of which Anderson had been a part, had for years tried to publish Sorenson's thesis on Book of Mormon geography in that magazine, but were met with resistance by one vocal general authority (identified elsewhere as Mark E. Petersen). He also reminded Anderson that she had, in fact, edited a similar Sorenson article for publication in *Dialogue* (which, in the end, Sorenson had pulled when it appeared that clearance for the *Ensign* may have finally been forthcoming. That hope, however, had been a false alarm).¹⁴⁴

Sorenson himself has no recollection of the Maxwell memo and insists that neither it nor George Smith's essay played a role in his articles finally appearing in the fall of 1984. However, the scene he describes reflects the spirit of Maxwell's proposal and raises the possibility that Sorenson may not have been privy to its actual content or existence yet may have been asked at that time to carry out its Book of Mormon agenda:

At a certain point in time (in 1984) I was asked, with a handful of other BYU people and some general authorities, to discuss certain writing projects that might be speeded up to counter the "beating" (a word used at the time) that the Book of Mormon was taking without any responses having been made

142. George D. Smith, "Indians Not 'Lamanites'?", letter to the editor, *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18, no. 2 (Summer 1985): 5.

143. Robert Smith had written one of the earliest preliminary reports published by FARMS and has continued to publish with the organization. See Robert F. Smith, "'It Came to Pass' in the Bible and the Book of Mormon," (Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1980), Smith, "The Doctrine of the Resurrection as Taught in the Book of Mormon," (Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1991), and Smith, "Book of Mormon Event Structure: The Ancient Near East," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 5, no. 2 (1996): 98-147. Welch speaks of Smith as one of the earliest of the scholars and volunteers who helped the fledgling organization. See "FARMS through the Years, Part 1: A Conversation with John Welch and John Sorenson," *Insights: A Window on the Ancient World* (November 1999): 3.

144. Robert F. Smith to Lavina Fielding Anderson, 16 July 1985, *Dialogue* Collection.

up to that point in time. But that concern went far beyond looking at particular critics like [George] Smith. Soon I for my part was asked to prepare two articles for the *Ensign* that would convey the tone of what my longer series was intended to do. I very hastily wrote the two "Digging" articles, which appeared in the Fall of 1984 prior to the 1985 Book of Mormon curriculum year.¹⁴⁵

That Sorenson "hastily" prepared the articles indicates that Maxwell's proposal may have served as the catalyst after all. However, neither the *Dialogue* team, George Smith, nor Robert Smith could have known for sure. Responding to Robert Smith's complaints, Anderson wrote: "Of course, at *Dialogue* there were major and protracted discussions on the [George Smith] letter itself, on running it, and on its final form that lasted, to my memory, three months, and the objections that you raised were all considered."¹⁴⁶ Since Robert Smith had not seen the memo, he was unaware that Maxwell had specifically suggested Sorenson as a possible respondent to George Smith's "ramblings." Therefore, George Smith was certainly correct that his essay had created some talk at church headquarters, whether or not the appearance of Sorenson's essay less than two months later was related.

Anderson encouraged Robert Smith to submit for publication the criticisms contained in his six-page letter. However, he had already made it clear that his critique was out of his concern for the future reputation of *Dialogue* and not for publication. He did send copies of his letter to the Newells, George Smith, and Richard S. Van Wagoner, a Mormon historian and personal friend.¹⁴⁷

In the minds of the letter's recipients, the most disturbing part of Robert Smith's letter was its personal attack upon George Smith. Throughout, the letter refers to him as "malicious" and "egotistical" for his assumptions of a church-ordered Sorenson rebuttal. Van Wagoner responded: "My goodness Bob, it is one thing to challenge and criticize a man's ideas, but it is another matter entirely to attack him so personally. I have known both you and George for several years. You are both good, kind, and generous men."¹⁴⁸

Welch also wrote the Newells to voice his opinion about their decision to publish the George Smith letter, although he avoided *ad hominem* attack. Welch, too, felt that publication of the letter was a poor use of editorial judgement as it allowed Smith an opportunity to "write a 'letter to editors' extolling the virtues of his own article. It certainly struck me as a

145. John L. Sorenson to Devery S. Anderson, 31 January 2002.

146. Lavina Fielding Anderson to Robert F. Smith, undated, *Dialogue* Collection.

147. Smith to Anderson, 16 July 1985.

148. Richard S. Van Wagoner to Robert F. Smith, 9 August 1985, *Dialogue* Collection.

'first.'" He continued: "Please know that I support the idea of dialogue, of careful discussion and open investigation. I personally believe, however, that productive discussion is only possible where a referee or moderator (however you think of yourself) acts responsibly."¹⁴⁹ Linda Newell responded: "We did debate whether or not to publish George's letter; there was not complete agreement among the staff on this issue which is often the case. I am only amazed at the extent of the concern it has produced from you and Bob—while neither of you has written a letter for publication. That would certainly air the problem."¹⁵⁰

The Newells did welcome scholarly debate concerning these or any ideas advanced within *Dialogue*. At Welch's invitation, they had earlier met with him and other BYU faculty on 26 January 1984 for an informal discussion. Following up on the conversation, Jack wrote Welch the day after the meeting: "It was certainly an interested and supportive group. We came away with several ideas that should help us further improve *Dialogue*." He also invited Welch to respond to upcoming comments on the Book of Mormon in *Dialogue* by Sterling M. McMurrin which, like the Smith arguments, Welch also believed to be outdated. "The only way that *Dialogue* can live up to its name is if scholar will meet scholar, or idea will meet idea, within our pages. Once the spring [1984] issue is out, therefore, I urge you to write a response to clarify this issue—either a letter to the editor or a short article. Your role in FARMS makes you a particularly logical person to discuss this issue."¹⁵¹

Welch apparently chose to save his arguments for FARMS publications instead, which illustrates a problem long faced by *Dialogue* editors. The Newells, like their predecessors, had tried to encourage more conservative scholars to publish within the journal, contributions that would create balance and provide a means for true dialogue. Beyond that problem, however, the exchange with Robert F. Smith demonstrated how easily disagreement over ideas and issues could become a forum for personal attack. Both sides in such arguments share space within the scholarly arena, making debate over ideas and issues a legitimate and welcome form of discussion. However, in the Mormon arena, both sides also share space within a spiritual community that complicates the issue and adds a degree of emotion otherwise not in play in most discussions of scholarship. "Disagreements in Mormon history and theology seem to be the stuff that keeps the interest level high and new ideas and research forthcoming," concluded Van Wagoner in his response to Robert Smith, "but we are too small in numbers to make intellectual disagreements the

149. John W. Welch to Linda K. Newell, 29 August 1985, *Dialogue* Collection.

150. Linda K. Newell to John W. Welch, 5 September 1985, *Dialogue* Collection.

151. L. Jackson Newell to John W. Welch, 27 January 1984, *Dialogue* Collection.

source of personal conflict.”¹⁵² Unfortunately, the small divisions begun in private here have only increased over time.

“LET THE CONSEQUENCE FOLLOW”

Although ultimately Mormon scholars could only criticize writers with whom they disagreed, church leaders could respond with discipline instead. One of the longest and best documented articles to appear in *Dialogue* was D. Michael Quinn’s study of the continuation of Mormon church-sanctioned polygamy after President Wilford Woodruff issued the 1890 “Manifesto.” The essay, “LDS Church Authority and New Plural Marriage: 1890-1904,” appeared in the Spring 1985 issue. The subject of the continued, albeit secret, performance of church-approved plural marriages was, in fact, no secret to anti-Mormon critics. Yet it remained virtually unknown to Latter-day Saints in general. To complicate matters, the LDS church had long denied, and continued to deny, that any plural marriages after 1890 had been performed with First Presidency approval. Thus, an empathetic understanding of this complex chapter in Mormon history was long overdue. Quinn’s journey with the topic from that of a casual student, to published author, was a long, careful one, and the outcome is full of amazing irony.

Quinn had been researching the subject of authorized polygamy after the Manifesto since the age of seventeen. By the time he left to serve an LDS mission to England in 1963, he had compiled a list of fifty men who married after 1890. His research continued later after he entered the military. His interest continued in 1971, when as a graduate student he studied Mormon diaries for a project directed by assistant church historian Davis Bitton.¹⁵³

In 1979, G. Homer Durham, then managing director of the Church Historical Department, became concerned about questions surrounding post-manifesto polygamy. His unease may have been prompted by an article published on the subject the previous year in the *Utah Historical Quarterly* as well as by knowledge about another one that was forthcoming.¹⁵⁴ Although Quinn had never discussed his research with Durham, two staff members at the Historical Department told Quinn they were aware of his “expertise” in this area and said, “Elder Durham would like

152. Van Wagoner to Smith.

153. D. Michael Quinn, telephone interview, 8 January 2002, conducted by Devery S. Anderson.

154. Ibid. For the articles referred to, see Kenneth L. Cannon, II, “Beyond the Manifesto: Polygamous Cohabitation among LDS General Authorities After 1890,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46 (Winter 1978): 24-36; and Victor W. Jorgensen and B. Carmon Hardy, “The Taylor-Cowley Affair and the Watershed of Mormon History,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 48 (Winter 1980): 4-36.

you to write a memo for him on post-Manifesto polygamy." Quinn agreed, and on 17 January 1979, from memory, wrote a single-spaced, twelve-page summary of his research and also informed Durham of his plans to one day publish his findings. Soon, Durham invited Quinn to discuss the issue with him further.¹⁵⁵

Prompted by his interview with Durham, Quinn wrote the First Presidency on 19 June 1979 and explained that the *Quarterly* articles would create an environment in which members would be asking many questions. He reasoned that a study was needed to explain the difference between church-sanctioned plural marriage between 1890 and 1904 and the activities of fundamentalists who still continue the practice. Quinn referred the First Presidency to Durham, who had Quinn's summary and could vouch for his extensive knowledge of the subject. He stressed that he was in a position to write an article dealing with these issues and made an appeal for materials that were in their custody. When this letter went unanswered, Quinn wrote a follow-up the next year on 20 May 1980. This also went unanswered. Later, however, Quinn came to believe "that the letters had been waylaid."¹⁵⁶

On 4 November 1981, Quinn accepted an invitation to speak at a meeting of the BYU chapter of the international history honor society, Phi Alpha Theta. He was specifically asked to address the subject of the writing of Mormon history and to respond to an attack on historians made by Apostle Boyd K. Packer in an address to church educators the previous August. Quinn's speech, "On Being a Mormon Historian," responded not only to the Packer criticisms, but also to public comments made in a similar vein by Apostle Ezra Taft Benson.¹⁵⁷

155. Quinn telephone interview; D. Michael Quinn, "The Rest is History," *Sunstone* 18 (December 1995): 54 and 57, note 28.

156. Quinn telephone interview. Dates of letters to the First Presidency are in Quinn, "The Rest is History," 57, note 28. At a meeting in the Lion House in Salt Lake City of those involved in the multi-volume biographical project on the life of former First Presidency Counselor J. Reuben Clark (Quinn was then writing the second volume), Quinn overheard D. Arthur Haycock, personal secretary to church president Spencer W. Kimball, refer to "people who write to the First Presidency for material," and said "how foolish they are." Quinn believes Haycock intended him to hear this. Quinn's volume on Clark became D. Michael Quinn, *J. Reuben Clark: The Church Years* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1983). Quinn has recently produced a revised and expanded edition of this biography as *Elder Statesman: A Biography of J. Reuben Clark* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2002).

157. See Boyd K. Packer, "The Mantle is Far, Far Greater Than the Intellect," *BYU Studies* 21 (Summer 1981): 259-278. See also Ezra Taft Benson, "God's Hand in Our Nation's History," 1976 *Devotional Speeches of the Year: Bicentennial Devotional and Fireside Addresses* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1977), 295-316; and Benson, *The Gospel Teacher and His Message* (Salt Lake City: Church Educational System, 1976).

On 22 November, Quinn met with First Presidency counselor Gordon B. Hinckley at Hinckley's home to discuss the effects of Quinn's public rebuttal.¹⁵⁸ Soon, however, the conversation turned to Quinn's research into post-Manifesto polygamy, and Hinckley, interested in the details, was surprised when Quinn told him that, besides a few "renegades," new marriages had been performed by and for First Presidency members, apostles, mission presidents, and others. Shocked, but not questioning Quinn's findings, Hinckley said: "I knew these men. I grew up with their children." He then expressed his concerns about church members learning this information. Quinn, however, responded that he believed many already knew, for descendants of those who married polygamously after the Manifesto numbered in the tens of thousands. With unanswered questions behind the statistics, Hinckley was willing to help.¹⁵⁹

Quinn then mentioned to Hinckley that he had previously sought information from the First Presidency and had followed proper channels in doing so, but Hinckley said he was not aware of these requests. After Quinn expressed his belief that the letters had been waylaid, Hinckley responded: "Well, they won't be waylaid anymore. You have my number."¹⁶⁰ With this reassurance, Quinn wrote Hinckley for permission for the needed materials on 17 February and 15 April 1982. However, Hinckley telephoned Quinn in response, telling him that despite his best efforts, permission could not be granted after all. Disappointed, Quinn nevertheless thanked Hinckley for his help and told him that he would write his article based on the information he had already gathered. "It is up to you," said Hinckley, then added: "Mike, you do what you feel is right. But I want you to know that I did ask."¹⁶¹

Quinn then began working diligently to produce a manuscript for submission to *Dialogue*. In the spring of 1982, shortly before the Newells began their editorship, Lester Bush wrote that the essay was "promised but still in process."¹⁶² Quinn continued to work on it for three more years.

By January 1985, with the essay nearing completion, Quinn remained bothered by gaps in his research, and found he still needed information from First Presidency files located at the Historical Depart-

158. Quinn telephone interview; 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), 89. Hinckley told Quinn that he had acted inappropriately in criticizing Packer, although he indicated that he understood Quinn's motive when he said, "there are some of the brethren who I wish would never speak publicly" (Quinn telephone interview, 8 January 2002).

159. Quinn telephone interview.

160. Ibid.

161. Ibid.; Quinn, "On Being a Mormon Historian (and Its Aftermath)," 90; Quinn, "The Rest is History," 54, 57, note 28.

162. *Dialogue Idiot Book*, 27.

ment. Access to these required permission from managing director Durham. Somewhat hopeful, Quinn approached church archivist Glen Rowe and explained that he had written a “long, heavily footnoted article” to be published in *Dialogue* and was in need of these materials. Rowe then left to speak with Durham. When Rowe returned thirty minutes later, “he was shaking his head” in disbelief. Durham had signed the permission slips, even after Rowe told him Quinn needed the material to finalize an article for *Dialogue*. Rowe relayed to Quinn Durham’s rationale in honoring Quinn’s request: “Mike Quinn has helped us explain other problem areas. I hope he can help us here, because this is a tough one.”¹⁶³

The article then went through the editing process at *Dialogue*. Lavina Fielding Anderson, who processed the manuscript, recalls working with Quinn:

I was impressed by his detailed and meticulous research and care in neither overstating nor minimizing. I was exasperated by his unwillingness to call it quits, even as the article moved through typesetting, galleys, and page proofs. At that stage, I finally told him that he absolutely could *not* make any more changes or additions. He did not argue, but the typesetter, Don Henriksen, later told me that Michael appeared at his doorstep with alterations I had rejected, and a hundred dollars.”¹⁶⁴

However, Anderson reported to Julie Randall that there was more to the story:

Don did not accept the \$100. His craftsman’s pride was so piqued by the typographical errors that he went back and checked everything. The errors had been corrected and he had enough loose space that he could fit in the three changes—so he did it, if you can believe it!—and charged Mike \$50. And *then*, Mike came back twice more to see if he would make more changes. Fortunately, it was already at the press by then, so Don did not oblige. Linda and I have concluded that this is a trait that makes Mike a great historian.¹⁶⁵

After the essay appeared, Linda Newell wrote to former *Dialogue* editor Robert Rees that it was “creating a lot of interest but so far, no waves.”¹⁶⁶ However, despite Quinn’s best efforts to perfect his article, its publication marked the beginning of the end of his career at BYU.

In April 1985, Quinn received a letter from Apostle Dallin H. Oaks,

163. Quinn telephone interview; Quinn, “The Rest is History,” 55. Durham had given Quinn permission to see these materials just two days before his death by a heart attack on 10 January 1985.

164. Lavina Fielding Anderson, “DNA Mormon: D. Michael Quinn,” in John Sillito and Susan Staker, eds., *Mormon Mavericks: Essays on Dissenters* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2002), 330–331.

165. Lavina Fielding Anderson to Julie Randall, 23 April 1985, *Dialogue* Collection.

166. Linda King Newell to Robert A. Rees, 29 April 1985, *Dialogue* Collection.

who accused him of misleading Durham, his staff, and the First Presidency regarding his research. Quinn responded to Oaks on 10 May, enclosing copies of all of his correspondence between himself, Durham, and the First Presidency, as well as summaries of his conversations with Hinckley. The following month, Quinn called Oaks's secretary, and she confirmed that Oaks had received, and read, Quinn's letter and enclosed materials. Quinn claims, however, that Oaks continued to tell others that he had been less-than-honest in his dealings with Durham and Hinckley.¹⁶⁷ That same month, three members of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, convinced that Quinn's article amounted to nothing less than "speaking evil of the Lord's anointed," instructed the area president, Elder James M. Paramore, to demand that Quinn's stake president strip Quinn of his temple recommend.¹⁶⁸

Quinn learned the details of the meeting between his stake presidency and Paramore directly from the stake president. Although expected to be a fifteen-minute meeting in which Paramore would pass on his instructions to the stake presidency, the meeting had lasted for two-and-a-half hours. Quinn's stake leaders came to his defense, telling Paramore that they had read the article—two of them having read it before publication—and "saw nothing in it to justify doing what they were being required to do." Paramore also told the stake presidency to tell Quinn that the decision was a local one, based on their own judgements of the article and Quinn's standing as the result of its publication. The stake president countered that "I am not going to lie to Michael Quinn. If I am going to tell him this, I am going to tell him exactly how this came about." Therefore, he told Quinn the truth, but nevertheless, felt obligated to ask for his temple recommend. Worried that this was a "back door attempt" to fire Quinn from BYU, the stake president instructed him as follows: "If you are asked by any official at BYU if you have a temple recommend, you tell them yes, and do not volunteer that it is in my desk drawer. And when it expires, I will renew it, so that you will always have a valid temple recommend." He also told Quinn that he would not hold a church court, nor attempt to instruct him on how to do his job as a historian.¹⁶⁹

167. Quinn, "The Rest is History," note 28; Quinn telephone interview.

168. Quinn, "On Being a Mormon Historian (and Its Aftermath)," 91. Although Quinn's stake president did not identify the three apostles involved, Quinn said, "If I were guessing, I'd say the three apostles were Elders Packer, Maxwell, and Oaks. The stake president responded: 'That is a very, very good guess' (Quinn telephone interview).

169. Quinn, "On Being a Mormon Historian (and its Aftermath)," 91-92; D. Michael Quinn, "Dilemmas of Feminists & Intellectuals in the Contemporary LDS Church," *Sunstone* 17 (June 1994): 68; "The Church Years: HIsTory and the Mormon World View," an interview with D. Michael Quinn, conducted by Martha Sonntag Bradley, 12 August 1995 at the Salt Lake City Sunstone Symposium, tape #371 in my possession; Anderson, "DNA Mormon," 342.

Three months later, Packer grossly misrepresented the contents of the Quinn essay while speaking at a priesthood leadership conference in Salt Lake City. According to notes taken by someone in attendance, Packer declared: "We are in a time when 'magazines' are available which defame and belittle the brethren. Authors are 'scratching out' articles which seek these goals—and some young people are following. . . . These people argue 'if it's true, then say it'—but one doesn't tell another person he's ugly." Later in the conference, he added: "Anyone who interrupts the process of faith, or the seeds of trust in Church leaders (such as calling Wilford Woodruff a liar); anyone who wants to put doubts on the front lawn and then invite the neighbor children over—[voice trembled with emotion, loudly] 'JUST GO AHEAD!'. . . [T]hese shall. . . be *cut off* [spoken very sharply]."170

Yet time has shown that the concerns of Packer and others were unwarranted. In 1991, Quinn reported the feedback he had received from those who had good reason to read the essay: "I [have] heard from a number of these [50,000] descendants [of post-Manifesto plural marriages] who in some cases in a very emotional way said that for years they had been taught and had quietly had to accept the judgement of Church leaders that they were bastards, that they had been born to adulterous relationships after the 1890 Manifesto."171 Linda Newell reports a similar reaction: "Interestingly, we never got any negative feedback at all. People would say, 'I had a great grandfather who took wives after the Manifesto, and it has always been this deep dark secret that somehow he was an apostate. Now I understand.' Rather than being something that people saw as negative, it really helped them understand their own family histories so much better. . . . No one wrote to us saying that their faith had been shaken or that they were leaving the Church."172 The popular-

170. Notes from Regional Priesthood Conference, Winder Stake Center, 10 August 1985, 8 a.m.-12 noon, given to David John Buerger on 5 October 1985, from an unidentified friend in attendance. Buerger Papers, Box 9, folder 9. In 1986, while serving as Church Historian, John K. Carmack of the First Quorum of Seventy, provided his own insight to Buerger regarding Packer's attitude toward historians: "You really need to know him to understand him. He's a very complex person. He loves the church so much, and is so loyal to it, that he personifies it. When an attack is made on the church, he feels it's an attack on him." Buerger responded that "Packer's self-identification with the church is potentially very dangerous, almost being an Achilles heel to his balanced performance as a general officer. Carmack agreed with this view" ("Interview with John Carmack in his office, LDS Historical Dept., Salt Lake City on November 11, 1986, 10:00–11:15 a.m.," Buerger Papers, box 1, folder 10).

171. D. Michael Quinn, "Plural Marriage After the 1890 Manifesto," speech given in Bluffdale, Utah on 11 August 1991, and at this writing, available at <www.ldshistory.net/pc/postman.htm>.

172. Newell interview; see also Anderson, "Reflections from Within," 25.

ity and importance of the article is demonstrated by the fact that the issue sold out shortly after publication. The Newells printed a second run of 1,500 soon after and it, too, sold out. A third printing later published along with the Spring 1986 issue eventually sold out as well.¹⁷³

CONTROVERSY AT HOME

Not long after Quinn handed over his temple recommend to his stake president, Linda and Jack Newell were beginning a painful experience of their own. Earlier, on 4 October 1984, *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith*, written by Linda with Valeen Avery, was finally published and appeared in Utah bookstores. Nine years in the making, and widely anticipated, this first printing sold out after two weeks, forcing a second printing the same week it was released nationally.¹⁷⁴ Expecting high interest from *Dialogue* readers, the Newells pre-ordered 200 copies to be marketed to subscribers at a discount as part of their 1984 Christmas fundraiser. By mid-January 1985, they had sold nearly 150 copies.¹⁷⁵ By the spring of 1985 the book had won the Best Book award from the Mormon History Association and shared in the \$10,000 Evans Biography Award, then administered through BYU and presented to the authors by University President Jeffrey R. Holland.¹⁷⁶ The following October, the John Whitmer Historical Association awarded it its Best Book award also.

However, the celebration was soon interrupted. On Sunday morning, 9 June 1985, Linda received a telephone call from *Dialogue* business manager Fred Esplin, who had learned some distressing news that morning during his bishopric meeting: "The bishop told us he had received word that two 'girls' had written a controversial book about Emma Smith, and we were not to encourage the sale of the book by inviting them to speak in any of our church meetings." Esplin asked his bishop if the book in question was the one co-authored by Linda Newell

173. Linda King Newell to Mary L. Bradford, 13 January 1986, *Dialogue* Collection.

174. Linda King Newell to Charles Turner, 9 November 1984, *Dialogue* Collection. Shortly before the book was published, both authors published essays on Emma Smith in *Dialogue*. See Linda King Newell, "The Emma Smith Lore Reconsidered," and Valeen Tippetts Avery, "Emma Smith Through Her Writings," both in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 17, no. 3 (Autumn 1984): 87-106.

175. Linda King Newell to Robert Breinholt, 29 August 1984 and 18 January 1985, both in *Dialogue* Collection. At least one man became interested in *Dialogue* after first reading *Mormon Enigma*. He wrote the office, "Since the author of the book (1 of them) is now the editor to *Dialogue*, which I know very little about, I should like to subscribe to it" (Leo Christensen to *Dialogue*, undated, *Dialogue* Collection).

176. Anderson, "LDS Intellectual Community," 25. *Mormon Enigma* shared the Evans award with Richard L. Bushman for his book, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984). See "Recipients of Evans Biography Award Named," *BYU Today* 39 (June 1985): 16.

and found the response both humorous and troublesome: "Oh no, I'm sure not. Linda spoke in our ward and did a fine job. There was certainly nothing controversial in what she said. No, it's some woman from Arizona named Avery."¹⁷⁷

Throughout the day, she received more calls, each from friends who had been given similar instructions in LDS leadership meetings, although the details varied. Finally, Linda telephoned her bishop, who confirmed he had been similarly instructed. She then called her stake president, W. Eugene Hansen, who arranged to meet with her and Jack the following morning.¹⁷⁸

During the early Monday morning meeting, Linda told Hansen that she "had received a number of phone calls from as far south as Alpine and as far north as Kaysville" on Sunday with reports about a ban on her speaking in LDS meetings. Hansen confirmed that he had been instructed by the Newells' regional representative, Don Ostler, to tell each bishop in the stake that Linda was not to be invited to speak in church meetings. Linda had many questions, foremost of which were: "Why wasn't I informed?" and "Who instigated the ban?" Hansen said he did not know who gave the order, but would do all he could to find out. He also promised to do his best in arranging a meeting between the Newells and those responsible for the ban, "or somebody who could explain it." Linda countered that "I am not interested in talking with someone who can explain it. I want to talk to the person who instigated it." Jack added: "Someone who can explain it is not sufficient. Linda has a right to face whoever it was that started this whole affair."¹⁷⁹

Throughout the following week, Linda received more calls, from both ends of the country. Rumors were afloat that she and Avery had both been excommunicated or disfellowshipped. Hansen called Linda at the *Dialogue* office on Thursday, 13 June, and arranged to meet with her and Jack again on Friday evening. That night, Hansen apologetically told them that, despite his best efforts, he was the highest official that would consent to meet with them. This, however, was still unacceptable, and Jack insisted once again that "Linda does have a right to face her accusers." Hansen said he would see what he could do, but was not optimistic.¹⁸⁰

Hansen did stress that the ban only pertained to Linda's speaking on

177. Linda King Newell, "Epilogue: The Aftermath of the Biography of Emma Hale Smith," paper presented at the 1992 Pacific Northwest Sunstone Symposium, 23 October 1992, audio tape J976 in my possession.

178. Ibid. W. Eugene Hansen was later called to the First Quorum of Seventy on 1 April 1989 and served until attaining emeritus status on 3 October 1998.

179. Ibid.

180. Ibid.



Editor Linda King Newell: "I don't believe anyone has all the answers; we just deal with the questions in different ways" 1984.



Editor L. Jackson Newell: "We had marvelous rapport and enormous respect for the people we worked with" 1994.

LDS historical topics in general and Emma Smith in particular. She was to remain in full fellowship with the church. However, Hansen noted the irony when Jack said, "So she is free to speak on anything except what she really knows about?" Hansen also said he had learned that the decision came from the First Presidency (of whom second counselor Gordon B. Hinckley was the only functioning member at the time) and the Quorum of the Twelve. Hansen said the reason the speaking prohibition was given was because Linda and Avery had been "using sacrament meeting and other church meetings" to promote sales of their book. Linda immediately countered: "If they had talked to me first I could have told them that Val had never spoken in a sacrament meeting on Emma Smith, and it was my own personal policy not to speak in sacrament meeting after the book was published."¹⁸¹

Soon the story made its way to John Dart, a reporter for the *Los Angeles Times*, who called Linda on 18 June for more information. Linda told him they were trying to resolve the situation, and she felt that any public airing of the story would likely jeopardize the outcome. Dart promised to hold off. However, Linda called Hansen to inform him that the press now knew of the story. The following morning, Hansen called back and told Linda to call the office of Apostle Dallin Oaks and arrange a meeting with Oaks and Apostle Neal A. Maxwell through Oaks's secretary. After speaking with Linda and first arranging a meeting for that afternoon, the secretary called back and rescheduled it for Friday. The Newells recognized the fact that this allowed the apostles and Hinckley an opportunity to have their regular Thursday meeting before seeing them.¹⁸²

The two-hour meeting on 21 June with Linda, Jack, Oaks, Maxwell, and Hansen was an informal one, with everyone sitting in chairs away from Oaks's desk. The conversation soon turned to the Newells' concern of not having been informed of the ban. Oaks then provided a copy of a Priesthood Bulletin warning against those who used church meetings to push the sale of products. "This was the basis of the action," he said. Linda assured the apostles that neither she nor Avery had been guilty of this. Oaks explained that there was more to the decision, citing the fact that many people had written to church headquarters inquiring to know whether *Mormon Enigma* had been sanctioned by the church. Since the book had been the recipient of two awards—one having been presented at BYU—the ban was their way of clarifying that the book was not church endorsed. However, recognizing the fact that the manner in which the instructions had been given had resulted in damaged reputa-

181. Ibid.

182. Ibid.

tions, Maxwell acknowledged that the ban “could have been handled better and [he] said that they were sorry for the way it was carried out.”¹⁸³

Oaks explained the decision to order the ban included the fact that “your book represents a non-traditional view of Joseph Smith” and thus may damage the faith of church members who read it. Linda explained that the letters and calls she had received from readers described a positive reaction. Oaks acknowledged that possibility yet maintained that he believed “the weight of the evidence was on the other side.”¹⁸⁴ Jack countered that the issue was whether or not the book was an honest and true portrayal of the facts, readers reactions being incidental. When Linda asked whether the two apostles had read the book, Maxwell did not answer and Oaks admitted he had only read portions of it, citing time constraints as the reason. He acknowledged that in what he had read, Linda and Avery had used restraint when discussing aspects of Joseph Smith’s life and his relationship with Emma. Apparently, however, it was not enough. After more discussion, Oaks emphasized that, despite his academic background and reputation as a scholar and intellectual, his duty as an apostle meant he had an obligation to “protect what is most unique about the LDS church” and stressed that “if *Mormon Enigma* reveals information that is detrimental to the reputation of Joseph Smith, then it is necessary to try to limit its influence and that of its authors.” Jack then spoke of the opposing view of President Hugh B. Brown, who taught that if the church was what it claimed to be, it could withstand rigorous examinations of its doctrine and history without fear. He gave the two apostles photocopies of a Brown address reprinted the previous year in *Dialogue*.¹⁸⁵ Maxwell then expressed an interest in knowing Jack’s feelings about the purpose of *Dialogue*, and he and the Newells discussed the possibility of meeting again for that discussion. However, the meeting never took place.¹⁸⁶

Oaks also expressed concern about repairing the damage to Linda’s

183. Ibid.

184. Ibid. The following letter is similar to many sent to Linda: “I appreciate your courage in dealing directly with sensitive material and doing so without bias and without malice toward any of the major personalities you bring to the page. What I would really like to let you know is that *Mormon Enigma* was not only an interesting historical work for me, but more importantly even was a faith-building experience to read” (Dian Saderup to Linda King Newell, 10 October 1985, *Dialogue* Collection).

185. Newell, “Epilogue.” See Hugh B. Brown, “An Eternal Quest: Freedom of the Mind,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 17, no. 1 (Spring 1984): 77-83.

186. Newell, “Epilogue.” Linda believes that Oaks and Maxwell did not schedule a follow-up meeting because of the article by John Dart that was soon published in the *Los Angeles Times*. In her prepared statement for Dart, Linda did make reference to the meeting with the apostles and referred to both by name. The apostles likely assumed that any future

reputation caused by the ban. Jack said rescinding it would be the best way. Oaks responded: "I'm quite sure that wouldn't happen." However, after Linda asked how long the ban would be in place, Oaks said: "It's permanent. But we all know such oral communications expire eventually."¹⁸⁷

The following Tuesday, 25 June, Dart called Linda once again and told her that he planned to proceed with his story for the *Los Angeles Times*, with or without her help. Linda prepared a three-page statement and sent copies to Oaks and Maxwell, explaining that the story was coming out anyway and this was her way to safeguard herself against being quoted out of context. On Friday, 28 June, local reporter Dawn Tracy also called, and Linda provided her with the same statement. The next day articles appeared in both the *Salt Lake Tribune* and *Los Angeles Times*. Both reporters quoted what to Linda was the most painful part of the whole ordeal: "No one had any explanation as to why, as lifetime church members, neither Val nor I had been informed officially of this decision or been given an opportunity to speak on our own behalf. By not informing us, established church rules of due process were ignored."¹⁸⁸

While the ban was in force, duties at the *Dialogue* office were regularly interrupted by reporters. "It was hard to get anything done," remembers Linda, although the work went on.¹⁸⁹ Letters of support came from *Dialogue* readers also. "I want to tell you that I shed some tears when I read about the 'gag order' in the paper a few weeks ago," wrote one. "The tragedy and short-sightedness of whatever forces and persons did this are not new to the history of religion, but those of us who believe that the Truth will indeed make us free must mourn in shock nevertheless."¹⁹⁰

Ten months later however, the ban was lifted after Linda made a final appeal through Hansen. The timing seemed right. She had agreed to appear on a local television program on 25 April 1986 to discuss the upcoming Mormon History Association Meeting to be held in Salt Lake City. Expecting that someone would ask about the ban during the question and answer period, she wanted to provide a positive answer, so she met with Hansen on 13 April 1986 and asked him to do what he could to persuade LDS leaders to lift the ban. He was willing, but said, "Linda,

meeting would have been made public as well, which Linda insists would not have happened. "I did not, at any time, 'go to the press,' not on this issue or any other—it is just not our way of functioning. But they came to us" (Newell and Newell to Anderson, 9 September 2002). Linda's motive in preparing the statement for Dart is discussed below.

187. Newell, "Epilogue."

188. Ibid. See Dawn Tracy, "LDS Officials Ban Authors from Lectures on History," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 29 June 1985, 1B and 16B; John Dart, "Mormons Forbid Female Biographers of Smith's Wife to Address Church," *Los Angeles Times*, 29 June 1985, 5.

189. Linda Newell telephone interview, 8 August 1995.

190. Gene Sessions to Linda King Newell, 19 July 1985, *Dialogue* Collection.

you know that the church is not going to announce that they have rescinded this." However, that did not matter to her. "They don't have to," she said. "All they have to do is tell me, because I know the question is going to come up."¹⁹¹

The day before the taping of the television program, Hansen called Linda with some good news. She was "no longer under any restrictions any more than any other member of the church." Not only were the Newells elated, but when a reporter asked about the ban, as expected, she was now able to announce it had been lifted. Linda prepared a statement after the program, and news of the rescinding of the ban appeared in every major newspaper in Utah except the *Deseret News*.¹⁹²

Feeling that the LDS Church's June 1985 action to prohibit my co-author and me from speaking on historical subjects in LDS Church meetings was detrimental to all parties concerned, on April 13, I requested through my stake president that Church leaders reconsider their prohibition. Last Thursday, April 24th, he telephoned me with the news that my request had been honored, and that previous restrictions placed on Valeen Avery's and my speaking on Church history at Church sponsored meetings is no longer in effect. I am naturally pleased with this decision. It renews my confidence that leaders and members can reason together when basic differences arise, and provides hope that other independent LDS scholars will be spared the difficulties that Valeen and I have experienced.¹⁹³

Linda, seven years later, described the effect of the episode on her and Avery's family as "incalculable."¹⁹⁴ Also, in spite of the ban being officially lifted, both Linda and Avery have been "blacklisted" ever since, meaning that their work may never be cited in any official LDS publication.¹⁹⁵ Although the controversy tripled sales of *Mormon Enigma* the month after the story of the ban was made public, it was hardly consolation for the pain caused.¹⁹⁶ The irony of the prohibition is fully evidenced in a letter from Linda written five months before the ban began. To a reader who wondered if there had yet been any repercussions, she said: "There has been no 'official church' reaction to the Emma biography.

191. Newell, "Epilogue."

192. Ibid. See for example, "Author: LDS Removed Ban on Discussing Research," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 28 April 1986, 2D.

193. Newell, "Epilogue." See also "LDS Removed Ban on Discussing Research." Shortly before the ban was lifted, Jack Newell provided an insightful essay on personal conscience and free agency in light of Linda's speaking prohibition and other instances of LDS disciplinary actions. See L. Jackson Newell, "An Echo from the Foothills: To Marshall the Forces of Reason," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 19, no. 1 (Spring 1986): 26-34.

194. Newell, "Epilogue."

195. Newell to Anderson.

196. Ibid.; Linda King Newell to Don and Teddy Calaway, 11 November 1985, *Dialogue* Collection.

Neither has there been an 'unofficial' reaction. I would not have been surprised had there been a negative reaction but I believe it is the better part of wisdom to let this one go by. The 'official reaction' to *America's Saints* [written by non-Mormon journalists in 1984] caused a lot of publicity and an increase in sales."¹⁹⁷

DIALOGUE AND THE HOFMANN BOMBINGS

Media calls to the *Dialogue* office did not end after the Newell-Avery story became old news, for tragic events in Salt Lake City soon made national headlines. Midway through the speaking ban (and midway through the Newell tenure at *Dialogue*), it became known that Mark Hofmann, who had earned a reputation with both scholars and church leaders as a skilled document collector, was in actuality a talented forger. For years he had sold countless forgeries to collectors as well as to the LDS church. When he feared his scheme was about to be uncovered, Hofmann built pipe bombs and on 15 October 1985 murdered Steven F. Christensen, a local businessman and collector with whom he was in the midst of dealings, and Kathy Sheets, the wife of Christensen's former business partner, Gary Sheets. Although Christensen's murder was motivated by Hofmann's growing fears of being unmasked, the killing of Sheets was meant as a diversion to throw investigators off of the Mormon trail and to create focus on motives involving their troubled business, CFS Financial Corp.

Christensen had purchased Hofmann's much publicized "Salamander Letter" for \$40,000 and donated it to the LDS church.¹⁹⁸ The letter had become well known, and its significance had been much debated within the Mormon history community due to details of Mormon origins it contained very unlike those in the received tradition. Christensen had been a long-time friend and associate of the Mormon intellectual community and was well known by the *Dialogue* team. So was Hofmann. And since Hofman was himself injured by a bomb that accidentally detonated in his car the following day (a bomb he'd intended for an unknown third victim), for a time he was viewed both as a possible suspect and as an unfortunate victim.

197. Linda King Newell to Linda Brooksby, 3 January 1985, *Dialogue* Collection.

198. The "Salamander Letter" was supposed to have been written on 23 October 1830 by Book of Mormon witness Martin Harris to W. W. Phelps, who later joined the Mormon church himself. In the letter, Harris, describing Joseph Smith's attempts to acquire the gold plates containing the Book of Mormon, says that an "old spirit," transforming himself into a "white salamander," struck Smith three times and forbade him to take the plates, referred to in the letter as the "gold bible." This, of course, differs dramatically from the traditional, authorized version of the story.

Jack Newell had been teaching a class at the University of Utah when he heard the news of the bombings, and he came home as soon as he could to check on the safety of his family. After Hofmann fell victim to the third bomb, it seemed clear that someone was targeting those involved with Hofmann's business dealings, thus creating fear among many even indirectly related. Jack recalls, "We took special precautions to lock the house and leave lights on that night, but we chose not to take the kind offers of several friends and neighbors to take refuge at their homes."¹⁹⁹

The Newell's concerns were echoed by others involved in Mormon history and acquainted with Hofmann and Christensen. Not long before the murders, Linda and Hofmann had met for lunch. Linda was interested in Hofmann's supposed find of a collection once belonging to early LDS apostle William McLellin, thinking it might contain letters from Emma Smith (in fact, it was trouble over his "sale" of this "McLellin Collection" to the LDS church through Christensen that led Hofmann to murder). Hofmann, in turn, was interested in speaking with Linda to find out more about a woman Linda had encountered at Mormon gatherings in Montana where the woman had spoken, claiming to be a descendant of Joseph and Emma Smith and to own a trunk containing many valuable letters and diaries written by Emma. In reality, this woman owned no such materials and had confessed as much to the FBI. The conversation, as Linda remembers it, was deeply ironic: "I [told Mark] that I believed at one point that she was going to try to forge the documents," recalls Linda. "I asked, 'Do you think someone could actually forge an entire collection?' Mark considered my question for a moment then shook his head. 'Naw,' he said, 'the technology for detecting forgeries today is so precise that anyone would be a fool to try.'"²⁰⁰

Although the focus of the investigation soon centered on Hofmann, those who knew him refused to believe he was guilty. "Still no arrests. It is anyone's guess," wrote Linda to historian Jan Shipps three weeks after the bombings. "The case against Mark Hofmann is not firm at all or they surely would have charged him by now."²⁰¹ That same day she wrote another inquirer: "The incident has shaken us all—these are people we knew and liked. Salt Lake has reporters everywhere and most of them have no understanding of the Church at all. They end up calling Jack or me for background material so our lives have been very much interrupted."²⁰²

199. Newell and Newell to Anderson, 18 February 2002.

200. Newell and Newell to Anderson, 9 September 2002.

201. Linda King Newell to Jan Shipps, 5 November 1985, *Dialogue* Collection.

202. Linda King Newell to Uwe Drews, 5 November 1985, *Dialogue* Collection.

On 4 February 1986, after months of investigation, Hofmann was finally charged with two counts of murder and twenty-three counts of theft and fraud. Nearly a year later, he plead guilty to two second-degree murder charges and two counts of fraud. All other charges were dismissed as part of a plea bargain. He was sentenced to one prison term of five years to life, and three other terms of one-to-fifteen years in the Utah State Penitentiary.²⁰³

As the investigation uncovered surprising details, *Dialogue* executive committee member Allen Roberts and Utah writer Linda Sillitoe began researching a book on the case. It had, from the beginning, become a dominant part of each *Dialogue* executive committee meeting, and later Roberts regularly shared his research at these meetings in the Newell home.²⁰⁴ Shortly before their book was published, Roberts and Sillitoe each published portions of their Hofmann research in *Dialogue*.²⁰⁵

Hofmann's confession and sentencing might have solved the crime, but historians and collectors were still on alert, since many unidentified forgeries remained at large.²⁰⁶ The Newells thus took extra care to check questionable sources in submitted manuscripts. *Dialogue* had already

203. Several books have appeared dealing with the Hofmann case. See Linda Sillitoe and Allen Roberts, *Salamander: The Story of the Mormon Forgery Murders* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988, second edition, 1989); Robert Lindsey, *A Gathering of Saints: A True Story of Money, Murder and Deceit* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988); and Richard E. Turley, Jr., *Victims: The LDS Church and the Mark Hofmann Case* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992). Another work, however, prone to sensationalism, is Steven W. Naifeh and Gregory White Smith, *The Mormon Murders: A Story of Greed, Forgery, Deceit and Death* (New York: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1988). From an anti-Mormon perspective, see Jerald Tanner, *Tracking the White Salamander: The Story of Mark Hofmann, Murder and Forged Mormon Documents* (Salt Lake City: Utah Lighthouse Ministry, 1986, second and third editions, 1987). A recent work focusing on Hofmann's forgery of an Emily Dickinson poem is Simon Worrall, *The Poet and the Murderer: A True Story of Literary Crime and the Art of Forgery* (New York: Penguin Putnam, 2002).

204. Newell and Newell to Anderson, 9 September 2002.

205. See Allen D. Roberts, "'The Truth is the Most Important Thing': The New Mormon History according to Mark Hofmann," and Linda Sillitoe, "The Successful Marketing of the Holy Grail," both in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 20, no. 4 (Winter 1987): 87-104.

206. The 1986 Mormon History Association meeting in Salt Lake City addressed Mormon document dealing in light of the unfolding Hofmann forgery-murder case. *Dialogue* published the remarks made at the panel discussion. See the following articles under the general heading, "The Document Diggers and Their Discoveries: A Panel": Cheryll L. May, "The Context"; Allen D. Roberts, "The Hofmann Case: Six Issues"; Jeffery O. Johnson, "The Damage Done: An Archivist's View"; James B. Allen, "The Documents: A Historian's Approach"; and Richard P. Howard, "Revisionist History and the Document Diggers." Not part of the panel, but responding to the issues presented was Curt Bench, "Document Dealing: A Dealer's Response" All of these essays are in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 19, no. 4 (Winter 1986): 44-76.

been affected by a Hofmann forgery. D. Michael Quinn's essay, "Joseph Smith III's 1844 Blessing and the Mormons of Utah," (Summer 1982) had relied heavily on a purported find by Hofmann from 1981. After historian Dan Vogel submitted an essay based on obscure nineteenth-century letters discussing Mormonism, Linda wrote to Princeton University where the documents were housed in order to determine their authenticity. "This is just a precautionary measure on our part. Since the documents Mark Hofmann forged were exposed this past year we are cautious about 'new' finds." Jean F. Preston of the library responded that while there was no way to prove it, "it seems to me extremely unlikely that they were 'planted' there, in a folder of 1831-1833 correspondence."²⁰⁷

In November, just weeks after the bombings, church President Spencer W. Kimball, ailing since 1981, died. His death increased an already active press in Salt Lake City, and as before reporters searched out the Newells for comment. Three months later Linda wrote of the hectic year that had just passed: "The speaking ban, the bombings, and President Kimball's death have focused an incredible amount of media attention on Salt Lake this past nine months. . . . I think between the two of us, we have talked with about forty reporters ranging from the *New York Times* to the *Sacramento Bee*." Despite the personal pain and local tragedy that caught the media's attention, the Newells found their dealings with the press to be a growing experience. Linda wrote at the time: "We have learned a lot and feel it is important that a variety of views be available to them. Mormons are so often stereotyped and many reporters we talked with were delighted to find someone whose opinions don't seem 'canned.'"²⁰⁸ Nearly a decade later, Linda added: "I think we played an important role, as the press would go to the church spokesman and get an answer that didn't deal with the issues, and then they would go to anti-Mormons and get vitriolic responses. They saw Jack and me as people whom they could call and who would discuss the issues with them. They knew they could get a straight, candid answer from us."²⁰⁹

207. Linda King Newell to Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, Princeton University, 23 June 1987; Jean F. Preston to Linda King Newell, 22 July 1987, both in *Dialogue* Collection. The letters were written to the Reverend Ancil Beach and deposited in the Hubbel Papers at Princeton's library. Vogel's essay, "An Account of Early Mormonism," was eventually rejected by the Newells, according to Vogel, because it made reference to well-known Mormon critic Wesley P. Walters (statement of Dan Vogel to Devery S. Anderson, 8 August 2002, Salt Lake City). The letters were later published in Dan Vogel, ed., *Early Mormon Documents, Volume III* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2000), 11-16.

208. Linda King Newell to Alma and Kay Blair, 11 February 1986, *Dialogue* Collection.

209. Newell interview.

PERCEPTIONS OF DIALOGUE

The Newells not only dealt with inquiries from reporters during their five and a half years with *Dialogue*, but they also often found cause to defend or at least explain the nature and purpose of the journal, and they would often deal directly with readers and others who were objecting to *Dialogue's* content, inquiring to know more about the LDS church, or hoping *Dialogue* would help with their own anti-Mormon agenda. For example, Linda followed up a telephone call from one man questioning Mormonism's claims:

I gathered from our conversation that you are fairly familiar with some of the anti-Mormon material. I would also encourage you to look within the Church for your answers. I really don't have any patience with those who make it their life's work to destroy another's faith—particularly in the name of Christ.

The anti-Mormon arguments are not unfamiliar to a lot of people who are in the Church and who give to and take from that experience in constructive and good ways. I don't believe anyone has all the answers; we just deal with the questions in different ways.²¹⁰

One new subscriber, upset with the content of the first issue she received, wrote: "I feel very strongly that *Dialogue* magazine 'sails under false colors.' I subscribed thinking it to be the best of Mormon writing and scholarly thought. Finding it to be very anti-Mormon, I would like to cancel my subscription."²¹¹ To this, Jack responded:

I have served as a counselor in the Bishopric of my ward or in the Young Men's Presidency, since assuming the editorship of *Dialogue*. Other numbers of our six-member executive committee are currently serving in bishoprics or are stake missionaries. All are faithful, active Latter-day Saints. Articles in *Dialogue* are written by a wide range of people, but the vast majority of them are devoted to the LDS Church. Either way, the articles are chosen for their potential to help us think and improve.²¹²

However, recognizing the concept of "milk before meat," some letters to *Dialogue* were dealt with differently. Dan Maryon wrote to a non-Mormon:

210. Linda King Newell to Caine Alder, 13 June 1984, *Dialogue* Collection.

211. Mrs. Monte J. Wight to *Dialogue*, undated, *Dialogue* Collection. Although this letter is undated, the date of the response from *Dialogue* (also cited, see following footnote) would indicate that the Summer 1984 issue was the most recent, and was likely the issue which disillusioned this reader. Featured in this issue was D. Michael Quinn, "From Sacred Grove to Sacral Power Structure," Lawrence Foster, "Career Apostates: Reflections on the Works of Jerald and Sandra Tanner," Blake T. Ostler, "The Mormon Concept of God," and Smith, "Is There Any Way to Escape These Difficulties?"

212. L. Jackson Newell to Mrs. Monte J. Wight, 5 September 1984, *Dialogue* Collection.

If you are interested in the Latter-day Saint Church in general, *Dialogue* may not be the best place to start. Our journal is edited by and for members of the faith who want to bring aspects of their intellectual and spiritual life together, and so assumes that readers are already familiar with the Church and its beliefs. The views expressed in our journal are independent, and often question LDS assumptions. . . . If you would like to begin with basics, the Church's public communications or missionary services might be of more interest.²¹³

To another reader, Linda wrote:

In response to your questions, haven't we "suffered the wrath of our Bishop or Stake President" because *Dialogue* sometimes publishes "dissenting opinion, contrary to the opinions of the Church authorities," no one on any level of the Church has ever "come down on" us. Jack and I live and serve happily in our ward in Salt Lake. He just recently served in the bishopric and I in the Relief Society presidency. Jack is now the scout master.

We have found both liberals and conservatives in each of the places we have lived, but we have also always found common ground in serving the needs of the members rather than using those differences to divide. The Church needs all of us.²¹⁴

However, for those whose church and *Dialogue* experience were more extensive and intertwined, their assessment of the role of the journal often echoed the vision of the original founders. As one letter to the *Dialogue* staff declared: "Your devoted service continues to provide a life-line during times of discouragement. But also, from the first issue in 1966, *Dialogue* has been a constant source of spiritual and intellectual nourishment too. As converts of almost 30 years ago, *Dialogue* has represented for us the Gospel at its finest."²¹⁵

THE "UNFETTERED FAITHFUL"

Answering such inquiries had been routine for every *Dialogue* team, and the time was long overdue to find out just who had been supporting *Dialogue* for nearly two decades. Why did they read it, and what kept them subscribing? Where did they stand with Mormonism generally? Linda explains: "We thought it important, if the facts backed up our hunch, to let people know that we were a responsible crowd. The Petersen and Packer pressures on members were taking a toll on our efforts to expand circulation, and we thought facts about existing readers would encourage potential subscribers to sign up."²¹⁶

213. Daniel Maryon to Daniel Patterson, 6 July 1987, *Dialogue* Collection.

214. Linda King Newell to Michael Johnen, 14 November 1984, *Dialogue* Collection.

215. William and Irene M. Bates to *Dialogue* staff, 15 November 1984, *Dialogue* Collection.

216. Newell and Newell to Anderson, 18 February 2002.

Therefore, the team began making preparations to conduct a reader survey. This had been considered at least as early as May 1983 when sociologist Armand Mauss and Allen Roberts discussed the idea at the Mormon History Association meeting in Omaha, Nebraska. Mauss followed up on their conversation by sending examples from the code book of the National Science Foundation and the National Opinion Research Corp., and he envisioned a thorough, scientific questionnaire aimed at the *Dialogue* readership.²¹⁷ By the following fall, the survey had been finalized by Mauss and the *Dialogue* team. According to Mauss, there were three motivations behind the survey: First, to find out general characteristics of *Dialogue* subscribers (location, income, gender, etc.). Second, to learn of their level of church activity and commitment. Third, to find out if *Dialogue* was meeting their interests and needs.²¹⁸

The four-page, forty-five question survey was mailed to all current and 600 lapsed subscribers in April 1984.²¹⁹ By 18 May, 42 percent had been returned; however, the goal was to receive back and evaluate at least 2000 responses.²²⁰ Falling short of this, Julie Randall sent out letters to several supporters the following month asking them to contact subscribers in their locale to encourage them to return the survey.²²¹

Eventually, 1800 surveys were returned, with 1,779 judged usable.²²² Once in, Mauss, John Tarjan, Martha Esplin, and several volunteers began the process of evaluating the results. Esplin was responsible for entering, tabulating, and encoding the raw data while Tarjan, then a student at the University of Utah, created the tables used in the published analysis and worked with Mauss on processing the information.²²³

The results, published in the spring 1987 issue, confirmed most suspicions, but offered a few surprises. For example, most subscribers were fairly affluent and averaged between 30 and 60 years of age, with 41

217. Armand L. Mauss to Allen Roberts, 19 May 1983, *Dialogue* Collection.

218. Armand L. Mauss interview, 2 November 2001, conducted by Devery S. Anderson in Salt Lake City, Utah.

219. Armand L. Mauss to L. Jackson Newell, 20 April 1984, *Dialogue* Collection. There is some discrepancy as to the actual number sent. A published report and analysis of the survey says that *Dialogue* sent the questionnaire "to all of its then-2,300 subscribers plus 600 who had let their subscription lapse in the previous year." This would total 2,900. However, a document in the *Dialogue* correspondence gives the number as 3,559 (see Armand L. Mauss, John R. Tarjan, and Martha D. Esplin, "The Unfettered Faithful: An Analysis of the *Dialogue* Subscribers Survey," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 20, no. 1 (Spring 1987): 27, and "Dialogue Survey Follow-Up Phone Call," undated script to be read over the telephone to those who had not returned their surveys, undated, *Dialogue* Collection).

220. "Dialogue Survey Follow-Up Phone Call."

221. See letters written by Julie Randall, dated 15 June 1984, *Dialogue* Collection.

222. Mauss, Tarjan and Esplin, "The Unfettered Faithful," 27.

223. Mauss interview.

percent being under age 40. Also, 94 percent of respondents indicated they were LDS, and 88 percent said they attended church "most" Sundays, with 75 percent attending "every" Sunday. (Mormons in general average only a 50 percent activity rate in the U.S.). When asked what they would do if "faced with a Church policy or program with which he or she does not fully agree," 10 percent said they would "accept it on faith," and 37 percent said they would "go along with the policy after frankly expressing disagreement." Although 62 percent also subscribed to *Sunstone*, an even higher number, 75 percent, also received the *Ensign*. Most readers favored essays in *Dialogue* dealing with history and theology, while only a small minority favored poetry and fiction. Lester Bush's "Mormonism's Negro Doctrine: An Historical Overview" (Spring 1973) was subscribers' favorite article in the journal. Regarding the Book of Mormon, over two-thirds of the respondents also believed it to be an ancient record, while most of the others still believed it to be the word of God, despite questioning its origins.²²⁴ Summarizing the results, Mauss, Tarjan and Esplin wrote:

In short, *Dialogue* subscribers represent a healthy and viable segment of the Mormon religion. Their existence suggests that being simultaneously curious and committed, intellectually alert and actively serving, is a much more common occurrence than the stereotyped divisions into mindless conformers and liberal dissidents. The light shed on "*Dialogue* Mormons" by this survey should quiet the fears of those who see apostasy in curiosity and should hearten those who believe that both the individual and the Church can be strengthened by a serious journal devoted to free and open discussion of the issues that lie at the heart of our religion.²²⁵

Although, as Linda said, "Our hunches turned out to be pretty accurate," the survey was not enough to educate Mormons in general or to spark substantial interest in the journal beyond those already receiving it. Despite major accomplishments in other areas, the Newells remained frustrated at their inability to significantly add to the subscription base.²²⁶

MAINTAINING SOME TRADITIONS, LOSING OTHERS

The readers' survey made clear what subscribers liked most about *Dialogue*, and the Salt Lake City team did their best to provide it. Although readers in general indicated that poetry and fiction were their

224. See the survey results in Mauss, Tarjan, and Esplin, "The Unfettered Faithful," 40-53.

225. *Ibid.*, 40.

226. Newell and Newell to Anderson, 18 February 2002.

least favorite genres, they were important enough for readers who valued them to not only keep them in the journal, but to ensure they were always first-rate. To maintain a high standard in poetry, the Newells worked closely with poetry editor, Michael R. Collings, and staff member Bethany Chaffin for evaluations and recommendations. Both were well thought of in Mormon literary circles. At the end of their tenure, Linda wrote them both: "We do want you to know how indispensable you have been to the journal in the five years you have been reading poetry for us. Your unfailing promptness and incisive comments have been so helpful in our wading through the many poems that have been submitted, and we feel good about the selections we have published."²²⁷ Over sixty-five poems were included in the journal between 1982 and 1987.

Nearly twenty short stories were selected and published during the Newell tenure. Fiction too had a large enough audience that Lavina Fielding Anderson could assure one reader, "We're very interested in beating the bushes for more good fiction."²²⁸ Yet, some of the published fiction stirred controversy. Neal C. Chandler's short story, "Roger Across the Looking Glass" (Spring 1984) included a sexual theme involving intercourse between a married couple. While there were complaints by readers, according to Anderson: "The story was well written. The sexual scene was the crux and could not be taken out."²²⁹ Another story that some readers found offensive, even blasphemous, was Levi Peterson's, "The Third Nephite" (Winter 1986), which took a humorous look at the Book of Mormon account of the "Three Nephites." One couple complained of "the foul language and the frequent use of the name of Deity" and threatened to cancel their subscription should similar stories appear in the future.²³⁰ Peterson apologized to the readers who were bothered by the story, but reminded them: "My piece is a fiction, not a sermon or a theological treatise. I hoped it would seem funny. Comedy almost always exaggerates and distorts reality."²³¹ Today, Jack Newell defends the decision made years ago to publish these two stories: "Neal and Levi are among the best our culture has produced. Their works should be cele-

227. Separate letters of Linda King Newell to Michael R. Collings and Bethany Chaffin, 18 June 1987, *Dialogue* Collection.

228. Lavina Fielding Anderson to Harlow Clark, 31 January 1986, *Dialogue* Collection.

229. Lavina Fielding Anderson telephone interview, 2 December 1994, conducted by Devery S. Anderson

230. Herman and Maude Fielding, "Disappointed in 'Nephite,'" letter to the editor, *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 20, no. 2 (Summer 1987): 5. Ironically this letter is from the parents of *Dialogue* associate editor Lavina Fielding Anderson. For another reader complaint, see Joseph B. Romney, "Dialogue It Is Not," letter to the editor, *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 20, no. 4 (Winter 1987): 7-8.

231. Levi S. Peterson, "Peterson Responds," letter to the editor, *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 20, no. 4 (Winter 1987): 8.

brated, and we were proud to be agents in getting their words and ideas into wide circulation. These decisions were our easiest and most pleasant."²³² Peterson's story won second place for fiction in the 1986 *Dialogue* writing awards.

The Newells also published a few theme issues. The first, on church administration (Winter 1982), was originally planned by the Washington team. David J. Whittaker had collected the essays and wrote the introduction, but it was left to the Newells to choose among them. Knowing from experience the added stress of theme issues—working with a guest editor, weeding out the weakest essays, and using extra caution to avoid redundancy—outgoing associate editor Lester Bush assured the Newells that "[t]his will be your real baptism."²³³

Another theme issue, on war and peace, appeared the following year (Winter 1984). Six essays were featured, including D. Michael Quinn's "The Mormon Church and the Spanish-American War: An End to Selective Pacifism."²³⁴ Some readers complained that the issue was not well balanced and accused the editors of a liberal bias toward pacifism.²³⁵ However, Linda assured one reader that they did solicit and, in fact, received many papers from conservative writers: "However, the arguments presented in all but one of those papers were so poorly researched and presented that we decided not to use them rather than present inadequately argued essays. The one essay we felt was well-reasoned and researched was *very* poorly written so we sent it back for a re-write. The author never returned the manuscript to us even after several reminders."²³⁶

232. Newell and Newell to Anderson, 18 February 2002.

233. *The Dialogue Idiot Book*, 28. In addition to the Whittaker introduction, this issue (*Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 15, no. 4 [Winter 1982]), featured: Jill Mulvay Derr and C. Brooklyn Derr, "Outside the Mormon Hierarchy: Alternative Aspects of Institutional Power"; Thomas G. Alexander, "'To Maintain Harmony': Adjusting to External and Internal Stress, 1890-1930"; Jessie L. Embry, "Grain Storage: The Balance of Power Between Priesthood Authority and Relief Society Autonomy"; Dennis L. Lythgoe, "Battling the Bureaucracy: Building a Mormon Chapel"; Garth N. Jones, "Spreading the Gospel in Indonesia: Organizational Obstacles and Opportunities"; Richard J. Cummings, "Quintessential Mormonism: Literal-Mindedness as a Way of Life"; and Dale Beecher, "The Office of Bishop."

234. The other essays in this issue, *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 17, no. 4 (Winter 1984), were: Ira Chernus, "Mythology and Nuclear Strategy"; John F. Kane, "Some Reflections on the American Catholic Bishops' Peace Pastoral"; Paul Bock, "The Ethics of Deterrence"; Kent E. Robson, "The Magnitude of the Nuclear Arms Race"; and Pierre Blais, "The Enduring Paradox: Mormon Attitudes Toward War and Peace."

235. See, for example, the following published letters to the editor: Richard H. Hart, "Peace at Any Price," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18, no. 2 (Summer 1985): 4; Richard D. Terry, "Soviet Apologist?"; and Kenneth Taylor, "Blaise Nonsense," both in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18, no. 3 (Fall 1985): 7-10.

236. Linda King Newell to Gregory S. Hill, 3 July 1985, *Dialogue* Collection.

One issue in particular stands out as a gift of love, having been underwritten by G. Eugene and Dora England, parents of *Dialogue* founder Eugene England. Their forty-year labor among Native Americans prompted them to donate \$13,400 to help produce a special issue "to increase understanding of the history of Mormon responses to the 'Lamanites.'" ²³⁷ In planning the issue, the Newells promised the Englands, "We will do everything possible to assure that the volume contains the finest writing and scholarship obtainable on the subject." ²³⁸ When it appeared two-and-a-half years later (Winter 1985), the issue contained nine articles and one personal essay. ²³⁹ Guest-edited by David Whittaker, it also included tributes to President Spencer W. Kimball, whose death had occurred earlier that year. The Kimball essays fit well in this particular issue, as the deceased prophet had, as an apostle, worked closely with Native Americans and then later encouraged church programs on their behalf. The essays remembering Kimball marked the fourth time *Dialogue* had paid tribute to a church president after his passing. ²⁴⁰

Other issues published during the Newell tenure carried articles long-remembered for their historical or contemporary significance. Same-sex attraction was discussed through personal narrative in the anonymously written "New Friends" (Spring 1986) and from the perspective of a psychiatrist (Summer 1987) in R. Jan Stout's "Sin and Sexuality: Psychobiology and the Development of Homosexuality." Two discussions on women and priesthood appeared in 1984 and 1985. The first (Autumn 1984) was a response to the recent RLDS revelation authorizing ordination of women, and the second (Fall 1985) addressed the priesthood issue from an LDS woman's perspective. ²⁴¹

237. Introduction to Eugene England, "'Lamanites' and the Spirit of the Lord," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18, no. 4 (Winter 1986): 25.

238. Linda King Newell to Mr. And Mrs. G. Eugene England, 19 August 1983, *Dialogue* Collection.

239. This issue, *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18, no. 4 (Winter 1986), included: Eugene England, "'Lamanites' and the Spirit of the Lord"; David J. Whittaker, "Mormons and Native Americans: A Historical and Bibliographical Introduction"; Keith Parry, "Joseph Smith and the Clash of Sacred Cultures"; Stanley B. Kimball, "The Captivity Narrative on Mormon Trails, 1846-1865"; Lawrence G. Coates, "The Mormons and the Ghost Dance"; Ronald Dennis, "Captain Dan Jones and the Welch Indians"; J. Neil Birch, "Helen John: The Beginnings of Indian Placement"; Chief Dan George, "My People, the Indians"; P. Jane Hafen, "'Great Spirit Listen': The American Indian in Mormon Music"; and Lacey Harris, "To Be Native American—and Mormon".

240. See Leonard J. Arrington, "Spencer W. Kimball, Apostle of Love"; James N. Kimball, "The Vast Landscape of His Heart"; and Edward L. Kimball, "Spencer W. Kimball: A Man for his Times," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18, no. 4 (Winter 1986).

241. See Paul M. Edwards, RLDS Priesthood: Structure and Process"; L. Madelon Brunson, "Stranger in a Strange Land: A Personal Response to the 1984 Document"; and Jill Mulvay Derr, "An Endowment of Power: The LDS Tradition", *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon*

Another important article was Davis Bitton's account of the rise and fall of Leonard Arrington's church-appointed history division, titled "Ten Years in Camelot: A Personal Memoir" (Autumn 1983). Bitton had served as assistant church historian under Arrington from 1972-1982. Blake Ostler's informative conversation with Sterling M. McMurrin appeared in the spring 1984 issue. The interview had originally been published in the unofficial BYU newspaper *The Seventh East Press* the previous year, but due to McMurrin's candid remarks about his disbelief in the historicity of the Book of Mormon, university administrators banned the paper from the campus. The *Seventh East Press* folded soon thereafter.²⁴² Another essay enjoyed by readers was historian Lawrence Foster's, "Career Apostates: Reflections on the Works of Jerald and Sandra Tanner" (Summer 1984). Foster's objectivity as an outsider provided a credible and informative look at the Tanner's methods as professional anti-Mormon writers.

Unfortunately, a valuable *Dialogue* tradition ended near the end of the Newell tenure. Through the labors of Ralph W. Hansen, beginning in 1966, followed by Stephen W. Stathis a decade later, *Dialogue* had regularly sponsored a column featuring comprehensive bibliographies surveying published works on Mormonism called, "Among the Mormons." Stathis had not intended to continue the column after *Dialogue* moved to Utah. However, as he explained to Lavina Fielding Anderson, "for purely selfish reasons [I] chose to hang on." His departure was hastened by differences between himself and Anderson over editorial style, and he completed his final bibliography in January 1986.²⁴³ Even with their disagreements, Anderson was quick to show Stathis her appreciation for his decade of service: "Such scholarly tools are necessary, tedious to do, and never get glamorous awards at professional associations. Your commitment has been most commendable."²⁴⁴ Stathis was never replaced and the twenty-year feature ended after the winter 1986 issue. Linda recalls that the team did try to continue this column after Stathis's departure, but failed: "We just had a hard time finding anyone who wanted to do it, and it finally slipped through the cracks."²⁴⁵

Thought 17, no. 3 (Autumn 1984): 6-21. See also Melodie Moench Charles, "Scriptural Precedents for Priesthood"; Linda King Newell, "The Historical Relationship of Mormon Women and Priesthood"; and Meg Wheatley-Pesci, "An Expanded Definition of Priesthood? Some Present and Future Consequences," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18, no. 3 (Fall 1985): 15-42.

242. See Gary James Bergera and Ronald Priddis, *Brigham Young University: A House of Faith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1985), 265-266.

243. Stephen W. Stathis to Lavina Fielding Anderson, 28 October 1985, and separate, undated letter, both in *Dialogue* Collection.

244. Lavina Fielding Anderson to Stephen W. Stathis, 22 November 1985, *Dialogue* Collection.

245. Newell and Newell to Anderson, 9 September 2002.

"A TOUCH OF CLASS"

Toward the end of *Dialogue's* first Salt Lake City sojourn, Eugene England, co-founder of the journal, wrote the Newells. "[Y]ou have for the first time made *Dialogue* a *professional* operation, not the mainly amateur activity it generally was before. That, in addition to all the fine things you have published, some of them, of course, groundbreaking in every good sense, will be increasingly appreciated over the years."²⁴⁶ England's assessment was a fulfillment of the vision and high hopes of Mary Bradford when she initially sought a replacement for her team back in 1981.²⁴⁷

The Newells would be the first to acknowledge that their accomplishments were the result of a group effort. The team worked well and stayed together for five-and-a-half-years.²⁴⁸ Office staff and volunteers kept up on the regular duties, which raised the operation to its highest level of effectiveness. "*Dialogue* is professionally run," wrote one author. "Editing is very responsible, correspondence is always promptly answered. Authors know their articles' status quickly. It is nice to deal with a group that is financially responsible. . .that is editorially responsible, and that is managed courteously."²⁴⁹

Early on, the Salt Lake team had set several goals for the journal, which Jack explains were "to publish on time, to double the readership, to build a one-year reserve fund, and to do it all with a touch of class." Although publication remained behind schedule their first year, the team did produce five issues within the first twelve months on the job. Eventually, they reached their goal of mailing out issues at the beginning of each quarter.²⁵⁰ Although they fell short of their subscription goals, by the end of their term in 1987, they had increased the print run of each issue from 3,300 to 5,300, an indication that "more people are reading the journal and therefore considering the ideas of our authors and artists."²⁵¹

Much of the "class" that *Dialogue* had enjoyed was the work of Mormon artists depicted on its covers and displayed beautifully through the design talents of Warren Archer. Linda remembers: "Warren Archer is a superb designer—we could hardly wait to see each issue. We'd pull them out of the boxes when they'd come, and just say, 'Wow!'" It was all

246. Eugene England to L. Jackson and Linda King Newell, 23 March 1987, *Dialogue* Collection.

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

248. Anderson, "Reflections From Within," 20.

249. Melodie Moench Charles to Linda King Newell, 25 February 1986, *Dialogue* Collection.

250. Anderson, "Reflections From Within," 20.

251. *Ibid.*, 26.

worth it, as Jack explains further: "If we had to spend five percent more to get the right colors for the cover, we felt that this five percent would make one hundred percent difference in product. This, in turn, should easily result in raising an additional five percent because people take pride in the journal and would more likely make contributions to it."²⁵² Frank McEntire chose the artist to be highlighted in each issue. *Dialogue* continued to benefit from the talents of Archer and McEntire until the journal moved from Utah in 1999.

Such quality, both in the content and aesthetics of the journal, had moved people to act, and at no time in its history had they responded better. "You will be pleased to hear that 1984 was our best year yet in terms of general fund-raising," wrote Linda Newell to George Smith. "Further, the manuscripts that we have accepted for publication, and those that are under consideration, are of very high quality. Many are simply outstanding."²⁵³ Two years later, Linda could report that "Our back issue sales are quite brisk—nearly \$1,000 worth [each] month."²⁵⁴

Although the Newells never did raise the cost of a subscription beyond the \$25 price set by the Washington team, this amount was still too much for some who otherwise would have subscribed to the journal. One donor tried to make a difference in a way that not only benefitted *Dialogue*, but also its readers. Linda wrote, "*Dialogue* has a generous donor who each year pays for ten subscriptions which he wants given to those readers for whom the \$25 subscription price is a burden."²⁵⁵ All donations, of course, were appreciated and allowed the Newells to advance toward their goals. As Linda explained to George Smith, another long-time supporter: "We could not have carried through on our original aim to 'publish *Dialogue* with a touch of class' without the kind assistance you provide. You have helped us to take pride in our work (and by 'us' we mean everyone associated with the journal)."²⁵⁶ Considering the commitment of the staff, the loyalty of its supporters, and the quality of the work produced, it is no wonder that editorial board member Armand Mauss refers to the Newells' tenure as "*Dialogue's* golden age."²⁵⁷

TURNING TWENTY

Toward the end of the Newell tenure, *Dialogue* celebrated its twentieth anniversary, but because of its earlier struggles with keeping a regu-

252. Newell interview.

253. Linda King Newell to George D. Smith, 8 January 1985, *Dialogue* Collection.

254. Newell to Bradford, 13 January 1986.

255. Linda King Newell to Bonnie Mitchell, 9 July 1985, *Dialogue* Collection.

256. Linda King Newell to George D. Smith, 3 April 1986, *Dialogue* Collection.

257. Mauss interview.

lar publishing schedule, volume twenty, issue one, appeared as Spring 1987, rather than 1986 as it would have otherwise. As part of a year-long celebration, each issue of that volume featured the reminiscences of one of its former editors.²⁵⁸

With the adept organization skills of Kevin Jones, the Salt Lake team held an anniversary banquet on 27 August 1987. Former editor Eugene England addressed the gathered supporters, as did Leonard J. Arrington, Lavina Fielding Anderson, and Levi S. Peterson. Their remarks were later published in the journal.²⁵⁹ Perhaps Arrington's words sum up best what twenty years of sacrifice and hard work had meant for so many:

I know from personal experience that the journal has benefitted my generation and the generation of my students and children. I know for a fact that *Dialogue* has kept many people in the Church and in the culture who might otherwise have dropped out. I have received many letters, even from bishops, stake presidents, and General Authorities, who have expressed their gratitude for *Dialogue* and indicated what it has meant to them or to someone they loved.

I do not agree with every article that has been published in *Dialogue*, nor do I agree with the decision of the editors to publish every article that they have used. But I devoutly believe that the journal serves a worthy purpose. *Dialogue* has helped the spirit of the gospel permeate many circles that otherwise would never have given us the light of day. I say, long live *Dialogue*!²⁶⁰

Two other projects undertaken as part of the anniversary were unfortunately delayed or abandoned. For example, the Newells had asked G. Wesley Johnson, one of *Dialogue*'s original founders and co-editors, to write a twenty-year history of the journal to appear in the winter 1987 issue.²⁶¹ Johnson accepted with enthusiasm and proposed an additional *Dialogue* Oral History Project which would include interviews with five or so individuals from each of *Dialogue*'s four editorial teams in order to

258. See Eugene England, "'A Matter of Love': My Life With *Dialogue*," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 20, no. 1 (Spring 1987): 15-24; Robert A. Rees, "Monologues and Dialogues: A Personal Perspective," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 20, no. 2 (Summer 1987): 9-24; Mary L. Bradford, "BIG D/little d: The View from the Basement," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 20, no. 3 (Fall 1987): 13-23; and Anderson, "Reflections from Within," 19-31.

259. See Eugene England, "On Building the Kingdom with *Dialogue*"; Leonard Arrington, "*Dialogue*'s Valuable Service for LDS Intellectuals"; Lavina Fielding Anderson, "To Give the Heart: Some Reflections on *Dialogue*"; and Levi S. Peterson, "A Tribute to *Dialogue*," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 21, no. 2 (Summer 1988): 128-142.

260. Arrington, "*Dialogue*'s Valuable Service for LDS Intellectuals," 136.

261. L. Jackson Newell and Linda King Newell, "*Dialogue*'s Coming of Age," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, 20, no. 1 (Spring 1987): 5.

more fully preserve the relevant details of the story. "I think the *Dialogue* Oral History Project should have a rationale of its own and be separated from the article I will write," wrote Johnson in detailing his plans.²⁶² However, neither project was ever carried out and his essay did not appear, despite the fact that it had been announced to subscribers. Another project begun in 1986 was a twenty-volume index. The original intent was to publish it with the winter 1987 issue.²⁶³ Comprehensive in scope, it was meant to replace the earlier ten-year index published under Mary Bradford in Washington. However, the volume, compiled by Gary Gillum and edited by Daniel Maryon, did not appear until after the Newells had stepped down and a new team was in place.

These setbacks seemed minimal, however, to the real challenge facing the Newells as they tried to publish that final issue of the anniversary year, and the scene was similar to that which had intensified their staff deliberations during the first year of their editorship.

MORE BUERGER, MORE ON THE TEMPLE, AND MORE CONTROVERSY

Four-and-a-half years after the appearance of David Buerger's "second anointing" essay, the Newells published his continued research on LDS temple ordinances, "The Development of the Mormon Temple Endowment Ceremony" (Winter 1987). The paper was originally presented at the Sunstone Symposium in Salt Lake City on 21 August 1986, followed by a response from Armand L. Mauss. After listening to the tape of Buerger's presentation, the *Dialogue* staff suggested several revisions to Buerger before he formally submitted the manuscript. Upon receiving it in the fall, the Newells gave copies of the paper, along with Mauss's response, to each member of the staff as well as two outside reviewers.²⁶⁴

This paper, like his earlier essay, generated intense discussion within the staff and editorial board during the entire editing process. In its original form, as he compared similarities between the LDS endowment and the Masonic ritual, Buerger included many direct quotations from each ceremony. Some staff members insisted it was improper for *any* material held secret by either the Freemasons or the Mormons to be divulged. Others argued for its inclusion on the grounds that the material had already been published elsewhere, and it was those publications which were being quoted, not the actual ceremonies. Lavina Fielding Anderson says the article was "potentially dangerous to *Dialogue*, but crucially important to publish." However, she sided with those who believed the

262. G. Wesley Johnson to Linda King Newell, 13 October 1986, and Johnson to Linda King Newell and L. Jackson Newell, 31 October 1986, both in *Dialogue* Collection.

263. Daniel Maryon to Elaine Kipp, 23 June 1987, *Dialogue* Collection.

264. Minutes of *Dialogue* staff meeting, 9 March 1987, *Dialogue* Collection.

promises of secrecy made by members of either organization should be maintained.²⁶⁵ So did most of the reviewers. Armand Mauss told Buerger that “some of the opposition to publication came from the most unexpected quarters—from people who had not been active in the church for some time. Clearly there was a lot of emotion involved.” Some even threatened to remove their names from the masthead for that issue unless Buerger changed the tone and eliminated all temple language.²⁶⁶

Jack Newell, speaking at a *Dialogue* staff meeting, echoed his earlier determination to handle such material responsibly: “Though matters having to do with the temple are both sacred and sensitive, they are not ‘off limits’ to legitimate scholarship or to the pages of *Dialogue*.” Therefore, “if *Dialogue* is to publish work on the temple endowment, we must hold ourselves to impeccable standards—including thoroughness of scholarship and documentation, sensitivity and balance in presentation, and tone that recognizes and respects the sacred meaning of the temple experience among Latter-day Saints.”²⁶⁷

Yet Buerger and the editorial staff did not see eye-to-eye on how to proceed, which culminated in some misunderstanding due to failed communication. For example, as a final precaution, most staff members wanted to see edited copies of the essay before it was typeset. The Newells initially forgot to provide those, and when they discovered this, immediately withdrew the issue from the typesetter. They also then discovered that the text needed some additional editing. This delay angered Buerger. “I appreciate the fact that you feel this subject [must] be well treated in an article,” wrote Buerger to Linda Newell,

and I believe my track record illustrates my efforts to be as fair and complete as possible with every topic I treat. I am extremely displeased, however, after three months, to have received absolutely nothing of substance which details how I might have dealt insufficiently with the subject—particularly given the fact that the paper *was* accepted for publication and *did* go through a review process, and was on the way to the printer.²⁶⁸

Linda Newell responded one week later:

This is not an issue of censorship. . . . It is a classic value dilemma, where two equally important values clash—the integrity of scholarship and the personal integrity involved in the taking of covenants. Our staff members are

265. Lavina Fielding Anderson, telephone interview, 2 December 1994, conducted by Devery S. Anderson

266. Armand L. Mauss to David John Buerger, 21 February 1987, Buerger Papers, box 4, folder 21.

267. Minutes of *Dialogue* staff meeting, 9 March 1987.

268. David John Buerger to *Dialogue*, 11 May 1983, Buerger Papers, box 4, folder 22.

seasoned readers who value scholarship and an open exchange of ideas. Yet some feel that their participation in publishing explicit temple language, which they have made covenants not to reveal, violates those covenants whether or not it has been published somewhere else or not. No one wished to censor you or to tell you that you cannot publish whatever you want, but they felt it was a personal violation of their covenants to *participate* in a publication of explicit temple language.²⁶⁹

To ensure that the essay met *Dialogue* standards, Anderson and her editorial staff had put in over 100 hours editing the manuscript.²⁷⁰ Everyone on the editorial board read at least one draft; the executive committee each read three to five versions.²⁷¹ Linda stressed that they all “worked hard on that manuscript to make it responsible.”²⁷²

When the article was finally ready by early summer, no one was more relieved than Anderson, and she made it clear to Buerger that the ordeal was over. “There have been points in the last few weeks when I never wanted to see it again and was sure that no one would ever want to read it. It’s a wonderful essay! I’m delighted and proud that *Dialogue* is going to publish it.”²⁷³ All the hard work paid off as evidenced the following June when Buerger was awarded first place in history in the annual *Dialogue* writing awards and received a check for \$300.²⁷⁴

The edited version of the Buerger article, although balanced by a response from sociologist Armand Mauss, went over the line in the minds of some church leaders. Speaking at the April 1989 General Conference, Apostle Dallin Oaks said in vague reference to the article:

There are limits at which every faithful Latter-day Saint would draw the line. For example, in my view a person who has made covenants in the holy temple would not make his or her influence available to support or promote a source that publishes or discusses the temple ceremonies, even if other parts of the publication or program are unobjectionable.²⁷⁵

Oaks’s conference sermon marked the second time Buerger’s *Dialogue* writings were criticized by a Mormon apostle to a church-wide

269. Linda King Newell to David John Buerger, 18 May 1983, Buerger Papers, box 4, folder 22.

270. Lavina Fielding Anderson to David Buerger, 1 June 1987, Buerger Papers, box 4, folder 23.

271. Anderson telephone interview.

272. Newell interview.

273. Lavina Fielding Anderson to David Buerger, 6 July 1987, Buerger Papers, box 4, folder 23.

274. F. Ross and Mary Kay Peterson to David John Buerger, 1 June 1988, Buerger Papers, box 4, folder 25.

275. Dallin H. Oaks, “Alternate Voices,” *Ensign* 19 (May 1989): 29.

audience. As with Packer in 1983, Oaks was unaware of the long process involved in preparing the essay for publication. His speech was what one would have expected from an official church perspective, but it misrepresented the motives behind the *Dialogue* team's decision, which were to provide a forum for greater understanding of the temple ceremony through serious historical analysis.

CHANGING HANDS IN UTAH

Having served for over five-and-a-half years by the end of the twentieth year celebration, Jack and Linda were eager to bid farewell as *Dialogue*'s editors. A five- or six-year tenure had been a tradition from the beginning, and the Newells were willing to maintain this. Ten months before their official departure, Jack wrote, "The *Dialogue* tradition has been one of five-year editorships, which we think is wholly in keeping with the good of the journal and the mental health of those who edit it!"²⁷⁶ Besides, Jack had recently begun a five-year appointment as editor of *The Review of Higher Education*, and Linda had begun research on a new book.²⁷⁷ She was also now serving as general editor of the *Publications in Mormon Studies* project at the University of Utah Press.²⁷⁸ So local supporters once again formed a search committee and began considering several candidates.

In 1987, F. Ross and Mary Kay Peterson of Logan, Utah, accepted the position. In succeeding the Newells, they became the second husband and wife team to edit the journal. Their acceptance also meant that *Dialogue* would remain in Utah for another season. During the transition, Lavina Fielding Anderson wrote to a friend: "The new team is firmly in place for

276. L. Jackson Newell to John P. Cox, 12 November 1986, *Dialogue* Collection.

277. "U Professor is Selected to Edit Journal on Higher Education," *Daily Utah Chronicle* 23 April 1986, 6. Linda's project was a biography of Muriel Hoopes Tu, an American and Quaker who spent most of her life in China before her death in 1986. Linda spent three weeks in China in 1985 doing research and conducting interviews. However, due to her work on three county histories for the Utah Centennial History Project, completion of this biography has been delayed. Linda still hopes to finish the book (Anderson, "Reflections from Within," 31; Newell and Newell to Anderson, 9 September 2002). For more on Linda's work with the Utah Centennial Project, see below.

278. Between 1987 and 1993, the University of Utah Press produced eight volumes as part of this series: Jessie L. Embry, *Mormon Polygamous Families: Life in the Principle* (1987); Davis Bitton and Leonard J. Arrington, *Mormons and Their Historians* (1988); Neal Chandler, *Benediction: A Book of Stories* (1989); Richard L. Jensen and Malcolm R. Thorp, eds., *Mormons in Early Victorian Britain* (1989); Rex Eugene Cooper, *Promises Made to the Fathers: Mormon Covenant Organization* (1990); S. George Ellsworth, ed., *The Journals of Addison Pratt* (1990); David L. Bigler, ed., *The Gold Discovery Journal of Azariah Smith* (1990); Garth L. Mangum and Bruce D. Blumell, *The Mormons' War on Poverty: A History of LDS Welfare 1830-1990* (1993).

the September 1 changeover and they're wonderful people! I couldn't be more pleased. The new editors are Ross and Kay Peterson. . . . Ross is a historian and Kay is a folklorist, and they've been the only Democrats in Cache Valley for so long that they'd be amazed to find themselves in the mainstream."²⁷⁹ The Newells were not only happy with their chosen successors, but with the timing as well. Jack writes: "We had resolved to get out of their way immediately, and, I think, we succeeded. This was easy because we respected them completely, and because we were weary of church issues, church gossip, and church politics."²⁸⁰ Neither the Newells nor the rest of their executive committee worried about the future of the journal. They knew that once again, *Dialogue* was in good hands.

As for Linda and Jack Newell, life has remained busy since their "release" in 1987 as co-editors of *Dialogue*. In 1990, Jack stepped down from his sixteen-year post as Dean of Liberal Education at the University of Utah in order to teach and pursue his other scholarly interests. In 1996, Signature Books published his oral history project dealing with the life and thought of distinguished Mormon scholar Sterling McMurrin, *Matters of Conscience*, which appeared shortly after McMurrin's death that same year.²⁸¹ Jack says the project "became one of the most delightful experiences of my life." In 1995, the trustees of Deep Springs College (Jack's alma mater) asked him to accept the position of president, and the Newells left Utah and moved to eastern California. Although the appointment was originally set for three years, Jack later chose to take early retirement from the University of Utah after twenty-five years and remain at Deep Springs, which is located on a cattle ranch near Death Valley. Over the past seven years, "we have brought the college back from the brink, rebuilt the entire physical plant (21 buildings), doubled the endowment, and revitalized the mission of this 85-year-old educational treasure." It has been a fulfilling time, as he explains:

I teach a full load now that the rebuilding is complete, steer the place as best I can, and enjoy every element of life in this remote desert wilderness. I am driven by the same passions and principles that guided us through our *Dialogue* years, but I am applying them to very different problems these days. Sustainable agricultural practices and environmental issues have joined educational reform to tap my energies. With Thoreau, I believe we can choose to lead many lives in sequence. I'm at Walden Pond now.²⁸²

279. Lavina Fielding Anderson to Shelley Davies, 6 August 1987, *Dialogue* Collection.

280. Newell and Newell to Anderson, 18 February 2002.

281. See Sterling M. McMurrin and L. Jackson Newell, *Matters of Conscience: Conversations with Sterling M. McMurrin on Philosophy, Education, and Religion* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996).

282. Newell and Newell to Anderson, 18 February 2002.

Linda also has remained busy. In addition to the project at the University of Utah Press, she produced a second edition of *Mormon Enigma* with Valeen Avery in 1994, and from 1996-1997 served as president of the Mormon History Association. She also authored or co-authored three of a twenty-nine volume series on the history of Utah's counties, commissioned for the celebration of the state centennial in 1996.²⁸³ "Looking back on our tenure," she says, "it was a time of enormous turbulence in Mormon scholarship and Utah life. We steered a pretty steady course through this storm, and tried to stick with our principles from beginning to end. We got issues out on time, we rebuffed every church pressure to dictate or proscribe content, we balanced the budget and built up a good reserve fund, and we had a wonderful time through it all."²⁸⁴ Both Linda and Jack agree their experience was incredible in large part because of the team they assembled. "We had a marvelous rapport and enormous respect for the people that we worked with," said Jack in 1994.²⁸⁵ This was echoed recently by Linda: "We have both worked with some extraordinary people throughout our careers, but none better than our *Dialogue* executive committee."²⁸⁶

In contrasting *Dialogue's* founders with the Newells' Salt Lake team, it is clear that an evolution had taken place. A certain naivete required to begin such an undertaking was later replaced by professionalism and reasoned defiance as a means to keep it going. Yet, like most evolutionary jumps, *Dialogue's* adaptations were made in order to ensure its survival and did not reflect any change of content. From its earliest days, *Dialogue* had published groundbreaking, hard-hitting, and controversial articles. What changed, however, were church reactions to it. What once may have raised a few eyebrows or caused minor grumbling at church headquarters, was now prompting investigations, discipline, and public condemnation. With all that *Dialogue* accomplished under the Newells, it is unfortunate that their era is remembered for an unprecedented "disciplining" of modern Mormon scholars.

283. See Linda King Newell and Vivian Linford Talbot, *A History of Garfield County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society; Garfield County Commission, 1998); Edward Leo Lyman and Linda King Newell, *A History of Millard County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society; Millard County Commission, 1999); and Linda King Newell, *A History of Piute County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society; Piute County Commission, 1999).

284. Newell and Newell to Anderson, 18 February 2002.

285. Newell interview.

286. Ibid.

The situation is ironic. In presenting itself as the world's only true religion, the LDS church *officially* believes its teachings and doctrines will hold up under scrutiny. However, many of its leaders apparently adhere to this belief in theory only. *Dialogue's* founders, successors, and readership, on the other hand, have found many worthwhile, even faith-building discoveries and approaches as they have approached reason with faith and engaged faith with reason. The readers' survey showed that *Dialogue* subscribers were, for the most part, active, believing Latter-day Saints. *Dialogue's* existence should surely be recognized as a sign of Mormonism's strength, despite the occasional discomfort it creates. The journal has endured because it sprang from a culture that was begging to be taken seriously. Perhaps this is what then-First Presidency counselor Gordon B. Hinckley recognized as he spoke briefly with the Newells while mingling among local dignitaries and university faculty at the May 1986 dedication of a fountain in the Tanner Plaza on the University of Utah campus. After conversing briefly about the church, the university, and *Dialogue*, Hinckley said, "Thank you for all the good that you do." A few days later he followed up this conversation with a letter expressing gratitude to the Newells for their visit and closing his letter with the same positive words about their work he had spoken in person.²⁸⁷

Dialogue would spend another decade in Utah after the Newell tenure, first running smoothly in Logan for five years, and then returning to Salt Lake City for another six. The Newells had left the journal financially healthy, on schedule, and had created a system of office management that their immediate successors were anxious to emulate. Events during the Newell tenure might—and probably should have—signaled a new beginning to the relationship between the journal and the institutional church or, at least, sounded a note of caution to critics within the Mormon hierarchy. Apostle Petersen's investigations and his speaking ban on Linda Newell and Valeen Avery not only caused the two authors unnecessary pain; these actions proved embarrassing to the church when, as was inevitable, news found its way into the press. There is also deep irony in the fact that, while Michael Quinn and Linda Newell were being disciplined for writing honest, albeit uncomfortable, history, Mark Hofmann was being welcomed into the offices of the highest members of the church hierarchy. Within months, Hofmann's role as a forger and murderer would be all over the newspapers, to the embarrassment of church leaders and historians alike. Surely that episode

287. Newell interview; Newell and Newell to Anderson, 9 September 2002. Date of the conversation determined through research into the dedication date by Shannon Failner, administrative assistant for Campus Design and Construction at the University of Utah.

should have made clear to everyone how hopelessly difficult and, in fact, dangerous it is to try to “manage” history, no matter how commissioned one feels to do so nor how “right-minded” the motives. And, in fact, it seems clear that in the wake of these events the relationship between *Dialogue* and the church leadership quieted and improved. But if a truce had been called, it would be a temporary one, as the next decade of *Dialogue’s* history would find the journal operating in even more hostile territory. Apparently, more lessons needed to be learned.

To be continued.

Dialogue Executive Team in 1982



Clockwise from top left: Randall Mackey, Linda King Newell, Lavina Fielding Anderson, L. Jackson Newell, Fred Esplin

Aspiration

Ken Raines

Wind, shorn from the sky by glass
and concrete, whistles down the face
of the casino tower, flings the naked
branches of a sidewalk tree, and pours
over the blots of dried spit
and grease that decorate the edges
of the gutter. And then redemption—
the miracle of a plastic supermarket
bag whirled away above the debris.

Billowed gossamer distensions
rustle and rise, tiny and wan
as a daylight moon. Higher still,
it's only another receding white dot
against an oxygen-blue heaven—
the wide dome of imaginary stars.

When The Mormon Church Invested in Southern Nevada Gold Mines¹

Leonard J. Arrington and Edward Leo Lyman

DURING THE WORST ECONOMIC DEPRESSION in the history of the United States up to 1929, that of the 1890's, the highest leaders of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, along with several other church members, purchased a cluster of promising mines and claims in Nye County, Nevada. Desperate for funds after a decade-long judicial onslaught by the federal government, which included confiscation and misuse of church property, the church saw this gold mining enterprise as a good way to recoup church financial security.² However, a combination of inexperience with refining complex gold ores and distance from the scene of mining operations—which was in one of the most lawless sections then remaining in the West—boded ill for the aims of the Mormon ecclesiastics.

As the so-called Panic of '93 reached its low point in the Intermountain West, members of the hierarchy of the church sought to promote a series of bold economic enterprises. They had several major purposes in view. One was to provide work for unemployed church members, and another was to

1. An earlier draft of this article appeared in the *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*. The portion written by Leonard Arrington was composed while he was working on his monumental *Great Basin Kingdom*. Because he felt some aspects of the material seemed less than complimentary to church leaders, he did not initially wish to publish it under his name and gave it to co-author Lyman, then a graduate student, to publish as his own. However, when some time later Lyman had done additional research, he submitted an expanded draft to Arrington with the request that they stand as joint authors. Leonard agreed. He edited the draft prior to his death, but would not live to see it in print.

2. Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1958; reprint Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1993), 353-379.

develop some of the major resources and opportunities of the region. Another major consideration was to offer stock in the ventures to some outside capitalists—in the hope of creating a body of influential friends during the crucial struggle for Utah statehood—while yet maintaining control of such assets. The first of these successful business contacts was with G. A. Purbeck and Company of Providence, Rhode Island, with which the Mormon leaders soon organized the so-called Utah Company to promote a number of enterprises. These included an hydro-electric power company, a railroad from Utah to southern California, a salt company, a Great Salt Lake resort, a coal mine, and a beet sugar company,³ which eventually became the basis for the current financial empire the church possesses.

In the process of making the preliminary surveys for the railroad, Orson Smith and Jeremiah Langford became interested in mining properties situated some forty miles west of the proposed railroad route. The Sterling Mine area had been attracting some interest since 1869 when silver had been discovered there. Later, in the early 1890's, a small mill treated gold ores from a mine there with water piped from Big Timber Spring some two miles south. But by 1893 shallow ore veins had reportedly discouraged most investors and prospectors. The Chispa (later named the Congress) Mine and the Johnnie Mine, some seven miles to the southwest, were discovered in the winter of 1890-91, and by the spring there were over a hundred people in a notably "rough" camp. All these mines would later be acquired by the Mormons. None was being actively worked when the Latter-day Saint surveyors came upon the scene, probably in late 1893.

Upon returning to Salt Lake City after their survey was completed, Smith and Langford requested an interview with the Mormon First Presidency, consisting of President Wilford Woodruff, George Q. Cannon, and Joseph F. Smith. They reported with absolute confidence that these mining properties "would clear \$10,000 a month." As a result of the conference, the Sterling Mining and Milling Company was incorporated in Utah with a total authorized capital stock of one million dollars. Orson Smith was president and Langford, vice president. Each of the first presidency was represented on the board through a son, Asahel H. Woodruff, Hyrum M. Smith, and Hugh J. Cannon, secretary and treasurer.⁴ It is not

3. Edward Leo Lyman, *Political Deliverance: The Mormon Quest for Utah Statehood* (University of Illinois Press: Urbana, Illinois, 1986), 232-234; see also Leonard J. Arrington, "Utah and the Depression of the 1890's," *Utah Historical Quarterly* XXIX (January 1961): 3-18.

4. *Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, December 2, 1898, Historical Department of the Church, Salt Lake City, Utah; Incorporation papers, Clerk of the County Court, Salt Lake City, Utah, related Sterling mine file in L. D. S. Historical Department, Financial Papers, old file CR 194 - 1, now closed but authors Arrington and Lyman possessed extensive notes from the time when these files were open.

possible at this juncture to determine exactly what the initial financial arrangements were, but apparently the president and vice president at least made the initial down payment on the mining properties to the extent of \$14,500, and the other investors put in about \$85,000, at least half of which was not individual, but rather church money. This was done with the understanding that with such prospects for success, much of the profits could be used to pay off the church's mounting debt.⁵ Some Sterling stock was also sold to other church insiders, such as Apostle Marriner W. Merrill from Logan, Utah, also Orson Smith's hometown.⁶

By the time of incorporation, the Sterling company had acquired the following other properties in addition to the Sterling mine: the Boss, Bay Dick, Mollie Vaughn, Blue Hawk, Blaze, Lube, Magpie, and two-thirds of the Grey Eagle mine, all in the Sterling and Montgomery mining districts of Nye County, which, while separated, were situated along the same ore belt, and the Wide West and Queen mines within the same county but outside the main mining districts. These properties were generally situated about twenty miles northwest of Pahrump, Nevada, eighty miles northwest of the then-active mining camp of Vanderbilt, San Bernardino County, California, and two hundred fifty miles from the current Utah Central railhead at Milford.

Obviously the amount of working capital the company possessed was meager, judging from the fact that early in December of 1894 Orson Smith called on President Woodruff to inform him of the immediate need for an additional five thousand dollars. The church leader borrowed that amount the next day from a Salt Lake City bank, using other good stock the church possessed as collateral. This apparently helped complete erection of two ten-stamp mills at the mines. The company president affirmed to the church president that "when the mill got to running it would help us pay our debts," by which he meant the church's financial obligations.⁷

Mid-spring of 1895 saw the mining and milling operations produce two gold bars worth \$3,600, which amount was sent to the company bank creditors. In late April of 1895, another report mentioned four thousand dollars worth of gold produced in eight days. Ten days later Orson Smith stated they had taken twelve thousand tons from the Sterling mine

5. Wilford Woodruff Journal, April 29, 1895; Statement of assets and liabilities of the Trustee-in Trust of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, July 1898, typescript formerly in possession of Leonard Arrington, now at Merrill Library Special Collections, Utah State University, Logan, Utah.

6. Melvin C. Merrill, ed. *Marriner Wood Merrill and his Family* (privately printed: Salt Lake City, Utah, 1937), 182 and February 10, 1906.

7. Scott G. Kenney, ed. *Wilford Woodruff Journals*, Vol. 9 (Signature Books: Midvale, Utah, 1985), January 7, 1894.

at a rate of twenty-four tons per day. With ore assaying at twenty dollars per ton, Woodruff anticipated this would mean a gross of \$240,000 from the stockpile on hand. Just five days later the church leader noted the arrival of fifteen and a half pounds of gold from the Sterling mine. The total yield for the period is not known, but these brief diary notes of May appear to represent the high point of production for the mines, so far as is known, at least while they were in the possession of the LDS church. This circumstance would have been dreadful news to President Woodruff, had he had means to look into the future. Recently, he had recorded in his journal that he was "glad we are beginning to get something from the mine to assist us." There was, moreover, another small brick of gold sent in mid summer and a large brick worth \$8,000 from the Johnnie mine in September.⁸

Meanwhile, on April 9, 1895, the Sterling Mining and Milling Company completed the significant additional acquisition of the Johnnie, Chispa, and several related claims, mill sites, water rights, and equipment appertaining thereto from the Harding Paper Company of Franklin, Ohio.⁹ The first of these claims had been discovered in January, 1891, by prospector George Montgomery, who spied a quartz ledge studded with gold nuggets while resting from his search for the lost Breyfogle mine. The discoverer named this first rich strike the Chispa, meaning "nugget" in Spanish. There was a subsequent year of excitement in the newly-formed Montgomery mining district, but all development of the mines there halted early in 1892, partly, it was alleged, because Montgomery's "extravagant management" was ruining his backers. One of these, perhaps an early partner, William L. Dechant, sold his interest to the Ohio company, which did not hold it long before selling its interests through Utah mining broker, Samuel Godbe, to the Sterling Company for fifty thousand dollars.¹⁰

At about the same time as the Sterling company purchased the Johnnie and Chispa, Frank Cole, who had grubstaked the original locators, and James Ashdown, a millwright at the Johnnie, apparently purchased a half interest in the Confidence mine, which a renegade Indian named

8. Woodruff Journal, January 7, February 4, 5, 6, April 29, May 1, 10, 15, July 9, 1895; *Deseret Weekly News*, September 14, 1895, 405.

9. Other claims mentioned in the transaction include the Freelands, Surprise, Maud R, Foust, Grapevine, the California, the Esmiralda, the Eclectic, the Bullion, and the Croppy, along with several water rights including the Horse Shootum originally claimed by E. A. Montgomery, the Pilot mill site, and the Montgomery townsite.

10. Nye County Miscellaneous Records, book D, 136-137, Nye County Courthouse, Tonopah, Nevada; Sally Zanjani, *Jack Longstreet: Last of the Desert Frontiersmen*, reprint (University of Nevada Press: Reno, 1994), 64-65. According to Sally Zanjani, the Johnnie is the most likely candidate to have been the old Breyfogle mine.

Bob Black had located on the California side of the obscure desert border after being shown a promising ledge by his cousin, Mary Scott. Sources differ as to whether George or his brother, E. A. "Bob" Montgomery, purchased the other half interest for \$11,000. Both commenced developing the property even as the more personable George was persuading the Sterling operators to get their company to buy out Cole and Ashdown, which they did for a price variously reported between \$24,000 and \$81,000. Abraham H. Cannon, a young Mormon apostle in whom the higher church authorities had extreme confidence, had just returned from examining the route through the vast area his Salt Lake and Los Angeles Railroad was to traverse. In connection with Jeremiah Langford, Cannon had become convinced that the California mining properties, including the nearby Mendocino mine, should be added to the growing holdings of the Sterling company, and he so recommended to the First Presidency of the church.¹¹

It is probably at this point that the Sterling Company engaged in some high financial maneuvers which allowed it to generate the capital for these additional purchases. The company issued 150 bonds with a face value of \$1000 each. Using these as security, \$96,500 was borrowed from Zion's Savings Bank, a financial institution largely controlled by the church and often used for its business transactions. All three members of the First Presidency signed the Sterling company notes as official representatives of the church. Thus, when the mining company subsequently failed to pay the debt, the church was compelled to assume it. By July of 1898, the Sterling company obligation for \$131,867, which would have included accrued interest, was listed among LDS church liabilities.¹²

In the meantime, throughout the spring and summer of 1895, the LDS first presidency maintained a steady stream of correspondence with their agents in Nevada, encouraging them to meet the company financial obligations as much as possible without drawing on church funds. In one of these, they frankly confessed that while not inclined to complain, their own position was "a very painful one. We are strained to the uttermost and scarcely know which way to turn." They felt the need to let their partners understand their desperate financial situation. Another theme of these letters was the need for careful accounting of all expenditures and caution with other owners of the Montgomery properties so that they would not become dissatisfied with Sterling company management of their mutual affairs. The church leaders further cautioned that

11. Woodruff Journal, July 10, 1895; Zanjani, *Longstreet*, 114-115.

12. *Journal History*, November 28, December 2, 23, 1898; Statement of Assets and Liabilities of the Trustee-in-Trust, July 1898.

the outside associates—presumably meaning the Montgomery brothers—could apply to the county court for a receiver to operate the property if the Sterling managers could not demonstrate they had managed it economically and in a business-like manner. As late as August, the Salt Lake City stockholders were still encouraging their Nevada-based brethren to examine the mining claim options surrounding their properties and secure those which appeared most promising.¹³

Undoubtedly, the long succession of disappointments arising from Sterling mines involvement commenced in the late summer of 1895 when armed conflict erupted over possession of the Chispa property. Church mining operators, Orson Smith and Jeremiah Langford, may have been remiss in not determining that the mandatory assessment work (annual development of the property required by the common mining laws of the state¹⁴) had not been kept up on this claim or that the prior foreman of that mine, Angus McArthur, had staked his own claim on the property. On the other hand, although most sources state such assessment work was not current, the Chispa overseers had maintained a skeleton crew on the premises, which indicates no such negligence on their part.

Whatever the case, McArthur secured the services of several well-armed men. These included the gambler and fugitive from justice, Phil Foote (whom McArthur reportedly offered half interest in the mine if he were successful in taking control of the property), Billy Moyer, George Morris, and Jack Longstreet, erroneously referred to in subsequent Salt Lake City newspaper accounts as “Check Longstreet, a halfbreed.” Longstreet was actually a longtime area resident and sometime gun-fighter whose notoriety would one day merit him a good modern biographer.¹⁵ On the morning of August 28, these men occupied the mining dump and awakened the caretakers with gunshots into the air. At that point Foote and his cohorts informed the startled Sterling men that they should vacate the area. Subsequently, they turned away the crew reporting for their day’s work at the mine, and later, when Sterling officials

13. Wilford Woodruff, George Q. Cannon and Joseph F. Smith to Orson Smith and J. E. Langford, April 26, 1895; Woodruff, G. Q. Cannon and J. F. Smith to O. Smith, J. E. Langford, and Hugh J. Cannon, May 2, 13, August 2, 12, 1895; Woodruff, G. Q. Cannon, J. F. Smith to O. Smith, August 5, 1895; all in Wilford Woodruff Papers, Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

14. In order to maintain “Possessory interest” in a mining claim, the claimant must invest a fixed minimum annual amount of labor and/or improvements on the land, contributing to the extraction of minerals. This “assessment work” is now required and reviewed by the Bureau of Land Management and was previously required by its state predecessors. In other words, the property must actually be worked in order for the claim to be maintained.

15. See fn. 9.

Orson Smith and Hugh Cannon approached, they were informed that if they crossed a certain line, they would be shot. At that juncture, Nye County Sheriff, Charles McGregor, in his dual capacity of assessor, arrived on the scene. But since the closest justice of the peace was some two hundred miles away at the county seat of Belmont, no arrest warrants were available, and the sheriff did not deem himself empowered to interfere in the absence of such authorization.

Unable to do more, the mine officers and sheriff-assessor rode to a ranch in Pahrump Valley to confer with Angus McArthur, but were unsuccessful in persuading him to call off his gunmen. Next day the entire group returned to the mine to converse with the occupiers, who made a demand of \$12,000 cash to satisfy their claims. McArthur asserted that he could show that amount was owed to him though he never did so. Sheriff McGregor termed the entire affair an "outrage" and promised that with proper authority he would arrest the entire group. He thereupon departed for Belmont, promising to return as soon as he could. As President Orson Smith reported to his Utah associates, they had done everything they could to avoid trouble and bloodshed and would continue to do so. He assured that the Sterling people had the sympathy of "all reasonable-minded men of the place," partly because their mining and milling operations were the only ones active in the entire county. Smith also stated that their place of operations, presumably meaning the Johnnie, was then noted as "the most quiet camp in the country" and its operators, as consistently law abiding.¹⁶

However, George and Bob Montgomery, still part owners and operators of some of the mines, perhaps feeling responsible since George did owe McArthur a legitimate debt, but more likely totally impatient with supposed claim jumpers, reacted in the more traditional manner of the unwritten law of the West. They dispatched an agent to Los Angeles to secure two cases of rifles, and the order was promptly filled and shipped via the Nevada Southern Railroad to within fifty miles of their destination. Apparently two hired gunmen, Peter Reed and Harry Ramsey, were also engaged by the Montgomery brothers, who aimed to retake the property by force. Although the initial news report from the scene mentioned a "terrible fight" between miners and "desperados," which resulted in killing two of the latter and the probably fatal wounding of a third, in actuality Phil Foote, shot in the chest, was the only casualty. The various accounts agree that while the occupiers of the Chispa property were seated at breakfast, the Montgomery men surprised them with a

16. *Salt Lake Tribune*, September 10, 1895; *Deseret Weekly News*, September 14, 1895 containing Orson Smith letter dated September 2, presumably addressed to the First Presidency and given by them to this church-owned newspaper.

volley of gunfire. At that juncture, according to what is probably the most accurate version of events, Longstreet, realizing the situation was hopeless and still hopeful that with proper care the wounded Foote could be saved, hoisted a flag of surrender and relinquished control of the premises. Foote, however, died later that day.

The only county newspaper of the era, the Belmont *Courier* disputed the widely-circulated Los Angeles news dispatch, which reported several deaths, remarking that Jack Longstreet, supposedly one of the victims, rode into the county seat on the evening of September 14. Although some later accounts state he was then in custody—since the two county sheriff deputies dispatched to the Montgomery district had not yet returned—it is more likely that Longstreet gave himself up. A former resident of the nearby Moapa Valley, he probably opted for legal resolution of the trouble, as he had done on several previous occasions.¹⁷

It is doubtful, however, that the Sterling and Montgomery people, again in possession of the Chispa property, sought to press legal matters further. No one was ever indicted for the death of Foote, partly because of his notorious reputation and partly because the law enforcement officials declared themselves unable to determine who had fired the fatal shot. McArthur, who was well-connected at Belmont where he had recently visited friends, was also never indicted for his crucial role in the claim-jumping scrape. But the three surviving cohorts of Foote were prosecuted on the charge of “drawing and exhibiting a deadly weapon,” which, in the absence of law enforcement in that part of the region, was almost essential behavior. Nonetheless, despite the fact that Longstreet retained an attorney, the three were convicted and fined. For some unknown reason, Longstreet received by far the heaviest fine of \$3000. Each was informed he would have to serve one day in jail for each two dollars of the fines that remained unpaid. Each man served some time in jail although Longstreet eventually posted \$800 bail and was thereafter observed heading for a distant mining camp with Morris, who had completed his shorter sentence.¹⁸

The Nye County newspaper thereafter reported good gold production in the Montgomery district, which would still have been almost exclusively the Sterling mining properties. Optimism supposedly prevailed throughout the area. However, that was not the feeling among the highest Mormon leaders, who controlled the destiny of the mining and milling company. Operations continued through the fall season at several of the mines, but the Johnnie, on which these key investors appeared

17. *Deseret Weekly*, September 14, 1895; Zanjani, *Longstreet*, 66-71; Belmont *Courier*, September 21, 1895.

18. Belmont *Courier*, October 5, 26, November 2, 1895.

to have pinned most of their hopes for financial relief, did not produce according to expectations. On November 9, church leaders guaranteed \$16,835 in past-due accounts with two Salt Lake City brokerage firms, McKenzie and Rossiter, and Clayton and Spence. Three days later, letters from Jeremiah Langford and Hugh Cannon again reported unfavorably on Sterling prospects. This timing was not good because another payment was just then due and had to be paid on the Confidence Mine.¹⁹

Later that same week, Abraham H. Cannon reported in his journal that the decision had been made—presumably by the First Presidency—to attempt to sell the Sterling Mining Company, if possible, for \$300,000. Mining broker Samuel Godbe, instrumental in some of the company acquisitions, was authorized to place the property on the market, and Apostle Cannon was assigned to inform company president, Orson Smith, of the decision clearly made in his absence.²⁰ Since nothing public was ever announced concerning sale of the Sterling Mining and Milling Company, the decision was obviously reconsidered, perhaps after Godbe informed the Utah stockholders that the sale could not be made at the desired price during the depths of the continuing economic depression.

Still, disillusionment and impatience with the mining property and its managers are abundantly clear in the extant source documents. The first and most exasperating problem was the continued drain on church funds to meet the persistent additional expenses of Sterling operations. Finally, in late November, President Orson Smith was called before the First Presidency and pointedly informed that the company could not draw any more on church accounts. Yet bank overdrafts continued to embarrass the company and church leaders in the ensuing weeks.²¹

And much more seriously, it was now becoming clear that Montgomery district gold was proving refractory (high temperature resistant) to the refining process employed by the Sterling company. With great disappointment Hugh J. Cannon confessed to his brother Abraham that the mill run, from which company officials on the scene expected to net \$8,000, simply produced an ore concentrate “they had no power to melt.” The obvious meaning of this was that the company did not have the processing capability to retrieve a great deal of the gold they were mining. This situation was made public six months later when a local correspondent to the *Courier* reported that there was abundant rich gold

19. Belmont *Courier*, February 15, April 25, May 30, June 6, 1896; Woodruff Journal, September 11, 30, October 1, 8, November 12, 1895; Abraham H. Cannon Journal, November 12, 1895, original Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; statement of Assets and Liabilities, July 1898.

20. A. H. Cannon Journal, November 15, 1895.

21. Belmont *Courier*, February 15, April 25, May 30, 1896; A. H. Cannon Journal, November 12, 15, 27, 28, December 3, 4, 1895.

exposed to view at many of the various levels in both the Johnnie and the Chispa mines and that Sterling operations would “resume work on these mines as soon as the ore can be treated successfully.” It was then admitted that the reduction works installed at considerable expense had “been unable to extract the gold from the ore successfully.” It was also noted that a “great deal of the gold [had] gone into the tailings” dump, a situation that could never bode well for a milling operation.²² Although nowhere stated in the documents, such a situation may well have resulted from not engaging more knowledgeable mining men at an earlier juncture—either to warn the investors of the complex nature of the ores or to procure the proper reduction equipment to solve that problem. Some writers have implied that the Montgomerys knew of these problems before they ever sold part of their holdings to outside investors.²³

In the meantime, it became abundantly clear to church leaders that changes in the company management had to be made. Aware that little profit had been generated from the properties since the previous May, President Wilford Woodruff, then past eighty-eight years of age, concluded early in 1896 that Sterling affairs were “badly arranged and not satisfactory.” He added conclusively “they are doing us no good.”

Immediately thereafter, the company was reorganized as a syndicate with Abraham H. Cannon, the energetic young president of the still-projected Salt Lake and Los Angeles Railroad, chosen as manager of the Sterling Company as well. Joseph F. Smith, member of the First Presidency of the church, was installed as company president. Thomas P. Gillespie, a non-Mormon resident of Salt Lake City, was designated superintendent of the Nevada operations. Unfortunately, this reorganization did little, if anything, to reverse the tendency of the Sterling company to lose money for its church backers. Later in the spring, Gillespie proposed to lease the property on some percentage or pro-rata basis presumably granting him more control over mining and milling operations. This was accomplished in mid-June, with Joseph F. Smith and Abraham H. Cannon traveling to Nevada to finalize the agreements.²⁴

There were also efforts to resolve the most pressing problem of proper ore refining by the still fully-active Mormon stockholders. In mid-June the church newspaper reported that company secretary, Hugh Cannon, was again heading for the mines to “make tests of a certain kind of ore-reduction machinery which the company contemplate[s] buying.”

22. A. H. Cannon Journal, December 3, 1895; Belmont *Courier*, June 6, 1896.

23. Zanjani, *Longstreet*, 65, states that in the period prior to sale to the Mormons, “a great deal of money had been squandered on an inefficient mill that recovered less than half the value in the Montgomery district’s gold ores.”

24. Woodruff Journal, January 18, 21, 22, March 6, May 11, 12, 1896.

And soon thereafter, his brother Abraham, the new company manager, just returned from southern Nevada and southern California, divulged to the same newspaper that the Sterling properties had "been inspected by men of highest standing and by them pronounced as being very promising." He went on to affirm "the property can be successfully and profitably worked now." The real basis for the manager's persisting optimism and doubtless a factor in the church hierarchy's initial interest in the entire mining scheme was the imminence of construction of the Salt Lake and Los Angeles Railroad. Whatever the outcome of efforts to resolve the refractory ore problem, with the new railroad passing within forty miles of the Sterling mines, it would become eminently feasible to ship the complex high grade ore to refineries better able to retrieve the gold. Abraham Cannon spoke for all of his fellows when he stated "our proposed railroad will make [the mining company] much more valuable."²⁵

This being the case, the tragic death of Abraham H. Cannon at age thirty-seven, just one week after publication of the newspaper interview quoted above, was one of the most devastating blows possible to the future success of the Mormon mining venture. Cannon's demise brought about the total collapse of the railroad enterprise, which until that point had been virtually assured—even with good prospects of backing and patronage from Japanese traders.²⁶ Hugh J. Cannon, brother of the deceased, was elected manager of the Sterling Mining and Milling Company, but prospects would never again be as promising as heretofore. The main reason for this was the continued precarious state of church finances. In a series of meetings with Sterling officials in the ensuing weeks, it became quite clear the church might never achieve a sizable return from its mining investment. At the end of September, President Woodruff concluded in his diary "our affairs are in a desperate condition in a temporal point of view."

Less than a month later, yet another devastating blow shook the mining company and its backers when superintendent and lessee Thomas Gillespie was murdered by an assailant who was never apprehended. Woodruff surmised the murderer was the same "wicked man who [had] sent [church leaders] a threatening letter demanding much money."²⁷

25. *Deseret News*, June 17; *Deseret Weekly News*, July 11, 1896, 113.

26. Edward Leo Lyman, "From the City of the Angels to the City of the Saints: The Struggle to Build a Railroad from Los Angeles to Salt Lake City," *California History* vol. LXX, no. 1 (Spring 1991): 82-85.

27. Woodruff Journal, July 27, August 4, 5, September 11, 14, 16, 30, October 27, 1896; *Los Angeles Times*, November 3, 1896, stated the ambush took place as Gillespie was driving a rig from a mine presumably, toward a gambling establishment, The Deuces. He was shot from ambush when almost opposite the Ramsey store. A witness saw him fall and ran to him. Despite the deed's having been perpetrated essentially in public, there appears to have been no clue as to who committed the murder.

Since the individual locally suspected of the shooting was an illiterate Native American, this allegation about a letter to Utah authorities would have had to entail a conspiracy by more than one person. More likely, the local situation best explains the Sterling superintendent's demise. Earlier, Confidence Mine investor George Montgomery had attempted to assuage the anger of mine-locator Bob Black, a renegade Indian suspected of a number of unsolved murders, whom he owed four thousand dollars on the mine transaction. He offered to allow Black to draw supplies without charge from the company store, presumably at the Johnnie mine. When Gillespie arrived on the scene, charged to make the entire operation more profitable, he promptly decreed that Black was to receive no further free goods from the company. As Death Valley vicinity historian Richard Lingenfelter has observed, this "seems to have been a fatal decision." When Gillespie was shot through the head by an unseen gunman, suspicion in the area centered on Bob Black, whose grudge against the victim was common knowledge.²⁸

After this additional tragedy, Sterling mining efforts became almost negligible, although there was still some hope of profits from the California border mines, the Confidence and Mendocino, where Jeremiah Langford was still in charge. And outside mining engineer, Thomas Weir, who had previously been engaged to study the properties and recommend the arrangements under which operations could be made profitable, submitted his report. Quite favorable, the consultant stated that it would take \$12,000 to build a pipeline and deliver the water essential for the new refining process he proposed. And he estimated another \$25,000 to construct the recommended plant capable of processing one hundred tons of ore per day. He expressed confidence that with these changes and the mines again in production, there would be annual profits of \$700,000 over expenses. Unfortunately, this report was delivered to company officials the same week they learned of Gillespie's death.²⁹ At almost any other time, in light of the major expenditures already made, an additional thirty-seven thousand dollars investment to assure more than half a million dollars annual return would have been attractive to the good businessmen who controlled the company destiny. But not then.

There had simply been too many disappointments, and Woodruff's counselors probably could not bring themselves to press their honored leader further on the matter. The other investments they had engineered

28. Richard Lingenfelter, *Death Valley and the Amargosa* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1986), 192-94; Zanjani, *Longstreet*, 77, 109, 112-21, 136, 143.

29. Summary of Weir's report, signed by J. E. Langford and dated November 1, 1896, in possession of B. T. Cannon, Salt Lake City; Actual report appears from author Lyman's notes from first presidency financial papers, now closed, which indicate Weir report is filed there.

during the same period were looking better, but the general situation of church finances—faced with persistent bond payments on these ventures—would have been most exhausting. Judging from the numerous diary references to the Sterling mine during the last years of Wilford Woodruff's very eventful life, the subject preoccupied him considerably as it doubtless did his counselors, who had clearly encouraged church involvement in a type of investment often discouraged by previous Mormon leader, Brigham Young. Awareness that word had gotten around and church losses through Sterling Mining investments were well-known must have weighed heavily on all Latter-day Saint leaders involved and undoubtedly helped convince them to cut their losses and disengage.³⁰

The last reported meeting of the Sterling Mining and Milling Company was on May 8, 1897. Thereafter, attorney and banker John M. Cannon, cousin of Abraham and Hugh and nephew of George Q. Cannon, was employed to wind up the company's affairs. Part of this process involved further borrowing to make interest payments on company loans still outstanding. While all past expenditures are not known, the church probably expended around two hundred thousand dollars on this enterprise during the worst depression known to that time. While the available documentary sources on the disposal of the property are extremely sketchy, there is some indication that Roman Catholic mining figure and later Utah opponent of the Mormons, Thomas Kearns, purchased the Sterling properties for a paltry \$131,869.28.³¹

After this experience with the Sterling gold mines, church authorities would likely have agreed with the great economist, Adam Smith: "Of all

30. [Heber Bennion], *Gospel Problems*, a booklet probably first published in 1920 (reprint Pioneer Press: Dugway, Utah, undated), by a formerly prominent Mormon disenchanted over the church abandonment of plural marriage. Among his other criticisms of church authorities was a complaint about their disfellowshipping persons involved in so-called dream mines. Bennion, a brother-in-law to the then church president, Heber J. Grant, stated "what proof is there that these people [interested in such mines] are deluded or reprobate. . . . The experience of the [church] authorities in some of their own ventures ought to mellow them in charity for others. . . . What about the Sterling mine in Nevada in which the authorities were involved? Was not that a dismal failure, the history of which is anything but to be proud of." See 35-36.

31. First Presidency of the Church, Financial Papers, formerly numbered CR 194 1, were examined over twenty years ago by author Lyman, during the fabulous era in which co-author Arrington directed the Historical Department of the church. At that time the documents were open to scholarly examination. Lyman made the following notations in his personal notes: "church is loaning their money in '96 and '97, Sterling Mining Company must be in trouble. There are still [bond payments] going out in 1898, and then there is a complete list of the loans to the Sterling M and M Company from April 17, 1894 way on into 1897 when Tom Kearns and others do it [?] to the extent of \$131,869." These files still exist, but have been closed to historical research. Copy of author Lyman's notes from First Presidency financial papers on file at Southern Utah State University Library, Special Collections, Cedar City, Utah.

those expensive and uncertain projects. . . which bring bankruptcy upon the greater part of the people who engage in them, there is none perhaps more perfectly ruinous than the search after new silver and gold mines. It is perhaps the most disadvantageous lottery in the world, or the one in which the gain of those who draw the prizes bears the least proportion to the loss of those who draw the blanks."³² Yet paradoxically, the church would recoup its losses from mining by drawing on another mining property—albeit a long-established and reliable one.

Wilford Woodruff died September 28, 1898, still painfully aware of the exorbitant burden of debt weighing on the church he had led for a decade. In fact, a careful statement of assets and liabilities under his charge as Trustee-in Trust had been compiled just two months prior to his death. The new church leader, Lorenzo Snow, selected through a seniority process, chose the same counselors in the first presidency as had his predecessor. Equally as advanced in years as Woodruff had been, it was nonetheless Snow's self-determined mission to attempt to get the church on a more secure financial footing, primarily through his well-known crusade to rejuvenate individual Latter-day Saint commitments to meeting their traditional tithing obligations.

Early in President Snow's tenure, on December 2, 1898, he met with his counselors and Hugh J. and George M. Cannon. The meeting was intended to "enlighten" the new church leader "in relation to the affairs of the Sterling mine." After mentioning the period of optimism during which investors had been confident of large monetary returns to replenish depleted church coffers, the record of the meeting concludes, saying "they were doomed to disappointment, however, for the mine proved a failure, and after this fact became apparent, attorney John M. Cannon was employed for the purpose of winding up its affairs." During that meeting Cannon had been authorized to again borrow sufficient funds to pay the then current debt due on the defunct investment.³³

Some four months later, George Q. Cannon engaged in a private conversation with President Snow on the subject of some "dedicated stock" in one of Utah's most successful silver mines, the Bullion Beck of Eureka, which had been placed in Cannon's custody by his uncle John Taylor, Snow and Woodruff's predecessor as Mormon president, prior to Taylor's death in 1887. Cannon urged Snow to allow him to relinquish this stock, making proper accounting for its former use, then using its remaining proceeds "for the purpose of covering the losses sustained by the church in the Sterling mine." Several days later, a meeting of many of

32. Adam Smith, *An Enquiry Into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (Modern Library Edition, New York, 1940), 529-530.

33. *Journal History* December 2, 1898.

the highest church authorities was held, at which time President Cannon explained that the object was to consider the transfer of the dedicated Bullion Beck stock to President Snow expressly in order "to liquidate the obligation assured by [church leaders] in connection with the Sterling property." Snow thereupon expressed a firm desire that the entire matter be carefully explicated and considered before any action was taken.

As the history of the Bullion Beck stock was fully recounted, those church authorities who had not been in their positions during John Taylor's regime were made aware of a complex and unique situation in which the church president had consecrated some stock of the mining company for future church purposes to be decided solely by himself and/or subsequently by his nephew and counselor, George Q. Cannon. They also learned that at one point, some dozen years previously, disagreements over these arrangements had threatened to severely disrupt the unity usually enjoyed among the members of the Latter-day Saint hierarchy.³⁴ In the specifics of the accounting, Cannon stated that the 7,373 Bullion Beck shares were worth \$10.00 each and that dividends accrued totaled \$159,669, along with \$20,000 in interest. Some of these funds had been expended for other purposes, which President Cannon fully explained.³⁵ His proposal was to use the remaining money and perhaps stock equity to recoup church losses incurred and, presumably, to cancel remaining debts related to involvement in the Sterling company.

The proposal was eventually approved, and in this way the intractable financial predicament arising from the Sterling mine investments was finally resolved in an acceptable manner. There would certainly be future profits derived from the Nevada mining properties, but it is unlikely that any of the highest LDS church leaders regretted this final resolution to their involvement in that frustrating venture.³⁶

34. Edward Leo Lyman, "The Alienation of an Apostle from His Quorum: The Moses Thatcher Case," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* vol. 18, no. 2 (Summer 1985): 68-72.

35. *Journal History*, April 24, 27, 1899.

36. Stanley W. Paher, *Nevada: Ghost Towns & Mining Camps* (Howell-North Books: Berkeley, California, 1970), 324-326, states that early in the Twentieth Century the Ore City Mining Company took out some gold and copper from the Sterling mine, during which time a speculative townsite was laid out nearby and a post office applied for. The camp was abandoned when the boomlet ended. The Johnnie was caught up in the mining hysteria which advanced south from Goldfield and Bullfrog after 1904. The town grew to 300 persons, with a post office, several saloons, stores, hotels, and a daily stage to the railroad. The mine and 16 stamp mills operated until 1914. In the following decade, placer gold was discovered nearby and mined intermittently for three decades. In the 1930's another town of the same name sprang up a few miles away which closed during World War II. Production from the Johnnie alone is said to have exceeded a million dollars. The district was active for nearly half a century, one of the longest-lived in southern Nevada history.

Eve's Psalm

Anne Elizabeth Berbert

My fingers, like God's fingers,
point to the dawn of salvation.
I clasp this pomegranate, its seeds like
worlds extending our isolated existence.

Long before the fruit, I breathed the blossoms,
their pollen curling through the air
back and forward all that ever was and will be
and most importantly, now is.

Answers weigh heavier
than any life that we conceive can bear.
The bees will honey and the bears will sup
while God in His pasture flocks our fields—
atmosphere in His music,
air dances to His name despite our posture—
singing hope, shouting joy,
wedding emotion to knowledge.

I now know pain.
I anticipate joy.
Our Savior will suffer because of us.
He will suffer for us.

I find today to praise, rays of power,
springs of laughter (we will laugh)
trees of life.
I leap into my human heart.
I bow the branch.
I bear the fruit.
I say, "amen,"
and kneel on fallen weight.

Correlated Praise: The Development of the Spanish Hymnal

John-Charles Duffy and Hugo Olaiz

STATISTICIANS PREDICT THAT BY 2012 native Spanish speakers will surpass native English speakers as the LDS church's largest language group.¹ Clearly, the church is about to reach a dramatic turning point in its international growth. Yet with Spanish-speaking saints on the verge of becoming the church's majority language group, relatively little has been done to examine the history and culture of Spanish-speaking saints or their place in church administration.²

The textual history of the Spanish hymnal may seem a rather trivial contribution to Hispanic Mormon studies. However, the story of the hymnal's development casts light not only on the relationship of Spanish-speaking saints to the current church administration, but also on the relationship between English-speaking saints and every other language group in the church. The details of the Spanish hymnal's development may be tedious to readers who do not know Spanish, but they will be of considerable interest to those familiar with either the 1942 *Himnos de Sión*

1. "News of the Church," *Ensign* 26 (Mar. 1996): 77.

2. Existing studies include: Rodolfo Acevedo, *Los mormones en Chile* (Santiago: Impresos Cumorah, 1990); David Clark Knowlton, "Missionaries and Terror: Background and Implications of the Assassination of Two Missionaries in Bolivia," *Sunstone* 13 (Apr. 1989): 10-15; David Clark Knowlton, "Thoughts on Mormonism in Latin America," *Dialogue* 25, no. 2 (Summer 1992): 41-53; David Clark Knowlton, "Mormonism in Latin America: Toward the Twenty-first Century," *Dialogue* 29, no. 1 (Spring 1996): 159-176; Lamond Tullis, "The Church Moves outside the United States: Some Observations from Latin America," *Dialogue* 13, no. 1 (Spring 1980): 63-73; F. Lamond Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1987); Frederick S. Williams and Frederick G. Williams, *From Acorn to Oak Tree* (Fullerton, Calif.: Etcetera Graphics, 1987).

or the 1992 *Himnos*. Of broader interest will be the paper's conclusion, which explores the impact of correlation on the international church.

The development of the Spanish hymnal occurred in three stages:³

(1) *The Amateur Stage*. Four Spanish hymnals were produced in the early years of the twentieth century. These were primarily the work of Anglos for whom Spanish was a second language, and the quality of the Spanish was poor to fair. The Mexican Mission produced the first of these hymnals in 1907 with expanded editions in 1912 and 1927. An independent Spanish hymnal was published in 1911, the work of Samantha Brimhall-Foley.

(2) *The Professional Stage*. In 1942 the church produced a hymnal incorporating most of the Mexican Mission's 1927 hymnal. Eduardo Balderas, a native Spanish speaker working for the church as a translator, revised some of the amateur hymn texts and added many new, quality translations of his own.

(3) *The Committee Stage*. In 1992, the church published a new Spanish hymnal, heavily revised and correlated to the 1985 English hymnal. This hymnal was produced by a committee which included native Spanish speakers working under the auspices of the Church Music Committee.

THE AMATEUR STAGE: THE MEXICAN MISSION'S HYMNALS

The early Mexican Mission produced three hymnals.⁴ The first of these (1907) was titled *Himnario mormón* [Mormon Hymnal]. The second two (1912, 1927) were titled *Himnos de Sión* [Hymns of Zion],⁵ and were

3. The production of other Spanish materials—most notably, translations of LDS scripture—began in the nineteenth century and has experienced the same three stages.

4. At the time the first Spanish hymnal was produced, Mexico was the only part of the Spanish-speaking world where the church had a presence. The church would not be established in South America until the 1920s, in Central America until the 1940s, or in Spain until the 1960s. Missionary work among Spanish speakers living in the United States was officially launched in 1915 (*Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow [New York: Macmillan, 1992], 897-902, 1392-1400; *Deseret News Church Almanac 2001-2002* [Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 2000], 398; Richard O. Cowan, *The Church in the Twentieth Century* [Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1985], 55). Of the church's various missions in the Spanish-speaking world, only the Mexican Mission ever produced its own hymnals. The 1927 hymnal circulated beyond Mexico and was used as far away as Argentina.

5. The full bibliographic references for these hymnals are: *Himnario mormón* (Mexico: Müller Hnos., 1907); *Himnos de Sión de la Iglesia de Jesucristo de los Santos de los Últimos Días* (Mexico: Müller Hnos., 1912); *Himnos de Sión de la Iglesia de Jesucristo de los Santos de los Últimos Días* (Independence, Mo.: Zion's Printing and Publishing, 1912); *Himnos de Sión de la Iglesia de Jesucristo de los Santos de los Últimos Días* (Independence, Mo.: Zion's Printing and Publishing, 1927). Note that there were two editions of the 1912 hymnal, one printed in Mexico and one in Independence. The Mexican edition appears to have been created first (judging, for example, by the fact that it contains fewer hymns). The title for the 1907 hymnal may have been chosen for its similarity to the title of the *Himnario evangélico*, from

essentially expanded editions of the 1907 hymnal. Each reproduced the contents of the previous hymnal, with some omissions and changes, and then added a new set of hymn texts where the previous hymnal left off. These early hymnals contained text only with no music. Cross-references to the saints' English hymnals and songbooks indicated which tunes should be used with which Spanish texts. Obviously, one had to be familiar with the English hymnals of the time to make use of these cross-references.

Rey L. Pratt, president of the Mexican Mission from 1907 until his death in 1931,⁶ was the chief contributor to Spanish LDS hymnody during this period; half the hymn texts in the 1927 hymnal were credited to him. Other hymn texts were produced by American missionaries, Anglo saints living in the church's Mexican colonies, and native Mexican saints.⁷ Since they were produced largely by people for whom Spanish was a second language, these hymnals contained many errors, both typographical and grammatical. Crude syntax, bizarre expressions, and accents forced onto the wrong syllables made some of the lyrics unsingable and incomprehensible. The 1912 edition corrected some of these problems, but many stayed in place until 1942 and some were not corrected until 1992.

In compiling their first hymnal for the use of Spanish-speaking saints in 1907, the missionaries adopted four strategies. As one would expect, they: 1) translated hymns in use among the English-speaking saints; 2) included original Spanish hymns authored by Latter-day Saints; 3) borrowed Spanish hymns from other denominations; and 4) reprinted English hymns without translation.⁸ The original Spanish hymns are especially interesting because they represent the blossoming of a distinctive Spanish LDS hymnody. The 1907 hymnal contained twelve original Spanish hymn texts; eleven more appeared in the 1912

which some hymns were reprinted by permission. The title of the 1912 and 1927 hymnals seems to have been inspired by the title of the 1908 English hymnal, *Songs of Zion*. This might manifest an early impulse toward correlation.

6. Dale F. Beecher, "Rey L. Pratt and the Mexican Mission," *BYU Studies* 15 (Spring 1975): 293-307.

7. Two of the translations in the 1907 hymnal were attributed to Estrella de Belén, which means "Star of Bethlehem" and seems to be a pseudonym. We may surmise this person was LDS since one of her translated hymns, "Our God, We Raise to Thee," is a distinctively LDS hymn. "Estrella" could serve as a feminine name in Spanish, which might indicate that this translator is a woman. If so, then Estrella de Belén would be the only female contributor to any Spanish hymnal produced by the church or its missions before 1992. (See footnote 18 for a possible qualification to this assertion.) In any case, Estrella de Belén's translations were omitted from every subsequent hymnal.

8. Presumably the texts in English were included for the use of Anglo missionaries rather than the Mexican saints. Only the 1907 hymnal contained untranslated English text.

hymnal. About half these original texts were authored by native Spanish-speaking saints and were written to accompany existing hymn tunes.⁹

Many of the original texts were about the Restoration, missionary work, or the last days. One in particular, “La obra ya empieza” [The Work Now Begins],¹⁰ was meant to have special local appeal, describing missionary work in Latin America as fulfillment of the Book of Mormon prophecy that the gospel would again be taken to the Lamanites. The first verse of this hymn begins:

La obra ya empieza
Que prometió Jesús;

9. The twenty-three original texts are listed below, with their authors and their English tunes (where known).

Original Spanish Text	Author	Tune
<i>Despedida</i>	Andrés C. González	In the Sweet By and By
<i>Digno es de todo loor</i>	Edmund Richardson	[Tune unknown]
<i>Dios, bendícenos</i>	Edmund Richardson	Guide Us, O Thou Great Jehovah
<i>Dios te loamos</i>	Edmund Richardson	Adieu to the City
<i>Doxologías</i>	Edmund Richardson	Praise God, from Whom All Blessings Flow
<i>El tiempo ha llegado</i>	Ramón García	[Tune unknown]
<i>Final</i>	Joel Morales	Ye Who Are Called to Labor
<i>Hermanos, venid</i>	José V. Estrada G.	We'll Sing the Songs of Zion
<i>Humildad</i>	W. Ernest Young	Beautiful Isle
<i>La obra ya empieza</i>	Edmund Richardson	[Tune appears in the 1942 hymnal without any identifying information]
<i>La ofrenda</i>	José V. Estrada G.	Jesus, Mighty King in Zion
<i>La proclamación</i>	José V. Estrada G.	Improve the Shining Moments
<i>La voz de Jesucristo</i>	Edmund Richardson	O Stop and Tell Me, Red Man
<i>Mensaje de paz</i>	Joel Morales	Lo! The Gentile Chain Is Broken
<i>Oh gente afligida</i>	Edmund Richardson	Arise, O Glorious Zion
<i>Padre nuestro en el cielo</i>	Manrique González	We Are Sowing
<i>¿Por qué somos?</i>	Edmund W. Richardson	Lord, Accept Our True Devotion
<i>Promesa cumplida</i>	Joel Morales	[Tune unknown]
<i>Santos, dad loor a Dios</i>	Edmund Richardson	O Jesus, the Giver
<i>Te glorificamos, oh Dios</i>	Marion B. Naegle	The Red, White, and Blue
<i>Tened en Dios confianza</i>	José V. Estrada G.	Glorious Things of Thee Are Spoken
<i>Venid, hermanos</i>	José V. Estrada G.	How Firm a Foundation
<i>Venid hermanos en la fe</i>	Edmund Richardson	Again We Meet Around the Board

10. Throughout the amateur and even into the professional stage, titles in the Spanish hymnals were capitalized according to the conventions of English. We have applied the capitalization conventions of Spanish (as did the 1992 hymnal). Also, in our citations from the Spanish hymnals, we have corrected obvious typographical or usage errors (except when commenting on them) so as not to distract readers; for the same reason, we have modernized accentuation and punctuation. Throughout this paper, the literal translations from Spanish appearing in square brackets are our own.

Al pueblo lamanita,
Va la divina luz.

[Now begins the work
which Jesus promised:
to the Lamanite people
goes the divine light.]

The hymn then speaks of the “millares que viven en el Sud” [thousands who live in the South] who are of Lamanite blood, and it names Mexicans, specifically, as being among those whom God wills to teach the gospel and save from their afflictions.¹¹

The borrowing of hymns from other denominations¹² represented another move toward a distinctive Spanish LDS hymnody, independent of developments in English LDS hymnody. The 1907 hymnal contained nine texts reprinted by permission of the American Tract Society from the *Himnario evangélico* [Evangelical Hymnal]. These included Spanish translations of the hymns “In the Sweet By and By,” “Rock of Ages,” “God Be with You Till We Meet Again,” and “I Need Thee Every Hour.” The 1907 hymnal also contained translations of two gospel songs, “Shall We Gather at the River?” and “When the Roll Is Called up Yonder.” For the 1927 hymnal, Rey L. Pratt translated an Anglican hymn entitled “Spirit of God, Descend upon My Heart.”

11. Another hymn of particular interest to Mexican saints is “Adelante para siempre” [Onward Forever], a patriotic hymn about Mexico which attempted to provide comfort in the face of the on-going Mexican Revolution. The chorus reads:

México, México, gloria eterna
Es para ti, y futuro de paz;
Nunca serás destruido por guerra:
¡Manda justicia, oh Dios de solaz!

[Mexico, Mexico, eternal glory
is for you, and a future of peace.
Never will you be destroyed by war.
Send justice, O God of solace!]

This hymn appeared in the 1912 and 1927 hymnals but was omitted from the 1942 hymnal, no doubt because it was regarded as too provincial to be used by the Spanish-speaking membership worldwide. However, “La obra ya empieza,” with its specific reference to Mexicans, survived in the 1942 hymnal.

12. By “hymns borrowed from other denominations,” we mean: 1) original or translated texts produced in Spanish by members of other denominations; or 2) Spanish translations by Latter-day Saints of hymns not found in an English LDS hymnal of the time. Obviously, many of the hymns sung by the saints, both in English and Spanish, have been borrowed from other denominations; but when we speak here of “hymns borrowed from other denominations,” we have a much narrower category in mind.

This blossoming of a distinctive Spanish LDS hymnody was short-lived. The number of original Spanish texts peaked in 1912 at twenty-three; the 1927 hymnal omitted seven of these hymns, and the number continued to decline in the 1942 and 1992 hymnals. Hymns borrowed from other denominations likewise dwindled away. None of the selections from *Himnario evangélico* were carried into the 1912 or 1927 hymnals, and no hymn borrowed from another denomination survived in the church's 1942 hymnal.¹³

By contrast, the number of hymns translated from English rose steadily until, by 1927, translations accounted for nearly 90 percent of the hymnal's contents. Hymn translation was clearly a high priority for the compilers of the Mexican Mission's hymnals, especially for Rey L. Pratt (who contributed the largest number of translations without authoring a single original Spanish hymn). Together, the rise in the number of translations and the trimming of distinctive Spanish hymns represented an effort to correlate the hymnody of the Spanish-speaking saints to that of the English-speaking saints. This effort continued in subsequent Spanish hymnals.

THE BRIMHALL HYMNAL

In 1911, a Spanish hymnal entitled *Canciones de Sión* [Songs of Zion] was published in Salt Lake City.¹⁴ According to the title page, this hymnal was produced "con el permiso y aprobación de las autoridades de la Iglesia" [with the permission and approval of the authorities of the Church]. However, none of the texts contained in *Canciones de Sión* ever appeared in any hymnal published by the Mexican Mission or the church, and none have survived in present-day usage. We do not know whether *Canciones de Sión* was ever actually used among Spanish-speaking saints.¹⁵ Nevertheless, this hymnal is a fascinating and ambitious contribution to Spanish LDS hymnody. *Canciones de Sión* was entirely the work of women and one woman in particular: Samantha T. Brimhall-Foley.¹⁶

Brimhall was a Utah Mormon who lived in Mexico for the last

13. Some of the selections from the *Himnario evangélico* reappeared in the 1942 hymnal, but as new translations by Latter-day Saints: e.g., "God Be With You Till We Meet Again" and "I Need Thee Every Hour."

14. The full reference for this collection is: Samona/Samantha T. Brimhall de Foley, *Canciones de Sión o del culto mormón* (Salt Lake City: Skelton Publishing, 1911). Note that the title, *Canciones de Sión*, is a direct translation of the 1908 English hymnal's title, *Songs of Zion*. Like the Mexican Mission's hymnals, *Canciones de Sión* contains text only (no music).

15. However, Brimhall's translation of "Praise to the Man" was sung during the October 1913 General Conference (*Conference Report* [Oct. 1913]: 24). The "canonical" translation of this hymn (i.e., the one incorporated into the church's hymnals) was made by Andrés C. González and appeared for the first time in the Mexican Mission's 1912 hymnal.

16. In her hymnal, Brimhall acknowledged the assistance or contributions of two

decade of the nineteenth century, teaching in the church's academy in Colonia Juarez. Directed by a "still small voice" to learn Spanish, Brimhall spent much of her life working as a Spanish teacher and translator and was instrumental in persuading church leaders in Los Angeles (where she spent the last years of her life) to reach out to the Spanish-speaking population there. She produced her hymnal sometime between 1904 and 1911 while living in Salt Lake City.¹⁷ The hymnal was a labor of love, containing 174 hymn or song texts in Spanish, all of them authored or translated by Brimhall. The Brimhall hymnal not only has the distinction of being the only Spanish LDS hymnal created entirely by women, it is also the only Spanish LDS hymnal before 1992 to which a woman is known, with certainty, to have contributed.¹⁸

Brimhall's hymnal is the largest of the amateur hymnals, containing over 100 selections more than the Mexican Mission's 1907 hymnal and almost eighty more than the 1912 hymnal. Only the church's 1942 and 1992 Spanish hymnals were larger. With 174 hymns to her name, Brimhall holds the record for the most Spanish hymn texts produced by a Latter-day Saint.¹⁹ Brimhall's Spanish, however, left much to be desired (although it was not much worse than that seen in some of the Mexican Mission's 1907 hymns).²⁰ Original Spanish hymns accounted for 40 percent of the Brimhall hymnal. No other LDS Spanish hymnal has had such a high proportion of original material. Where the 1912 hymnal contained twenty-three original Spanish hymns (the most in any hymnal by the Mexican Mission or the church), the Brimhall hymnal contained sixty-seven original Spanish texts.²¹ Highlights of Brimhall's original texts include:

other women: Bessie Brooks-Jensen, a pianist who helped Brimhall make sure the accentuation of the texts matched the music, and Louisa L. Greene-Richards, who composed an English text specifically for inclusion, in translated form, in Brimhall's hymnal.

17. Samantha Tryphena Brimhall Foley, "Why I Studied Spanish," typescript, Manuscripts Division, Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah; copy also available at Manuscripts Division, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah.

18. As noted earlier, Estrella de Belén—who contributed two translations to the 1907 hymnal—might have been a woman. The 1942 hymnal contains a translation ("Ya crece Sión") credited to Lynn R. Hansen, but we have been unable to determine if this is a man or a woman.

19. Eduardo Balderas, who is normally recognized as holding that distinction, has only 121 hymns to his name. In fairness, however, it should be noted that Balderas's translations are superior in quality to Brimhall's.

20. In addition to making the same kinds of grammatical errors seen in the Mexican Mission's hymnals, Brimhall idiosyncratically treated diphthongs as if they were two different syllables. Hence, the word "Dios" [God], which is a single syllable in Spanish, was sung in Brimhall's hymns as two syllables: Di-os.

21. Regrettably, Brimhall rarely indicated which tunes were meant to accompany her original Spanish texts.

- Songs of special interest to Mexican saints, including two anti-war hymns in response to the Mexican Revolution, a hymn titled “Colonia Juarez,” and several texts about Lamanites.
- Songs teaching distinctive LDS doctrines and practices such as the pre-existence and baptism for the dead, or teaching against practices such as infant baptism and the worship of images, issues which would have been especially relevant in a Catholic environment.
- Restoration-themed hymns, including two original compositions about Joseph Smith’s first vision as well as Book of Mormon-themed compositions, including three songs about Christ’s visit to the Americas.
- Hymns of praise to Christ as savior and creator of the worlds and songs based on events from the life of Jesus.

Despite its many linguistic shortcomings and the likelihood that it was never actually used among the Spanish-speaking saints, *Canciones de Sión* is noteworthy. For thirty years after its publication, it remained the largest collection of LDS hymn translations into Spanish; it contains more contributions by women than any other LDS Spanish hymnal; and it remains to this day the most ambitious attempt ever made to create an original LDS hymnody in Spanish.

THE PROFESSIONAL STAGE: THE 1942 HYMNAL

The 1942 edition of *Himnos de Sión* was the first Spanish hymnal published by the church proper (rather than by the Mexican Mission). It was also the first Spanish hymnal in which music appeared. Thus, it was the first Spanish hymnal to be “self-sufficient”—i.e., it did not need cross-referencing nor require knowledge of the saints’ English hymnals. Used for half a century, the 1942 hymnal had by far the longest life span of any of the Spanish hymnals.²² It incorporated nearly all the material from the 1927 hymnal,²³ but was double its size, thanks to the addition of new ma-

22. The full bibliographic reference for this hymnal is: *Himnos de Sión: Una colección de himnos y canciones espirituales con letra y música, para el uso de los coros y las congregaciones de la Iglesia de Jesucristo de los Santos de los Últimos Días* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1942). Originally, this hymnal contained 252 hymns. Four hymns were added to the back of the hymnal during the 1980s.

23. Nine selections from the 1927 hymnal were omitted in the 1942 hymnal, all of which were texts with no equivalent in the English hymnals or songbooks. Again, this might indicate an early trend toward correlation—a desire to make the Spanish hymnal more closely resemble, in content, the English hymnals. This trend can also be seen in the way the 1942 hymnal handled the problem of two hymn texts using the same tune. As more hymns were translated over the years, some tunes appeared in the Spanish hymnal twice. For example, the tune for “How Firm a Foundation” accompanied both the Spanish translation of “How Firm a Foundation” and the original Spanish text “Venid, hermanos.” In

terial. Almost all the new selections were translations from English, and nearly all were the work of Eduardo Balderas, a Mexican saint who in 1939 became the first full-time translator hired by the church.²⁴ Translator of 117 hymn texts and author of four original Spanish hymns, Balderas became known as the greatest contributor to Spanish LDS hymnody.

The 1942 hymnal was meant to serve the same purpose as several different songbooks used by English-speaking saints. It was a hymnbook, children's songbook, M.I.A. songbook, Sunday School songbook, and a collection of anthems for choirs all rolled into one. (The first LDS children's songbook in Spanish would not appear until 1960; M.I.A. songbooks in Spanish would likewise not appear until the late 1950s and 1960s.)

Translations from English made up nearly 95 percent of the 1942 hymnal's contents. Of the twenty-three original Spanish hymn texts which appeared in the Mexican Mission's 1912 hymnal, only eleven survived in the 1942 hymnal. The loss of older original Spanish hymns was offset somewhat by the appearance of four new original texts, all M.I.A. songs authored by Eduardo Balderas.²⁵ Still, original Spanish hymns accounted for little over 5 percent of the 1942 hymnal's contents (down from nearly 25 percent in 1912). The 1942 hymnal also contained corrections of grammatical and usage errors from the Mexican Mission's hymnals. However, a thorough revision of this material would have to wait for the 1992 hymnal.

THE COMMITTEE STAGE: THE 1992 HYMNAL

In 1992, half a century after the publication of the 1942 *Himnos de Sión*, the church published a revised and updated Spanish hymnal.²⁶

some cases, the 1942 hymnal avoided repetition by giving an original Spanish text a different tune; in other cases, the competing Spanish text was simply eliminated. Both scenarios demonstrate a tendency to give English translations preference over original Spanish texts.

24. Richard O. Cowan, *The Church in the Twentieth Century*, 270; Joseph E. Stringham, "The Church and Translation," *BYU Studies* 21 (Winter 1981): 70; see also John E. Carr, "Eduardo Balderas: Translating Faith into Service," *Ensign* 15 (June 1985): 42-46. In addition to the 1942 hymnal, Balderas's translating credits include the Pearl of Great Price, the first complete translation of the Doctrine and Covenants, a thoroughly revised translation of the Book of Mormon, and popular LDS works such as *The Articles of Faith*, *Jesus the Christ*, *A Marvelous Work and a Wonder*, *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, and *The Miracle of Forgiveness*.

25. The eleven original Spanish hymns which survived in the 1942 hymnal were: "Despedida," "Dios, bendícenos," "Final," "Hermanos, venid," "La obra ya empieza," "La proclamación," "Mensaje de paz," "Oh gente afligida," "¿Por qué somos?" "Promesa cumplida," and "Tened en Dios confianza." The four new M.I.A. songs by Balderas were: "Haces falta en nuestra Mutual" (tune: "The Caissons Go Rolling Along"), "Hay gozo en la Mutual" (tune: "Santa Lucia"), "La juventud sigue a Cristo" (tune: "Auld Lang Syne") and "Luchemos por la Asociación" (tune: "Jingle Bells").

26. The full bibliographic reference for this hymnal is: *Himnos de la Iglesia de Jesucristo*

This hymnal was produced over a period of three years by a committee that included native Spanish-speaking men and women,²⁷ and it was closely patterned after the 1985 English hymnal in its physical appearance, contents, and organization.²⁸ However, the 1992 Spanish hymnal was less than two-thirds the size of the English hymnal on which it was modeled.

The 1992 hymnal was produced under a set of guidelines for foreign language hymnals established by the Church Music Committee. According to those guidelines, "each hymnbook in every language would share a common core of one hundred standard hymns, fifty additional hymns from a longer recommended list, and then each language group would be allowed to select an additional fifty hymns dear to their culture, so long as the content of each hymn was compatible with the restored gospel."²⁹ These guidelines represented an unprecedented step toward correlating LDS hymnody worldwide, requiring that translations from English account for at least 75 percent of the contents of each foreign-language hymnal. The 1992 Spanish hymnal went the second mile in this regard: Translations from English made up 98 percent of that hymnal's contents. Unlike every previous Spanish hymnal, the 1992 hymnal did not print translator credits (a reflection of the fact that this hymnal was the work of a committee), and translations retained from earlier hymnals were thoroughly revised.

We have identified four categories of revisions in the 1992 Spanish hymnal: 1) correction of grammatical errors or ambiguity; 2) cutting back on the use of archaic language; 3) making the hymns doctrinally or historically correct; and 4) making Spanish translations more closely resemble the English originals.

de los Santos de los Últimos Días (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day saints, 1992). This title is an exact translation of the 1985 English hymnal's title.

27. Personal communication with Lincoln R. Peters, June 1993.

28. The cover of the 1992 Spanish hymnal resembles the cover of the 1985 English hymnal. The title pages also resemble each other, the tables of contents are nearly identical, both hymnals contain the same First Presidency preface and an appendix entitled "Using the Hymnbook," and hymn translations appear in the 1992 hymnal close to the order in which their English equivalents appear in the 1985 hymnal. On the other hand, it is interesting to note some differences: The Spanish hymnal contains no hymns arranged for choirs, greatly reducing the number of hymns in the sections "For Women" and "For Men" (women have a single hymn especially appointed for their use). The Spanish hymnal also contains no patriotic hymns, and where the English hymnal has seven indices, the Spanish hymnal omits indices designed for the specialized use of musicians.

29. Spencer J. Condie, *Your Agency, Handle with Care* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1996), 55-56. The 1992 hymnal contained 209 hymns, slightly more than the 200 allotted by the Committee's guidelines, possibly because a few short hymns were added to fill the white space left when a longer hymn filled only part of a second page.

GRAMMATICAL ERRORS AND AMBIGUITY

While the translations provided by early Anglo missionaries filled an important need, these translations were not always graceful or even grammatically correct. A typical example is the first verse of the 1942 translation of “Now Let Us Rejoice”:

Ya regocijemos en día bendito
Ya como errantes jamás caminar;
El gran evangelio están proclamando,
La hora traer de la gran redención.

[Now let us rejoice in blessed day
now as wanderers never to walk;
the great gospel they are preaching,
the hour to bring of the great redemption.]

This translation was actually a revised version of an even more problematic translation made by Rey L. Pratt in 1912. Despite efforts by Eduardo Balderas to tweak Pratt’s earlier work, the 1942 translation contained several grammatical problems, most notably a tendency to handle infinitives in Spanish the same way they would be handled in English, resulting in a syntax that sounds tortured to the native Spanish speaker’s ear. Here’s how the 1992 translation finally corrected these problems:

Ya regocijemos; es día bendito;
ya no sufriremos pesar y aflicción.
El gran evangelio se está proclamando
y viene la hora de la redención. . . .

[Now let us rejoice; it is blessed day;
no longer will we suffer sorrow and affliction.
The great gospel is being preached
and comes the hour of redemption. . . .]

The new translation may sound awkward to an English speaker’s ear (we have tried to preserve that awkwardness in the literal re-translation into English), but the new translation does satisfy the norms of Spanish grammar. While some of the revisions are relatively unobtrusive—the changing of the word *en* to *es* in the first line, for example—the second line of the hymn has been completely rewritten. Note, too, that the revised translation, unlike its predecessor, rhymes in the second and fourth lines as does the original English.

An important feature of the revision is the use of *synalephas*. In Spanish, when a syllable ending in a vowel is followed by a syllable beginning with a vowel sound, the two syllables are often pronounced as a single syllable. (An English equivalent appears in the opening line of the hymn,

"O God, the Eternal Father," where two syllables are slurred together so they can be sung on the same note: "O God, th'Eternal Father.") This blending of syllables, called a *synalepha*, is commonly used in Spanish poetry and song to squeeze more syllables into one line. The synalepha is indicated to the singer by the u-shaped mark seen in the new translation between the words *se* and *está*, or *y* and *aflicción*. Synalephas were not used in earlier Spanish hymnals, with rare exceptions, perhaps because the convention was unfamiliar to the Anglos who oversaw the production of those hymnals or perhaps to avoid typographical complications. By contrast, synalephas were used frequently in the 1992 hymnal.

Despite its problems, the 1912 translation of "Now Let Us Rejoice" was not as bad as it might have been. The grammar in some early translations was extremely crude. Consider these excerpts from the 1912 translation of "What was witnessed in the heavens?":

Oh, ¿qué vieron en el cielo? Pues, un ángel que voló.
 ¿Trajo él algún mensaje? Sí, del evangelio, son. . . .
 ¿Evangelio no tuvimos? Los de hombres, otro no.
 Dinos, ¿qué es este nuevo? El primero que volvió.

[Oh, what saw in the sky? Why, an angel that flew.
 Brought he some message? Yes, of the gospel, sound. . . .
 Gospel had we not? Those of men, other no.
 Tell us, what is this new? The first that returned.]

In order to squeeze in enough syllables to correct the grammatical problems here, the revisers had to alter the way this hymn is sung. In the English version of this hymn, there are several places where a single syllable is extended over two notes: "Wha-at was witnessed i-in the heavens." The revisers of the Spanish hymnal had to dispense with this luxury: In the 1992 translation of this hymn, every note carries a different syllable (giving the translators ten syllables per phrase instead of eight). As a result of this change, Spanish-speaking saints have had to learn to sing this hymn in a new way, but what they now sing is more intelligible Spanish:

¿Qué_es lo que vieron en las alturas? Vimos un ángel que voló.
 ¿Trajo algún mensaje al mundo? El evangelio de salvación. . . .
 ¿No se tenía el evangelio? Sí existía_en la_antigüedad.
 ¿Qué es, entonces, este prodigio? El regreso de la verdad. . . .

[What was it that you saw in the heights? We saw an angel that flew.
 Did he bring some message to the world? The gospel of salvation. . . .
 Was the gospel not already had? Yes, it existed in ancient times.
 What is, then, this wonder? The return of the truth. . . .]

Furthermore, some of the earlier translations were ambiguous, with unintentionally humorous or scandalous results. The 1942 translation of "We Thank Thee, O God, for a Prophet" contained these lines:

Tenemos en Dios gran confianza,
Vencido será Satanás.
De él no dudamos en nada. . . .

[We have in God great confidence,
Satan will be defeated.
In him we trust. . . .]

Obviously, the pronoun *él* (him) is meant to refer to God, but singers sound as if they are placing their trust in Satan. In the 1992 hymnal, that last line has been changed to read: "De Dios no dudamos en nada . . ." [In God we trust . . .]

ARCHAIC LANGUAGE

Since some translations from earlier hymnals are nearly a century old, they contain certain archaic features, some of which were retained in the 1992 hymnal—most notably the use of *vosotros*, a plural "you" comparable to the English "ye." *Vosotros* survives in contemporary Spanish only in Spain and sounds affected if used in Latin America, but *vosotros* is still used in the Reina-Valera translation of the Bible, the translation which the church has approved for Spanish-speaking members. *Vosotros* is also used in the Spanish translations of restoration scripture, just as "thee" and "ye" are retained in the church's English scriptures. It is therefore not surprising to see *vosotros* retained in the Spanish hymnal.

A few archaisms, however, have been eliminated from the hymnal. Earlier translations of "Master, the Tempest is Raging" and "Abide with Me; 'Tis Eventide" used the medieval *vos* form to address the Savior, which sounds as extraordinarily antiquated to Spanish speakers as the royal "we" would sound to an English-speaker.³⁰ The 1992 revision replaces all the *vos* forms with verbs conjugated in the *tú* form, which is what contemporary Spanish speakers would use to address the Lord.

Another archaism seen in earlier hymn translations was the practice of moving pronouns from their customary positions in order to make the text fit the rhythm of the music. The 1992 hymnal discontinued this practice. For instance, the translated chorus of "I Stand All Amazed" used to

30. This medieval, honorific form of "*vos*" should not be confused with the familiar form of "*vos*" which survives today in some countries of Central and South America. The pronouns and the conjugations used in the pre-1992 hymnals clearly correspond to the medieval, not the contemporary, form.

begin: “Cuán asombroso es que él amárame y rescatárame” [How wonderful it is that he would me love and me rescue]. In Spanish, as in our English re-translation, the pronoun “me” strikes the contemporary ear as being in the wrong place, although this would have been permissible in archaic Spanish. The 1992 revision took an entirely different approach: “Cuán asombroso es que por amarme así muriera El por mí” [How wonderful it is that he loved me so much he would die for me]. In Spanish, as in English, this is quite a mouthful and rather more difficult to sing than the old version—but no longer sounds archaic.

DOCTRINAL AND HISTORICAL INACCURACIES

The 1992 hymnal brought earlier translations in line with the “doctrinal correctness” promoted in subsequent years by the Correlation Committee. For instance, the 1927 translation of “How Firm a Foundation” made a reference to “el plan de Jesús” [the plan of Jesus]. This is now recognized as incorrect—we are supposed to speak of the Father’s plan, not Jesus’ plan. The 1992 revisers replaced the reference to “el plan de Jesús” with a reference to God’s “palabra de amor” [word of love]. Also the 1927 translation of “With Wondering Awe” committed the *faux pas* of referring to three wise men (*magos tres*), but in 1992, the hymn was rewritten in such a way as to leave the number of wise men unspecified, as it is in the New Testament. Likewise, since 1907, the translation of “What Was Witnessed in the Heavens” had contained a reference to San Pablo [Saint Paul]. In 1992, he became simply Pablo [Paul].

The 1942 translation of “In Our Lovely Deseret” contained the lines: “Si salud quieren guardar y sus vidas alargar, té, café, y el tabaco odiarán” [If they want to guard their health and prolong their lives, tea, coffee, and tobacco they will hate]. In the 1992 hymnal, that last line appears as: “té, café, también tabaco evitarán” [tea, coffee, and tobacco they will avoid]. The committee member who made this revision was uncomfortable with the idea of LDS children being taught to hate.³¹ However, the English version of this hymn still reads “tea and coffee and tobacco they despise.”

Since 1927, the translation of “Praise God, from Whom All Blessings Flow” had begun:

A Dios, el Padre y Jesús,
Y al Espíritu de luz,
Alzad canciones de loor. . .

31. Personal communication with Omar Canals, March 1990.

[To God the Father and Jesus,
and to the Spirit of light,
raise songs of praise. . . .]

Lest the hymn give the impression that God the Father and Jesus are the same personage, the 1992 revisers used a synalepha to insert the preposition “to” (Spanish *a*) before Jesus:

A Dios el Padre y a Jesús
y al Espíritu de luz
alzad canciones de loor. . . .

[To God the Father and to Jesus,
and to the Spirit of light,
raise songs of praise. . . .]

In 1942, the translation of “Joseph Smith’s First Prayer” began:

Qué hermosa la mañana,
Qué brillante fué el sol,
Animales de verano,
Daban voces de loor.

[How beautiful was the morning,
how bright was the sun;
animals of summer
raised their voices in praise.]

However, this was not historically accurate—the First Vision occurred in the spring, not the summer. Accordingly, the 1992 revision reads: “Pajaritos y abejas daban voces de loor” [Little birds and bees raised their voices in praise]. Note that not only has the reference to summer been eliminated, but the reference to birds and bees also brings the hymn closer to the English text (“bees were humming, sweet birds singing”).

DIVERGENCES FROM THE ENGLISH TEXTS

One of the goals of the 1992 hymnal compilers was to make the Spanish translations more closely resemble the original English texts.³² As a result, the revisers altered texts that were adequate in terms of grammar and doctrine but were less literal translations of the English than they

32. Spencer J. Condie reports that under the new guidelines for foreign-language hymnals, text had to be translated back into English to “see how the lyrics survived the round trip” (*Your Agency, Handle with Care*, 57).

could have been. Consider, for instance, the Hosanna shout as it appears in the 1907 translation of the chorus from "The Spirit of God."

Cantemos, gritemos, con huestes del cielo,
 ¡Hosanna, hosanna al Dios de Belén!
 A él sea gloria, poder y anhelo,
 De hoy para siempre, ¡Amén y amén!

[Let us sing, let us shout, with the armies of heaven,
 Hosanna, hosanna to the God of Bethlehem!
 To him be given power and dominion,
 henceforth and forever, Amen and amen!]

In the 1992 revision, the epithet "God of Bethlehem" disappears, and the chorus has been altered to refer to both the Father and the Son, as it does in English (and as it does in the Hosanna shout used during temple dedications).

Cantemos, gritemos, con huestes del cielo:
 ¡Hosanna, hosanna a Dios y Jesús!
 A ellos sea dado loor en lo alto,
 de hoy para siempre, ¡amén y amén!

[Let us sing, let us shout, with the armies of heaven,
 Hosanna, hosanna to God and Jesus!
 To them be given glory in the highest,
 henceforth and forever, Amen and amen!]

While the new translation is undeniably closer to the English original, it has also acquired a certain gracelessness. For one thing, the chorus no longer rhymes. Furthermore, "God and Jesus" sounds like something a Sunbeam teacher might say, not something one would sing at a solemn occasion such as a temple dedication. "The God of Bethlehem" was unusual but had a greater air of dignity.

Several of the altered hymns have the same problem. When a translator's priority is producing as literal a translation as possible, concerns such as gracefulness and dignity tend to fall by the wayside. Sometimes the change is innocuous. For example, the Spanish version of "It Came upon the Midnight Clear" used to be titled "En bella noche se oyó" [It came upon a beautiful night]. The hymn is now titled "A medianoche se oyó" [It came at midnight], which doesn't sound bad in Spanish and does better capture the meaning of the original. On the other hand, consider the Spanish version of "I Need Thee Every Hour." In 1912, this hymn was translated as "Te quiero sin cesar," which can mean either "I love thee without ceasing" or "I desire thee without ceasing." Now the hymn begins, "Te necesito, sí," meaning, "I need thee, yes." Certainly the

1992 version better captures the content of the original English, in that it focuses on needing the Lord, but the intensity of feeling in English—"I need thee *every hour*"—was better captured by the translation "I desire thee without ceasing."

A casualty which strikes us as particularly regrettable is "Sé tú mi luz," which was supposed to be a translation of "Abide with Me." We say "supposed to be," because the older translation differs so greatly from the original that it might be considered a new hymn in its own right. Instead of asking God to "Abide with me," the translation prays, "Be thou my light." The earlier Spanish text was quite beautiful:

Ven, tú, Señor, al ver la luz partir,
La noche tiende sombras de temor;
Sin otra luz o ser a quien pedir,
En las tinieblas, sé mi luz, Señor.

[Come, Lord, as the light departs;
the night extends fearful shadows.
With no other light or being to whom I can turn,
in the darkness, be thou my light, O Lord.]

The new translation of "Abide with Me" in the 1992 hymnal more closely resembles the original English, but lacks the poetry and the feeling of "Sé tú mi luz":

Ven, oh Señor; la noche viene ya.
Todo es oscuro y temor me da.
No hay amparo; gran maldad se ve.
En las tinieblas acompáñame.

[Come, O Lord; the night is coming.
Everything is dark and makes me afraid.
There is no shelter; great evil is seen.
In the darkness, accompany me.]

Not all translations have been subjected to this kind of revision. Consider "Venid a mí," the translation of "Come, Follow Me." From the very title, it is evident that the Spanish version is moving in a different direction than the English: Literally translated, the Spanish hymn is not "Come, *follow* me," but, "Come *to* me." The English version of this hymn focuses on the need to follow Christ through this mortal sphere into the eternities. By contrast, the Spanish hymn echoes the invitation, "Come unto me, all ye that . . . are heavy laden, and I will give you rest" (Matt. 11:28) and recounts the story of Jesus commanding the disciples to let the children come and be blessed. None of that appears in the English hymn. Again we have a case of a Spanish translation which might be considered

a new hymn in its own right. Unlike “*Sé tú mi luz*,” however, “*Venid a mí*” was allowed into the 1992 hymnal intact.

With notable exceptions like “*Venid a mí*,” the trend in the 1992 hymnal was to produce more literal translations of the English originals, even if this meant sacrificing feeling or gracefulness.

CORRELATION AND THE SPANISH HYMNAL

The physical resemblance of the 1992 Spanish hymnal to the 1985 English hymnal, the arranging of the Spanish hymnal’s contents to match as closely as possible the order of the English hymnal’s contents, the preference for literal translations—these are all expressions of an impulse to correlate Spanish hymnody to English hymnody. This impulse was also expressed in the near-total omission of original Spanish hymns from the 1992 hymnal. The guidelines set by the Church Music Committee allow a foreign-language hymnal to contain up to fifty hymns unique to that language group, but the 1992 hymnal contains only three original Spanish hymns, lone survivors of the twenty-three original texts appearing in the 1912 hymnal. The surviving original hymns are: 1) “*Despedida*” [Farewell], by Andrés C. González; 2) “*La proclamación*” [The proclamation], by José V. Estrada G.; 3) “*¿Por qué somos?*” [Why are we?], by Edmund W. Richardson. “*Despedida*” and “*La proclamación*” are the only two hymns in the Spanish hymnal authored by native Spanish-speaking Latter-day Saints.

We saw earlier that the first Spanish hymnals moved toward developing a distinctive Spanish LDS hymnody not only by incorporating original Spanish texts by Latter-day Saints, but also by borrowing Spanish hymn texts from other denominations. The latter practice made a very small comeback in the 1992 hymnal, which reprinted three hymn translations, either wholly or in part, by permission of non-LDS publishing houses.³³ Not since 1907—eighty-five years earlier—had a Spanish text produced by a member of another denomination been borrowed for an LDS hymnal.

We have noted that under the guidelines set by the Church Music

33. The first and second verses of the Spanish translation of “Children of Our Heavenly Father” were reprinted by permission of a Baptist publishing house. The entire translation of “Come, Ye Thankful People” and the third verse of the translation of “For the Beauty of the Earth” were reprinted by permission of an Argentine publisher. While these borrowed texts were an exception to the correlation impulse in the sense they were produced outside the church, in every case the borrowed text was a translation of a hymn appearing in the 1985 English hymnal. In other words, these are *not* cases of hymns being incorporated into the Spanish hymnal independent of trends in English hymnody (such as we saw in the Mexican Mission’s hymnals, which contained Spanish songs with no equivalents in the English LDS hymnals of the time).

Committee, a maximum of 25 percent of a foreign-language hymnal's content can be unique to that language group, but the compilers of the 1992 hymnal took little advantage of that 25 percent allotment. As a general rule, the English hymnal set the standard for deciding which hymns to retain from the 1942 hymnal: A selection from the 1942 hymnal generally survived in the 1992 hymnal if it has an equivalent in the 1985 English hymnal. There are exceptions to this rule: Fourteen hymns were retained even though they had no equivalents in the English hymnal, and fifteen hymns were dropped although they had equivalents in the English hymnal.³⁴ Yet as a whole, the contents of the 1992 Spanish hymnal were correlated to those of the 1985 English hymnal even more closely than required by the Church Music Committee.

The impulse toward correlation can also be seen in the way some hymns from the 1942 hymnal had their tunes changed to match those which accompanied the same hymns in the English hymnal.³⁵ Here, too, are exceptions: The Spanish translations of "God of Our Fathers, Known of Old" and "Guide Us, O Thou Great Jehovah" retained in the 1992

34. Most of the retained Spanish hymns with no equivalents in the 1985 English hymnal were translations of older hymns that had dropped out of use among the English-speaking saints although their translations continued to be popular among the Spanish-speaking saints. The fourteen hymns were: "Con gozosa canción" ("The Joy and the Song"), "Despedida" (original Spanish composition), "El día santo del Señor" ("Sweet Sabbath Day"), "Hay un hogar eterno" ("Beautiful Home"), "La proclamación" (original Spanish composition), "Mirad al Salvador" ("Behold the Lamb of God"), "No demayéis, oh santos" ("Take Courage, Saints"), "No hablemos con enojo" ("Angry Words! Oh, Let Them Never"), "Oíd el toque del clarín" ("Hark! Listen to the Trumpeters"), "Otro año ha pasado" ("One More Year Has Gone"), "¿Por qué somos?" (original Spanish composition), "Recoged la solana" ("Catch the Sunshine"), "Si la vía es penosa" ("If the Way Be Full of Trial, Weary Not"), and "¿Sin contestar?" ("Unanswered Yet? The Prayer). In the cases of "¿Por qué somos?" and "La proclamación," the tunes for these hymns appear in the English hymnal, but the Spanish texts are original compositions.

The omitted hymns with equivalents in the English hymnal were: "Brilla la aurora sacra" ("Softly Beams the Sacred Dawning"), "¡Cuán gloriosas cosas hablan!" ("Glorious Things of Thee Are Spoken"), "De cerros de Islanda" ("From Greenland's Icy Mountains"), "En nuestro caro hogar" ("Our Mountain Home So Dear"), "Gracias por la Escuela Dominical" ("Thanks for the Sabbath School"), "Gran Salvador, cerca a ti" ("Nearer, Dear Savior, to Thee"), "Himno bautismal" ("Father in Heaven, We Do Believe"), "Mirad a Sión hermosa" ("Let Zion in Her Beauty Rise"), "Oh Jesús, gran Rey del cielo" ("Jesus, Mighty King in Zion"), "¡Resplandecid, oh Sión!" ("Arise O Glorious Zion"), "Sabed que el hombre libre está" ("Know This, That Every Soul Is Free"), "Sé prudente, oh hermano" ("School Thy Feelings"), "Si tú al astro Sirio" ("If You Could Hie to Kolob"), "Ved volar potente ángel" ("See, the Mighty Angel Flying"), and "Venid de Sión los hijos" ("Come, All Ye Saints of Zion").

35. Four hymns had their tunes correlated in this way: "Ante ti, Señor, tu grey" ("Lord, We Come before Thee Now"), "Jesús en pesebre" ("Away in a Manger"), "Oh vos que sois llamados" ("Ye Who Are Called to Labor"), and "Venid, los que a Dios amáis" ("Come, We That Love the Lord").

hymnal the tunes they bore in the 1942 hymnal, even though these were not the tunes which accompany these hymns in the English hymnal.

If we count: 1) original Spanish texts retained in the 1992 hymnal, 2) translations borrowed wholly or in part from other denominations, 3) hymns no longer found in the English hymnal but whose translations survive into the 1992 hymnal, and 4) translations in the 1992 hymnal whose tunes do not match those found in the English hymnal, then material not correlated to the English hymnal makes up only 9 percent of the 1992 hymnal, far less than what was allowed by the Church Music Committee. Note, however, that this material consists mostly of hymn translations. Such material has come to be *distinctive* of the Spanish-speaking saints but is not *original* to them. If we ask how much material in the 1992 hymnal represented original contributions by native Spanish-speaking saints to LDS hymnody, the answer is: two hymn texts only; no LDS hymnal has ever contained music composed by a native Spanish-speaking saint.³⁶ Original contributions by native Spanish-speaking saints, thus, account for less than 1 percent of the 1992 hymnal.

WHITHER FROM HERE?

Our own observations indicate that Spanish-speaking saints were not altogether enthusiastic about the appearance of the 1992 hymnal. One of this paper's authors, John-Charles Duffy, was serving a mission in the Dominican Republic when the hymnal was released; the very first reaction to the hymnal from a Dominican saint was a disappointed, "It's so thin!"³⁷ The numerous revisions to the hymns put illiterate or semi-literate saints, who had learned to sing the hymns by rote, in the embarrassing position of no longer knowing how to sing the hymns correctly. In one ward where John-Charles worked, the members were so put off by the changes that they locked the new hymnbooks away and continued to use the 1942 hymnal. Ward members developed greater enthusiasm for the new hymnal when they were introduced during Sunday School opening exercises to newly translated hymns such as "A Poor Wayfaring Man of Grief" and "How Great Thou Art."

36. There may be one qualification to this statement: Edmund Richardson's original Spanish text "La obra ya empieza" appeared in the 1942 hymnal with a tune which bore no identifying information. If someone could establish that this tune was composed by a native Spanish-speaking Latter-day Saint, then this would be the one original musical contribution by a Spanish-speaking saint to LDS hymnody. However, "La obra ya empieza" was omitted from the 1992 hymnal.

37. The 1992 hymnal contains fifty fewer hymns than the 1942 hymnal and 130 fewer hymns than the 1985 English hymnal.

The second author, Hugo Olaiz, was attending a Spanish-speaking ward in Oakland, California when the 1992 hymnal was released and witnessed a different problem. While new hymnbooks were shipped free of charge to Spanish-speaking units outside the United States, units within the States had to purchase the hymnbooks from their budgets. Reluctant to do so, Hugo's ward was still using the 1942 hymnal a year after the new hymnal had become available. Hugo also encountered a Latter-day Saint from Spain who complained that while the revision committee included church members from several Latin American countries, no one from Spain was asked to check the revision. As a result, one hymn titled "Oíd el toque del clarín" [Hear the call of the trumpet]—which Spaniards find either humorous or offensive—was left intact.³⁸

It should not be difficult for English-speaking saints to understand why their Spanish-speaking brothers and sisters would react negatively to the new hymnal. When the 1985 English hymnal was released, it contained a minor revision to the hymn "How Firm A Foundation." For months, even years, afterwards, some members of the church could still be heard singing "you who unto Jesus for refuge have fled" instead of the revised lyrics, "who unto the Savior for refuge have fled." Perhaps anticipating resistance to such changes in the hymns or to the omission of beloved hymns from the past, the church carefully orchestrated the release of the 1985 hymnal. The hymnal was unveiled during a "celebration" in the Assembly Hall at Temple Square where Gordon B. Hinckley, Thomas S. Monson, and Neal A. Maxwell gave talks hailing the new hymnal and encouraging its use.³⁹ That same month the *Ensign* ran two articles promoting the new hymnal.⁴⁰

One can easily imagine how much more resistance the church would have encountered had the 1985 hymnal contained revisions, not just occasionally (as in "How Firm A Foundation"), but in every hymn, or if familiar hymns had been altogether rewritten. It's extremely unlikely, in fact, that the church would ever attempt such a sweeping revision to the English hymnody. Yet this was precisely the situation for Spanish-speak-

38. In Spain the word "clarín" [trumpet or bugle] is used colloquially to refer to the penis. The 1942 version of this same hymn contained another humorous or offensive element which was eliminated in the 1992 revision: A line declared that at the Second Coming, Jesus "a los valientes premiará con dones de amor" [will reward the valiant with gifts of love]. The words "con dones" [with gifts] sound exactly like the word "condones" [condoms]. In the 1992 hymnal, this line has been altered to read "a los valientes El dará coronas de honor" [to the valiant He will give crowns of honor].

39. "News of the Church," *Ensign* 15 (Nov. 1985): 105.

40. Kathleen Lubeck, "The New Hymnbook: The Saints Are Singing!" *Ensign* 15 (Sept. 1985): 7-13; Michael F. Moody, "Latter-day Saint Hymnbooks, Then and Now," *Ensign* 15 (Sept. 1985): 10-13.

ing saints in 1992, with no explanation beyond a one-page insert in the *Liahona* (the church's international magazine in Spanish). Little wonder, then, that we observed such negative initial reactions to the 1992 hymnal.

Our own assessment of the 1992 hymnal is mixed. The grammatical revisions to the hymnal and the elimination of archaisms were certainly needed. The quality of the missionaries' early translations was embarrassing. At the same time, something has been lost. The language used in the early Spanish was imperfect and often unclear, but it was also picturesque and full of color. Whatever their failings, the early contributors strove to be poetic. By contrast, the language in the 1992 hymnal is grammatically correct and certainly easier to understand, but it has not retained the poetry and color. Like a glass of water, the revised texts are clear but odorless and tasteless.

Norberto Guinaldo, a talented Latter-day Saint musician, described in a 1975 issue of *Dialogue* the problems of the 1942 Spanish hymnal and proposed a solution. His would not have been a cheap way or an easy way, but it would have been the right way. He wrote:

We need a concerted effort to locate the poets and musicians within the Church in *all* countries of Central and South America who could spearhead the revision of the Spanish hymnal. In a world-wide church such as ours, exchange of ideas can be of great benefit. The task would be tremendous and the problems of communication and coordination even greater, but the challenge would be exciting.⁴¹

The committee responsible for the 1992 hymnal did not see its task in the terms set out in Guinaldo's challenge. Instead, its highest priority was correlation: weeding out most of the Spanish hymns with no equivalent in the English hymnal; creating new translations to update the Spanish hymnal with developments in English LDS hymnody; and revising existing texts, not just for grammatical or doctrinal correctness, but to make them more literal translations of their English originals.

The history of the Spanish hymnal began in a burst of creativity, which was eventually all but overwhelmed by correlation. The first two decades of the twentieth century saw the blossoming of a distinctive Spanish LDS hymnody, consisting of original Spanish hymn texts and hymns borrowed from other denominations. By the end of the century, however, the Spanish hymnal contained very little distinctive material and virtually no material authored by native Spanish-speaking saints. Despite claims that this is no longer an American church, the history of

41. "The LDS Hymnal: Views on Foreign Editions, the Spanish Hymnal," *Dialogue* 10 (Spring 1975/76): 51; emphasis in original.

the Spanish hymnal suggests that the church's approach to becoming an international body is still to translate and export materials developed by, among, and for English-speaking saints. Correlation has created a dynamic where everything flows outward from the English-speaking saints. There seems to be no expectation for non-English-speaking saints to make any original contributions to LDS literature and programs. New hymns, new materials, new programs are all created first in English and then translated into other languages. English-speaking saints create; non-English-speaking saints imitate. This dynamic understandably prevailed in the church's early days, and likewise in parts of the world where the church is just beginning to be established. However, within a decade, Spanish will pass English as the predominant language in the church. When that happens, will the church continue allotting its largest language group a hymnal less than two-thirds the size of the English hymnal? Will the church perpetuate a dynamic in which the hymnody of its largest language group is largely restricted to the hymns current among a minority group? Should Spanish-speaking saints be expected to go on merely imitating their English-speaking brothers and sisters?

With third- and even fourth-generation Latter-day Saints in places like Mexico and Argentina, surely there are people in the church capable of developing a unique LDS hymnody in Spanish. Consider, for instance, the opening stanza of a poem written around 1940 by an Argentine convert, Máximo Corte.⁴² This poem commemorated the dedication of South America for the preaching of the restored gospel, which occurred on Christmas Day 1925, in a park in Buenos Aires.

Mañana de Navidad,
aire puro, clara luz,
mañana llena de gloria
para las tierras del Sur.
El Parque Tres de Febrero
lleno está de santidad,
pues en él arrodillados
tres misioneros están;
mensajeros de doctrina,
de justicia and claridad;
mensajeros de Jesús,
el Señor de la verdad.

42. "La Misión Argentina," *El Mensajero Deseret* (Dec. 1940): 241. *El Mensajero Deseret* was the official organ of the Argentine Mission. For more information about Máximo Corte and his poetry, see Hugo Olaiz, "Máximo Corte y los límites de la poesía," <<http://ice.icehosting.com/bellota/maximo.htm>> (27 Apr. 2002).

[Christmas morning,
 the air is pure, the light is bright,
 a morning full of glory
 for the lands of the South.
 The Tres de Febrero Park
 has become holy ground,
 for here, upon their knees,
 are three missionaries,
 messengers bearing a doctrine
 of righteousness and clarity;
 messengers of Jesus,
 the Lord of truth.]

This is not great poetry, but neither are many of the hymns produced by English-speaking saints over the years. Could this poem be turned into a hymn celebrating the origins of the church in South America, just as saints worldwide currently sing hymns celebrating the church's pioneer era in North America? Could original texts by early missionaries or by Samantha Brimhall-Foley or by native Spanish-speaking saints such as Ramón García and Manrique González be revised and revived? What other sources of a unique Spanish hymnody might the Spanish-speaking saints find if they began to mine their own past? What unique Spanish hymns might yet be written by contemporary LDS poets and musicians if they were encouraged to do so?

English-speaking saints accept that their Spanish-speaking brothers and sisters will welcome translations of their beloved hymns, and our experience suggests that the Spanish-speaking saints are, in fact, happy to receive such translations. Yet we look forward to a day when it will work the other way as well, when the English-speaking saints will find their hymnody enriched by translations of hymns originally written by Spanish-speaking saints—or French-speaking, or Russian, or Japanese, or Zulu, or Maori, or Navajo.⁴³

43. The current English hymnal contains a single hymn originally written by a Latter-day Saint in a language other than English: "Hark, All Ye Nations!" based on a German text by Louis F. Mönch. Karen Lynn Davidson reports that one of the objectives of the 1985 hymnal was to "reflect the growth and scope of the worldwide Church" (*Our Latter-day Hymns: The Stories and the Messages* [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1988], 12). How a hymnal containing one hymn written by a non-English-speaking saint can profess to "reflect the growth and scope of the worldwide church" is, frankly, beyond us. Michael Hicks has written about the suspicion, even hostility, which English-speaking church leaders have expressed toward musical styles from other cultures, specifically Native American, Polynesian, and African (*Mormonism and Music: A History* [Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989], 209-227; reprinted as "Noble Savages," *Mormons and Mormonism: An Introduction to an American World Religion*, ed. Eric A. Eliason [Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001], 180-199).

When traveling general authorities find saints of different nationalities, cultures, and language groups singing the same hymns, this reassures them that the church is the same throughout the world.⁴⁴ In fact, James E. Faust has gone so far as to assert that the use of the same hymns worldwide is a demonstration of "spiritual and doctrinal unity" on a par with the use of prescribed forms for gospel ordinances: "Our real strength is not so much in our diversity but in our spiritual and doctrinal unity. For instance, the baptismal prayer and baptism by immersion in water are the same all over the world. The sacramental prayers are the same everywhere. We sing the same hymns in praise to God in every country."⁴⁵ Certainly a shared hymnody is a powerful symbol of unity. But we do not see why shared hymns must constitute so high a proportion as three-fourths of a hymnal, and we are troubled by the fact that English-speaking saints are unilaterally determining the contents of that "shared" hymnody. As English-speaking saints become a minority in the church, it will become increasingly difficult to ignore the reality that correlation creates an inequitable relationship between English-speaking saints and every other language group.

The scriptures enjoin the saints to "be one." Although this injunction is often taken to mean "be united," or even "be uniform," in context it actually means "be equal" (see D&C 38:24-27). If the various language groups in the church are to be equal, then the machinery of correlation will have to be significantly restructured. The development of the Spanish hymnal suggests that whatever the benefits of correlation, the price the church pays is the curtailing of creativity among non-English speakers. There's no telling what we all may be missing as a result: new hymns that would speak powerfully to people's hearts in different languages or new approaches to the work that might prove more effective in different cultural contexts. The church has reached a point in its international growth where different language and culture groups need to have greater autonomy to develop their own materials and programs, independent of reigning trends among English-speaking saints. Hymnals are perhaps a good place to start.

44. For example, shortly after being called to the Second Quorum of Seventy, Lowell D. Wood remarked: "It may be a trite saying, but the Church really is the same in each place you go. . . . We've been to church in many, many countries, and you feel the same kinship, you sing the same hymns although they may be in a different language, you teach each other out of the same lesson books, and the people love you. There really is a community of saints that's wonderful to be a part of" ("Alberta Farmer's Son Now Leads and Serves 'Community of Saints,'" *LDS Church News* [3 Oct. 1992]: 11).

45. "Heirs to the Kingdom of God," *Ensign* 25 (May 1995): 62; reprinted in James E. Faust, *Finding Light in a Dark World* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1995), 36; James E. Faust and James P. Bell, *In the Strength of the Lord: The Life and Teachings of James E. Faust* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1999), 293.

Without Question

Emma Lou Thayne

Did you ever start to think
what happens to saliva while you sleep?
Don't.

Or which way your arms swing with your legs
walking.
I wouldn't.

Most particularly unuseful
is to investigate

how you swallow
or go to sleep
or make love

or keep in touch with God.
You'd better not watch out.

I'm telling you.
It will be too late.

Lions, Brothers, and the Idea of an Indian Nation: The Mexican Revolution in the Minds of Anthony W. Ivins and Rey L. Pratt, 1910-1917

Craig Livingston

IN 1915 MORMON APOSTLE JAMES E. TALMADGE published *Jesus the Christ*. Speculating on what Pontius Pilate must have been thinking when Christ stood before him, Talmadge concluded it “was clear to the Roman governor that this wonderful Man, with His exalted views of a kingdom not of this world, and an empire of truth in which He was to reign, was no political insurrectionist.”¹ Sixty-two years later, church president Spencer W. Kimball, speaking in Bogota, Columbia, echoed Talmadge: Christ was not a revolutionary. The Messiah acknowledged the existence of class strife, Kimball admitted, but “his was a way of teaching equalities the slow, free-agency way rather than by revolutionary force.”² These pronouncements by Talmadge and Kimball surprised no one familiar with the LDS church’s conservative reputation. Less known is the degree to which the shapers of Mormon policy in Mexico during the 1910-1917 upheaval would have disagreed with them.

Revolution undergirded the turn-of-the-century Mormon view of

1. James E. Talmadge, *Jesus the Christ* (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News, 1915), 634.

2. Spencer W. Kimball, Area Conference, Bogota, Columbia, 6 March 1977, in Edward L. Kimball, ed., *The Teachings of Spencer W. Kimball* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1982), 409-10.

history.³ To those early members, an omniscient god projected his power in the medium of time through the agency of man in accordance with laws and stages of history, similar to the dialectical inventions of George Friedrich Hegel and Karl Marx. Thus, world events became a source of canon. From Puritan and Presbyterian theology, Mormon leaders inherited "just revolution" theory: If the overthrow of unrighteous authority was possible, then it was God's will to pursue it.⁴

Mormon millenarian fervor and anger against their enemies joined with profane philosophy and Calvinist justification to produce a rhetorical line paralleling the discourse of secular revolutionaries. Both waited for conditions to ripen that would midwife their epiphanies into worldwide reality. Whereas Michael Bakunin and Karl Marx believed the working class would shake the earth from below, Mormons looked for fire from above. In either scenario, universally transformative events would obliterate all contradictions. In the secular versions, the world would either undergo a process of devolution into anarchist communes or be recast in the socialist state. The millenarian alternative would install the Saints as rulers in a sacred thousand-year kingdom.

MORMON POINT MEN IN MEXICO

Two Mormon officials dominated high-level LDS leadership analysis of the Mexican Revolution: Apostle Anthony Woodward Ivins and Mexican Mission President Rey Lucero Pratt. Both spoke Spanish. Between them they had 43 years of experience in Mexico.

Anthony Ivins (1852-1934) was one of the most respected general authorities the church has ever known. His death marked the only time in the history of the *Deseret News* that the paper was distributed free of charge.⁵ In 1895 the First Presidency appointed him to preside over the Mormon colonies in Chihuahua and Sonora. Ivins moved to Salt Lake City in 1907 when the First Presidency called him to the Council of Twelve Apostles.

Ivins was active in politics and business. In a state generally dominated by Republican Senator Reed Smoot's "Federal Bunch," he was the figure around whom the Democratic Party rallied. By profession Ivins

3. Craig Livingston, "From Above and Below: The Mormon Embrace of Revolution, 1840-1940," Ph.D. diss., Temple University, Philadelphia, Pa., 2002.

4. Michael Walzer, *The Revolution of the Saints: A Study in the Origins of Radical Politics* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), 108-09; Kevin Phillips, *The Cousins' Wars: Religions, Politics, and the Triumph of Anglo-America* (New York: Basic Books, 1999), 179. For the Mormon adaptation, see Livingston, "From Above and Below," 14.

5. Wendell Jeremy Ashton, *Voice in the West: Biography of a Pioneer Newspaper* (New York: Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, 1950), 311.

was a rancher, although his interests intersected with college trusteeship, mining, banking, and other enterprises.⁶ He was the New West type: tough, intellectual, and practical.⁷ He was described by Noble Warrum, a member of the Mexican Claims Commission during the 1920s, this way: "There is no man more dedicated to justice—he is [the] triple combination of the Spartan, the Stoic, and the Christian."⁸ Ideologically, Ivins's views toward Mexico were echoed in the works of Ernest Gruenig, the liberal editor of the *Nation* and later a senator from Alaska who endorsed the national activism of Mexico's post-revolutionary state.⁹

The other Mormon analyst for Mexico, Rey Lucero Pratt (1878-1931), was the grandson of murdered Apostle Parley P. Pratt. Church work and a family of thirteen children kept Pratt busy. In 1907 he succeeded Ammon M. Tenney as president of the Mexican proselytizing mission, a post separate from Mormon colonial administration but loosely supervised by the north Mexico stake president at Colonia Juarez under the broader direction of the Twelve. Pratt headed the mission until his death. In 1925 he became a general authority, moving into the position on the First Council of the Seventy left vacant by the death of Seymour Bicknell Young. Pratt listed himself as a Republican. The party's organ in Salt Lake City, the *Herald Republican*, often consulted Pratt on Mexican affairs. Church officials, recognizing his talents as editor, commentator, and Spanish language translator, appointed Pratt to head the Zion's Printing and Publishing Company, a church press in Independence, Missouri.

Pratt was a real people person. Slightly swarthy looks and fluent Spanish allowed him to travel incognito throughout Mexico and gather

6. For biographical information on Ivins see "Anthony W. Ivins," box 1, fdr 2, Anthony Woodward Ivins collection, Utah Historical Society, hereafter cited as Ivins collection; D. Michael Quinn, *Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, in association with Smith Research Associates, 1997), 662-63; Richard S. Van Wagoner and Steven C. Walker, *A Book of Mormons* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1982), 131-34; Thomas Cottam Romney, *The Mormon Colonies in Mexico* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1938); Nelle Spilsbury Hatch and Blaine Carmon Hardy, *Stalwarts South of the Border* (El Paso: Texas Western College Press, 1985); Bryant S. Hinckley, "President Anthony W. Ivins," *Improvement Era* 35 (November 1931): 5-8, 39; "History of Anthony W. Ivins," *Utah On-Line*, <http://www.onlineutah.com/anthony_w_ivinshistory.shtml>, June 2002.

7. In 1958 Ivins was inducted into the Cowboy Hall of Fame. See National Cowboy and Western Heritage Museum, Oklahoma City, Okla., Herman Hoffman Birney, *Zealots in Zion* (Philadelphia: Penn Publishing Company, 1931), 215-18, 293-310. "Hall of Great West-erners," <http://www.cowboyhalloffame.org/fs1_i.html>, June 2002.

8. Noble Warrum to W. W. Armstrong, 17 September 1926, box 11, fdr 5, Ivins collection.

9. John Britton charts American intellectual attitudes toward Mexico in *Revolution and Ideology: Images of the Mexican Revolution in the United States* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1995), 17. For Gruenig's statism see pp. 72-73. Gruenig's most important work was *Mexico and Its Heritage* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1928).

information in regions penetrated by few Americans. Admiration for Indian communalism put Pratt into an intellectual camp staked out by his contemporary, Frank Tannenbaum, the widely known Mexicanist scholar representative of the old "Independent Left."¹⁰ Rhetorical skill and genuine concern for the welfare of others magnified his influence in church and public circles. Mexican members adored him.¹¹

MORMON ECONOMIC ELITISM IN MEXICO, 1886-1910

By the time Francisco Madero launched his revolution in 1910, nearly 4,500 Anglo Mormons lived in eight colonies in Chihuahua and Sonora—between 11 and 25 percent of all Americans living in Mexico.¹² The colonies had prospered, but relations with their Mexican neighbors had suffered because of the way in which Mormon settlers, land companies, and mercantile cooperatives had obtained their wealth. Mormon émigrés had benefited from land laws enacted in 1856, 1883, and 1905. Under each of these laws, local *hacendados* (the big landowners), with the blessing of Mexican president Porfirio Díaz and the oligarchal *científicos* who guided his regime, had expropriated the lands of Indian communities and free peasants. The Mexican government also leased or sold other large sections of the national domain to foreigners. Such changes in land

10. Britton, *Ideology and Revolution*, 17, 122-23, 161-63. Tannenbaum's most important work on the value of *ejido* development was *Peace by Revolution: Mexico after 1910* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1933).

11. Biographical information on Pratt includes the Rey Lucero Pratt collection, Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah, hereafter cited as Rey L. Pratt collection; Quinn, *Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power*, 679; Dale F. Beecher, "Rey L. Pratt and the Mexican Mission," *BYU Studies* 15 (Spring 1975): 294-95; Mary Pratt Parrish, "'Look to the Rock from Which Ye are Hewn'" (Springville, Utah: unpublished manuscript, copy in author's possession, n.d.), 54-112; Elizabeth Hernandez, *Mormonism Comes of Age in Mexico* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Scholar Project, 1975), 17-18; "A New Member of the Council of Seventy," *Improvement Era* 28 (June 1925): 762-63; Melvin J. Ballard, "President Rey L. Pratt," *Improvement Era* 34 (June 1931): 451.

12. Mexican census data are subject to conjecture, but available impressions show that Mormons made up a large part of the American presence in Mexico. Helen Delpar relies on Mexican national census data to arrive at the figure of about 21,000 American residents. See *The Enormous Vogue of Things Mexican: Cultural Relations between the United States and Mexico, 1920-1935* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1992), 1. Atkin estimates 75,000 Americans lived in Mexico. Ambassador Henry Lane Wilson put the figure at 70,000, and John Mason Hart uses the same figure in his study. However, President William H. Taft put the figure at 40-50,000. See Ronald Atkin, *Revolution! Mexico! 1910-1920* (New York: The John Day Company, 1970), 20; Hart, *Revolutionary Mexico: The Coming and Process of the Mexican Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 281; "Message to the Senate and House of Representatives," 3 December 1912, in *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1912* (Washington D.C.: USGPO, 1919), XIV; Henry F. Pringle, *The Life and Times of William Howard Taft*, Vol. 2 (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1939, 701. If the compromise figure of 40,000 is accepted, then 4,500 Anglo-Mormon colonists accounted for 11.25 percent of Americans in Mexico.

tenure hit Mexican merchants hard. Native middle-class businessmen were forced out of business as their old customers—the independent peasants and ranchers—disappeared. Into the void moved Mormon agents, backed by capital from Salt Lake City, who bought the alienated tracts and Mexican-owned businesses. Mormons soon controlled water access and major commercial, agricultural, and industrial enterprises in Chihuahua and Sonora.¹³ By 1910, Mexican lands under Mormon title totaled over half a million acres.¹⁴

The growing Mormon presence in northwestern Mexico worried state officials. In 1905 the political authority of the Galeana District, Chihuahua, observed: "Mormons are constantly broadening property and purchasing land tracts to the point that it has become alarming. Soon, all those who had shown them hospitality will themselves become tributaries."¹⁵ Nonetheless, state authorities counted on Mormon support. Resentment grew as Mormon militia consistently mustered in defense of the status quo.¹⁶ Emilano Kosterlitzky, the hated German-born commander of the Sonora constabulary known as the *rurales*, offered to kill any

13. On Mormon commercial success see Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (chronological scrapbook of typed entries and newspaper clippings, 1830-1972, microfilm, 246 reels), 18 June 1890, 7, 8; 5 April 1903, 3, Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah, hereafter cited as Journal History; Blaine Carmon Hardy, "The Northern Colonies in Northern Mexico, A History, 1885-1912," Ph.D. diss., Wayne State University, 1963, 115-17; Frederick Katz, *The Life and Times of Pancho Villa* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 90-91; Jane-Dale Lloyd, *El Proceso de Modernización Capitalista en el Noroeste de Chihuahua, 1880-1910* (Mexico: Universidad Iberoamericana Departamento de Historia, 1987), 87, 90, 123-24, 141; Mark Wasserman, *Capitalists, Caciques, and Revolution: The Native Elite and Foreign Enterprise in Chihuahua, Mexico, 1854-1911* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 98, 112; F. Lamond Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico: The Dynamics of Faith and Culture* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1987), 57-60; Clarence F. and Anna Tenney Turley, comp., *History of the Mormon Colonies in Mexico: The Juarez Stake, 1885-1980*, 2nd ed. (Mexico?: Publishers Press, 1996), 296; U.S. Senate, Committee on Foreign Affairs, *Investigation of Mexican Affairs, Report and Hearing Pursuant to Senate Resolution 106, 66th Congress, 2nd Session, Document 285*, 2 vols. (Washington D.C.: USGPO), 2:3254. Ivins wrote in 1912 that Mexican investments returned good dividends to Mormon leaders and estimated the colonies' worth at \$1 million. See Ivins diary, 1912, 4, box 3, fdr 6, Ivins collection, hereafter cited as Ivins diary; "Believed at Church Offices that Mexcian Colonists Leaving," *Deseret News*, in Journal History, 30 January 1917, 3.

14. I added up the total acreage of land in Mormon hands and came up with a conservative figure of 509,600 acres (see Livingston, "From Above and Below," 290, 329n48). Lloyd puts the 1907 Chihuahua holdings alone at 445,000 acres (see *El Proceso de Modernización*, 89-90). For the land companies involved and their activities see Hardy, "Mormon Colonies in Northern Mexico," 150-58.

15. Lloyd, *El Proceso de Modernización*, 90. For other local sentiments see Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico*, 89.

16. "'Mormon' Settlers in Mexico Aid the Government," *Deseret News*, in Journal History, 19 January 1892, 6. In 1893, inspired by the Tómoche rebellion the previous year in Chihuahua, Celso Anaya and Simon Amaya called for the overthrow of Díaz. Government

Mexican whom Mormon settlers found bothersome.¹⁷ "Thus the Mormon position was ambiguous," wrote F. Lamond Tullis. "Ideological commitment to Mexican spiritual liberation" clashed with "political support of an oppressive and economically ambitious regime based on foreign capital and foreign technicians."¹⁸

Dazzled by the positivism¹⁹ of the *científicos*—the "scientific ones" who managed Mexico's economy—Ivins overlooked the revolutionary conditions brewing in Mexico. Instead, he imbibed the axioms of legalism and gradual reformism. Personal wealth and access to church credit made him the archetypal new Mormon merging into the mainstream of corporatist America. In a 1901 article, Ivins praised Díaz: "Life, property, and personal liberty [were] as secure in Mexico as in any country in the world." The absence of sustained opposition had proven the dictator's ability to make "Mexican sentiment the incarnation of his own master mind."²⁰

During the Second Yaqui War (1899-1909), Ivins revealed how far he was willing to go to support Mexico's oligarchs. The Yaqui had assimilated Spanish ways but resisted taxation and mineral extraction on their lands. Ivins admired them, but ruled they were not playing their part in Díaz's "master mind." The slaughter and deportations, sad though they were, taught a lesson: History and nature had combined to ensure Mexico its due progress under the mandate of Díaz.²¹

troops crushed the uprising. Survivors rallied in the United States, then recrossed the border and occupied Palomos, north of the Mormon colony zone. Mormons joined with government troops to contain this proto insurrection. See Orson P. Brown Autobiography in Taylor Oden MacDonald collection, 1857-1980, 21-23, item 15, typescript, microfilm, Church Archives; "Mexican Rebels and 'Mormon' Colonists," *Millennial Star* 56 (8 January 1894): 21-23, Romney, *Mormon Colonies in Mexico*, 310-14; Turley, *History of the Mormon Colonies in Mexico*, 82. On the Anaya and Amaya revolt see Katz, *Life and Times of Pancho Villa*, 26. Loss of land and elite posturing for power triggered other uprisings during the same decade. See *ibid.*, 21-26; Hart, *Revolutionary Mexico*, 360-61; Paul J. Vanderwood, *The Power of God against the Guns of Government: Religious Upheaval in Mexico at the turn of the Nineteenth Century* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).

17. Hatch and Hardy, *Stalwarts South of the Border*, 313. For a biography of Kosterlitzky and his relations with Mormon settlers, see Cornelius C. Smith, Jr., *Emilio Kosterlitzky: Eagle of Sonora and the Southwest Border*, Military History Series VII (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1970).

18. Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico*, 89.

19. The *científicos* were informed by positivist ideas. Positivism was a quasi-science pioneered by French philosopher August de Comte. Scientific principles would underwrite invitations to foreigners to invest in Mexico. Ordered economic growth under European tutelage would bring stability to Mexico; the power and initiative it gave would enable elites to suppress the lower classes and convert them and their lands into adjuncts of the economic order. On positivist philosophy, see Marylin S. Smith, *Living Issues in Philosophy* (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1946), 482-83.

20. Anthony Ivins, "Porfirio Díaz," *Improvement Era* 4 (April 1901): 437.

21. Anthony Ivins, "The Yaquis and the Yaqui War," *Improvement Era* 4 (March 1901):

THE MADERO REVOLUTION

Friedrich Katz argues that Chihuahua's role in the Mexican revolution of 1910 was similar to that of Boston in 1776, Paris in 1789, and Petrograd in 1917.²² Despite evidence of Madero's widespread appeal, Ivins declared for Díaz at the outset of the revolution. The colonists were well armed with 30-30 Winchesters and plenty of ammunition, the Mormon apostle said, and "will fight for the government against the *insurrectos*."²³ Church leaders had considered arming the colonies, then rejected the move as adventuristic, but determined Mormon colonists, with permission from the U.S. government, had guns smuggled in anyway.²⁴

Back in Salt Lake, Mormon sources studied the seriousness of the revolutionary surge. In March 1911 the church's monthly *Improvement Era* called the situation in Mexico a "social revolution" of the landless masses against the *hacendados* and declared that the peasants were in a mood to embrace anyone who offered hope of progress and liberty.²⁵ The article anticipated the potential for civil war. However, the editors warned, the peasants' desire for land might threaten the less radical agenda of the revolution's middle and upper-class leadership since the Anti-Reelectionists supporting Madero were "wealthy and intelligent" men who had not previously been numbered among Mexico's power brokers.²⁶ At root their grievances were constitutional, but Madero—educated in France—was "strongly imbued with the extreme democracy that characterizes French socialism."²⁷ General Pascual Orozco was iron-

333-36. Ivins's views were typical. See Arturo Warman, "The Political Project of Zapatismo," in Friedrich Katz, ed., *Riot, Rebellion, and Revolution: Rural Social Conflict in Mexico* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 321-22. Juxtaposed to Ivins's imperialistic view was an article from the Mormon press sympathetic to Mexican miners in the wake of the Cananea, Sonora strike of 1906. See "Race Troubles in Sonora, Mexico," *Juvenile Instructor* 41 (15 July 1906): 435-37.

22. Katz, *Life and Times of Pancho Villa*, 57.

23. "Colonists Are Armed," *Deseret News*, in *Journal History*, 28 November 1910, 7.

24. Livingston, "From Above and Below," 299-300; Blaine Carmon Hardy and Melody Seymour, "The Importation of Arms and the 1912 Mormon 'Exodus' from Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review* 72, no. 4 (October 1997): 297-318.

25. Editor's Table, "Revolution in Mexico," *Improvement Era* 14 (March 1911): 452-54.

26. The Anti-Reelectionist party, headed by Madero associate Abraham Gonzalez, opposed the unconstitutional extension of Díaz's presidency and demanded fair elections, consitutional reform, independence of the judiciary, and freedom of the press.

27. Editor's Table, "Revolution in Mexico," 455. Some suggest that Madero's contact with spiritualism outweighed his interest in political philosophy during his 1901-1902 stay in France. Others conclude that French equality and democracy impressed Madero. Compare Enrique Krauze, *Mexico Biography of Power: A History of Modern Mexico, 1810-1996* (New York: HarperPerennial, 1997), 246-47, to Stanley R. Ross, *Francisco I. Madero: Apostle of Democracy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), 7-8, 10, 224-25.

ically identified as the "soul of the revolutionary movement in Chihuahua."²⁸ A year later, Orozco would bring the revolution to its fullest meaning for the Mormon colonists.

On 10 May 1911, Orozco and Pancho Villa captured Ciudad Juárez. Fifteen days later Porfirio Díaz resigned. The new governor of Chihuahua, Abraham Gonzalez, vowed to dismember the huge landed estates called *haciendas*. The announcement scintillated Mormon landholders. They hoped the implementation of revolutionary policies might break the *hacindado* control over vast territories that had blocked an outright Mormon takeover of northwest Chihuahua.²⁹ In November 1911 colony resident Ammon M. Tenney informed Ivins that the revolutionary government of Chihuahua had abrogated certain municipal taxes on livestock, land, and farm products. His predictions for the future under Madero were reassuring: "Anticipated changes in the laws of this country under the present administration is [sic.] certain to give a great impetus to agriculture in this country, and. . .we are already beginning to feel the benefits of the change in government."³⁰

Ivins agreed. He now linked personal profit and increased church revenues to Madero's assumption of power. First, Ivins advocated the revival of Indian colonization on church lands in the colonies. The communitarian aspects of Mormonism would replace the *ejido* (Indian communal lands) as the organizing principle but would absorb its spirit. Idle lands would become productive, community cooperation and the incentives of freeholding would increase tithing transfers to Salt Lake City, and the down-trodden Lamanites could rise to yeoman respectability.³¹

28. Editor's Table, "Revolution in Mexico," 455.

29. Mormon expansion was limited unless large landowners offered to sell at reasonable prices. See Anthony Ivins to James G. Bleak, St. George, Utah, 19 February 1898, "Letter from Mexico: Impressions from a Mormon," edited by Stanley S. Ivins, *Utah Historical Quarterly* 26 (April 1958): 179; Harold W. Taylor, comp., *Memories of Militants and Mormon Colonists in Mexico* (Yorba Linda, Calif.: Shumway Family History Services, 1992), 122. On the policies of Gonzalez, see Katz, *Life and Times of Pancho Villa*, 127-30; William H. Beezley, *Insurgent Governor: Abraham Gonzales and the Mexican Revolution in Chihuahua* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1973), 4, 97-99, 103-11.

30. Ammon Tenney to Anthony Ivins, 10 November 1911, box 11, fdr 1, Ivins collection. Tenney was noted for his friendly relations with the Indians. See Winn Whiting Smiley, "Ammon M. Tenney: Mormon Missionary to the Indians," *Journal of Arizona History* 13:2 (1972): 82-108.

31. Anthony Ivins to Hyrum S. Harris, 4 August 1911, box 10, fdr 2, Ivins collection. Previous efforts to promote Indian and *mestizo* settlement had failed. See "Meeting of the First Presidency In Salt Lake City Temple," *Journal History*, 20 January 1909, 4; Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico*, 60-65, 83; Agricol Lozano Herrera, *Historia Del Mormonismo en Mexico* (Mexico, D.F.: Zarahemla, S.A., 1983), 41-42; Thomas W. Murphy, "From Racist Stereotype to Ethnic Identity: Instrumental Uses of Mormon Racial Doctrine," *Ethnohistory* 46, no. 3 (Summer 1999): 463-64.

Tenney and Ivins had discerned another dimension of the revolution: the spiritual rescue of the Indian. "Indianism" struck a familiar chord. As recipients of the Abrahamic covenant, Native Americans were to work in partnership with the Latter-day Saints to establish God's kingdom on earth. The apparent inability of North American Indians to play their ordained role, however, had confounded their self-appointed benefactors. Revolution in Mexico offered a new venue. Perhaps the descendants of the Aztecs and Maya would succeed in their divine role where the Indians of North America never had a chance.³²

The relatively easy Madero revolution and the Mormon hope for a peaceful extension of Zion southward both faced a new challenge beginning 2 March 1912 when General Pascual Orozco—Madero's most successful military leader—decided that the new government had reneged on reform promises and revolted against Madero.³³ One month later Ivins addressed the Mormon faithful at the church's semi-annual general conference in Salt Lake. His speech showed cautious tolerance for the revolutionary processes. Revolution and civil war, he reminded the audience, had produced the liberties enjoyed by France, England, Germany, and the United States. Struggle—not consensus—marked the modern world though he lamented that it was not reason and logic. Ivins upheld the example set in 1789: "The French revolution with all its horrors, its injustice, and the barbarous things which characterized it, nevertheless, made for the betterment of the French people."³⁴

Although Ivins sanctified the supremacy of law, a close reading qualifies this devotion. He referred to universal rights: freedom of worship, representative government, and physical security. He disdained laws

32. On Mormon disappointment with North American Indians see David J. Whitaker, "Mormons and Native Americans: A Historical and Bibliographical Interpretation," *Dialogue* 18, no. 4 (Winter 1985): 38.

33. Historians are divided over the issues motivating the leaders of the anti-Maderista revolt. The Orozco revolt originated in the antecedent revolt of Emilio Vázquez Gómez, the brother of the Francisco Vázquez Gómez, the provisional vice-president. Madero's order in June 1911 to demobilize the revolutionary forces before promised land and labor reforms were completed, and the replacement of radical F. Vasquez Gómez with moderate José Pino Suárez in the 1910 election, turned Emilio against Madero. Orozco supported Emilio Vázquez Gómez, but the Ciudad Juárez garrison viewed Orozco as its true leader. Sympathetic historians argue that Orozco sincerely sought deeper reforms similar to Zapata's Plan de Ayala. See Michael C. Meyer, *Mexican Rebel: Pascual Orozco and the Mexican Revolution, 1910-1915* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967), 7, 17; Hart, *Revolutionary Mexico*, 255. Others conclude that Orozco aligned himself with oligarchal factions that would advance his rise to power. See Katz, *Life and Times of Pancho Villa*, 143; Krauze, *Mexico: A Biography of Power*, 265.

34. Anthony W. Ivins, in *Report of the Semi-Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, April 1912, Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, semi-annual), 63, hereafter cited as *Conference Report*.

that preserved special privilege. The antagonists in his speech are Catholics, high church Protestants, royalists, and monopolists—the same identified by Kevin Phillips as the coalition defeated by low churchmen and emergent social and economic groups in each of the civil wars and revolutions which swept Britain and America between the 1640s and 1860s.³⁵ Ivins rebuked southern politicians in the United States who had attempted to inhibit free labor from following the flow of capital into the West. He did not predict how the Mexican revolution would resolve itself at this time, but he suggested that *Creole* elites (Spaniards born in Mexico) had provoked a social uprising: “Whenever a government or an administration shall assume to pervert the law, shall entrench itself with power, and disregard the cries of the masses it cannot expect but that confusion will result.”³⁶ Ivins accepted temporary dislocation and uncertainty in Mexico and praised President William Howard Taft’s commitment to non-intervention.³⁷ Anti-foreigner agitation among Orozco’s Red Flaggers posed a real threat to the colonies, Ivins said, but it would take 100,000 troops to “pacify” the country. Furthermore, the Mexican government would naturally tax the prosperous Mormon settlements to defray reconstruction costs incurred by war and occupation.³⁸ Ivins expanded his commentary to contemporary problems. Industrialism and imperialism had agitated labor and caused destructive international competition, he said. He understood the appeal of socialism, anarchism, and armed struggle, yet rejected their panaceas. He embraced the idea of a “universal brotherhood,” but denied its attainment except through Christ’s teachings.³⁹

EXPULSION AND RECALIBRATION, 1912-1913

In July 1912 the halcyon era of the Mormon colonies ended. General Victoriano Huerta, commissioned by Madero, smashed Orozco’s army at the Battle of Bachimba on 3 July. Orozco’s remnants diffused throughout the Mormon settlements of the Galeana district, northwestern Chihuahua.⁴⁰ After Bachimba, the anti-American elements within Orozco’s army could no longer be contained. Inez Salazar (an Orozco lieutenant)

35. Phillips, *Cousins’ Wars*, 163.

36. Ivins, *Conference Report*, October 1912, 62.

37. P. Edward Haley, *Revolution and Intervention: The Diplomacy of Taft and Wilson with Mexico, 1910-1917* (Cambridge, Mass.: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1970), 31-32.

38. Ivins, *Conference Report*, April 1912, 61; Anthony Ivins to O. M. Strafford, 11 May 1912, box 11, fdr 2, Ivins collection; “Mexico,” *Young Woman’s Journal*, 24:5 (May 1913): 260-61.

39. Ivins, *Conference Report*, April 1912, 65.

40. Alan Knight, *The Mexican Revolution*, 2 vols. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986), 1:327-29.

confiscated provisions, horses, and livery items from the Mormons. An attempt by Salt Lake authorities to mollify Orozco with a tribute of \$5,000 in gold failed.⁴¹ Finally, Salazar disarmed the settlers. In exchange for the surrender of token guns, Salazar let the Mormons retreat unmolested north of the border.

Beginning 28 July 1912, over 4,000 Mormons fled by train or wagon. Few ever returned. The property losses and emotional anxiety scarred the Mormon popular psyche for decades to come. A disconsolate Ivins admitted to a friend that the revolution had completely wiped out his financial interests.⁴² As the revolution dragged on, however, property questions concerned Ivins less. Pragmatism replaced his earlier praise for the *Porfiriato*, a term applied to the Díaz years between 1877-1911. He recommended that the colonists accept their losses, counseling that by "cheerfully" doing so lives would be protected and they would have a better claim for protection and good faith in the future. The high-profile murder of William S. Benton, an English *hacendado*, drew no sympathy from Ivins. He condemned the Englishman for his stand on property rights: "[Benton] should have known better. It is another case of the bull trying to butt the locomotive off the track. I trust that we may learn wisdom from such experiences."⁴³

In February 1913 General Victoriano Huerta killed Madero and seized control of the government. The Constitutionalists—Pancho Villa, Emiliano Zapata, and Venustiano Carranza—marched on Mexico City. Their hatred of Huerta united them; each would claim the mantle of the revolution in his own way. Mormon leaders never accepted Huerta's coup, but because a return to the *Porfiriato* was impossible, a new paradigm replaced the old emphasis on privilege and order. Key Mormon leaders experienced what Michael Walzer has called the "ideology of transition," where heightened awareness of human needs arises "whenever traditional controls give way and hierarchical status and corporate privileges are called into question."⁴⁴ By expelling the Mormon settlers, Orozco's *Colorados* had actually liberated Ivins and Pratt. Freed from concerns over the colonists' physical safety, their minds soared to the more rarified air of nation making and scriptural fulfillment.

41. Anton Hendrik Lund Journal, 23 July 1912, typescript, microfilm, LDS Church Archives.

42. Anthony Ivins to George S. Spencer, 13 December 1912, box 11, fdr 3, Ivins collection.

43. Ivins diary, 21 February 1914. Benton was a ruthless Chihuahua landowner. In 1910, backed by twenty armed guards and a contingent of the Chihuahuan *rurales*, he annexed *ejido* lands belonging to the village of Santa Maria de las Cuevas (see Wasserman, *Capitalists, Caciques, and Revolution*, 111-12). For an account of the Benton affair see Katz, *Life and Times of Pancho Villa*, 326-330; Atkin, *Revolution, Mexico!*, 170-71; Knight, *Mexican Revolution*, 2:109-10.

44. Walzer, *Revolution of the Saints*, 312.

In March 1913 Pratt publically joined the discussion on Mexico's ongoing revolution. In an article for the *Improvement Era*, he detailed the same horrors John Kenneth Turner had described in his popular book, *Barbarous Mexico*.⁴⁵ Pratt confirmed stories of 25,000 Indians living on *haciendas* comprising 15 million acres, of unfair labor contracts, of laborers paid low wages and 500 percent mark-ups in company stores, of debt peonage, and of the dreaded threat of military conscription, or worse: deportation to plantations in the Yucatan. Pratt identified the disturbances in Mexico as a social upheaval: "The present revolution. . .has as its basic cause the world-old desire for freedom, the desire of the oppressed to throw off the yoke of the oppressor."⁴⁶ Pratt also opposed U.S. intervention. He saw the United States as a potentially counter-revolutionary force that would reinstate the *científicos* who catered to foreign capitalists. In 1913 Pratt was in Mexico City where he acquired intimate knowledge of events leading to Madero's overthrow. U.S. ambassador Henry Lane Wilson incurred Pratt's unvarnished contempt. Pratt averred—correctly—that the American ambassador had conspired to depose Madero.⁴⁷

Many of Pratt's observations from this period were recorded in a chronicle kept between February and August 1913. The manuscript reveals a man even more class conscious than his public writings and speeches suggest. Pratt indicted the rich, the Catholic church, and the army for being in league against the poor. With historical dialecticism on his mind, he recognized the motive force of class contradiction in a way that might have pleased Mao Zedong: "When the poor native comes to a point to sufficiently know his own interests. . .then will come the redemption of the native of the land. The time is ripe for that class that had been held down to rise and be on top."⁴⁸

Pratt's sense of inevitable triumph rivaled the optimism of Karl Liebknecht: "We are used to being thrown from the heights to the depths," Liebknecht said after the failed Spartacist revolt, "But. . .our

45. John Kenneth Turner, *Barbarous Mexico* (Chicago: C. H. Kerr and Co., 1910), 1-108.

46. Rey L. Pratt, "The Gospel to the Lamanites," *Improvement Era* 16 (April 1913): 582-85.

47. Rey L. Pratt, "Account of What Happened in Mexico City," 26-27, 48, box 3, fdr 2, Rey L. Pratt collection.

48. *Ibid.*, 27. This side of Pratt can be seen in his influence on Margarito Bautista, an organizer of the Third Convention movement during 1936 that established a nine-year independent Mormon church in Mexico. Bautista's *La evolución de Mexico sus verdaderos [sic] progenitores y su origen: el destino de America y Europa* (Mexico: Talleres Gráficos Laguna, 1935) reflects a strong class-consciousness, fostered and encouraged by Pratt. Another Third Conventionist, Isaías Juárez, was a founder of the national farmworker's union (*Confederación Nacional Campesina*). On the Third Convention, see F. Lamond Tullis, "A Shepard to Mexico's Saints: Arwell L. Pierce and the Third Convention" *BYU Studies* 37, no. 1 (1997-1998): 127-57; ch. 3, "The Third Convention," in *Mormons in Mexico*, 137-68.

program will live on; it will rule over the world of redeemed humanity."⁴⁹ The death of Madero had stalled national progress, Pratt conceded, but he urged continuation of the class struggle: "Whether it comes now or whether the people again submit to long years of slavery and serfdom at the hands of the rich. . .there must and will come a time when the native people of this land will rise up and throw off the yoke of slavery and raise [sic.] above the condition that now holds them down."⁵⁰

Pratt grouped Indians, workers, and the liberty-minded *mestizos* (a segment of the middle-class which included those of mixed Indian and European ancestry) into a single revolutionary unit. The bourgeoisie of Mexico City who spoke well of Madero were the "best people" of their class. After a visit to Madero's grave, Pratt venerated the displays of working class solidarity in his special journal. Of the Indians Pratt wrote, "Years of preaching. . .among them has taught me that the best people in the nation are those that are now suffering the most." Pratt cheered the exploits of the Morelos-based Zapatistas. As long as they and Carranza's coalition refused to acknowledge Huerta, the revolution lived.⁵¹

A MESSIANIC REVOLUTION?

During 1914 Pratt and Ivins increasingly accepted radical measures in Mexican issues. On 3 February President Woodrow Wilson decided that Huerta had to go and lifted the arms embargo. As U.S. arms poured into Veracruz, Pratt's optimism rose. At the Latter-day Saint University in Salt Lake City, Pratt lectured students on the "social uprising" in Mexico. It must continue unabated, he said. Pratt castigated "the aristocratic, estate-holding tyrants, the rich and well born, the politicians of the country." This class that abused Mexico and enslaved the Indians had to be "removed." Once the people had overthrown the elite, Pratt theorized, teachers, ministers, and Indian leaders would "rejuvenate Mexico" and restore the sophistication of pre-conquest civilization.⁵²

Pratt glowed as Villa slugged his way toward Mexico City. After the Division of the North mauled Huerta at the Battle of Zecatecas on 23 June 1914, Pratt wrote, "Who can doubt that out of the present struggle will grow a great and better Mexico with an absolute liberty, based on human rights, for all her people [and] the way be prepared for the

49. Quoted in Helmut Trotnow, *Karl Liebknecht (1871-1919): A Political Biography* (New York: Archon Books, 1984), 203.

50. Pratt, "Account of What Happened in Mexico City," 11.

51. *Ibid.*, 9-11, 35, 36. Pratt also expressed his sentiments in verse. See Rey L. Pratt, "The 'Cuartelazo,'" *Just Thinking* (Independence, Mo.: Press of Zion's Printing and Publishing Company, c.1928), 40-46.

52. "Revolution Marks Social Uprising Is Pratt's Statement," *Herald Republican*, in *Journal History*, 11 Feb 1914, 4.

teaching of the true Gospel unto the people [and] their redemption?"⁵³ Pratt was restating the "Mexican spiritual dialectic." The degraded condition of the Indian was symptomatic of their ancient loss of faith in the one true god, but glory would follow the fall. This narrative—the Lamanite people favored of the Lord, dwindle in unbelief, are conquered, then await salvation from the gentiles—was Pratt's way of explaining how Mexico had gone from an empire of 30 million to an impoverished population of 15 million ruled by a dictator. With nine-tenths of the Indian population wiped out, Pratt announced, the time had come to reverse the process. The revolution, therefore, was a dialectical step in the cultural return of the Indian.⁵⁴

Other church officers followed Pratt's lead. In a speech to the Associated Collegians of Brigham Young University, Charles McClellan, formerly a counselor in the Juarez stake presidency, registered his preference for gradual change, but—given that Madero was "butchered" when he tried it—the Mexican people must be pardoned for relying on the "power that a 30-30 gives them." Then McClellan came to the point: "[I]t is not a question of this man or that man in Mexico. It is a question of principles, of human rights; and you and I, under the same circumstances, would take up arms. Our fathers did for even less provocation in the days of Bunker Hill, and we honor them for it." In Mexico, McClellan argued, class revolt would weaken the old order. Once accomplished, Mexico must develop a "national spirit" and receive training in constitutional government to overcome *científico* and *hacendado* influence, class division, and the ethnic differences that would hinder further development.⁵⁵

Ivins began to reconstruct his image of Mexico after the shock of expulsion and financial loss subsided. Previously he had related to Mexico based on the model of "Arielism." Frederick Pike describes Arielism as an alliance of elites in the Western Hemisphere who would band together to limit "barbarous" democratic influences and to advance economic pros-

53. Rey L. Pratt, "The Book of Mormon Prophecies and the Mexican Situation," *Young Woman's Journal* 25 (September 1914): 539.

54. *Ibid.*, 539-40. Pratt reviewed the population devastation suffered by other Latin American countries to underscore his point. For the unfolding Mormon racial doctrines toward Mexico's inhabitants, see Thomas W. Murphy, "From Racist Stereotype to Ethnic Identity: Instrumental Uses of Mormon Racial Doctrine," *Ethnohistory* 46, no. 3 (Summer 1999): 458-61. For a discussion of Mormon historiography and Indian identity, see Murphy, "Other Mormon Histories: Lamanite Subjectivity in Mexico," *Journal of Mormon History* 26 (Fall 2000): 179-214.

55. Charles E. McClellan [McClellan], "Bird's-Eye View of Mexico's Troubles," *The Improvement Era* 17 (March 1914): 441-44. McClellan later studied at Stanford and Columbia, and became a full professor at Utah State University. See Hatch and Spilsbury, *Stalwarts South of the Border*, 422-25.

perity.⁵⁶ However, the heat of revolution melted the old *Porfirio*-Mormon "alliance-for-progress" combination, and Ivins ultimately repudiated the Arielian model and began to seek community with the masses.

The advance of the southern and northern armies invigorated Ivins's thinking with prospects of scriptural fulfillment. Just days before Villa and Zapata culminated the revolution with a dramatic entry into Mexico City on 5 December 1914, Ivins met with the Twelve Apostles and the First Presidency of the church in the Salt Lake Temple. He reviewed the situation in Mexico and referred to a verse in 3 Nephi of the Book of Mormon. The Mexican people, he averred, "having been trodden down by the gentiles, will become like a lion among a flock of sheep, so plainly set forth by the Savior himself."⁵⁷ The trope of peasants and workers embodied as lions united in a flailing fight to eradicate their overlords marks another step in the reinvention of Ivins. At a chapel dedication in San Diego he concluded that liberty would be established in Mexico but only after the conflict that pitted "servants against pitiless masters" had been won.⁵⁸ Violence, the apostle said, was purging Mexico. Both he and Pratt now dismissed the colonists' expulsion from Mexico as a sidebar in a much bigger event. The fighting spreading across the country was but the antithesis to Spanish imperialism and Creole exploitation. Missionary work, redemption of the Lamanites, and the possibilities of an Indian nation embossed the revolution with the imprimatur of divine approval. The upheaval had assumed scriptural and social proportions that exceeded the legalisms of American property holding in Mexico.

CARRANZA AND THE CONSTITUTIONALISTS

Inevitably, revolution became civil war. Huerta resigned 15 July 1914, and the Constitutionalist alliance fell apart at the Aguascalientes Convention the following October. The Carranzistas wanted to defuse revolutionary radicalism and re-align Mexican politics along upper-class lines. To enlist urban and rural support, Carranza offered the return of illegally seized *ejido* lands and the recognition of labor unions.⁵⁹ The

56. Fredrick B. Pike, *The United States and Latin America: Myths and Stereotypes of Civilization and Nature* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992), 194, 218-20.

57. "Minutes of Meeting of the First Presidency," *Journal History*, 25 November 1914, 8. Compare to 3 Nephi 20:16; 21:12 in *Book of Mormon* (1977, published at Salt Lake City in various editions).

58. Speech delivered in San Diego, 21 May 1916, reported in "Conditions in Northern Mexico," *Improvement Era* 19 (July 1916): 843. See also Ivins, speech given at the Citizens Military Training Camp Committee on 30 March 1916 reported in "War with Mexico is on, Says Ivins," *Salt Lake Tribune*, in *Journal History*, 31 March 1916, 2.

59. City workers believed that Carranza's formation of "Red Battalions" to fight the Conventionists and his endorsement of the *Casa del Obrero* indicated his acceptance of

Zapatistas, suspicious of Carranza's elitism and sincerity, insisted on the more wide-sweeping agrarian reforms called for in the Plan de Ayala. Personal rivalry and class divided Carranza and Villa, but on a deeper level their incompatibility is explained by the historic division over the nature of Mexican federalism. While Carranza would centralize the government in Mexico City, Villa personified the regionalist view that political power should remain in the states.⁶⁰ The delegates at Aguascalientes chose Eulalio Gutiérrez, a general with agrarian proclivities, to succeed Carranza. The Constitutionalist "First Chief" refused to accept the choice, evacuated Mexico City, and formed a second government in Veracruz. On 19 November 1914 General Alvaro Obregón, acting under Carranza's order, declared war on the "Conventionists," Villa and Zapata.

Woodrow Wilson now believed that Carranza personified the intent of the Madero revolution. This new policy was pinned on the belief that if Carranza could be induced to concentrate on those land reform issues which had attracted the people to Villa and Zapata, the threat to foreign interests in Mexico would diminish.⁶¹ Subsequently, Carranza assured Wilson that he would muzzle revolutionary nationalism in exchange for U.S. recognition. He received it 19 October 1915.⁶² A month later Plutarco Calles, an Obregónist general, annihilated Villa's Division del Norte at Agua Prieta. Villa, maddened by U.S. recognition of Carranza, raided Columbus, New Mexico, on 9 March 1916. He hoped that American columns streaming across the border in pursuit would galvanize Chihuahuans against Carranza.⁶³ In the scenario of renewed desert warfare,

anarcho-syndicalism, an ideology that championed unions as the basic organizing dynamic of society. To the dismay of workers, Carranza defined the Constitutionalist party in terms of his upper-class background and nationalist sentiment and viewed the proletarian alliance only as a temporary expedient. See Hart, *Revolutionary Mexico*, 306-07, 318-19; Knight, *Mexican Revolution*, 2:433.

60. On Zapata versus Carranza see Krauze, *Mexico: A Biography of Power*, 291; Hart, *Revolutionary Mexico*, 267-69. In *Life and Times of Pancho Villa*, 388-96, Katz reviews the hagiography of the Villa-Carranza split. He concludes that the long-standing dispute in Mexican politics that centered on "centralization versus regionalism [issue] is probably the least controversial" explanation for the onset of civil war between the former Constitutionalist allies (391). Hart insists that the civil war pitted agrarians and laborers (Villa and Zapata) against the foreigners and the *hacendados* (Carranza). See *Revolutionary Mexico*, 276-77, 327.

61. Lloyd Gardner, *Safe for Democracy: The Anglo-American Response to Revolution, 1913-1923* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 61-65.

62. Thomas F. O'Brien, *The Revolutionary Mission: American Enterprise in Latin America, 1900-1945* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 263; Lloyd C. Gardner, "Woodrow Wilson and the Mexican Revolution," in Arthur S. Link, ed., *Woodrow Wilson and a Revolutionary World, 1913-1921* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 28.

63. Clarence C. Clendenen, *Blood on the Border: The United States Army and the Mexican Irregulars* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1969), 199-200; Katz, *Life and Times of Pancho Villa*, 566.

the Mormon colonies were again strategically located. Juarez and Dublan served the logistical needs of both General John J. Pershing's Punitive Expedition and Villa's Division del Norte.⁶⁴

Despite the unraveling of the Constitutionalist alliance and Villa's cross-border attack, Ivins and Pratt adhered to the idea of revolution. After the Columbus raid, however, Ivins chose to institutionalize revolutionary gains in the government that Carranza was forming. On this point he was now in harmony with Wilson's commitment to Carranza, and the statism that would become a hallmark of Ivins's defense of the Mexican government's nationalization of church properties in 1926 began to take shape.⁶⁵ Ivins told a citizens' military preparedness group that the revolution should continue until equal rights for all Mexicans were assured, but since no faction had gained a clear advantage, leaving Mexico mired in unproductive violence, Ivins revised his earlier disinclination to invade. The "turbulent elements" in Zapata's and Villa's armies, he reasoned, had to be quelled long enough for constitutional reforms to proceed. The risk of provoking war with Mexico was worth taking if the presence of U.S. forces allowed Carranza to consolidate his government under the influence of American democratic principles.⁶⁶ Invasion, however, did not imply general war. In Dublan, General Pershing invited Ivins to address his troops. Standing on a makeshift platform, Ivins reflected on the army's mission. The objective of the Punitive Expe-

64. Villa, who hoped the U.S. would not believe he had ordered the Columbus raid, was trying to avoid a two-front war, one against Pershing's expeditionary force and the other against General Francisco Murguía advancing from the south. Accusations of another attack on a property center with ties to the United States (like a Mormon colony) would be ruinous to Villa's policy of gaining the "good will" of his neighbors while he liberated his people from the "slavery and evil condition that had been brought on by the tyrants of his country." See Report to General John J. Pershing, 16 December 1916, quoted in Katz, *Life and Times of Pancho Villa*, 604. On the strategic location of Colonia Dublan, see Clendenen, *Blood on the Border*, 220. Villa refitted his army in Casas Grande, Dublan, and Juarez in September-October 1915 preparatory to his attack on Auga Prieta. A colorful description of Villa's Division del Norte is found in Grace Zenor Pratt, "Glimpses of Villa's Army," *Improvement Era* 19 (March 1916): 395-401. Several Mormons were dragooned into to service as teamsters on the Division del Norte's fateful march over the Sonoran mountains. See Raymond J. Reed, "The Mormons in Chihuahua: Their Relations with Villa and the Pershing Punitive Expedition, 1910-1917," M.A. thesis, University of New Mexico, 1938, 73.

65. Ivins told a Conference audience: "The state controls the church absolutely, controls your property, controls your lives. It takes your property from you if it wishes, it presses you into service, it declares war or makes peace and you cannot avoid it. . . . After all the finality is that the state controls us." See *Conference Report*, April 1916, 59.

66. "War with Mexico Is on, Says Ivins," *Salt Lake Tribune*, in *Journal History*, 31 March 1916, 2. For Ivins's reluctant support of Carranza, see also Anthony Ivins, "On Villa's Trail," *Improvement Era* 19 (September 1916): 1015-1016.

dition, Ivins told them, was not to demonstrate imperial power, menace Mexico, destroy Villa, or to redeem American honor. On the contrary, the army was to contain Villa in order to assist a sister republic.⁶⁷

Ivins was ready to believe that the damage done to the old ruling class in Mexico had been sufficient enough to begin the process of rebuilding, but he remained emotionally tied to Francisco Villa. The dashing image he harbored of Villa's 1913 raid on Casas Grande at a time when Villa was an aspiring revolutionary commander remained in Ivins's mind.⁶⁸ A series of articles authored by Ivins in 1916-1917 entitled "On Villa's Trail" reads like a western adventure.⁶⁹ Ideology was subordinated to drama as harrowing Villista escapes to mountain hideouts thrilled the reader as much as U.S. cavalry marksmanship and riding skill. His description of Villa's plan for the Columbus raid was highly complimentary: "The details of the enterprise were carefully worked out, and executed with boldness and dispatch, which illustrate the intelligence and natural genius of this uneducated leader of men."⁷⁰ In these narratives, Villa executes Americans without condemnation. The rape and murder increasingly condoned by Villa was indicative of the "moral decline" which biographer Frederick Katz says began in 1915.⁷¹ American and Mexican adherents lost faith in Villista methods and purposes, but Ivins continued to nurture the image of Villa as a romantic bandit.⁷²

Ivins shared his attraction to certain Latin personalities with other well-known Americans. For example, Army Chief-of-Staff Hugh Scott found common ground with Villa in the "cowboy code of honor;"⁷³ Theodore Roosevelt viewed Argentinean and Chilean elites as potential cowboy-aristocrat presidents who, like himself, possessed "to a very high degree, the stern, manly qualities that are invaluable to a nation."⁷⁴

67. Mary Foster Gibbs, "General John J. Pershing," *Relief Society Magazine* 6 (June 1919): 22-23; Ivins, *Conference Report*, October 1916, 66. That the U.S. should exercise caution to avoid full-scale war also suggested in "The United States and Mexico: Shall we have War or Peace with Mexico our Neighbor?" *Improvement Era* 19 (May 1916): 584-90.

68. Ivins to Joseph C. Bentley, 28 June 1913, box 9, folder 3, Ivins collection. On Villa's first raid as a Maderista see Katz, *Life and Times of Pancho Villa*, 204-213.

69. Anthony W. Ivins, "On Villa's Trail," *Improvement Era* 19 (September 1916): 1014-19; 20 (October 1916): 1095-97; 20 (February 1917): 355-59; 20 (March 1917): 397-400; 20 (April 1917): 500-04.

70. Ivins, "On Villa's Trail," 1018. Bishop Joseph Bentley of Jaurez, a friend of Ivins, touted Villa as "the greatest fighter of them all." See "Some Mexican Revolutionists," *Juvenile Instructor* 55 (October 1920): 488.

71. Katz, *Life and Times of Pancho Villa*, 623-25.

72. Ivins's reference to Villa as a bandit of honor is similar to the definition found in Edward S. Farrow, "Bandit," in *Military Encyclopedia: A Dictionary of Military Knowledge*, 3 vols. (New York: Author, 1885), 1:135-36.

73. Katz, *Life and Times of Pancho Villa*, 319.

74. Quoted in Pike, *United States and Latin America*, 203-04. For a pre-revolution

Ivins, himself the consummate frontiersman, saw in Villa a self-made rebel. As late as December 1918, he defended the old renegade, saying that incessant visits to the Mormon colonies and spectacular yet brief occupations of Chihuahua City were Villa's way of embarrassing the Mexican government.⁷⁵ Still, as John Reed had concluded, Villa could not "fuse creatively with the masses," and Ivins deferred to Carranza.⁷⁶

Carranza, in the meantime, tightened his grip. In the south, Zapata's revolution—in the words of John Womack—was slowly dying in "a ragged, bitter and confused giving way."⁷⁷ Carranzista general Pablo Gonzalez was executing people indiscriminately and laying waste to Morelos. Suddenly, fortunes changed. The Zapatista high command shifted its headquarters to Tochimilco, at the foot of the Popo volcano, and launched raids against Mexico City. The Zapatista counter-offensive was so potent that Gonzalez withdrew from Morelos in November 1916.⁷⁸

In the midst of these events, Pratt spoke at the Fall 1916 General Conference in Salt Lake. The revolution must continue, he averred. The people thirsted for political representation and for land. Madero would have realized these dreams, but counter-revolutionaries Orozco and Huerta, "bought off by the millions of the privileged and wealthy classes," had temporarily squashed Mexican aspirations.⁷⁹ Unlike Ivins, Pratt peremp-

Mormon reflection on the benefits of Spanish and middle-class rule in South America see "Chile," *Juvenile Instructor* 27 (1 May 1892): 265-71.

75. *Journal History*, 26 December 1918, 6. Bishop Arwell Pierce of El Paso stated that the loss in horses and grain and forced loans levied by Villistas had cost the settlements \$7,210. Pierce was sympathetic, adding that the Villasta's did it because it was their only source of income. The raiders had also been "cordial to the women." See *Journal History*, 30 March 1919, 1.

76. Pike, *United States and Latin America*, 218-19. Villa's revolutionary elitism is discussed in Jim Tuck, *Pancho Villa and John Reed: Two Faces of Romantic Revolution* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1984), 214-15.

77. John Womack, Jr., *Zapata and the Mexican Revolution* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969), 247.

78. The Zapatista high command had organized the Defense of Revolutionary Principles to resist violent federal pacification policies. See Womack, *Zapata*, 302; Knight, *Mexican Revolution*, 2:368-69. Evidence suggests that while Mexican Mormons were caught between government and revolutionary forces, many—especially in the Indian villages—sided with the Zapatistas. Several paid the price of deportation, arrest, conscription, despoilation, and execution. Pratt personally intervened in several cases. See "Mormon Mexicans are Persecuted," *Salt Lake Telegram*, in *Journal History*, 5 April 1918, 11; Livingston, "From Above and Below," 311-12; Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico*, 96-103; Parrish, "'Look to the Rock,'" 78-79; Beecher, "Rey L. Pratt," 299-300; Mark Grover, "Execution in Mexico: The Deaths of Rafael Monroy and Vincente Morales," *BYU Studies* 35, no. 3 (1995-1996): 7-28. When two other Mormons were executed for alleged Carranzista collaboration, Pratt was so upset that he permitted a family member to participate in a government firing squad in retaliation. See Pratt diary, 19 May 1917.

79. R. Pratt, *Conference Report*, October 1916, 146.

torily rejected Mexico's new president: "General Carranza is. . .an aristocrat—one of the privileged classes of Mexico, and he is a man who cannot inspire in the Mexican people any confidence."⁸⁰

Pratt voiced the resolve of peasant soldiers in the south. He never publicly identifies sufferers and fighters during this period; they remain a collective abstraction, and yet Pratt personifies the revolution with a sensitivity derived from his intimate relationship with Mexico. On the slope of a Puebla volcano, ragged Zapatistas had told Pratt: "We. . .shall inherit something besides the misery that we have had to live in, and we never again will lay down our arms until there is established for the humble class of Mexico liberty."⁸¹ Pratt drew from a mystic religious faith in revolution. James Billington argues that half-secular, half-religious epiphanies of a luminous future had fired the minds of men during the nineteenth century when the revolutionary idea was untested by actual achievement. Pratt's discourse was Mormon, religious, and revolutionary—"a language in the making: a road sign pointing to the future."⁸²

Pratt interwove the mission of the church, revolution, and tolerance for Mexico in his conclusion. He spoke directly to Mormon colonial hardships: "[The revolutionaries] may have committed against us depredations, and if it were only a political issue, if it were only a national issue, if we were only Americans, we might have resentment toward them, but we have received the word of the Lord that they are our brethren." Pratt broke the barriers that had distinguished the colonists from the Mexican masses. He prayed that the light of a new age would shine, and that "when the clouds of war rolled by. . .the servants of the Lord will be permitted to come again and carry the gospel to their brethren and to their sisters who are yet in darkness."

This "They Are Our Brothers" speech employed the discursive technique of *enthymeme*. An enthymeme is the unstated portion of a rhetorical argument. The speaker relies on the audience to fill in the gaps based on shared historical experience or commonly held mental references. In the enthymematic shadow, the speaker reveals his philosophy of history, politics, or religion.⁸³ For Pratt, the Mexican revolution tested Mormon doctrine against his own authorization of raw social forces at work in Mexico.

From an enthymematic standpoint, Pratt achieved reconciliation. The

80. *Ibid.*, 147. Carranza's outlook, despite his nationalist goals, remained tied to the upper-class; he was also friendly to foreigners and offered the Catholic Church salutary indifference, according to most scholars. See Hart, *Revolutionary Mexico*, 333.

81. R. Pratt, *Conference Report*, October 1916, 147.

82. James Billington, *Fire in the Minds of Men: The Origins of the Revolutionary Faith* (New York: Basic Books, 1980), 7.

83. Teun A. van Dijk, *Discourse as Structure and Process*, vol. 2 of *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction* (London: Sage Publications, 1997), 171-72.

Mormon audience could decode a message confirming that the Mexican Revolution was an extension of their own sacred history. The Mexican people were not alien malefactors or barbaric rebels: they were brothers, co-agents in redeeming mankind. The reclamation of the Indians reminded the saints of their commission to proselytize the remnants of Israel before the Second Coming. Mexico's suffering masses conjured the Missouri and Illinois persecutions; the armies of Villa and Zapata were figments of the 1834 march of Zion's camp to take back Jackson County, a symbolic rehearsal of the mythical return to Missouri. Incipient, revolutionary Mexico, emerging into a brighter future, intoned the literal advent of Zion—the New Jerusalem—Christ's future terrestrial capital.

Pratt's oratory animated his audience. Conservative church President Joseph F. Smith followed Pratt to the pulpit and rejoined: "I do not want war; but the Lord has said it shall be poured out upon all nations. I would rather the oppressors should be killed than to allow the oppressors to kill the innocent."⁸⁴ An editorial in the *Herald Republican* recapitulated some of the themes in Pratt's conference address.

The topic of Pratt's October 1916 speech had been selected at the request of Apostle and U.S. Senator Reed Smoot, who wished to counter the support Ivins had displayed for Wilson's Mexico policy and the League of Nations.⁸⁵ Pratt obliged but could not be co-opted to Smoot's purposes. The Mexican mission president scorned the *Republican's* endorsement of Huerta (d. January 1916) and his retainers as a means of restoring stability in Mexico, but believed for more than partisan reasons that, in recognizing Carranza, Wilson had betrayed the people. Had Pratt known of Wilson's private views prior to October 1915, he would have discovered he was in agreement with Wilson's earlier initiatives, which had called for a "provisional government essentially revolutionary in character" that "should institute reforms by decree before the calling of a constitutional convention."⁸⁶ The disappointment Pratt felt toward the U.S. policy shift in favor of Carranza suggests agreement with the *Republican* (though for very different reasons) that Wilson had failed as the "president of humanity."⁸⁷

The passion with which Pratt opposed Carranza outdistanced the

84. J. F. Smith, *Conference Report*, October 1916, 154. At the April 1916 General Conference, Pratt gave a speech similar to his October "They Are Our Brothers" address. George Albert Smith, apostle and president of the church from 1945-1950, followed Pratt at the pulpit and voiced his desire to overthrow "the oppressors" in Mexico. See G. Smith, *Conference Report*, April 1916, 123-24.

85. Kristen Smart Rogers, "'Another Good Man': Anthony W. Ivins and the Defeat of Reed Smoot," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 68 (Winter 2000): 61.

86. Wilson to Robert Lansing, 11 August 1915, quoted in Gardner, "Mexican Revolution," in Link, ed., *Woodrow Wilson and a Revolutionary World*, 28.

87. "Concerning Two Pictures," *Herald Republican*, in *Journal History*, 10 October 1916, 2.

revolutionary ardor of Kenneth Turner, one of Pratt's closest ideological companions. Turner defined "liberty" as Pratt did: "A tangible thing that means to [the people] not only the broader liberties of the mind but the more pressing needs of the body."⁸⁸ However, while Turner thought Villa was a "scoundrel" manipulated by reactionaries to force a U.S. intervention,⁸⁹ Pratt extolled Villa. A poem composed by Pratt in 1916 disdains the alliance between the U.S. and Villa's Constitutionalist foes. Seventeen American deaths resulting from the Columbus raid had been the price for allowing Carranza to transport troops across U.S. territory to reinforce the garrison of Agua Prieta:

"Villa's Raid"⁹⁰

1

So darker grew [Villa's visage]
And hatred filled his heart,
Against that foreign country
For their ignoble part
In aiding thus for money,
Against both nations' laws,
His foe, and brought disaster
To freedom's struggling cause. . .

2

He watched his ragged comrades,
Their blood-stained feet so sore;
He watched them march in silence,
Then in his wrath he swore:
"By those who died in battle
By those who march with me,
I'll take revenge on that proud
land, Their blood the price must be. . ."

3

With lives full many a thousand
And treasure yet untold,
The gringo army had to pay
To this marauder bold.
Nor did they ever take him back,

88. John Kenneth Turner, "Mexico's 'Bandit Armies,'" *Collier's* 51 (5 April 1913): 11, 21, quoted in Britton, *Revolution and Ideology*, 38.

89. *Ibid.*, 39.

90. Pratt, "Villa's Raid," *Just Thinking*, 69-73.

As they at first had said,
That they would bring him back alive,
If not, bring him back dead. . .

4

But after months of fruitless toil
Back home again marched they;
Left Villa and his dauntless men
The victors in the fray;
His vow made good that pay they should
Their act of perfidy
For helping for a price of gold
The foes of liberty.

Pratt's sympathies are clear. Pershing's withdrawal in 1917 demonstrated to him that progressive forces in Mexico would survive. Continued violence was preferable to premature consolidation, a position Pratt continued to embrace after the nation he admired most—the United States—endorsed Carranza. "Liberty," as Pratt envisioned it, could only be realized through the decrees of a proto-Indian state, and legitimacy rested on the inclusion of other still-fighting revolutionary constituencies. Pratt's independent leftist view would not allow him to ignore the contradictions he saw between the social origins of Carranzistas and the condition of the people, but neither would he admit defeat as the power of the state slowly began to reshape Mexican life.

"FATHER LEHI'S CHILDREN"

With the promulgation of the 1917 constitution, the decline of Villa, and the subsequent assassination of Zapata, revolutionary activity subsided in Mexico. Ivins toured the colonies in November. He surveyed the devastated stores, the idle mills, the uncultivated fields, and the Mormon town of Díaz, destroyed for its namesake. While these scenes troubled Ivins as much as they did other American observers, he put the destruction into perspective: "Barbarous Mexico has proven herself childlike, humane, and merciful, when compared with the [world war] across the sea."⁹¹ In the opinion of Ivins, Mexico had at least forged a new nation through armed struggle whereas conflict in Europe was tearing it apart. The futility of World War I contrasted sharply with the purposes for which Mexicans had fought.

Pratt and Ivins ended their lives with unshakable faith in what the Mexican Revolution had begun. In their speeches, articles, and letters, they fought to reconcile the tension between the spiritual and the secular

91. Anthony Ivins, "Mexico After the War," *Improvement Era* 21 (June 1918): 715-719.

worlds, between individual salvation and social activism. They engaged in battles of discourse to promote their views on the utility and meaning of revolution. In the process, they often found themselves groping for self-discovery. When they struck the core, they found that they stood as brothers, fighting like lions for the idea of an Indian nation.

Pratt and Ivins sublimated the "American" in themselves and spoke a language of liberation. They made Mormonism fit in Mexico by drawing from a radical past that promoted a vision for society which could no longer be attempted in America. They hoped the example of Mexico would spread to the southern hemisphere. When Apostle Melvin J. Ballard and Rey Pratt opened the South American Mission in 1926, the language was distinctly revolutionary. Following the "Amen" to Ballard's dedicatory speech in Buenos Aires, the missionaries gave tearful expression to their emotions. They felt that "Father Lehi's children," were on the verge of a revolution that would break the "shackles, politically," and hasten the "day of retribution [and] deliverance."⁹² Ballard was heartened by the political changes and violence that swept South America during the early 1930s as the global economic depression worsened. "These numerous revolutions," he wrote, would promote sociopolitical conditions conducive to missionary work. "The Latter-day Saints do not, therefore, see disaster in these political disturbances, but rather progress, growth, and development."⁹³

Ballard had sounded the call. The destruction of the status quo in South America was linked to the extension of Zion. In a 1930 conference talk, Ballard asserted, "The [old] order of things cannot live."⁹⁴ He reviewed the progress made in Mexico, Argentina, and Chile toward the disestablishment of religion, then asked: "Now what shall we do?" His reply was militant: "Our sacred duty is to stand by the fires that have already been kindled, keep them ablaze that they shall never die, fight for right in the conflicts that will go forward. . . . For this is the age when truth shall be triumphant and victorious, when error, darkness, and superstition, whether in the church or in the state, shall perish."⁹⁵

From Latin America Ballard hoped to reconstruct the world. Humanity would be elevated while obsolete political and social forms would yield to divine rationalism and millennial happiness. For nearly one hundred years, key LDS leaders had narrated this process by drawing from the rhetoric and talismen of the Left. This vision would slowly constrict, however, until the cold war closed it altogether.

92. "Prayer: Dedicating the Lands of South America to the Preaching of the Gospel," *Improvement Era* 29 (April 1926): 576-77.

93. Melvin J. Ballard, "The Significance of South American Revolutions," *Improvement Era* 34 (April 1931): 320.

94. Ballard, *Conference Report*, April 1930, 157.

95. *Ibid.*, 155.

Defending Magic: Explaining the Necessity of Ordinances

R. Dennis Potter

IN THIS PAPER I WANT TO DEAL with a large gap in Christian theology, in general, and in LDS theology, in particular. The gap is the lack of explanation of the moral necessity of religious ordinances or “sacraments.” I will explore three possible explanations, of these I will argue that the only theory that can explain the necessity of ordinances is the one that is the most difficult to believe. My method will be analytic, and I will not, in this paper, be concerned with scriptural interpretation. However, I do believe that any view of ordinances should answer to the data found in the scriptures.

DEFINITIONS.

By ‘ordinance’ I mean *a ritualized action that is supposed to have religious significance*. To say that an ordinance is *efficacious* is to say that the ordinance is successful in achieving its purpose. Generally, the purpose of an ordinance is to make us better people. It should be clear, I think, that ordinances are often efficacious, even if only psychosomatically. The question is how they are efficacious and whether or not this entails that they are also necessary. The sense in which we claim that ordinances are *necessary* is that they are supposed to be necessary for salvation (i.e., LDS *exaltation*). Ordinances are individualized with respect to necessity. That is, the performance of a certain ordinance *for me* is necessary for my *salvation*, and a separate instance of the same kind of ordinance must be performed for you in order for you to be saved. Ordinances are not thought to be sufficient for salvation, however. Catholicism, Eastern Orthodoxy, and Mormonism all claim that there are ordinances that are necessary for salvation. For Mormonism, they are baptism, confirmation, sacrament, endowment, and temple marriage. The question is how are these ordinances efficacious and why should they be necessary for salvation? The hope is that once we understand how they work, then we will understand why they are necessary.

THE SIGNIFICANCE PROBLEM

There are two problems with the proposition that ordinances are necessary. The first problem is a fairly common one, and I doubt that any seriously religious person has not thought about it at one time or another. I will call this the *Significance Problem*. Perhaps the best way to see this problem is to think about the *Case of the Recalcitrant Saint*. In this case, there is a Catholic who, like Mother Theresa, spends her whole life in the service of humanity. She dies believing that Catholic theology is true. So, in the *spirit prison* she rejects the LDS missionaries. Is she to be denied salvation on the basis of this action? It seems absurd to say "yes." In fact, faithful Latter-day Saints who want to answer this question are often tempted with the idea that people like Mother Theresa will eventually accept the message and the LDS ordinances. This is to deny the possibility of the Case of the Recalcitrant Saint. This denial seems very implausible, but it is a way of avoiding the absurdity of saying that the Recalcitrant Saint will be denied salvation.

I think the reason we think that a Recalcitrant Saint should not be denied a place in the Celestial Kingdom is that there is a difference between the moral significance of the life-actions of the Saint and the action of an ordinance. Sainly actions, such as feeding the poor, are *prima facie* morally good. There is something about the action itself that makes it good—e.g., it relieves suffering. But the action of performing an ordinance is *prima facie* neither morally good nor morally evil, and, hence, it is not morally significant. Indeed, in and of itself, being immersed in water does not seem as though it should have any effect on whether or not someone is a good person. Anticipating later discussion, one might argue that it is not the immersion itself, but the symbolism that is important. However, many things could symbolize the same thing (i.e., the death of the life of sin and the rebirth into a new life). So, the mere fact that ordinances are symbolic does not explain why they would be necessary.

THE CONVENTIONAL PROBLEM

The second problem with the claim that ordinances are necessary is not as common as the first problem since it depends on some technical notions. I will call it the *Conventional Problem*. As we have already mentioned, ordinances are symbolic. But this means that they are *conventional* in the sense that we could have picked many different types of actions to serve as the ordinances. For example, instead of immersion in water, we could have picked the burying of artifacts associated with one's sins. To put it another way, the kinds of actions that we pick to be ordinances seem to be arbitrary. But what is arbitrary and conventional certainly can't be really necessary, since it could have been different.

One might point out that there are necessities that exist internally to

any given symbolic system. For example, in English, 'All bachelors are unmarried' is necessarily true. This is the case even though the word 'bachelor' means what it means in English only by the conventions that we have adopted. In fact, some philosophers have argued that all necessary truth is to be explained in this way. However, this observation will not help in solving the Conventional Problem. This is because the necessity that is supposed to attach to an ordinance is not merely the necessary truth of a proposition, but rather the necessity of the ordinance being a prerequisite for salvation.

SOLUTIONS AND THEORIES OF EFFICACY

In order to explain how ordinances are necessary, we will need to formulate a theory of how ordinances work that solves the Significance Problem and the Conventional Problem. I will entertain three theories. I claim that two of these theories seem to be plausible explanations of how ordinances are efficacious, but do not explain how the ordinances are necessary. The third theory does explain how ordinances are necessary, but is (perhaps) a less plausible explanation of how ordinances are efficacious.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORY

The first theory as to how ordinances are efficacious is that they affect us psychologically. The idea is that baptism (for example) might cause a psychological change in the person that affects this person's moral nature. In this way, the Significance Problem is solved since baptism becomes a morally significant action insofar as it affects our moral character. Clearly, even if the *Psychological Theory* is not the only reason baptism is efficacious, it is at least one of the reasons. Indeed, anything can effect a change in someone if that person thinks it will cause a change.

However, the problem with the Psychological Theory should be obvious. If the Psychological Theory gives us *the* explanation for why ordinances are efficacious, then it does not explain why they are necessary. One problem is that psychology is not universal. In particular, what affects one person in one way does not affect another person in the same way. So, the fact that baptism may morally change some people does not mean that it will change everyone. A second and perhaps worse problem for this theory is the fact that if baptism can affect us psychologically—making us better people—then so can any number of other actions: twelve-step programs, for example. Why should baptism be necessary for everyone? Therefore, it should be clear that the Psychological Theory does not respond to the Conventional Problem.

One response to these problems is the *Hard-Wired Response*. The idea behind this response is to say that psychology *is* universal. Humans are hard-wired so that the act of baptism will affect them morally. However,

it is not clear how this helps to respond to the fact that many things can affect us psychologically, unless the hard-wired response also includes the claim that people are hard-wired so that *only* baptism will affect them in a morally positive way. But now this response is getting very implausible. Indeed, it should be called the *Hypnosis Response* since it sounds as if it claims that God hypnotized us before this life so that we would have a universal and exclusive reaction to baptism.

Another problem with the Hard-Wired Response is that it makes ordinances necessary at the expense of explaining why they are morally significant. Indeed, why should God hard-wire us so that only baptism will have a positive moral effect on us? What is so morally significant about baptism? The Hard-Wired Response does not answer this question.

Another response admits that the psychological effects of baptism are not universal but asserts that they are common enough that God requires them for everybody. Perhaps he requires them for everybody just to make things simpler. Of course, this response seems to be problematic because it does not seem fair for those who are in the psychological minority. These people can change without baptism, or, alternatively, they won't even be affected by baptism. God should treat them differently because they are in a different situation.

This seems to indicate that to the extent that we solve the Moral Significance Problem we fail to solve the Conventional Problem and vice versa. The problems work against each other. Indeed, consider both of these responses to the problems encountered by the Psychological Theory. These responses explain the necessity of ordinances in terms of the Psychological Theory only to run up against a kind of moral arbitrariness. Why would God hard-wire us so that baptism is necessary? Why would God treat those for whom baptism does not work the same as those for whom it does?

I fail to see that there are any other responses to the problems with the Psychological Theory that would work here. So, I conclude that the Psychological Theory in its most plausible form does not explain why baptisms are necessary. This theory is, however, a very plausible theory as to how ordinances are efficacious. Certainly, there is a psychological effect that results from these kinds of symbolic acts. Of course, one might just give up the necessity of ordinances. But then this is to give up a central aspect of Mormon theology. For those of us who take Mormon theology seriously, we need another way out.

THE CONTRACT THEORY

The main idea behind the *Contract Theory* is the idea of a social contract. Social Contract Theory goes back to Thomas Hobbes (at least) and centers on the claim that morality comes about as a result of a (perhaps

tacit) contract that is made between moral agents. According to this theory, you do something wrong only because you break a tacit agreement that you have made. Now applying this idea to the problem of the efficacy of ordinances, we might claim that participating in an ordinance is like signing on the dotted line of a contract. By doing this, one puts oneself under obligations that might not exist otherwise. This makes the act of participating in an ordinance a morally significant event. This is what makes an ordinance efficacious. And clearly this gives us a response to the Significance Problem, since it entails that ordinances are morally significant.

One problem with the Contract Theory of ordinance is the *Problem of Different Signatures*. It is not clear why only baptism can count as a signing of the contract. Indeed, can't I just say "I hereby commit myself to do all the same things that people being baptized commit themselves to do" and thereby be included in precisely the same contract as those who are baptized? To put it another way, it is not clear that the Social Contract Theory responds to the Conventional Problem.

A second problem with the Contract Theory is that it is based on a very problematic moral theory: Social Contract Theory. Surely moral obligation does not come from tacit contracts. Indeed, we can easily formulate contracts that are unjust. Those involved in organized crime do this.

The main response to the Problem of Different Signatures is that baptism is the only signature that matters because God will only accept this signature. A contract is only good if it is recognized. So, only baptism can count as the right kind of signature. However, this response doesn't work because it doesn't answer the question at hand. Why should God only recognize one kind of signature? What is so special about this signature? The Contract Theory does not tell us why God should only accept a certain kind of signature.

The problem that we are encountering here is that we can seemingly explain why an ordinance is a morally significant event, but we cannot explain why it can be conventional and also necessary. Or, on the other hand, we can explain why it is necessary at the cost of explaining why it is morally significant. Perhaps baptism is necessary if God mandates that baptism is the only acceptable signature. But then if God will only allow baptism as a signature, then why is this the case? Without a substantive answer, this claim seems arbitrary, and flies in the face of the Significance Problem.

THE MAGIC THEORY

The main claim of the *Magic Theory* of the efficacy of ordinances is that an ordinance is an event that, like an incantation, causes something supernatural to happen. In particular, the idea is that baptism brings about a supernatural change in the moral nature of the person baptized.

Surely this theory, if true, would explain why ordinances are efficacious. The question is whether or not it would explain why they are necessary.

But before we go on to discuss whether or not the Magic Theory explains the necessity and efficacy of ordinances, we need to discuss what is meant by “supernatural” in this context. Indeed, by ‘supernatural’ I do not mean what is usually meant. A supernatural event is not one that transcends natural law. Instead, it is merely an event that transcends our understanding of natural law. So, in this view supernatural events are really perfectly natural. The point is that the Magic Theory asserts that baptism affects the natural world directly and thereby attains its effectiveness. This is different than the Psychological Theory that asserts that the effectiveness of ordinances comes via our mental attitudes or the Contract Theory that asserts that the effectiveness of ordinances comes via an increase in moral obligations. As far as I understand it, this characterization fits well with what is often called “The Magic World View” since the latter involves the belief that the world can be directly affected by ritualized actions.

We need to be more specific about how—according to the Magic Theory—there is a real physical change in the person undergoing/performing an ordinance. Of course, the mechanism of change could be a variety of different kinds of things. But I am going to tell one story that is based in Mormon folk theology and so may be familiar to some readers. This story presupposes that some kind of animism is true, i.e., all things are, in some robust sense, alive. So, for example, according to Orson Pratt, everything is composed of “uncuttable” atoms, and each one of these has a degree of “intelligence” or consciousness.¹ Now, if all things are alive, then perhaps it could be the case that we could communicate with things such as rocks, trees, etc. What would be the language of communication? Clearly, the idea of the Magic Theory is that the language of communication is ordinances. So, when we get baptized, it is like saying “I am sorry for what I have done and I am turning over a new leaf.” This is communicated to the intelligences of the world around and within us.

The next assumption that we need is that when we sin we cause a physical/spiritual² change in ourselves that makes us unworthy. The idea that there is such a change is not implausible in Mormon theology since we claim that all spirit is matter and sin affects us spiritually. It follows that sin must affect us spiritually. This material change needs to be “undone.” The material stuff—let’s call this stuff *elements*—that composes us sees baptism as the call to undo the negative physical effects of

1. The Absurdities of Immaterialism,” *The Essential Orson Pratt* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1991), 61-108.

2. Of course, the physical and the spiritual are inseparable in Mormon theology.

sin. And without undoing these effects, we are unworthy and physically incapable of being saved. There are many ways that this could be the case. For example, it could be that by sinning, our brains change in such a way that makes it very much more difficult or even impossible to do what is right. Someone or something needs to change our brains back to the way they were.

This sounds like so much science fiction. And yet it is not totally unfamiliar to a Mormon audience. One even gets the sense that when Orson Scott Card includes this sort of metaphysics in his novels, he takes it more seriously than just a background for an interesting story. And he certainly has a basis in the work of people like Orson Pratt for such a view.

Notice that the Magic Theory would explain the efficacy, necessity, and moral significance of ordinances. Ordinances work because they change our very physical nature and, thus, change our abilities to do right or wrong. They are necessary because our ability to do right or wrong must change in order for us to become like God. They are morally significant because our ability to do right or wrong is morally significant.

One objection to the Magic Theory is that it is no better than the Contract Theory. Indeed, as we pointed out above, the Contract Theorist could argue that the reason that ordinances are necessary is that God will accept baptism alone as an expression of repentance. The problem with this is that it does not explain why God should only accept baptism. But then why should things be any different for the Magic Theory? Indeed, why should the elements accept only baptism as a sign of repentance?

The response to this objection is that the elements are stupid and God is not. The elements only know one language. They do not recognize any other way of expressing repentance. In the case of the Contract Theory, we can accuse God of being morally arbitrary. But we cannot accuse the elements of the same thing because they just don't understand enough.

Another objection to the Magic Theory is that even within the church the ordinances have changed. Indeed, we are all familiar with the change of the temple ceremony. But if this is the case, then how can we be sure that the elements can really understand what is being said?

A possible response to this objection is that the changes to the ordinances have been cosmetic and do not change the ordinance in any fundamental way. This implies that the ordinances are incredibly ancient and perhaps even eternal. It seems strange to say that we did not invent these ordinances.

Of course, the main objection to the Magic Theory is just that it is incredibly implausible. The world just does not behave this way. We can't tell the elements what to do and have them listen to us. Instead, they are merely mechanistic "obeyers" of natural laws. The elements are not alive and do not carry any degree of intelligence. This may make good science fiction, but it does not make rational religion.

In response to this objection, I should make two points. First, any serious religion that is not just some version of secular humanism in religious clothing makes substantive claims that we have no reason to believe on scientific grounds. Christianity claims that Jesus resurrected and that Mary got pregnant without having sex. Moreover, it claims that we will resurrect and continue to live after this life. How is this any more outlandish than a story in which the elements make decisions and respond to communication?

Second, nothing in science rules out the kind of story that we have told about ordinances. In fact, some seem to think that quantum mechanics tells us that there is intelligence at the very foundation of physical reality. If the Magic Theory is irrational, it is not because it contradicts science but only because it goes beyond it. And if that is the case, then all of religion is irrational, and we should just abandon it completely.

A final objection focuses on the fact that Mormons believe in vicarious ordinances. How does the Magic Theory fit with vicarious ordinances? It seems that the answer is "not very well." Indeed, vicarious ordinances do not involve the physical participation of the person for whom the ordinance is being performed. But doesn't the Magic Theory require physical participation in the ordinance? If so, then the magic theory requires, at least, that the person for whom the vicarious baptism is being performed must be present at this event. Perhaps, if the elements are so dumb that they cannot distinguish between the proxy and the person for whom she proxies, then vicarious baptism requires possession. Here Mormonism sounds less like an Orson Scott Card novel and more like the Exorcist. But is this a reason to reject it?

CONCLUSION

Initially, the Magic Theory appears to be the least plausible view of the efficacy of ordinances. We think that people who believe such things are superstitious, uneducated, and unsophisticated. But perhaps these people are really recognizing the presupposed conditions of the necessity of ordinances. The Psychological Theory and the Contract Theory are much more plausible. They don't involve any mechanisms that a well-educated, scientifically minded, person wouldn't accept. They don't require much in the way of faith. But they fail to explain why ordinances are necessary. Instead, they seem to imply that ordinances are optional. In the end, Mormon theology requires more. It requires a robust theory that may offend a secular world-view. It requires seeing the world as a magical, fantastic place. But this shouldn't be too surprising. After all, a religion that does not require us to believe anything substantive that extends beyond what a minimalist scientism would allow is surely not worth the effort.

Last Supper

By Stephen Carter

"Have you heard the really bad news?" my editor, Doc, asked almost off handedly as he wound the film in his camera.

Then came that pause.

"Wayne and Elaine Fairbanks were killed in a head-on collision last night," he said, as if he were telling me who'd won a local football game

Their pictures in the newspaper the next day were cut from overexposed family photographs, Wayne's bald and round head with a benign smile as long as a jack-o-lantern's, Elaine's small red lips outlining short teeth, eyes asquint over her cupie doll grin.

Doc used to sit at the next computer over from Wayne; they worked together every day, comparing notes and puns and putting out a newspaper.

"He came in to see us just a few days ago," Doc continued as he kneeled to take a picture of a little boy wandering under the boughs of a huge blue spruce. The Christmas lights strung on the tree made the scene cheerful. The cold had not come in yet to make the lights seem warm.

"Give me a hand up?" Doc asked me.

"It was an 18 year old boy, probably had been drinking, and in a brand new truck. They were on their way home from Arizona with their two teenage boys. He swerved into their lane, and they were killed instantly."

We're reporters. We munch on details like jellybeans. But we leave them out this time. We look at each other. Christmas lights reflect off Doc's glasses. The next day I hear him on the telephone with the Paige, Arizona police department trying to get an unhelpful dispatcher to give him some information.

"The Fairbanks fatalities," he has to say a number of times.

I remember a picture we took a few months before. All the newsroom employees were at the Golden Corral where we always have lunch to commemorate someone moving on to another (and usually better paying) job. We all stood in the shrubs next to the sidewalk trying to squeeze inside the camera viewfinder. We smiled, having everything humans could want: hair, fat, bad photography, a group to smile with.

"Give me a little while to react to this," I said to Doc.

One of Wayne's sons is on a mission for his church, as I once was. He left for two years—hugging his family as he got on the plane to Chicago to preach about eternal life—and wrote letters to them. Perhaps one is still on its way through the mail system. I picture him stretched out like a puppet now. The strings, once only miles long, have snapped; they wave in the wind.

I know this feeling. A year into my mission, my grandmother contracted a disease that hardened her lungs. She fell into bathtubs; she had to sit or lie down all the time. Then one night my mission president called me.

"Your grandmother has died," he said in his least business-like voice.

That pause.

"You going to be ok?"

"That's what the gospel is all about, sir," I said.

The string snapped. Outside, the hard snow was frozen to the ground; the streets were black and slick with ice reflecting the yellow glow of the streetlamps.

Wayne's other children are married, grown up, have children themselves.

Wayne and Elaine have left a centuries-old station wagon, a house with bread and milk still in the fridge, credit card offers in the mailbox, and maybe no will.

Besides that, there's the quadruple funeral. Four caskets. Are there group rates in that business?

The family has to ship the bodies, or perhaps *remains* is a better term in this case, back home to prepare and put a name on them. Ironically the bodies are shipped up the same road they were traveling when they were so abruptly wrapped and packaged—as if they'd driven suddenly into a dark cardboard box.

Bodies, lying under the weight that breathing had once buoyed, remind the living of what pure flesh is. Let the blood pool on the lee side of the body, let the mouth stick open like a train whistle, let the eyelids refuse to close, let the feet be numb.

My grandfather was found dead on the bathroom floor. It's the family legend that he was about to take a shower, felt a little sick and lay down. A few hours later my mother wondered who had left the water running, opened the door and walked three feet from his purpled face to turn the tap off before she stumbled into the bedroom to tell my dad.

"At least it happened fast," said Doc as we walked, "at least there weren't jaws of life tearing the top off the car and screaming."

The air in grandpa's room was still.

I helped carry his body into his bedroom at 2 a.m. My father had covered him with a large towel.

"You can get a towel under him and drag him if he's too heavy," said the hospice nurse, almost as old as grandpa himself. But we carried him. His back had been pressed to the bathroom tile and had taken on its coolness. I took the coward's end, the feet and legs; and Phil, my uncle by marriage, took the top. Enduring the face.

But what can be touched and handled for the last time on bodies that were killed instantly? Bent and mixed with slabs of metal, pierced and lacerated along with the naugahide, flung and compressed around the other soft bodies. Stopped. The paramedics had to take apart an ugly puzzle in which each move involved tearing, slow fluids, unnatural weights and finally white, reddening sheets.

We found a way to clothe grandpa, like dressing a sleeping child. Hefting his arms, rolling his head forward, lifting his torso up. This body is shaped like mine, but it does not move. Bodies, my mind keeps insisting, move. Bodies move.

We sat by grandpa's bedside. I read the last few pages of a book he had been reading that day—out loud, just in case he was wondering how it ended—my own spontaneous version of the *Book of the Dead*, guiding him to the lotus flower. From time to time I look up past his cold, white feet, into the blackness of the nostrils and mouth.

What happens, when only parts of it are shaped like you, when the rest is twisted, severed, broken? What happens when what gave you life, what taught you to repair a bicycle, what you debated with at the dinner table, weighs 200 pounds? There are no beds in Wayne and Elaine's case. There are bags. Closed caskets.

We often say, as we look upon the corpse of someone we have known, "That's just not him." We say something has fled and left us a dry husk. But now we know better, because all we have of Wayne, Elaine, and their two boys are memories that are far too close, the kind that trick you into accidentally making a telephone call, your stomach suddenly clenching as the phone rings and rings.

The "emptied" body is the touchstone for those who are still breathing. It's a mirror. Our eyes need a rest—to lie on the corpse and rest with it, to test each detail. Our own bodies, flensed, need to sit close by, solitary. The hand needs to rest near the casket wood. The young need to heft the weight of the body and carry it away. The dense wooden door has been closed. But we must at least be able to press our face to it and listen.

Wedding Vows

Anne Elizabeth Berbert

My fears awakened
when I touched you, sacrificial,
kneeling at the altar
extending your hands,
beckoning to be destroyed
ceremoniously.

*Can I offer up
what I love most?*

I now listen to your bedside prayer
offering no gold,
just bread and water.
You hold me,
your breath shuffling my hair,
moistening my earlobe.

*If I give you to God,
will He give you back?*

Behind my ribs
resides the map
to my commitment—
the arteries and veins
that enmesh my heart,
run down my pallid arm
past my knuckles
beneath the stone
on my ring finger.

Your life for mine.
I give you my hand,
run it across your chest,
scratching with the diamond,
praying not to draw
blood.

Song of Shiblón

Nathan F. Christensen

I AM TWENTY-ONE YEARS OLD.

I lie in the golden light of a Korean September afternoon. I have curled myself up on the musty, avocado-skinned sofa that occupies a large corner of the living room. A small living room in a small apartment, which occupies the floor above a cosmetics store that seems to sell only furniture.

We made our pilgrimage to the post office first thing in the morning and returned proudly—two American missionaries bearing letters from home through the shop-lined streets. Up the stairs behind the cosmetics store, I leave my shoes just inside the door, slumping onto the sofa with a lunch of chocolate Digestive cookies. I have moved very little since then. Laundry can wait. The rest of the week I will spend in walking and working and worrying, but today I can spend in comfort. My companion is asleep, and I am alone with my thoughts. Monday is a missionary's day of rest.

Shifting to my side, I fish for the mail from a pile of flotsam that has accumulated in the dust on the vinyl floor beside me. A letter from home is a token of love. I have grown to understand this well enough that actually reading the letter has become secondary in importance. I look at the envelope with the red and blue striped border, the airmail stamp printed with a whitewashed front porch and an American flag: so foreign.

Beneath my letter from "The Christensens" (i.e., my mother) and a letter for another missionary, which I have picked up by mistake, I find a letter from the mission president. Previously employed as an expert in time management, President Hong has a policy of responding to each letter we send him, which means one letter each week to each of approximately one hundred and seventy-five missionaries. (Note to self: try writing a letter to your grandparents this afternoon.)

The effort to decide between reading a letter and going back to sleep is too great, and I tear into my letter from the president in order to preempt further thought.

Dear Elder Christensen,

Thank you for your letter dated August 20. I am pleased to see that you have been working hard there in Yosu. I was, however, surprised and disappointed by the feelings of discouragement and depression that you expressed in your letter. Pray for comfort and continue your efforts. I know that your dedication will pay off.

I stretch out on my stomach, propping the ancient, slobber-stained pillow under my chest. I'm puzzled. Discouragement? Depression? Of course these are feelings that I've had often enough while on my mission, but I don't remember writing to the president about them. Not recently.

I look out through the screen at the red neon cross mounted above the Presbyterian Church across the street. Willing myself to stand up, I slide the window closed with a rumble, turning the screw that serves as a latch. I shuffle across the floor to the bedroom where my companion is still sleeping and lie down on the lumpy futon in preparation for my weekly (weakly) attempt at letter writing. But my mind is still working over the letter from President Hong.

My usual "I'm-working-hard" letters to the president rarely merit any reply beyond the requisite, "Keep up the good work." I recall writing only one letter in August to which I was hoping to receive a reply:

Dear President Hong,

I have a scriptural question for you. In the parable of the talents, the talent is taken away from the lazy servant and given to the servant with ten talents. My question is why wasn't it given to the servant with only four?

He didn't answer my question. I didn't mean to sound discouraged or depressed. I just want to know why things are the way they are.

I am twelve years old. The late afternoon gathers in tints of yellow and orange, and I know it's time that I start making my way back. I close my book, carefully pressing a Kleenex between the pages to save my place, and look out over the reservoir.

The water is beautiful—diamond-studded corduroy waves. I wish I could stretch out and glide away on its surface. Instead, I turn back to the footpath that leads to the dust-choked road that winds back to the campground.

The temperature is comfortable, a remarkable achievement for an Oklahoma afternoon. I walk slowly through the crowds of nameless trees. In the fall, the leaves will turn brown to match the road. I prefer it this way, with the thick summer foliage that gives this corner of the state its "Green Country" nickname.

In the distance, I begin to hear them: kids, other boys, playing football or soccer, or something. I pause, take a deep breath, and continue on past the weathered rappelling tower, the top of which I plan never to see, past the cement slab where pancakes and sausage will be cooked in the morning. I close my eyes, tasting tomorrow's maple-soaked breakfast; I open them again upon tripping over a tree stump. Ahead of me opens a weedy, treeless field, rimmed with station wagons and elaborate tent contraptions.

Dad and I arrived last, following our yearly tradition of getting lost, and we have been relegated once more to the rock-infested spot farthest from the pancake slab. I wander over and lean my head against our Volkswagon van. Dad is attempting to assemble our tent—a large, terracotta ordeal supported by metal pipes designed to separate repeatedly during the assembly process. I don't have the heart to tell him I'd rather sleep in the van.

We cook dinner on last year's fire pit. The sun has set long before it's finished cooking, and we use plastic forks in the fading light of an electric lamp to fish around our crumpled squares of tinfoil for bits of oily meat and crunchy potato. Afterward we discover we've forgotten the marshmallows, so we make our way to a neighboring fire to beg for s'mores.

Late in the darkness, I wander away and pass unnoticed through a gaggle of boys playing capture the flag. I move downhill in the darkness, past the old amphitheater with seats made from native sandstone. I push through the tangled underbrush, a hand extended to ward off the tingle of spider web strands and then make my way down to the shoreline, careful not to look out at the water just yet.

In the moonlight I find a large rock right along the water's edge. I sit Indian-style, pelvic bones sharp against the rock and legs rubbing against its sandpaper surface. My ears tingle, and finally I look out over the lake, filling my lungs with air. This is my time, each moment rolling towards me like silver on the water. Just me. The stillness around me is like a warm hand on my shoulder. I sit here for over an hour.

Later, I lie on my back in the van. Two sections of pipe from the tent have been left home with the marshmallows. It's an answer to prayer. It's also past eleven o'clock, and I can see stars through the dusty windows. In the distance I hear other fathers talking and their sons performing some tribal ritual that involves running and screaming.

I turn to look at my dad, cramped into the space beside me, and feel sorry for him. He could never say it, but I'm sure he had higher expectations than this for the weekend. I want to tell him thank you. Thank you for bringing me. Thank you for being who he is and for letting me be who I am. I want to tell him, but I don't. He is, after all, my dad. I turn my head again and examine the torn cloth ceiling of the van until I drift into sleep.

I am fourteen years old. It is late in the day and as usual I'm feeling stuck in the bellybutton of time. My tailbone is beginning to ache against the hard blue plastic seat, making it impossible to sit still, and Mr. Benne's lecture is even less interesting than "Earth Science" would suggest. I remember a *Reader's Digest* article about a man who tried to slow down time by doing things that he hated—it works. Even the hourly rush through claustrophobic hallways would be a relief. My only alternative to coma is the lecture, so I lift my head from the desk and try to massage away the red mark certain to be on my forehead.

Mr. Benne asks a question. "Does anyone know the answer?"

I think I do, so I raise my hand.

"Does anyone know the answer? Anyone? Listen, folks. You need to start doing the reading."

I bring my hand back down. A girl named Brenna sits next to me: not the chunky Brenna with sandy hair who plays in the band, but the skinny one with short dark hair and glasses. She turns to look at me, eyebrows raised. We've had this discussion before.

"You do see me sitting here, right?" I whisper.

"That is just weird," she says. She's kind of a cute girl, not least of all because she can see me.

Knowing that I'm otherwise invisible again today, I reach into my backpack and pull out a surprise I had planned to save for after class: a blue, paperback *Book of Mormon*, looking considerably more haggard than when I last saw it this morning. I lay the book on the grimy surface of the table we share and throw Brenna a significant look, which she fails to catch.

I rip a sheet of lined paper from my binder and quickly write: *This is that book I told you about.* I tap the paper against her elbow. She takes it from me and holds it under the table as she reads. Her response comes in blue ink: *Oh.*

I write again: *It's a really good book. You should read it.* I slide the book over to her. *I know the pictures are a bit condescending, but it's really good anyway.*

She responds: *What does "condescending" mean?*

As Mr. Benne explains the formation of seastacks, Brenna and I slide the paper back and forth beneath the sputtering fluorescent lights. I feel a thrill. I'm connecting with someone. I'm sharing something important.

I gave Brenna the *Book of Mormon* on Tuesday. Today is Thursday, and she gives it back to me as we are herded into the classroom. She says that she doesn't know when she will have the chance to read it, and she knew that I would want to have it back. The bell rings, and I don't have the courage to tell her that I had intended that she keep it. She never mentions it again.

I am nineteen years old. Today is my turn to be interviewed. Brother

Weeks is my favorite of our three teachers, and I silently follow his immaculate white shirt down the hall. We step through the glass doors, and the world outside is beautiful—something easy to forget within the institutional confines of the Missionary Training Center. The February air is sharp and clean: refreshing after the flatulent atmosphere of the dormitories. The shrubs are still struggling with their first attempt at green, but the grass is a painstakingly trimmed model of the rewards of perseverance.

We choose a bench along the shade of a covered walkway, and the bite of the cold cement seat removes any lingering trace of drowsiness. Brother Weeks starts the interview with the usual questions.

"How are things going for you?"

"Fine."

"You seem to be doing pretty well with the language."

"Thanks."

"Are there any questions or problems that you're having?"

"No."

"Anything I can help you with?"

"Not really, no."

The interview falls into a lull.

"You seem like someone who has Short Interview Syndrome."

He has caught me completely off guard.

"What?"

"You just seem like the kind of guy who gets glossed over because he's doing pretty well on his own."

I smile. I've never heard it put into words like that. It's nice to know someone understands, that maybe someone else has been invisible, too. The two of us just talk. We talk about school and the future. I want to write plays, and he likes to write music. We both have sisters. Um. . .the conversation falls into a lull again, and we return to the classroom.

Lying on my futon, I write my letters with only one eye open. The other seems to have fallen asleep already. I have succeeded in crafting another letter to my family about the joys and challenges of missionary work. I'll write to my grandparents next week.

I tell myself that, if this is September, then my release in February is only four months away. I wonder what missionary stories I will tell when I get home. I haven't seen any "golden conversions." I haven't even been a zone leader or a trainer. I get rejected a lot, but that's not what people want to hear. I do work hard, though. I guess I should take comfort in that. But there are times when I feel envy for elders who lack focus and can't resist goofing off.

I took the precaution of setting my alarm, and now it jars me back to consciousness: it's five o'clock in the afternoon. I roll off of my pillow

and thump my companion with it. We have an hour to shower, get dressed, eat dinner and get out of the house.

My companion goes back to sleep as I pull out my blue leather scriptures. On a regular day I read them in the morning, English and Korean for a half-hour each. On days like today, I only read them in English for about fifteen minutes, praying silently that the Second Coming will not catch me in the midst of my sloth. Today's chapter is Alma's advice to his son, Shiblon. I'm glad it's a short one, because I have things to do.

Eventually I close my scriptures and slide my letter from President Hong beneath my futon with the ants and paper clips.

I try to remember the chapter I've just read. Shiblon always seems to blend into the background between his brothers: Helaman, the perfect one, and Corianton, the bad boy. Just the way things are, I guess. But I make a note to read the chapter again before bed tonight. Short interview elders should stick together.

I go to the shoe pit and shine my shoes with a brown color that I had originally translated as "night," but which turned out to be "chestnut." I chop up some potatoes and carrots to fry with the rice for dinner. My companion won't thank me, but it needs to be done.

From the aluminum wardrobe I pick out my suit—the navy today, I think—a red and black checked tie, and a white shirt that has gradually become a shade of gray. More character that way, I think.

It's time to start another week.

Blood Sports

Garth N. Jones

THIS IS HOW I SEE IT. I find it to be a dark side of Mormonism, pervasive and insidious in character. Young men, in some cases young women, are socialized into blood sports. Youth in my ward are yearly given firearm's instruction—with parental approval and endorsement. There are visits to National Guard armories. I have overheard young boys enthusiastically exclaim: "What fire power! Those are some guns!"

I rarely speak out since what I say has no consequence except in my immediate family, but I am a cold war veteran who cannot easily bury my experience. I watched that intense era rupture into senseless killing fields—Indochina, Indonesia, Afghanistan. When I read Douglas Thayer's, "Sparrow Hunter,"¹ I found it difficult to contain my emotions. He captured a distressing feature in the Mormon cultural region—from Canada to Mexico, Colorado to California.

In my youth I witnessed armed invasions of young and old men from the settlements (a local expression) to my Cedar Valley home in Utah where the hunters indiscriminately slew wild creatures. At times their madness included our livestock—cattle, sheep, and horses grazing on the valley floors, bench lands, and high mountain slopes. During pheasant season I was kept from school riding our fence lines to keep hunters off our fields. Frustrated hunters shot at farm gates, wagons, equipment, and water troughs. Highway signs were preferred targets. I detested those vandals. On a farm road I was driving our family's 1936 Chevrolet pick-up truck loaded with scavenged firewood and sagebrush when I accidentally hit a hunter's dog. The truck had virtually no brakes, but I managed to stop. The hunter pointed his shotgun at my head and threatened me. Fortunately the dog was not hurt. I told him to get off our land. He laughed. In that fall of 1940, I was fifteen years old and small for my age.

I have spent a lot of time around committed hunters, and I have

1. *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 32, no. 1 (Spring 1999): 145-60

never heard one of them express any remorse about the pain and death they inflict. One hunter had the audacity to comment that he cried each time he killed a bear, but a hunt was still a hunt. He went on to say that it was natural for men to kill animals. Furthermore, it made him more aware of his own mortality, but he was silent on the mortality of bears. He was a professed Christian of Protestant persuasion. "Animals have no souls. Why worry?" he said.

Hunters may give lip service to safety, but are unaware of and possibly unwilling to accept hunting's high human cost. For both my and my wife's families there was no relative killed or wounded in World War II. The same may be written for war veterans of my Cedar Valley home. Hunting was another matter. Just before and after World War II, I lost one uncle and my wife lost one cousin to the "sport." In Cedar Valley two young men died in hunting accidents. I miraculously escaped the same fate. In September 1937 during the excitement of an illegal pheasant hunt, an older teenage cousin driving his parent's Model-A Ford sedan stomped on the brakes, jumped out, opened the right rear door, and grabbed his loaded shotgun resting on the edge of the rear seat where I was sitting. The shotgun discharged six inches from the inside of my left leg, blasting away from the calf a chunk of young flesh the size of a small soup bowl. With violent force the load of shot passed on through the automobile's seat, striking my right buttock and destroying flesh in a deep wound twelve inches in length. The discharge narrowly missed my crotch. The femoral artery in my buttock was laid bare as if a skillful surgeon had sliced open the protective flesh.

On that mid-September day in 1937, at the age of twelve years, I was programmed for death. The ghastly right side wound was impacted with filthy cloth and cotton batting and lead shot. The only treatment was weak antiseptics, mainly iodine and carbolic solutions. A local belief was that the best course was to let wounds alone for a day or so in order for the body's natural immunity to initiate healing. One Cedar Valley youth, a McKenny boy, painfully died from widespread infection caused by a gunshot wound.

Fortunately for me another medical approach was forthcoming. Three frightened teenagers, fifteen to seventeen years of age, rushed me to the only doctor in Santaquin. He made a superficial examination, only discovering the wound in my left calf, and said he could do nothing. My panic-driven friends, at record Model-A Ford speed, transported me to the Payson hospital, a distance of some five miles. A veteran of World War I trenches, Dr. Stewart was waiting for me along with his nurse; and under that nurse's soothing words, my excruciating pain dissolved into anesthetized sleep.

Three weeks later my poverty-stricken parents placed me on an army cot loaded on the small bed of our 1930 Model-A Ford pick-up

truck. Our trip from Santaquin required travel over forty miles of gravel and dirt roads, passing through the town of Goshen and climbing over the low Chimney Rock pass located in southeast Cedar Valley. During the trip I became terribly ill. I was covered with fine dust and gasping for air. With great difficulty Dad released pressure on the throttle with the engine misfiring and the truck barely moving. The engine overheated, causing us grave concern. We were more than twenty miles from home, confined to a deeply rutted sheep wagon road. Fairfield's high ocean willow trees stood out as beacons on the valley floor. We were so close but so far away. We finally reached a graveled road where fresh air revived me, as I restlessly lay in my vomit, urine, and excreta. A great deal of my humanness vanished on that October afternoon.

On that same cot I was placed near the kitchen stove, the warmest place in the run-down adobe farmhouse. The twelve-inch wound festered and blood oozed in and out of the bandage. My mother and the local midwife, Anna Carson, became concerned. Each time they dressed the wound, more and more yellow matter burst forth. A foul odor was emitted, much like that of rotten flesh.

Again I was loaded onto the bed of the pick-up truck and transported over twenty-five miles, of which twenty miles were dirt and gravel road, to the American Fork hospital. Gangrene had set-in. Without any anesthesia, Dr. Richards cut away the spreading necrosis and found buried deep in the wound a large wad of cotton, which had restricted blood flow and acted as a breeding place for germs. The wound was laid open and cleaned out and soaked with carbolic solution. I liked that approach since the application of iodine to the raw wound was painful. The nurse would place a rubber roll in my mouth and hold my hands. I never cried out or screamed. A ranch boy must show toughness.

Dr. Richards' doctoring worked. I started to heal and mend. My neighbor Ernest Carson made me crutches out of two broken pitchfork handles. On a late Halloween day, I managed to walk with my primitive crutches to the corral, barn, and pens to visit my animal friends. The barnyard smells renewed my joy in life. I spent a long time with my mustang pony, nuzzling her head and weeping. I was alive.

I looked up at hay stacker cable stretching some thirty feet in length on which was resting a flock of small birds, mostly sparrows. I recalled the past summer hours when I had fired numerous stones at that resting place with my crude flipper, trying to bring down a small bird. When finally I'd succeeded, I experienced no joy. I wanted the fallen bird to return to life. It did not respond to my beseeching. I buried it with a prayer of apology beside a beautiful ocean willow tree.

I remembered family discussions of the past summer months around the kitchen table where Dad had extolled the virtues of the great missionary to Africa, Dr. Albert Schweitzer, who praised and sought protec-

tion of all living creatures. In his school-way wisdom, Dad explained that all God's creatures have a purpose, but at times our survival required their judicious killing.

After my terrible experience there was no question that animals experienced pain. If one must kill, then it should be done quickly and with compassion. Our old sheep dogs, the best kind of friends, were put away with dispatch and the shedding of tears.

In our subsistence lifestyle, we killed nearly every day—chickens, ducks, turkeys, rabbits, ewes, lambs, hogs, and steers. We hunted pheasants year-round. Venison was seldom secured during the hunting season. We rationalized that the deer grazed on our lands and, hence, they were ours to use. From Dad's wisdom we learned that some predators became wanton killers. Dogs can quickly change their character. They kill sheep for the sheer joy of killing. The same characteristic may be found in birds of prey. Chicken hawks sometimes kill for killing's sake. The same streak of viciousness may be found in human beings. The only course of action was to seek out these killers and exterminate them.

Then there were vermin. In our town there existed no rats but other sorts of rodents threatened and at times devastated our crops and harvests. Mass killings were the only solution—use of poisons, traps, and predators. Barn cats were valuable since they fed on destructive rodents. Rabbits strangely multiplied in waves. Widespread disease regulated their populations. Some diseases made for terrible festering sores. The coyotes seemed to relish these diseased rabbits and suffer no harm in consuming them. Casual, violent death was all around me, everywhere, and my own near death made my feelings for the preciousness of life intense.

Two decades, an education, and a long career path later these same feelings came back into sharp focus through encounters with the Islamic faithful. In a rundown, dirty Dutch colonial hotel in Surabaya, Eastern Java, Indonesia, with 1958 political insecurity everywhere, I accidentally met in the lobby a Singaporean of Arabic descent. He was a representative of a large British tourist agency investigating possibilities of travel business in Indonesia. He was a lost and frightened person. I shared with him my "smarts" which extended across the island of Java. The Arab was hungry. He could not find a restaurant that served, in effect, kosher food. He finally resolved his problem by traveling to a village where he purchased a small goat, said his appropriate Islamic prayers, and cut the jugular. Two weeks later he appeared at my home in Jogjakarta, Central Java. At the large Jogjakarta market, he had secured some "kosher" goat meat. My cook cut it into small pieces and prepared for him a delicious rice dish.

Since then I've moved to Alaska and learned that Alaskan Eskimos and other American natives pronounce prayers of thanksgiving for the

creatures slain for their use. I find this a commendable spiritual activity. All life is precious though I do wonder about Alaskan mosquitoes! They are vicious bugs.

Living in Pakistan (1964-69) I encountered firsthand the British love of blood sports. Big game hunting constituted the best form of manly sports. Major Jim Corbett of Kaladhungi, Captain Smith and Major Tucker of the Garhwal Rifles at Lansdown were the great sportsmen of India and Africa. They preferred to stalk and shoot their prey on foot. Any other hunting approach was considered unmanly and a form of murder.²

In early spring and fall, the Anchorage airport is full of Jim Corbett types, attired in their fancy camouflage hunting clothes and lugging large rifle cases. Their dream is to bring down a large Brown (grizzly) bear. I take every opportunity to irritate them, especially those individuals from Texas. "I am on the side of the bears," I say. I delight in telling them that yearly four or more hunters are mauled or killed. Those individuals who survive a bear mauling are invariably scarred in hideous fashion. Halloween is the best season for them since they will be in appearance frightening and hence in demand.

Nothing so distresses me as when visitors to a private lodge to which I belong seek to kill bears feasting in the lodge's garbage pit. I see no sport in shooting from a high platform placed between two Birch trees a curious bear seeking an easy meal. I admit that I fear bears. Of recent years I carry my 12-gauge shotgun loaded with slugs when I venture outside of the protection of the lodge. Brown bears are powerful critters and don't fear humans. Over the last twenty-five years I've become "riverside smart" and learned to avoid bears—especially sows with cubs. My hunting of bears is confined to the pointing of my camera. I will yield a fishing hole to a bear's desire. After all, I am invading the bear's territory.

I am disturbed by how shallowly and selectively the Word of Wisdom is taken.³ Drinking tea, in spite of its proven health qualities, is a grave sin, keeping one from passing through the sacred doors of the temple. In contrast, the unrestrained killing of birds and animals is not a barrier. Yet the mandate of the Word of Wisdom is clear and straightforward: "Yea, flesh also of beasts and of the fowls of the air, I the Lord, have ordained for the use of man with thanksgiving. Nevertheless they

2. See Jim Corbett's three books, *Jungle Lore* (London: Oxford University Press, 1953); *Man Against Man Eaters* (London: Oxford University Press, 1954); and *The Temple Tiger and More Man-Eaters of Kumaon* (London: Oxford University Press, 1955).

3. See "My 'Word of Wisdom Blues,'" *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 30, no. 2 (Summer 1997): 49-64.

are to be used sparingly and it is pleasing unto me that they should be used, only in times of winter, or of cold, or famine" (D&C 89: 12 and 13). Killing may be justified and sanctioned by those in authority, but such acts should occur only after *careful* prayer. One's soul can easily become defiled and lost. I cringe when at funerals I hear persons of church authority relate: "I've lost my hunting partner." In several instances they have sorrowfully said: "Each morning and evening we prayed together and asked for a successful hunt."

I am sympathetic to a memoir written by a well-known Indian Muslim Shikar (professional hunter) and retired Deputy Conservator of Forest under the British-Indian Raj, the late H. Hakim-Uddin. For thirty-seven years Hakim was a civil servant clothed with the power of rulership. He was blessed with a happy marriage, five sons and three daughters. His loving and kind wife managed family life in careful ways. She was, however, opposed to his "shootings" whereas he was "very fond of shooting."⁴

Hakim emphasizes that: "[He] was never a reckless destroyer of wild game, but. . .in [his] early life. . .shot more than was needed for lavish distribution to staff, labourers and villagers. . . ."⁵ In his declining years between 1942-1951 Hakim paid a high price for his "accumulation" of sins, or so he believed. In his words:

I lost my three eldest sons at the age of 33, 45 and 48 years leaving three widows, three grandsons and 11 granddaughters, mostly to my care, followed by deaths of my eldest son-in-law leaving 8 children, then my wife in 1951, shattering my happy home as I had shattered the happy homes of many a wild animal and bird, which God Almighty has no doubt created for the genuine needs of man in many ways, but surely not for their wonton destruction for pleasure and pastime.⁶

Hakim's health finally broke, confining him to "bed, room, hospital and verandah." He brooded over his "misdeeds of cruelty to innocent wild life" and was haunted by the killings. As a devout Muslim, Hakim accepted his fate or kismet. He writes: "I deserved the punishment which God almighty has inflicted on me and sincerely beg for his pardon and mercy."⁷

Cultural historians write that we live according to the games we play. During World War I young Oxford and Cambridge university-educated officers would kick soccer balls out of the front line trenches before going over the top with whistles blowing and bagpipes screaming. War was a

4. See his *Big Game Thrills, In Northern India* (Karachi: Paramount Printers, 1961), 140-141.

5. *Ibid.*, 139.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*, 140.

football game to be played strenuously and with courage. The battlefield made for character and mental toughness. A lot of this British gallantry was the product of the upper class obsession with hunting and blood sports, which also found its way into the American ethos. Theodore Roosevelt and Ernest Hemmingway are two prime examples. Making war and shooting big game animals were pretty much the same thing.

In my boyhood days, playing war was a common activity, with an older chum leading the charge. During our fracas everyone got killed and was resurrected with a lot of arguing about who got whom. With the Great Depression weighing heavily over Cedar Valley, several of these fellows, enticed by twenty dollars a month and the opportunity to play soldier, enlisted in the Lehi National Guard Services Battery of the 222 Field Artillery. They saw action in the South Pacific—Saipan, Tinian, Leyte, Mindoro, and Okinawa. All fifty-seven Lehi men called to active duty were safely discharged in October 1945.⁸

At Bill Evans's pool hall, located on Lehi's main street, I heard remarkable accounts concerning Lehi's 224 field artillery unit. A booze-soaked companion who never got over his ordeal under fire extolled in weeping words the names of several fellows who thrived on patrols. He would pause and point his right finger, loudly saying: "Bam, bam, bam!" I could see them sneaking under the cover of Fairfield's dense, reed-like weed patches in the early fall. With a final "bam" the discharged soldier, who was never discharged in mind, recounted a "bivouacked time" in a partially cleared sugar cane field where a Japanese soldier would take potshots at unsuspecting "guys." In his garbled words: "This was a bad time. Several guys crept into the cane field and silenced that Jap."⁹

Since I was not at Leyte with Lehi's 224 field artillery unit, I cannot vouch for the veracity of the story. For over five decades I have heard it repeatedly told. However, in my wanderings in far-away places, I have met a number of gung-ho adventurers who were invariably forty year-old, potbellied men. With rare exceptions they rode motorcycles and flew planes. Their desire for women was prodigious. All these individuals that I knew were divorced. Most had fathered children. They were rascal characters who treated danger and death in a nonchalant way. One such tale I heard was told with no remorse: "The last time I saw old Jim he was scrambling up the side of a steep bank with Vietcongs in hot pursuit. He had escaped from his burning airplane. He was the only one who got out. I'll take a drink to a damn good man." The important

8. See Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Lehi: Portraits of a Utah Town* (Lehi, Utah: Lehi City Corporation, 1990), 325.

9. I do not wish to release this person's name. He died at a relatively young age of forty or so years. Booze got him, but in my assessment, he really died in that Philippine cane field.

consideration was that old Jim died well. War was a replicated childhood game. Living on the edge of fear was a thrilling addiction, with the consequence of nonsensical cruelty and waste of life.

In my early years abroad, I was oblivious to the cost and pain of socioeconomic change. I had read history, but I had not felt it. But during three intense weeks of travel in September 1969, I lost my American innocence. On 30 August my tour of duty ended. I was Chief of the Public Administration Division, U.S. Agency for International Development to Pakistan, and was granted a year's leave of absence to attend the East West Center in Hawaii. First I was to travel to Washington, D.C., for debriefing, and the Department of State arranged stopovers enroute at Dacca, Saigon, Bangkok, Kuala Lumpur, and Djakarta. At each city I had close friends, mostly Americans, but also some natives who had once been my students.

My first visit was with a Bengali friend and scholar, Kabir Chowdhury, who gave me a signed copy of his translation of Nazrul Islam's poems. Nazrul was a radical activist, a Marxist wrapped in Bengali-Islamic fervor. In his poetry Nazrul captured Bengalis' pain of oppression, which to my mind was of their own making through excessive population numbers. But in their Islamic-Hindu complex of belief, intellectual Bengalis could never accept this social explanation. Children were gifts of God. So they cried out their pain in the words of their poets but also in random fury.

Throughout my intense three-week journey, I saw a lot of random fury. One rebel would be killed and another rebel immediately took up the cause. "Rebel," one of Nazrul's poems describes the militant determination:

Only when the battlefields are cleared of jingling bloody sabers shall I,
weary of struggles, rest in quiet, I, the great rebel.¹⁰

There was a time when I bought into Nazrul Islam's revolutionary thought. Massive poverty was a crime against humanity; justice had to be pursued. Extraordinary means were sometimes required to eradicate the scourge. In my zeal for the pursuit of justice, I overlooked something more precious, the preservation of humanness. Violence generates evil where humanness is compromised, weakened, and often vanquished. In isolated instances there may be found rare persons who under oppressive circumstances represent the triumph of freedom of the mind and hence are a cause for celebration of the human spirit. However, these manifestations come at a terrible cost, much like one or two clean pebbles in a bushel of filthy gravel.¹¹

10. Kabir Chowdhury, trans. Nazrul Islam, *Select Poems* (Dacca, Bengali Academy/Burdwan House, 1963), 6.

11. An example is persecuted Indonesian writer Pramoedja Ananti Toer, a quiet

The stop in Saigon was of particular interest to me. My career plan was to transfer to Saigon after my year at the East West Center. Two closely related programs interested me and fell within my professional expertise: 1) land reform, and 2) rural pacification (establishing secure and viable local government and allied institutions such as irrigation districts).

While I was ordering lunch at a sidewalk café with an old friend and mentor who was in charge of land reform, two of his American acquaintances dropped by and joined us. One was a young Southerner, a Marine officer working with the pacification program, and the other a middle-aged Midwesterner, a retired Marine pilot flying for a CIA contract operation. Our conversation turned to the remarkable hunting possibilities in the Indochina highlands where vicious tigers and wild elephants could be found. Both men were carried away with the idea of the Great White Hunter. And the greatest hunting thrill, they agreed, was "man against man." Within the Marine tradition, they were well versed in the art of killing. They shared stories of how scouts and snipers worked closely together. Various weapons were described about which I had no understanding. The young Marine said that he preferred to hunt "gooks" alone. In vivid terms he described how he'd recently picked off a Vietcong "gook" pushing his heavily loaded bicycle over a narrow trail in a mountainous area. In his words: "It was no more than a turkey shoot. I could see through my telescopic sight the expression on the gook's face when the bullet hit his chest." Laughing in a weird way, he went on to say: "He fell to the ground and jerked around like a chicken with its head chopped off." The contract pilot then quickly picked up his beer bottle and stood: "I'll drink to you and a job well done. That was perfect killing!" Listening to these words, I became aware that Vietnam was a lost cause. We were, indeed, "Ugly Americans."¹² By these senseless killings great numbers of American lives were being corrupted in a terrible way.

Although I went on to Kuala Lumpur, Djakarta, and Hong Kong, arriving in Honolulu on schedule, I never reported to the Southeast Asian desk in Washington D.C. I just stopped my journey. Nor would I meet with any person from the Department of State or national security agencies, even when I was given instruction from Washington to do so. I was unavailable or I missed appointments. I maintained this silence for over

Marxist. See his *The Mute's Soliloquy, A Memoir*, trans. Willem Samuels (New York: Hyperion Press, 1999).

12. This was the message of the popular novel, *The Ugly American* by William J. Lederer and Eugene Burdick (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1958).

five years. I did vent frustrations and opinions to trusted academic colleagues. I expressed my concerns in scholarly journals and at professional meetings. To regain my intellectual integrity and freedom and composure, one year after my long trip home, at age forty-five, I resigned from the United States Foreign Service, walking away from a professional life that I greatly prized. The biblical mandate is straightforward: "Thou shalt not kill."

Keepsakes

Steven Cantwell

ON THE DAY OF HER FUNERAL, my mother's two sister-wives put on a dinner in her honor. Sister Karen and Sister Sharlene spent the morning before the services baking pies and fresh bread, making potato salads, and chopping vegetables while I gave Sharlene's twin girls a bath and helped Karen's boys and my brother Jason into their Sunday clothes. At least a hundred people from both the Hildale and Colorado City communities came to the house to pay their respects. I was surprised to see them chattering in the usual way, as they had so many Sundays after services, smiling at each other, relieved to be on their way home. When I walked into the room, they hovered around me talking in whispers about Mama's eternal reward and happiness in the next world, but I knew they were aching to ask me what I was going to do now that she was gone. When would I marry? Would I be Brother Joe Cardon's fifth wife? Would Brother Vaughn allow it? No one dared to ask these questions so soon. That morning when Brother Vaughn had prayed over the grave, I had closed my eyes, imagining my mother at my side with her finger over her lips, her head bowed, almost begging me to keep silence. I didn't know myself what I was holding back, but all day it had sustained me to do as she wished.

Since people couldn't talk about *my* future, they talked instead about Sister Sharlene's new twin girls and the five boys that everyone called "Karen's boys" even though one of them was my brother Jason, not one of Vaughn's sons, but my mother's son by another man. This is not what people wanted to hear. I had long ago given up trying to explain.

"You're so good with those kids, Sarah," they told me. "You and Sharlene, wrestling those kids night and day without a sour word. Never a sour word."

Sharlene was sixteen when she married Vaughn, his third wife. It was barely a year ago now and already she had the twins. We were the same age. People at church treated us like sister-wives. "Sharlene and Sarah, what sweet girls you are!" they would say. Sharlene looked worn out to me (her bloodshot eyes, the tiny beads of sweat on her upper lip. I

wondered if I looked the same. I took one of Sharlene's baby girls out to the backyard, away from everyone.

From the backyard I could see the five new grain silos at Brother Rulon's compound. His second family had moved down from Salt Lake City this summer to help build the silos and two other barn-sized buildings used to store food and supplies. Brother Rulon acted as leader of our congregation, and he never stopped preaching about preparations for the troubled times ahead, reading prophecies from the Bible about the great and dreadful day. Everyone was storing up food now more than ever. Vaughn called Brother Rulon "God's mouthpiece," but I could tell he didn't believe everything he said. The last time Brother Rulon spoke during services, he said Salt Lake City was the wickedest city on earth, saying it will be destroyed. Vaughn told me later, "Salt Lake is just another city, no worse, no better."

I didn't believe everything Brother Rulon said either. Like the story of the 2,500 people who would be lifted up into heaven from Berry Knoll, south of town, a mass ascension of the righteous. I could see Berry Knoll from here. It looked like so many other juniper-covered hills down here on the Utah-Arizona border, down here in this desert. Brother Rulon had grown old and weak. He had oxygen tubes in his nose as he spoke. People were frightened. Brother Rulon preached about more marriages. "The last days are here," he said, "And if the end is coming, it is better if people are paired off." The next month there were a dozen marriages. One of them was Sister Sharlene's little sister Anna, sixteen years old, who married Brother Joe Cardon, a man with three other wives and nine children. He was over fifty. The night I heard the news, I started to cry. I tried to get Sharlene to explain it to me. She told me I didn't understand, couldn't understand. Her face was flushed with anger as she spoke. "I can't explain it to you if you're not inside of it. You have to have a testimony of the truth. You can't understand it if you're outside," she said.

She was right. I was an outsider. I could only believe when I was singing the hymns. Then it was easy to forget myself and imagine pioneers singing as they pushed handcarts over the Oregon Trail. I loved the sound of all the people in the congregation singing around me. The words would pour over me like a blessing: *There is no end to virtue. . . There is no end to might. . . There is no end to wisdom. . . There is no end to light.* Many times we would stand together at the end of a night meeting and sing one hymn after another. The music moved through me, communicating beyond words somehow that we, the people in the room, were all one creature. There was the rest of the world out there, and we were separate from them. We were God's people.

Sharlene soon forgot about her anger, but we didn't talk again about Anna's wedding. We didn't talk about my future. We fell back into being

friends. I thought about this again now looking down at Sharlene's baby, who was so content to be in my arms. Her eyes were wide open, looking back and forth between the sky above and my face; she was smiling wide, blowing spit bubbles, moving her arms and legs all at once. Sharlene called it a baby's "all-body happiness." Sharlene was always coming up with sayings like this, sayings that condensed twenty words down to three.

I was still alone in the backyard with Sharlene's baby when Peter Romney walked up. He took off his hat. He stopped in front of me. He was scratching the back of his head and staring down at the ground, looking up at me, then back down again.

"I'm real sorry. . .," he said.

When I didn't say anything, he sat down next to me and started playing with Sharlene's baby, walking his fingers along her body up to her chin and cooing at her until she smiled. Peter was seventeen like me. He was the oldest of ten kids. He knew about babies. His arms were tan from summer work, and I liked the way his hair was bleached by the sun on top but still dark underneath. Many times at church I had caught him looking at me. There was always the same panic in his eyes before he looked away, and then he would smile. When the baby fell asleep, we were alone. Without thinking about it, I reached over and touched his face, and then I kissed him on the cheek. He looked back at me like I had appeared out of nowhere, like he was seeing me for the first time, and then he smiled without looking away.

It wasn't ten seconds before I heard Brother Vaughn's voice.

"Sarah, you're wanted inside the house," he said.

Peter retreated under his hat to avoid Vaughn's glaring look. Last summer Brother Rulon had publicly denounced another boy, Joel Peterson, for daring to talk to girls his age, saying that he made himself "unclean for marriage." Brother Rulon also used say to us, "The most obedient are careful about speaking to outsiders." Thinking about all this made me like Peter more than ever.

Peter bowed his head and retreated, "Pardon me, Ma'am."

II

We came to Arizona seven years ago when my mother first started getting sick. On the Greyhound bus Mama told me about Hildale and Colorado City and the community of people there, how they worked together, shared property, shared everything between them in what they called a United Effort Plan. That's what she called it, anyway. I knew she wasn't telling me everything. I didn't know how she had learned about the Hildale people, and I still don't know. That day I cried in the

cramped bathroom at the back of the bus. I knew I would never see my girlfriends at school again. This was permanent. This changed everything.

Brother Vaughn and Sister Karen met us at the bus station in St. George, Utah, on the Arizona border. Vaughn wore his striped shirt buttoned all the way to the top and his blue pants had flecks of mud on the cuffs. I remember the horse emblem on his silver belt buckle and how his dark, shaved beard made his face look almost blue. Sister Karen wore a pleated skirt that reached to her ankles. Her white blouse had long sleeves. Her brown hair was braided tight and twisted into a bun on top of her head. She wore no makeup. They both smiled without showing their teeth. Vaughn had his arms folded across his chest. Sister Karen stood behind him. It was Karen who had arranged the marriage. I didn't know what kind of agreement they had made. I didn't know how sick Mama was or that she was pregnant with my brother Jason. I was only ten years old. All I could think about was how unfair it was to have to leave my Salt Lake friends behind.

Mama told me that we needed people around us, people who would always take care of us. Jason was born later that year. I think my mother was more worried about him than me. I didn't even know who Jason's father was. Mama had had a string of boyfriends in Salt Lake City. I couldn't keep track of them all. There was a blond man named Bill and another guy named Richard who looked so much the same he could have been Bill's brother. And Lamar, who always wore a baseball cap to cover his bald spot, and Scott, the one with the crooked mustache. None of them ever lived with us. My mother didn't talk about them much. There were times when she came home late at night crying.

Mama didn't even tell me much about my own father. She said it made her miserable to talk about him. All I knew was that they were separated when I was still a baby and that he lived somewhere in California. She told me she had been afraid of him. For months before she actually left him, she carried extra money in her purse and a change of underclothes. "I was ready to leave at a moment's notice," she told me. "I knew the day was coming when I wouldn't be able to stay another second. Then one day when you were at the day-care center, your father and I were driving in the car. He was angry with me about a new dress I bought for you. I was chattering on, trying to explain, when he reached over and covered my mouth with his hand. I could smell the sweat on his skin. He gripped hard around my mouth so I had to breathe through my nose. It was all I could do to keep from biting his hand."

When they came to the next stoplight, Mama grabbed her purse and got out of the car. She walked down the road while he drove alongside. He laughed. He thought it was all some kind of joke. "Get back in the damn car," he yelled at her. Mama told me she never even looked back at

him. She went inside a bookstore, then out through a back exit. At a pay phone, she called a girlfriend who drove her to the day-care center to pick me up and then to a hotel. She never spoke to my father directly again. Mama had made her escape in one bold move.

It was three nights after the funeral when Brother Vaughn came to my room to give me a wrapped package from my mother. He said she never told him what was inside. He told me not to tell Karen and Sharlene anything about it.

"Even such things should be shared between us," he said. "But your mother asked me to keep this for you alone. It was her wish."

When he left the room, he looked back at me with a helplessness I had never seen in his face before. He had always been polite with me, always formal, and now there was this sadness. I knew he wanted to touch me, to comfort me, but he was afraid to.

"It was her wish," he said again before he left. At first I thought he must have opened the package and wrapped it up again. The wrapping was torn slightly on one corner and the ribbon was lopsided. After I opened it, I knew he would never have given it to me if he had known what it contained.

Inside the wrapping was a white box tied with string. On the lid of the box was a note in my mother's spidery handwriting—the same writing from the newspaper crossword puzzles she'd done while sitting up in bed at the hospital. *For Sarah only*, it said. Inside the white box, I found a little girl's yellow dress with blue bows. There was a thick, heavy envelope, sealed, and a bundle of photographs. One picture of me wearing the same yellow dress. On the back it said, *Sarah, two years*. My mother was in the picture, too, wearing a red sweatshirt like the ones I'd seen the college girls wear in Cedar City and St. George. In another picture she was wearing a long white gown, cut low in front, leaving her arms and shoulders bare. Her lips were red with lipstick and she was holding hands with a skinny, blond boy. She didn't look any older than I looked then, and the boy looked even younger. His pants were crumpled up around his shoes. *Your father and me, Our Wedding, May 24th*, it said on the back. I knew I had seen these pictures before because I knew this was my father, but I had forgotten about them. In the wedding picture my father had small ears like mine and my dark-brown eyes, almost black. His hair was the same light blond. Another picture showed him in an army uniform, wearing one of those pointed hats that fold out flat like a napkin in your lap. His blond hair was gone. He didn't smile, and this made him look older.

I opened the heavy envelope last, expecting to find more pictures, but inside, wrapped in a thick cotton handkerchief, so that no one could hold the envelope up to the light and see through, I found two thousand dollars.

That night I couldn't sleep, and at four in the morning I opened the white box again, the pictures, the baby clothes, the money. Did these things really belong to me? Since I couldn't sleep, I decided to take a bath, running the water slow to keep from waking anyone else, shaking from the cold at first while the hot water flowed over my cupped hands. The warmth soon began to move through me. First, in my legs, then up my arms to my shoulders. I put my head under the flow of water and washed my hair, letting the suds and water pour down my back. I lay down in the soapy water, with my knees up, soaking in the heat. I looked down the length of my body, arching my back slowly, as slowly as I could, until I could feel the last drops of water running over my stomach, down my sides. This sent a shiver through me like I had been touched there, the gentle touch of a man. I thought about Peter Romney. Somehow I knew he was the kind of boy who would hold me as long as I wanted to be held, who would touch me this way, but would never force me to do anything. I thought about how it would feel to kiss Brother Vaughn with his rough beard and how Peter Romney's face had been almost as soft as mine.

My mother had told me about the keepsakes only once before when she was in the hospital for the last time. I was alone with her. Sister Karen had gone with her two youngest boys to the hospital cafeteria. My mother cleared a place for me on the bed, and I sat down close to her. My mother's hair was thin from treatments at the hospital. The skin under her eyes looked bruised. Her lips were dry and chapped. I would bring her water, but she would only take a sip and let the water sit for hours getting warm, bubbles forming on the side of the glass. "I'm just not thirsty, sweetheart," she would say.

This time she took my hand and looked at me as steady as she could. "When it comes to marrying," she told me, "You wait until you're ready. Nobody's going to pressure you on purpose, but you know how people can be. You're seventeen. For them that's marrying age."

"I understand, Mama."

I knew by the way she said "people" that it didn't include us. It never had. After seven years in Arizona, seven years in the Hildale Community, we were still outsiders.

It was then she told me about the keepsakes that she had saved for me. She said Vaughn would give them to me when the time came. I didn't like the way she said, *when the time came*, as if I wouldn't know what she meant.

"What kinds of things?" I asked.

She didn't answer. Her eyes were closed. When she opened them again and saw the way I was looking at her, she sat up straight in the bed.

"Now don't you start worrying. There are some pictures from when you were young and other things meant only for you. I've talked it over with Vaughn and he understands."

"Why can't you show me the pictures now?"

"Sweetheart, you'll understand later. It's more than just the pictures."

"But Mama. . ."

I wanted to ask her about when I was small, when it was just us living together alone, before we moved to Hildale, but then Sister Karen came back into the room with her boys. My mother closed her eyes, disappointed. The room was crowded again.

I wanted it to be as it had once been. My mother and me (no one else). But I had learned to live with things as they were. And many times I had been happy. There was the night when I woke up to see it snowing hard, something that rarely happened this far south in Utah. It was the middle of the night, but I stared out the window for hours, watching the snow slowly cover the reddish dirt and dry grass. In Salt Lake City, before Mama and I came to Hildale, I had seen it snow like this many times without really noticing it. But that night I thought nothing could be more beautiful. I walked out into the night, without a coat, almost sleepwalking. I picked up the snow in my bare hands, making a small ball then rolling it around the grass until it was too heavy to roll any more. I added another ball, slightly smaller, and put it on top of the first, then a third. And so I made a snowman, really more of a snow boy. I was careful not to wake anyone when I went back into the house to find a carrot nose and two olive eyes and one of my own scarves to wrap below the head and make it seem as if the snowman had a neck. I finished at first light and went back to my room to wait by the window. Vaughn was the first to see the snowman. He stood in front of it with his hands on his hips. Even from inside, I could hear him laugh out loud. He came back in the house and brought out Sharlene. For the next hour, the kids appeared one or two at a time, all of them finding a way to touch the snow boy as if to test its existence. Their pleasure was as natural and instinctive as breathing. Everyone smiled. They even brought my mother out to see it. She looked immediately up to my window, giving away my secret. Sister Karen cried because the snow reminded her of her childhood home in Wyoming where, she said, the snow had drifted halfway up their kitchen windows. At the prayer over breakfast Brother Vaughn said, "Thank you Father for Sarah and her kindness in making the snowman and giving us all a chuckle."

There was no letter in my mother's keepsakes where she told me to leave the Hildale Community, to leave Vaughn's home and Sharlene and Karen and the kids, to leave my brother Jason. But I knew somehow that she was opening a door for me.

III

Two days later, another door opened. Karen and Sharlene asked me to go with them into St. George to buy supplies. I was usually the one to stay at home with the younger children when they made these trips, but this time they wanted to bring all the children along.

"If we drive both the station wagon and the truck, you can come back whenever you want," Karen said. Sharlene and I started dressing the children. They agreed to drive separately and meet at Karen's favorite clothes outlet store where she bought fabric for the dresses she made for the girls and bought work clothes for Vaughn and the boys. I knew that the bus station was only a few blocks away.

I saw my chance, and it came to me quickly what I had to do. Before we left, I put on a pair of pants under my long skirt, rolling them up high on my legs so that no one would see. I put my mother's keepsakes and some socks and underwear in a pillowcase, and I tied it around my waist, under my skirt. I filled my pants pockets with all the money my mother had left me, and at the last second I took a small pair of scissors from Karen's sewing room.

At the store Sharlene and Karen sorted through the cotton fabrics and overalls while I watched the kids. I knew that the Chevron station across the street had bathrooms in the back that opened without a key. We had stopped there before. My plan was to pretend to leave the store with Sharlene and then hide at the gas station while Karen finished shopping. I would change clothes. They wouldn't miss me until both of them got home. I would have time to walk to the bus station and buy a ticket to Salt Lake City. That was my plan. All I could do was wait for the right moment.

The boys were running up and down the aisles and hiding inside the racks of shirts and pants. My brother Jason was the noisiest of all, but I couldn't scold him. I was memorizing his face—the curve of his lips, his long eyelashes, the small scar on his forehead that he'd gotten when he fell off Brother Vaughn's horse. To anyone else, Jason was just another one of Sister Karen's boys. The same blue eyes and white-blond hair, the same overalls and black boots. When I looked at him, I saw my mother. I liked to tease him by sitting on his legs and holding his arms down by the wrists, then tilting my head forward so my braids dangled in his face, the paintbrush ends tickling him. Jason would laugh and try to bite at the ends. Most of the time now Jason was with Karen's boys, playing Cowboys and Indians, or riding on the tractor with Vaughn. I knew he would miss me only for a short time and then forget. I told myself it was better this way.

Long before I expected it, Sharlene took the twins and one of boys

out to the station wagon. It was time to leave. I could feel the money tight in my pockets, the keepsakes tied around my waist, and the scissors. I was afraid something would come loose and fall out on the floor. I was afraid Karen would insist that I stay with her.

"I think I'll go back with Sharlene," I said.

Sister Karen looked up from the fabrics. I felt this sinking heaviness in my chest. I hated lying to her. The words caught in your throat. My face flushed.

"Are you all right, Sarah?" Karen asked me.

"Yes, yes. It's just a little hot in here. I'd like to go back with Sharlene," I said.

"Oh, that's fine, dear," Karen said. "That's just fine. But you better lie down when you get home." She didn't look worried.

Across the room Jason was down on all fours, crawling out from under a rack of blue denim shirts. He didn't see me staring at him as I walked out the door. Outside, I helped Sharlene put the twins in their car seats, and I opened the door to get in. But I didn't get in. Instead I told her I had changed my mind. I told her I remembered a promise to help the boys try on some new pants.

Sharlene looked up at me and smiled, shaking her head and laughing. I waved as she backed out to the road, and then I pretended to lace my shoes as they drove away. My hands were shaking. I couldn't stop crying. This wasn't how I had expected to feel at all. My throat was closed up so tight it was hard to breathe. I walked quickly across the street to the Chevron station and found the bathroom empty. I locked the door behind me.

I knew I had to wait at least twenty minutes before Karen would finish shopping. By the time she got home and found out that I had been left behind, an hour would have gone by. Maybe more. Then Brother Vaughn would drive back to town to look for me.

I took off my skirt and rolled it up tight and hid it in the trash can, using some paper towels to cover it up. I unrolled my pants. With my blouse tucked into my pants, I looked more like the college girls in St. George. My leather shoes seemed bigger without the skirt to hide them, but I couldn't do anything about that now.

In the bathroom mirror my face looked mottled and pale. The eyes looking out at me from the dirty mirror were someone else's eyes. I could feel drops of sweat running down the center of my back. I wanted to change my hair, but I didn't know where to begin. The college girls I saw never wore their hair this way—not this long and straight, and never braided and pinned up in back. I didn't want to stand out in a crowd anymore. Not for one more minute. Or have people in town looking at me and saying, "Now, there goes one of those Hildale women. Isn't she a picture, something out of the Old West."

I unpinned my braids. My face was framed perfectly by braids that fell to my hips. I held the scissors in my right hand and waited. In one of the pictures my mother had given me, she had her hair cut straight across at her shoulders. I liked the way she smiled in that picture and the way she was sticking her hip out to one side to hold me. I could cut my hair like hers, I thought. And I decided it would be easier to leave the braids in. A few quick cuts and it would be over. I put the scissors halfway up one of my braids and started to cut.

I expected it to happen all at once, but I couldn't cut through easily. I worked the scissors hard and it hurt my hands. The scissors felt as dull as the ones I had used in grade school to cut paper. I couldn't hold my hands steady, and when the first strands of hair finally cut free and fell into the sink, I felt my face go cold, and I dropped the scissors on the floor, bending over the sink. For a long time I couldn't catch my breath. Then someone was knocking hard at the bathroom door, and I didn't know how long they had been knocking. I still couldn't get my breath. I heard a little girl's voice outside the door.

"Is somebody in there?" she said.

"Please, please wait," I said.

The girl knocked louder.

My jaggedly cut blond hair clung to the sink like wet grass in the bed of Vaughn's truck. I couldn't do it. I couldn't cut my own hair. Not like this. The girl outside knocked again.

"Please, a minute, Please."

I left the scissors in the trash and tied my braids up in back again. Even the side I'd started to cut was still long enough to pin up. My face felt hot with the shame of it. I had ruined my hair.

When I opened the bathroom door, two girls, one holding the hand of a smaller girl, crowded past me to the toilet.

"S'cuse me," the older one said. "She's gotta go bad." She pushed the door closed behind me.

I stood outside the gas station bathrooms, blinking into the sun. I could feel the heat on my face and neck. It took the clashing noise from a passing truck to wake me up. I held the pillowcase of keepsakes in front of me like a purse. I couldn't help but cover myself with my hands. I had been wearing a dress every day for as long as I could remember. Even when we played softball behind the church or worked in the garden, we still wore skirts over our pants. Vaughn told me about the rule the day after we came to Arizona. I'd come down to breakfast in my new pair of pants. "It's not allowed here," he said, "for a girl to walk around in a pair of jeans."

"But these aren't jeans, they're school pants," I tried to explain. I expected my mother to say something, to defend me, but she pretended not to hear what Vaughn was saying. She stared across the table at Sister Karen.

IV

The dark-haired man at the ticket counter told me the next bus to Salt Lake City didn't leave for two hours. He stared at me. I don't think he blinked even once. A bus to Los Angeles was already parked at the depot, the engine running, ready to depart any moment. I fought an impulse to take it. I could go there to find my father. I thought about the California beaches and the wedding picture my mother had given me where my father's eyes looked so much like my own, and I almost made up my mind to go, but when my turn came at the window, I said, "One for Salt Lake City, please." After I had my ticket, I knew I couldn't wait around the station. This was the same bus station where Vaughn and Karen had picked us up seven years ago. I wanted to get away from the station and from the man behind the counter, the man who stared. So I walked down the main street in town, looking for a beauty shop or a place to buy shoes or a new dress. I couldn't remember the last time I had bought clothes for myself. Vaughn usually gave us clothes as gifts. Karen made me dresses. She'd taught me to make my own, but I had left these clothes behind. I wanted to change. I wanted to change everything.

If they found me before the bus left, I thought, I would say I had to tell my mother's friends in Salt Lake City about her death. I would say I had things to take care of in Salt Lake—personal things my mother had requested. Vaughn would think it had something to do with the keepsakes that my mother had given me, but he wouldn't say anything about this in front of Sharlene or Karen. If he was alone, he might try to talk me out of the trip or offer to take me himself. He might say, "Sarah, your mother wouldn't have wanted you to do this. Your mother would be worried about you." But I knew he wouldn't force me to go back with him to the house. When they told him I was gone, he might be expecting it. He might let me go. He might just pretend to go out and look for me. I knew if Sharlene came with him, she would start crying. I didn't want to see them. I didn't want to explain.

A white convertible stopped at the light as I crossed the street. There were seven girls crowded into the car, two riding up front with the driver and four more in back. They played the radio loud. One of the girls jumped out and ran to the front of the car. She was wearing shorts and her legs were tan and shiny. Her blond hair was loose around her shoulders and she flipped it as she walked. She sat down on the hood of the car with her feet up on the front bumper, pretending she was going to ride up there when the light changed. The girl who was driving honked and screamed for her friend to get back in. "Hurrorry!" she said, laughing and smiling, her mouth wide open. Then all the girls screamed and laughed. Several of them were staring at me as they drove off. I looked down at my big shoes and checked to see if my hair was coming undone.

The sign outside Perry's Beauty Shop said "Walk-ins Welcome." There was only one woman working there, and she was wearing a plastic nametag that said *LaRue* in big black letters that I could read from across the room. I didn't see Perry anywhere. The shop had four chairs. Two chairs were empty and sitting in the others were two older women who looked like twins. LaRue was helping both of them at once, moving quickly back and forth between them.

"I'll be with you in a minute, honey," LaRue said. I realized that I was standing in the doorway, staring at her, dazed. "Please sit down. I'll be just a minute. I'm almost finished." She winked at me.

This made me wonder if I had come to the right place, but I sat down anyway and pretended to read one of the magazines.

"Don't you rush with us, LaRue," one of the women said. "I won't go out of here with wet hair again."

LaRue laughed, "Don't you worry now."

"That goes for me, too," said the other sister. They looked at me from behind their magazines. "Who is that girl anyway? I've never seen her around her before. She looks a little odd."

"Hush," LaRue whispered. "You think she can't hear you."

LaRue looked over at me a couple of times while she removed curlers and combed out and sprayed the twin sisters' hair. When she walked her two customers to the door, both of them were whispering and looking back at me. I couldn't hear what they said, but I could tell LaRue was trying to get rid of them by the way she tapped her foot impatiently behind her. She was smiling and laughing the whole time, but her foot kept tapping faster. When they'd left, she walked over and stood in front of me. She rested the tops of her hands on her hips, her fingers curling up behind her like tiny wings.

"How can I help you, young lady?"

I handed her one of the pictures of my mother and then quickly put my hands back in my lap, so she wouldn't see how they were shaking.

"I want you to cut my hair like the woman in this picture," I said.

LaRue looked down at the picture, then back at me.

"She's my mother. . . when she was young."

"I can see she's your mother, honey. Please, come sit down over here."

I sat in the closest chair, holding the bundle of pictures, clothes, and money on my lap.

"You can leave your things over there, if you like," she said.

"Oh, no thank you, Ma'am, I'll just hold um."

"That's fine," she said. "Let's put this on." She pulled a plastic cape around me and tied it behind. She looked at the picture again. "So you want your hair cut straight across like this, about shoulder length?"

"Yes, but not curled up at the end like she has in the picture," I said. "And no bangs either, just the same length all around."

LaRue laughed quietly. "Okay then." She put her hands on my shoulders and smiled at me in the mirror. "Let's undo these braids first." Her voice broke a little when she said *first*. I wasn't sure why, but this made me trust her more. She kept looking back at me in the mirror as she took out the hairpins and started to unravel my braids. She didn't watch her hands until she felt that one braid was shorter than the other.

"Looks like you already got started here." She was clearly relieved.

"I tried to, but. . ."

"I understand, honey," she said.

LaRue combed my hair with long strokes, resting her left hand on the back of my head so that she wouldn't pull too hard. The brushing made a familiar, static sound as the long strands of my hair were drawn up to the magnetic pull of the brush. In the reflection on the mirror behind me, I could see that my hair reached down the length of the chair, except on the side where I had cut it myself. I closed my eyes and listened to the strokes of the brush. My hands stopped shaking, and I could feel myself breathing more deeply, slipping into a half sleep. All of those times when Sister Karen and I would brush each other's hair, after the kids were in bed, and on nights when Vaughn was staying in Sister Sharlene's part of the house. When Vaughn took Sharlene as his third wife, it was the first time Sister Karen really had to share her husband with someone else after years of talking about it, believing in it, trying to make arrangements for it. My mother was never really a second wife to Vaughn. When he married her, he knew she was terminally ill. He spent very little time alone with her that I knew about. Karen was usually with him when he visited my mother in her room. When Vaughn was alone with Sharlene, Karen was short tempered and distant, but when I combed her hair, she would relax and close her eyes. Once, Karen fell asleep while I was combing her hair. And she told me she envied me my young hair. I knew she would be angry with me now.

LaRue combed my hair until it was smooth all around. "We'll cut your hair to a more manageable length, then give you a shampoo and style it the way you asked. Is that okay?"

"Yes."

LaRue sprayed my hair with water from a plastic bottle, then carefully and with both hands, pulled my hair back over my shoulders. "Are you ready?" she asked.

She waited for me to nod my head and then picked up the scissors off the counter. Biting at her lower lip, she hesitated a few seconds, then started cutting on the right side, just above my shoulder. It made a crisp sound like paper tearing. I couldn't see what she was doing, but I imagined my long, damp hair collapsing into her left hand as she cut. When she had worked halfway across, she put the cut hair on the counter and sprayed more mist from the water bottle.

The hair looked too dark to be mine. It was still wet and looked as if it were coated with the lacquer Brother Vaughn used to protect the furniture he made. When I closed my eyes, it was Peter Romney I saw, looking at me the way he did that day after the funeral, after I kissed him, surprised, trying to hide that he wanted to touch me. I imagined myself leaning over him and my hair, still long and combed out smooth, hung loose over my shoulders, falling like a curtain on both sides of my face, making a closed-in place between me and him, the long ends of my hair brushing against his chest. And he was looking back at me with a tenderness and promise I had dreamed of. And I knew I couldn't live without that look from someone like Peter, from someone I loved, and when I heard LaRue cutting under my left ear, I knew the worst was over, and I looked up at my reflection in the mirror and saw my mother's face.

God's Army: Wiggle Room for the Mormon Soul

David G. Pace

IF YOU CAN GET PAST the unfortunate title of Richard Dutcher's *God's Army*, you will find the first commercial film of what might be a new era in Mormon art. Dutcher's creation likely spikes interest in Mormons as much because of the dearth of Mormon-related material in American culture as for the film's skill at creating real Mormons (a circumstance that made Tony Kushner's *Angels in America* startling—even revelatory—to Mormons when it was staged in the early 90s).

Unlike Kushner, who co-opted Latter-day Saint characters and their iconography for narrative purposes of his own, Dutcher made *God's Army* about the Mormon world. What Terrence McNalley's 1989 play, *The Lisbon Traviata* did for gay men, *God's Army* has done for Mormons or, more specifically, the Mormon missionary in the year 2000. Just seeing yourself represented respectfully is enough to celebrate. It is also an opportunity to reflect on what missionary and Mormon life mean and where Mormon art can go.

Mormon playwrights and film makers have struggled for years to free themselves from the cloying schmaltz in films like *Legacy* and from the cult of big thunderous, but ultimately empty pageants like *Promised Valley*. Film maker Trent Harris has built a cottage industry on celebrating the provincial pieties of his Mormon heritage, an industry anchored by his funny but decidedly irreverent *Plan 10 From Outer Space*. And Neil LaBute, in his Off-Broadway play *Bash* (later taped and shown on cable television), treated his Mormon characters, however capable of evil, with respect and even a kind of perverse awe.

LaBute and Harris are both much more overt stylists than Dutcher, whose motivation is clearly to imbue his marginal subject with the kind of dramatic dignity that will appeal to mainstream America. At the same time, he gives the obligatory nods to what has become a hallmark style of independent film making: under-directed acting, protracted moments where there is no dialogue, and a musical score that has a life of its own.

The film is narrated by Elder Brandon Allen (Matthew Brown), a passive young man who arrives in Los Angeles to begin his two-year proselyting stint. He is paired with Elder Marcus Dalton (Richard Dutcher, the producer/writer/director of the film), an irascible 29-year old trainer missionary who goes by "Pops." Pops forces Allen to go door-to-door before he's even dropped off his luggage. Later, as a practical joke, he is terrorized by his missionary roommates, who, we discover, also tell leper jokes, display dead cockroaches as trophies, and take surprise snapshots of each other on the toilet.

By two o'clock the next morning, we find Elder Allen at the bus station, ready to hightail it back home to Kansas. When Pops and another missionary, Elder Banks (DeSean Terry) arrive, the AWOL Allen tells them, "At least no one can say I didn't try." Pops rattles Allen by characterizing him as immature, deftly working a kind of reverse psychology. Elder Banks, meanwhile, speculates about the greenie's sexual orientation and weakness for liquor. Not surprisingly, Allen, his pride wounded, agrees grudgingly to stay.

God's Army is a conversion story in which the protagonist elder is the one who gets converted. In the meantime, he is exposed to a variety of other missionaries who range from the doubting Elder Kinegar (Michael Buster) to a condescending Sister Fronk (Jacque Gray), who baits him by calling him a jock and otherwise suggesting he's a dolt. In the course of the film, we meet a bear of a mission president who used to play football and sports a sign on his desk, "Thou Shalt Not Whine"; taunting prostitutes who slouch near a graffiti-covered wall (one of whom eventually reads the Book of Mormon and joins the church); and a disabled young man, enamored of missionary work, who is preparing for baptism.

As described, the scenario may sound hackneyed, but *God's Army* is not descended from the corporate films, often crude, churned out by the BYU Motion Picture Studio of yesteryear, films like *And Should I Die* or *Johnny Lingo*. Instead, Dutcher inflects his movie with the kind of cinematic integrity one has come to expect of "independent film."

There has been some discussion about the fact that *God's Army* has carved out a new niche market for a specialized audience. But to me that is not the ultimate—or even most desirable—potential for Dutcher's film or other works of art like it. The film maker may, in fact, have been interested in honoring his own people with a film that dignifies their life and beliefs. But there is more at stake for Mormon culture than just making our own private art directed to an insulated market—much as, say, the work produced on the Chitlin Circuit of nightclubs and theaters simply mirrors the African-American *morés* of its audience.

"Outing" Mormons into the broader culture through mainstream artistic forms is essential. More than half of the LDS population no longer participates in LDS church services. Perhaps less than one half of

that number is “temple-worthy.” One anecdotal report indicates that up to 200 individuals are asking for their names to be removed from church rolls every day.¹ We are on the verge, perhaps, of Mormon art coming to reflect the actual diversity of its population—within and without the institutional church—including those who, like me, having abandoned their membership or church activity (or having been ousted by ecclesiastical courts), view themselves as ethnic or tribal Mormons. Seeing our reflection in—and connection with—the broader world establishes a relationship between a culture and the sub-culture of Mormondom and initiates or at least tempers identity.

Despite (or perhaps directly in line with) the vast missionary program and aggressive public relations, the institutional church and many Latter-day Saints aligned with it have an interest in keeping flesh and blood Mormons in the closet. What would others think of America’s most successful indigenous religion, or what, for that matter, would its own members think if they were to appear un-idealized in the world’s marketplace of images and narratives? Any text has the potential to germinate different interpretations. Difference threatens loss of control. That is why the imperative of Mormon art—especially in film and theater—has always been instructive rather than expressive. Until now. With *God’s Army*, semi-church approved by its appearance in video form at church-controlled Deseret Book, Dutcher seems to have cracked open a hermetically-sealed pod of prescribed Mormon identity to allow wiggle room.

The film’s objective is clear if paradoxical: make Mormons seem real, but minimize the weird stuff. Consequently, unlike real Mormon missionaries who play Nerf football in distinctive, symbol-bearing undergarments, Dutcher’s missionaries wear surgical scrubs inside the apartment. There are no priestly robes used to dress the corpse of a missionary being shipped home in a casket. And, for all the talk of testimonies, we are spared the formulaic expressions of collective belief that take place like clockwork in testimony meetings and from which even some devout church members shield potential-convert friends.

At a 2001 Sunstone Symposium panel on Mormon film making, the affable Dutcher, sported the irony many of us wished he’d put into his film’s title. The man is actually and admirably doing film rather than just talking about it. And he’s wise to know his audience, to pick carefully the peculiarities of his culture and faith that he will portray. For example, the caffeine sin of coffee consumption is humorously massaged in

1. The story comes from the website of Recovery from Mormonism <www.exmormon.org>, which features stories of people who have left the Mormon church. One woman writes that in her efforts to have her name removed from church rolls, she was told by an assistant at the Name Removal Office at LDS headquarters that they were processing the number quoted.

Brother Rose, a professional investigator, as we used to call them, who has agreed to give the missionaries a ride in his car for every cup he drinks. So far they're up to sixty-seven. The call for abstinence from certain substances along with cultural kitsch (like the miniature gold statue of Moroni in the elders' apartment) is the kind of peculiarity Mormons are fond of fronting to gentiles (and to each other). Dutcher seems to run comfortably with this level of Mormon exposé. You can almost hear him say to his pouty, in-the-fold nay sayers, "Oh, get over yourself."

More risky is the measured way in which Dutcher takes on many disjunctions in a religion regularly seen by its practitioners as the ideal. There is Elder Kinegar, who bolts from his mission because he can't get over the doctrinal and historical shadows of the faith presented in anti-Mormon literature; there is the proud Catholic who never obtains a sufficient conviction to convert; there is the narrator who, we learn, has a mother who has resigned her membership and a father who is in prison; there is the sister missionary whose newfound testimony of the church's truth claims is still insufficient to mend her heart, broken by a fiancé who has left her.

This is not the way that Mormons have seen themselves portrayed. Dutcher has risen to the task of sculpting in three dimensions. There is, for example, Pops's violent explosion at the suggestion that his ardor as a true believer might possibly have a less-than-admirable motivation (in his terminal illness). And there is also the textured play of the missionaries in ensemble with talk of how eighty baptisms in Mexico trumps twelve in LA and with a zealous, brown-skinned elder standing on a wall overlooking the city and screaming repentance in a comical reconstruction of the Samuel the Lamanite episode in the Book of Mormon. It is in scenes such as these as well as when Elder Allen, in conversation with Pops, confesses that he doesn't know how to separate the darkness of his step-father, incarcerated for pedophilia, from his Mormon upbringing by the same man, that there is a strong feeling we are in new artistic territory. These missionaries are not the molded-in-plastic icons tacked onto in-house seminary and institute films. Nor are they stock characters out of such films as *Orgazmo*, by non-Mormon Trey Parker, a satirical outing in which an unwitting Mormon missionary is recruited into the LA porn industry.

It is in these fully-realized characters that the wiggle room appears for Mormons who identify with them, and the orthodox and church hierarchy may well be nervous because of this. In a sense, they should be. Art which has its own voice is art with its own destiny. In its potential for meaning, it is malleable, diverse and beyond control—in short, not orthodox. This is not to say that *God's Army* does not toe the line of respectful engagement. It does, a fact which, unfortunately, marketing at Zion Films (Dutcher's production company) has rendered as "faith-promoting," a poisoned term like "family values" which in the public consciousness means "a sure snore."

There are two other effects that stem from an artistic approach that has produced what one movie critic is calling a Mormon *Glengarry Glen Ross*. One is that Mormon missionary practices are laid bare in such a way as to invite criticism. Second, the questionable character of the space, culturally and morally speaking, in which Dutcher's full-blooded characters exist is cast in high relief.

Having been a missionary myself, I cringed during the film, not at the peculiarities of my culture and childhood faith, but at the stark dualism of right and wrong that grips the missionaries as they ply their trade and, in more ways than one, leaves them utterly alone when they go to bed at night: whining vs. stalwartness, faith vs. doubt, obedience vs. apostasy. In *God's Army* as in church circles, Truth is spelled with a capital "T" and must be circumscribed by the vague notion—presented but never clearly defined in the film—of "the Gospel" with a capital Mormon "G." That Dutcher, nonetheless, still manages to dramatize the politics of getting a testimony—be it Sister Fronk's fusion of heartbreak and faith or Elder Allen's decision to jump on board after wrestling his demons in prayer—is a tribute to Dutcher's skill as a film maker.

Connected to this dualism, of course, is the disturbing way in which the newly converted Elder Allen and his companion interact with a Catholic man whose blessing—not to mention conversion—they both seek on behalf of his eager-to-be-baptized daughter. "The Lord's spirit is with us right now," they say to the doubtful but sincere father. "But I'm Catholic," he keeps repeating. "Can't you feel it?" they implore. When the man tentatively nods, Elder Allen suggests they close their meeting with prayer and recommends, as he kneels to the floor himself, that they all kneel. "Will you say the prayer?" he asks.

These sorts of rushed, aggressive tactics—first defining spirituality (and religion) as emotion and then manipulating the "investigator" not only into kneeling, but into offering the prayer to galvanize the experience through ritual—typify my missionary days. Back then we not only used the identical tactic with unsuspecting New Englanders, we also scoured the obituaries to find those survivors who might currently be "sensitized" to our message of the Plan of Salvation.

Perhaps the most disturbing revelation in the film is the very Mormon, black-and-white way Dutcher addresses the issue of men of African descent having been banned from the priesthood prior to 1978. Elder Allen and Elder Banks are teaching an attractive young African-American couple who want answers. The angry couple will only talk to Elder Banks, who is black and who responds with the rationale that, historically, God gave his priesthood only to a select few, that the policy wasn't racist, only selective and on the Lord's timetable. The fact that blacks were the only race of people to be excluded is not mentioned, nor is there any hint of institutional *mea culpa* for an overtly racist policy.

Instead, the couple is made out to be racist themselves. "It is about race. It's always about race," they intone before they snap at Allen, "Hey, nobody cares what you think." The subtext, of course, is that with such attitudes it's no wonder these people didn't get the priesthood until 1978.

This sort of demonizing of the "Other" has its counterpart in whitewashing the "I"—in this case, the Mormon "I." To draw an ironic comparison, early forms of cultural expression produced by gays and lesbians or those sympathetic to same-sex orientation, insisted on the utter innocence and universal victimhood of homosexuals. Mormon art has a similar history, largely maintaining the utter innocence, if not outright victimhood of church members. *Legacy* provides a good example. Not only are the Latter-day Saints simply driven from their homes because of local religious bigotry, but the Prophet Joseph is remembered by the historical female narrator as motivated purely by otherworldly directives, when, according to historical records, his impression on her as a twelve-year-old was clearly marital if not sexual.

Mormons and gays are not alone in being defensively whitewashed in film and theater. Native Americans are just beginning to emerge from representations that followed a trajectory from savagery (both "noble" and not-so-"noble") to victimhood and finally to individualism in a complex community with varied and complicated personalities. In Christopher Sergel's 1993/94 stage adaptation of *Black Elk Speaks* at Denver Center Theatre Company, American history was told through the eyes of the Native American. Every role was played by an Indian actor in blue-washed buckskin, including Christopher Columbus, Queen Victoria—even Colonel George Custer. Epic in scope and cathartic in its formulation, the play, which moved to the Mark Taper Forum in Los Angeles, was nevertheless staged as a shocking exposé of genocide perpetrated against Native Americans, a chorus rather than an oratorio. Shortly after *Black Elk Speaks* came the film *Smoke Signals*, in which Indians are subject to the vagaries of real life and to their own deep flaws. The 1998 film reminded me of what fiction writer ZZ Packer recently wrote of the black writer James Alan McPherson in *Poets and Writers Magazine*: "Here was someone, finally, who wrote black characters whose happiness came from the same fount as their misery. . . ."²

It would seem that there is a natural, tentative progression in presenting new and misunderstood sub-cultures, and in that sense perhaps Dutcher is on schedule. Though by the end of *God's Army*, it is clear that Mormon missionaries are, in fact, real folks with blood in their veins, the moral and cultural space in which they are allowed to exist is very small. So is the amplitude of transformation in that life space. There is no nu-

2. ZZ Packer, "Mad Hope and Mavericks" *Poets and Writers Magazine* 30, No. 1 (Mar./Apr. 2001): 54-56.

ance when someone changes in the course of the film. Instead, characters flip from one side to the other, black to white, and in the case of Elder Kinegar, who leaves his mission early, white to black. Perhaps unwittingly, Dutcher succeeds fabulously in portraying the pressures both within the mission field and without to live by the terms of strict duality. It is quite acceptable, even applauded, for the Mormon to suffer the binary oppositions of his or her world, but quite unacceptable to question the system or linger in those areas of gray ambiguity from which one's own soul—scrupulously unique—might emerge.

By the end of *God's Army* I recognized that what appeared as a spiritual journey did not even attempt the depths of a St. Augustine, a Martin Luther, or even a King Benjamin of the Book of Mormon. The spirituality was of a kind dictated by a system. When we learn that Elder Allen and Sister Fronk end up together back at Brigham Young University, it's understood that there is nowhere for these two former missionaries to go except further into the correlated landscape of Mormondom. Unlike *My Name is Asher Lev*, the Jewish novel cited in this film, *God's Army* does not show us how the journey contributes to, shapes or colors the associations of the main character(s) with the broader world of which Mormonism (like orthodox Judaism) is culturally a sub-set.

This is why *God's Army*, though groundbreaking in its shaking loose of the rusty old tropes ploddingly employed by generations of "faith promoting" Mormon artists, is not the best expression of the new level of artistry it is calling on. Highwater marks in art often become valuable more as a new model for other artists than as the quintessential expression of a new way of doing that art. This is true of *God's Army*, which still panders, at times, to the orthodox fears. Nevertheless, the film is a heartening arrival. I didn't even mind the miraculous healing nor the allegorical use of Pops as a Savior figure who gives his life for the spiritual life (and physical survival) of a young disabled man badly beaten by thugs. Moreover, I liked the physicality of the missionaries, played out in practical jokes, reminiscent of apocryphal stories of the robust Joseph Smith pulling sticks in fierce competitions with his disciples. I liked being faintly embarrassed by the adrenalized Elder Allen's whooping it up after performing a miracle. I found absorbing the way music (by Miriam Cutler) constituted its own comment on the action instead of just being background scoring. I was moved by the bold singing of "We are all enlisted till the conflict is o'er. . ." by kneeling missionaries in a military moment, shot brilliantly from an angle high up in the room, an angle of irony that presented the little band as far from home, alone in the world but somehow still resolute.

I was moved to reverence during those quiet scenes in the hospital where, awaiting news of his sick companion, Elder Allen sits next to a statue of Christ in brilliant red, arms outstretched, the sacred heart—uniquely Catholic—red itself and raised above the icon's breast. It was a

needed moment wherein Mormonism seemed to defer to larger (and potentially competing) religious and cultural claims as if our tradition borne of simple means, not unlike the Jesus Movement of the first century, was a part of something larger with which the world could identify.

In short, while viewing *God's Army*, I identified with the characters and was buoyed by the possibilities of Mormon art. What will this wiggle room allow future Mormon film and theater to do? Will we get more of the films and plays of Neil LaBute, which, for the most part, have little if anything to do with Mormon characters or Mormonism but are shaped by issues often played out in Mormon realms? Will we take the model of Chaim Potok, the author of *My Name is Asher Lev*, and find that nothing in our culture, not even temple secrets, can be too sacred to become material for the artist? How will such material be presented? In good-humored satire as in *Plan 10 From Outer Space*? In exposes like Deborah Laake's memoir *Secret Ceremonies*? Or in Ed Decker's "religious pornography," *The Godmakers*?

And what of Richard Dutcher, the darling, now, of Mormon cinema? Will he be co-opted by the institutional church, like a poet laureate, consigned to reify orthodox messages in the flat facility of institutional film work?

My own suspicion is that Dutcher will find himself running up against the power structure of his beloved church, which is profoundly committed to controlling its public image. He will be forced into the old dualisms, the most powerful of which is obedience to authority vs. apostasy, apostasy being a catchall term. If Dutcher's testimony is a conventional one, we will find him jettisoning his art (and, I would argue, his artist's soul) for the approval of the collective. That his next project, following the equally compelling murder-mystery *Brigham City*, is a bio-pic of the enigmatic Prophet Joseph Smith may hasten what seems inevitable.

I remember reviewing the premiere of the outdoor musical *Utah* at Tuachan Art Center near St. George, Utah. It was the summer of 1991. During intermission, I sat and looked at the audience in the huge amphitheater shoehorned into Snow Canyon, one of several beautiful "box" canyons in the area. Perhaps I just imagined it, or perhaps I was projecting onto the faces of the largely Mormon audience, but there was disappointment there as big as the canyon we sat in, a "fierce, grieving thing," to quote Mormon novelist Levi Peterson. It was a longing that had finally arrived at that sad point of realization that there is not likely ever to be fulfillment. As a part of that restless group, I felt both sadness myself and a sense of injustice. These people, my people, deserve better than this, I thought. They deserve a film called *God's Army* and fifty million more like it and another fifty million that improve on it.

An Other Mormon History

Hispanics in the Mormon Zion, 1912-1999, by Jorge Iber (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2000), xvi + 196 pp.

Reviewed by Thomas W. Murphy, Chair, Department of Anthropology, Edmonds Community College, Lynnwood, Washington.

JORGE IBER'S DEBUT, *Hispanics in the Mormon Zion*, earned the impressive honor of the Mormon History Association's 2001 Best First Book Award. Iber brings the intellectual tools and fresh insight of ethnic studies into the field of Mormon history in an examination of the experiences of Spanish-speaking populations of northern Utah. Through the richness of oral histories combined with prodigious archival and demographic research, Iber tells the fascinating story of Utah's largest ethnic minority, people whom Mormons often identify with the Others from the Book of Mormon, the Lamanites.

While *Hispanics in Utah* reflect patterns of employment, class divisions, and ethnic tensions evident in other parts of the country, religious factors shape their experiences to a greater degree than elsewhere. His study examines the:

1) social, cultural, and economic diversity among Spanish speakers and changes in the colonia's structure over time; 2) differentiation of

assimilation and acculturation patterns among cluster members; and 3) the relationships of various Spanish-surnamed groups to each other and to the wider society (xiv).

"In the heart of the Mormon Zion," Iber observes, "religious faith and denominational affiliation have played a crucial role in the genesis, development, and expansion of this comunidad" (x). Iber contributes to the growing consensus in ethnic studies that the experiences of Spanish-surnamed people in the United States vary geographically, economically, culturally, and, increasingly, religiously.

Iber's study is deeply indebted to the scholarship of Vicente Mayer from the University of Utah and his graduate students in the 1970s. They wrote empirical studies of Hispanic experience in Utah and—most importantly—collected approximately a hundred oral histories. These oral histories provide the book with its rich detail and enliven shifting economic and demographic patterns drawn from census records. Iber also draws from newspapers, journals, and records of Salt Lake Catholic Diocese, the LDS church, American G.I. Forum, SOCIO (Spanish-Speaking Organization for Community, Integrity, and Opportunity), Centro de la Familia, State Office of Hispanic Affairs, and others. While Iber reported a paucity of primary materials from outside of Utah, he could

find much additional material for complementary and future research at the Museum of Mormon History in Mexico City. Iber's ability to weave qualitative personal narratives and archival research with quantitative social data will help his book appeal to readers in the social sciences as well as history.

Most Hispanics migrated to the Beehive State for the economic opportunities it provided. While they found work primarily in agricultural, transportation, mining, and later service and industry, they faced obstacles of discrimination that limited their opportunities for advancement, circumscribed the places they could live, and curtailed educational achievement. Between 1912 and 1925 the bulk of arrivals were single men from Mexico, New Mexico, and Colorado. The increased arrival of women and children in the 1920s led to the formation of social organizations and attempts to maintain cultural identity. The Great Depression would lead to a significant reduction in the population that had already become the largest minority in Utah. The ethnic and social organizations created in the post-war era provided the impetus for civil rights activism in the 1970s and 1980s. While national figures like Corky Gonzalez and Reies López visited Utah and "denounced the white majority for its racist and genocidal policies and institutions. . .this strident militancy was not the principal thrust of activism in this area" (135). SOCIO, the moderate but most successful activist organization, would find its social achievements eventually undermined by increased attention to the class, national, and religious divisions its own success had brought to light. "Since 1987," Iber reports, "the cross-class and panethnic ties that SOCIO forged (if only temporarily) have frayed and shattered,

and northern Utah's Hispanics have seldom acted as a unified community" (134).

Alliance with the dominant religious establishment in Utah has provided additional economic opportunities and social mobility for some Hispanics but has also provided fault lines for community divisions. Hispanics with ties to the LDS church through the Rama Mexicana (Mexican Branch) benefited from social networks and employment opportunities unavailable to others. These ties were especially significant during the mass exodus of Hispanics in the 1930s. "Rama Mexicana constituents, while not escaping unscathed, received food, employment, and spiritual and psychic solace from the LDS welfare system. . . .The stabilizing impact of church assistance helped some Rama Mexicana families to remain in the city and prosper during the following decades" (53). While the LDS church did not actively support greater civil rights for Hispanics, the lack of overt resistance helped sustain the achievements of SOCIO, especially under the leadership of Dr. Orlando Rivera, bishop of the LDS Lucero Ward. The arrival of Lamanite converts from Central and South America in the 1980s and 1990s, though, brought Hispanics who had not experienced the struggles of the Chicano movement to the state and helped reduce the cohesiveness of the community.

Iber's study and future work could benefit from greater attention to the evolution of Mormon conceptions of otherness. Spurred by historical and archaeological difficulties locating the events of the Book of Mormon in a hemispheric framework, LDS scholars have proposed radically new conceptions of Lamanite identity. Some favor a limited geography in Central Amer-

ica, and others seriously question the existence of ancient Book of Mormon populations. As Book of Mormon scholarship has shifted focus, LDS missionary successes in Latin America have spurred the investment of resources away from American Indians in the United States. While Iber does note the impact of evangelization in Latin America, the conceptions of Lamanite identity in Iber's book appear quite static, and inter-ethnic relations among minorities are not developed. This lack of change may be a reflection of the failure of the work of LDS scholars to reach Spanish-speaking audiences. Yet before we can know this, more analysis of the variability of Mormon conceptions of otherness and its impact on inter-ethnic relations and Lamanite self-image is needed.

Iber's conclusion emphasizes the

distinctiveness of Hispanic experience in Utah and leaves his readers with the promise of more research:

Where else can an individual newly arrived from Central or South America instantly connect with the most powerful institution and network in the state simply by embracing a set of spiritual beliefs? Future research efforts by this writer (and hopefully others) will continue to shed light on this phenomenon. (136)

If subsequent work is of the caliber of Iber's first book, then we have much to look forward to from this scholar. Let us hope additional researchers will continue to follow his lead in applying the methods and insights of ethnic studies to Mormon experience.

Pluralism, Mormonism, and World Religion

Mormons and Mormonism: An Introduction to an American World Religion, edited by Eric Eliason (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 250 pp.

Reviewed by Cherie K. Woodworth, Lecturer in humanities, Yale University, and Visiting Assistant Professor of history, Wesleyan University.

THIS COLLECTION OF ELEVEN ARTICLES from a wide range of fields surveys current and historical Mormonism. It is targeted at an educated audience both inside and outside the traditional readership community in Mormon studies. Several of the essays are landmark studies by major scholars whose arguments go a long way, and church members will find them

fascinating, thoughtful reading. Two examples demonstrate why.

The premise of Richard Hughes's perceptive essay is that early Mormonism partook of a widespread movement in early nineteenth-century America to return to an earlier, more pure church—primitivist, in Hughes's scholarly description, pre-Apostasy in Mormon terms—the "restoration of all things," in other words. Unlike other movements, however, early Mormonism was more encompassing in its claims, and, thus, more intolerant of rival claims to salvation. It resulted, in Hughes's phrasing, in a "coercive vision" and a "violent antipluralism" through which "early Mormons ultimately rejected the ideal of religious pluralism as that ideal has been understood by most Americans" (39, 41).

In "The Populist Vision of Joseph Smith," Nathan Hatch argues that the Book of Mormon is a book of "profound social protest" (126). The underlying premise of the essay is that Joseph Smith is himself the author and that the book speaks of the themes and needs of his own experience of economic struggle and social exclusion. The Book of Mormon appealed greatly to those who were poor outsiders, like Heber C. Kimball, Brigham Young, and others who became members of the first Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. For Hatch, this helps to explain both the church's appeal and its growth, for a combination of populist entitlement and poverty led these young men to "throw their considerable energy into building a spiritual kingdom in opposition to the competitive and capitalist mores of Jacksonian America" (131).

Not all of the essays lived up to this standard, and on balance, the collection left several subjects untreated which would need to be addressed in order to serve the intended audience of serious, introductory readers, such as college students in religious studies or American history. If the family is the center of the church today, it is a topic which cries out for more attention in this book. Readers would justifiably expect current demographic information and wonder about the lack of discussion of sexual practices and gender roles in the church (including modern issues like ERA and defense of marriage campaigns, as well as the history of polygamy, about which every outsider already has heard). The church as an institution could also have been addressed with great benefit—its administrative development and power, its economic and political influence. (Richard Poll's interesting essay deals with these issues in passing, but it

dates from the 1980s.) The church in the international context would be well served by an essay as thoughtful and well-considered as the historical essays.

The disciplines of history and theology are represented by strong essays; organizational behavior, anthropology, and sociology leave us wanting more. This is not necessarily bad news—if the book achieves success as a college textbook, a revised edition would have many ways to expand.

One central question remains: has Eliason justified the title which calls Mormonism "an American World Religion"? This returns us to the volume's theme of where Mormonism has been (its history in New England, in frontier Nauvoo, and then in Utah) and where it is going. It could be argued that the claims of global success are still premature and, thus, perhaps too self-congratulatory or, more benignly, that they are simply optimistic boosterism. Although such claims may be seductive to scholars of Mormonism who would like to believe their field is expanding and important, other Christian Protestant churches certainly hold at least as much claim to the label of "world religion," not to mention the Catholic Church, whose global spread truly dwarfs Mormonism's. And comparing Mormonism to Islam is rather a stretch (at the very least because a millennium of history separates them).

Can a religion (or any institution) be, as the title claims, both American and global? If Mormonism is a world religion, it will have to escape its limitations in American culture. And yet, if we are persuaded by the arguments made in these essays, both a particular American cultural experience (as in Hatch's essay) and ideological and social boundaries (antipluralism, in Hughes's essay) have been essential to

Mormonism. Are they still so today? Is there room in a universalizing theology for multiculturalism and pluralism? Or do we tend to assume that the American, Mormon experience is (or ought to be) the universal experience? The very existence of such a book as this poses the question of whether there is room in Mormon studies for multiple points of view.

Any *Dialogue* reader who has not previously read these essays should

read them, not only for the essays themselves, but also to consider the question: "What collection of scholarly essays ought to represent the scholarly study of Mormonism to the broader academic community?" The value of this book is to make these views available in one volume, thus allowing the wise reader more easily to place Mormonism in its broader academic, American (and global) context.

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MICHAL ONYON graduated with a Bachelor of Fine Arts degree in painting from the University of Utah. Her talents as an illustrator and designer have been applied to positions and commissions for such Utah entities as The Utah Symphony, The Utah Ballet, Red Rock Brewery, The Downtown Alliance, Salt Lake Acting Company, O.C. Tanner Jewelry Store, among others. She lives in Bountiful, Utah with her architect husband Sean Onyon and their two children Hilary and Riley.

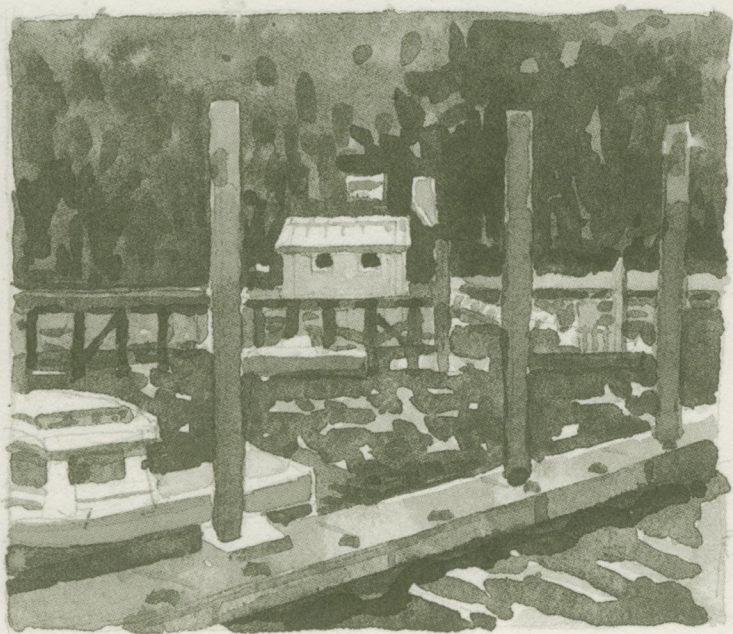
About ten years ago Ms. Onyon began painting watercolors during spare hours while on trips and family vacations. This collection now includes a good number of scenes from around the world, of which she says: "When I see these pictures, I can recall the same surrounding sounds, smells, temperature, people, circumstances, light and air as when they were painted. It is a timeless feeling to escape everyday life by trying to capture a world so much bigger and varied than we can imagine."

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