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A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF REFERENCES TO THE CHURCH OF JESUS
CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS IN GENERAL MAGAZINES IN THE
UNITED STATES BETWEEN 1953 AND 1964

A Thesis

Presented to

the Department of Communications

Brigham Young University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

by

David G. Wright

December, 1964

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study was to attempt to describe the extent and nature of what was published about the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (hereafter called the "Church") in general consumer magazines in the United States between 1953 and 1964.

II. SUBJECT OF THE STUDY

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has presented a unique historical, ecclesiastical and sociological phenomenon as an American institution. Historians have long noted the Church's major role in settling the West, but only recently have other factors drawn the attention and interest of people generally. Many people, including writers, have examined this indigenous-to-America institution and its people. Such people have examined the Church to explain and understand its material accomplishments and successes in building a vigorous and growing society, and have written of this. It was felt that examining what such writers, mostly non-Mormon, had written in American consumer magazines about the Church would be a worthwhile research project.

This study paralleled somewhat a similar previous content analysis study by Herbert N. Morris at Brigham Young University in 1958, which analyzed Mormonism in national periodicals up to 1953. Using twenty-one symbols and fourteen themes, Morris examined what was written in magazines about the Church for alternate decades between 1847 and 1953, noting the incidence of occurrence of symbols and themes, and the ratio of favor or disfavor for each.¹

Since 1953, the Church has continued to be the subject of national magazine articles. The Church's rapid growth and vigor, its activities and successes in such fields as missionary work, and perhaps the rise to national prominence of some of its members as George Romney contributed to the increased national attention given the Church. The rapid expansion of the Church and its membership, especially after World War II, from what had been a rather closed society in the Utah area to other areas of America, especially the rest of the West, brought increasing social contact between the Church, its members, and others. All such things made the nation more aware of the Church, its activities, its cultural, spiritual and economic programs, its members and doctrine, and therefore increased its potential as a subject for comment in magazines.

¹Herbert N. Morris, "Analysis of References to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in General Magazines of the United States During Selected Periods Between 1847 and 1953" (unpublished Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 1958).

III. PROCEDURES OF THE STUDY

In this study it was necessary both to select a specific source of articles to be considered, and to enumerate and classify these articles. The contents of articles chosen for inclusion in the study were analyzed with procedures conforming to common content analysis methods. (See "Coding Techniques," Chapter II.)

IV. DEFINITION OF SOURCE

To systematize and standardize selection of articles for inclusion in the study, delimit the scope and type of magazines covered and provide an orderly method of selection, it was decided the study would use only magazines listed under "List of Periodicals Indexed" in the front of the Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature² (hereafter called the Reader's Guide). This Reader's Guide list of consumer magazines became the universe for the study. One-hundred-twenty-four articles in forty-four magazines, each with at least two direct references to the Church, Mormonism, or Mormons, were included in the study.

In compiling a bibliography for the study, all Reader's Guides from 1953 to 1964 were searched under pertinent headings: "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," "Mormons," "Mormonism," "Joseph

²Sarita Robinson (ed.), and others, Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature. (New York: H. W. Wilson Co. 1953-64), Vols. 18-23, p. 1.

Smith," "Brigham Young," "David O. McKay," "George Romney," "Ezra Taft Benson," "Utah," "Stewart Udall," "Salt Lake City," and "polygamy."

A bibliography of very specialized articles appearing in professional or trade journals was compiled from the International Index³ (appearing in Appendix D), but they were so specialized, usually in the fields of sociology or history, that they were not considered to be general reading material for and generally understandable to laymen, and so were excluded from the study.

Because of apparent difficulties, the study did not try to trace and identify all nationally-circulated articles referring to the Church, Mormons, or members identified as Mormons. Articles with passive, indirect, or less than two references to the Church were excluded. For instance, when President Eisenhower presented Richard Cowan, a blind Latter-day Saint student, with a scholarship award in 1959, Time referred to Cowan as a "Mormon."⁴ This possibly showed the appellation "Mormon" is tacked on and follows Mormons more generally than is the case with members of other faiths. But a study analyzing articles with such passive or indirect references would not have been complete, and would have allowed distortion to enter.

³J. Doris Dart (ed.), Elizabeth Pingree (indexer), International Index. (New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1953-64).

⁴"Their Best," Time, LXXIII (June 1, 1959), 46.

Also, it would have been impossible to check every such incidental reference to the Church as in the above instance; therefore, only members of Presidencies of the Church and notable Apostles and national political figures as George Romney were checked under heading references for the time covered in the study or during their respective periods of prominence.

When the names "Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," or "Latter-day Saints," were found in index references, they were always followed by a line referring the reader to the topics of "Mormons," or "Mormonism."

V. DEFINITION OF TERMS

To clarify the special applications of terms and expressions used in the study, these definitions were adopted:

1. Content analysis. Content analysis involved tallying each pertinent referent word to the Church into one of fourteen symbol classifications and one of fourteen themes in the study. The symbol coding method of content analysis was used in the study. Bernard Berelson, noted authority in this area, described content analysis as a method for the

objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication... Content analysis assumes that inferences about the relationship between intent and the content or between content and effect can validly be made, or the actual relationships established. It assumes that study of the manifest content is meaningful, and the quantitative

description of communication content is meaningful.⁵

Content analysis as it is presently known was first widely used in the 1920's. Since then, hundreds, and perhaps thousands, of content analysis studies have been done. Initial efforts in the field were mainly in the area of subject matter classifications of newspaper communication. Harold Lasswell and his students pioneered in the content analysis of political communication. Bernard Berelson wrote a lengthy survey of content analysis, Content Analysis in Communications Research, in 1952. Content analysis studies in psychology and psycholinguistics have recently been emphasized. Articles on content analysis often appear in Journalism Quarterly, Public Opinion Quarterly, and Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology.⁶

Content analysis assumed that quantitative description of communication's manifest content arrived at through the content analysis process reveals the author's intent or attitude toward the subject (here, the Church).⁷

A scientific procedure has long been developed for content analysis research, including standard procedures and common terms and

⁵Bernard Berelson, Content Analysis in Communications Research (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1952), p. 18.

⁶Ralph Nafziger, and David White, (eds.), Introduction to Mass Communications Research. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1963), pp. 82-3.

⁷For a fuller description of content analysis methods used in the study, see Harold Lasswell, "The Politically Significant Content of the Press: Coding Procedures," Journalism Quarterly, XIX (1942), pp. 12-33.

techniques. Of the three common techniques, analysis by scale measurement, analysis by basic subject matter, and analysis by symbol coding, analysis by symbol coding was used in this study.

A content analysis approach was chosen because this research method reveals trends and flows of the subject matter examined, allowing one to trace the flow of focus of attention from article to article, author to author, and magazine to magazine. It also allows for the quantification and statistical determination of the most frequently recurring symbols and themes, and the degree of favor or disfavor found and changes in these over time.

2. Symbol Coding. Subject matter was analyzed by counting recurring significant words, or "symbols." Because the various contexts varied, frequency of symbol occurrences only would give an inadequate analysis of the symbols covered; therefore, the differing points of view found in the articles were divided into themes.

3. Magazines. "Magazines" include all publications issued at specific intervals, as semi-weekly, weekly, bi-weekly, or monthly, by an identifiable publisher. It excluded periodic books, bulletins, surveys, reports, newspapers and brochures.

4. General consumer magazines. The magazine listing of what the Reader's Guide considers consumer magazines (found in the front of all Reader's Guides) was used to obtain the bibliography in this study.⁸

⁸Robinson, op. cit., p. 1.

Such a classification of magazines is often thought of as being aimed at the general public, sold by subscription or at newsstands, and usually has advertising aimed at the general public, and sold to the public as consumers. Only magazines with general or nation-wide circulation were included in the study. (However, regional editions of some national magazines, as the western edition of the Farm Journal, were examined in this study, with the assumption that the same general editorial content prevailed throughout the regional editions.)

Technically, some magazines, as Musical America, Dance Magazine, and Theater Arts, could be considered borderline publications and possibly included in trade, class and specialized magazines, and therefore excluded from the study. Such magazines do, however, represent an increasing type of "class" magazines which are narrowing the gap between the two types and breaking into the general circulation and interest class. The Wilson Company's inclusion of such magazines in its Reader's Guide probably also showed their increasing general popularity, influence and generally wide acceptability. Their inclusion is felt to have desirably broadened the selected sample, therefore increasing the bibliography's chances of more truly reflecting the general magazine field.

Of the many possible mass communications media available for a study as the present one, general consumer magazines were felt to offer the best choice. Such magazines have traditionally been probably the most widespread means of disseminating interesting, pertinent and provocative ideas in America, and therefore, the best writing was often

found in them.

Because there seemed to be an inter-relationship between the press' image of a subject and national opinion during the time of the study, it was assumed the magazines examined generally reflected and influenced the current popular image of Mormonism. This relationship formed a part of the main study, throwing light on the current popular image of Mormonism.

5. Definitions of other words: A "symbol" was a classification unit of all important words or phrases included in the article analyzed. A "theme" was the main thought in which the context of the symbol was found. A "referent" was the particular object, person, thing, place, process or idea referred to by the words in the material analyzed. "Frequency" was the rate or ratio of a symbol's recurrence reached through the tabulation process. "Indulgence" showed a favorable treatment of the subject. "Neutrality" showed neither a favorable or unfavorable attitude toward the subject. A "statement" was the phrase, sentence, thought or other written expression unit used in determining the indulgence, deprivation, or neutrality of a symbol. Each complete clause was used as the unit for determining the author's attitude for each symbol in this study. "Direction" showed whether the attitude was favorable, unfavorable, or neutral, in the cumulative study.

VII. ORGANIZATION OF THE REMAINDER OF THIS STUDY

Chapter II, Research Design: Selection and Analysis Elements, reports previous studies in this area (Morris and Cowan), and gives the

basis for dividing magazines into three groups, "General," "Special," and "News." It also reports on the classification of word-referents to the Church into one of fourteen symbols and fourteen themes, and describes coding techniques the study used in the tabulation process.

Chapter III, Report of Findings: Discussion by Symbol and Theme, discusses findings by symbol and theme for "Combined," "General," "Special," and "News" magazine articles in the study, and makes comparisons with Morris' earlier findings.

Chapter IV, Topical Consideration and Discussion of Periodical Writing About the Church, is a topical treatment and discussion of representative magazine article excerpts about the Church. Chapter V gives the summary, findings, and conclusions.

CHAPTER II

RESEARCH DESIGN: SELECTION AND ANALYSIS ELEMENTS

I. PREVIOUS STUDIES IN THIS AREA

This study attempted to update to the present (1964) a previous thesis study by Herbert Newell Morris at Brigham Young University in 1958, which analyzed references to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in United States consumer magazines during selected periods between 1847 and 1953.⁹

Using a completely different approach, with no themes and five favor-disfavor categories, Richard Cowan, another author, completed a doctoral dissertation, "Mormonism in National Periodicals," at Stanford University in 1961.¹⁰

The present study used a format comparable to Morris', permitting comparisons, although changes were made to fit new needs. For example, an initial rather comprehensive survey of the more recent articles to be covered showed that social relations referents were becoming more frequent, so a separate thematic category was set up for this. The present study used fourteen symbols instead of Morris' twenty-one, which was still felt to be enough to adequately handle the referents. This

⁹Morris, op. cit.

¹⁰Richard Cowan, "Mormonism in National Periodicals" (Stanford University, Palo Alto, California, 1961).

similar, although not identical, approach permitted comparisons between the different time periods covered, which will be done later in the study.

II. MAGAZINE GROUPING

A total of 124 articles in forty-four magazines were obtained from the sources mentioned, which formed the universe for this study. All references to the Church or related subjects with possible references to the Church or Mormonism were included except for government, bureau or department publications and all newspaper magazine sections but the New York Times, which the Reader's Guide included and which was felt to be influential enough and widely enough read to justify inclusion. The Reader's Guide also included the Wall Street Journal, which, like the Times, was included because of its wide influence and coverage.

Extensive investigation was also made into, and a bibliography compiled from, other possible index sources; the International Index and Business Index, which contained mostly specialized articles in trade, class or professional journals. Many had technical material and terms, as sociologists comparing Mormon settlements with other local cultures. These were felt to be not of wide enough interest or influence, or too technical for the average layman to understand. Therefore, they were not included in the study, but are found in Appendix D.

Magazines included in the study were classified into three types: "General," "News," and "Specialized." (A list of this proposed breakdown

with the magazines in each was submitted for confirmation to Dr. Oliver Smith and Mrs. Lucile Thorne at the Brigham Young University library reference desk, and their suggestions were adopted.)

Table I shows the number of magazine articles used, those unavailable or inappropriate and totals for each class.

III. SYMBOLS

As the study covered many magazines published over a period of twelve years, there was an unlimited number of possible different referents. A grouping of types of referents was devised and adopted which categorized all possible referents into fourteen symbols:

1. Collective elements. Included terms as Mormonism, Mormon Church, Mormons, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, with other corresponding group names and synonyms.

2. Personal elements. Included any Latter-day Saint, leader or lay member specifically identifiable by name. Included terms as Prophet or Apostle or leader where the person referred to was clearly indicated.

3. Organization elements. Included priesthood and Church government, auxiliary unit names, offices, titles, ranks, and other organized units as Quorum of the Twelve, Mutual, Relief Society, stake, ward, Bishop, Elder.

4. Geographical-Political elements. Included strictly Mormon places, as Nauvoo, Salt Lake City, Utah.

TABLE I

CLASSIFICATION OF MAGAZINE ARTICLES ABOUT THE LDS CHURCH
1953-64 ACCORDING TO TYPE, SHOWING THE NUMBER ANALYZED,
NUMBER NOT APPROPRIATE, AND TOTALS FOR EACH

	Number Analyzed*	Not Appropriate or Unavailable ¹	Total Obtained from Bibliography Sources
General Magazines			
<u>American Magazine</u>	1		1
<u>American Mercury</u>	1		1
<u>Better Homes and Gardens</u>	2		2
<u>Collier's</u>	2	1	3
<u>Coronet</u>	2		2
<u>Esquire</u>	1		1
<u>Good Housekeeping</u>	1		1
<u>Harper's</u>	3		3
<u>Holiday</u>	3		3
<u>Life</u>	8	7	15
<u>Look</u>	3		3
<u>McCall's</u>		1	1
<u>Nation</u>	2	3	5
<u>New Republic</u>	1	11	12
<u>N. Y. Times Magazine</u>	3	4	7
<u>N. Y. Times Book Review</u>	2		2
<u>Reader's Digest</u>	4	1	5
<u>Reporter</u>	1	3	4
<u>Sat. Eve. Post</u>	8	5	13
<u>Saturday Review</u>	4	1	5
<u>Sunset</u>	1	2	3
<u>USA*1</u>	1		1
Totals	54	39	93
News Magazines			
<u>Newsweek</u>	9	13	21
<u>Time</u>	21	33	54
<u>U. S. News & W. R.</u>	6	13	19
Totals	36	59	95

NOTE: Because Mormon-written articles were not tallied as to favor or disfavor trying to show favor-disfavor ratios for each magazine separately was made much more complex in this table; therefore, the ratios for each magazine are not shown.

TABLE I (continued)

	Number Analyzed*	Not Appropriate or Unavailable ¹	Total Obtained from Bibliography Sources
<u>Special Magazines</u>			
<u>America</u>		4	4
<u>American City</u>	1		1
<u>American Forrests</u>	1	8	9
<u>American Heritage</u>	4		4
<u>Arizona Highways</u>	1		1
<u>Art News</u>		1	1
<u>Business Week</u>	3	7	10
<u>Catholic World</u>	1		1
<u>Christian Century</u>	5		5
<u>Commonweal</u>		2	2
<u>Congressional</u>			
<u>Quarterly</u>	1		1
<u>Country Gentlemen</u>		4	4
<u>Current Biography</u>	1		1
<u>Dance Magazine</u>	1		1
<u>Etude</u>	1		1
<u>Farm Journal</u>	1	4	5
<u>Field and Stream</u>		2	2
<u>Fortune</u>		6	6
<u>Hobbies</u>	2		2
<u>Library Journal</u>	3		3
<u>Musical America</u>	1		1
<u>National Review</u>		1	1
<u>Nation's Business</u>		3	3
<u>Scientific</u>			
<u>American</u>	1		1
<u>Science Newsletter</u>	1	1	2
<u>Sports Afield</u>		1	1
<u>Theater Arts</u>	2		2
<u>Travel</u>	1	1	2
<u>TV-Radio Broad-</u>			
<u>casting</u>		1	1
<u>Vogue</u>	1		1
<u>Wall Street</u>			
<u>Journal</u>	1		1
<u>Totals</u>	34	46	80
<u>Grand Totals</u>	124	144	268

NOTES: *Each with at least two direct references to the Church.

¹Either lacking two references to the Church, or unavailable in any of the libraries visited.

5. Character elements. Included personal attributes, virtues, vices, ignorance, learning, thrift, education, poverty.

6. Social and Cultural Expression elements. Included drama, sports, handicraft, socials, parties, groups organized for such expression.

7. Participation elements. Included active ordinances and practices, preaching, baptizing, praying, when referring to the actual practicing of such.

8. Belief elements. Included principles and doctrines and beliefs such as faith, repentance, baptism, tithing, various theories as welfare.

9. Other religions, racial, or Non-Mormon elements. Included Christianity with its divisions, Jews, Indians, Negroes, whether groups, units, leaders, or members; Gentiles and men in general, neutral civic groups, worldly units; anti-Mormons, individuals, groups, or apostates.

10. Government and Political elements. Included the United States, its political units and subdivisions, officers, offices and citizens if specified, army, war, and elections.

11. Material elements. Included the Church's wealth, produce, businesses, farms, farming, mines, welfare units, goods.

12. Polygamy elements. Included all synonyms and pertinent relationships.

13. Deity elements. Included God, Jesus Christ, Holy Ghost, and passages from the Bible.

14. Miscellaneous. Generally included referents not specifically fitting in the above symbols: Mormon structures and buildings, publications as Deseret News, Improvement Era, Book of Mormon; vicarious elements, temple ordinances, temple marriage, ceremonies, vicarious work, genealogy procedures; spiritual elements, spiritual states and beings, pre-existence, Heaven, Hell, spirit personalities; elements of accusation and anti-Mormon charges: Church-state, atrocities, and peepstone.

IV. THEMES

Fourteen major thematic categories were established:

- | | |
|---------------------|---|
| 1. Theological | 8. Practice-rituals |
| 2. Philosophical | 9. Education, Personal Welfare |
| 3. Mormon Policy | 10. Economic |
| 4. Cultural | 11. Industrial |
| 5. Moral or Ethical | 12. Marriage-family |
| 6. Social Relations | 13. Historical or Statistical |
| 7. Political | 14. Enumerative--achievements, virtues, structures, scenic. |

V. CODING TECHNIQUES

While the author tried to be journalistically objective in each decision concerning a symbol's indulgence or deprivation, human fallibility and the author's membership in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints must be allowed for. The only criterion used for this value judgment of a symbol's favorableness or unfavorableness was if it appeared favorable, unfavorable, or neutral towards the Church,

authorities, or Mormons generally. If the symbol was not obviously pro or con, or if the author's intent was not clearly established as favorable or unfavorable, or if he clearly showed his intent of making an impartial statement, the referent was tallied neutral.

Because a different approach to and probably a more favorably-appearing treatment of material about the Church could be expected from Mormon than from non-Mormon writers in the study, no attempt was made to tally symbols in Mormon-written articles as favorable or unfavorable. Because of their different environments and teachings, Mormon and non-Mormon authors could be expected to approach and treat similar material about the Church differently.

VI. USE OF A PANEL'S EVALUATION OF MAGAZINE ARTICLE EXCERPTS AS A CHECK ON THE STUDY

Six Mormons and five non-Mormons chosen at random comprising a panel provided a check on the study's evaluation of the material. The participants were handed ten excerpts from magazine articles found in the study and asked to rate the four underlined words for each excerpt separately as to favor, disfavor, or neutrality towards the Church. Tabulated results of the panel's and the author's rating are found in Table IX, Appendix C.

The panel was used as a check on the present study before analyzing all articles to see if the author generally tallied referents as other people would; this the panel results generally seemed to show.

Using the Pearsonian linear correlation formula, a correlation of 0.809 was obtained between the author's and Mormon's ratings, and a correlation coefficient of 0.928 between ratings by the author and non-Mormons. There was a 0.824 correlation between ratings by Mormon panel members, and non-Mormon raters.

VII. SUMMARY

Content analysis involved tallying each pertinent word referring to the Church in the magazines examined into symbols and themes, and noting favor, disfavor, and neutrality for each. Modern content analysis first became widely used in the 1920's, with most initial content analysis studies classifying newspaper subject matter. Harold Lasswell and his students pioneered in the content analysis of political communication.

Using twenty-one symbols and fourteen themes with a content analysis approach, Herbert N. Morris examined what was written about the Latter-day Saints Church in United States magazines for alternate decades between 1847 and 1953, noting the incidence of occurrence of symbols and themes, and favor-disfavor ratios for each. In a content analysis approach with no themes and five favor-disfavor categories, Richard Cowan completed a doctoral dissertation, "Mormonism in National Periodicals," at Stanford University in 1961.

A bibliography of 124 articles in forty-four magazines was obtained from the Reader's Guide 1953-64. These magazines were divided into three types: "General," "Special," and "News." The fourteen symbols

and fourteen themes were listed.

The basis used for judging a referent to the Church as to favor or disfavor was if it appeared favorable, disfavorable, or neutral toward the Church or Mormons generally. Because a different approach to writing about similar material on the Church could be expected from Mormon and non-Mormon writers, Mormon-written articles were not tallied as to favor or disfavor.

CHAPTER III

REPORT OF FINDINGS: DISCUSSION BY SYMBOLS AND THEMES

I. INTRODUCTION

This chapter attempts to discuss significant points or inferences that could be drawn from the favor-disfavor ratios and percentages of the whole for symbols and themes. Tables II to V present (with a table for each magazine group) the ten leading symbols and themes, with their frequency of occurrence and favor-disfavor ratios. The tables and discussions, which consider "Combined," "General," "Special," and "News" magazines, in that order, should be followed together in correlating the discussion for each symbol and theme. Comparisons between Morris' study and the present study will be made.

The ten leading symbols and themes of each group of magazines whose combined percentages and attitude ratios represented a substantial majority of the whole were included in the tables to increase the accuracy of conclusions. (Beyond the tenth place, the numbers of referents per symbol or theme became so small as to lose much accuracy in probability sampling, and greatly increased problems of objective interpretation.)

II. COMPUTATION OF ATTITUDE RATINGS

The general attitude ratings toward the subject (symbol or theme) were obtained by counting the number of favorable or unfavorable

referents to it, thus enabling one to plot the relative favor-disfavor ratios in tables. The attitude ratings in the tables (Tables II to V) were found from the difference in percentage of favorable and unfavorable referents. The percent of the whole of the negative referents was subtracted from the percent of the whole of the positive referents to get the ratio rating. For example, if ten of 100 referents were favorable and five unfavorable, the percentage of negative referents (five) would be taken from the percentage of favorable referents (ten), giving a +5.0 favor-disfavor ratio.

III. DISCUSSION OF "COMBINED" MAGAZINE ARTICLES IN THE STUDY

Symbols. There was a +2.4 average favor-disfavor rating for all symbols. "Collective" symbols (20.3 percent) and "Personal" (26.8 percent) symbols whereby far the most frequent symbols, and together made up over 47 percent of the total; over 58 percent of the total if the "Social Relations" symbol was included (See Table II, next page).

"Collective" (+2.7) and "Personal" (+3.0) symbols had fairly high attitude ratings, showing the Church, and its members were generally well received. "Non-Mormons" were the next largest symbol category, with 11.7 percent of the total and a moderate +1.8 rating.

"Miscellaneous" symbols (8.7 percent of the total), "Participation" (7.4 percent) and "Government-political" (6.4 percent), were

TABLE II

ANALYSIS OF LEADING SYMBOLS AND THEMES IN ALL MAGAZINES IN THE STUDY REFERRING TO THE LDS CHURCH BETWEEN 1953-64 SHOWING FAVOR-DISFAVOR RATIOS AND FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE

Ten Leading Symbols (In descending order of occurrence)

Symbol	Percent of Whole	Times Occurring	Favorable	Disfavorable	Favor-Disfavor Ratio
Personal	26.8	6,655	212	12	+3.0
Collective	20.3	5,048	143	8	+2.7
Non-Mormons	11.7	2,920	72	19	+1.8
Miscellaneous	8.7	2,165	54	14	+1.8
Participation	7.4	1,850	64	2	+3.4
Govt-Political	6.4	1,579	35	24	+0.7
Mormon Places	4.5	1,104	27	0	+2.4
Organization	4.4	1,092	26	3	+2.1
Material	3.2	790	41	65	-3.0
Belief	2.8	699	14	10	+ .6
Remaining 4	3.8	951	67	10	+6.0
All Symbols		24,853	755	167	+2.4

Theme

History	27.5	6,831	58	5	+ .8
Enumeration	12.9	3,203	83	6	+2.4
Social Relations	11.8	2,934	273	29	+8.3
Marriage-family	11.3	2,795	6	3	+ .1
Political	10.6	2,624	127	19	+4.1
Economic	5.4	1,330	8	43	-2.6
Practice-ritual	4.5	1,124	50	8	+3.7
Philosophical	4.4	1,090	7	24	-1.6
Cultural	4.4	1,078	55	1	5.0
Theological	3.6	883	15	5	+1.1
Remaining 4	3.8	951	73	24	+6.0
All Themes		24,853	755	167	+2.4

NOTE: Positive rating represents favor; negative disfavor. Ratio derivations explained on page 21. Themes defined on page 17. Symbols defined on pages 13-17.

the next highest, in that order. "Participation" was a broad category, including every kind of Mormon religious ritualistic participation. It had a +3.4 rating, and "Government-political" had a +0.7 rating.

"Organizational," and "Mormon Places," symbols had practically the same shares of the whole, 4.4 percent, and 4.5 percent, respectively. "Mormon Places" had a moderate +2.4 rating and "Organization" had a +2.1 rating.

The Church fared worst of all in the "Material" area, with a -3.0 rating. Two highly unfavorable articles on Church businesses, Neil Morgan's Esquire article, and a Newsweek article, accounted for the vast majority of negative referents in this minor symbol.¹

Mormon "Character" was by far the highest-rated symbol. Yet because of its small part of the whole (less than 1 percent), results should be interpreted carefully.

Themes. (See Table II) "History" was the largest theme, +27.5 percent of the total, and a +0.8 rating. Many magazines apparently felt Mormon history interested readers, as many accounts appeared to inform the reader or relate facts about Mormonism as a unique historical institution. Largely because of four articles in American Heritage, "Special" magazines contributed 58 percent of all "Historical" themes.

¹Neil Morgan, "Utah: How Much Money Hath the Mormon Church?" Esquire, LVIII (August, 1962), pp. 86-91; "Latter-day Profits," Newsweek, LIX (January 22, 1962), pp. 67-8.

"Enumeration" was the second largest theme, with 12.0 percent of the total. With "History," and "Social Relations," it made up 52 percent of the total. "History" and "Enumeration" themes seemed closely tied together, with "Enumeration" themes often being a current account of collective and individual Mormon statistics and accomplishments that might be called current history. The "Enumerative" theme had a moderate +2.4 rating.

"Social Relations" was the third largest theme, with 11.8 percent of the total. Despite some negative ratings from alleged "discrimination" with the Negro problem, "Social Relations" had the highest rating, +8.3, of any theme, perhaps because, as DeVoto and Christian Century said, "everybody who knows them Mormons likes them."²

"Special" magazines had fewer "Social Relations" themes (5.1 percent) than the other types (14.7 percent and 18.2 percent), showing perhaps "Special" magazines were not as concerned with such things as the Negro question as much as others, as they more usually featured such things as Mormon dance and drama programs.

The "Political" theme was the fifth largest, with 10.6 percent of the total, probably showing that Mormon politicians such as Michigan Governor George Romney, former Agriculture Secretary Elder Ezra Taft Benson, and to a lesser extent, Interior Secretary Stewart Udall,

²Bernard DeVoto, "Current Comic Strips," Harper's, CCX (May, 1955), 8; W.E. Garrison, "The Mormons," Christian Century, LXXX (January 23, 1958), 343.

drew more than average attention. It had a high rating because writers as Carmer and DeVoto noted the integrity and high principles of Mormons collectively in politics,³ and others noted the same personally for Secretary Benson and Governor Romney.

"Political" themes made up the largest thematic category in "News" magazines, 27.3 percent, much more than the 11.5 percent of "General" magazines and the 4.1 percent of "Special" magazines. Other types of magazines, "Special," for instance, seemed much less concerned than "News" magazines with Mormon politics.

"Family-marriage" themes were the fourth largest, with 11.3 percent of the total, and a very slight, +0.1 positive rating. This theme occurred by far the most in "General" magazines (where it constituted 16.7 percent of the total, compared with 8.9 percent for "Special," and 2.4 percent for "News" magazines' total). Mormon family life seemed to be of more interest to general-type magazine readers than others. Two Mormon writers' stories of their early Mormon family life-- Samuel W. Taylor's "My Mormon Family," (Holiday) and Frank C. Robertson's "Ram in the Thicket," (Reader's Digest)⁴--accounted for 1,022 of the total 2,269 "Family-marriage" referents in "General" magazines.

³DeVoto, loc. cit., Carl Carmer, "The Peculiar People Prosper," New York Times Magazine, (April 15, 1962), pp. 62-4.

⁴Samuel W. Taylor, "My Mormon Family," Holiday, Vol. 25 (March, 1959), pp. 127-30; Frank C. Robertson, "Ram in the Thicket," Reader's Digest, LXXVIII (June, 1961), pp. 248-56.

"Economic" referents were the sixth largest theme, with 5.4 percent of the total, and the only negative theme, with a -2.6 rating, which was caused by unfavorable referents to Church business interests. This correlated with the negative "Material" symbol, which was also negative because of disfavorable Church-business articles.

"Cultural" themes were seventh largest, with 4.4 percent of the total. This theme had the next to highest positive rating, +5.0, which correlated with the high "Social-cultural" symbol ratings.

"Special" magazines had many more "Cultural" themes (8.9 percent of the total) than the others, very probably because "Specialized" magazines as Dance, Theater Arts, and Travel noted the Mormon dance and drama programs and the Cumorah Pageant, for example.

The "Practice-ritual" theme was eighth largest, with 4.6 percent of the total, and a rather high +3.7 favorable rating. This probably showed Mormon belief was generally well regarded, with some writers noting the type of belief that produced men like Benson and Romney, although this was a minor theme.

"Special" magazines had less doctrinal discussion ("Practice-ritual," .009 percent of the total), as compared with the 5.5 percent of "General" magazines and the 11.5 percent of "News" magazines. Many of the "Practice-ritual" referents in "News" magazines reported Mormon practice in such things as missionary work.

IV. DISCUSSION OF "GENERAL" MAGAZINE ARTICLES IN THE STUDY

Symbols. (See Table III, next page, to follow and correlate with the discussion.) "General" magazines had 54.5 percent of all symbols.

"Collective" symbols were again positive, with a +3.1 rating. This, with the "Personal" symbol's +3.9, "Organization's" +2.0, and "Mormon Places" +3.0, correlated well together, showing the Church its people, places and organization were generally well received. All symbols in the "General" magazines conformed fairly closely in percent of the whole to the totals of all three magazine groups, and by far, the most favorable symbols were in this class.

Mormon "Participation" had a higher favorable ratio here, +4.0 than it had for "Special," magazines, +3.1; or "News" +.9; probably because these magazines, as Spence for example in Look with missionary work, especially noted and admired Mormon devotion, service, and dedication.⁵

"Non-Mormons" were rated much higher here than in the other classes, +3.4.

Largely because of Esquire's heavily negative article on Church businesses, the "Material" element was the lowest of all symbols in this class, with a -.004 rating.

⁵Hartzell Spence, "The Mormons," Look, XXII (January 21, 1958), 59.

TABLE III

ANALYSIS OF LEADING SYMBOLS AND THEMES IN "GENERAL" MAGAZINES IN THE STUDY REFERRING TO THE LDS CHURCH BETWEEN 1953-64, SHOWING FAVOR-DISFAVOR RATIOS AND FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE

Ten Leading Symbols (In descending order of occurrence)

Symbol	Percent of Whole	Times Occurring	Favorable	Disfavorable	Favor-Dis-favor Ratio
Personal	27.2	3,703	145	2	+3.9
Collective	20.6	2,807	87	1	+3.1
Non-Mormons	11.0	1,488	52	1	+3.4
Participation	8.1	1,103	45	1	+4.0
Miscellaneous	7.6	1,039	42	0	+4.0
Govt-Political	5.2	708	32	18	+2.0
Mormon Places	4.9	670	20	0	+3.0
Organization	4.8	650	13	0	+2.0
Material	3.4	461	41	43	- .4
Belief	3.3	454	12	2	+2.2
Remaining 4	3.7	500	30	1	+5.8
All symbols		13,583	519	69	+3.3

Themes

History	20.9	2,839	39	3	+ 1.3
Marriage-family	16.7	2,269	5	3	+ .1
Social Relations	14.8	2,026	252	2	+12.5
Political	11.5	1,561	115	1	+ 1.3
Enumerative	8.1	1,105	27	4	+ 2.1
Economic	7.2	983	4	43	+ 4.0
Philosophical	5.9	803	0	0	+ 0.
Practice-ritual	5.5	746	41	0	+ 5.5
Personal Welfare	4.4	597	0	0	.0
Theological	2.9	389	0	0	.0
Remaining 4	2.0	265	36	13	+ 8.7
All themes		13,583	519	69	

NOTE: Positive rating represents favor; negative disfavor. Ratio derivations explained on page 21. Themes defined on page 17. Symbols defined on pages 13-17.

Themes. The "Social-cultural" theme was high, correlating with the high "Social-cultural" symbol rating, though its percent of the whole was much smaller than the combined averages for "Cultural." "Enumerative" was again high, for the before-mentioned reasons.

Favorable symbols in five articles in "General" magazines contributed heavily to the highest +3.3 average rating of all groups: "Everybody Picks on Benson," American Magazine, 87 favorable symbols; "The Salt Lake City Tabernacle Choir Sings," Reader's Digest, 200 favorable symbols; "The Saints Roll up Their Sleeves," Saturday Evening Post, 55 favorable; "Their Indian Guests," Saturday Evening Post, 129 favorable; "The Mormons," Look, 191 favorable symbols. Favorable referents from these five articles made up the vast majority of all positive referents in "General" magazines. Individual Mormons, and Church economic and social programs for its members drew most of the favorable comment in these articles, and these aspects of Mormonism were favorably noted.

Other favorable articles in this area were, with their number of favorable symbols: "George Romney, New Hope for the GOP," Nation, 10; "Change Comes to Zion's Empire," Saturday Evening Post, 11; Carmer's "The Peculiar People Prosper," New York Times Magazine, 9; Current Comic Strips, " Harper's, 17; "Faith Tested in Fire," New York Times Book Review, 24.

V. DISCUSSION OF "SPECIAL" MAGAZINE ARTICLES IN THE STUDY

Symbols. "Special" magazines had 35.0 percent of all symbols, and the breakdown per symbol generally followed that of the total pattern. (See Table IV, next page, to correlate with and follow this discussion).

"Collective," "Organization," and "Mormon Place" symbols were again favorable repeaters, forming the same generally favorable pattern as in the grand totals.

"Social-Cultural" expression symbols made up almost twice the percent of the whole in "Special" magazines compared to other groups. "Special" magazines as Theater Arts, Dance, Etude, and Musical America often noted Mormon social-cultural programs. There was a high +20.0 rating for this symbol.

"Participation" and "Character" symbols had much the same high ratings as in "General" magazines, with much the same pattern.

Themes. "Philosophy" had a higher (+4.1) rating than the -1.6 average rating for this theme. "Cultural" was again high. "Enumerative" was again favorable, conforming to its general pattern. "Social Relations" (5.1 percent of total) and "Political" (4.1 percent), and "Practice-ritual" (.009 percent), were much lower here than the total averages of 11.8 percent, 10.6 percent, and 4.5 percent, respectively. "Social Relations" and "Political," both had just slightly favorable

TABLE IV

ANALYSIS OF LEADING SYMBOLS AND THEMES IN "SPECIAL" MAGAZINES IN THE STUDY REFERRING TO THE LDS CHURCH BETWEEN 1953-64, SHOWING FAVOR-DISFAVOR RATIOS AND FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE

Ten Leading Symbols (In descending order of occurrence)

Symbol	Percent of Whole	Times Occurring	Favorable	Disfavorable	Favor-Disfavor Ratio
Personal	26.0	2,265	44	3	+1.8
Collective	18.2	1,583	33	2	+2.0
Non-Mormons	12.4	1,082	4	2	+0.2
Miscellaneous	11.5	1,004	11	1	+1.0
Govt-Political	8.3	722	3	1	+ .3
Participation	6.0	523	16	0	+3.1
Mormon Places	4.0	344	5	0	+1.5
Organization	3.8	324	13	0	+4.0
Material	3.3	291	0	0	- .0
Belief	2.0	178	2	3	- .6
Remaining 4	4.6	403	32	0	+7.9
All symbols		8,719	163	12	+1.7

Theme

History	43.4	3,770	19	2	+ .4
Enumerative	21.2	1,850	55	2	+2.9
Cultural	8.9	774	45	1	+5.7
Marriage-family	5.3	464	1	0	+ .2
Social Relations	5.1	437	2	0	+ .5
Political	4.1	358	5	3	+ .6
Theological	4.1	355	0	0	.0
Philosophical	1.9	169	7	0	+4.1
Economic	2.1	185	0	0	.0
Practice-ritual	1.0	81	0	0	.0
Remaining 4	.9	276	29	4	
All themes		8,719	163	12	+9.0

NOTE: Positive ratings represent favor; negative disfavor. Ratio derivations explained on page 21. Themes defined on page 17. Symbols defined on pages 13-17.

ratings, which were much below the grand average ratings for the themes.

VI. DISCUSSION OF "NEWS" MAGAZINE ARTICLES IN THE STUDY

Symbols. "News" magazine articles had 10.4 percent of all symbols, and this was the only group with a total negative (-.5) rating. (See Table V, next page, to follow and correlate with this discussion.)

"Collective," "Personal," "Organization," and "Mormon Place" symbols fit the general pattern of approval, although to a lesser extent. All symbols conformed fairly closely to the total pattern in percent except for "Social-cultural" expression (.007 percent of total) in "News" magazines, and "Material," (1.5 percent in "News" magazines) with a 3.2 percent total average.

"Cultural Expression" and "Character" ratings were very high, +39.0 and +54.5, respectively. But both were minor symbols here, so ratings should be interpreted with caution.

"Mormon Belief" was lower here than in other groups, with magazines as Time, which described David O. McKay as "never having admitted to receiving a revelation,"⁶ showing skepticism of Mormon belief. The "Material" element, a very minor one, had a very negative -58.0 rating, with the Newsweek article about the Church's businesses accounting for all these negative referents.

⁶"The Negro Question," Time, LXXXII (October 18, 1963), 83.

TABLE V

ANALYSIS OF LEADING SYMBOLS AND THEMES IN "NEWS" MAGAZINES
IN THE STUDY REFERRING TO THE LDS CHURCH BETWEEN 1953-64,
SHOWING FAVOR-DISFAVOR RATIOS AND FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE

Ten Leading Symbols (In descending order of occurrence)

Symbol	Percent of Whole	Times Occurring	Favorable	Disfavorable	Favor-Dis- favor Ratio
Personal	26.5	687	23	7	+2.3
Collective	25.4	658	23	5	+2.7
Non-Mormons	13.5	350	16	16	0.
Participation	8.7	224	3	1	+0.9
Govt-Political	5.8	149	0	5	-3.3
Miscellaneous	4.7	122	1	13	-9.9
Organization	4.6	118	0	3	-2.5
Mormon Places	3.5	90	2	0	+2.2
Belief	2.6	67	0	5	-7.5
Material	1.5	38	0	22	-58.0
Remaining 4	3.2	83	5	9	-4.8
All symbols		2,586	73	86	- .5

Theme

Political	27.3	705	17	15	+0.3
Social Relations	18.2	471	19	27	-1.7
Practice-ritual	11.5	297	9	8	+ .3
Enumerative	9.6	248	1	0	+ .4
History	8.7	222	0	0	.0
Economic	6.3	162	4	0	+2.5
Theological	5.4	139	0	5	+7.2
Philosophical	4.6	118	0	24	-20.2
Marriage-family	2.4	62	0	0	0
Moral Ethical	2.0	52	0	0	0
Remaining 4	4.2	110	8	7	+ .9
All themes		2,586	73	86	- .5

NOTE: Positive rating represents favor; negative disfavor. Ratio derivations explained on page 21. Themes defined on page 17. Symbols defined on pages 13-17.

Themes. As could perhaps be expected, "News" magazines had a larger percentage in the "Political" theme (27.3 percent of the "News" theme total) and "Practice-ritual" (11.5 percent of the "News" theme total) than the grand totals. "News" magazines noted prominent Mormon politicians as Secretary Benson and Governor George Romney, and Mormon practice and ritual. In contrast, "Marriage-family," "History," and "Enumerative" themes were much below the combined totals. Here "History" had 8.7 percent of the total, "Marriage-family" 2.4 percent, and "Enumerative," 9.6 percent.

The "Philosophical" theme, a minor one, was low in this class, with a -20.2 rating, possibly correlating with the low "Belief" element rating in "News" magazines noted above.

A slightly unfavorable "Social Relations" rating, -1.7, was due to unfavorable discussions relating Mormons to Negroes and other races. The "Political" and "Practice-ritual" themes had slightly favorable ratings.

VII. COMPARISON OF MORRIS' FINDINGS WITH PRESENT FINDINGS

This part of the study deals with comparing and correlating data from Morris' study (the earlier thesis paralleling this study, previously referred to, Chapter I) with data from the present study.⁷ The last two periods of time Morris considered (1919-29, and 1941-53) are

⁷Morris, op. cit., pp. 38-9.

referred to in this comparison. The ratings and percentages for his leading symbols and themes for the periods were obtained from Morris' tables⁸ and were used in Table VI (together with data from the present study).

Problems in comparing the two studies. Several things complicated objective correlation or comparison between Morris' study and the present one. The present study used fourteen symbols, compared to Morris' twenty-one. Some of the topics the present study included in "Miscellaneous" were separate symbols in Morris' study. As previously noted ("Research Design: Selection and Analysis Elements," Chapter II, "Themes"), because an initial survey of the present study's articles indicated increased attention was being paid to "social relations," this became a separate theme. Since Morris did not include this as a separate theme, comparison here between the two studies was not possible.

The time covered in Morris' last period (1941-53) was atypical both because its earlier part was in the tail end of a depression (as was probably reflected in the rise of Morris' "Economic" theme from tenth place in the previous period to second in his last period (1941-53), and part was in World War II.

Nearly 70 percent of Morris' negative referents for his last period came from an article by ex-Mormon Fawn McKay Brodie, three reviews of her book, No Man Knows My History, and a fiction article by Bernard

⁸Ibid.

DeVoto, former critic of the Church.⁹ Because of this, it was difficult to accurately determine the interplay or relative spread of effect of these 70 percent of negative references throughout Morris' 21 symbols and correlate this with later data in trying to trace reasons for changes between periods.

As was explained in Chapter II, the author did not compute favor-disfavor ratios for Mormon authors (who made up perhaps 30 percent of all authors). Morris computed favor or disfavor for such authors, and thus complicated objective comparison and correlation between the two studies because of the different approaches. For this and other reasons, the present study appears to have more conservative ratio ratings than Morris' study.

There were sharp changes between Morris' last two periods which he did not try to explain, as the large decrease of "Gentiles" from second place in 1919-29 to sixth largest in his last period, and favor-disfavor ratio changes from +2.3 in the earlier period to +9.5 in the last one (See Table VI, next page). There were several such examples. Perhaps some differences and changes could be expected in both studies, especially with two different authors sampling different periods in different magazines in different social environments. It was not always possible objectively and accurately to pinpoint or explain some of the changes found.

⁹Morris, op. cit., pp. 83-4.

TABLE VI

COMPARISONS OF FAVOR-DISFAVOR RATIOS AND FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE OF LEADING SYMBOLS AND THEMES IN THE PRESENT STUDY WITH TWO OF MORRIS' PERIODS

Leading Symbols	Morris I*		Morris II*		(Wright 1953-64)	
	% of Whole	Ratio	% of Whole	Ratio	% of Whole	Ratio
Collective	11.2	+ .6	13.8	+8.5	20.3	+2.7
Persons	8.6	+ 4.7	11.9	- .9	26.8	+3.0
Material			10.8	+5.9	3.2	-3.0
Places	15.8	+12.6	9.8	+7.5	4.5	+2.4
Participation	6.9	+ 5.1	8.0	- .5	7.4	+3.4
Gentiles	12.5	+ 2.3	5.8	+9.5	11.7	+1.8
Miscellaneous					8.7	+1.8
Government	6.8	+11.3			6.4	- .7
Leading Themes						
History	33.3	+ 2.5	49.5	+ 1.3	27.5	+ .8
Enumeration	8.6	+30.6	5.4	+53.8	12.9	+2.4
Social Relations					11.8	+8.3
Political	7.8	+ .3	3.2	- 5.6	10.6	+4.1
Economic			7.0	+17.1	5.4	-2.6
Philosophy	11.5	+ 8.6	6.7	- 4.1	4.4	+1.6
Social-cultural	8.7	+ 6.1				
Practices	7.9	+ 5.5	5.3	+ 3.5	4.5	+3.7

*Morris I, first period, 1919-29; Morris II, second period, 1942-53.

Other possible ways of comparing data from the two studies presented problems, and were so discarded. As the present study did not have the total number of referents for each Morris article or classification, comparing changes by author or subject (as the Tabernacle Choir) over the two periods was difficult. Nor was there any information from Morris on the number of partial references to a subject, as welfare, and minute determination and comparison of this would be beyond the scope of the study.

Determining the nature of an article from its title was difficult. For example, many of the titles of the Bernard DeVoto articles Morris considered seemed to belie their true content nature: "Utah," "Centennial of Mormonism," "Fossil Remnants of the Frontier," "Paragraph in the History of the West," "Vacation," "Millennial Millions," and "Flood in the Desert."¹⁰ Exhaustive reconsideration and minute re-examination of each referent in all of Morris' articles would have been beyond the scope of the study.

Morris also used broad general sub-heads, as "Recreation," in his discussion Chapter III, with the present study being unable to determine if these referred to Mormon drama, dance, volleyball, basketball, softball, or camping programs. Titles of these articles didn't help, as a Recreation article was simply called "Everybody Active."¹¹

¹⁰Morris, op. cit., pp. 134-41.

¹¹Ibid., p. 94.

This study included an article by Bernard DeVoto, a native Utahn, non-Mormon, and former critic of the Church. Probably the most meaningful comparison that could be drawn in the change of his approach to the Church over time would be to cite the change in Morris' rating for DeVoto from 1926 to 1941-53--from -24.3 to -7.3, respectively.¹²

Comparison of themes. The 1947 Centennial of the Mormon Pioneers settling the Salt Lake Valley probably accounted for increased attention given historical aspects and accomplishments of Mormonism, as was indicated by Morris' "Historical" theme rising from 33.3 percent in the previous period to 49.5 percent of the total between 1941 and 1953. The present study's 27.5 percent in "History" was more in line with Morris' 33.3 percent for the same theme in his more typical earlier period (1919-29). Morris also considered three extensive and technical historical articles in American Historical Review by historian M. S. Cannon, with thousands of "Historical" referents.¹³ No such similar articles were included in the present study.

Morris' high "Economic" theme was probably a leading theme with a high rating largely because writers noted and praised the Mormon Welfare Program. This program was started just before Morris' last period, in a major depression, when the nation's attention was focused on material elements because of dire general economic conditions.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid., p. 169.

However, Morris' percentage of the whole for this theme (7.0) was not very much higher than the present study's (5.4). The high position of the "Economic" theme in Morris' last period dropped in the present study as the economy improved, war came, general preoccupation with material and welfare elements declined and the welfare plan's uniqueness wore off. Morris' higher "Material" symbol ranking (third highest) and rating for the 1941-52 period probably showed the same general relationship as in the "Economic" theme noted above.

Morris' "Enumerative" rating was perhaps higher (+53.8) than that of the present study's because the 1947 Centennial gave writers occasion to especially praise Mormon achievements, virtues and structures.

As noted before, two heavily negative articles about the Church's businesses (something apparently encountered more in the present than previous study), gave the negative rating "Economic" in the present study (-2.6). Morris apparently found authors praising the Welfare Plan to give his "Economic" theme a high, +17.1 rating in his last period.

The "Practices" theme rating and part of the whole were close in both periods (+3.7 in both) and 5.3 percent for Morris, and 4.5 percent for the present study.

Comparison of symbols. Morris' rating for "Collective" symbols may have been higher than that of the present study because many authors in his last period seemed to favorably note the Church in connection with the 1947 Centennial. The favorable noting of Mormon places

by writers in connection with the Centennial perhaps contributed to Morris' higher +7.5 rating for "Mormon Places" than the present study's and this theme's larger part of the whole for Morris (9.8 percent) than the present study's 4.5 percent.

Mormon "Social-cultural Expression" ratings were high for both Morris' last period, +22.7, and the present study, +5.0, showing authors favorably noted Mormon socio-cultural programs in both periods.

VIII. SUMMARY

Favor-disfavor ratios in the study were found from the difference in the percentage of favorable and unfavorable referents. There were +3.0 and +2.7 favor-disfavor ratios respectively for "Individual" and "Collective" Mormons in all magazines in the study, and a combined +2.4 rating for all symbols. The highest-rated themes were: "Cultural," +5.0; "Social Relations," +8.3; and "Political," +4.1. The "Economic" theme and "Material" symbol had the only negative ratings of any significance, and these were related to each other, as the negative ratings for both came from unfavorable articles about the Church's businesses.

Leading symbols, in order of frequency of occurrence, were: "Personal," "Collective," "Non-Mormons," "Miscellaneous," "Participation," "Government," and "Mormon Places." Leading themes were "History," "Enumeration," "Social Relations," "Political," "Marriage-

family," and "Economic." "General," "Special" and "News" magazines were discussed by symbol and theme, and comparisons made between this study and Morris' previous study. Morris' favor-disfavor ratio increased from +1.0 in 1899-1909 to +4.0 in 1919-29, and +4.1 in 1942-53.

CHAPTER IV

TOPICAL CONSIDERATION AND DISCUSSION OF PERIODICAL WRITING ABOUT THE CHURCH

This chapter will present a running summary by topic of what was considered to be representative and typical of what was being written about the Latter-day Saints Church in consumer magazines between 1952 and 1964. Introductions to and important and representative excerpts from these articles will also be included, together with the number of favorable, unfavorable, and total referents for some articles. When significant favor-disfavor ratios for articles combine with those of other articles to contribute importantly to the total attitude rating of a magazine group, this will also be mentioned.

I. SOCIO-CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF AUTHORS IN THE STUDY

It was thought that it was relevant to examine, within reason, how an author's socio-religious background influenced and affected his treatment of what he wrote about the Church. One approach to this would have been to ask personal acquaintances of these authors of their knowledge of the authors, another was the sending of self-rating sheets to the authors. The first proved unfeasible because several conflicting opinions were found in talking to supposed personal acquaintances of some of the authors; others proved uncooperative, and personal acquaintances could not be found for many authors. Self-rating sheets sent to authors proved

unfeasible because of the difficulty in personally tracing over 100 authors, which would have been beyond the scope of this study.

In trying to remain objective in this examination of Mormon authors, information sources from Church records were considered, as it was thought that Priesthood office and payment of tithing were as objective criteria as possible. This proved unfeasible.¹ However, the writer did get the priesthood offices, and in some cases current Church position held of most Mormon authors from the Church Historian's Office name card file. This file also labeled most non-Mormon writers found in the study as "friendly non-Mormon." Theodore Cannon, head of the Church Information Office, also provided valuable personal knowledge of many authors.² Because the first approaches to this examination of authors were considered unfeasible or unobjective, these last two sources--the Church Historian's Office name card file, and Theodore Cannon--were adopted, and data from them was usually included for authors as their article was considered.

This summary of what was felt to be relevant found in the articles examined will be presented under the following topics: The Church as

¹This proved unfeasible, as it was found in talking to one of the general authorities of the Latter-day Saints Church, John H. Vandenberg, the Presiding Bishop of the Church, in his Salt Lake City office August 28, 1964, the Church would not release this type of information.

²In an interview with Mr. Cannon in his Salt Lake City office August 27, 1964.

a Social Institution; Prominent Individual Latter-day Saints; Social and Cultural Expression; Tabernacle Choir; Church Participation; Mormon Structures; Social Relations with Racial Groups and Minorities; History, Persecution, Pioneering; Church Doctrine; Church Business Interests; Church Welfare Plan; Polygamy.

II. THE CHURCH AS A SOCIAL INSTITUTION

Many writers were found to have praised the Church and its people in the period of time covered. In an almost monumental, and favorable article that has become a hallmark, Hartzell Spence wrote of the Mormons in Look, with 191 favorable of 1,246 referents. Theodore Cannon of the Church Information Office called Spence "objective," and the Church Historian's Office name card file labeled him "friendly non-Mormon." Spence wrote of the Church:

The Mormons... have never been understood by other Americans... Salt Lake City tourists hear a recital on one of the world's great organs or an anthem by one of the finest choirs anywhere... Outside the city, they marvel at the irrigated farms planted in a barren desert... Mormonism isn't just a creed; it is a way of life...

The Church provides for its faithful like a mother hen. It has no professional clergy, but, largely through volunteers, manages one of the most amazing religious-social-economic organizations in history... there is complete companionship in a snobless social order, which revolves around the ward hall... There are opportunities equal to one's abilities, and the development of hobbies and skills under expert teachers and a job worthy of one's ability.³

³Spence, op. cit., pp. 56-7.

Spence pictured the Church as a complete, benevolent, all-encompassing social order:

Such a religion, in these modern days, should work better in theory than practice. But the Utah Mormons, now rapidly spreading throughout the western states and with settlements throughout the world, never get far from it. They are reared in Church-ordered homes and live rather clannishly in close-knit communities that provide all their wants and needs. Under such circumstances, Mormons have difficulty in breaking away or non-conforming, even if they want to. Most Mormons have little desire to relinquish certain divinity for transient self-indulgence.⁴

He painted a glowing picture of Mormonism in action as a social institution serving its people:

Few Mormons grow rich in a church calling for ten percent tithing contribution and the pooling of talents and resources for the mutual good. A bishop intimately knows his parishioners, with a representative visiting monthly each home, and keeping close record of each's religious progress, and personal need. A young priest may be assigned to mow a widow's lawn, a bishop can draw from an abundant storehouse for the needy, and emergency relief supplies are immediately available in disasters as floods. The Relief Society helps the sick, arranges for a hospital, and doctor care, even if the patient can't pay. Bishop's representatives activate backsliders.⁵

Commenting on the bishop's diversified and almost overwhelming duties, he added:

A bishop plans parties, picnics, athletic events, receptions, theatricals and music lessons, guides college educations, buries the dead... spends 40 hours of uncompensated work weekly in his duties.⁶

⁴Ibid., p. 58.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid.

Spence lauded the high value the Church puts on education, which he says is tied with "divinity"

Utah equals any state in college graduates. Mormons have a higher listing in Who's Who in America and on the registers of scientific honor societies than that of any other Church. There is an impressive list of Mormons in government-- Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Benson, Ivy Baker Priest, and in television and science, Philo Farnsworth, chemist Dr. Henry Eyring, one of America's ten best scientists, Harvey Fletcher; in business, Marriner S. Eccles, financier, E. Lamar Buckner, past president of the U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce, Ted Sorenson, president of Standard Oil of California, George Romney, president of American Motors; artist Arnold Friberg; boxer Gene Fullmer; Miss America, Colleen Hutchins, and Charlotte Sheffield, Miss USA of 1957.⁷

Noted New York historian Carl Carmer, whom the Church Historian's Office name card file called "friendly non-Mormon," and whom Theodore Cannon called "objective," noted the honesty and integrity of prominent Church members in the New York Times Magazine, with twenty favorable referents:

Mormon public servants during the past half-century have made for themselves reputations for honesty and integrity. Few informed Americans will forget the stand of former Senator Arthur V. Watkins against the practices of the McCarthy Committee, or doubt the sincerity of former Secretary of Agriculture Ezra T. Benson, or deny the high principles of Mr. George Romney. Gentiles tend to look on Mormons as men of high moral quality.⁸

He said of the Church's political power in Utah "... that the political power of the Church is not greatly abused is attested by the fact that

⁷Ibid., p. 63.

⁸Carl Carmer, "The Peculiar People Prosper," New York Times Magazine, (April 15, 1962), 62-4.

Utah has in recent times elected a non-Mormon governor, J. Bracken Lee. "9

Historically and sociologically speaking as a historian, Carmer found the Mormons a fervent, dedicated, patriotic, and almost puritanistic people:

The sociologist delving deeper into contemporary living in Salt Lake City will soon feel that he has miraculously entered a period similar in its moral and spiritual overtones to that of America as a whole in the nineteenth century, when the churches satisfied more than their secular functions, . . . When to these are added such patriotic solemnities as Pioneer's Day and admiration towards men in public service, it is not surprising that the historian comes away from Utah with the conclusion that the primary virtues which made the nation what it is are more honored than in most regions of America.¹⁰

Even Utah-born, non-Mormon, and oft-time critic of the Church Bernard DeVoto softened his tone towards the Church in Harper's, with seventeen favorable of 102 referents:

. . . the Mormons are a vigorous, industrious, kindly people, who against great odds have succeeded in building the most stable society in the West. Everyone who knows them likes and respects them. We have lately seen under a powerful spotlight an example of the qualities that Mormon leadership at its best can display. Senator Watkins in typical of that leadership: just, judicious, honorable, courageous, not to be deterred from doing his duty by forces which had deterred a lot of people, . . .¹¹

W. E. Garrison, professor at Houston University, and Christian Century writer, according to a biographical sketch in the Church

⁹Ibid. , p. 62.

¹⁰Ibid. , p. 64.

¹¹Bernard DeVoto, "Current Comic Strips," Harper's, CCX (May, 1955), 8.

Historian's Office, noted the Church's successes in building a successful social institution:

The size and continued growth of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, as well as its notable success in building a civilization entitles it to respectful consideration... nearly everybody who has had dealings with individual Mormons likes them. In its structure, Mormonism has exhibited a remarkably successful combination of authoritative control, individual responsibility, and mutual aid.¹²

The political and social success of the Church and its members prompted Christian Century to ask, in another article, what Protestants can learn from the Church's success:

A number of Mormons occupy high posts in government... This year there are four Mormons in the United States House of Representatives and three in the U.S. Senate, and two are state governors--numbers disproportionate to the numerical strength of the church. The numerical and material success of the church will compel other churches to examine Mormon methods. Some of the beliefs and disciplines of Mormonism have no appeal to other Christians. However, some of their procedures... may be worthy of reappraisal... It will be well to ask what the astonishing growth of the Mormon Church is saying to other Christian denominations.¹³

Among those who noted the civilization the Mormons built in Utah, Robert Cahn, whom Theodore Cannon called "objective," wrote in Saturday Evening Post, finding Utahns a contented and praiseworthy people:

...I saw few slums among this people. All over the state I found people whose modest incomes didn't prevent them from enjoying fully satisfying lives. The home and Church are still the center of life. Eight of ten families own or are buying

¹²W.E. Garrison, "The Mormons," Christian Century, LXXV (March 19, 1958), 343.

¹³"The Mormon Church Flourishes," Christian Century, LXXX (January 23, 1963), pp. 162-3.

their homes; and in every city and town of this desert country, I drove along streets lined with trees and lovingly kept gardens. And personnel managers at the missile plants commented to me that they couldn't ask for harder-working people than Utahns.¹⁴

Another called Salt Lake City "one of the show cities of the world. The visitor is impressed by the orderly arrangement and planning... There is little poverty and no slums among this people."¹⁵

The small rural Utah town of Midway shared plaudits with Salt Lake City in a description of rural Mormon society. Historian-writer Wallace Stegner (non-Mormon, but "friendly and objective," according to Theodore Cannon) wrote of "A Love Affair with the Heber Valley: USA," in Vogue, with forty-five favorable of fifty-eight referents:

...Midway is special even among Mormon villages. This little town of a few hundred has a community hall that seats 1,100; they built it cooperatively during the Depression as a means of thumbing their noses at hard times... strangers are welcomed... these are very friendly people, and by no means rubes or hayseeds. Most of them speak at least two languages as a matter of course;... The storekeeper who sells you a fishing license will pull out his notebook and read you a passage of Sandberg if he liked, or maybe a poem of his own; a farmer up to his knees in muck beside a manure spreader will talk scientific agriculture that would baffle a county agent... In morning or evening meetings you encounter no horned polygamists, but only the amiable farmer who has been irrigating near your inn, and who turns out to be the bishop, and a bunch of townspeople, clean, curious, lively, devoted to community good works, and skillfully organized into a resemblance to that Utah symbol, a honeybee... Go to "Mutual"... and be impressed with how a church-centered

¹⁴Robert Cahn, "New Change Comes to Zion's Empire," Saturday Evening Post, CCXXXIV (April 1, 1961), 56.

¹⁵Walter P. Webb, "Faith Tested in Fire," New York Times Book Review, VII (May 5, 1957), 22.

society bent upon old-fashioned virtues can make everyone from childhood up a participating and responsible member of the group. You don't have to be either a sociologist or a Mormon to enjoy contact with a society so coherent, and--perish the word--quaint.¹⁶

Other writers have apparently tried to correct misconceptions about the Church. Business Week said:

Contrary to lurid tales about polygamy and odd-ball customs, these are god-fearing, Bible-reading Christians, who attribute the United States Constitution... to divine inspiration...¹⁷

And:

A Mormon family down on its luck need have no recourse to public breadlines. In fact, the Church discourages its members from accepting public charity, even old-age pensions. A needy Mormon can get what he needs to sustain life and self-respect from the Church in exchange for his labor if he is able, free if he is not.¹⁸

Speaking of the Mormon's transition from a little-understood, maligned, persecuted minority, a "peculiar" people, to their assimilation as a respected group in contemporary America, Spence turned almost philosophical:

At times its [the Church's] members have been labeled a "strange" people, but they are not strange. They are different, yes, but the right to be different is the essence of the American dream. Whenever assimilation could be squared with the fundamental tenets of their faith, the followers of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young have assimilated... more solidly than most minorities. The Mormons have insisted on their own right to

¹⁶ Wallace Stegner, "A Love Affair with the Heber Valley: USA," Vogue, CXXXII (February 1, 1958), pp. 133, 192.

¹⁷ "Change Comes to Zion's Empire," Business Week, (November 23, 1957), pp. 112-16.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 116.

happiness in their own way. This they have done, and it has indeed, made them happy.¹⁹

III. PROMINENT INDIVIDUAL LATTER-DAY SAINTS

At least three Latter-day Saints have become nationally famous during the period of this study: Michigan governor George W. Romney, former Agriculture Secretary Elder Ezra Taft Benson, and President David O. McKay, with much written about each.

Romney has perhaps caught the imagination of writers as much as anyone on the current (1962-64) political scene. His dramatic rise as president of American Motors, turning an unprofitable company into a profitable one when other auto makers experienced reduced profits in 1958, his missionary zeal in promoting the virtues of his compact Rambler over "gas-guzzling dinosaurs," and his becoming governor of Michigan after fourteen years of Democratic rule, brought him national attention.

With almost total approval, noted columnist Stewart Alsop said in Saturday Evening Post that Romney

... is about as remarkable a political phenomenon as has appeared on the American scene in a couple of decades... [if he] is elected governor of Michigan, Romney will be the leading contender for the Republican Presidential nomination.²⁰

William Hessler, writing in Reporter, also noted the rapid rise of Romney's political star: "Not since Wendell Wilkie's meteoric rise in

¹⁹Spence, op. cit., p. 69

²⁰Stewart Alsop, "George Romney: the GOP's Fast Comer," Saturday Evening Post, CCXXXV (May 26, 1962), 15.

1940 has a darkhorse emerged so swiftly into the bright light of national eminence."²¹

Describing Romney's political attractions, many of which are tied to his church membership, John Fischer said in Harper's"

His personality is a campaign manager's dream. Romney is so clean-cut he makes your teeth ache; he neither smokes nor drinks, he married a high-school sweetheart to whom he is still devoted, he is a deeply religious man who tithes as regularly as he pays his taxes... At 54 he is strikingly handsome, and energetic enough to run the ankles off men half his age. As a speaker he is magnificently persuasive.²²

Alsop continued in Saturday Evening Post:

His face is handsome and expressive and curiously old-fashioned-courageous, right-thinking, true blue. And Romney is all these things. There are times when Romney seems almost too good to be true.²³

Selig S. Harrison said in New Republic:

The force of the religion that makes Romney off-beat and unpredictable cannot be doubted when one learns of boyhood years in Idaho and Utah almost wholly devoted to the Mormon committment of his family; of his missionary years, his tithing, and his responsibilities today as president... of the Michigan stake of the Church. Romney's religious dedication... is whole-hearted...²⁴

He continued:

The theme of America's mission to the world has been preached by Romney for years, and one senses that he could no

²¹William Hessler, "A New Face in American Politics," Reporter, XXVI (March, 1962), 19.

²²John Fischer, "Brightest Horse in the Stable," Harper's, CCXXIV (March, 1962), 19.

²³Alsop, loc. cit.

²⁴Selig S. Harrison, "Romney and the Republicans," New Republic, CILVI (March 5, 1962), 17-18.

more mute it than he could his convictions on labor. It is his belief that the United States Constitution is divinely ordained...

Romney's reputation as a non-smoker and non-drinker... enhances his appeal among the religious-minded of all faiths... "Every politician tries to make himself look like a Christ-er" comments a pro-Romney Detroit editor, "but this fellow really is one"... He was awarded an Americanism citation by the B'Nai B'Rith Anti-defamation League in 1959...²⁵

Time said of his religious activity:

At 19 he [Romney] spent two years as a Mormon missionary in England. Romney doesn't drink even tea or coffee or smoke or swear. He is president of the Detroit stake of 12 Mormon churches, was the leader in building a new \$750,000 Mormon tabernacle in suburban Bloomfield Hills. Romney gives ten percent of his \$100,000 income, and sometimes more, to the church. He keeps his Sundays free for church activities, often travels to other Mormon churches setting up conferences or to deliver sermons.

Romney says: "My religion is my most priceless possession. Except for it, I could easily have become occupied with industry. Sharing responsibility for church work has been a vital counter-balance in my life."²⁶

Life described the Romney heritage:

They are a sturdy and proud folk, the Romney's, with roots deep in the pioneer and evangelizing Mormon past... Romney embodies family traditions that would bolster any statesman--enterprise, daring service to church and community, loyalty to convictions.²⁷

²⁵Ibid., pp. 25-6.

²⁶"The Dinosaur Hunter," Time, LXXIII (April 6, 1969), pp. 84-9.

²⁷"Here Comes that Rambler Man," Life, LII (February 9, 1962), p. 36.

In Nation, B. J. Widdick called Romney's personal life "impeccable," with ten favorable referents of thirty-nine total.²⁸

Alsop (previously cited) also recognized the importance of his religion in his life:

A close friend says Romney's religion is the key to the man. Mormonism explains a lot of things about Romney. It explains those dawn rounds of one-man, three-ball golf. The body, according to Mormon precepts, is the temple of the spirit, and Romney is determined to keep his spirit's temple in good repair. His religion explains the too-good-to-be-true quality which irritates scoffers. In accordance with Mormon precepts, Romney will touch no stimulant, not even tea, and he gives one-tenth of his big income to the church.²⁹

President David O. McKay also drew attention. Rebecca Franklin, a non-Mormon free-lance writer the Church Historian's Office name card file called "friendly non-Mormon," stayed in Salt Lake City, and studied and wrote of the Mormons and President McKay in the New York Times Magazine, with thirteen favorable referents:

Utah's Mormons are giving abundant evidence that they have fulfilled and even surpassed the prediction of Mormon Prophet Joseph Smith that they would become a mighty people in the midst of the Rocky Mountains. Mormons are respected citizens, even, in some cases, holders of high public office...³⁰

She caught some of the spirit of the deep devotion Mormons have for their religion in describing President McKay:

²⁸B. J. Widdick, "Romney--New Hope for the GOP," Nation, CICIIV (February 3, 1962), 97.

²⁹Alsop, op. cit., p. 16

³⁰Rebecca Franklin, "Mighty People in the Rockies," New York Times Magazine, (April 3, 1955), p. 17.

Like all dedicated Mormons, President McKay has for his church all the ardor of a person newly in love. To sincere Mormons, the church is all truth, all wisdom, all beauty, the answer to all the woes of the world, the divinely appointed keeper of the revealed word of God.³¹

Others have noted the "warmth and goodness" radiating from President McKay. Robert Cahn, "objective and non-Mormon," according to Theodore Cannon, said "It is easy to see why David McKay has been called the most beloved man in Utah."³²

Time reported a Salt Lake City testimonial honoring President McKay in an article with twenty-three positive of 111 referents. This, with the Time article on the choir, contributed fifty of the sixty-four positive referents in the "News" magazine group. Time said:

Almost 500 businessmen and civic leaders representing Judaism and twelve Christian churches met at a testimonial gathering honoring Mormonism's ninth prophet. . . David O. McKay, 89, a kindly ascetic who has presided over the most astonishing growth the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has ever seen. There could be no questioning the sincerity of the praise for "David O." Joseph Rosenblatt, a Jew, and president of Eimco Company, asked "Does anyone know of a man who has lived with greater faith and purpose, and obedience to the exhortation of the Prophet Micah to 'do justly, to walk humbly with God?'" A Catholic, President J. P. O'Keefe, of the Salt Lake City Chamber of Commerce, said: "All of us have been keenly aware of the advantages of living in Utah, and almost all of these advantages can be attributed to the leadership of President McKay."³³

³¹Ibid.

³²Cahn, op. cit., p. 42.

³³"The Ninth Prophet," Time, LXXX (December 21, 1962), 37.

Former Agriculture Secretary Elder Ezra Taft Benson has been nationally recognized in several magazine articles. In American Magazine, Roul Tunley told how "Everybody Picks on Benson." In this article, with seventy-five of eighty-seven total favorable referents going to Benson and his family alone, Tunley said:

As the Secretary talked, it became obvious that his inner security and peace of mind comes largely from his religion... He spoke of religion and God easily and naturally, as do those persons to whom religion is an integral part of their daily lives... The Benson family is famous in Washington for being an unusually close-knit team, whether at work or play...³⁴

Tunley praised his integrity and religious convictions:

One of the exasperating things about him to lesser men is that no one has ever seen him mad--not even his secretary. Neither has anyone ever heard him use a word stronger than "rascal"... One of the really infuriating things is that even his platitudes have validity because he so often puts them into practice. Such statements of his as "God help us to raise our sights beyond the dollar sign, beyond material things," or "We claim to be a Christian nation, but we so often ignore the teachings of Christ," might sound like so much lip service to Christianity by someone else. But Benson means them, as he proved when he jumped at the chance for serving his church on the Council of the Twelve, although it meant a 75 percent cut in income.³⁵

Tunley summed up his article, noting the strength Benson derived from his religion:

Whether his religion has been an asset or not in helping him solve the nation's farm problem is open to question. But whether it has helped to sustain him in one of the stormiest posts in Washington is not open to question. Most of the people I talked

³⁴Roul Tunley, "Everybody Picks on Benson," The American Magazine, CLVII (June, 1954), 106.

³⁵Ibid., p. 108.

to who knew Benson intimately agree that he has gathered from both religion and his close family life a strength and serenity that's all but unique in public life.³⁶

Time also praised Benson's integrity and religious activity, characterizing him as an

... earnest, praying man, (who) works night and day at a pace that would kill weaker men. . . He is up at five or five-thirty a. m. to meditate, pray and work in his small basement study. . . and he has placed only one limitation on his tireless performance; he will not work on Sunday except to rescue the Biblical "fallen ox" ie. , to handle a crisis.

Apostle Benson's firm beliefs are the key to the way he has handled his job in the Cabinet. As a devout Mormon, he believes firmly in self-reliance, economic independence, avoidance of debt, and of government bounty. He accepts the Mormon belief that God favored the United States over all other lands. . . that the United States Constitution is a divinely inspired document. Serving in the Cabinet is more than an important Government post for Benson, it is also an act of faith.³⁷

Harold Martin, writing in Saturday Evening Post, described Benson as a

... friendly, affable man who doesn't force his views on others. . . (who) pursues his ideals with such single-mindedness that more sinful men sometimes find themselves uncomfortable in the presence of such unbending rectitude. . .

Win or lose [political farm issues], it is certain that the new secretary will fight doggedly for his principles. He comes from a breed of men noted not only for their piety, but for their stubborn defense of what they believe in.³⁸

³⁶Ibid. , p. 110

³⁷"Agricultural Revolution, Not Revolt," Time, LXVII (May 7, 1956), p. 30.

³⁸Harold Martin, "Elder Benson's Going to Catch It," Saturday Evening Post, CCXXV (March 28, 1953), 111-12.

Richard Squires, in American Forests, noted with many others that Benson's integrity, dedication to public office and impeccable personal-family life were tied with his religion:

That he is an apostle in his church indicates many things about the man's personal life. He has never used tobacco or liquor, tea or coffee. He has never been involved in any moral scandal. He has always given ten percent of his gross income to his church as a tithe. He has always answered the "call" of his church regardless of personal sacrifice it may have entailed.³⁹

Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall and his family have received comment. In a sidelight on his Arizona Mormon family, Robert Manning said in Saturday Evening Post:

The Udall clan spread over much of Arizona--today there are probably 200 Arizonians which bear the name. They have produced more political officeholders than any other family in the state's history, among them three county judges, two State Supreme Court judges, a half dozen county attorneys, two mayors of Phoenix, (and a younger brother, Morris, who ran for Stewart's vacated House seat early this month)... They say around Phoenix that if the Udalls would agree on their politics and accumulate some real money, they could bill themselves as the 'Mormon Kennedy's.'⁴⁰

IV. SOCIAL AND CULTURAL EXPRESSION

In what seemed to be consistent throughout the study, Mormon social-cultural programs were often noted, usually favorably. Many writers have commented on the Church's large recreational and cultural

³⁹Richard Squires, "Meet Ezra T. Benson--the New Secretary of Agriculture," American Forests, LIX (January, 1953), 31.

⁴⁰Robert Manning, "Secretary of Things in General," Saturday Evening Post, CCXXXIV (May 20, 1961), 80.

program and its philosophy in this area. Describing the origins of this philosophy which has traditionally pervaded the Church, one author noted that:

Mormonism has allowed for pleasure in life. Joseph Smith believed that life was for joy--he wrestled at the top of his fame as a prophet. Brigham Young loved the stage and hired a distinguished Shakespearean actor to direct plays in the famous theater he built in Salt Lake City.⁴¹

Other authors noted this emphasis on drama has been carried on to the present, and the Church's traditional fostering of drama has received favorable attention. Moana Bennett, a member of the Mutual Improvement Association's Drama Committee, wrote an article in Theater Arts on the historic and famed Salt Lake Theater:

When finished in 1862, the Salt Lake Theater was the most magnificent building of its kind west of the Mississippi River; for 66 years it continued as one of the finest theaters of the West...most of the great stars appeared on its stage. Samuel Bowles, the noted Massachusetts editor said, "The building is itself a rare triumph of art and enterprise. No Eastern city of 100,000 inhabitants--remember Salt Lake City has less than 20,000--possesses so fine a theatrical structure. It ranks alike in capacity and elegance of structure and finish along with the academies of music and opera of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Chicago and Cincinnati."⁴²

Douglas Allen favorably commented on the modern Mormon drama program in Theater Arts, with twenty-three favorable of 318 total referents:

⁴¹Walter P. Webb, "The Community of the Saints," Harper's, CCXIV (May, 1957), 82.

⁴²Moana Bennett, "Famous American Theaters," Theater Arts, ILVI (October, 1962), 64.

The Latter-day Saints Church is more dedicated to the theater than any other church, . . . the total number of plays presented and participants is extremely imposing.⁴³

He quoted Kenneth MacGowan, California theater arts professor, as calling the Church drama program the largest little-theater program in America, and saying:

Mormons take great and justifiable pride in their drama activity. Well they might. The quality of many of the productions is excellent. The difficulties under which the directors must work are many--there is no charge, so ingenuity must be shown for realism. Electricians donate time for lighting, and housewives make costumes.⁴⁴

A Dance Magazine article with thirty-eight favorable symbols, plus an article on the Church's drama program and an article on Utah's Heber Valley made up three-fourths of the favorable referents in the "Special" magazines covered. In Dance Magazine, D. Duncan noted and praised the Church's huge, successful, comprehensive dance program and Brigham Young's early encouragement of dancing:

The philosophy then propounded has served as the basis for what is undoubtedly the most remarkable and most efficiently organized youth movement in the world today--the Mutual Improvement Association. . .⁴⁵

Duncan continued:

⁴³Douglas Allen, "Drama Among the Mormons," Theater Arts, ILII (December, 1958), 52.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 53.

⁴⁵D. Duncan, "Views of a Church on Dancing," Dance Magazine, XXXII (September, 1958), 67.

The Mormons give vigorous support to the spiritualized recreation of the MIA. For nearly a century, the Latter-day Saints have had notable success with their youth policy of keeping them busy and out of mischief.

Throughout the Church's 2,000 wards or chapter associations there are approximately 18,000 dances or dance festivals a year, all under well-planned and tested rules of etiquette under the supervision of a trained director, and under eyes of carefully chosen chaperones. Most of the dances are held in Church recreation halls, and all open and close with prayer. The dancers don't leave the hall for unscheduled diversions during intermission.⁴⁶

A Time article called the Church the "... dancingest denomination in the United States," and featured the 1959 Mutual Dance Festival, telling how directors of activities gladly contribute their services free, often at a considerable personal loss.⁴⁷ It quoted dance director Rulon Stanfield:

"The glory which one attains in the next world is relative to the amount of his services to his fellow man on earth, and no matter how many dollars you sacrifice, you forget all about it when you see those young dancing feet."⁴⁸

Time saw a rather strict, puritanistic Mormon philosophy in the rigid dance supervision the Church requires:

Mormons encourage dancing between couples lest the Devil find other work for them. All Mormon chaples hold a dance each Saturday night, including a floor show during the intermission to discourage couples from wandering off by themselves.⁴⁹

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 68.

⁴⁷"Dancingest Denomination," Time, LXXIII (June 22, 1959), 47.

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Ibid.

The annual Hill Cumorah Pageant which the Church sponsors in New York, telling the story of the Book of Mormon and its origins, has received favorable attention. With several favorable references each to the Church, members, and social-cultural expression, Time said of the pageant:

For three nights last week a record 135,000 gathered for the 17th Hill Cumorah Pageant, which depicts in dramatic terms the legendary origins of the Mormon faith.⁵⁰

Time approved of the presentation: "When they [the Mormons] stage a show as last week's Hill Cumorah Pageant, it is put together with the highest professional polish and the latest technical equipment."⁵¹

Of the Church itself, Time added:

The 128 years since Founder Smith formally organized the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has witnessed a triumphant march of Mormonism through bloody persecutions... to a present pinnacle of respectable good will.⁵²

V. THE TABERNACLE CHOIR

Perhaps no aspect of Mormonism has been so widely acclaimed and universally accepted as the Mormon Tabernacle Choir. Writing completely favorably in an article with 205 favorable, no unfavorable, and 200 neutral referents, Doron Antrim said in Reader's Digest:

⁵⁰"Pageant of the Tablets," Time LXXII (August 18, 1958), 42.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 43.

⁵²Ibid.

The famous choir brings hope, courage and inspiration to many through its weekly radio program... a world famous and beloved choral group... They get no pay for singing, and last year spent over \$16,000 for baby sitters and transportation.

It is 107 years old, probably the largest permanent choir in the world, and the oldest noncommercial program on the air. At least 50 million people have heard it on Sunday mornings over the Columbia Broadcasting System network. Prospective sponsors have offered substantial sums to tap the enormous amount of good will the program engenders. But the Mormon Church keeps it as a free-will offering to the people of America.

Hundreds of tourists are attracted to the choir yearly. Letters come from many men and women in the armed forces, in prisons, in hospitals, peoples of all faiths and of no faith. They invariably tell how the program has lifted them from doubt, discouragement, and despair...

It [the Choir] sings with great power, majesty, precision. Eugene Ormandy, conductor of the Philadelphia Orchestra, calls it the "most beautiful, most coherent and well-balanced choir I have heard anywhere."⁵³

Time praised the Choir's 1955 European trip:

American Mormon singers alighted from the liner at Scotland and began singing, and they kept singing all across Europe--in crowded auditoriums, sight-seeing busses and on streets...

Everywhere they were stirring up waves of good will and applause. The Salt Lake City Mormon Tabernacle Choir is a smash hit in Europe. Two-thousand-five-hundred Berliners, many of them Mormons, greeted the touring choir last week. Next evening they stood, scrubbed and friendly, before 3,000 paying customers. Thunderous applause greeted the "Battle Hymn of the Republic." After this, the choir ran through its religious repertoire... the audience demanded six encores. One choir rehearsal became a concert for 2,000 refugees from Germany's Soviet Zone who were moved to tears. Wrote Berlin's Telegraf: "This was more

⁵³ Doron Antrim, "The Salt Lake City Tabernacle Choir Sings," Reader's Digest, LXVIII (March, 1956), 129-30.

than music, but the building of a human bridge."⁵⁴

In Etude, a professional music magazine, Lynn Dallin, free-lance writer and wife of Latter-day Saint music educator Leon Dallin, wrote of the choir:

For twenty-six years, music-loving Americans have thrilled to these strains ["Gently raise the sacred strain"] on the weekly national broadcasts of the Salt Lake City Tabernacle Choir from Temple Square in Salt Lake City, Utah, and people throughout the world have come to know the group through the transcribed programs.⁵⁵

Time noted the choir's 34th anniversary, with twenty-seven favorable of sixty-seven total referents:

This week the Mormon Tabernacle Choir, having long since won world renown, starts its 35th year of radio broadcasting--the longest sustained network program in history. The Choir grew...to become the most powerful unofficial missionary the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints ever had. Beginning in 1929, Sunday after Sunday, the half-hour show reshaped the world's image of Mormonism...

The choir...has a weight and body unexcelled in choral sound.⁵⁶

In Reader's Digest, Antrim turned almost poetic and philosophic in describing the Choir's effect:

Not long ago I heard the choir sing in the Tabernacle. It seemed as though I were standing atop a hill with a strong wind

⁵⁴"From the Tabernacle--Mormon Tabernacle Choir," Time, LXVI (September 19, 1955), 55.

⁵⁵Lynn Dallin, "Utah's Singing Ambassadors of Good Will," Etude, LXXIII (September, 1955), 10.

⁵⁶"Mormons' Singing Saints," Time, LXXXII (July 26, 1963), 66.

blowing, blowing me and the world clean. From the powerful voice of the choir, I caught the undaunted spirit of "Come, Come Ye Saints--All is Well." The something that keeps hope when there seems no reason to hope. This is the message that all people must get when they hear these lifted voices--the feeling that All is Well.⁵⁷

VI. CHURCH PARTICIPATION

The Mormon voluntary participation program in staffing each ward with hundreds of non-paid volunteers has been generally favorably noted. Vigorous Latter-day Saint proselyting activities have especially been described, with some authors picturing the missionaries as almost fanatically-dedicated supermen-puritans doggedly doing a Herculean task.

Hartzell Spence said in Look:

In Hawaii... young Mormon missionaries work two by two sixteen hours a day, seven days a week to make new converts to Mormonism. They knock on doors, leave pamphlets and cards, visit potential converts and teach the tenets of the Church... Missionaries in Hawaii have no time for its tropical pleasures. They live on a scant \$60 per month, walk everywhere they go, have little fun. They adhere strictly to their sacred motto: "The Lord first, others second, thyself third."⁵⁸

And again:

[Mormons]... will uproot themselves from home, family and prosperous careers to become missionaries or unpaid religious administrators. They will undertake any other assigned task anywhere in the world at the call of their leaders and consider this sacrifice a privilege.⁵⁹

⁵⁷Antrim, op. cit., p. 132.

⁵⁸Spence, op. cit., p. 62.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 57.

Time described a typical missionary day of German missionary David Owens, who "rises at six for study, tracting, visiting referrals, shuns dating, dancing, swimming, spends evenings with paperwork and often puts in 70-hour weeks."⁶⁰

Of New Zealand missionary activities, Time said:

New Zealand's Protestant Churches recently rallied against the proselyting Salt Lake City Mormon invaders. Scoring remarkable gains with the South Pacific's Polynesians, they continue their great record, have nearly tripled their members... in New Zealand to 17,000 in the last thirty years...

White Mormons have learned the Maori language, fostered their art and culture... New Zealand's National Council of Churches has flatly rejected Mormons as members, saying "Their conception of God is anthropomorphic. To them he is really a glorified man."

New Zealand's Anglicans fear that the Mormons are sheep-stealing from the Maories... Wondering if they really make Maories feel at home in their church, Anglicans thought of borrowing some of the devotion and self-sacrifice of these heretical missionaries.⁶¹

A Coronet article by Latter-day Saint journalist Glen Snarr featured a different type of participation, by Mormon women of the Relief Society:

For 117 years this army of unsung women has helped the sick and needy fight adversity... [with] quiet and efficient help when there is trouble... [it is] the world's oldest and largest women's organization of its type, [with] 200,000 members active in all states and 42 foreign countries.⁶²

⁶⁰"Mission to Europe," Time, LXXVIII (August 11, 1961), 40.

⁶¹"Hagoth's Children--Proselyting Mormons," Time, LXXI (May 26, 1958), 65.

⁶²Glen Snarr, "Mormon Angels of Mercy," Coronet, ILV (April, 1959), 173-4.

Snarr told how charity and welfare were the Relief Society's assigned duties, how its women learned home management and child care, studied world literature, basic home nursing techniques, and scriptures. Their work was always quietly done and voluntary, with the only paid workers being a small staff of social and clerical workers at the central Salt Lake office.⁶³

VII. MORMON STRUCTURES

Mormon structures have become world-famous and received attention as scenic attractions. Time called the Los Angeles Mormon temple "one of the biggest tourist attractions in California. Five to eight-thousand visitors daily come to see the largest and most magnificent Mormon temple."⁶⁴

In a series about great churches, Newsweek said of the Salt Lake Temple:

In 1847 Brigham Young pointed to a piece of dry plain, now part of Salt Lake City, saying: "Here are the 40 acres for the temple." The \$3.5 million building was finished in 1893, and is the mother church for the world's 1,416,731 Mormons. Only members can enter the temple, but anyone can visit the 5,000 seat Tabernacle...⁶⁵

⁶³Ibid., p. 174.

⁶⁴"Temple of the Five Rooms," Time, LXVII (June 16, 1956), 70.

⁶⁵"Great Churches: the Mormon Temple," Newsweek, L (October 28, 1957), 59.

Probably the most widely known and acclaimed Mormon structure was the Salt Lake Tabernacle, which received much attention. Holiday praised its pioneer craftsmen's dedication and ingenuity in its building and admiringly said of the building:

Seventy-six years before the Brooklyn bridge was opened, 22 before the Eiffel Tower went up, a far more modern structure stood on the bleak salt flats of Utah, in a settlement barely 20 years old and 1,000 miles from the nearest railhead. It stands there today, in the heart of Salt Lake City--the world-famous Mormon Tabernacle, renowned for its superlative pipe organ, its near-perfect acoustics, and astonishing architecture.

No other assembly hall in history was built as was this one. Several hundred pioneers labored in the wilderness with no blue prints and no nails to hold the frame together, following a vaulted design that was years ahead of its time. Yet their improvisations worked so well that the Tabernacle still remains in busy use as a religious and cultural auditorium, and as Utah's chief magnet for the tourist. . .

Inside the Tabernacle, one word sums up your feeling: awe. A cathedral hush envelopes you.⁶⁶

B. Ira Judd, Bishop of University Ward in Maricopa Stake, Arizona, wrote in Arizona Highways, calling the Arizona Temple "one of the show-places in the Valley of the Sun. . . Its majestic, yet friendly architectural lines are pleasing to the eye."⁶⁷

VIII. SOCIAL RELATIONS WITH RACIAL GROUPS AND MINORITIES

Civil rights and racial equality have recently been emphasized and become popular themes in the United States. The 1954 Supreme Court

⁶⁶"The Mormon Tabernacle," Holiday, XXIV (December, 1958), 170.

⁶⁷B. Ira Judd, "The Arizona Temple," Arizona Highways, XXXI (April, 1955), 16.

ruling banning segregated schools, desegregation efforts since then, and Negro "sit-ins" in the South starting in 1960-61, with other things, have added momentum to the civil rights movement.⁶⁸

In this national setting of increased emphasis on civil rights, the Mormons' barring Negroes from the priesthood was nationally noted. This surging tide of concern for civil rights, coupled with the growth of the Church and the spectacular and rapid thrust of George Romney into national politics, drew national attention to the Mormons' Negro stand. Of this, Time said:

... since he [Romney] is being touted as a promising GOP 1964 contender, his religion may stir up a national controversy. It was recently being said in Michigan that the Mormon Church thinks the Negroes are an inferior race, cursed by God. The Mormon Church has always accepted all worthy males, but Negroes into the priesthood. Joseph Smith wrote in the Book of Abraham that Negroes are a cursed race, descended from Ham's son Canaan. They aren't totally excluded, however, as the Church gives Negroes all its blessings--including ultimate salvation--except the priesthood.⁶⁹

Two Newsweek articles, one on Mormon "Negro doctrine," an article on Church businesses, and the Time article above accounted for all negative symbols in "News" magazines. Newsweek echoed Time on the Negro problem:

⁶⁸For a relatively recent (December, 1962) report on civil rights, the Negro situation, and important developments in this area, see Alexander Bickell, "Civil Rights," New Republic, CIXVII (December 15, 1962), pp. 11-16.

⁶⁹"The Mormon Issue," Time, LXXIX (March 2, 1962), 21.

... discrimination against the Negro was being given new and timely thought last week--timely particularly because Michigan Governor George Romney, a Mormon and a potential 1964 Presidential candidate, could be embarrassed by his church's stand. The church's priesthood is a lay priesthood, and nearly all males in the two-million member church, except Negroes, belong to it. The Negro's exclusion goes back to Joseph Smith, ... who wrote that the Negro, as a descendent of Ham, bore the curse that God had placed on the descendents of Cain.⁷⁰

Time mixed praise for Mormon character and ideals with criticism of the Negro doctrine:

In many ways Mormons make almost ideal citizens. They are wholesome, industrious, and thrifty and devoted to social welfare and higher education. But they are unsympathetic toward the Negro, largely as a consequence of the strong doctrines formulated by the first Mormon Prophet, Joseph Smith, and amplified by his successors.⁷¹

Discussing the doctrine's source and justification, Time said:

According to Mormon belief, only those who led a heroic pre-life were eligible to be born into the world as Mormons. Negro souls aren't eligible because, as Prophet Smith used to proclaim, they came into the world with the curse of Ham and Cain upon them. Negroes could join the church, and earn a higher peak among the three levels of Heaven than white men, but it was "revealed" to Brigham Young... that they couldn't become Mormon priests. "When the rest of mankind has in heaven earned the priesthood," he wrote, "then the curse will be removed from the seed of Cain, and they will possess the priesthood." The decision relegates Negroes to second-class spiritual citizenship until death...

Many Mormons believe that the solution [to the Negro question] will have to be a new revelation, as when Acting Prophet Wilford Woodruff ordered Mormons to abandon the practice of multiple

⁷⁰"Third Degree Exclusion of Negroes from the Priesthood," Newsweek, LXI (June 17, 1963), 60.

⁷¹"The Negro Question," Time, LXXXII (October 18, 1963), 83.

marriages in 1890...⁷²

Time made light of revelations, cynically adding:

Mormon revelations are as hard to define as they are to coax up on order. There is not even an accurate count of them, though the church records 133 divinely-inspired statements by Joseph Smith. Later prophets, including his successor Brigham Young, have seldom announced to the public that they have received a revelation from God, and any new revelation on the priesthood would require a most awkward reinterpretation of Mormon teaching on pre-existence. Since he became Prophet in 1951, McKay has never admitted that God spoke to him.⁷³

Nor have "outside" views been the only ones on this subject. Jeff Nye, a dissident Mormon student at the University of Utah, and Aaronic Priesthood holder over twenty-one, according to workers in the Church Historian's Office, raised the voice of dissent in a Look article, in which a "troubled young man questions his Church's attitude toward the Negro":

The Mormon Church taught me Negroes were not equal to whites in religious rights and opportunities, and said God cursed the Negro with loss of God's priesthood, and the evidence... was the dark skin.⁷⁴

He continued:

The Negro isn't equal in the Mormon Church, and equality is impossible as long as the Church denies the priesthood to the Negro... The Negro is a junior partner because he can't

⁷²Ibid.

⁷³Ibid.

⁷⁴Jeff Nye, "Memo from a Mormon," Look, XXVII (October 22, 1963), 74.

hold the priesthood, . . . the foundation of the Church.⁷⁵

Nye described how the Negro can't participate in ordinances, pass or prepare the sacrament, baptize, heal the sick, go to the temple for its covenants, can't marry eternally, do work for the dead, can't hold leadership positions in the Church, and noted the sparse scriptural support for this policy.⁷⁶

Nye ended his article by asking:

Can the principle of equality be reconciled with the Mormon doctrine of denial of priesthood? This is the question that troubles me today. Perhaps new conditions that shape our world today will produce a new view. If we Mormons can believe that God is directing our Church, we can hope that God is preparing a new revelation that will revise our present Negro doctrine. If we do not believe this, we can hope that the more liberal element of Mormon leadership will produce a doctrinal change as the problem intensifies.⁷⁷

Reviewing the book, Mormonism and the Negro, by Mormon J. J. Stewart, Vern Bullough (Utah native, now a San Fernando State College history teacher) wrote in Nation:

Since every other adult male, Caucasian, Oriental and others, is eligible to hold this office [the priesthood] it would appear that the Mormon attitude is discriminatory and relegates Negroes to second class citizenship. . .⁷⁸

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 76.

⁷⁶Ibid.

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 78.

⁷⁸Vern Bullough, "Mormon Writ and Modern Ethics," Nation, CICVI (April 6, 1963), 292.

He said the recent Mormon announcement of plans for missionary work among Nigerian Negroes was indication of an official change in the Mormon Negro attitude, but added: "... such missionary efforts would undoubtedly result in segregated Negro churches whose members couldn't migrate to the United States."⁷⁹

Several authors, including Bullough, suggested that the best hope for correcting this "discrimination" was perhaps coming from young Mormon liberals rising to change Church doctrine:

Since most of the agitation within the Mormon Church comes from people in their twenties, thirties, and forties, who have grown up in a United States which has increasingly emphasized minority group rights, it will be interesting to see if the church does change its attitude when this generation achieves power.⁸⁰

In summation of his reaction to the book, he said:

... [the book] isn't a plea for change, but an apologetic justification for the status quo. The mere fact that it is defensive is a hopeful sign: it may indicate that the Mormons are increasingly embarrassed by their inherent racist tendencies.⁸¹

Time contributed another heavily disparaging article on minority groups, with twenty-six negative referents:

While most U.S. churches hold that all men are equal before God, the Mormons are a notable exception.

The Book of Mormon teaches that the colored races are descendents of the evil children Laman and Lemuel, who

⁷⁹Ibid.

⁸⁰Ibid.

⁸¹Ibid.

impiously warred against the good children of Nephi and received their pigmented skin as punishment.⁸²

Time cited a "scathing" report of the Utah State Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. According to the report:

An Indian in Salt Lake City or Ogden is lost, friendless, and generally out of work. The Mormon interpretation of the curse of Canaan, . . . together with unauthorized, but widely accepted statements by Mormon leaders in years past, has led to the view among many Mormon adherents that birth into any other race than white is a result of inferior performance in pre-earth life.⁸³

John Wade, who wrote in Christian Century, scourged Utah and the Church on alleged Negro discrimination:

For the thirteenth consecutive session, the Utah legislature has failed to pass a "public accommodations" civil rights bill. . . Interested Protestants and Roman Catholics, minority groups and some liberal Mormons were unable to overcome the opposition of the real estate interests and the Mormon tradition that the Negro is inferior. . .⁸⁴

Differing from the above, at least one aspect of Mormon relations with other races, that of Indian students living in Utah Mormon homes, received favorable attention in two articles. Time called the Church's foster parent plan, where Mormon Indian students spend the nine-month school year with Utah Mormon families, a ". . . signally successful experiment in interracial living. . . During the past two years over 1,000 Indian children between eight and eighteen have been given "nine-month"

⁸²"Mormons and Civil Rights," Time, LXXIII (April 13, 1959), 96.

⁸³Ibid.

⁸⁴John Wade, "Utah: News of the Christian World," Christian Century, LXXVIII (July 5, 1961), 837-8.

homes by white Utah Mormon families."⁸⁵

Andrew Hamilton (whom Theodore Cannon called "objective and friendly non-Mormon") described in Saturday Evening Post, with 128 favorable referents of 435 total, how everywhere he went, spending ten days visiting Utah Mormon homes with the Indians,

...the same warm human drama unfolded. During my stay in Utah I ask as many people as I could about possible discrimination ...I found none. As a matter of fact, most Indian students are popular with their schoolmates. They become student-body presidents, football and basketball captains, editors of school newspapers.⁸⁶

Time said of the Indian program:

They [Indian students] get free medical treatment by doctors at Brigham Young University [at Provo, Utah, the reception point] and then move to their foster homes where they get free board, room, clothes, books, entertainment and no more chores than the family's own kids... More than 20 percent of the Indian kids have been elected to class or studentbody offices, but Indian youngsters are apt to show up dateless at dances...

Many [Indian students] have successfully bridged the two civilizations, plan to return to their tribes as teachers and nurses. Others, including five who won scholarships at BYU last spring, are moving completely into the white man's world.⁸⁷

The Saturday Evening Post article concluded with: "The Mormon Church's unique educational and sociological experiment has demonstrated

⁸⁵"Red and Delightful--Utah Foster Family Plan for Indian Children," Time, LXXIV (September 7, 1959), 60.

⁸⁶Andrew Hamilton, "Their Indian Guests--Indian Student Placement Program," Saturday Evening Post, CCXXXIII (September 17, 1960), 84-5.

⁸⁷"Red and Delightful--Utah Foster Family Plan for Indian Children," Time, loc. cit.

again... that people of different racial and cultural backgrounds can live together harmoniously."⁸⁸

IX. HISTORY, PERSECUTION, PIONEERING

Writers have found the Joseph Smith and early Mormon story a strange and fascinating one. Carl Carmer wrote a major series in American Heritage⁸⁹ on the Church's history, finding Biblical parallels in Mormonism:

In the history of religion of the United States, surely no story is more astounding than that of the Mormons... their chronicle has a Biblical ring, for it contains not only a revelation and a martyred prophet but also pilgrimage through a wilderness and a discovery after long suffering of a promised land. It starts with a few score; today it reckons its numbers close to two millions, many of them beyond the seas, with fresh converts added daily. Yet all this is the work of barely a century and a third--as if the whole Old Testament could be crowded into the span of but 405 begats, and Moses were the contemporary of Abe Lincoln, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Mark Twain.⁹⁰

In his first article in the series, "The Farm Boy and the Angel," Carmer referred to Joseph Smith as an "occultist," and "money-digger," who used "peepstones" to lead to "buried treasure."⁹¹

⁸⁸Hamilton, op. cit., p. 86.

⁸⁹American Heritage is a popular, non-technical historical magazine started by prominent historians in 1949.

⁹⁰Carl Carmer, "The Farm Boy and the Angel," American Heritage, XIII (October, 1962), p. 5.

⁹¹Ibid., pp. 87-8.

Hartzell Spence, in Look, described the Church's early history as

a

... saga of tragic and sometimes bloody misunderstanding. They [the Saints] were violently driven from Ohio to Missouri, Illinois, and in final desperation to the remote Great Basin of the Rockies. Persecuted with a hatred often raised by new or "different" religions, harrassed by militias of two states and a United States infantry expedition, pilloried for their practice of polygamy, they nonetheless survived and today are exceedingly vigorous.⁹²

Spence sympathetically described the most violent persecutions and the martyrdom:

Until 1847 the Saints were beset with trouble, and driven out at gunpoint--the locals feared they would gain political control. Under the goading of Missouri's governor, the state militia liquidated the Mormon settlements. At Haun's Mill, for example, a detachment killed 17 men and dumped their bodies in a well, then scattered the women and children in a forest...

In three years, Nauvoo with Joseph Smith mayor, was Illinois' biggest city, with its own militia and very powerful legislative body. It seemed Smith might soon seek control of Illinois, the Mormons nominated him for President... Mormons were reviled on political, social, and economic grounds. Non-Mormons fiercely envied and were jealous of the Mormon's success in Nauvoo. Smith forcibly repressed the Mormon-baiting Nauvoo Expositor published by dissident Mormons. Non-Mormons demanded Smith's arrest and trial. On June 27, 1844 a mob of 150 men with blackened faces stormed the jail and murdered Joseph Smith. The militia had not saved him; indeed, there is strong evidence the militia itself participated in the martyrdom of the Prophet. Strong public anti-Mormon feeling continued against the Saints, and Brigham Young, the new leader promised to lead them to so unpromising a land no one would want it--they found such a place, and arrived in the Salt Lake Valley in 1847.⁹³

⁹²Spence, op. cit., p. 56.

⁹³Ibid., p. 66.

The man Brigham Young has drawn attention. Carmer paid tribute to his skill as a carpenter and leader of men:

There are fine houses still standing in New York State... that are testimonials to the thoroughness of his craft...

[Young was to prove himself] not only an effective administrator but one of the greatest leaders of men in all American history. He spoke the vernacular of his time, with exactness of meaning, yet with a touch of poetry. He had an intuitive knowledge of his fellows. He had common sense. He had a kind of down-to-earth spirituality.⁹⁴

Spence praised Young's colonizing and organizing ability:

The 30-years from 1847-77 qualify Brigham Young for the distinction of being one of the great colonizers of all time. A few facts from Brigham Young's colonizing effort give some idea of his genius. He planted identical towns on streams about ten miles apart, all with wide streets and disciplined construction. All rodent-inviting barns were placed outside the villages. Each settlement was a colony, from which residents spread out to work adjacent farms. Within ten years the Mormons had built 135 communities with a population of 76,335, flung as far away as Idaho, Wyoming, New Mexico, and California. By 1877 when Brigham Young died, there were 350 towns with 140,000 people. Leader Young aimed to make his economy self-supporting right down to the artificial flowers for the dining table, and in ten years the job was done. A revolving fund to finance immigration attracted 85,220 Mormons...⁹⁵

Another historian Theodore Cannon called objective, R. A. Billington ("friendly non-Mormon" according to the Church Historian's Office name card file), also praised Brigham Young's organizing and colonizing genius and the early Utah pioneering effort in American Heritage:

⁹⁴Carl Carmer, "Here is my Home at Last," American Heritage, XIV (February, 1963), 27.

⁹⁵Spence, op. cit., p. 67.

Ably led by Brigham Young, the Mormons made an orderly march to Utah and created "Zion" with smooth efficiency. In all the history of the American frontier, only two bands of pioneers achieved near-perfect order while advancing westward and planting their settlements... This combination of religious zeal and a harsh natural setting... elevated group consciousness to a unique position among members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints..., as they marched westward... to found their desert Zion... Inspired by heavenly hopes and earthly disappointments, the Mormons strikingly demonstrated that orderly conquest of the West was possible...⁹⁶

His [Brigham Young's] genius had transformed Utah Territory from a barren desert to a thriving frontier community; his leadership in the future would help mold the higher civilization that was Utah's destiny.⁹⁷

In a series on the early development of the West, Life called the Mormon movement, in an article with six favorable referents,

... the [United States'] greatest single organized migration. In one year, Brigham Young led 15,000 Mormons west by boat, wagon, and horseback from the Missouri River toward the Great Salt Lake. At Nauvoo, their abandoned city, they left an expensive temple, hundreds of homes and thriving farms... showed an amazing capacity for disciplined work, they quickly built a great new city and laid the foundations for the modern state of Utah.

The first Mormons reached Salt Lake City in 1847, and each year saw more coming, with 80,000 Mormons making the trip West before the coming of the transcontinental railroad. Many were poor foreign converts with no horses or oxen, and so walked and pulled their possessions with them in two-wheeled carts. Many handcart companies suffered frightful cold, storms, snow, and casualties. John Chislett, an English convert handcart puller, dramatically described his handcart

⁹⁶R. A. Billington, "Best Prepared Pioneers in the West," American Heritage, VI (October, 1956), 20.

⁹⁷Ibid., p. 117.

company's harrowing experiences and huge casualties.⁹⁸

Thus, the generally unknown and untold tragic saga of the handcart pioneers was publicized. Wallace Stegner told the story more completely and movingly in Collier's:

The Mormon pioneers struggled indomitably, pushing handcarts across 1,400 miles of savage mountain and prairie, through blazing heat and howling blizzards, defeating death itself in one of the most stirring episodes in the expansion of the West...

Nights grew cold as they [the pioneers] trod up the Sweetwater. There were many deaths. Older and weaker ones dropped, and failed and became exhausted. Sometimes they lay down for a moment's rest and died without knowing how completely worn out they were...

At first the deaths occurred slowly and irregularly, but in a few days at more frequent intervals, until it was thought unusual to leave a campground without burying ten or more persons... Many a man pulled his cart with his children on it until the day preceding his death. Snow enveloped them in October. Tired and exhausted, they doggedly forced themselves on. Snow a foot deep... camped... many froze to death... their few starving draft animals scattered in the snow. They had no strength to find them or hunt for food or walk further. The ground was hard-frozen, and without strength, they buried their dead... There were so many corpses for burial, a burial squad of the strongest men was appointed. Eighteen were buried in a snow grave one day. One saw a young girl die as she raised a cracker to her mouth; a wife wrapped her baby in a blanket, laid down beside him at night, and reached out to him later that night to find a dead corpse.⁹⁹

Others have seen that this same courage and faith has descended from the pioneers to their progenitors. A Life writer-photographer

⁹⁸"Handcart Puller Tells of Death on the Mormon Trail," Life, ILVI (April 20, 1959), 88.

⁹⁹Wallace Stegner, "Ordeal by Handcart," Collier's, CXXXVIII (July 6, 1956), 78-83.

team examined "Three Mormon Towns," drawing attention to them both through the history they represented and the adaptation of their pioneer progenitors to their isolated, lonely retreat in the vastness of the Rocky Mountains amidst the encroachment of modern civilization. This they told in word and picture:

Although the Saints are a friendly people, theirs is a lofty, lonely faith. They believe that they are God's chosen people, keepers of His revealed word, destined to lead all His children into heaven at the Latter-Day. Trucks and tourists and the great high-way which bisects their town aren't so important to them as their strong and enduring vision of Zion.

"This is the Place," said Brigham Young, but at first the brethren were not sure; this was a bleak country to call a promised land. They had come 1,400 miles from a past of prejudice and oppression, and now their leader had delivered them, as he knew he must, for only in the heart of an ungenerous wilderness would they be safe from their enemies who twice before had driven them from cities of their faith.

But Brother Brigham could see more than isolation in this land; his eyes, like the prophet Joseph's, burned with images of the future. He saw the desert yield up the walls and roofs of another great city, the seat of an empire, the throne of the kingdom of God on earth. . .

This bleak, barren, splendid, forbidding country brought them close to God. They were visionary and practical people. Brigham Young's vision of empire led them to push colonies into Idaho, California, and South. . . St. George, Gunlock, Tocquerville are featured in pictures. Pictures and words describe their settler's faith and courage--still in their descendents.¹⁰⁰

Historically, others have seen the Church as an almost amazing social phenomenon and sought reasons for its great vigor and growth.

¹⁰⁰D. Dixon, "Three Mormon Towns," Life, XXXVII (September 6, 1954), 91.

A Harper's review of Ray B. West's Kingdom of the Saints approached the Mormons in this light. By Walter P. Webb, president of the American Historical Association, and author of several books on the West, the article reported:

Kingdom of the Saints tells the story of a remarkable people and their nearly incredible accomplishment. Joseph Smith and Brigham Young are the book's key figures, with Joseph Smith seen as a brave, pleasant, uneducated frontier mystic; Brigham Young united the high-minded zeal of the 19th century reformer with the 19th century's practical entrepreneur... [he] was closer to Shaw's idea of a superman than any of the historical figures he portrayed in a role.

The Mormons grew from 77,000 at Brigham Young's death to 1,500,000 in 1956, while all other experimental communities died. Near miracles appear in Mormon history--seagulls saving crops the first summer in Utah.¹⁰¹

In explaining the Church's remarkable growth, vigor and successes, Webb continued:

Persecution and repeated Mormon migrations eliminated the weak. Trail hardships of walking 1,400 roadless miles from Iowa City to Salt Lake pushing handcarts in the 'fifties eliminated freeloaders. Flexibility of Mormon doctrine favors activation--with continuous revelation, religious teachings can be changed to meet new conditions.¹⁰²

Former critic of the Church Bernard DeVoto moderated his tone (see Chapter III) in writing of early Mormon hardships and persecutions in Harper's:

¹⁰¹Walter P. Webb, "Community of the Saints," Harper's, CCXIV (May, 1957), 82.

¹⁰²Ibid.

If the Mormons have a great compulsion to tell everyone at great length how shamefully they have been persecuted, it is because of the fact that for three-fourths of a century they were shamefully persecuted. They were mobbed and driven out of Missouri and Illinois. They were robbed of their property, a lot of them were murdered, a lot more of them died of the hardships that followed. After they got to Utah, the federal government inflicted them with some of the scurviest officials that have ever been appointed to pay political debts. In the late 1880's it set out to break up this political organization, jailing such of them as it suspected of polygamy, subjecting the others to a test oath, and confiscating Church property.

For an ugly period lynch law was federal policy. And all this time a lot of reformers made a fat living by lying about the Mormons--labeling them with every conceivably kind of false accusations, including the lie that the Mormons were unpatriotic, were enemies of the United States, and were engaged in a conspiracy to overthrow it...¹⁰³

Maurice Marchant, a librarian at the Carnegie Library in Ogden, gave a librarian's view in Library Journal of the type of books, especially early ones, that appeared about the Mormons:

A study of these [early anti-Mormon] novels in the light of modern social and historical knowledge reveals that very few of them contain any saving values. Rather, they reflect the general misconceptions of these times that Mormon men were depraved and illiterate and their women no better than slaves. Much the same can be said of the so-called historical and social commentaries. Scores of books and magazine articles described Mormon conduct and history; yet only a few were better than fanciful imaginings interwoven into the network of a shallow study consisting of perhaps no more than a few days' visit to Salt Lake City and the reading of other equally ill-conceived books.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ DeVoto, op. cit., p. 8.

¹⁰⁴ Maurice Marchant, "Mormons in Literature--A Book List to Set the Record Straight," Library Journal, LXXXVIII (January 1, 1963), 58.

X. CHURCH DOCTRINE

Some writers have found Mormon doctrine different, strange, and unacceptable. Leaning toward the latter, W.E. Garrison said in Christian Century:

The time has long since passed when any one can take much interest in either writing or reading the kind of anti-Mormon tirades that were popular... There was a time after the revelation of alleged "scandalous" secrets of the covenant had been discredited when the pious but prurient imagination could find agreeable titillation in accounts of Mormon polygamy as an orgy of sexual license. There is no longer a market for such trash...

There is little appeal in pro-Mormon apologetics that presupposes the prophetic mission of personal sanctity of Joseph Smith, the authenticity of all his "revelations" and the inspired accuracy of the Mormon account of the Hebrew migrations to America...¹⁰⁵

Spence took a different view of this doctrine and its appeal in Look:

The Church answers all needs,... [it] restored original Christianity, saints, apostles, prophets... appealed to converts, answers all religious controversies... [it believes in] divine revelation, no transubstantiation, regeneration, justification, but meaningful concepts.

[Mormons believe] ... that God became supreme by mastering universal knowledge, and that everyone on earth is a spiritual son or daughter of God. His children have human form as one state of their existence, to test them, and increase their knowledge. If worthy, in a future life they will resume their bodies and be exalted in the kingdom of God which will be built on the American continent... Because Mormons hope to achieve divinity, it behooves them to live saintly lives on earth.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵Garrison, loc. cit.

¹⁰⁶Spence, op. cit., p. 58.

Discussing Church doctrine, Harold Martin (previously cited)

said:

Mormons believe... the day of miraculous revelations is not over, and a man who is worthy may pray for and receive instruction from celestial beings... This revelation may come by word of mouth, accompanied by the actual presence of God, or His Son, or the apostles of old, or it may come from visitations of angels, bringing messages...

... [Mormons] believe that time is without beginning, and without end, space is limitless, mind is eternal and matter is subject to change of form but can't be destroyed. Within this framework of endless time and limitless space there are many kingdoms, or world systems, inhabited by intelligences in various stages of development... In Mormon philosophy... there is no concept of unending bliss, but the soul and resurrected body progressing eternally toward perfection. In the life to come... there will be varying degrees of glory, just as there are stars of differing magnitudes, and souls will share in the greater or lesser glory according to the manner in which they have conducted themselves on earth.¹⁰⁷

Apostle Richard L. Evans gave an authoritative internal view of Mormon doctrine and belief in "What is a Mormon?" in Look.¹⁰⁸

VII. CHURCH BUSINESS INTERESTS

Church-owned businesses also drew comment, mostly unfavorable. Non-Mormon Neil Morgan, whom Theodore Cannon called "objective," contributed a critical article in this area in Esquire, with sixty-two negative referents, and the vast majority of the negative symbols in

¹⁰⁷ Martin, op. cit., 22-3.

¹⁰⁸ Richard L. Evans, "What is a Mormon?" Look, XVIII (October 5, 1954), 67-8.

"General" magazines.

With others, and harking back to an old theme, he attacked the Mormon hierarchy as "rigidly conservative, ultra nationalistic on political issues" and accused it of "provincial paternalism"¹⁰⁹ and "benevolent domination of Mormon lives."

[it is] difficult to penetrate the power patterns of the Church. These patterns are poorly understood outside Mormon country and heatedly distorted within. . . [the Church has] attained a spectacular wealth. It is fast becoming, if it isn't already, the richest church of its size in the world. Mormonism unquestionably controls the greatest aggregation of capital in the states of the Rocky Mountain area. . . Zion is a booming gold-plated spiritual empire.¹¹⁰

In what became known as the "Brack Lee incident," Salt Lake City's Mayor Lee, in answering Morgan's question of the Church's annual income, said, "Over a million dollars daily." Morgan reported that when he tried to get Mormon leaders, including Henry D. Moyle, to confirm this, Mormon relations toward him, which formerly had been cordial, suddenly cooled, and his efforts were stymied: "Others have found formal information sources cut off when their investigations extended beyond the limits which the church encourages."

He inventoried the Church's business holdings: "ZCMI, Utah-Idaho Sugar Company, vast ranches in Florida, Canada and Georgia." He quoted a "responsible" Boise citizen as saying, "'The Mormons aren't a

¹⁰⁹Neil Morgan, "Utah: How Much Money Hath the Mormon Church?" *Esquire*, LVIII (August, 1962), 89.

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 86.

church anymore; they are a business. "' and another in Salt Lake City saying, "'There is no two-way property deal in Salt Lake City. Every deal is three-way. The church figures in every real estate transaction one way or another. "'¹¹¹

Newsweek had a critical article, "Latter-day Profits," along the same lines, with forty-nine negative of 130 total referents:

The Mormon Church is the largest commercial enterprise in the West except the Bank of America. Most of the two-million Mormons give the Church 10 per cent of their income in obedience to Brigham Young's terse rule on tithing ("There is the law-- pay one-tenth"). More income pours in from the church's vast business and real-estate investments, ranging from Salt Lake City's Hotel Utah to a 260,000 acre Florida cattle ranch. All told, the cash flow reaches one-million-dollars daily, enough to finance the Mormons' schools, and still leave millions to plow back into other worthy commercial investments. Like the first Mormons who turned to with a will to make the desert bloom a century ago, their thrifty descendents are not the sort to let such riches lie fallow.

But even true believers might be surprised by the latest investment... The Mormon Church purchased... a plot of land in Midtown Manhattan as a site for a "30- or 40-story" skyscraper-- to include a chapel, auditorium, library, church administration offices, along with offices or apartments for public rental...

But the church office building in Salt Lake City remains the center of Mormon operations, where Henry D. Moyle, President McKay's second counselor presides over all Mormon financial activities, and he is something of a one-man holding company, [supervising Mormon investments] ... To criticism of the church's business holdings, Moyle replies: "We are not averse to making a profit. But it is not our prime motive."¹¹²

¹¹¹Ibid., p. 91.

¹¹²"Latter-day Profits," Newsweek, LIX (January 22, 1962), 67-8.

XI. CHURCH WELFARE PLAN

The Church Welfare Plan has received generally favorable attention, with writers noting this voluntary, cooperative program whereby Mormons "take care of their own."

In a Saturday Evening Post article, Frank Taylor, whom Theodore Cannon called "objective," praised the welfare program in an article with forty-six favorable referents:

[Mormons] make certain their needy brethren never go hungry. During the 1958 recession, one sizeable group of Americans didn't worry too much about it. They were all set for adversity. Without clinging on relief agencies, Mormons are ready to take care of their own. They've been ready ever since the depression of the '30's, when the Saints rolled up their sleeves and worked their way out of hard times... The church's 600 farms, 30 canneries, two score of mills, factories and salvage shops are ready for almost any emergency...

No Mormon has to ask for aid. If one needs food or clothing, his ward bishop soon knows about it and issues orders on the nearest bishop's storehouse for essential supplies.¹¹³

Former United States Treasurer Ivy Baker Priest described in Better Homes and Gardens how her Mormon family contributed with time, effort and goods to the local ward welfare program when they could, and also immediately withdrew from it to meet emergency needs.¹¹⁴

Spence also lauded the program in Look:

¹¹³Frank Taylor, "The Saints Roll up Their Sleeves," Saturday Evening Post, CCXXI (October 11, 1958), 34-5.

¹¹⁴Ivy B. Priest, "Our Family Storehouse," (as told to J. Sherrill) Better Homes and Gardens, XXXIV (October, 1956), 170-71.

There is freedom from want in a chain of farms, storehouses and granaries that keep on hand--together with what is stored by each family--enough food and clothing to supply every Mormon for a full year. Mormonism is a self-reliant society, which distributes the benefits of all its people to any member in need. ¹¹⁵

XII. POLYGAMY

Polygamy appeared to be more of academic or historical interest than anything else, with Fundamentalist activities in Short Creek, Arizona and underground Utah polygamy activities prompting most references in this area except for incidental ones. Life devoted an article to Arizona's Short Creek raid in 1953, ¹¹⁶ Collier's got Maurine Whipple to interview five-time polygamist and Short Creek resident Edson Jessup in "Why I have Five Wives." ¹¹⁷ Newsweek reported on underground polygamy activities in Utah and grand jury investigations into its practice. In explaining the justification or reasons for it, Newsweek said:

Contrary to general belief, sex was no major motivating force in the proclamation of the plural-marriage doctrine. To Mormon faithful, polygamy was divinely ordained and the number of a man's wives and children definitely added to his stature and glory in heaven. Further, it was a prevailing Mormon belief that God intended every woman to be a wife and mother, and in the pioneer Utah Territory there were more female than male converts. . . Federal laws cracked down on polygamy as the

¹¹⁵Spence, op. cit., p. 57.

¹¹⁶"Lonely Men of Short Creek," Life, XXXV (September 14, 1953), 35-9.

¹¹⁷Edson Jessup (with Maurine Whipple), "Why I have Five Wives," Collier's, CXXXII (November 13, 1953), 22-30.

territory opened up. Juries--from which Mormons were barred--handed down indictment after indictment, leaders were jailed.¹¹⁸

Newsweek said of underground Utah polygamy activities:

By 1890 the Mormon Church had had enough and officially abandoned polygamy as a doctrine, but a Fundamentalist sect continues polygamy. This week, local Utah officials in Bountiful, Salt Lake City and other Utah major urban areas began another polygamy crackdown, without much success. In three weeks they had rounded up four accused of having 16 wives and at least 95 children between them. They were getting little cooperation from sympathetic Utahns... Many a Utah Mormon takes quiet pride in his polygamous forebearers and is inclined to be lenient toward the Fundamentalists.¹¹⁹

Walter P. Webb said of polygamy in Harper's " [Mormons believed] the Scriptures sanctioned polygamy, and it was a practical way of taking care of the excess of women over men among converts and of providing for the widows and orphans of men killed in persecutions."¹²⁰

Hartzell Spence said of polygamy and the stormy days of early Utah:

All this empire building was unknown to the American public, which was being propagandized against the Mormons due to their practice of polygamy. Actually, the extent of this phase of Mormonism was highly exaggerated. Limited to responsible Church leaders, it never exceeded three per cent of the Mormon population at any time. Stern rules concerning it were enforced. Some remarkable families resulted...¹²¹

¹¹⁸"Too Many Wives," Newsweek, LVVI (November 21, 1955), 98.

¹¹⁹Ibid., p. 99.

¹²⁰Webb, op. cit., p. 82.

¹²¹Spence, op. cit., p. 68.

XIII. SUMMARY

Chapter IV presented a running topical summary of what was thought to be representative and typical of what appeared in United States consumer magazines during the time considered. Important and representative excerpts from articles included in the study, the amount of relative favor or disfavor shown for some, and important favor-disfavor combinations contributing to total or group favor-disfavor ratios were noted.

The topics were: The Church as a Social Institution; Prominent Individual Latter-day Saints; Social and Cultural Expression; Tabernacle Choir; Church Participation; Mormon Structures; Social Relations with Racial Groups and Minorities; History, Persecution and Pioneering; Church Doctrine; Church Business Interests; Church Welfare Plan; and Polygamy.

CHAPTER V
SUMMARY, FINDINGS, AND CONCLUSIONS

I. SUMMARY

Using a content analysis approach, this study attempted to determine the nature and extent of what was written about the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in United States consumer magazines between 1953-64. Some specific problems considered were:

1. Using a content analysis approach on the material examined, to determine favor-disfavor ratios for symbols and themes.

2. Tallying each pertinent word referent to the Church as to symbol and theme, to determine the frequency of occurrence of each symbol and theme for all magazines, and for "General," "Special," and "News" magazine types.

3. Comparing findings in the present study with those of the earlier Morris study, tracing and noting possible changes in flows of attention and favor-disfavor ratios.

Content analysis involved classifying each pertinent word referring to the Church into symbols and themes and tallying it as favorable, unfavorable or neutral toward the subject.¹ A bibliography of 124 articles about the Church for the period covered was obtained from the Reader's Guide, and became the universe for the study.

¹See "Content Analysis," Chapter I, and Berelson, loc. cit., and Lasswell, loc. cit.

II. FINDINGS

There were +3.3 and +3.9 favor-disfavor ratios respectively for "Individual" and "Collective" Mormons in all magazines covered during the study, and a combined +3.3 rating for all symbols. The "Economic" theme (-2.5), and "Material" symbol (-8.2), were the only elements with total negative ratings of any significance, and probably correlated with each other, as the negative referents for both came from two disfavorable articles about the Church's businesses. This topic, along with some disfavor shown towards the Church's "Negro doctrine," was the main source of disfavor found in the study.

The number of favorable "Social Relations" referents counterbalanced the negative race relations referents, giving "Social Relations" the next to highest (+7.5) rating of any theme. "Cultural" was the highest-rated theme (+8.5), showing Mormon socio-cultural activities were favorably noted. The "Political" theme was third highest, +6.4.

Leading symbols, in order of frequency of occurrence, with their favor-disfavor ratios, were: "Personal," +3.3; "Collective," +3.9; "Non-Mormons," +1.5; "Miscellaneous," +4.2; "Participation," +2.3; "Government," -0.1; and "Mormon Places," +1.4. Leading themes were: "History," +0.1; "Enumeration," +1.9; "Social Relations," +7.5; "Political," +6.4; "Marriage-family," +0.1 (See Table II, Chapter III).

III. CONCLUSIONS

In view of the apparent favorable attitude ratings noted above toward the Church and the inter-action between the press' image of a subject and national opinion (see "Magazines," Chapter I), it would seem the Mormon image has improved from former times, to reach, as Time said, a current "pinnacle of respectable good will."² An increase in Morris' favor-disfavor ratios would seem to support this: his 1.0 ratio for 1899-1909 increased to +4.0 for 1919-29, and to +4.2 for 1942-53.³ The present study's favor-disfavor ratio was +3.3 for 1953-64.

Today the Church's collective and individual accomplishments, welfare and social-cultural and service programs seemed to be more commented on than such trite, traditional anti-Mormon charges as avenging angels, Spaulding manuscript, Mountain Meadows and peepstone. Peepstone and Mountain Meadows were the only two of the above briefly mentioned in the study in minor negative referents in American Heritage.⁴ Almost all the few references even to polygamy and Mormon hierarchy were more incidental, isolated and minor than a deliberate Mormon-baiting attitude and attempted revival of old charges.

²"Pageant of the Tablets," Time, op. cit., p. 43.

³Morris, op. cit., pp. 37-9.

⁴Carmer, "The Farm Boy and the Angel," American Heritage, op. cit., pp. 87-8; Billington, op. cit.

The vast majority of current writing about the Church seemed to be neutral, or slightly favorable, with little or no deliberate propaganda found either for or against the Church. Interest in accomplishments of the Church or its members and various Mormon programs seemed to come to the fore in the time studies, as examining the study's article titles would suggest. At least one-third of all articles in the study largely related to the Church, its members or accomplishments, or various programs, and practically another third related to Mormons in politics.

Anything but short discussions of Mormon belief, theology or philosophy were minimized, probably showing that the Church, its members' accomplishments and its various programs were deemed more interesting to others than deep doctrinal discussions. There were only two doctrinal discussions of any length. The exclusion of the "Belief" symbol from the top ten symbols, whereas "Social-Cultural" tied for eighth place, probably reflected this.

Other factors possibly contributed to the reduction of anti-Mormon writing. Present writers probably wrote in a more liberal atmosphere of enlightened tolerance toward minorities generally. The Negroes, for example, have recently been discussed more tolerantly and more frequently in magazines than before. Perhaps increased economic competition compelled a broader appeal among magazines, reducing tendencies for other than objective writing.

Theodore Cannon noted in his Salt Lake City office that when the Church expressed concern to Look editors because of apparent inaccuracies in Spence's article, "The Mormons," the editors cooperated in correcting the apparent inaccuracies. The Look editors said they didn't want to offend so important and respected a group as the Mormons.⁵

⁵In an interview with Mr. Cannon, August 27, 1964.

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APPENDIX B.

TABLE VII

ANALYSIS OF LEADING SYMBOLS AND THEMES IN MAGAZINE ARTICLES
 BY CARL CARMER REFERRING TO THE LDS CHURCH BETWEEN 1953
 AND 1964, SHOWING FAVOR AND DISFAVOR AND THEIR INTERRELATION
 AND PROPORTION TO THE WHOLE

Leading Symbols (in descending order of occurrence)

Symbol	Percent of Whole	Favor-Disfavor Ratio
Personal	38.0	+ .2
Collective	14.3	+ .9
Govt-political	10.6	+ .8
Non-Mormons	9.9	+1.0
Miscellaneous	8.5	.0
Participation	4.1	+ .1
Theme		
History	79.5	+ .2
Marriage-family	12.8	+ .1
Social Relations	5.3	+4.2
Enumerative	3.7	+ .1
Practice-ritual	1.5	.0

Notes: Positive rating represents favor; negative disfavor, ratio derivations explained on page.21. Themes defined on page17. Symbols defined on pages 13-17. Articles by Carmer analyzed in the study and contributing to the above table are found under the alphabetical author listing, "Carmer, Carl," in Appendix A.

TABLE VIII

ANALYSIS OF LEADING SYMBOLS AND THEMES IN MAGAZINE ARTICLES BY WALLACE STEGNER REFERRING TO THE LDS CHURCH BETWEEN 1953 AND 1964, SHOWING FAVOR AND DISFAVOR AND THEIR INTERRELATION AND PROPORTION TO THE WHOLE.

Leading Symbols (in descending order of occurrence)

Symbol	Percent of Whole	Favor-Disfavor Ratio
Collective	21.8	+ .2
Personal	9.8	+ .1
Participation	9.6	+4.2
Organization	7.8	+7.8
Govt-political	6.9	+1.5
Material	5.3	.0
Theme		
History	39.0	+ .2
Enumerative	6.8	+ .1
Economic	6.3	+ .2
Philosophical	3.1	+3.2
Practice-ritual	3.0	+2.3

Notes: Positive rating represents favor; negative disfavor. Ratio derivations explained on page 21. Themes defined on page 17. Symbols defined on pages 13-17.

Source: Articles by Stegner analyzed in the study and contributing to the above table are found under the alphabetical author listing, "Stegner, Wallace," in Appendix A.

APPENDIX C.

TABLE IX

RESULTS OF A PANEL'S EVALUATION (IN FAVOR-DISFAVOR RATIOS)
OF EXCERPTS FROM ARTICLES INCLUDED IN THE STUDY

Excerpt	Author	Mormons*	non-Mormons*
1	+75	+30	+65
2	-75	-34	-40
3	+25	+50	+10
4	-50	-25	-30
5	+25	+83	+65
6	+25	+21	- 5
7	+100	+96	+80
8	-75	-30	-45
9	+25	-26	+35
10	+75	+75	+80

*Six Mormons and five non-Mormons with diverse backgrounds comprised the panel for the above table. Three of the Mormon panel members were Utah school teachers, and the other three were out-of-state students attending Utah colleges. Two of the non-Mormon panel members were out-of-state students attending Utah colleges, and others were non-students from Salt Lake City and Price, Utah. The participants were handed the accompanying ten excerpts and asked to rate the four underlined words from each excerpt on a separate sheet as to favor, disfavor, or neutrality toward the Church. These were then tallied, and ratios obtained by the same process as for ratings in Tables II-VII. The present study's rating for these excerpts accompanies the others. A Pearsonian linear correlation formula yielded correlation coefficients of 0.809 between the author's and Mormon panel members' ratings, and 0.928 between the author's and non-Mormon raters' ratings. There was a 0.824 correlation between Mormon and non-Mormon ratings.

APPENDIX C

MAGAZINE ARTICLE EXCERPTS RATED BY A PANEL AS A CHECK ON THE STUDY

The following excerpts from magazine articles used in the study were given panel members, with these instructions:

The following are brief excerpts from general American consumer magazines referring to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Please determine and indicate (on accompanying sheet) whether you think the author's treatment of these references to the Church is favorable, unfavorable, or neutral. Rate each underlined word.

1. "Mormonism has allowed for pleasure in life. Joseph Smith believed that life was for joy--he wrestled at the top of his fame as a prophet. Brigham Young loved the stage and hired a distinguished Shakesperian actor to direct plays in the famous theater he built in Salt Lake City. "¹

2. "Mormon revelations are as hard to define as they are to coax up on order. There is not even an accurate count of them,... Later prophets... have seldom announced to the public that they have received a revelation from God... Since he became Prophet in 1951, (President) McKay has never admitted that God... spoke to him. "²

3. "For three nights recently a record 135,000 gathered for the 17th Hill Cumorah Pageant, which depicts in dramatic terms the origins of the Mormon faith... It tells the Book of Mormon story of the Lord

telling Lehi to leave Jerusalem for America, two splits in the family-- Nephites, and the bad, dark-skinned Lamanites, Christ's crucifixion, His American appearance, and establishing His Church which flourished, internal quarreling, annihilating civil wars in which the Nephites were destroyed and the Lamanites survived as the American Indian. "3

4. "According to Mormon belief, only those who lead a heroic pre-life were eligible to be born into the world as Mormons. Negro souls weren't eligible, because...they came into the world with the curse of Ham and Cain upon them. Negroes could join the church,...but it was 'revealed' to Brigham Young in 1879 that they couldn't become Mormon priests. 'When the rest of mankind has in heaven earned the priesthood,' he wrote, 'then the curse will be removed from the seed of Cain, and they will possess the priesthood.' The decision relegates Negroes to second-class spiritual citizenship until death..!"4

5. "Mormons take great and justifiable pride in their drama activity. Well they might. The quality of many of the productions is excellent. The difficulties under which the directors must work are many--there is no charge, so ingenuity must be shown for realism. Electricians donate time for lighting, and housewives make costumes."5

6. "New Zealand's Protestant Churches recently rallied against the proselyting Salt Lake City Mormon invaders. Scoring remarkable gains with the South Pacific's Polynesians, they continue their great record, have nearly tripled their members...in New Zealand to 17,000 in the past 30 years."6

7. The Mormons are a "vigorous, industrious, kindly people who against great odds have succeeded in building the most stable society in the West. Everyone who knows them likes and respects them. We have lately seen under a powerful spotlight an example of the qualities that Mormon leadership at its best can display. "7

8. "For the thirteenth consecutive session, the Utah legislature has failed to pass a 'public accommodations' civil rights bill. . . Interested Protestants and Roman Catholics, minority groups and some liberal Mormons were unable to overcome the opposition of the real estate interests and the Mormon tradition that the Negro is inferior. . . "8

9. "Such a religion as Mormonism, in these modern days, should work better in theory than in practice. But the Utah Mormons, now rapidly spreading throughout the Western states and with settlements throughout the world, never get far from it. They are reared in Church-ordered homes and live rather clannishly in close-knit communities that provide all their wants and needs. Under such circumstances, Mormons have difficulty in breaking away or non-conforming, even if they want to. "9

10. "They [Mormon Indian students] get free medical treatment. . . and then move to their foster homes, where they get free board, room, clothes, books, entertainment, and no more chores than the family's own kids. More than 20 percent of the Indian kids have been elected to class or studentbody offices, . . . "10

FOOTNOTES FOR MAGAZINE EXCERPTS USED BY THE PANEL

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²"The Negro Question" Time, LXXXII (October 18, 1963), 83.

³"Pageant of the Tablets," Time, LXXII (August 18, 1958), 42.

⁴"The Negro Question," Time, LXXII (October 18, 1963), 83.

⁵Douglas Allen, "Drama Among the Mormons," Theater Arts, ILLII (December, 1958), 53.

⁶"Hagoth's Children--Proselyting Mormons," Time, LXXI (May 26, 1958), 65.

⁷Bernard DeVoto, "Current Comic Strips," Harper's, CCX (May, 1955), 8.

⁸John Wade, "Utah: News of the Christian World," Christian Century, LXXVIII (July 5, 1961), 837.

⁹Hartzell Spence, "The Mormons," Look, XXII (January 21, 1958), 58.

¹⁰"Red and Delightful--Utah Foster Family Plan for Indian Students," Time, LXXIV (September 7, 1959), 60.

APPENDIX D.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SPECIALIZED, TRADE, AND PROFESSIONAL
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A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF REFERENCES TO THE CHURCH OF JESUS
CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS IN GENERAL MAGAZINES IN THE
UNITED STATES BETWEEN 1953 AND 1964

An Abstract

of a Thesis Presented to
the Department of Communications
Brigham Young University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

by

David G. Wright

December, 1964

ABSTRACT

Using a content analysis approach, this study attempted to determine the nature and extent of what was published about the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in consumer magazines of the United States 1953-64.

Applying the general principles of Harold Lasswell's content analysis approach and using fourteen symbols and fourteen themes, the study examined 124 articles in consumer magazines of the United States. The bibliography of magazine articles examined was obtained from the Reader's Guide from 1953-64. Magazines were divided into three groups: "General," "Special," and "News."

Some specific problems considered in this study were: (1) Using a content analysis approach to the material examined, to determine favor-disfavor ratios for symbols and themes; (2) Through tallying each pertinent word referent to the Church in the magazine articles covered into one of fourteen symbols and one of fourteen themes, to determine the frequency of occurrence of each symbol and theme for all magazines, and for "General," "Special," and "News" magazines; (3) To compare findings in the present study with those of an earlier similar thesis study by Herbert N. Morris at Brigham Young University in 1958, noting possible changes in flows of attention and favor-disfavor ratios.

All symbols were found to have a +2.4 favor-disfavor ratio. Leading symbols in order of frequency of occurrence were, with their

favor-disfavor ratios and percentage of the whole: "Personal," +3.3 (26.8 percent); "Collective," +2.7 (20.3 percent); "Non-Mormons," +1.8 (11.7 percent); "Participation," +3.4 (7.4 percent); "Government," -0.1 (6.4 percent); and "Mormon Places," +2.4 (4.5 percent). Leading themes were: "History," +0.8 (27.5 percent); "Enumeration," +2.4 (12.9 percent); "Social Relations," +8.3 (11.8 percent); "Political," +4.1 (10.6 percent); "Marriage-family," +0.1 (11.3 percent); and "Economic," -2.6 (5.4 percent).

Findings from the present study seemed to continue in the general trend of increasing favor shown the Church in magazines. Morris' +1.0 favor-disfavor ratio for 1899-1909 increased to +4.0 for 1919-29, and to +4.2 for 1941-53.

ABSTRACT APPROVED BY:



Chairman, Advisory Committee



Member, Advisory Committee