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SUNSTONE
 Volume Six Number Two
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Graffiti Mormon Style
Mormonism and the Male-Female God
Book of Mormon Wordprints Reexamined

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SUNSTONE

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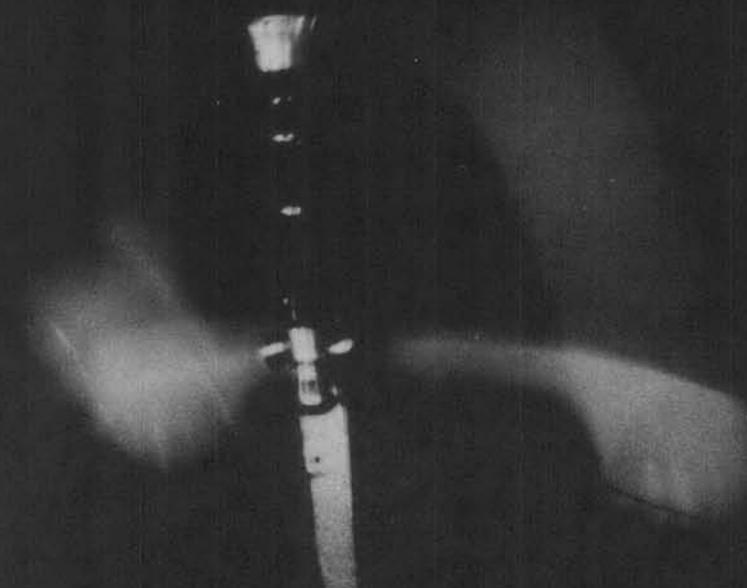
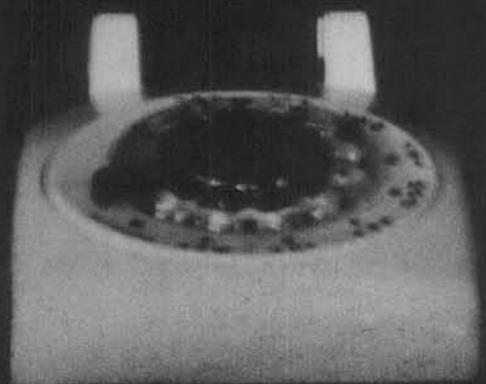
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THE GROWLER AND SANDRA HOUSE

A Story by
Patricia Hart
Molen

When Sandra House told me the terrifying story of her encounter with The Growler, and of her brave handling of it, my first thought was, how much better she than me. Not that Sandra was without fear, but she seemed above so many of the things that frightened me. I saw that from the beginning of our stint together as Mormon missionaries in Brazil.

Sandra was my second companion, the one I spent the longest time with, and even now a snatch of a Joao Gilberto record or a swig of Trop can send me back to the months we spent together in the bustling, breathtaking port of Bahia. I marvelled at her command of Portuguese, her way with shopkeepers, her ease with the Brazilian pace, her gift of never looking overdressed or frumpy. At the time a dowdy, maidenish appearance was a spectre that haunted me. I was afraid of becoming an ugly lady

missionary the same way I was afraid of water, the mission president, alleys, pickpockets, life without a husband, and my own insignificance in the eternal scheme.

Sandra, with her straight, gleaming hair the golden color of *dende* oil, and her narrow, perfect features allayed my fear of frumpiness, at least as long as I could look at her and imagine I saw myself reflected just a little. She taught me to enjoy *vatapa*, a sort of fish chowder that also contained shrimp, peanuts, coconut, and of course that yellow oil made from palm kernels—*dende*. She taught me to enjoy the taste of Brazilian fish, *pescadinho* and *peixe vermelho*, so different from the mountain trout I ate during my childhood trips to the Uintahs. She also taught me to enjoy the samba and the rumba beats, and the brilliantly colored clothes that flashed against Bahia's human rainbow. Although it was 1970, a few years before the

news from Salt Lake that the darkest could be welcomed without reservation, Sandra taught anyone and everyone, as did many of the Elders.

Now some of the missionaries may have been broadened by a statistical conscience, but not Sandra. Once I remember a new convert, *Irma Oliveira*, came to her, worriedly pushing a kink of reddish mane from her mahogany forehead, wanting to know if it was true that anyone with a trace of African blood was excluded from temple and priesthood.

Not in Brazil, Sandra laughed easily. Can you imagine trying that in Brazil? *Quem nao tem de Congo tem de Carabali*, she told the woman, Whoever doesn't have some Congo in him has some Carabali. *Irma Oliveira* was at once reassured, and laughingly quoted a popular refrain in agreement: *Eu nao sei com quem minha avo andou*; I don't know who my Grandfather hung around with. She went away contented with Sandra's words, as she might not have from someone else, say one of the Elders or me. We might not know the truth, after all, on doctrinal issues. But Sandra was so good, how could she be wrong?

It was Sandra who took me, shivering, one midnight to a hill above Bahia for a *candomble*, a ceremony our mission president referred to as Black Magic and sternly forbade. As we stumbled up the mountain by flashlight, Sandra told me that the practice was a marriage between Catholicism and African religions brought by the earliest slaves. When we reached a clearing in the thicket, a group of twenty-five or more were already gathered in the square lighted at each corner by the dancing flame of a pitch-soaked torch. From an altar in the middle of the far side, statues of familiar saints, Anthony, Jude, Christopher, consorted with weird figures of jungle demons. In the flickering torchlight good and evil spells were cast to the bewildering chant of *Ponto! Ponto!* Skin-topped kettles beat a relentless accompaniment and the mood became frenzied as the faithful threw themselves into wild contortions, danced and fell down, one frothing at the mouth. Through all this Sandra stood as firm as a tree while I, on the other hand, expected at any moment that Satan himself would walk in and sweep the pair of us out and down.

The point is, she wasn't afraid, not then, and not six months later when the Fiat she was riding in overturned and she had to spend a month in a Brazilian hospital in Rio, and not when she came home either. To my almost worshipful observation, she wasn't afraid of anything. Maybe that's why her account of The Growler unsettled me so much. It shook something I didn't want shaken to think of Sandra finally becoming afraid.

But she wasn't afraid of what people thought, of appearing silly, or of caring for someone she'd have to eventually say goodbye to. At a mission reunion in '74 I heard that Sandra had quit going to Church. I was surprised and then not surprised. I myself had many moments of doubt since coming home from the mission, but true to form, I figured I'd stick to the dissatisfactions I understood, rather than fly to ones I knew not of. Not Sandra. When she decided a course was right for her, she would take it and end consequences, head held high.

I saw her in 1976 in her little apartment in Provo, where she was going to school. That was when she told me the story about the Moonies in Toronto and also about

her encounter with the one-armed flasher—amazingly coordinated, she allowed—in the airport in Montreal. All her stories filled me with envy and pride, and yet made me feel pale at her golden side. The only story I had to tell was that Henry Wright and I were getting married after all, after four years of listless, off-and-on courtship, and it cannot have been her unqualified congratulations that made me wonder whether this latest decision of mine, like so many previous ones, was based not so much on romance as on relief from anxiety.

After my wedding, I moved with Henry to Wisconsin where he finished school. But four years later found us back in Salt Lake, and I heard through a friend that Sandra was living there too. She was teaching high school, I heard, switching with ease from French to Spanish to Portuguese. But when I tried the number listed in the directory, I got a recording saying the number was disconnected. A week later she called me, and when I questioned her about the phone number, she laughed a little and said she'd explain when I came over. So the introduction, given practically against her will, drew us into the tale of The Growler.

Oh, as a woman living alone she'd had a few prank calls before, the usual thing: a breather, a muffled obscenity or two, childish giggles in the wee hours, but The Growler was something else entirely.

Imagine how it was, she said, to pick up the phone half awake—at two-thirty, to be exact—and hear right there in her ear a low-pitched, animalish, flesh-crawling growl. She slammed down the phone almost immediately. It rang again, and she let it go on, ten, eleven, twelve, thirteen rings.

It took her a long time to fall asleep, twisting this way and that between cream-colored sheets, but by morning the incident was practically forgotten. Sandra had meditated and run three miles and sat down to a table set with real silver and crystal and a gold linen cloth for her traditional breakfast of yoghurt with fresh fruit and nuts followed by cranberry juice which washed down a whole handful of vitamins and a variety of earthly salts, before she remembered The Growler. Then she shrugged him off and decided the next minute to ride her bicycle to school that day. The first encounter with The Growler wasn't anything Sandra even thought about twice. Forgetfulness more than fortitude, she explained.

Two nights later he called again. There was a phone concealed in a wooden box right beside Sandra's bed, and she reached for it without being quite awake, without even thinking, really. As soon as she heard it, that gravelly, garbage disposal sound, she clapped the receiver into its cradle. Almost immediately it began to ring again, eleven, twelve, thirteen times.

That settled it. Sandra simply rolled over and unplugged the phone. There was no need to get hysterical. Such things as a middle-of-the-night caller were quickly handled. She would simply have to remember to unplug the phone before she went to bed at night for the next little while. There was no need for melodrama.

How right of her, I thought, and how brave and sensible, Sandra, all alone, proving there was really nothing to be afraid of.

Except that the next day, not fifteen minutes after she'd plugged the phone back in and sat down to the

table laid with silver and crystal and the gold linen cloth for yoghurt with fresh fruit and nuts, he called again. Grrrowwrrrr, she tried to imitate the sound for me, but lower and more threatening, rumbly, she said. So she hung right up. What else could she do? But frankly it began to worry her.

How glad I was as I listened to Sandra talk that when the visit was over I could go home to Henry and the brightly lit rented house only a few blocks away. Sandra could bear to be on the edge of things, but I couldn't ever. That was why I had chosen security at every turn, a husband who needed me in the same way that I needed him and a faith broken in like a comfortable shoe. That way I had protected myself from the dangers that Sandra described, hadn't I?

Sometimes she wouldn't get a call for a couple of days, and then she'd get four, all in one day. She held to her resolve about keeping the phone unplugged at night, so her sleep was uninterrupted, in theory at least, but how could she leave her phone off the hook in the daytime? Who expected someone to call up and growl at you at nine o'clock on a Saturday morning?

Sandra sighed and leaned back in the tan plush sofa, looking straight ahead of her, and my eyes followed hers to the bookshelf lined with Jorge Amado, Graciliano Ramos, Jose Lins do Rego, and others. In the middle of the middle shelf sat her Bible, Book of Mormon, several church history books, and a Brazilian hymnal. Hardly hiding out. Sandra caught my glance but didn't refer to it directly. When you live by yourself, she said, you can't afford to let fear creep into anything you do. It could color everything.

An impossible thought came into my mind: Sandra waking up in the middle of the night, frightened by some noise, but not squinching her eyes shut and praying oh please oh please oh please the way I might, but rather lying very still and trying to identify the noise so that she could command the pounding in her chest that everything was all right.

The calls began to happen more and more often, she told me. And frankly, she began to see a pattern in it. Oh, at first she chalked it up to nerves imposing sinister overtones on a scene that was nothing more than a bad joke, a childish mind, or someone bored, someone lonely. Then she began to notice that often when she had been away from the apartment, she would receive a call within five minutes of returning.

I could practically set my watch by him, she said in that same laughing tone she had used to reassure *Irma Oliveira* that their god thought black was beautiful. It began to be a real problem, she smiled. Then suddenly changing the subject, she asked if I would like a *vitamina*, the blended drink made from milk and avocados and a variety of other tropical ingredients that we breakfasted on in Bahia. She had all the fixings for a *bomba atomica*, she gaily named our favorite variety when I nodded my assent. I followed her to the tiny kitchen and watched as she assembled coconut, avocado, papaya, milk, and one small beet—to give it that nice red color.

Why didn't you get your phone number changed, unlisted? I asked Sandra as she worked, afraid that she had dropped the subject. That's what I would have done, I said. I was never one to be frightened for long, and I

didn't want to think of Sandra being frightened either. I wanted to think that she was as secure in her life as I was in mine with Henry. And I wanted, deep down, for her to arrange things as I had, so that neither one of us would ever have to be afraid of anything.

She did finally change it, she said, or it wouldn't be unlisted now, would it, silly. And looking back at the ultimate confrontation, she agreed she probably should have done it sooner.

Confrontation? I wanted to know about the confrontation. But Sandra would not be hurried. She didn't change the number right then, she told me, because doing that seemed like an admission of fear. That number has been changed, she pictured the operator telling *The Growler*. And all she could imagine was the mouth on a face unknown and blank, a mouth close to the phone. That number has been changed to an unlisted number, and she pictured that unknown mouth slipping slowly into a smile. By her very act of not changing the number, she explained, she felt that she was giving *The Growler* the message that he didn't frighten her.

And after all, Sandra could not simply stay out of her apartment. She had fallen into the habit of coming home at three to do her preparation in the quiet of the upstairs room. There were so many interruptions at school! and the fact was that Sandra threw herself into teaching the way she had thrown herself into missionarying: completely. There was also her whole vast network of friends that she needed to talk to, she said, though I knew that the truth was that people needed to talk to Sandra more, to pour out sorrows and trivia on her interested ear. Sandra would rather be growled at a dozen times than miss one call from a friend who needed to talk.

So she decided she could outsmart *The Growler*. She would come home from school or the store, hear the phone ring, predictably on schedule, five minutes after her arrival, and she would simply let it ring, thirteen times, without answering it. For a little while that seemed to throw a pencil into *The Growler's* dial. But it didn't take him long to catch on. Oh, he still called, right on schedule, but then he would make a random call, an hour, three hours, fifteen minutes later, always while she was still home, before she left again. Those calls varied, and somehow he never failed to catch her off guard. He would call, perhaps between her mother and her former first grade teacher, cloaking himself in daytime and respectable triviality. She couldn't quit answering the phone altogether. Or at least that's what she told me she thought then.

The calls continued. He would call five minutes after she walked into the apartment, and the phone would ring thirteen times without stopping. Then later, but never predictably, the return call would come.

Every time you came back in? I wanted to know.

Well no, she admitted, not every time. If it had been every time, she guessed it would have been so nerve-racking that she would have done something. But once every day or twice every other day it would happen. She was frightened, but only dully so, she said. After all, she had lived in Latin America; she knew how to take care of herself. At thirty-one she'd been doing it for a while already. She poured a *bomba atomica* into each of two tulip glasses, and sprinkled a little cinnamon on top, then

handed one to me and picked up the other herself before continuing.

Well, this went on for two weeks, she said.

Two weeks from beginning to end? I wanted to know. I told her she'd made it sound like longer. For a reason I didn't understand, maybe smug in the knowledge of a home that I never came home to alone in the dark, it annoyed me to think that Sandra was bending to hyperbole.

Sandra was a little hurt but refused to be drawn into anything. It was long enough, she assured me. It seemed like a plenty long time. After two weeks, she continued, though she wasn't the nervous type of course, the calls began to affect the way she looked at everyone around her. She remembered a person she'd slighted, someone she'd competed with to get her teaching job, old boy-friends she'd spurned.

Spurned? I snorted. But then I wondered to myself why Sandra never *had* gotten married. There had been plenty of opportunities. Was she afraid that a marriage was not something that by force of will she could make right, as she had done with her unpromising apartment? Sandra ignored my snort and went on.

All the neighbors began to undergo a sinister metamorphosis. One who was tanned last week, this week she thought of as swarthy. Ones with short hair had gone from clean-cut to compulsive. It wasn't good, she decided. She needed to put that away from her.

Friday night at the end of the second week she was invited to a dinner at some friends' house. She pulled on a golden sweater and brushed her long hair down over her shoulders till it gleamed, and set off to surround herself in friendship like a winter coat against the chill of her caller. In their living room, full of *coq au vin* and good will, she made the gathering laugh uproariously at her version of The Growler as she painted a carefully controlled portrait that reminded one a little of George Carlin. She stayed late warmed by comradery and talk, and when she finally got up, she felt better than she had in two weeks.

Sandra was feeling lighthearted when she arrived home. It was Indian summer, and she drove with the car windows down, letting the radio play softly into the dark air with just a hint of crispness to it. The song was one she hadn't heard for five years, maybe six. She sat for a minute or two listening to the end before she turned the car off. She didn't even bother to roll up the windows. It wasn't going to rain.

She pushed open the door and hopped out of the car, still whistling the tune from the radio to herself. When she reached the front steps, she put a hand out to the bannister for a custom. That was when she saw him.

It's really like people say, Sandra confessed, legs crossed precisely on that tan plush sofa as she sipped the last of her *bomba*. The feeling of being too frightened to move. It was really just like she'd had it described to her, feet rooted to the bottom stair, eyes rooted to his stare, unable to do anything.

He looked about her age, Sandra went on, dark with a moustache and goatee. He was wearing some kind of pants—not Levi's—those ones of indescribable cut and color that everyone in third world countries seemed to wear. And a jacket—gray maybe—that zipped up the

front. Right as she stood there, eyes going from the bottom of his beard to his shoes and back again, right as she stood there, german-silver bracelets on her wrist clinking a little, right as she stood there, he pulled something from the waistband of his pants and the moon hit it exactly right and Sandra could see that it was the blade of a knife.

He just held it, in the palm of his hand, Sandra told me, not gripped by the handle to use.

And you didn't scream? I demanded, convinced yet unconvinced by her amazing combination of sang-froid and stupidity.

Not then. Not yet.

Go on.

He just stood there, holding it, and looking right at her.

Didn't you do anything? I asked. I could picture myself in her shoes, oh please oh please oh please oh please pulsing heavenward like heartbeats, but Sandra would not do that, go crying to someone she'd broken off with. She just stood there rooted to the spot.

Then he made a sudden movement, and that seemed to wake her from the trance, so that just when she needed to, she looked him in the eye and slowly, slowly smiled. I have heard on the evening news that they advise hostages to make eye-contact with their captors. They say it makes it harder for the terrorist to shoot. Maybe Sandra had heard that too. Maybe that's why she thought of it. It was as if smiling freed her, frozen tag but she was touched, and she walked right up the stairs toward him, her eyes never leaving his face, walked right past him on the stairs, into the house, up the stairway, and walked, didn't run, up four flights of stairs into her very own apartment. Then she shut the door, not jerkily but deliberately, and slid the chain.

I could believe it. The Sandra House who stood like a tree through the eerie *candamble* could certainly walk past a man with a knife on a darkened porch without giving way to fear. She swore that then she had the presence of mind to walk to the unlit window. From there she saw him, hands in the pockets of that zipper jacket, walking, walking down the street. Sandra, feeling almost as though she had stretched the resources of herself alone to the limit, just stood there at the window watching him go. She was recovering from that thing, that moment she most dreaded she told me, that time of terror to be faced alone with no companion, no God, no husband to diminish it. And she was still there.

She just stood there at the window, trembling a little bit, watching the stranger depart. She supposed she must've watched him for a full five minutes, straight down the street, slowly, and not yet out of sight. Her eyes were fixed on the middle of his back, at that colorless jacket, when the phone rang, went on ringing thirteen times and then stopped. Even then, she said setting down the remains of her *vitamina*, her thin features expressionless, even then, she didn't really scream. It was more, she concluded, more of a sob.

Editors' Note

This story received an honorable mention in Sunstone's 1981 Fiction Contest.

PATRICIA HART MOLEN is author of the novel *Little Sims*. She has published fiction in *Utah Holiday* and was a winner in the Utah state short story competition.



Close scrutiny of the methodology of the BYU authorship study reveals several areas which seem vulnerable to criticism

Book of Mormon “Wordprints” Reexamined

D. James Croft

In a recent article appearing in *BYU Studies*,¹ Wayne Larsen, Alvin Rencher, and Tim Layton, specialists in statistics at Brigham Young University, used some highly sophisticated, computerized statistical techniques to examine wordprints of authors in the Book of Mormon. The term “wordprint” was coined by the Larsen group to represent patterns of word usage which authors unconsciously repeat in their writings or speeches—sentence length or frequency of certain common words, for example. The Larsen group maintained that such pat-

and unconscious language patterns. These are words such as *the*, *to*, *which*, *it*, and *for* which are used by everyone, regardless of the context of the writing or the speech. The Larsen group accomplished the exhausting task of assigning every word in the Book of Mormon to its speaker or writer. They then measured the frequency with which each of these authors used the noncontextual words.

Using these frequency counts, they established individual author wordprints. By comparing the wordprints

It is impossible to tell whether differential rates indicate the differences among authors or the differences among editors.

terns can be used to determine which passages of writing belong to one author and which belong to another.

Larsen, Rencher, and Layton focused on the use of certain “noncontextual” words as one measure of unique

of different authors, they tried to answer two important questions. The first was whether the wordprints of authors within the Book of Mormon differ significantly from one another. Such differences, if found, would

support Joseph Smith's claim to have translated the writings of several different ancient writers. The second question was whether the wordprints found in the Book of Mormon match those of any nineteenth century authors, including Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, and Solomon Spaulding, all of whom have been suggested by nonbelievers as possible authors of the Book of Mormon.

After conducting numerous tests and analyses, Larsen and his colleagues reached several important conclusions:

1. None of the Book of Mormon selections resembled the writings of any of the suggested nineteenth-century authors.²
2. Joseph Smith's writing is very distinct from that of the authors of the Book of Mormon.³
3. The implications for translation are that the process was both direct and literal and that each individual author's style was preserved. Possibly, it was given to Joseph Smith word for word.⁴

They concluded their article with this statement: "Our study has shown conclusively that there were many authors who wrote the Book of Mormon."⁵

This optimistic and authoritative conclusion has understandably been greeted with enthusiasm from members of the Church.⁶ The authors delivered a forum address on their findings at BYU, and articles about the wordprint analysis have appeared in various newspapers, in *BYU Today*, and in the *Church News*. The comment of a reviewer in *Dialogue* reveals the confidence placed in the study by many educated Mormons; he points to "a Mormon source whose findings [can] be verified," noting that "impartial computers" have proved odds of 10 billion to 1 against single authorship and odds of 1 billion

The cited conclusions about Book of Mormon selections not resembling nineteenth-century authors are inappropriate.

to 1 against Joseph Smith's authorship of the Book of Mormon.⁷

Before such claims can be accepted as conclusive by skeptics outside the church and scholars within, however, the basically faith-promoting wordprint study must be examined with the same rigor and skepticism reserved for faith-damaging works. Unfortunately, close scrutiny of the study indicates that the encouraging conclusions of its authors may be premature and that several areas of the study seem vulnerable to criticism: basic assumptions made about the notion of wordprints, raw data used in the study, the experimental design used, and presentation of some results. By examining these weaknesses in detail and carefully avoiding them in the future, it may yet be possible to design a study of Book of Mormon author styles which yields conclusions less likely to be challenged.

Basic Assumptions

The Larsen group assumed that wordprints can be used to identify "a piece of writing as belonging to a particular author, just as a fingerprint or voiceprint can be traced to its owner or originator."⁸ Furthermore, according to the study, wordprints can be determined

through statistical analysis of countable features unique to a particular author. This process they called stylometry or stylistics.⁹

To support the validity of these assumptions they described successful examples of using statistical analysis to identify the authorship of works of disputed origin.¹⁰ Citing A. Q. Morton's book *Literary Detection* for support, they stated:

In the literature of stylistic analysis we find many references claiming that for a given author these habits (of style) are not affected by (1) passage of time, (2) change of subject matter, or (3) literary form. They are thus stable within an author's writing, but they have been found to vary from one author to another.¹¹

It appears, however, that some authorities in the field of statistical stylistics have serious reservations about these notions concerning the stability, or even the existence, of measurable style. One of the foremost experts in the field of computer and statistical analysis of style is Richard W. Bailey at the University of Michigan. He has said:

The term "wordprint" is an unfortunate one since it reminds people of fingerprints. We know that fingerprints are valid; voiceprints are somewhat dubious; and we're not sure if "wordprints" even exist.¹²

The reason for Bailey's pessimism is that there are several studies which show an author's style is *not* statistically stable across time, subject matter, and literary form. Larsen and his associates cited none of these studies which question the basic assumptions of their Book of Mormon study. In fact, they omitted the ones reported in their own source on stylistics, A. Q. Morton.

In a recent work, Anthony Kenny was no more optimistic than Bailey: "How far authors are consistent in

speech habits such as vocabulary choice is a matter of keen debate."¹³ He then demonstrated the reason for the "keen debate" by examining Aristotle's use of particles and simple connectives as examples of noncontextual words (he used the term "topic-neutral"). It became clear that Aristotle's use of these noncontextual words was neither consistent throughout his corpus of writings nor even consistent within a single work.¹⁴

Moreover, Aristotle himself said, "The style of written prose is not that of spoken oratory."¹⁵ Modern research has supported this statement. There are numerous studies which have shown there are distinct style differences between written and spoken works by the same author.¹⁶ This finding is particularly relevant for the Larsen study since some Book of Mormon authors are primarily historians (Mormon and Moroni) and use the written form, whereas others are orators (King Benjamin and Samuel the Lamanite) and use the spoken form of communication. Therefore, the possibility exists that some of the statistical differences the Larsen group found might be due to the contrast between written and spoken literary forms.

The major stylistics authority cited in the Larsen article, A. Q. Morton, also pointed out that spoken and writ-

ten styles differ:

It would appear that these common words would make good indicators of authorship if it could be shown that an author used them at a constant rate and individual authors differed in their rates of use. The difficulty in using them as a test of authorship is that their occurrence is too readily influenced by the literary form of the work being studied. . . . The variation in the rate of use seems to be connected with changes in the literary form of the text such as the change from speech to narrative.¹⁷

Morton demonstrated this point by showing that the rate of use of the definite article varied among the nine books of history by Herodotus despite an undisputed single author. Morton emphasized that the cases in which commonly used words provide valid tests of authorship are

A statistical difference in the styles of two passages does not necessarily mean they were written by different authors.

"exceptional situations." He cited one such exceptional case—identifying the authors of the Federalist Papers. The Larsen group used this same case to support their assertions that such identifications are more generally possible.¹⁸

Thus, the very existence of measurable, unique author styles is questioned by people in the field of stylistics. The stability of these styles (if they exist) across time, subject matter, and literary form is a matter of intense debate. Since the Larsen study of the Book of Mormon authors used common words as measures of wordprints and did not allow for style differences between the historians and the orators, its results are subject to the same uncertainty and debate.

Raw Data Used

The fact that Larsen and his associates used edited manuscripts as raw data makes their study vulnerable to still another kind of potentially damaging criticism. It is understandable that the researchers used the current edition of the Book of Mormon since it is stored on computer-readable magnetic tapes which are used in the Translation Services Department of the Church. Even with access to these tapes, the researchers performed a prodigious amount of computer work which involved sorting words from the Book of Mormon and assigning them to authors.

In the process of assigning words to authors, they assumed that when one author described a speech given by another, the first author quoted the second word for word. The validity of this assignment process can be debated. But from a statistical point of view, such an assignment procedure was the correct way to handle the problem of whether speeches were quoted directly or paraphrased. Treating these passages as direct quotes even if they are paraphrased does not introduce false word patterns. But treating them as paraphrases when they are direct quotations *would* introduce nonexistent word patterns.

While using the computer tapes to assign words in this fashion avoided some potentially subtle statistical problems, it introduced others. The major problem with using these tapes as the source for the words (and thus the wordprints) of Book of Mormon authors is that the

current edition of the Book of Mormon is an edited version of the original 1830 edition. The critical question of whether any of the potential nineteenth-century authors actually wrote the Book of Mormon cannot be answered adequately unless *unedited* passages from the Book of Mormon are compared with *unedited* passages from the writings of candidate authors. Nor can multiple wordprints (and thus multiple authors) be established for the Book of Mormon using edited passages. If edited passages are used, it is impossible to tell whether differential rates indicate the differences among authors or the differences among editors.

There are enough editorial changes between the current edition of the Book of Mormon and the 1830 edition to make this a significant consideration. Some parties

have counted close to four thousand editorial changes from the 1830 edition to the present edition of the Book of Mormon.¹⁹ Examination of these changes shows that most of them are minor in nature and involve corrections of grammar or efforts to make the text read more smoothly. The significant point for the Larsen study is the fact that most of these minor changes involve the commonly used, noncontextual words which the researchers used to establish their wordprints.

For instance, the word *that* was listed by the Larsen group as the fourth most commonly used word in the Book of Mormon. It occurs 5717 times²⁰ and was used in most of the tests and results reported in the Larsen study. However, there are over 250 places where *that* occurs in the 1830 edition but not in the present edition. One would have to argue that the rates of deletion for this word are proportional to its rates of usage by each Book of Mormon author if one expects the deletions to leave any underlying wordprints unaffected.

An even bigger problem arises with the word *which*. This word is the eleventh most commonly used word in the present edition. It occurs 1716 times. But in the 1830 edition of the Book of Mormon, *which* was often used in places where *who* or *whom* should have been used. There are over nine hundred changes of this type where *which* no longer appears. That is, the frequency of using *which* is underestimated by more than one-third when we use the present edition of the Book of Mormon rather than the 1830 edition. While this word was not used in all the tests reported in the Larsen study, those in which it was used cannot be considered valid.

The researchers recognized that their use of the current edition was somewhat inadequate. They included an appendix note that "we need to determine what differences are introduced by using the 1830 edition of the Book of Mormon."²¹ However, this uncertainty is not reflected in their unqualified conclusions. More than a passing acknowledgement of this need will be required to satisfy scholars both in and out of the Church. Only tests using the 1830 edition will meet generally-accepted experimental design standards.

The data used to establish the word patterns of nineteenth-century authors had similar difficulties. Some of the passages of these authors were taken from

the *Evening and Morning Star*, the *Messenger and Advocate*, and the *Times and Seasons*, all of which are edited sources. Only part of the passages used to determine Joseph Smith's wordprints were taken from unedited works like his journal or personal letters.

Other problems were associated with the nineteenth-century manuscripts. Richard W. Bailey has pointed out other considerations in addition to those concerning editing:

An author of personal documents (such as a diary or journal) may well adopt a style markedly different from that used in writings for an audience of others. Similarly, the same subject matter may call forth different styles on different occasions, while distinct registers may variously encourage or inhibit the personal mark of style. For these reasons, the documents available to establish the styles of author-candidates must resemble the disputed texts as much as possible, not only in mode but in audience, register, purpose, and time of composition as well.²²

Unfortunately, the Larsen group did not address the possibility of such differences; they compared the historical narrative and sermons of the Book of Mormon

Narrative passages and oratorical passages must be treated separately if the "And it came to pass that" phrase is not to bias the results.

with newspaper articles, journals, and letters of the nineteenth-century authors.

The problems of comparing one set of edited words (from the Book of Mormon) to another set of largely edited words (from dissimilar works of the nineteenth-century authors) with the expectation that statistically subtle (and arguably nonexistent) wordprints remain intact are substantial, at best. Larsen and his colleagues need to do significant work in addressing these issues.

Experimental Design

A number of experimental design problems which seriously weakened the study were left unresolved by the Larsen research group. In some cases, the Larsen group also overstated the possible conclusions pointed to by their statistical test results.

The first experimental design problem concerns the often-used Book of Mormon phrase "And it came to pass that. . . ." The researchers in the Larsen study recognized this phrase created problems for them when they noted in their appendix:

We need to devise better definitions for wordprints using, for example, phrases as well as words. "And it came to pass that" was undoubtedly one word in Reformed Egyptian.²³

However, their comment does not convey an appreciation of the serious biases this phrase created in their study. It has been mentioned that word patterns and styles differ between oratory and narrative works of the same author. A close examination of the words of Book of Mormon authors shows that the historians (like Mormon and, in some places, Nephi, Moroni, and Jacob) used the "and it came to pass that" phrase extensively. The orators (like King Benjamin, Samuel the Lamanite, Alma, Amulek, and, in other places, Nephi, Moroni, and Jacob) did *not*; in some it rarely, if ever, occurs. Thus the inci-

dence of the six words in the phrase "And it came to pass that" is highly dependent on the literary form. An occurrence of any one of those six words in a passage of Book of Mormon material is correlated with an occurrence of the other five words and gives an immediate indication that the author is likely to be a historian. Thus the words in that phrase should not be labeled as "noncontextual." Their appearance as a group gives one an immediate indication of the context in which they are being used and, given that Mormon wrote 65.1 percent of the Book of Mormon, points to the fact that Mormon is the most likely author of the passage in question.

The magnitude of the bias that was introduced by the phrase "And it came to pass that" can be noted by examining the words which the researchers used in the Larsen study. The chart of "Frequently Appearing Noncontextual Words" (see sidebar) shows the 38 words used for most of the tests reported in the Larsen study. These words are arranged in the order of frequency with which they appear in the Book of Mormon. The researchers used only the first ten words from this list in many of their statistical tests; these top ten include four of the

words in the "And it came to pass that" phrase. In other tests involving the entire set of 38 words, the fact that all six words from this phrase are among the 15 most frequently-used words means that some indeterminate portion of the difference in wordprints of authors found by the researchers is solely attributable to this phrase.

A sound research design must overcome this deficiency. Narrative passages and oratorical passages must be treated separately if the "And it came to pass that" phrase is not to bias the results. (Note that the narrative and oratorical passages, not authors, must be treated separately. This is due to the fact that some authors like Nephi, Jacob, and Moroni recorded their words in both literary forms.)

A second group of design problems is related to the statistical methods which were used by the Larsen group and to the way that results from the tests were interpreted. Three statistical methods were used by the researchers: multivariate analysis of variance, often abbreviated MANOVA; discriminant analysis; and cluster analysis. In this paper I will deal with the first two.²⁴

MANOVA tests for homogeneity of groups. The researcher selects several characteristics to be measured for each subject. The characteristics in the Larsen study were the common words and the subjects were the different authors. MANOVA examines the entire set of characteristics to see if the subjects differ from one another. If two or more of the subjects (authors) differ on one or more of the characteristics (words), then the MANOVA test signals a statistically significant result. In other words, the test results suggest the improbability that one subject (author) is responsible for the entire set of characteristics (words). Such a signal alerts the researcher to the need for further analysis of that particular result. He can then use one-way (as opposed to multivariate) analysis of variance which would look at one characteristic (word) at a time. This would show if one or more of the subjects

(authors) differ on the use of one particular word.

The Larsen researchers conducted a number of MANOVA tests for the similarity of wordprints in the Book of Mormon. For one test they used 38 noncontextual words in 341 word blocks (they divided the words of the various authors into blocks containing approximately 1000 words apiece) from 33 authors. Twenty-four of the authors were Book of Mormon authors, including Isaiah, Jesus, and the Lord as quoted by Isaiah. Nine of the authors were nineteenth-century persons. It was reported that "the probability that differences as large as those observed (in the 33 authors' wordprints) could occur by chance is less than 1 in 10 billion." In citing from this, or similar tests, the researchers said that "none of the Book of Mormon selections resembled the writings of any of the suggested nineteenth-century authors."²⁵

Unfortunately, the MANOVA test which was described cannot lead to the conclusion cited. In fact, this particular test, by its very design, could not produce anything but a meaningless result. It was mentioned earlier that the MANOVA test signals a statistically significant difference if it finds that two or more authors differ in the use of one or more words. Since the MANOVA test cited used 33 authors, it was not only comparing the Book of Mormon authors to the nineteenth-century authors, it was comparing the nineteenth-century authors to each other and to Isaiah, Jesus, and the Lord as quoted by Isaiah. It is highly probable that Sidney Rigdon and Joseph, for instance, differ in their use of one or more of the 38 words used in the test. Such a difference would cause the MANOVA test to signal an unusual result. Thus the "1 in 10 billion" difference noted by the Larsen group could have been produced solely by differences between two nineteenth-century authors. Or it might have been produced by differences between the words of Isaiah and those of Solomon Spaulding. Or it might have been produced by differences between any two or more of the 12 authors outside the Book of Mormon. This could all take place with Book of Mormon authors having identical word patterns with one another and with one of the candidate nineteenth-century authors. Thus the cited conclusions about Book of Mormon selections not resembling nineteenth-century authors are inappropriate. Such conclusions could have been reached only with paired comparisons of authors. The fact that the MANOVA statistical test produced results at a highly significant level is both expected and devoid of meaning.

The researchers also reported their results of applying

Even the difference in wordprints for at least two authors cannot be claimed without further tests using more reliable data.

MANOVA to both 10-word and 38-word wordprints for the 21 Book of Mormon authors (this time correctly excluding Isaiah, Jesus, and the Lord quoted by Isaiah through other tests were apparently conducted which included these three as well; specific results of the 24-author MANOVA were not reported). They stated that the differences they observed were "among most of the 21 authors"²⁶ and later commented, referring to their Book of Mormon MANOVA tests, that "it does not seem possible that Joseph Smith or any other writer could have fabricated a work with 24 or more discernible authorship

styles (wordprints)."²⁷

The problem with such reporting is that it implies that all 21 authors differed from each other or that they proved the existence of 21 or more authorship styles. MANOVA and the associated technique used to look at the differences in the use of just one word at a time, one-way analysis of variance, do not have the capacity to show 21 or more differences. The MANOVA tests only showed that several words were used at different rates by at least two of the authors. Furthermore, if a word tests as being used at different frequency rates by one-way analysis of variance, this only means that the author with the highest usage rate differed from the author with the lowest usage rate. It would be possible, then, for 20 of the 21 authors to use a word at exactly the same rate. Given the problems of the "And it came to pass that" phrase and the possible changes in word patterns between literary forms used in the Book of Mormon, even the difference in wordprints for at least two authors cannot be claimed without further tests using more reliable data.

Another test was used which seemed to lend support to the claims of the Larsen group: discriminant analysis. This is a two-stage statistical process. In the first stage, mathematical equations are developed to classify material, in this case to assign passages of text to one of the possible authors. The weights and algebraic signs of each equation were determined by analyzing frequency counts to establish the average profile of each author. In the second stage, the equations based on such profiles were used to assign each block of words considered to the most probable author.

The discriminant analysis results look very impressive at first glance. For instance, the researcher built discriminant equations to classify passages taken from the 21 Book of Mormon authors. When they applied their equations to classify the passages from these authors, they found that 93 percent of the passages were correctly assigned to the authors who wrote them. Since in a way the process is self-verifying, they felt that they had vindicated their method of assigning the authors of each passage in the Book of Mormon, and also vindicated the literalness of Joseph's translation:

Alma's writing is different from Mormon's. Since *all* of Alma's words are taken from Mormon's writings, we can conclude that Mormon copied directly from Alma's writings and Joseph Smith translated literally from Mormon's writings. (p. 241-242) (Italics theirs.)²⁸

The 93 percent success rate, however, was achieved

by reclassifying the passages which were used to build the equations in the first place. A true test of classification accuracy for discriminant equations is made when passages *not used to build the equations* are classified. The researchers recognized this bias and reported that when they applied this latter test, their classification success rate was "consistently in the 70 to 80 percent range."²⁹ Unfortunately, they did not report this unbiased success rate in all their discriminant analysis results.

One might argue that even a 70 to 80 percent discriminant analysis classification rate is proof that distinct

authorship styles exist in the Book of Mormon. But this is not necessarily the case. The accuracy of a classification for authors' passages of text cannot be evaluated without knowing the sample sizes involved.

For instance, assume we have passages of text belonging to four different authors. We desire to assign these passages to the author who wrote them. A classification method which randomly assigns passages to authors would achieve a 25 percent level of accuracy (one correct assignment in four attempts). Another method which gives a higher level of accuracy would appear to be a good assignment method.

But this is not the case if the number of passages used to represent the writing of each author is not equal. If the first author's passages represent 65 percent of the passages used, then the naive method of assigning all passages to that author could achieve a 65 percent level of accuracy, much better than the 25 percent we first assumed. Thus, it is not possible to judge how good the reported 70 to 80 percent classification level in the Larsen study is without knowing the number of sample passages used for each author.

It is difficult to determine in some places what sample sizes the Larsen group used. Tests which involved 21 or more Book of Mormon authors could be criticized on the basis of the smallness of the samples representing authors such as Zeniff, Mosiah, Enos, and Father. In many tests these authors could be represented by only one block of one thousand words. It is somewhat unusual to represent a statistical phenomenon with a sample size of one. This is because the statistical tests used by the Larsen group are based on the differences in wordprints between authors compared to the differences in wordprints within the sampled writings of a single author. For those authors with a sample of only one or two passages, it is not possible to obtain a reading on their internal wordprint variation. In such cases, we must rely on the assumption that all authors have the same rate of internal wordprint variation. However, it is not possible to test this assumption with samples of only one passage. Adequate tests of the assumption cannot be performed unless the number of passages used for an author is substantially more than the four or five passages available for most Book of Mormon authors.

Finally, a word should be said about the powerful statistical procedures used in the Larsen study. Most past work in statistical analysis of style has been done with much less sophisticated statistical tools. Little work has

The accuracy of a classification for authors' passages of text cannot be evaluated without knowing the sample sizes involved.

been done with MANOVA and discriminant analysis. Thus we do not know very much about how these tools react when applied to word patterns of the same author and to word patterns of different authors. It may be that due to their sensitivity they can "find" statistically significant differences in the styles of a single author. Even the simple statistical techniques have found these kinds of differences in some works. Thus a statistical *difference* in the styles of two passages does not necessarily mean they were written by *different authors*.

Baseline studies should be conducted with these

powerful statistical tools to see if they pick up such spurious differences. For instance, several passages of Joseph Smith's unedited writings should be tested to see if MANOVA "finds" statistical differences in them. If it does, then the types or periods of writings that produce these differences must be treated separately in future testing.

These considerable problems in experimental design and in the way results were expressed raise questions about the validity of the conclusions drawn from the Larsen study. We do not know, of course, whether tightening the assumptions made about the notion of wordprints, using unedited materials, strengthening experimental design, and more carefully and cautiously drawing conclusions will alter the results. It may not. But as long as even one type of weakness remains, meaningful conclusions cannot be drawn.

A New Approach to the Same Question

Whatever the weaknesses of the Larsen study, however, it has called our attention to an area of Book of Mormon research that should be examined closely. The next step is to design another stylistics study which avoids the problems which plagued the Larsen study.

First, any study of Book of Mormon authorship styles should deal with unedited materials. The 1830 edition of the Book of Mormon must be used in all sampling for Book of Mormon authors. (Actually, it would be better if the original manuscript were used since Oliver Cowdery made some editorial changes in the copy that went to the printer. Unfortunately, only portions of that manuscript still exist.³⁰) Original passages of writing, unedited for grammar or awkwardness, must be used to represent the work of any nineteenth-century authors to which Book of Mormon passages are compared.

Second, there are several methods of defining wordprints. The frequency with which common words are used by authors has been shown to be unstable as a wordprint definition. Alternative definitions must be examined, especially those which have been shown to be stable for a single author over time, subject matter, and literary form.

Third, it would then be best to divide the tests for differences in authorship styles of Book of Mormon authors into tests which compare narrative passages of one author to narrative passages of another author and tests which compare oratorical passages to oratorical passages.

Fourth, baseline studies should be undertaken using

the wordprint definition selected. That is, the works of Nephi should be examined to determine how stable his writings are, using the selected definition and measuring statistical variation with the powerful statistical tools employed in the Larsen study. If the baseline studies show the need, it may be necessary to use other categories for passages beyond just the narrative and oratorical.

Fifth, in tests which compare Book of Mormon authors to nineteenth-century authors, provisions must also be made to compare narrative passages from Book of

Mormon authors to narrative of the nineteenth-century authors. Like comparisons should be made for oratorical passages. Care must be exercised to insure that comparable types of material are used in all tests.³¹ These tests must also control for biases introduced by "And it came to pass that." In addition, archaic words reflecting the King James language style should not be included in these tests.

Finally, the tests which compare the writings of nineteenth-century authors to Book of Mormon passages must be done in a pairwise fashion. That is, Joseph Smith's writings must be compared to those of the Book of Mormon in one test. A separate test must be used when comparing Sidney Rigdon's writings to the Book of Mormon, and so on.

These considerable problems in experimental design raise questions about the validity of the conclusions drawn from the Larsen study.

Conclusion

Results based on the next generation of wordprint studies may yet provide the encouraging support sought by faithful Church members. Certainly any research done in the future will be indebted to Larsen, Rencher, and Layton, who called our attention to an interesting and challenging area of Book of Mormon study. At the present time, however, given the tentative nature of "wordprints" and given the data and experimental design problems inherent in the Larsen study, it would be best to reserve judgment concerning whether or not it is

Notes

- Wayne A. Larsen, Alvin C. Rencher, and Tim Layton, "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon? An Analysis of Wordprints," *BYU Studies* 20 (Spring, 1980) pp. 225-251.
- Ibid.*, p. 234.
- Ibid.*, p. 242.
- Ibid.*, p. 244. This would markedly alter the concept of translation we typically consider. Word patterns measured by usage rates of common words would certainly not survive through the process of translation in its normal meaning.
- Ibid.*, p. 245.
- The importance of these conclusions to people outside the Church is obvious. However, there is also importance to people inside the Church who are engaged in translating the Book of Mormon into foreign languages. If the words of the Book of Mormon authors are so closely translated from their language into English as to preserve their wordprints, then it would appear that a very literal translation should be used in translating from English to other foreign languages. Efforts to make passages flow more smoothly or read better in the foreign language than they do in English would thus be inappropriate.
- Gary Gillum, "Joseph Smith and Thomas Paine?" *Dialogue* 13 ():138.
- Larsen *et al.*, p. 243.
- Ibid.*, p. 226.
- A. Q. Morton, *Literary Detection* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1979).
- Larsen *et al.*, p. 227.
- Personal communication to the author dated September 19, 1980. Dr. Bailey is the author of numerous articles on statistical stylistics and the editor of two books in the subject area. He also served as an expert witness in analyzing the writings of Patty Hearst, trying to determine whether she or her captors wrote statements attributed to her during her associations with the SLA. His results were largely inconclusive.
- Anthony Kenny, *The Aristotelian Ethics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), p. 71.
- Ibid.*, pp. 90-98. Another interesting work relevant to this debate is *Statistics and Style*, edited by Bailey and Dolzel, American Elsevier, New York, 1979. One selection from this book is by Kai Rander Buch. He shows that the sentence length of an author changes over time. Another selection by F. Neiderich Antosch shows that there are statistical style differences between Parts I and II of Goethe's *Faust*. Other articles in this book also challenge the assertions of Larsen *et al.* concerning the reliability of statistical style analysis in identifying unique word patterns for authors.
- Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, Trans., W. Rhys Roberts, in *Aristotle's Rhetoric and Poetics*, Ed. Friedrich Solmsen (New York: The Modern Library, 1954) p. 14130, 2-4.
- Studies showing differences in spoken and written style include: Joseph A. DeVito, "A Linguistic Analysis of Spoken and Written Language," *Central States Speech Journal* 18 (May, 1967) pp. 81-85; Joseph A. DeVito, "Levels of Abstraction in Spoken and Written Language," *The Journal of Communication* 17 (December, 1967) pp. 354-361; James W. Gibson *et al.*, "A Quantitative Examination of Differences and Similarities in Written and Spoken Messages," *Speech Monographs* 33 (December, 1966) pp. 444-451; and Elbert R. Moses, Jr., "A Study of Word Diver-

sification," *Speech Monographs* 16 (November, 1959) pp. 308-312. Several additional studies could be cited.

"Frequently Occurring Noncontextual Words" (Appendix C in Larsen Study)

Word	Number of Occurrences	Word	Number of Occurrences
and	*10,000	with	1,161
the	*10,000	yea	987
of	8,268	should	945
that	5,717	by	882
to	5,160	as	825
unto	2,955	upon	819
in	2,783	but	818
it	2,665	also	795
for	1,990	from	761
be	1,928	there	668
which	1,716	because	651
a	1,673	these	633
not	1,653	therefore	576
came	1,550	when	576
pass	1,486	if	541
behold	1,456	even	528
all	1,401	into	520
this	1,223	would	494
now	1,178	forth	484

*These counts overflowed the printout field on the computer; therefore, exact counts are not available.

17. Morton, *Literary Detection*, p. 102.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 102-104. The author wrote A. Q. Morton in Scotland and asked him if he had additional examples in which the frequency of commonly used words changed with literary form. In his personal reply, dated October 28, 1980, he stated, "That the rate of occurrence of frequent words changes with literary form is so generally accepted that no one bothers to give any number of examples. But I will append a few figures." Morton's appended figures showed that the frequent words *the, of, and, to, a, in, his, he, was, and I* were used at statistically different rates in different works of Sir Walter Scott. Additionally, other figures showed that William Shakespeare had significantly different usage rates for the words *and, the, to, of, my, I, in, and that* in works of different literary form. Most of these words were used in the Larsen Study (See Sidebar).

19. Gerald and Sandra Tanner, 3,913 *Changes in the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Modern Microfilms, 1965).

20. Larsen *et al.*, p. 247.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 251.

22. Richard W. Bailey, "Authorship Attribution in a Forensic Setting," *Advances in Computer-Aided Literary and Linguistic Research* (1979) p. 9.

23. Larsen *et al.*, p. 44.

24. Cluster analysis is not a statistical procedure in the same sense as MANOVA and discriminant analysis. It does not have underlying assumptions which the data must satisfy. The Larsen group's use of cluster analysis would be quite interesting and informative were it applied to the data with the experimental design problems noted previously removed.

25. Larsen *et al.*, p. 234.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 233.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 244.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 241-242. (Italics theirs.)

29. *Ibid.*, p. 238.

30. Richard P. Howard, *Restoration Scriptures: A Study of Their Textual Development* (Independence: Department of Religious Education RLDS, 1969) Chapter 2.

31. In Appendix E of their article, the Larsen group shows the results of applying their techniques to determining authorship of the various "Lectures on Faith." These results are much more convincing than those cited in the article as a whole since in the Lectures-on-Faith study the conditions desired by Bailey were more closely met.



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Response to Book of Mormon

We thank Professor Croft for his review of our study. We thank *Sunstone* for the opportunity to respond to his comments, to correct some mistakes that occurred in our original article, and to elaborate on some of our thinking.

Many of Professor Croft's points seem to invalidate, or at least blunt, the findings and implications of our study. But we feel that a closer examination of his arguments shows our major conclusions are still valid. In fact, some of his references actually support our results.

Basic Wordprint Assumption

First, Croft quotes some writers who doubt the basic concept of wordprints. We certainly do not claim wordprints to be infallible. We believe that in descending order, fingerprints are most reliable, voiceprints somewhat less reliable, and wordprints even less reliable. Nevertheless, the literature appears to indicate that wordprints do exist in most, if not all, authors. However, the point can be expected to forever remain unproved. Suppose we could show that wordprints do exist for 2,000 contemporary authors. Another researcher might be able to identify a 2,001st author that did not have a distinct, consistent wordprint.

Studies indicating that some authors are not consistent in certain types of wordprints do not necessarily invalidate the wordprint concept.

Croft cited studies that indicated some authors do not have consistent word choice. However, these studies were done in a different context than our work. We quote our article (page 227):

Some previous investigators of authorship identification have oversimplified the problem. Some have chosen a definition of wordprint and then have taken several controversial passages from an author and tested for statistically significant differences in the wordprint between passages. If any statistically significant differences occurred, they assumed different individuals had authored the passages. We believe a larger view must be taken. In addition to comparing several passages written by the same author, we must also compare them with the works of a control

group of contemporary authors. Conceivably, an individual author might produce wordprints which differ in a statistically significant manner and yet be consistent within themselves when compared with other authors' wordprints. We have taken this into consideration in our study by including authors who were contemporaries of Joseph Smith.

Therefore, studies indicating that some authors are not consistent in certain types of wordprints do not necessarily invalidate the wordprint concept, unless they also show that these authors cannot be correctly identified when viewed in a larger context.

We give examples to make our point. One author (Yehuda T. Radday, "The Unity of Isaiah: Computerized Tests in Statistical Linguistics," unpublished reports, Israel Institute of Technology, 1970, pp. 1-172) has used analysis of variance techniques to claim that the Book of Isaiah was written by two or more people. Radday studied only Isaiah. Later researchers (L. LaMar Adams and Alvin C. Rencher, "A Computer Analysis of the Isaiah Authorship Problem," *BYU Studies* 15 [Autumn 1974]: 95-102; and "The Popular Critical View of the Isaiah Problem in Light of Statistical Style Analysis," *Computer Studies in the Humanities and Verbal Behavior* 4 [1973]: 149-157) con-

sidered Isaiah's works in a larger framework. They found that the Book of Isaiah had more internal consistency than any other Old Testament book of the approximate time period and that Isaiah I and Isaiah II (as hypothesized by Radday) were very close in wordprints, as compared to other authors of that time period.

In our Book of Mormon study, we would have preferred to have had other writings in "Reformed Egyptian" written between the period of 600 BC to 400 AD for control texts. Of course we could not find such writings, so we used Joseph Smith and other contemporaries who might have written the book.

Croft claims that we have omitted in one of our sources (A.

“Wordprints” Reexamined

Wayne A. Larsen and Alvin C. Rencher

Q. Morton, *Literary Detection*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1979) references that do not support our methods. He quotes A. Q. Morton to claim that non-contextual words do not yield stable wordprints. However, Croft fails to note that our study differs from most of Morton's referenced studies. We not only had comparisons within authors, but also comparisons between authors. Strictly speaking, it was not necessary for us to demonstrate a stable wordprint within an individual author,

We only needed to show that the within-author variation was less than the between-author variation.

only that the within-author variation was less than the between-author variation. Note also that our non-contextual words worked very well on our control texts.

In another study which considered both within-author and between-author variation (Marvin H. Folsom and Alvin C. Rencher, "Some Characteristics of Subordinate Clauses," *Phonetica* 26 [1972]: 227-234), significant differences were found between authors but the variable examined was relatively consistent from book to book within each author.

Some of Croft's references on this important point actually support our approach. Croft quotes Anthony Kenney as stating, "How far authors are consistent in speech habits such as vocabulary choice is a matter of keen debate." One of Croft's major stylistic sources is the book *Statistics and Style*, edited by Dolezel and Bailey. Werner Winter states in the lead article in this book: "Literary stylistic analysis relies heavily on *features of the vocabulary and their distribution*" (p. 5, italics added). We used features of vocabulary and their distribution.

Croft further cites Kenney in an example involving Aristotle, where particles and simple connectives were shown to be inconsistent in Aristotle's writings, sometimes even within a single work. The question we would ask at this point is: If they are not quite consistent within a single work, how do they compare to other authors? They may appear relatively consistent in such a comparison.

Croft cites two papers in the collection by Dolezel and

Bailey. A closer examination of one of these articles is very revealing. Croft states: "One selection from this book is by Kai Rander Buch. He shows that the sentence length of an author changes over time." But Croft does not mention that these changes over time were just barely significant statistically. Also the study does not make clear how sentence length might vary from one author to another.

Croft also mentioned two other studies which were specifi-

cally discussed by Morton to support Morton's contention that common words are readily influenced by literary form and thus are not good indicators of authorship: studies of the nine books of history by Herodotus and also the Federalist Papers.

According to Croft, Morton showed that the use of the definite article varied among the books by Herodotus. But a careful reading of Morton's presentation of the material shows that he lumped all definite articles together, simply counting all occurrences of any definite article. What such a test means is certainly not clear. Morton concluded that

the writer's choice of words is not an effective discriminator when it is taken in total as his vocabulary. His choice and rate of using frequent words is much more effective, especially when there are large amounts of text to sample and few contenders for authorship of it. (p. 107)

Frequent words and large amounts of text describe our situation. Morton goes on to advocate the "placing of words" as the best discriminator. We did not use such a characteristic. However, it is evident that Morton does not downplay the use of frequent words to the extent implied by Croft.

We comment further on Croft's quote from Morton on the Federalist Papers study (Mosteller-Wallace). Croft claims that this work is an exceptional situation, but he again ignores his primary source, Bailey. In the closing article in the book *Statistics and Style*, Bailey gives a historical review of statistical stylistics. Interestingly, he spends more time on the Mosteller and

Wallace study than on any other single study and gives it full and unqualified support. He concludes:

The technique developed in the studies of Ellegard and Mosteller/Wallace can be taken as models for authorship discrimination tests and by extension for other statistical investigations in which characteristic traits of style need to be determined (page 227).

Our wordprint definition is patterned after Mosteller-Wallace, a model for authorship discrimination tests.

In spite of the statement Croft attributes to Bailey, which questions the existence of wordprints, the tone of the book edited by Bailey and Dolezel is supportive rather than critical. We quote from Bailey's concluding statement:

A variety of cultural and academic trends have combined to inhibit the development of statistical stylistics. . . . Statistical methods concern themselves with the broad tendencies and general characteristics in the data to which they are applied. Moreover, such techniques require a degree of explicitness in assumptions and procedures that is not highly valued in a discipline in which subjective and intuitive judgments are prized. Yet despite these apparent objections, statistical stylistics illustrated both in the works mentioned in this historical sketch and in the essays in this collection deals with questions that are of particular interest to the literary critic who wrote the work. In what directions did this writer develop? What are the constraints imposed on the writer by his language? How does the selection of the mode of presentation influence the shape of his work? Certainly these are all significant questions of vital interest to the literary scholar and statistical methods can help him provide answers to them. The virtues of the techniques arise from their generality and their explicitness (page 231-232).

We are thus led to conclude that these references cited by Croft do not support his thesis at all, but in fact support our own—that statistical stylistics is a reliable tool in the study of authorship. Croft has certainly not made a case from the literature to discredit our methods.

Raw Data Used

Croft believes we should have used the 1830 edition of the Book of Mormon rather than the present edition. All else being equal, we would have preferred using the 1830 edition. However, all else certainly was not equal—the present edition is on

MANOVA itself involves a baseline comparison; there is a serious question whether baseline studies are needed.

computer tape. But is it clear that the earliest edition is always the best? Larry Browning of the BYU Translation Sciences Institute prepared a statement for this rejoinder regarding the problems associated with assuming that the 1830 edition is the most "authentic" version (copy of rejoinder in possession of authors). He pointed out the combination of deliberate changes and accidental errors which have been introduced into the Book of Mormon text. Some spelling mistakes, for example, were introduced by the first scribes who transcribed for Joseph. Other changes crept in as Oliver Cowdery hand copied the manuscript for the printer and as the printer typeset the text. Even some copies of the 1830 version differ, so there is no unique 1830 edition. Some of the textual changes made after 1830 were for the purpose of correcting errors introduced in the 1830 printing. Thus in some aspects the present edition may better reflect the original manuscript.

We must recognize that most of the editorial changes Croft refers to were made in Joseph Smith's lifetime. This editing seems little different from the editing that exists on some of our

control texts. It is not clear which edition would be preferable for making internal comparisons *within* the Book of Mormon. Perhaps Croft's comments would be more valid in a comparison of the Book of Mormon to the control texts, but we believe his concern is exaggerated.

Even if one agreed with Croft's concern, his generalizations in this section of his critique (as in other sections) are much too broad. He mentions two words which *might* have significantly different frequencies if we had used the 1830 edition: "that" and "which." He concedes that we reported statistical analyses that do not depend on "which." However, we also reported results that did not depend on "that"—analyses on 42 uncommon words. There were no contradictory results.

We ask, would adding 250 "that's" to the 5715 in our study really make any difference in the final result? The possibility seems remote. One reported analysis was based on only ten words. "That" was one of the ten. We noted in our article that eight of the other nine words, when tested individually, showed significant differences across authors. We could drop "that" with little or no effect on the statistical conclusions.

We note also that in another of our analyses 31 of 38 words were found to have statistically significant differences across authors, and in another analysis 21 of the 42 non-common words were individually significant. This should lay to rest any questions raised about specific words that should have been deleted from our study. In fact, the deletion of 15 or 20 words would have essentially no impact on our study.

In his suggestions for future work, he says "original passages . . . unedited . . . *must* be used." Certainly, using unedited works is desirable. But when Croft uses the word *must*, he eliminates nearly every stylistic study ever done.

Problems of Experimental Design

We note at the outset that Croft's repeated use of the term "experimental design" does not conform to common statistical usage. A better term might be "research design" or "sampling design." The term "experimental design" is usually reserved for experiments where different experimental conditions are assigned to the experimental units obtained previously by sampling.

Croft believes we should have separated the passages he

labeled narrative and discourse. We considered this but rejected the idea in this beginning study, because we were already breaking the data down into small sections corresponding to authors. We started by treating each quoted individual as a separate author. We were not sure the data would support this division. Perhaps Mormon, Nephi, Moroni, and the other engravers paraphrased the people they quoted. We did not want to confound testing individual authors as opposed to engravers with testing spoken versus written (discourse versus narrative). However, dividing the data as he suggests would have made a stronger study.

Croft is particularly concerned with the phrase "and it came to pass," which he feels is used primarily in historical or written (narrative) passages. He conjectures that many of our observed differences resulted from this one phrase. We respond to this comment from three directions.

First, is the phrase contextual? Larry Adams of BYU's Institutional Research and Planning prepared the following statement for this rejoinder:

It has been conjectured the term "and it came to pass" is a narrative term and therefore contextual in literary writing. This is not the meaning of *contextual* as we use it in style analysis of literary authorship. *Contextual* has reference more to the subject of the discourse than whether or not it is narrative. This is because *contextual* has reference to the subject of the specific sentence itself more than the overall subject of the topic. Since stories are narrative, many if not all of the prophetic discourses tend to be narrative. Prophets often use stories to emphasize or put across a point or doctrine. Ancient prophets used the term "and it came to pass" in discourses. The passage in the following references may be termed discourse: Genesis 9:14 "And it shall come to pass when I bring a cloud over the earth, that the bow . . ."; Isaiah 2:2 "And it shall come to pass in the latter days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be . . ."; Isaiah 4:3 "And it shall come to pass, that he that is left in Zion . . ."; Isaiah 24:21 "and it shall come to pass, in that day, that the Lord shall punish the host of the high ones . . ."; Isaiah 27:13 "And it shall come to pass, that the great trumpet shall be blown, . . ."; Isaiah 65:24 "And it shall come to pass, that before they call, I will answer . . ."; Joel 2:28 "And it shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour out my spirit upon all

Jacob, Mormon, and Moroni. He splits the text into three divisions. Two of these are similar to Croft's (discourse and narrative); the third is abridgement. For each of his elements of style, he reported at least eight data points: four discourse frequencies and four narrative frequencies. After making the discourse/narrative distinction, Burgon found wide differences between authors.

In particular, Burgon investigated "and it came to pass." As Croft conjectures, he found a difference between discourse and narrative, but he also shows a widely differing usage rate for authors within narrative. His data are as follows:

Uses of "it came to pass" Per Thousand Words

	Nephi	Jacob	Mormon	Moroni
Narrative	10.3	7.7	1.2	3.4
Discourse	2.1	0.0	.4	.9
Abridgement	—	—	8.4	12.3

Burgon did not define the writings of these authors exactly as we did, but it appears that this stylistics phrase (even if somewhat contextual) is used differently by different authors. Burgon also investigated the use of "behold" finding a large

References cited by Croft do not support his thesis at all, but in fact support our own—statistical stylistics is a reliable tool.

flesh . . ." These discourses are somewhat narrative, although perhaps not as clearly so as scriptures that are more historical than discourse, if any could be classified as such.

"Came to pass" can also be translated "it happened that," or "it is that." In a certain sense or meaning, "and it came to pass" has the same position in literary authorship style as "for behold." One author tends to use one of these phrases as an idiomatic expression more than another. For example, the author of the book of Joshua used "came to pass" about three times as often as "behold." The author of the book of Jeremiah, on the other hand, used "behold" about three times as often as "it came to pass." If one were to argue that "behold" is less narrative than "it came to pass," and therefore was used by the author of the book of Joshua less often, that person would then not be able to explain why the author of the book of Jeremiah used "behold" far more often than Isaiah and "came to pass" less than the author of the book of Isaiah when the book of Isaiah in the literary sense is less historical than the book of Jeremiah.

"Behold" could also be classified as a narrative phrase, just the same as "came to pass." Regardless of the context, one ancient prophet would use the phrase more than another in giving the same type of narrative discourse. These terms being idiomatic phrases are used more by some authors of ancient scripture than others for the same subject or narrative discourse.

We say "phrase," but in the original language (i.e., Hebrew) each of these phrases is only a single prefix word. Prefix usage is perhaps one of the most pertinent stylistic elements in determining authorship of Hebrew texts. Prefixes in the Hebrew language constitute a major stylistic element that corresponds to the habit-prone parts of speech in English language. The term "function prefix" describes prefixes that are not pronominal, verbal, and participial. Function prefixes are used in literary authorship style analysis because they tend to identify the habit-prone parts of speech and to be non-contextual. Function prefixes refers to such terms as "and from," and "it came to pass," and "for behold." Regardless of context, these and other phrases are used in literary style analysis of Hebrew texts to identify habit prone parts of speech.

Second, Croft's comments on this point caused us to reread one of our references (Burgon, Glade L., "An Analysis of Style Variations in the Book of Mormon," Unpublished M.A. Thesis, BYU, 1958). Burgon's study, though not statistical, is in many ways similar to our own. He considers elements of style across the four major engravers of the Book of Mormon—Nephi,

difference between Moroni and the other engravers within narrative writings.

Third, if "it came to pass" is even possibly contextual, we should have also tested for wordprint patterns without the phrase, and we did. We used 42 non-frequently occurring words (none of the words in the phrase "and it came to pass" are in this list of words). The results were just as indicative of multiple authorship as those that included "and it came to pass."

In summary, Croft's conjecture that many of our results were related to the use of this phrase alone does not hold.

Croft complains about our MANOVA test on the control texts combined with the Book of Mormon texts. His comments here are correct based on the printed version in *BYU Studies*. The MANOVA test that we report in that article is not conclusive, just as Croft suggested. This test was meant to introduce the readers to a set of more meaningful tests. The problem is that some results were inadvertently left out in the printed study. We apologize for this omission in the printed version. The results were in earlier drafts, but somehow were omitted in the final product. We actually performed two of the three tests Professor Croft suggests. We compared the Book of Mormon word frequencies to Joseph Smith's wordprint, and we compared the Book of Mormon word frequencies to Solomon Spalding's wordprint. In both cases we got results of billions to one odds against either of these nineteenth-century figures being the author of the Book of Mormon.

We did not explicitly test Sidney Rigdon versus the Book of Mormon, but we believe our discriminant plots firmly establish his wordprint as completely distinct from the Book of Mormon.

Croft comments on our quote: "It does not seem possible that Joseph Smith or any other writer could have fabricated a work with 24 or more discernable authorship styles." He states correctly that we have demonstrated only at least two distinct styles with the MANOVA test. However, in one of our MANOVA analyses we did compute orthogonal contrasts that demonstrated 15 distinct styles. So although we did overstate the results in that one sentence, results not reported in detail support many different wordprint styles.

Croft's third major statistical comment is in error. He claims that the discriminant analyses results we published are not

what they appear since 65 percent of the book is written by Mormon, and one could obtain a high level of correct classification results just by chance. He is mistaken in the 65 percent figure. Croft quotes the table of engravers, when he should quote the table of writers, where it is clear that only 36 percent of the book was originated by Mormon. So his suggestion that we can obtain 70 percent to 80 percent correct classifications by chance is wrong.

We did not include many detailed statistical results in our article because we were writing to non-statisticians. Since we have been challenged, we now include one more result.

We developed an index to measure how accurately the authors grouped in cluster analysis; that is, if our alleged authors were correctly labeled, how well did the various authors cluster together? We obtained 94.26 for Book of Mormon authors. We then simulated what would happen if our labels were meaningless, that is, if there were only one author for all blocks of words. In this case, any correct cluster would be by chance. We repeated this simulation 100 times. The average index for the simulation was 45.73; the maximum value was 60.32. It is clear that the actual data gave *much* better results than what would have occurred if we did not have distinct wordprints. The classification and cluster results we obtained could not have occurred by chance.

Croft claims that when using authors with only a few blocks of words, it is impossible to test the assumption underlying the multivariate analysis of variance. He insists we need more than

Perhaps editorial pressures and our own enthusiasm caused us to make a few statements that upon closer examination may need some revision.

four or five blocks of words. However, R. Gnanadesikan in *Methods for Statistical Data Analysis of Multivariate Observations*, (John Wiley & Son, 1977, section 6.3.1), gives a graphical method for testing such assumptions even for a small number of blocks of words.

Croft states that our powerful statistical tools are perhaps so sensitive that they have picked up statistical significance when it does not really exist. This implication cannot be supported by anything in our study and perhaps not from the literature. A very good case in point is the study by Marvin H. Folsom and Alvin C. Rencher. ("Zur Frage Der Sprachlichen Unterschiede in Der BRD und Der DDR," *Deutsche Sprache*, [1977]: 48-55). In this study, 40 characteristics of German literature were compared for various authors in the East and West zones in response to questions about whether there was a divergence in literary style between these two areas corresponding to the political division. MANOVA tests involving the 40 characteristics showed no significant difference. In this case, then, our supposedly sensitive tests did not detect any difference in style between the two political zones. It should not be suggested that MANOVA will go around picking up significant differences any place it is applied. In our study we reported several MANOVA results that did not achieve significance—Isaiah I versus Isaiah II, and Jesus versus Sermon on the Mount.

Croft also suggests that we should have conducted baseline studies. This suggestion is sound; yet it ignores very important considerations. First, MANOVA itself involves a baseline comparison. A highly significant result in MANOVA implies that the differences within an author's works are very much smaller, relatively speaking, than the differences from one author to another author. There is a serious question, then, whether any baseline studies are needed.

The second point which Croft has ignored is one of the strongest of our entire study: *We confirmed our methods on the*

control texts. Whatever Croft may wish to say about our methods, when we tried them out on the control authors who were known to be different, they revealed differences among these authors very comparable to the differences we found for the Book of Mormon authors. We therefore argue that our methods were almost completely validated by the results we obtained on the control texts. We do intend at some point in the future to look further at the differences within a given author, such as Mormon. We also note that if our methods were so sensitive, Isaiah should have stood out particularly in the discriminant plots, since Isaiah clearly did not write in the nineteenth century. However, Isaiah did not stand out. Croft ignores this point made in our study.

Conclusion

We do not believe our work, or any work in this area, will be unassailable. This is to ask for more than this science can give. Perhaps editorial pressures and our own enthusiasm caused us to make a few statements that upon closer examination may need some revision. Like any beginning work, it is subject to revisions and re-interpretations as additional data emerge. Yet we believe our study is strong evidence in favor of multiple authorship in the Book of Mormon.

We summarize our rejoinder:

1. Croft claims our wordprint definition is questionable at best. We have quoted the literature, even his own references, to show that our methods are strongly supported.

2. Croft believes the 1830 edition must be used. We have shown that this may not be the case. We also reason that the differences between the analyses on the 1830 and the present edition would be slight.

3. Croft feels that "and it came to pass" was incorrectly used in our study. We have challenged the generality of his conjecture, and besides, results independent of this phrase support multiple authorship. We agree with his suggested division (narrative and discourse) and will make this change when we extend the study.

4. Croft makes three major statistical criticisms. On two of these, he has a valid point. However, additional results, unreported in our article, resolved the difficulty. On the third statistical criticism, Croft quoted the wrong number, and his argument fails.

5. Croft claims we did not have a baseline study. We reply that the control texts served as a baseline study, and the MANOVA in a sense involves a baseline study.

6. We agree with his suggestions for future improvements.

We do not believe that anyone should base a testimony of the Book of Mormon on our results or anyone else's scientific study. While such studies may help decide the question, "Is the book what it claims?" the final affirmation can only come through spiritual channels well-known to Latter-day Saints. We hope our study does motivate some individuals to study the book itself.

Acknowledgment

We appreciate L. LaMar Adams' and Larry Browning's considerable help on this rejoinder.



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A secret world on the ceiling tiles of the old Language Training Mission

What are you Doing Looking up Here? Graffiti Mormon Style



observed that the backsides of these tiles, normally hidden from view, were scribbled with names, slogans, drawings, and messages left by the former occupants of KMH. He salvaged a tile or two and then, almost in passing, mentioned it to us. Intrigued, we began to explore the ceilings all over the building and found, to our delight, that many of the tiles were covered with missionary memories. We had happened upon a secret world of self-revelations.

Some of it, we thought, surely must be worth saving. We applied for and received a small research grant from BYU¹ to cover photographic expenses and obtained permission from the administrators and professors involved to examine the ceiling of every office in the building. It was a tiring, dirty, and time-consuming job—climbing on chairs and ladders, seeking for appropriate tiles, and photographing—but rewarding. We found hundreds of tiles filled with graffiti, and undoubtedly many others had been destroyed in the process of renovation. Curiously, several of the rooms (some probably served as offices or classrooms rather than bedrooms) contained none. Enough was there, however, to provide some fascinating insights into the “other side” of missionary life at the LTM.

How seriously should one take such graffiti as an objective social record? Much of it is little more than spur-of-the-moment scribbling. Too, it could have been created by self-selecting and therefore non-representative groups. But when graffiti becomes more than names on walls (or ceilings), it usually takes the

day in the midst of the repair work, Professor Louis Midgley of the Department of Government noticed that workmen were discarding some ceiling tiles from the old missionary dormitory rooms. The ceilings of these rooms consisted of suspended two-foot square tiles, any of which could easily be removed. But Midgley also

James B. Allen and John B. Harris

In 1977 the Language Training Mission of the Mormon Church (LTM - as it was known then) moved from Knight-Mangum Hall on the campus of Brigham Young University (where it had been since 1968) to the newly-built modern quarters which became the Missionary Training Center. As soon as Knight-Mangum was vacated, the university began to renovate it for use as office space by several departments. One



form of some kind of message which reflects what someone was thinking about at the time and is interpreted variously as hostility, rebellion, sexual neurosis, well-meaning humor, or simple vandalism. Nonetheless, graffiti is a form of expression, and, like all outward expressions such as poetry, art, drama, and essays, it can be a symbol of the inner needs and motivations on the part of the originator.² Even the best literature, in fact, is

words include expressions of faith, comments on the "privilege" of suffering for conscience sake, philosophical utterances, political exhortations, and the recordings of dates and days. In 1540 Thomas Salmon wrote that he had been in the tower for 8 months, 32 weeks, 224 days, and 5376 hours. In 1589 Philip, Earl of Aurdnel, wrote in Latin, "The greater the misery we endure for Christ in this world, the more glory

quick-drying paint and then set aside a wall especially for graffiti where people could record anything they wanted during the day but by the next morning it would be painted over, waiting for another round.⁶

Graffiti has occasionally been known to help mental patients. At St. Joseph's Hospital in Chicago, graffiti therapy started quite by accident as an attempt to communicate with an agonized schizophrenia patient who

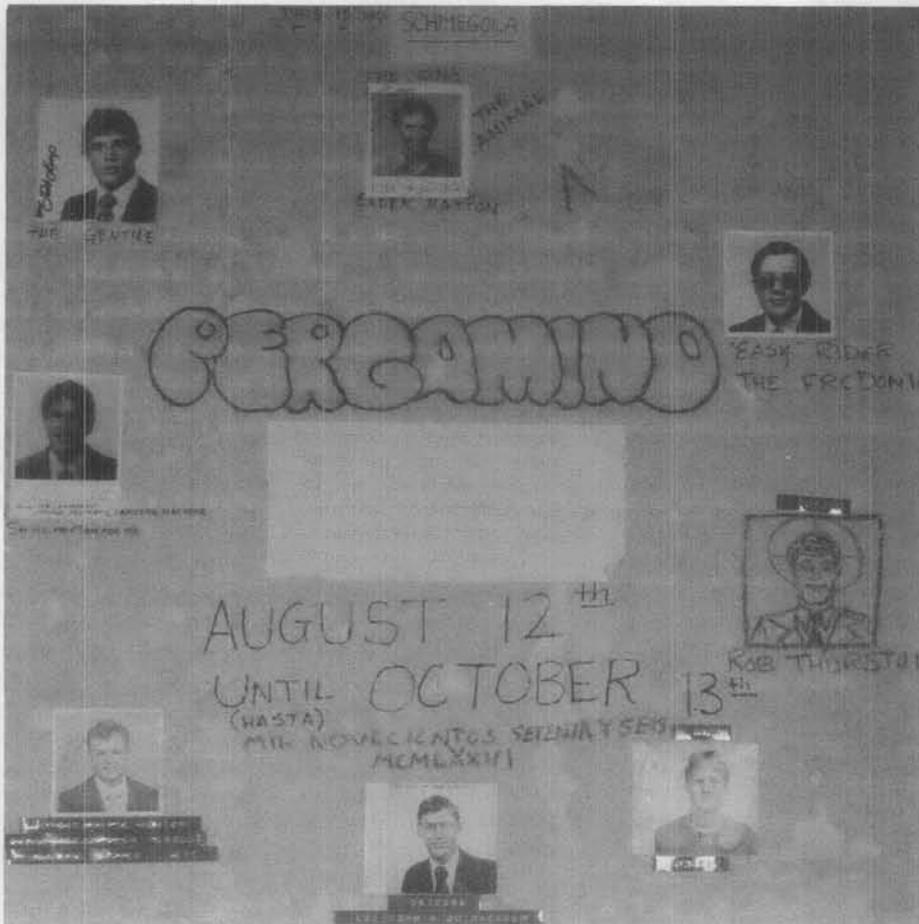


Figure 5

often somewhat autobiographical, in which authors use characters or situations to reveal themselves.

Graffiti goes back in history to when man first used an instrument or medium to put an image on a surface. Some scholars have even used graffiti to reconstruct the social life of Pompeii.³ Graffiti has appeared in diverse places and for a multitude of reasons. Certain walls in the Tower of London, for example, are covered with messages dating back to the fourteenth century. Prisoners of all sorts, from kings and nobles to the common rabble, have left their mark there. Their

we have with Him in the next."⁴

Graffiti artists have sometimes caused urban problems. In New York City the city fathers once were spending nearly two million dollars annually to clean it off the trains and subway walls. Among many of the ghetto youth it had become a mark of some prestige for an "artist" to have his work on more trains or in a more dangerous location than any others.⁵ Stockholm, Sweden, was once spending \$36,000 annually to clean up its graffiti until the Chief Architect of the Parks Department got an idea. He had the chemists develop a special,

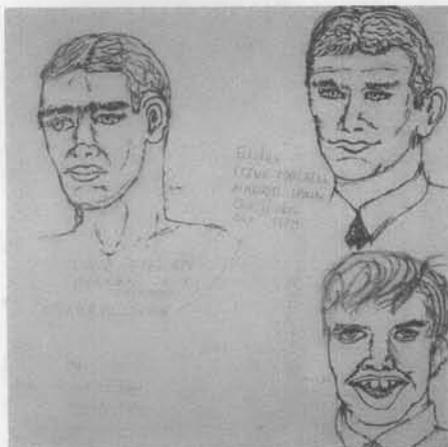


had rebuffed every attempt to communicate with him. One day a blackboard and chalk were inadvertently left in the hall and, when no one was looking, the patient wrote some remarks about his feelings upon the board. A perceptive head nurse wrote back, and soon a regular exchange began. Eventually a new program was adopted in which the walls were covered with paper, and patients and staff scribbled messages to each other. In that situation, graffiti became an invaluable tool, not only to break the communication barrier, but also as an aid to diagnosis and therapy.⁷

Unfortunately, because much graffiti is salacious and obscene, a large portion of the professional studies have dealt primarily with this aspect. One pair of researchers described their excursions through the toilet stalls in the restrooms of certain college campuses searching for such "latrinalia," lamenting the cramped quarters and the need to use flashlights attached to the walls by magnets so they could read and copy the inscriptions from the opposite walls.⁸ Such researchers may have distorted their conclusions by ignoring anything but sexual graffiti; in fact, they wrote that "the bulk of non-

sexual inscriptions are of little interest."⁹ By contrast, the collection from Knight-Mangum Hall contained practically no sexual matter (only one or two of all the tiles even hinted at anything), and yet we found it fascinating. Missionary life was strenuous but "upbeat," and the graffiti generally reflected it.

Why, then, missionary graffiti? We think that there are a number of possible reasons.¹⁰ One was a need sim-



ply to vent frustration. Even if a young man had long expected and planned for his mission call, even if he had been told what discipline awaited him, the rather sudden change in lifestyle may have been dramatic. Imagine the feelings of a nineteen-year-old Mormon boy, a lover of sports, full of energy and mischief, relatively unrestricted in his choice of activities and conversation topics, proud of his appearance and clothing, possibly involved romantically with an attractive young female. Take this young man, shear him of his proud locks, dress him in a dark, conservative suit, white shirt and tie, separate him from his family and friends, give him the title "Elder," and then propel him into an intensive language training program. There he will be forced to speak primarily in the language he is trying to learn; he will be assigned a "companion" who will accompany him for the most part of his waking hours; he will have his schedule completely outlined for him. And what a schedule:¹¹

6:00 - 6:30	Arise, shower, dress, personal prayer
6:45 - 7:20	Breakfast
7:20 - 7:45	Zone meeting
7:45 - 8:00	District meeting
8:00 - 10:00	Memorization drills
10:00 - 11:00	Leadership training on Wed.; Scripture study Tues. & Thurs.
11:00 - 12:00	Memorization drills
12:00 - 1:00	Lunch
1:00 - 4:00	Language class
4:00 - 5:00	P.E. on Tues. & Thurs.; cultural lectures, Mon., Wed., Fri.
5:00 - 5:45	Dinner
5:45 - 6:00	District meeting
6:00 - 7:00	Language laboratory work
7:00 - 10:00	Group study
10:00 - 10:30	Group prayer and lights out

He will be allowed no dates, no visits or calls from home, no outside reading, no movies or TV, no leaving the hall without his assigned companion, and only one day off in which to do his laundry, write letters, shop for necessities, mend clothes, or complete all the tasks which have piled up during the week. The nearest thing in Mormonism to monasticism, someone once observed. And even though the missionaries had chosen to serve a mission, gladly, excitedly, and even though they may have understood that the rules and restrictions were designed to assist them in their studies and to help them become better missionaries, it is easy to see that they might need an outlet for their frustrations.

Another motive for leaving graffiti was obviously a need felt by some to preserve identity, a "self," recognizably separate from the sea of hundreds of elders being molded in the same pattern. "We had first names," bemoaned one writer. Writing on the ceiling was like leaving a time capsule, reported an elder who did nothing more than sign his name. Some pasted up their driver's licenses, others glued photos of themselves, alone or with former girlfriends. They gave themselves nicknames and sketched caricatures. They left maps of the places they were going and in-

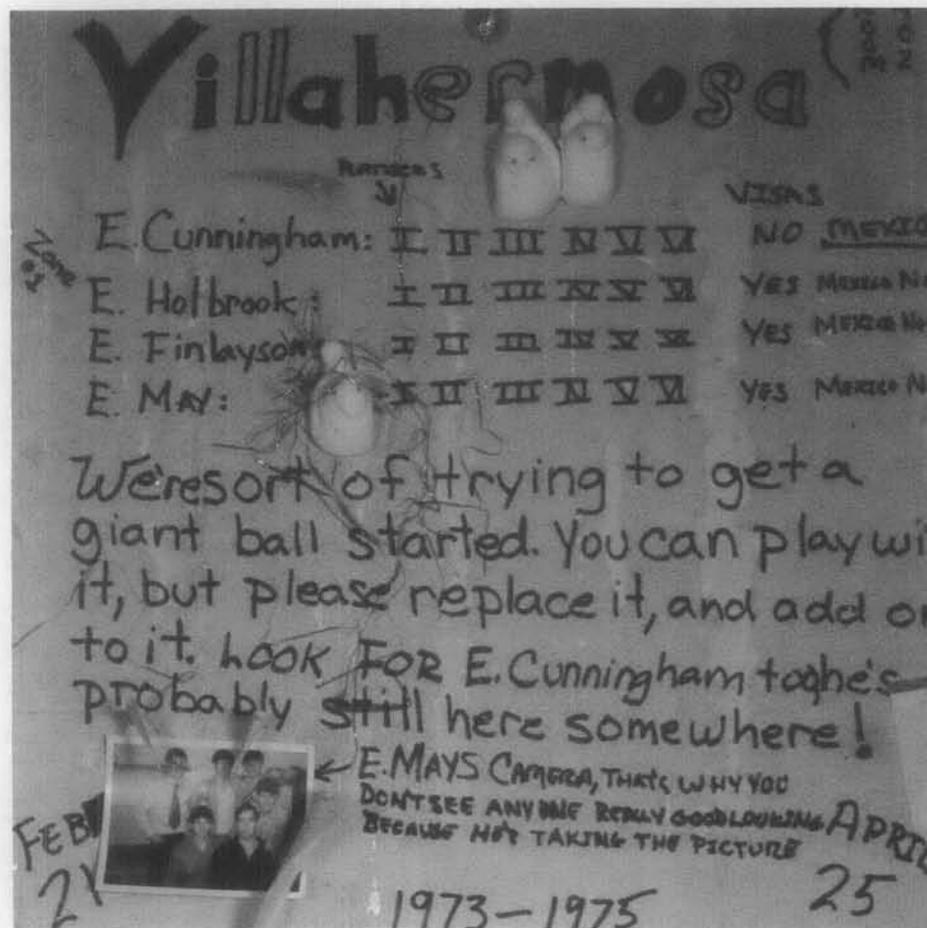


Figure 7

To whom it may concern:
 This is a letter to you from one humble missionary. I have lived in this cell for a little more than two weeks now and love every second of it. The potatoes in this abode cannot be surpassed by any human form. The beds are as soft as concrete. The air is as cool and clear as Chicago during the great fire. The floors are as warm to your feet in the morning as a glacier. Do not be discouraged if you are among the chosen few to live here within these hallowed walls. Just count your blessings. You are able to keep track of how many times the toilet is flushed and can, in time tell the difference between a shick electric razor and a noelco. From all of us who have gone before to you,
 Adios!

Signed, Elder Turner

Elder S. Pugmire Columbia, Bogat, wishes all you Lucky Dogs the opportunity of staying in the LTM for at least 12 weeks. Don't let the sound of flushing toilets get you down, or your companios same.

Days Go like years in LTM
LONGEST Two months

Living thru this is not impossible but improbable.

After 6 weeks of solid study, this is the composite picture of the District of success—Harried, Worn, but real Missionaries

Dev
 Vickie
 Stephanie
 Lisa

What do I do if they all wait?

Declaration of Sanity—
 I, Donald Keith Shirley, do hereby write upon this plate for a witness and a testament that I do hereby consumate my days here in the LTM. In view of all the trials and tribulations with the Language, the charlas, the teachers and etc. I will not let it be known that I have borne all these things with a willing heart and an intelligent patient & enduring mind. I was here from July 15, 1976-Sept. 14, 1976 A.D. I leave my queath & courageous hearts who dare to venture upon this the Lord's work. I leave my blessing upon ya'll & do hereby seal this testament with my signature and a few words of wisdom.
 Signed, Edler Donald Keith Shirley, Esquire (Longrey, Texas USA) I went to Barcelona, Spain, July 15, 1976-July 1978

Elder Lewis has the record for the longest shower in the LTM 55 Minutes. The rest of the district held service for the deceased.

This is the last words of the grand district of La Paz of Zone "1". Most of us are going to Mexico with tres going to Central America. We are still hoping for our visas. Nov. 28, 1970. We hereby bequeath this room to whoever is smart enough to find this.

When you get a dear John reply
with Ezra 9:3
When you aren't getting any mail
Proverbs 25:25

**The tragedy of Mankind is
not that he Loses But that he
almost wins**

Have you been to Heaven?
No. But I been to Texas, and
that's close enough.

Well I'm glad to see you
waste your time reading
the roof because you'll
probably waste your
time writing on it to.
Elder Nicholas G. Cas
Feb. 13, 1971 has not
been "Dear Johned"
yet. I may make it. Who
knows.

**Destination: Central
America. Adios.**

E. Alvord 6'1" 180 lbs
Saratoga, Cal.—Toulouse, France.
solid stuff.
February '76-'78

In the Beginning there was Man
And all those who were wise call him Elder
And all those who were humble call him Sasquatch
And all those who were smart at all called him MALMSTROM

I stayed here and rotted
away for 8 weeks. At the
Provo Hilton (The Rock)
All I could do was watch
the girls out the window.
P.S. My roommate was a
mex.

JOE COOL alias Elder Donald Lyle arrived here on September 1, 1971. He was scheduled to leave on November 2 but for reasons of health was detained. Today, November 28, he is packing his bags to leave tomorrow for Florida South Spanish. He is writing this small note to you future Elders who will have the opportunity of staying here to let you know that if you think 8 weeks is bad try 12 1/2. He would like to leave a small note about the great district of Morte Caseros his first district. This district was without a doubt the number one district to ever arrive here.

dications of where they were from. They left records of how many lessons they had learned in what amount of time. All of these were attempts to distinguish themselves from the throngs of missionaries pumped through the LTM.

A third motive had to do with the semi-secrecy of the graffiti tradition. Clearly, many of the missionaries housed in Knight-Mangum Hall between 1968 and 1977 knew nothing of the opportunity. Others were not of the temperament even to experiment with the overhead tiles to see if they were moveable. Still others undoubtedly thought it was a form of vandalism which conscience could not allow. Some believed it was against the rules. (We have been unable to determine if, in fact, it was specifically prohibited by the leaders.) When we contacted one former missionary for an interview, he was at first reluctant—fearful that he might still be disciplined for his part in the creation of graffiti.

Because many did not, those who did find and participate in the graffiti production formed a sort of secret bond, an inner circle which operated partly by tradition and partly by chance. Finding the graffiti-filled tiles was easy for some elders, accidental for others. In most cases the elders would replace the tile as soon as they finished their work so that a casual observer would notice nothing amiss in the room. And even though many elders did not tell anyone what they were doing, most intended or assumed that their tile would be found one way or another. The hidden world of graffiti was repeatedly discovered when an elder climbing in or out of a top bunk would hit his arm or head on a tile and displace it. Having found the work of a predecessor, sometimes all four elders in the room would set about looking for other tiles, and then decide to do their own. In other instances, the elders purposely left the tiles turned outward, proudly displaying their artwork to all viewers. Thus the tradition became well-established in some rooms. In still other cases, those who had been there awhile would verbally convey to “greenies” the suggestion that they look in the ceiling. The most curious among the newer ones did so. With

discovery came desire to continue the chain and thus perpetuate the “secret society.”

There were those, then, who scrawled graffiti to follow the lead of their predecessors, to maintain what they believed to be a long-standing missionary tradition. There were also those who wanted to insure that the tradition was carried on after them, who offered advice and wisdom to

those who would follow. They left “last wills and testaments,” suggestions of where to eat and not to eat, what to do and not to do. They left offerings of hope informing the new elders that someone had gone through it all before them.

Lastly, some missionaries did it for fun. It was like writing one’s name on the tablecloth of the nearby pizza parlor, one told us. It was a way “to get into the cookie jar without anyone knowing about it.” It was a challenge to see if you could do it and not get caught.

The types of materials and quality of workmanship varied so much that it is impossible to generalize about the amount of time or money spent creating the graffiti. It seems apparent, though, that it was not an inordinate amount in either case. The elders used pens, colored pencils, felt tip markers, and, in a few cases, oils to do their work. One panel was made of construction paper (Fig. 1). Anything

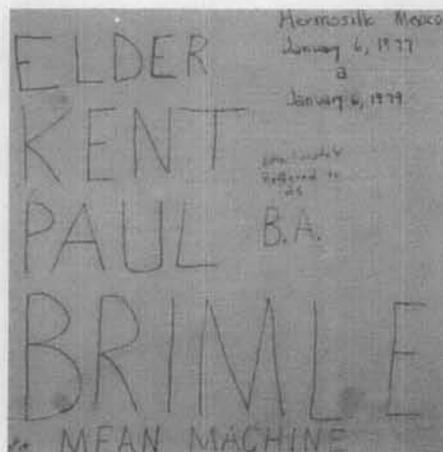
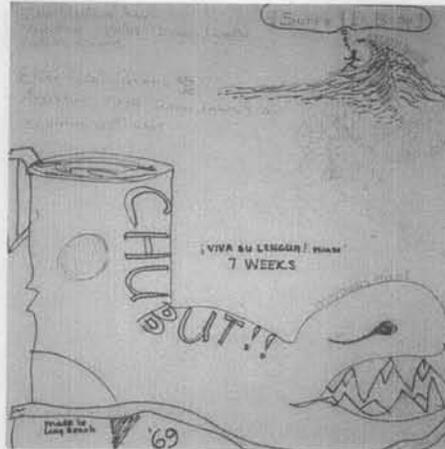


Figure 3

Figure 1

See page 35

and everything they could find within their constraints was used to make an image.

Most of the graffiti was not elaborately planned but rather spontaneously expressive. And even that which was obviously premeditated—colored maps, cartoons, and beautifully illustrated messages—must have been done in between other activities on days off. In a few cases the tiles were prepared, almost ceremonially, some days before the group departed for separate destinations, thereby producing a collective symbol of an enduring emotional bond. In these instances the elders involved became very attached to their tiles. The story of one such tile is illustrative.

A group of elders going to Mexico entered the LTM on January 7, 1977, and were formed into a district called “Distrito de Cananea.” The best artist in the group was Elder David Bradshaw of Garden Grove, California. Other members of the district came from such diverse American locations

NIT WITS

FROM THE ROCK

2/21-4/24
1973

6
"CHABLAI"

E. ZIPPRO AND E. FLAKE
FARMINGTON, UTAH MESA, ARIZONA

Mission Time:
Sept. 27, 1975
Sept. 27, 1977

Teachers:
E. Elias Miller
E. Elias Pineda



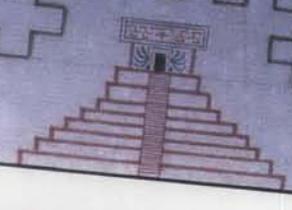
Ellder Beckett Charles Pineda
E. Elias Pineda
Elder Virgil Joseph Johnson
Elder Michael M. Fish
Elder James A. Farnon

Elder Scott
Pugmine
ELDER
Bruce Lee Stranglin

SAN ANTONIO DISTRICT

JAN 29, 1976
JAN 29, 1978

PERU GUATEMALA SAN - ANTONIO PARAGUAY URUGUAY



CERRILAS

Ellder Schacht "que se acuerda" 7-27-71 Yuta, Calif.

Ellder Shearer "Sra. Jofa" Argentina del sur 7-27-71 E.L. Latta

Ellder Carrero North Argentina

The Campy PUEBLO RICA Down Little CASTLE BEARIN

DISTRITO de Ganahuea

VERMOSILLO

QUU 6, 1977
QUU 6, 1979

VERACRUZ



BEANET
WINDY
LORDS
WINDY

Ellder BRANCH
Ellder ERESON
Ellder VERNON

YIVA
SU
LENGUA -
POR FAVOR



ES MUY
IMPORTANTE

Y fe, esperanza, caridad y amor.
con un deseo sincero de glorificar
o Dios, lo calif.

SALT LAKE CITY

YEP, I WAS HERE.

1 WAITED for the same boat
 2 In the summer in the desert
 3 mother the ment lost with a
 4 Jump out of the shower
 when the white fishes
 5 BECAME good friends with the
 Ex Secretary

Ford Dole

The Year The Big Wheel
 Met The Big Fruit

Here Resided The
 Re-organized District
 of
 Dramno

-FREE AGENCY ABOIES HERE-

ESTER
 MARRIAGE
 ESTER
 MARRIAGE
 ESTER
 MARRIAGE

THE ARMS

Charles

and we write
 all the notes
 of the Daily

PLEASE
 feed the
 PAJARITOS

CRAIG "Jefe" TAMNER
 Ole "Bingo" Smith
 *Gerry "Gof" Pyle
 TERRY "SPUD" HULSE
 Blair "sueño" McLean

KEVIN "ARIZONA
 KID" COLLETTE
 DOUG "SLAVE"
 DEWITT
 PAUL "SLAVE"
 DRIVER
 MOURITSEN

Everytime you Rookies
 you subtract from the sum of HUMAN KNOWLEDGE

May 30, 1973 - August 2, 1973

Gálatas

Charles

PLEASE
 feed the
 PAJARITOS

CRAIG "Jefe" TAMNER
 Ole "Bingo" Smith
 *Gerry "Gof" Pyle
 TERRY "SPUD" HULSE
 Blair "sueño" McLean

KEVIN "ARIZONA
 KID" COLLETTE
 DOUG "SLAVE"
 DEWITT
 PAUL "SLAVE"
 DRIVER
 MOURITSEN

Everytime you Rookies
 you subtract from the sum of HUMAN KNOWLEDGE

1975 → 1977

Month 4:10

AND
 BE A

ARGENTINA

AND BE A

ARGENTINA

ARRIVED AT LYM. JAN. 29, 1977

ZONA
 3

VAMOS AMANDA
 KNIGHT ON
 MARCH 12

SYDNEY

FORT LAUDERDALE

MELBOURNE

DISTRITO DE SYDNEY

ARRIVED AT LYM. JAN. 29, 1977

FLORIDA
AUBERDALE
MINNESH



BY
LUBFOOT

For
ELDER DAVID
SHEPHERD
PARADISE,
UTAH

SEPT. 1974-1976

AUSTRALIA

"CANGURO"



DRAW
BY
ELDER E. LUBER

For
ELDER
D. R. LONGFELLO
(OGDEN UTAH)

SYDNEY

ELDER RON [unclear] BEXBURN IDAHO SEBUL

KLINGLER

ELDER MICHAEL

McClure Orem Utah

VENEZUELA
CARACAS

ELDER DAVID

VIAU ↑

Fresno VENEZUELA
CALIFORNIA CARACAS

ELDER Gordon (李梅基)

McGee PROVO UTAH

KOREA
SEOUL

They WERE the BEST OF TIMES -
They WERE the WORST OF TIMES

7-1975

E. Wright



Scottie
TERI 75

Peterson

TAYLOR

DISTRICTO DE SARMIENTO

ARRIVED - DECEMBER 8, 1976

Left: January 8, 1977

Destinations:
Spain Barcelona
Buenos Aires North
Guatemala City
Ecuador



ELDER [unclear]

ISLA PATRULLA

LEFT JUNE 20
1970

ELDER ADRIANSON

ELDER BARNEY

ELDER McEuen

ARRIVED Feb. 11 1971



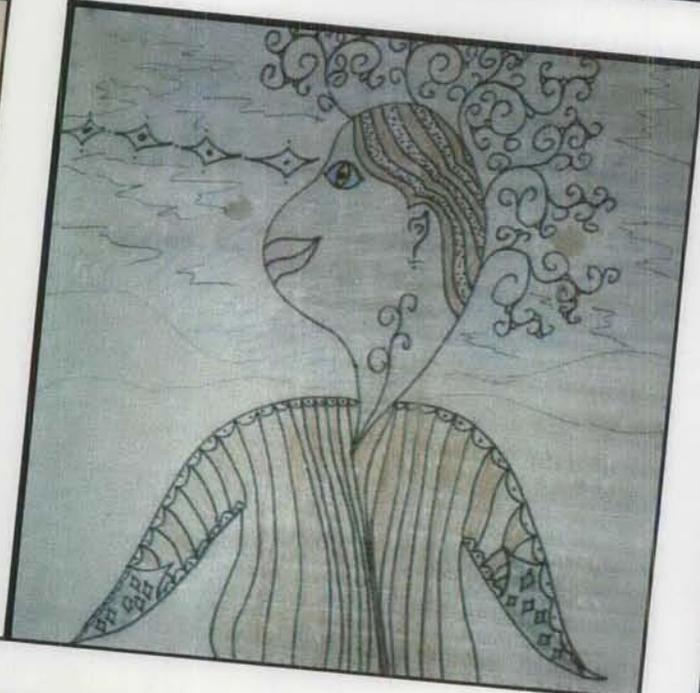
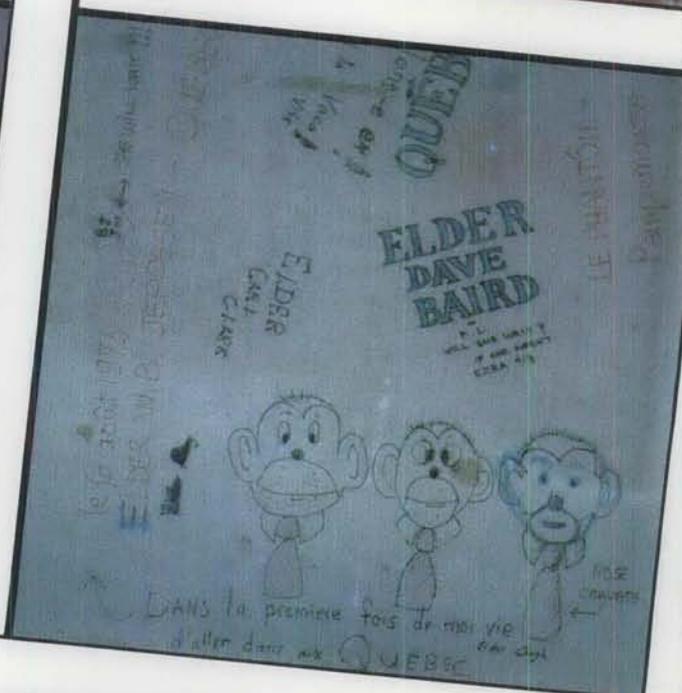
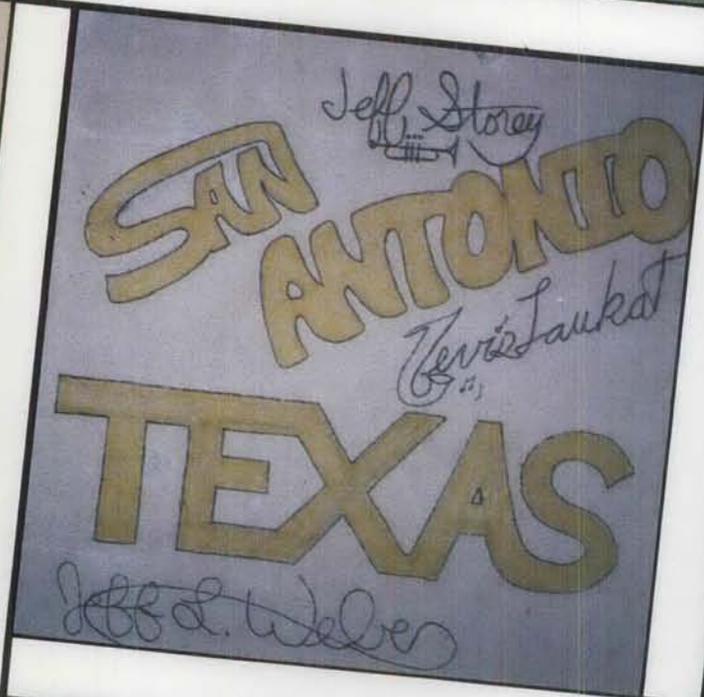
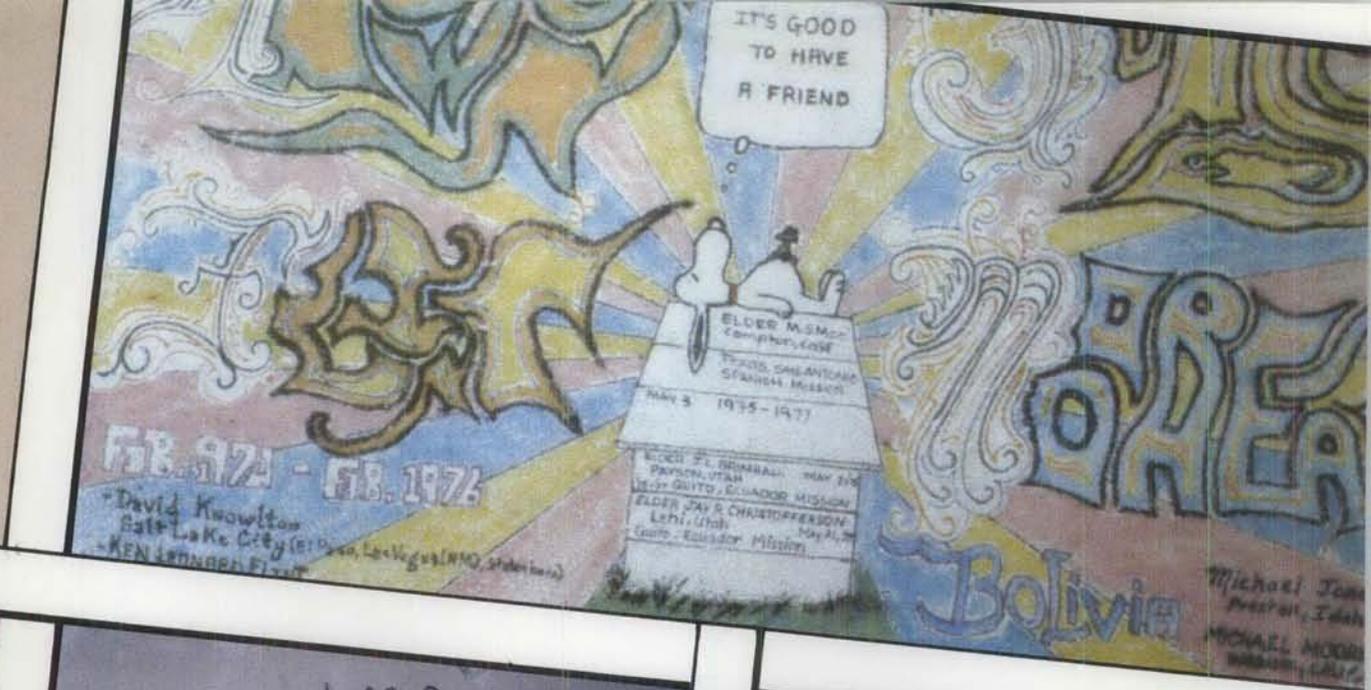
IA SU ENCUA

VIVA
ESQUEL!

JAN 10 1973 MAR 8

- E. STEVEN GARY BRIMHALL, PRESCOTT, ARIZ. ----- URUG. PARA.
- E. STEVEN H. HULME, BOISE, ID. ----- URUG. PARA.
- E. MICHAEL L. MEYER, PORTLAND, ORE. ----- ARGENTINA E.
- and ELDER CRAIG L. TAYLOR, MERIDIAN, ID. ----- ARGENTINA E.

¡QUE BRUTAL!



as Big Piney, Wyoming; Mesa, Arizona; Logan, Utah; Aitkin, Minnesota; Orem, Utah; Billings, Montana; and Glendale, California. It was Elder Bradshaw who decorated the tile with a map of Mexico on which two major cities were designated with large stars. He also lettered in the names of the elders and finished the tile at the bottom with a quotation in Spanish from the Doctrine and Covenants 4:5: "And faith, hope, charity and love, with an eye single to the glory of God, qualify him for the work" (Fig. 2). The missionaries all

Figure 2
See page 33

placed their signatures under their names, and then they had pictures taken with the tile. In 1980, a year after he had returned from his mission, Elder Bradshaw knocked on the door of 218 Knight-Mangum Hall. He wanted to look at the ceiling. He had not heard of our graffiti project, he just wanted to see if his tile was still there. As the student looked at the ceiling where several tiles had been turned so that the graffiti was visible, a clearly perceptible disappointment came over his face—his tile was not there. When the elder described it, we remembered that his tile had been damaged by workmen putting in a light fixture and so had not been turned over like the others. It was a simple matter to climb on a chair and reverse it for him. The expression of pleasure and relief that came over young Bradshaw's face when he saw his tile still intact is indescribable. Obviously for some, making the tiles was a meaningful experience which they fondly remembered years after their missions were over.

The ceiling tiles fall into several categories. The first might be called "desire for immortality." This category includes the names, nicknames, brief self-descriptions, self-portraits, and self-photos of the various missionaries. "The Mean Machine," one elder called himself (Fig. 3). "Down with Castro," wrote another who identified himself as the "crummy Puerto Rican" (Fig. 4).

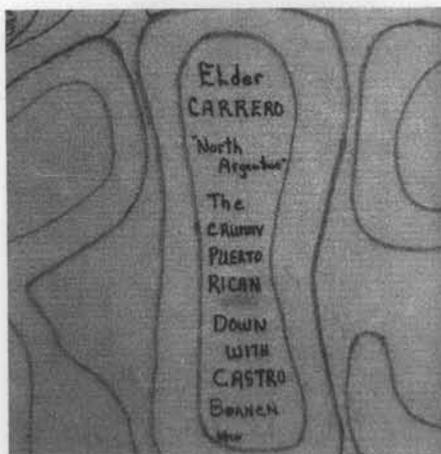


Figure 4

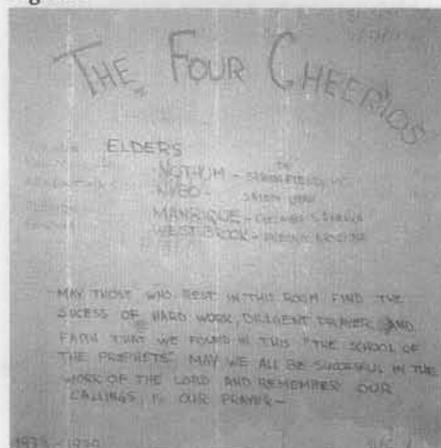


Figure 8

One elder gave his name and then said of himself, "He will be remembered as a missionary who kept as many of the rules as he was able. His own words, 'I never met a rule I couldn't bend.' His ambition in life is to become rich enough to buy his way into the Quorum of the Twelve."

In this category also fall the tiles which we call "the rogue's gallery." These are the self-caricatures. Under the personal photographs on one tile (fig. 5), the missionaries left not only their names but also their nicknames, "The Gentile," "The Animal," "Easy Rider," and others. In other instances the elders exorxed their driver's licenses and pasted them to the ceiling tile archive, while the missionaries in still another group caricatured themselves as monkeys (Fig. 6).

Figure 6
See page 36

In February, 1973, the missionaries in room 402 pasted candy chickens and eggs on their tile ("We're sort of trying to get the ball started," they wrote. "You can play with it, but please replace it and add on to it.") They also included a photograph of themselves together and, not wishing to have one of their number forgotten, they made it clear that there was an elder missing from the photograph because he was taking the picture. They also recorded the number of lessons they had learned and whether or not they had received their visas (Fig. 7).

The "desire for immortality" category includes group as well as individual tiles. Some named themselves as a group like "The Four Cheerios" (Fig. 8). Others invented official seals for their districts such as the road runner (Fig. 9). One group of

Figure 9
See page 33

missionaries created a colorful tile in which their slogan, "Azulito," became the symbol (Fig. 10). "Azulito"

Figure 10
See back cover

is the Spanish word for "blue," and this reflected a practice in the LTM of placing the missionaries' progress in learning the language on a chart. The color blue on the chart indicated that the missionary had a perfect record, and since all the elders in that district had a perfect record, their chart was completely blue. It became such a matter of pride with them that they bought felt-tip pens to record all their names and signify the impressive achievement.

One tile showed the unity and comradarie of a district, "Campeche #1." "This is to testify," wrote their scribe, "to all whom [sic] may have the great privilege to live in 303 and 301 that you have been preceded by the greatest, wildest, funniest district to ever have bombed the LTM." Then

followed a detailed report that this group had had the most meetings with the zone counselor, was undefeated in basketball and football (they beat the "Frenchies" 21-0), learned more variations of the lessons, had more absentees from class and "retentions" (individual study sessions), had prayer earlier than any other district, and played the widest variety of music (their five tape recorders played everything from Cream to Andy Williams to Dionne Warwick).

A second category of tiles is "descriptions of the place." This includes

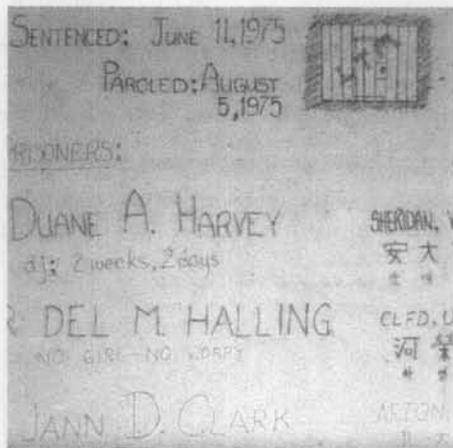


Figure 17

the spectrum of responses to the LTM environment. There were those who wrote, without hesitation, "I love it." There were a few others (and it was *only* a few) who expressed the opposite view. One said he had learned five lessons in eight weeks and also learned to hate snow, hate Utah, and hate half the people there. (He also posted the name of his girlfriend with a picture of the two of them in a tight embrace.) And one sad elder scrawled at the end of a small message: "I hate this place." Most of the descriptions, however, expressed mixed emotions, mostly positive. One tile used Dickens to sum it up for the others: "They were the best of times, they were the worst of times." Most of the tiles in this category showed very good humor, often making light-hearted fun of the trials and frustrations of missionary life. "The First Epistle of Macoa" is a clever example (Macoa was an LTM missionary district):

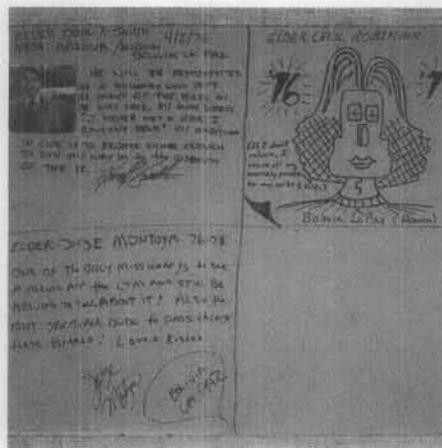
In the beginning was the me and the me was with him. All things were done with him, and without him was not anything done that was done, save it be the bano!

And it was the beginning and the morning of the first day, whereon we were brought to that great tower, wherein there was an exceeding great amount of confusion.

And the language therein was confounded. And the me and the him were thrust together, and our language was confounded, as were many therein.

And it came to pass that the him was a companion to the me, and the me to him. Thus commenced the reign of companions.

And therein they worked and found

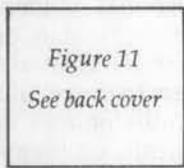


others which had the same tongue. And they found ten others and formed a district. And they called themselves Macoa!

And it came to pass that they were exceeding strong among others which were known as Ramas.

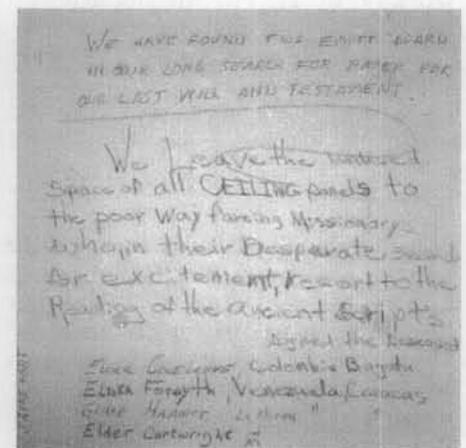
And after eight weeks in the tower, the me and the him and two others were to leave. So I make an end to my writing and I know not who will make an end to this record but I leave it unto those Columbians who weren't as fortunate in obtaining visas.

The "Great Seal of Republica" (Fig. 11) contained several clever symbols.



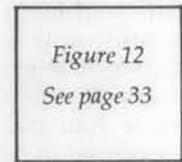
Item 1, the sun, represented the instructors who were symbols themselves of light and truth. But Item 2, the clouds, suggested frustrations: "the discussions as they float out of your head." Item 3, a trained seal, was the missionary district itself

("Really tricky," the key indicated), while Item 4, the rain, stood for the cold showers that woke the elders each morning. Item 5, the ball on the nose of the seal, depicted the juggling act the missionaries went through for two months of many-pronged activities, while Item 6 was their retreat, "Y mountain," where, they said, they could go in their "grubbies." Finally, at the bottom, appeared a term that was sometimes affectionately or unaffectionately used to describe the LTM itself—the Rock, also called in the key, the "depths of despair." The seal

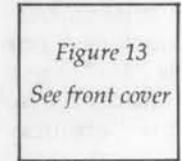


(missionaries) has not, however, descended into those depths, he is still on top of the Rock (LTM).

One of our favorites shows the cartoon characters, Snoopy and Woodstock (Fig. 12). Snoopy, with a



book under his paw, is repeating in Spanish one of the then official slogans of the LTM, "Live Your Language, please," while Woodstock is saying, "It is very important." Another took the form of a movie advertisement, part of which describes the plot as "a moving and touching story about four young men together in a room for the purpose to serve God" (Fig. 13). A Mormon historical



flair was added when this was cited as "a quote from the *LTM Expositor*." Still another artist tried to sketch what his group would be doing in the mission field—taking the message to the Navajo (Fig. 14).

Figure 14
See front cover

Missionary life in the LTM obviously included a certain longing for family, home, and girlfriends. "Chicks are Heaven in '77," a group of 1975 elders wrote. Said one lonesome missionary of his forthcoming trip:

As I fly to Paris to begin my labor
I'm even gonna miss my town of Taber
Even with this, all would be well
If only I was taking Lorrie Maxwell

Another had somewhat wider interests: "Elder C.K. Rudd slept under this tile and thought of Sharon, Barbara, Cindi, Pam, Julie, Christine, . . ." Thirty-three names in all, "plus all those others!" Still another elder listed only four female names, then asked, "What do I do if they all wait?"

One missionary simply wrote under his photograph, "Say hi to Mom for me," while another moaned, "A nice place to visit, but I miss my Camaro."

One of the most clever tiles (Fig. 15) included gentle digs at BYU cam-

Figure 15
See front cover

pus, the girls, and Provo itself. "Hurry, Hurry, Hurry," the legend on the map says, "step right up and catch the ugly blue bus to the mall," and it gives the time and price. "To the mall and other neat stuff," the arrow points, and around the edges of the map is a guide to eating establishments. "The Golden Scone" is judged to be fair, but the "Cougareat" on BYU campus is labeled less than fair. No cafe is called excellent, though "Jerry's" is labeled "a real experience." Perhaps the most interesting part of the tile is the central warning against "serpents." In LTM



Figure 16

vernacular the word "serpent" meant, appropriately enough, the girls whom the missionaries constantly encountered while walking around campus and who, undoubtedly, planted distracting thoughts in their not-fully-disciplined minds. So the warning: "This is the Campus. Beware. It is full of serpents. They will try to talk to you. Resist! Train your mind to be lifted up in the highest thoughts of the LTM. Think of something else—contemplate salmon loaf. But if you want to have a real good time, call Peggy, 375-0012."

In this category of descriptions of life at the LTM there are those we call the "prison syndrome." On one tile, for example, the rogue's gallery was combined with a representation of a missionary in prison clothes, dragging a ball and chain (Fig. 16). On another, a group of Korea-bound elders depicted the LTM as a prison and recorded that they had been "sentenced" in June and "paroled" in August (Fig. 17). One missionary drew himself chained to the wall with the letters LTM on his t-shirt, indicating that he had been "booked" on Sep-

tember 17, 1969, and "pardoned" on November 19 (Fig. 18). Using the term

Figure 18
See page 36

"the Rock," as synonymous to prison, another group expressed the mixed emotions of most by recording at the end of their stay, "GOD BLESS THIS ROCK."

This category is perhaps best represented by a tile which combines artistic lettering, clever cartooning, and meaningful sentiment (Fig. 19). Here

Figure 19
See page 36

we find inscribed the names of the four elders who have lived in the same room and fought the good fight together for two long months. He also pictured Snoopy (possibly repre-



Figure 20

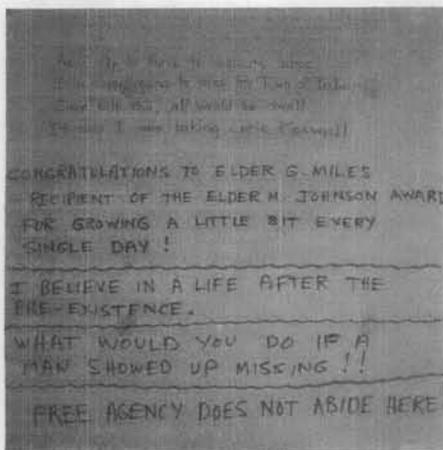


Figure 21

See page 34

you're not here all year" (Fig. 20). We also found a message or two of teasing



Figure 22

superiority: "Every time you rookies speak Spanish you subtract from the sum of human knowledge" (Fig. 21).

Some ribbed those who would go searching for ceiling tile graffiti: "What are you doing looking up here?" said one. "You won't find your chick up here—She's probably making whoopee with some other guy! How's that grab ya?" "Missionaries aren't allowed to lift ceiling tiles," warned one message. Another contained a clever caricature of a General Authority, Elder Neal A. Maxwell, saying, "Do you always rip down the ceiling when you stay at somebody else's place?—Put this back right now!" (Fig. 22).

Some missionaries felt the desire to explain the realities of life in the LTM to their hapless successors. One tile, for example, offered suggestions on how to "stay alive" (Fig. 23). "1. Watch out for the salmon loaf [this must have been a particularly disliked dish, for several scribes commented on it]; 2. Hide the screens in the closet [evidently the window screens could be removed]; 3. Smother the meat loaf with catsup; 4. Jump out of the shower when the toilet flushes [whenever the toilets flushed, the showers turned hot; a favorite way of initiating the rookies was to get them in the shower and then flush all the toilets at once]; 5. Become good friends with the executive secretary."

Figure 23

See page 34

Last in this category is the "last will and testament." Wrote one group, for

example, "We have found this empty board in our long search for paper for our last will and testament. We leave the unused space of all ceiling panels to the poor wayfaring missionaries who, in their desperate search for excitement, resort to the reading of ancient scripts. Signed, the deceased."

And so they wrote, scrawled, scribbled, recorded, chronicled, depicted, printed, scratched, pasted, painted their hopes, frustrations, needs, fears, ambitions, friendships, past, present, future—*themselves*—on the underside of the ceiling tiles in Knight-Mangum Hall. We have presented their record here simply as an enjoyable and interesting assessment of one side of the lives of the young men who once went through the missionary training program at Knight-Mangum Hall.

Notes

1. Allen took primary responsibility for the photographic activity while Harris arranged interviews with several of the former missionaries, some of whose names are on the tiles and who had returned to BYU as students.
2. Norton Mockridge, *The Scrawl of the Wild, What People Write on Walls—and Why*. (Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Company, 1968), pp. 33-36.
3. For a general text on the symbolism and use of language, see S.I. Hayakawa, *Language in Thought and Action*, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1964). For a general social and psychological analysis of graffiti, see Ernest L. Able and Barbara E. Buckley, *The Handwriting on the Wall* (Westport, Connecticut and London: Greenwood Press, 1977). See also the bibliography.
4. J. Lindsay, *The Writing on the Wall: An Account of Pompeii in Its Last Days* (London: Mueller Company, 1960); H. Helen Tanzer, *The Common People of Pompeii* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1939); M. D'Avino, *The Women of Pompeii* (Naples: Loffredo Press, 1964); all as listed in Buckley, *The Handwriting on the Wall*, pp. 4, 21.
5. E.A. Humphrey Fenn, "The Writing on the Wall," *History Today* 45 (June, 1969), pp. 419-23.
6. "Subway Painting—Vandalism in the Guise of 'art,'" *U.S. News and World Report*, June 24, 1974, p. 41.
7. Alexander Frater, "Stick it on the Wall in Stockholm," *Holiday* 45 (1969), pp. 85-86.
8. "Graffiti Helps Mental Patients," *Science Digest*, April 1974, pp. 47-48.
9. Lee Sechrest and A. Kenneth Olson, "Graffiti in Four Types of Institutions of Higher Education," *Journal of Sex Research* 7 (February, 1971), pp. 62-71.
10. Most of the following information is gleaned from the John B. Harris collection of interviews with returned missionaries, copies in the files of both writers.
11. This schedule is a composite built on discussions with and journals of missionaries who went through the old LTM in KMH.

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Professor Seixas, the Hebrew Bible, and the Book of Abraham

Michael T. Walton

To what extent were Joseph's study of Hebrew and the translation of the Book of Abraham interrelated?

In the relative calm of the fall, winter, and spring of 1835-1836, Joseph Smith turned to two important intellectual endeavors: the translation of the Book of Abraham and the study of Hebrew with Joshua Seixas. Students of Mormonism have not carefully explored the relationship between these two events. In general, studies of the Book of Abraham have concentrated on Abrahamic legends and Egyptology as keys to the text.¹ The one exception, an essay by Louis C. Zucker entitled "Joseph Smith as a Student of Hebrew," accurately and thoroughly traced the development of the Hebrew class in the School of the Prophets.² I wish to re-emphasize certain details about Joseph's Hebrew study which suggest the extent to which this study and the translation of the Book of Abraham are interrelated.³

First, Joseph excitedly began studying Hebrew on his own in the winter of 1835, before he started working in earnest on the Book of Abraham—and before the arrival of a Hebrew teacher. *The Documentary History of the Church* notes that on Wednesday, December 30, 1835, Joseph "spent the day reading Hebrew." This was five days before the first Hebrew teacher Dr. Peixotto (the name is incorrectly spelled Piexotto in the D.H.C.) arrived and twenty-seven days before Peixotto's replacement, Joshua Seixas, appeared on January 26, 1836. It was during this period of private study that Joseph first associated Hebrew with the Book of Abraham. On December 31, 1835, before actual translation on the book had begun, Joseph described the characters on the papyrus as

such as you find upon the coffins of mummies—hieroglyphics, etc.; with many characters of letters like the present (though probably not quite so square) form of Hebrew without points.⁴

When Professor Seixas did arrive, Joseph and his friends in the School of the Prophets studied the creation story and other sections of Genesis, including the accounts of Abraham, intensively in Hebrew. For a text they used Seixas' *Hebrew Grammar*, the second edition printed in 1834. The vocabulary and selected sentences presented by Seixas included examples from most of Genesis, part of Exodus, and several of the Psalms.⁵ The *Grammar* indicates that a student was to begin with Genesis, and apparently students moved through

Genesis chapter by chapter. That Joseph and his fellow students followed this order of study is seen in Joseph's statement that he translated Genesis 17 on March 7, 1836, and Genesis 22 plus ten verses of Exodus 3 on March 8.⁶ It was probably while reading in Genesis with Seixas that Joseph wrote:

My soul delights in reading the word of the Lord in the original, and I am determined to pursue the study of the languages, until I shall become master of them, if I am permitted to live long enough.⁷

It was during this same period that Joseph translated the Book of Abraham. While the fact that Joseph's Hebrew studies and his translation of the Book of Abraham coincided may not prove that one influenced the other, it does show a similarity of context. But the specific impact of Joseph's study of Hebrew on his translation of the Book of Abraham becomes apparent when the creation story in the Book of Moses—Joseph's commentary on Genesis, completed before his study of Hebrew—is compared to the creation story in Abraham. In many cases, the account in the Book of Abraham is more closely related to the original Hebrew than the account in the Book of Moses. In addition, certain details of structure, syntax, grammar, and word usage in the Book of Abraham reflect the particular impact on Joseph of Seixas' *Grammar*.

Comparing Creation Accounts

The differences among the various texts become clear when specific passages are compared. I include the King James Bible because it is a remarkably literal translation of the Hebrew.⁸ Moses 2:6 reads:

And again, I, God, said: Let there be a firmament in the midst of the water, and it was so, even as I spake; and I said: Let it divide the waters from the waters; and it was done.

In the King James version, Genesis 1:6 reads:

And God said, Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters.

Abraham 4:6 reads:

And the Gods also said: Let there be an expanse in the midst of the waters, and it shall divide the waters from the waters.

את-אבר-הים-וי-אמר



Many important verses in the Book of Abraham more closely approach the King James and Hebrew texts than the Book of Moses text.



A literal translation of the Hebrew would read:

And *Elohim* said, Be there (or let there be) an expanse in the midst of the waters, and let it cause a division (or divide) between the waters and the waters.

The verse from the Book of Abraham more closely resembles the King James and the actual Hebrew versions than the one from the Book of Moses. In the Book of Abraham example, Joseph renders the plural noun *Elohim* and its singular verb as "the Gods . . . said." Seixas on page 85 of his *Grammar* noted that *Elohim* was "a singular noun with a plural form." In the same passage, the word translated "firmament" in the King James literally means "expanse" in Hebrew, the meaning given it by Seixas. Joseph's use of "and it shall" in the verse may be a grammatically incorrect literalization of the Hebrew. In Hebrew, a future verb has a past meaning when used directly after an "and." The Hebrew for "and let it" is literally "and it shall." In the last phrase of the passage, "waters" is rendered in the plural in Abraham, as it is in the King James and the Hebrew texts but not in Moses.

There are other important verses in the Book of Abraham which also more closely approach the King James and Hebrew texts than the Book of Moses text. Abraham 4:16, with the exception of the word "organize," is identical to the King James and the Hebrew. It differs, however, from Moses 2:16. Abraham 5:6 also accords with the King James and Hebrew but not with Moses, as does Abraham 5:9 and Abraham 5:14. Abraham 5:14 is perhaps one of the most interesting variations between the books of Abraham and Moses. In the King James, the Hebrew plural verb "let us make" is retained. In Moses, "I will make" is substituted. The Book of Abraham with its consistent emphasis on the plural nature of *Elohim* uses "let us make" and "we will form."

To many students of the books of Abraham and Moses, the greater similarity of the creation account in Abraham to the King James version rather than the creation account in Moses has long been apparent. That the King James is a rather literal rendering of the Hebrew text takes on new significance when the translation of the Book of Abraham is related to Joseph's concurrent study of Hebrew with Professor Seixas.

Grammatical Similarities

The use of the Hiphil form of the Hebrew verb is essential to understanding the way Joseph expressed the Book of Abraham account of creation which corresponds to the first chapter of Genesis. The sense of the Hiphil is causative. For example, the verb "he ruled" becomes "he caused or made to rule" when placed in the Hiphil. The verb "to divide" is uniformly cast into some form of the Hiphil in the telling of the creation story. The Hebrew Bible does not say God divided the light from the dark-

ness. It used the Hiphil and therefore states that God caused the light to be divided from the darkness. This point was clearly made by Seixas in both his general discussion of verb forms and his specific treatment of participles and imperatives in his *Grammar*.⁹ He did not, however, give a student the choice of using either "caused" or "made" to express the Hiphil. He used only the word "cause" to translate the Hiphil.

This point of grammar is reflected throughout the first events of creation in the Book of Abraham. In Abraham 4:4, the Gods "caused" the light to divide the day from the night." The Gods in Abraham 4:17 "cause to divide the light from the darkness." In each case, the verb "to divide" is expressed by Joseph in a Hiphil-like sense.

Joseph's application of a Hiphil-like verb form is a significant factor which separates the Book of Abraham from both the Book of Moses and the King James versions of the Bible. It places the Book of Abraham in harmony with the text of the Hebrew Bible and indicates a further influence of Seixas' Hebrew class on Joseph's thought.

Use of Key Words

Perhaps the most specific indications of the impact of Seixas and the Hebrew Bible on the creation story in the Book of Abraham are the spellings and definitions given to certain key words. In his article Professor Zucker noted that four words used in the facsimiles which accompany the Book of Abraham and also in the first three chapters of the book are definitely Hebrew: *Libnah* is a Hebrew word for moon and is used to signify a pagan god, *Kokaubeam* or *Hahkokaubeam* is the Hebrew term for stars, *Shaumahyeem* is Hebrew for heavens, and *Raukeeyang* is a Sephardic transliteration, the pronunciation used by Seixas, for *raukiah* or firmament or expanse.¹⁰ In his use of these terms, except for *Libnah*, Joseph was perfectly open. He identified them as Hebrew equivalents of the Egyptian symbols which he claimed to translate. He was in essence showing off his Hebrew, as he would later do in the King Follet Discourse.

A not-so-obvious but more important application of knowledge gained by Joseph from Seixas is found in Abraham 4:1, 2, and 6. In Abraham 4:1, what would be the word *shaumayem* in the Hebrew Bible is translated as "heavens." In both the Book of Moses and the King James version of the Bible the singular, "heaven," is used. Seixas correctly translates the noun into English as a plural as did Joseph.¹¹ Abraham 4:2 renders the Hebrew words *tohu* and *vohu* as "empty" and "desolate," exactly as Seixas suggested on page 78 of his *Grammar*. "Empty" and "desolate" are so different from the terms used in Moses and the King James version that no other source than Seixas can be readily posited for their origin. Equally unusual is the translation of what would be

וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֶת הָאָרֶץ



The Book of Abraham is a dynamic document, an original and living theological work.



mirahephet in the Hebrew as "brooding" in Abraham 4:2. Though "brooding" is given as a meaning for *mirahephet* in various lexicons (and even appears in Robert Boyle's *Skeptical Chemist*), it was not a popular rendering for Genesis 1:2. It is, however, the only translation given by Seixas for *mirahephet* (see *Grammar*, page 32). In Abraham 4:6, what would be the Hebrew *raukiah* is expressed as "expanse," the meaning assigned to it by Seixas on page 21 of his *Grammar*. All of these usages are strong evidence that Joseph was influenced by both Seixas and the Hebrew Bible.

Only in the case of the key word *Elohim* is Seixas' impact unclear. Because it is common for Hebrew lexicons, grammars, and Bible dictionaries to note that *Elohim* is a plural noun, it may be that Joseph discovered it in his Hebrew studies before Seixas arrived. Seixas' class, however, undoubtedly reinforced Joseph's understanding of the noun even if it did not initially introduce him to its plural form.¹²

Some Differences

Though the creation story of the Book of Abraham bears some remarkable similarities to the Hebrew Bible and to concepts found in Seixas' *Grammar*, it also displays some marked differences. In Abraham, the Gods speak to each other, prepare, and organize. They do not create. They perform their creative tasks in a rational order, forming woman before animals (not the order of Genesis or Moses).

What if anything do these differences add to Abraham? First, they make the text describe what a group of Gods might do. Corporate divinities would discuss, prepare, and organize. Group action requires cooperative procedures, and the alterations in the text of Abraham provide them. Second, the Gods must order the creation in a rational manner. The Gods could not speak of forming a helper for man and then set the idea aside until the various kinds of animals were established in the garden. The "correct" order would be to form the gardener, then his helper, and finally the animals. Then and only then could everything be named.

These changes in the creation story show that Joseph did more than merely translate from Hebrew. The Book of Abraham is a dynamic document, an original and living theological work which brings the traditional Bible text into harmony with belief in a plurality of Gods.

Summary

Joseph Smith's study of Hebrew with Joshua Seixas and the translation of the Book of Abraham are not two events associated simply because they occurred at the same time. They appear to be related in content as well as context. The creation story in the Book of Abraham seems

to have roots in the Hebrew Bible and in Seixas' *Grammar* as well as in Joseph's creative or prophetic gifts. The creation as described in Abraham differs markedly from the similar story presented in the earlier Book of Moses. The most striking differences between the two being (a) Abraham's closer textual resemblance to the Hebrew Bible and (b) its expression of the plurality of Gods, a central Mormon doctrine.

If Joseph's study of Hebrew was as important in the formation of the Book of Abraham as this brief essay hopes to indicate, then scholars of that book would do well to turn for a moment from the examination of Egyptology and Abrahamic legends to look closely at Joseph's study of Hebrew in the School of the Prophets during the fall, winter, and spring of 1835-1836. There lies, perhaps, one of the principal keys to the Book of Abraham and hence to Joseph's theological development.

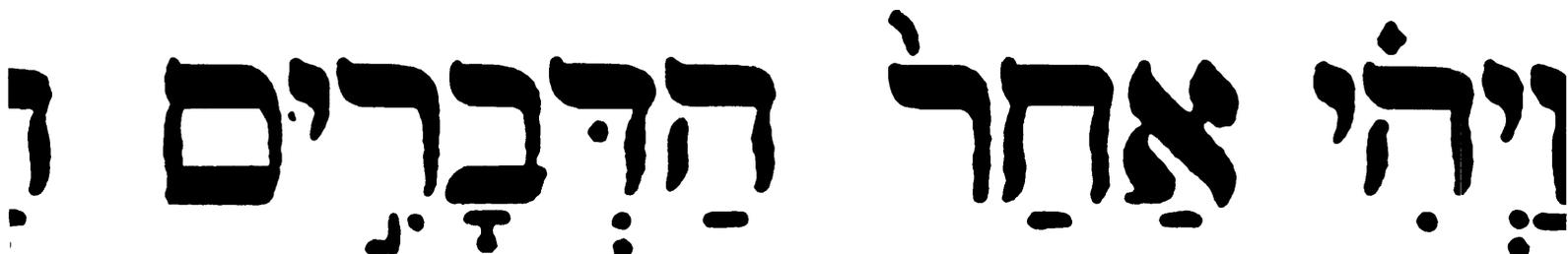
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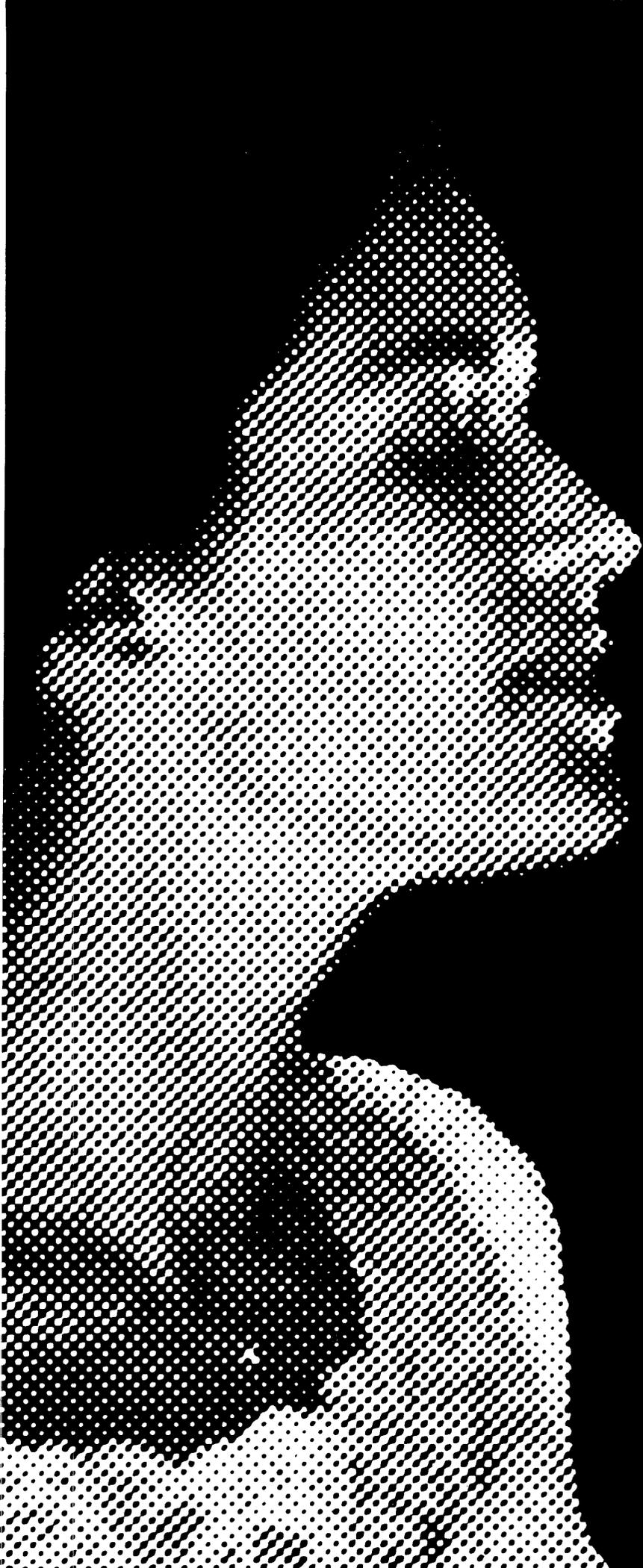
1. These two approaches appeared almost as soon as the rediscovery of the Joseph Smith Papyri by Professor Attya in 1967. In *Dialogue* 3:2 Grant Heward and Jerold Tanner attacked Joseph Smith on the basis that his translation did not accord with the meaning of the Egyptian symbols found in the papyri. In the same issue, Hugh Nibley pointed to Abrahamic legends as the ultimate validation of the text. Recently, Edward Ashment in "The Facsimiles of the Book of Abraham: A Reappraisal," *Sunstone*, 4:5/6, continued research into the Book of Abraham's relationship to Egyptology. He was able to show for the first time that Joseph incorrectly restored the facsimiles.
2. Louis C. Zucker "Joseph Smith as a Student of Hebrew," *Dialogue* 3:2, pp. 41-55. As a former student and loving friend, I respectfully dedicate this essay to Dr. Zucker.
3. Except for these details, I will not recount the story of Joseph's Hebrew studies and refer the reader to *ibid*.
4. D.H.C., vol. II, p. 348. The use of the technical term points for the Hebrew vowels indicates that Joseph and Oliver had made some progress in their Hebrew studies by this time. Four days after Seixas' arrival, January 30, 1836, Joseph showed him the papyri. Joseph was happy to announce that Seixas declared them "original." Joseph seems to imply that this meant Seixas concurred in the Abrahamic nature of the texts. Seixas probably intended only to declare that the papyri were genuine Egyptian antiquities.
5. The *Grammar* indicates that Gen. 1 was the first text studied, p. 85. Sentences like "and to Seth there [be] was born a son" and "go out from the ark," pp. 87 and 89, indicate that the students moved on through the book chapter by chapter. Among the final four sentences "who caused thee to eat manna," from Exodus appears p. 100. The Twenty-Ninth Psalm is included in the text of the *Grammar*, pp. 15 and 16.
6. D.H.C., vol. II, p. 405.
7. D.H.C., vol. II, p. 396.
8. To a Hebrew reader the similarities between the Hebrew text and Abraham are readily apparent. I have invoked the King James translation and its literalism to illustrate this point to the non-Hebrew reader. I do not intend to imply that the King James translation was an intermediary between the Hebrew Bible and the Book of Abraham. Richard Howard posited that the King James translation was a source for the Book of Abraham in "A Tentative Approach to the Book of Abraham," in *Dialogue* 3:2, pp. 88-92. My contention is that the similarities in the two books arise from their relationship to the Hebrew original.
9. Seixas, *Grammar*, pp. 28 and 39.
10. Zucker, "Joseph Smith," p. 51.
11. Seixas, *Grammar*, p. 78.
12. It is obvious from the *Grammar* that Seixas would have disagreed with Joseph's belief in the plurality of Gods. Seixas represented *Elohim* as expressing the plural of majesty not of person. B. H. Roberts in D.H.C., vol. IV, p. 54, calls attention to the Book of Abraham as the first unimpeachable source for Joseph's teaching of the plurality of Gods.

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Aerogramme

(Like peeling
an artichoke, she thinks
as she smooths the blue flaps
outward with ringless fingers,
then writes to her missionary)

"In Pusan you will have your first
converts. Thousands of Koreans
swarming into baptismal fonts,
their black hair floating
heavily upon foaming ashes.

"Many will recall Joseph Fielding's
ethereal white hair,
1955 ice water in the bay,
remnant servicemen hypnotized
by its cleansing ripples.

"Your companion weeps
for a potential
wife in Salem, habitat
of high priests. Elder,
you are too much a novice
for that designation."

(She smiles wistfully, her skin
dove-gray in lamplight)

"Take this distant kiss.
Send me a note recounting
your volcanic conversions,
an entire city immersing
itself, immaculate
as a milk-white shawl draped
across my alabaster clavicle."

(her lip-print frosted coral upon
the translucent blue aerogramme)

"its silken fringes lingering
about my golden thighs."

Helen Jones

Lavender Blue

A Story by Donald Marshall

She bit into the back of her hand until it started to bleed, and then she began to cry. Why was everything so crazy, so crazy, so crazy? She squeezed her eyes tight to shut off the tears, then took a deep breath and threw her head back, staring at the blurred wallpaper across the room. "Well," she said sniffily, trying to breathe in to keep the tears back. "I know one thing anyway." And she did. If she really couldn't put her finger on the exact day the world had started turning ugly, Ginger was at least sure of something: she would never—*never*—tell anyone, including Mary Louise, what had happened Saturday night in the old wrecked car behind the cafe at Four Corners.

Stretched out diagonally across the bed with her feet hanging off one side, she kicked off one of her oxfords and let her cheek rub against the plaid bedspread. When was it all going to stop? Or did it just keep getting worse? No matter what anybody said, she hadn't minded being tall all that much. Even when she had been the tallest person in the whole seventh grade and for most of the eighth, it hadn't bothered her nearly as much as her grandmother had seemed to think it should. *Well, there'll be plenty of tall boys that'll just be looking for a tall girl like you when the right time comes.* What a ghastly thought. She couldn't remember whether she had drowned out her grandmother's voice by turning up the radio or if she had just gone into her bedroom and shut the door, but she hadn't been able to get rid of the terrible picture: a conglomeration of gangly, drooling, pimply-faced boys breaking loose at the sound of a gun or the word "Go!" to come stumbling up to where she had been made to stand in line and wait to be chosen, with a freaking group of stoop-shouldered, stringy-haired Amazons. *When it comes time for you to start dating*—how she had hated hearing that. But she had hated just as much overhearing things like "Well, Ginger'd rather be out climbing with the boys than in here playing with dolls" or "She sure takes after her Dad" or "regular little Tomboy." Why couldn't they leave her alone? Why did they always have to be putting labels on her? She squeezed her eyes shut. What kind of label would they find to put on her now? When she breathed, the mattress seemed to press up

against her chest reminding her of the two little mounds—how she hated the word *breasts!*—that were becoming more and more a part of her. When her grandmother had first commented on them the year before, she had felt like finding a knife and cutting them off. For a long time she had hoped they would just go away—and sometimes she felt as if she had almost gotten her wish.

Why did it all have to be so *awful*? Everything seemed to make it so complicated and crazy—like the books. Where RaeLynn had got them, she really didn't know, but she wished she had never seen them. And what was more she wished she had never even heard of Mary Louise's cousin or even Mary Louise herself for that matter. She wanted to erase every word or drawing she had ever seen scrawled on the sidewalk or on the lavatory walls or traced by someone's finger on the side of a dirty car. Sometimes she wished that she had been born blind and deaf. Helen Keller's afflictions had always been more than her own mind could even cope with, yet she was beginning to feel that there was something wonderful about not having to see everything that people tried to thrust upon you. But she knew that it would be just her luck that somebody would come along and draw dirty pictures on the palm of her hand.

The thing that was hard for her to figure out was how long it had been going on. In some ways it seemed as if it all happened more or less within the week of her fifteenth birthday, as if she had just looked one day and there it was like some big ugly undulating blob breathing suddenly in the bottom of the aquarium tank that you passed every day. But sometimes it was more as if it wasn't really just the big slithery blob alone but was even all the little fish darting through the seaweed, first showing one side and then the other, flashing here, then flashing there, disappearing totally, then darting out from a piece of coral only to hide and disappear again—fish that had been there all along, that she had seen out of the corner of her eye yet never really examined. It was a little bit like finding out about Santa Claus. When the realization finally stunned you and didn't go away, you remembered all the little things you had been hearing from kids at school but neatly rejecting and forgetting, year after year, because

they didn't fit in with what you wanted to believe. Once, long ago, when she had had her tonsils taken out and had been given gas, she had thought she heard people laughing, witch-like, just before she was sucked, whirling, down into some endless black funnel. She felt like that now: tricked, betrayed, pulled down into some spiraling darkness while people shrieked and mocked her from all sides.

She wished there were a way of going back. *His body . . . rippled with shuddering as an electric current.* She wished she had never seen the words and thought about the pictures. *It's a D.H. Lawrence novel,* RaeLynn had whispered, signaling with her eyes as though the information should mean something. *He always writes about that.* But even the words on the page had not meant much to Ginger at first, and RaeLynn had laughed at her and explained what the vague description only suggested. There had been passages passed back and forth in school before—sometimes even a long graphic verse copied in pencil in the back of someone's notebook, and once a dog-eared photograph that Freddie Beckstrom had held up in front of her before he had run off laughing. She had heard RaeLynn and Mary Louise and all the others blurt out, "You creep!" or giggle and slap some boy on the back for something he had said, and she had heard them snicker off by themselves at things they'd read together. But something different had been happening ever since last spring. When RaeLynn read *The Virgin and the Gypsy* and told her about it, there had been no giggling. RaeLynn had cut her hair that same month and started using eyeshadow.

Why, your eyes are downright pretty. Ginger turned her face toward the wall and bit down on her curled fist. There could be no going back, but going forward seemed impossible too—not only uncomfortable, but impossible—at least for now. *If you'll just keep your hair fixed pretty and wear a nice dress.* She cringed. What did Grandma know about what was pretty and not pretty anymore? She had believed her about the eyes, though, but mainly because she had wanted to believe it—even though she had felt compelled to make a little grunt and slouch out of the room with her hands in the pockets of her Levi's. But when she closed the door to her room, she had stood in front of the mirror for a long time studying her gray-green eyes and their thick dark brows. She thought of the class picture she had brought home last March and dumped on her grandmother's lap by the parlor window. *Well, there you are,* Grandma had said, holding the wallet-sized photograph at arm's length and straining her head back to study it. *Well, there you are.* What was that supposed to mean? The comment about the eyes had probably been thrown in because Grandma realized how empty her first remark had been. But Ginger wanted to believe it anyway. There had never been a class picture she hadn't despised, and this one—with her hair growing out and her eyes betraying how awkward she felt in the dress she had talked herself into wearing—this one she had dreaded most.

It would all be so easy if she could just fit back into the clothes she had worn three years ago—even two years ago—and not only into the clothes but into the person

she had been. She still was that person, she felt, at least almost; it was just that things had been happening—crazy things—and they were still happening and no matter how she tried to go back in her mind there was always a clutter of things—words and pictures that she didn't like to think about—that wouldn't let her get through. *All drunk and his big hairy sweaty body on me.* It made her cringe to think of her father like that; something just seemed to shrivel up inside her, leaving her skin all cold and prickly. But she supposed it was true. *They just want what they can get; that's all they care about.* Maybe she should feel bad that it was her grandmother and not her mother who took care of her, but she didn't, and it was *this*, she realized, that made her feel bad. *I know it's none of my business—no, it isn't, it isn't any of your business and I don't want to hear anything about it—and I know your grandma means well and tries to do her best, but every girl really needs a mother, and I want you to know that I'd like to help you and if you ever feel like you want to talk—please, no, no talking, no nothing, just let me be me, let me be how I am and how I want to be. Please, please, please.* She pushed her face into the mattress, closing her eyes as tight as she could and grinding down on her back teeth. Why did everyone suddenly feel as if they had to help her? Ladies she hardly even knew were offering counsel and advice. What was wrong with letting her be what she wanted to be? She had been comfortable, even safe, in the old clothes—the Levi's, washed until they felt right, the cut-offs, the T-shirts and sweatshirts, the shoes with the thick soles. Everyone had just accepted it; that's how she was. Why did they want to upset that? She raised her head and tried breathing deeply into her fist, staring blurrily across the room at the *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* posters. *Robert Redford—and Paul Newman!* Big deal. She hadn't even thought of it like that, but trust RaeLynn. *So drunk he couldn't stand up and with his big hairy sweaty body.* She recoiled. Okay, so her father was like that, but Paul Newman too? *They're all alike; that's all any of them think about.* She thought of the barns and the dusty smell of hay and the hours spent climbing the rafters and shooting at each other from behind the bales. Rick and Louis and Arnie's big brother. Is that all they ever think about? Did they think about it then? Last spring she had mentioned to Mary Louise something about the summer she and Rickie had practically lived in his uncle's barn and Mary Louise had raised her eyebrows and poked her, snickering, "Well, Ginger, tell us all about it!" That's what was wrong with everything: you couldn't say anything anymore because everything meant something else. Why couldn't she have just gone on her own way, the way it used to be before it got so complicated? She lay her cheek back against the bedspread, knowing the answer even as she asked the question. *Hey, you'd look really neat if you'd let your hair grow real long and . . .* Last year it was true that she really didn't want to go with a boy or go to a dance or anything like that. She really didn't. And the way she felt right now she wasn't sure if she would ever want to. The changing was just too hard. *Hey, you guys, look who's got on a dress—and lipstick!* It was just too hard, too humiliating, and not worth it at all. Twice last year she had tried, in her way, but both times had been



horrible and she had nearly died before three-thirty came. It was just too hard to try to do. That's what had been nice—at first—about Mary Louise's cousin from Modesto, California. *There'll be plenty of tall boys that'll just be looking for a tall girl like you.* Maybe it was because he was not only tall but seventeen and from somewhere else and didn't know anything about her or anybody at all in the whole town of Tremonton except for Mary Louise and her family—maybe it was because of this that he treated her like anybody else, like a person. *Hey, you're all right, Gingerbread.* A soft sock on the upper arm. No one had called her Gingerbread since grade school and she had hated it then. She wasn't sure why she didn't hate it now but it was probably because she had grown to despise all her other names. For some reason she hadn't called him anything—not Bernard certainly, and not even Bernie or Buff—nothing except simply Mary Louise's cousin, and that was only when he wasn't around. *You're easy to talk to, d'ya know that?* Another soft sock. There had never been anything like it. Not that there hadn't been other boys besides Rick and Arnie and his brother who treated her just like another one of the guys in the gang or the boys in her class who looked on her as some kind of freak or even the Whitney boys who came up from Albuquerque nearly every summer to visit

their grandparents. They had been okay, and one of them even sent her a Christmas card when she was in the seventh grade; and her own cousin Leon from Duchesne was a pretty close buddy whenever *they* were in town. But now with Buff it had been something different. He was a pal, yes—but even during the first part of the two weeks he had been here, she had known that he was something more.

She thought of his name—Buff—and wished again that it wouldn't always have to be that way. "They were swimming in the buff—not a stitch on either one of them," she had heard a lady say once about Carolee Jeppson and some truck driver from Tooele that she'd been caught with out at The Willows; and now, no matter how she tried, she couldn't help the pictures that kept coming to her mind whenever she heard the word *buff*. She didn't like it whenever he talked about Modesto, California, either. The name always made her picture the big pink boxes of Modess next to the Tampax and Kotex in the back of the drugstore and the humiliation of having anyone see you even near those counters. But it was her own names that made her the most uncomfortable of all. She had been Ginny until the first grade, then mostly Virginia, except for Uncle Harold and Aunt Galia who had always called her Ginger. But everything had begun

to change during the seventh grade; and by the fall of the eighth grade she was signing everything Ginger and praying that everyone would forget her real name and how it sounded like *virgin*. And why, she had asked herself a hundred times, couldn't her last name have been anything but Peterson? Well, not *anything*. She had heard her mother mention once or twice a friend that had been stuck with the horrible name of Arvilla Sexsmith, and more than once Ginger had experienced a little tug of pain in thinking about this person she had never known, wondering how her childhood had been and how she had ever endured growing up. She hoped if the lady was still alive and had not committed suicide before she was fifteen, that she had long been married to someone with a completely harmless last name like Jones or something like that. In fact, she had long ago decided that this was marriage's only redeeming feature: it gave a girl a chance to legally bury her last name if she simply hated it to death.

The names were bad enough, but there was something terribly unjust, something close to treason, about what had happened to the little songs she had sung as a child. Couldn't they leave anything alone? She had heard one rock group singing about Winnie the Pooh and Christopher Robin and several times on the radio she had heard Carly Simon and James Taylor belting out disrespectfully the words she had once loved to hear—"And if that mockingbird don't sing, Daddy's gonna buy me a diamond ring." But what bothered her most of all was that the words to perfectly innocent songs now had uncomfortable feelings attached to them in a way they never had before. Sometimes at night, even when her mother was living with them, her grandmother had often put her to bed and sung to her, "I gave my love a cherry." Now whenever she thought of the line, "I gave my love a baby," it always spoiled the song for her and she wondered if her grandmother had in any way been aware of what she was singing all those years. RaeLynn had an album by Melanie and one of the songs went, "You can put your bread in my oven, any old time you want." Every time she heard a song anymore, she found herself listening to the words and trying to figure out what dirty joke was probably behind it all. It spoiled everything. Mary Louise had found an old 45 record of her mother's—"Lavender Blue," sung by a black—and although neither one of them had been able to find anything really dirty in it, something about the man's voice and what he did to the words made her feel that if she thought hard enough she'd probably find something there.

If there were a way of going back, she would take it so fast it would make your head spin. She lay the side of her face against the bed again, realizing that her head was spinning already. It was just too much to take all at once—too much, in fact, to take at all, ever. She longed to go back to the days when she had walked down the street in her sweatshirt and cut-offs and not looked at people and wondered what they did with each other. Wondering about her mother and father was always the hardest—*He'd come in the bedroom all drunk and think he could just throw his big hairy repulsive body on me*—and her grandparents were out of the question. No matter how

she thought about it, she was just sure *they* had never done *that*. But she didn't like to think about it. And yet it seemed as if RaeLynn couldn't think of anything else. How they had ever become friends in the ninth grade was beyond her imagination now—she hating every day because she couldn't stay twelve, and RaeLynn hating every day because she wasn't sixteen. Maybe RaeLynn liked her because Rick and Louis weren't afraid to hang around her and because RaeLynn thought Rick was the greatest thing in the world now that he had grown almost a foot in a year and started combing his hair that new way. And maybe, she decided, it was also because RaeLynn felt that hanging around with tall, lanky, unshapely Ginger made her look all the more gorgeous and petite. She didn't like to think about it, but she was afraid it was true. And thinking about it made her want, more than anything, to let RaeLynn know at least part of what had happened with Mary Louise's cousin behind Four Corners on Saturday night, yet she knew that she could never tell anyone—not even Mary Louise.

It's called The Virgin and the Gypsy. We seen the movie at a drive-in up in Idaho and I just loved it. That's why I'm reading it.

What's it about?

Wouldn't YOU like to know? Giggie. It's all about this girl in England who's got all these problems and her life is really dumb and then there's a big flood and she ends up spending the night with this real neat guy who's a gypsy and it changes her whole life and everything. The ending of the movie is real neat because it shows her getting out of bed the next morning and walking outside and finding everything really changed and all of her problems. . . .

It seemed impossible. He'd come home in the middle of the night and think he could just force his big sweaty repulsive body. . . . Impossible, impossible, impossible. You couldn't pay me to get married again, she had overheard her mother say. They're all alike; that's all any of them ever thinks about.

Little pitchers have big ears, Marva.

Well, that's the way I feel anyway. And don't worry about her—she'll learn soon enough what it's like. In some ways, she felt as if she had always known; in other ways, it was as if all the years of playing cops and robbers and climbing in the rafters of the barn had been done inside some gigantic silver-green bubble, and then one day, almost without warning, there had been a loud crash, a jolt, and when she had opened her eyes, everything around her was shriveling and turning dark, the color of a bad bruise.

A soft sock on the arm. Hey, what do you guys do around here for excitement?

Anything. Everything. What do you want to do?

Everything? Do you really mean that? I bet I know something you don't do.

Like what?

Like a lot of things.

Like what?

Do you want to find out?

Depends on what it is.

Like—A soft sock on the brain. No, not soft, not very soft at all, but hard, like a jolt. She couldn't remember what he had said or how he had said it, but she remembered the jolt and how the world had tipped and she had

suddenly understood what he had said. She hadn't seen him for three days, had even gone out of her way to avoid him, to turn a corner when she saw him come, or slip out the back door when he whistled for her out by the front gate.

It's not as good as the movie, but read the part about the electric shock or whatever it is. It's probably like kissing a boy only about a billion times neater. Ginger, I bet you haven't ever even kissed a boy—have you? Kissed a boy, haven't even kissed a boy. C'mon now, Gingerbread, you can do better than that. Just relax and open your mouth a little. Haven't even kissed a boy—smelling like beer and pushing his big rough whiskery face down into my neck and trying to—A billion times neater and changed her whole life at least a billion times neater and everything was changed and a billion times—forcing his hot breath and his big repulsive body—if only there were a way of going back—his body . . . rippled with shuddering as an electric current—if only there were a way—his body, wrapped around her—if only there were a way, some way, any way, back, back, back, beyond the rising flesh, the undulating arms and legs that appeared and reappeared no matter how you tried to shut them out.

You're shaking.

I can't help it.

Are you backing out?

Back out, back out. N-no. Back out. Just cold, I guess.

It's not that cold. Are you afraid somebody'll see us?

The flashing neon lights from the cafe had kept sending slivers of blue-colored light in zig-zags across the shattered back window of the car, and the steady clinking of dishes from the back of the cafe had fallen into the summer-night shadows like crushed ice.

You won't back out, will you?

A billion times neater. No. I'll be there.

Darn it, I wish we had us a car. But I think this'll work. Just trust me—okay?

You can't ever trust them a billion times and that's all they want anyway a billion times and everything was changed a billion times. *Okay. But how come Four Corners?*

I don't know. Got any better ideas? You know this town better than I do. Do you want me to come by for you?

No. I'll just meet you there, I guess.

Okay. But by the old car, remember? It's out behind, you'll see it.

The upholstery had been cracked and where the stuffing was coming out it had smelled musty, reminding her of the mattress with the big yellow stains on it that the Whitneys kept by the fruit shelves in their garage.

You're shaking.

She had not been able to stop the trembling, and when she felt his hand slide up under her striped pull-over shirt, it had grown worse. Above the faraway sound of the juke box and the clattering of dishes she had become aware of the fan's constant whirring in the kitchen window, and the whirring had gradually transferred itself to a place inside her head.

Are you afraid somebody'll see us?

She had been afraid of more than that. The seeing, yes, but more. Afraid that when RaeLynn saw her she would immediately know. Mary Louise, her grand-

mother, Rick and Louis, the lady who worked in the school lunch room, even total strangers she might pass on the street—wouldn't they all be able to see, wouldn't they *know* that everything had changed, that she was no longer the same person who climbed in barns and shot at birds with flippers, that she was not even the girl who had suffered wearing dresses in the ninth grade, not even the same girl who had sat on the big bronze bear in front of the high school with Mary Louise's cousin not more than a week before? Would they think of her name and look at her in some funny way, knowing that now it was no longer anything but a name?

Let's take this off, he had whispered, his lips brushing her earlobe and slipping down onto her neck.

A billion times, a billion times. *Repulsive. So drunk he couldn't stand up and trying to force his big hairy sweaty body on me . . .* She had shut her eyes tight and clenched her fists, hearing the faraway whirring of the fan from the cafe and the terrifying whirring in her head, yet telling herself that, no matter what happened, she had to know.

What's the matter? Are you chickening out?

She hadn't looked back. The handle of the door had come off in her hand and she had bumped the top of her head trying to get out, but she had not looked back once even though she imagined him climbing out after her and sprinting along behind her past the cafe and the parked cars and the man who yelled, "Where the hell *you* off to, girl?" But he hadn't followed her. She could imagine him standing outside the car, looking puzzled as she crossed the road and ran off into the dark toward the lights of town, but she wasn't sure, for she had never looked back. And the next day had been Sunday, the last day of summer vacation, and Buff Collins had gone home to Modesto.

She could feel the tears coming back and she pressed her tight fists against her eyelids, then bit down on one of her knuckles. One summer she had scraped her stomach badly on a bale of hay and had acted very brave about it until Arnie's mother put merthiolate on it and it had made her cry out and caused her eyes to get all watery right in front of Louis and Arnie's big brother. Everything was crazy now. Nothing was certain, except that she would never tell Mary Louise or RaeLynn or anyone else about what had happened Saturday night. If she had been quite sure all day Saturday that she didn't want them to know, she was even more sure now, because the truth of the matter was, *nothing* had happened.

She dried her eyes for what she hoped was the last time and scooted herself toward the edge of the bed. There was no going back, that was another thing she felt quite sure of—that and the fact that the world was probably going to go on being as mixed up and crazy as ever. It was true that she hadn't found out what she had felt she had to know, but at least she hadn't proven that it was all a hoax, that nothing really changed at all, that it was all nothing more than a big, ugly, repulsive, dirty joke. And, for the time being, she would hang on to that.

Editors' Note

This is the third-place story in Sunstone's 1981 Fiction Contest.

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Openness to the true, the beautiful,

EMBRACING TH

thirteenth

Davis Bitton

As a child I learned the Articles of Faith and even then found particularly appealing the thirteenth. I probably didn't understand it very deeply; in fact, even now there are certain phrases in it whose meaning is not entirely clear to me. Some of its words trip rather easily over the tongue and probably deserve much more attention than we usually give them. What does it mean, for example, to be "honest?" And "benevolent"—isn't that a concept that should be worked into our character much more than it usually is? But I think I did understand that this article of faith meant a general attitude of openness, a receptivity to anything good and true and beautiful. Not until much later did I discover that Joseph Smith (or Orson Pratt) derived much of this phraseology from Paul's epistle to the Philippians. "Finally, brethren," Paul wrote, "whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things." This was the same Paul who earlier in the same epistle prayed that the Philippian Saints would "approve things that are excellent." And elsewhere, as you know, he urged his readers to "prove all things"—meaning test all things—"and hold fast to that which is good." This openness to the good, the true, the beautiful, and all things excellent I take to be the spirit of our thirteenth article of faith.

Consistent with this basic attitude, both Joseph Smith and Brigham Young expressed the idea that Mormonism encompassed all truth. The *Journal of Discourses* contains at least a dozen such statements from Brigham Young. Here is an example:

"Mormonism," or, in other words, the Gospel of salvation, embraces the whole. It incorporates every true principle there is in heaven and on earth. If a person learns a truth, he learns so much of the Gospel of salvation. [7:239]

There are similar statements from George Q. Cannon, John Taylor, and other leaders, who obviously were not lacking in confidence.

Henry Eyring, our eminent Mormon scientist, tells the story of his departure for college. His father gave him the following words of advice: "Just remember this, son, the Lord doesn't expect you to believe anything that isn't so." Dr. Eyring has said that that advice served him very well over the years. It means, I take it, that anything untrue does not have to be accepted as part of the gospel. And perhaps implicit in the fatherly advice is the idea

that anything that is true can and should be accepted as part of the gospel.

When I was a young student at Brigham Young University, I had the good fortune to be taught by teachers whose Christian character I could admire and who seemed to have reconciled commitment to the gospel with professional competence and a receptivity to truth and beauty on all sides. One of these teachers, a somewhat gruff but beloved character, was Parley A. Christensen, usually known affectionately as P.A. It was P.A. who taught me Milton and Matthew Arnold. As a student I picked up some of his attitude toward life and education. Later he applied Matthew Arnold's terminology to the Latter-day Saints in an essay written for the *Millennial Star* entitled "We Seek After These Things":

As "the glory of God is intelligence" so men can be saved only as they use their intelligence in gaining knowledge. To a people inspired by conceptions like these, religion is infinitely more than a legacy to be preserved; it is a marvelous destiny to be realized. It is not a look backward, but a look forward—Godward.

Latter-day Saints have in their religion then food for a divine discontent, and, in general, they have partaken of it. . . . Some perhaps lack that resiliency of mind and ardency of quest which spell eternal progress. In a few there sometimes appears that old, creeping rigidity of thought and feeling, that eagerness for certainties and finalities which would close doors against freely inquiring minds. But the majority of "saints" at home and abroad remain, in spirit, seekers for "whatever is virtuous or lovely or of good report or praiseworthy." Mormonism to them, like Arnold's culture, is "not a having and a resting but a growing and a becoming." It too, would possess the best that is known and thought and felt in the world, and it too would have that best prevail in the minds and hearts of men everywhere.

The spirit of openness represented in the thirteenth Article of Faith was still alive and well in P.A. Christensen.

What, then, is the problem? For we do in fact have a problem in translating lofty statements of principle into our individual and group lives. It is much easier to proclaim a willingness to accept truth from all sources than it is to make this willingness manifest in specific instances. The problems are manifold and require thorough discussion. There are things we can learn from the confrontation of religions and philosophies in several different historical contexts. One of the most illuminating for our purposes was the rites controversy, which occurred when Jesuit missionaries in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries attempted to accommodate their

and the excellent is the spirit of our

THE WHOLE TRUTH

Article of Faith.

message to the language and culture of the Chinese. How do you communicate with people of other cultures, or your own culture? How do you show a willingness to transpose your truths into their keys without losing the harmonies and overtones that make up the genius of the message you proclaim? Similarly, how do you take in something good and true from another setting when it doesn't fit readily into the whole, the *Gestalt*, of your own truth-system; the particular place in which that tile might be placed may already be filled. It is, after all, not really a question of sorting potatoes by throwing out the bad ones and keeping the good ones. We have to do with systems, cultures, whole complexes, the parts of which are interrelated. This is not the kind of challenge to be solved by uttering truisms.

One of B.H. Roberts' favorite statements was the following: "Unity in essentials; liberty in non-essentials; charity in all." I like that too. It is in essentials that we should agree. Since first coming across that statement in the writings of B.H. Roberts many years ago, I have learned more about it. As a student of the Reformation, I have learned that it was apparently written in the sixteenth century, when it tellingly expressed the point of view of various moderates and irenicists, the Erasmians, who were trying to avoid religious war and further schism by relegating some questions to the area of *adiaphora* (meaning things indifferent, or non-essentials) on which believing Christians could safely disagree without danger to their fundamental unity. Although these heroic peacemakers enjoyed some small successes, sooner or later they came to grief on the rocks of an uncomfortable discovery: people could not agree on what was essential and what was non-essential. In case you consider this as something remote from us, may I remind you that B.H. Roberts himself came to discover on more than one occasion that something he considered non-essential was not so considered by others. Yet how can such a distinction be avoided if we are to relate to other cultures, to new truths that appear on the horizon, indeed to our brothers and sisters within the fold? We should not consign one another to outer darkness over such questions as how many candle-power or kilowatts of glory are generated in the different levels of the terrestrial kingdom.

It is time to return to the Apostle Paul. In the same epistle to the Philippians containing the passage that inspired the thirteenth Article of Faith, we are reminded of another set of values in counterbalance, if not in tension, with those of openness to anything excellent and praiseworthy. For Paul, let us remember, did have con-

victions. He preached Christ boldly, without apology. He was not a sponge soaking up anything that happened to be in the environment. He was proclaiming the good news he had discovered and wanted the Saints at Philippi and elsewhere to do the same. And he wanted them to be unified: "Fulfil ye my joy, that ye be likeminded, having the same love, being of one accord, of one mind." Now it might be argued that these dual objectives—unity within the fold and a confident proclamation to those on the outside—are inconsistent with any real generosity, tolerance, or receptiveness to the perspectives and insights of those coming from other settings. I would be the first to recognize that narrowness and self-satisfaction might be among the perils of any believing people, former-day or latter-day. But I am comforted to discover that Paul, at least, could urge his followers to hold fast to the truth while at the same time testing "all things" and approving "things that are excellent." We must be able to attain some kind of salutary balance that will enable us to be neither obnoxious dogmatists, sure that we have all the answers, nor spineless blobs of protoplasm, giving in to anything, always agreeing with what anyone says. Paul is not a bad model.

This is what we need—models. Our young people, all of us, need more leaders who exemplify breadth of interest, competence, and the capacity to make all-important distinctions, to separate the wheat from the chaff. We need minds and spirits that do not claim to have arrived but instead are engaged in an eternal quest, a dynamic, never-ending process of growth and expanding horizons. We can be grateful for a founding prophet who proclaimed a willingness to accept all that God has revealed, all that he does now reveal, and all that he will yet reveal. We can be grateful for those Latter-day Saints (and there are some) who even now show by their lives what it means to be humane and benevolent and growing in a knowledge and appreciation. And perhaps it is not inappropriate to express special thanks for B.H. Roberts, that valiant soul who for the seventy years of his own allotted span exemplified courage and commitment and a willingness to reassess, to push back his own frontiers, and to incorporate into his understanding the true and beautiful wherever he found them.



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A non-Mormon scholar links the mystical tradition and the Mormon belief

I had learned to call thee Father, Through thy Spirit from
on high;
But until the key of knowledge Was restored, I knew not
why.
In the heavens are parents single? No; the thought makes
reason stare!
Truth is reason, truth eternal Tells me I've a mother there.
When I leave this frail existence, When I lay this mortal
by,
Father, Mother, may I meet you In your royal courts on
high?
Then, at length, when I've completed All you sent me
forth to do,
With your mutual approbation Let me come and dwell
with you.¹

So wrote Eliza R. Snow, governess in the family of Joseph Smith and plural wife of the Prophet, roughly a year before his death in 1844. Set to music, the poem has come to rank among the most popular of Mormon hymns,² and most Latter-day Saints would agree with the assessment of J. Spencer Cornwall that Snow caught “the glorified vision of her prophet-teacher” and her poem was “not merely a hymn, but a prophecy and a revelation.”³

Indeed, direct affirmations of the Father-Mother God were part of the Mormon tradition during the nineteenth century and continue into the twentieth. In 1885 Erastus Snow, one of the Council of the Twelve, observed that

when it is said that God created our first parents in His likeness—“in the image of God created He him; male and female created He them”—it is intimated in language sufficiently plain to my understanding that the male and female principle was present with the Gods as it is with man.⁴

And in the opening decade of the new century, the First Presidency of the Church under Joseph F. Smith declared that “man, as a spirit, was begotten and born of *heavenly parents*,” that human beings were the “offspring of *celestial parentage*,” and that “all men and women are in the similitude of the *universal Father and Mother* and are literally the sons and daughters of Deity.”⁵

Nor, after that, did the official declarations cease. At the San Francisco Congress of Religious Philosophies held in 1915, James E. Talmage, Apostle and authority on Mormon doctrine, avowed that humans were “literally the sons and daughters of Divine Parents, the spiritual progeny of God, our Eternal Father, and of our God Mother.”⁶ And Melvin J. Ballard, also a member of the Quorum of the Twelve, spoke clearly:

No matter to what heights God has attained or may attain, he does not stand alone; for side by side with him, in all her glory, a glory like unto his, stands a companion, the Mother of his children. For as we have a Father in heaven, so also we have a Mother there, a glorified, exalted, ennobled Mother. . . . Motherhood is eternal with Godhood, and there is no such thing as eternal or endless life without the eternal and endless continuation of motherhood.⁷

Mormonism and the Male-Female God: An Exploration in Active Mysticism

Catherine L. Albanese

One great symbol of completion has been the sexual union of male and female fused mysteriously into one.

So the teaching of the Father-Mother God has surely been articulated at the highest levels of the Mormon church. But even if such open references were missing from the tradition, the doctrine could be inferred logically from other Mormon beliefs—something already apparent to Eliza R. Snow in her poem and Erastus Snow in his discourse. In fact, a contemporary doctrinal authority, Apostle Bruce R. McConkie, begins his discussion of the “Mother in Heaven” by pointing to the idea as implicit in the Christian message of the Fatherhood of God.⁸ Mormonism, with its literal understanding of the scripture, can do no other but follow out the implications of acknowledging a Father God to end with a divine Mother: the divine being could not parent people without the maleness and femaleness necessary to the enterprise.⁹ For if God is matter as well as spirit, as Mormonism teaches, then God must possess the qualities necessary for material creation.

a Father and Mother God.



Mormon mysticism does not stand back and criticize the world in classic mystical style but tends to support it.

Beyond that, in the doctrine of celestial marriage, or marriage for time and eternity, the Father-Mother God becomes the eternal and perfect duality toward which men and women must aspire. In the *Doctrine and Covenants*, Joseph Smith wrote of the necessity for such mutual sealing in marriage—and its ultimate result:

Then shall they be Gods, because they have no end; therefore shall they be from everlasting to everlasting, because they continue; then shall they be above all, because all things are subject unto them. Then shall they be Gods, because they have all power, and the angels are subject unto them.¹⁰

And in our own day, Bruce McConkie tells us that, for Mormons, the importance of celestial marriage “cannot be overestimated.”

The most important things that any member of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints ever does in

this world are: 1. To marry the right person, in the right place, by the right authority; and 2. To keep the covenant made in connection with this holy and perfect order of matrimony.¹¹

Why, we may ask—apart from the canon of Mormon revelation—is there such necessity attached to marriage for the celestial kingdom? Why should a Mormon’s future exaltation be linked to what seems to others to be simply a convenient social arrangement? From the point of view of religious logic, the answer lies in the doctrine of the Father-Mother God, as the original revelation by Joseph Smith already hinted. If the Godhead is a Father-Mother deity, a duality of male and female, then it follows that to be as Gods, men and women must marry. Celestial marriage provides completion because it will render them, like God, into a two-in-one. Reflecting the divine state of things, celestial marriage puts human beings on the path to their own deification. Although in a completely different context, the Book of Mormon intimates the same:

Wherefore, all things must needs be a compound in one; wherefore, if it would be one body it must needs remain as dead, having no life neither death, nor corruption nor incorruption, happiness nor misery, neither sense nor insensibility.¹²

What are we to make of such a seemingly anomalous belief at the heart of a patriarchal religion such as Mormonism? What insights can it give us about the Latter-day Saints? It seems to me that in answering these questions, we need to see the past in its own terms and—just as important—in religious terms. In what follows, therefore, I will try to do both, using a comparative approach as a way to reach these goals. Placing the theology of the Father-Mother God in comparative perspective will, I think, help us better to locate and understand it.

In the nineteenth century Mormons were not alone in their affirmation of a male-female God. The divine duality was a belief espoused by a number of non-traditional contemporary religious communities, among them the Shakers. In the year 1808, in *The Testimony of Christ’s Second Appearing*, an earlier Shaker doctrine of the dual Godhead of the Father and Holy Mother Wisdom was being explained and expanded.¹³ And in 1813, the opening hymn in *Millennial Praises* reminds us of the poem of Eliza R. Snow.

Long ere this fleeting world began
Or dust was fashion’d into man,
There *Power* and *Wisdom* we can view,
Names of the *Everlasting Two*.
The Father’s high eternal throne
Was never fill’d by one alone;
There *Wisdom* holds the Mother’s seat
And is the Father’s helper-meet.¹⁴

Even before the Shakers, however, the German Johann Conrad Beissel, who founded the semi-monastic, communal community of Ephrata in Pennsylvania in 1735, had told the members of his community that it was “the very foundation of your vows of celibacy that man

was first a spirit containing both the elements of man and woman; that this spiritual virgin, the Sophia, left him."¹⁵ Later, after 1804 another German community which settled in Pennsylvania—the Rappites or Harmonists—also avowed the dual God in its teaching of the original, dual Adam, made in the image and likeness of God and therefore containing both male and female sexual elements.¹⁶ And John Humphrey Noyes, founder of the Oneida Community of Perfectionists, published *The Berean* in 1847 with a chapter on "The Divine Nature: showing that God is dual, and that man, as male and female, is made in the image of God."¹⁷

Outside of these religious communes, belief in the male-female God was also present. In a well-known example, the celebrated Transcendentalist and maverick Unitarian minister Theodore Parker frequently prayed before his congregation to the divine Father-Mother. In sermons, he could on occasion be quite tender in his contemplation of the heavenly Mother:

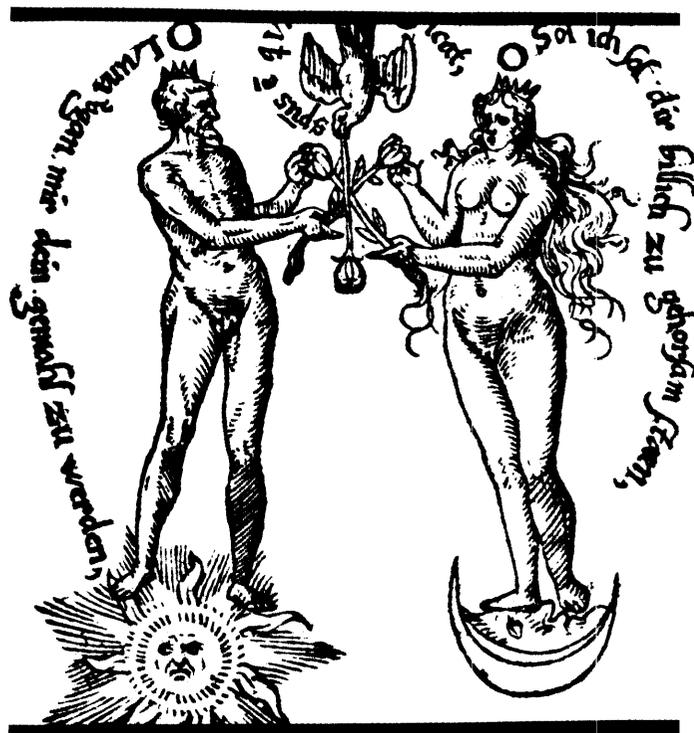
There is a Jacob's ladder for our young pilgrim, whereon he goes up from his earthly mother, who manages the little room he sleeps in, to the dear Heavenly Mother, who never slumbers nor sleeps, who is never careful and troubled about any thing, but yet cares continually for the great housekeeping of all the world, giving likewise to her beloved even in their sleep.¹⁸

Similarly, Mary Baker Eddy, the foundress of Christian Science, taught the existence of the Father-Mother God and understood her new religion as the revelation of God's Motherhood. In the third edition of her *Science and Health*, the book that ranks beside the Bible for Christian Scientists, Eddy in one chapter went so far as to refer to God with the feminine pronoun, *she*.¹⁹ "Father-Mother," Eddy wrote, "is the name for Deity, which indicates His tender relationship to His spiritual creation." And again, "Man and woman as coexistent and eternal with God forever reflect, in glorified quality, the infinite Father-Mother God."²⁰

We may ask here if the idea of the dual deity was something that arose uniquely out of the American experience or did the doctrine have a history preceding its life in the New World? The answer to this question, I believe, will shed significant light on the religious implications of the Mormon belief. There had been some religious people from very ancient times in both the East and West who saw the divinity as containing both male and female elements. The sacred androgyne—the combined male-female deity—was not unfamiliar in the history of religions. In India, the Hindu God Shiva had his divine consort, Shakti, the female energy that actively accompanied his passive intelligence. She was the creator, the divine Mother who, as the female representation of Brahman, the great All-Power, had given birth to the world.²¹ In China, the religion of Taoism taught that the Tao was the Mother and source of all things, a duality of male and female, of active and passive, of light and dark. "Being and nonbeing produce each other," wrote the sage Lao Tzu. "Difficult and easy complete each other."

There was something undifferentiated and yet complete,
Which existed before heaven and earth.

.....
It may be considered the mother of the universe.
I do not know its name; I call it Tao.²²



The development of the idea of the male-female God in the West, however, is the most useful for understanding the Mormon doctrine. Here, while the mainstream of the Judaeo-Christian tradition taught the Fatherhood of God without allusion to a female consort, the underside of Western religion—its mystical and metaphysical alternative—pondered the divine mystery by using male and female sexual language. In the ancient faith of the Gnostics, in the medieval Jewish teaching of the Kabbalah, and, as recently as the seventeenth cen-

Why should a Mormon's future exaltation be linked to what seems to others to be simply a convenient social arrangement?

ture, in the Protestant mysticism of Jacob Boehme, we find references to a dual God.

The Gnostic followers of the second-century Valentinus saw the Godhead as a pleroma, or fullness, composed of a series of male and female Aeons in fifteen sacred pairs. Among the fifteen, one pair dwelled as the ultimate source of the others: the almighty Father called Bythos, or Depth, unbegotten and perfect, and by his side Sige, or Silence, the eternal—and feminine.²³ The Gnostic world view of the sexuality of the Godhead appeared in a new form in the speculations of the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Kabbalists. In the *Zohar*, the most authoritative text in this tradition, we learn of the divine En Sof and the ten Sefiroth contained in the Godhead. En Sof was one, but he also revealed himself as two, with the male element as the seed of wisdom and the female element as its womb. For a Kabbalist,

"the source is one, and the current makes two." Still further, in an idea not unlike the teaching of Joseph Smith, "It behooves a man to be 'male and female,' always, so that his faith may remain stable, and in order that the Presence may never leave him."²⁴ Marriage, in such a belief system, was a religious necessity.

But it is in the Protestant mysticism of Jacob Boehme (1575-1624), the humble cobbler of Gorlitz, Germany, that we come closest to the source of the American belief. Boehme absorbed the various currents of the mystical and metaphysical tradition of the West, including its manifestations in such forms as astrology and medieval alchemy. And he wrote a series of influential works to explain his long-pondered views. It is from these writings, denounced by religious authorities in their day, that beliefs in the dual Godhead and a corresponding dual Adam were spread abroad in protestant Europe. In prose that was often difficult and even impenetrable, Boehme hammered out his teachings. In one intriguing passage, he spoke of the divine will and the role of the feminine element in creation.

Therefore that which is spoken forth before [or from] the Will, is a Virgin of Chastity, which . . . discovers herself in the Holy Ghost in *infinitum* [infinitely] in the Deep of the Wonders of the Omnipotence, and opens them; and she has the strong *Fiat* of God for an Instrument [to work with] whereby she creates, and did create all in the Beginning, and she discovers herself in all created Things, so that [by her] the Wonders of all Things are brought to the Day-light.²⁵

Adam, argued Boehme, was made in the image and likeness of God, because he had, originally, both seed and womb ("Limbus" and "Matrix") within himself. Adam, in fact, was "altogether perfect."²⁶

Given the difficulties of tracing the network of communication of Boehme's ideas, we do not know if they had a direct influence on much of the nineteenth-century

In America those who held to the male-female God were not found in silent contemplation but rather led busy and industrious lives.

American belief in a male-female deity. (Indeed, Boehme spoke of a Virgin and not a Mother.) Still, among the German groups his traces were present. George Rapp, the founder of the Rappites, was heir to many of Boehme's beliefs; and even further, in the 1820's inhabitants of Ephrata, Pennsylvania, probably descendants of the original founding members of the eighteenth-century communal group, published the writings of Boehme in the German language.²⁷ Moreover, the Shakers may have absorbed part of Boehme's theology because of their own origins on the fringes of an English Quakerism which had absorbed some of Boehme's followers.²⁸ The Protestant mystic was reputedly admired among the Transcendentalists and, no doubt, like-minded people.²⁹ Yet, whatever the realities of the dissemination of Jacob Boehme's thought, to look at the structure of Boehme's thought is to identify a mysticism with which

nineteenth-century American beliefs shared a family resemblance.

In the history of religions, mysticism refers to teachings or experiences of total union with God in which, traditionally, normal and everyday consciousness disappears.³⁰ For the classical mystic, the private self of the ego and the personality shaped by historical experience must disappear within the being of the divine. The goal of the mystic is a totality and completion in which he or she no longer lives as a separate human being, but God utterly engulfs the individual in eternal light and life. The mystic, in short, *becomes* God.

Most mystics say that the experience is one which cannot adequately be put into words; yet throughout history, despite the insistence of mystics on the value of silence, they have also *spoken*. And as they have described their experiences, they have conjured great symbols in order to explain their perceptions of the divine-human relationship. They have spoken, among other things, of the *coniunctio*—the erotic and sexual bond between soul and God. They have dwelled on the meaning of the *coincidentia oppositorum*, the coincidence, or bringing together, of opposites in the divine-human encounter. In this context, one great symbol of completion—the perfection of the union between God and the human seeker—has been the sexual union of male and female, fused mysteriously into one. Hence, it was an easy step for some to see in their relationship to God a union corresponding to the original and perfect union of the Godhead, the marriage therein of male and female elements to form the divine *coniunctio* and the ultimate *coincidentia oppositorum*. In short, the male-female God became one great sign of the All-in-All.

But if mysticism implied a belief system and an experience, it also implied a characteristic way of life. The mystic must so live as to replicate the union within the Godhead by the hoped-for union of the human soul and God. In many traditions, such a life typically meant withdrawal from the world and its allurements and attachments. It meant leaving family and friends, comfort and success, for a life of resolute seeking and deliberate practices designed to break the train of ordinary consciousness and prepare oneself for the coming of the divine. So mystics went apart from the cares and concerns of society: they dwelled in lonely, silent places where they could devote their total time and effort to awaiting the divine presence. Expectation and yet quiet, effort and yet inactivity—that was a traditional mystical way. Instead of the community of the human family, there was the transcendent community of unity with the All, the Power that moved the heavens and the world. In this unity with God, alienation and estrangement from the human community, mystics believed, would be overcome.

The birth of the modern West, however, saw mysticism take some interesting turns in which it grew more and more active, more and more aware of the possibilities of channeling divine energies to deal with events and aspirations in the world. The general direction of these changes was to foster a kind of mysticism which, instead of emphasizing the dissolution of self in God, fostered self-development and, to use a nineteenth-century word, self-culture. Individuals did not disappear in God

but flourished in the world as a result of the spiritual forces they had learned to control.

For instance, in the sixteenth century one strand in the left wing of the Reformation, the revolutionary Spirit mystics, thought of the presence of the divine Spirit or the inward Word of God as a goad to radical and, indeed, violent action. A person seized by the presence of God did not belong alone in a monastery but rather upon a horse with sword in hand (as in the case of Thomas Muentzer) bringing the righteousness of God to an often stubborn people.³¹ And in a no less radical example of the activist spirit, the Jesuit order, founded by Ignatius Loyola, a former Spanish soldier, expressed true union of the soul with God in a military style. To a Jesuit surrender of one's will to God meant obedience to his religious superiors who spoke for God. Because of this absolute obedience the Jesuits became an elite and invaluable army of a reformed papacy, going anywhere in the world and serving as missionaries, as educators, and even as advisors to kings and princes.³²

Closer to home, the various nineteenth-century American groups whom I have already mentioned combined various forms of mystical belief with lifestyles that were active and practical—that took more and more initiative out of the hands of God, so to speak, to place it in the hands of human beings. In nineteenth-century America, those who held to the male-female God were not usually found in silent contemplation but rather led busy and industrious lives. Shakers were known for their furniture, their clever gadgetry, their seeds and pharmaceutical plants. Their communities grew and prospered. Like them, the community of the German Rappites with its well-tilled and productive farmland occasioned the envy of its neighbors. Oneidans, too, with their steel traps and their silverware engaged in economic activity that was solidly successful; and the memoirs of members of the community indicate that Oneida was a place of joy and fulfillment on the human level with an orchestra and dances, plays and other entertainments, picnics and chess games, a centrally heated mansion house and a large library. Theodore Parker, the mystically inclined Transcendentalist, was also a fiery preacher and an activist who threw himself into the various social reform efforts of his day, especially the anti-slavery cause. Meanwhile, the followers of Mary Baker Eddy, though pursuing ordinary lives in the world, actively used their faith in the Father-Mother God for the practical purpose of healing their own and others' physical and emotional ills.³³

But this essay is not finally about Shakers, Rappites, Oneidans, Transcendentalists, or Christian Scientists. It is about Mormons and the relationship of the belief in the Father-Mother God to Mormon religious thought and life. The active mysticism that has characterized some groups in Europe and America since the sixteenth century gives us a clue to the direction of Mormon spirituality. It should be clear at this point that the Mormon doctrine of the Father-Mother God is similar to the belief of mystics of many ages in the West. It should also be clear to those familiar with the impact of Mormonism on American society that Mormons are not a people who withdraw from the public realm. They make their presence felt in business and in government, in agriculture

and in education. Their voice is heard in the political community, and their values of family life and physical health mark them as full-time members of society.

What I am suggesting, therefore, is that on the one hand Mormon doctrine is solidly rooted in the mystical tradition, but on the other it produces a strongly world-affirming way of life. The belief in the Father-Mother God is only one stone in the arch of a theology that includes such traditionally mystical beliefs as the preexistence of souls, spiritual marriage, an otherworldly progression of souls to greater glory, and the culminating experience and state of being "as Gods." At the same time, the form of Mormon mysticism, while it is most like the active mysticism of the other modern Western—and especially American—groups I have cited, is also different.

The sixteenth-century revolutionary Spirit mystics expressed their union with the divine in active and ardent zeal, but such action, by definition, was extraordinary—the absolute experience of God leading to an absolute moment of white heat in pursuit of God's kingdom. Initiated by a transcendent power, it could not be controlled; it was mysticism of radical protest against society, carried out by an elite. The Jesuits, while they learned to extend the absolute moment by creating an everyday way of life based on the discipline of total obedience, still retained the element of elitism. Theirs was a commitment for the few called out of every age, and even more, the few who, because of their vow of celibacy, could not easily perpetuate themselves.

In America, we encounter the practical mysticism that is closest to the Mormon understanding, but even here there are differences. The American groups who shared the belief in a dual God were, generally speaking, active and to a significant extent had "tamed" transcendent power to their human requirements. Yet across the board they were also typified either by elite and Utopian withdrawal from society—the case for the communal groups, the Shakers, the Rappites, and the Oneidans—or by considerable individualism—the case for Transcendentalists like Parker and for Christian Scientists. Thus, Shakers, Rappites, and Oneidans had a strong sense of corporate identity but, in their privileged rural retreats, an aloofness from their contemporary public world. Moreover, since two of the groups—the Shakers and the Rappites—were celibate, these communities, like the Jesuits, faced the problem of extinction without continual recruitment.³⁴ By contrast, Transcendentalists at times entered the public arena in the interest of social reform but were not generally successful at forming cohesive community because of their individualism. Indeed, they foreshadowed the difficulties of contemporary urban and industrial existence in which people have tended to lose touch with natural communities.³⁵ Christian Scientists continue to embody the individualistic lifestyle that

Some religions from very ancient times have seen the divinity as containing both male and female elements.

The male and female principle was present with the Gods as it is with man.



urban uprootedness has allotted to many; and the strength of both Christian Science and Transcendentalism is that they have given people ways to cope with necessity. Christian Scientists, too, have been relatively withdrawn from the public realm—individuals working in society and dealing with it, but not really “at home” with it or hopeful that as a corporate structure it could be reformed or improved.

However, precisely because of the distance they maintained, with the possible exception of the Christian Scientists, the other groups used their sense of alienation from society to mount various critiques of the social world and its organization. Mysticism meant for them—and even to some extent for Christian Scientists—a means of standing over against their culture. This stance is, I think, of considerable importance. Because of their withdrawal or individualism or both, these groups were able to raise their voices in radical criticism of various aspects of their times. They were, so to speak, a leaven in the mass.

Compared to the members of these groups, what distinguishes the Latter-day Saints is that they have, literally and more than the others, turned mysticism inside out. Instead of a denial of the self of the ego and the personality of historical experience, Mormonism accentuates both in the promise of future exaltation. Humans will not dissolve in God: they are to become *distinct* Gods themselves. In experience, the material world is not a place to be denied, for in Mormon theology it is sacred and ultimate. As a finite being, God is part of the realm of matter, a being of space and time. To be as Gods, therefore, means for Latter-day Saints to continue to value the world. At the same time, instead of a world-denying,

elite or individualistic spirituality—and with it an explicit or implicit criticism of the culture—the Latter-day Saints have made of mysticism an endorsement of society as it is and, conservatively, as they would like it to be. It is an endorsement, not just by the few, but by an entire people who bring to the public realm a strong sense of their collective identity and a sense of participation. At home in the world of matter, organized in a hierarchically-structured and authoritarian society, Mormons stress the importance of community.

If you will pardon the cliché, in their active mysticism Mormons have learned to have their cake and eat it, too. From the mystical world view they have taken a host of powerful symbols, typified in their affirmation of the Father-Mother God. These symbols do for them what they do for every group or individual in the history of religions who has genuinely encountered and entered them: they transform and energize; they provide a rationale and a power that reaches from beyond and transports people beyond their ordinary human capacities. At the same time, Mormons—like Jason stealing the golden fleece—have exploited the mystical tradition to live at the center of American society. Theirs is a mysticism that is in and of the world or, to put it another way, that does not stand back and criticize the world in classic mystical style but tends instead to support it. The Latter-day Saints are not just active and practical for otherworldly reasons, but with their theology of materialism, they have favored engagement and involvement in the public space as values in themselves. With this inverted form of mysticism, Mormons permeate the mainstream of American society and help to sustain its authority structures.

In conclusion, I would like to quote an earlier verse in the Eliza R. Snow poem and hymn with which I began:

For a wise and glorious purpose Thou hast placed me here on earth,
And withheld the recollection Of my former friends and birth.
Yet ofttimes a secret something Whispered, “You’re a stranger here:”

Reflecting the divine state of things, celestial marriage puts human beings on the path to their own deification.

And I felt that I had wandered From a more exalted sphere.³⁶

That feeling of estrangement described by Snow is, I think, the quintessential American problem that mysticism has tried to solve through a total embrace of the divine community. The alienation at the heart of the American experience goes a long way toward explaining the attraction of various mystical movements for many Americans throughout our history; and, at least partially, it even explains the impulse of radical criticism.

In its own appropriation of mysticism, however, Mormonism overcomes the sense of estrangement in the sacred story of the Father-Mother God and, at the same time, catapults the Latter-day “stranger” back to earth, back to time, and back to history. With the element of alienation and withdrawal gone, the critical element is also muted. In the end, to use the technical language of the history of religions, the Mormon religious style is one of priesthood more than prophecy. Instead of feeling like an alien far from home, a Mormon is someone comfortable—more than many Americans and too much for some—with the complex, modern organization of society. In short, the Father-Mother God has parented mystical offspring who may have final ambitions elsewhere. On the journey, however, the Mormon children of the Father-Mother God use the power of their dual deity to affirm the public space of America.

NOTES

*I wish to express my thanks to Professor Lawrence Foster for his helpful suggestions, to President Melvin E. Gourdin of the Dayton (Ohio) East Stake for lending me materials from his personal library, and to Mrs. Melvin E. (Diane) Gourdin and Miss Lillian Stahl, Librarian of the Dayton East Stake, for their assistance in locating materials, their generosity with their books, and their general discussions with me.

1. Eliza R. Snow, “O My Father,” in *Hymns: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, enl. ed. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Company, 1973), nos. 138, 139.

2. J. Spencer Cornwall, *Stories of Our Mormon Hymns*, enl. ed. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Company, 1971), pp. 144, 146.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 147, 145.

4. Erastus Snow, “Discourse by Apostle Erastus Snow,” in John Taylor et al., *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (1854-86; reprint ed., Salt Lake City, Utah: Stationers’ Hall, 1956), 26:214.

5. Joseph Fielding Smith, *Man: His Origin and Destiny*, quoted in Bruce R. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, 2d ed. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft, 1966), p. 516. Emphasis in McCorkie.

6. James E. Talmage, quoted in Thomas F. O’Dea, *The Mormons* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 127.

7. Melvin J. Ballard, quoted in Rodney Turner, *Woman and the Priesthood* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Company, 1972), p. 3.

8. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, p. 516.

9. Rodney Turner writes, “The physical being of man testifies to the physical being of God. . . . The pronoun, he, would be logically meaningless (having no reference in fact) were there not some appropriate counterpart to God which established his he-ness—that something is termed she” (Turner, *Woman and the Priesthood*, p. 3). (Emphasis Turner’s.) See also McCorkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, pp. 278, 516-17.

10. Joseph Smith, *The Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (1880; reprint ed., Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1971), 132:20.

11. McCorkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, p. 118.

12. *The Book of Mormon*, 2 Nephi 2:11. The citation was pointed out to me by Professor Adele B. McCollum in her paper, “The Continuities in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,” presented to the Eastern Metropolitan Region of the American Academy of Religion in April of 1976.

13. [Benjamin S. Young], *The Testimony of Christ’s Second Appearing* (Lebanon, Ohio: Press of John M’Clean, 1808). See Edward Deming Andrews, *The People Called Shakers*, enl. ed. (New York: Dover Publications, 1963), pp. 96-97.

14. Quoted in Andrews, *The People Called Shakers*, p. 158. Emphasis in Andrews.

15. Quoted *ibid.*, pp. 325-26, n. 225.

16. See Hilda Adam Krings, *The Harmonists: A Folk-Cultural Approach*, American Theological Library Association Monograph Series, no. 3 (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1973), p. 12. Except for a brief period in Indiana (1814-1825), the Harmonists lived in Pennsylvania from 1804 until 1905, when their society was dissolved.

17. John Humphrey Noyes, *Strange Cults and Utopias of Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Dover Publications, 1966), pp. 616, 618. *Strange Cults and Utopias* was originally published in 1870 under the title *History of American Socialisms* by J. B. Lippincott of Philadelphia. Noyes’s

book is a good introduction to the nineteenth-century communities discussed above. For another useful treatment, which includes an account of Ephrata, see Mark Holloway, *Heavens on Earth: Utopian Communities in America, 1680-1880*, 2d ed. (New York: Dover Publications, 1966).

18. Theodore Parker, “The Soul’s Normal Delight in God” (1858), in Theodore Parker, *Works*, centenary ed., 15 vols. (Boston: American Unitarian Association, 1907-11), 6:175.

19. For a useful discussion, on which my own is based, see Stephen Gottschalk, *The Emergence of Christian Science in American Religious Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), pp. 52-53. Eddy dropped the feminine pronoun for God in the next edition of her book.

20. Mary Baker Eddy, *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures* (Boston: Trustees under the Will of Mary Baker G. Eddy, [1910], pp. 332, 516.) The first edition of *Science and Health* was published in 1875. By 1891, the book was being published in its fiftieth edition, and Eddy continued to revise it until her death in 1910.

21. See Thomas J. Hopkins, *The Hindu Religious Tradition* (Encino, Calif.: Dickenson Publishing, 1971), pp. 126-27.

22. Lao Tzu, *Tao-te ching*, in Wing-tsit Chan et al., eds., *The Great Asian Religions: An Anthology* (New York: Macmillan, 1969), pp. 151, 153.

23. See J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines*, 2d ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1960), p. 23. The best discussion of the male-female God in Gnosticism is to be found in Elaine Pagels, *The Gnostic Gospels* (New York: Random House, 1979), pp. 48-69. Surviving Gnostic texts are now readily available in James M. Robinson, ed., *The Nag Hammadi Library: In English* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977).

24. Gershom G. Scholem, ed., *Zohar: The Book of Splendor* (New York: Schocken Books, 1963), pp. 79, 34. For the classic discussion of the *Zohar* and the theosophic doctrine of the Kabbalah, see Gershom G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, 3d rev. ed. (New York: Schocken Books, 1961), pp. 156-243.

25. Jacob Boehme, *The Three Principles of the Divine Essence*, in *The Works of Jacob Behmen*, trans. G. Ward and T. Langcake, 4 vols. (London: M. Richardson, 1764-81), 1:171 (18:22). Brackets in the translation.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 68 (10:18). For a readily available discussion of the life and works of Jacob Boehme, see the introduction by Peter Erb in Jacob Boehme, *The Way to Christ*, trans. Peter Erb, *The Classics of Western Spirituality* (New York: Paulist Press 1978), pp. 1-24.

27. A search for books written by Boehme, published in the United States from the seventeenth through the early nineteenth centuries, has located three German-language entries, one in 1811-1812, another in 1822, and a third in 1824, all at Ephrata. See Ralph R. Shaw and Richard H. Shoemaker, *American Bibliography: A Preliminary Checklist for 1811* (New York: Scarecrow Press, 1962), pp. 35-36; Richard A. Shoemaker, *A Checklist for American Imprints for 1822* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1967), p. 31; Richard A. Shoemaker, *A Checklist for American Imprints for 1824* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1969), pp. 37-38. The 1822 and 1824 productions were a first and second volume of the same work. It seems likely that the Ephrata publishers were either descendants of the original communal group or, at least, strongly influenced by their descendants, but I have not been able to verify this assessment.

28. Mother Ann Lee (1736-1784), the English foundress of the Shakers, had formerly belonged to an intense religious group which had separated itself from the Quakers. Meanwhile, societies of “Behmenites” (followers of Boehme) had also formed in England, and many of these later entered Quakerism. In 1774, Mother Ann Lee and a small band of followers came to America. For a useful discussion of Shaker origins, see Andrews, *The People Called Shakers*, pp. 3-13.

29. Amos Bronson Alcott, for example, wrote that “Boehme is the subtlest and most original of European thinkers,” A. Bronson Alcott, “Boehme,” *The Radical* 5 (January 1869): 44.

30. For a short and useful discussion of mysticism, see Frederick J. Streng, “Mystical Insight through Spiritual Discipline,” in *Understanding Religious Life*, 2d ed. (Encino, Calif.: Dickenson Publishing, 1976), pp. 113-25. See also, Robert S. Ellwood, Jr., *Mysticism and Religion* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1980) and, for a classical treatment, Evelyn Underhill, *Mysticism: A Study in the Nature and Development of Man’s Spiritual Consciousness*, 12th ed. (1930; Cleveland, Ohio: World Publishing, Meridian Books, 1955).

31. For an account of the life of Thomas Muentzer (1488-1524), see Eric W. Gritsch, *Reformer without a Church* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967). Muentzer’s classic “Sermon before the Princes” (1524) is contained in George Williams, ed., *Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers*, Library of Christian Classics, no. 25 (London: SCM Press, 1957). The best general account of the Spirit mystics is Rufus M. Jones, *Spiritual Reformers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London: Macmillan, 1914).

32. See René Fülöp-Miller, *The Jesuits: A History of the Society of Jesus* (1930), trans. F. S. Flint and D. F. Tait (New York: Capricorn Books, 1963), pp. 3-27. See also Ignatius Loyola’s classic of spirituality, *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius*, trans. Anthony Mottola (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Image Books, 1964).

33. For discussions of the Utopian communities, see Holloway, *Heavens on Earth*. The definitive biography of Theodore Parker is Henry Steele Commager, *Theodore Parker*, 2d ed. (1947; reprint ed., Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, n.d.). For accounts of Christian Science healing, see “Fruitage,” in Eddy, *Science and Health*, pp. 600-700.

34. The Shakers chose to use recruitment to gain new members, but the Rappites did not.

35. Some of the Transcendentalists did experiment with communal living—at Fruitlands under Amos Bronson Alcott from the spring to the autumn of 1843 and at Brook Farm under George Ripley from 1841 to 1847. Although Brook Farm was the far more successful of the two, neither were able to solve the problems of community. For a good, short account, see Alice Felt Tyler, *Freedom’s Ferment: Phases of American Social History from the Colonial Period to the Outbreak of the Civil War* (1944; reprint ed., New York: Harper & Row, Harper Torchbooks, 1962), pp. 172-84.

36. Snow, “O My Father,” nos. 138, 139.

Editors’ Note

This paper was delivered at Sunstone’s 1980 Mormon Theological Symposium.

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The Psychological Needs of Mormon Women

Ida Smith

Mormon women must cope with the same changing roles and challenges of discrimination and stereotyping as do non-LDS women.

As a result of the women's movement of the last ten years, and perhaps spurred by the "Depression in Mormon Women" film and the excommunication of Sonia Johnson, the question "What do Mormon women really want (or need)?" is frequently asked.

Care should be taken when singling out the needs of Latter-day Saint women from women generally. Whereas it is true that Mormon women are (or should be) different from non-LDS women in several substantial ways, they still must cope with many of the same challenges brought about by discrimination and traditional sex-role stereotyping in our society as do non-LDS women.

In the foreword to *The Sexual Barrier*, Marija Matich Hughes writes:

We are moving toward a society in which sex discrimination will not only be outmoded but unacceptable. We must face facts about women as never before. . . . Our collective future—from our family life to our national economic health—depends disproportionately on our capacity to accept the rapidly changing facts of life about women, their role, and their new aspirations. America as a nation needs to understand the winds of change for women as much as the movement that is spurring that change. *If unfairness can survive our knowledge of its effects, we are all lost.* I cannot believe that Americans, who have faced mammoth issues of racial, ethnic, and religious equality, are unprepared to assimilate sex equality.¹

In light of the many changes that have taken place in women's lives in the last ten to fifteen years (and therefore peripherally, if not directly, to men's lives as well) a brief overview of the women's movement is appropriate here. Like it or not, what is happening to women nation-wide is having and will continue to have a profound effect on Mormon women.

It is difficult to find a publication nowadays that does

not deal in major or minor ways with the phenomenon of the working woman. Over 51 percent of the adult women in the country are in the labor force—full or part time—and the vast majority of them are there for the same reasons that men are: compelling economic need. Nine out of ten women will enter the labor force at some time in their lives.² In 1970 the average woman could expect to spend 22.9 years in the labor force;³ by 1980 that had risen to 27.6 years.⁴ The government estimates that by 1990 over 70 percent of mothers with children will be in the labor force;⁵ in fact, the fastest growing group of female workers in the country are those with pre-school age children. The statistics for Utah are on a par with the national averages—and have been for the past ten years. In the thirty years prior to 1970, women in Utah went to work at a faster rate than women in the rest of the country.⁶

The complaint is heard from many individuals, both male and female, that "the women's movement has radicalized our good sisters, causing them to throw over home and family and enter the world of work—a man's world where they do not belong—thereby creating disruption in the family." I believe it could be a 'chicken or the egg?' situation. Usually women who are able to be traditional, non-working wives and mothers in the home are not accused of being "out of line" with what is expected of them in our Mormon culture; and many of these women honestly and sincerely do not understand what all the fuss is about with women. "What can they possibly want more than what the Lord has destined for them to have: a home and family?" But many American (and Mormon) women do *not* have a traditional home and family. One out of three adult women in the country does not have a husband in the home to support her. Nearly 30 percent of adult Mormon women are single, widowed, or divorced. And many previously non-working married women are going to work in record

numbers because inflation is making it impossible to survive on one income. Utahns feel an added pinch because not only are they 44th out of the 50 states in per capita income, they have twice the national birthrate as well.⁷ A large Salt Lake corporation did a survey of its employees and discovered that 58 percent of its female employees were working as *breadwinners*—not as *supplemental wage earners*.

Much of the so-called radicalization of women comes after they have—of necessity—entered the work force. For many, jumping into that hard, cold, man's world is like being thrown into an icy pool. It wakes them up. When women enter that world, they very soon learn "what all the fuss is about."

For one: Even though equal pay for equal work laws have been on the books for many years, in reality it is not happening. What is happening is that female high school graduates still earn less than men who have not finished elementary school, and women with four years of college make less than men with an eighth-grade education.⁸

In 1955 a woman made 63.9 cents for every dollar a man made. By 1978 it had gone down to 59.4 cents.⁹ And this at a time when more and more women were entering the labor force as *breadwinners*—not as *supplemental wage earners*. Both sexes for years had accepted the wage disparity because of the perceived need for a man to be the family *breadwinner*. But now, even though more and more *women* are having to play that role also, men are still perceived by employers to be worth more. Utah's record regarding the wage gap is very poor. It ranks second from the bottom—with women earning 53.3 cents to every dollar earned by men.¹⁰ The only occupations where women make over 70 cents to the dollar for men were in such "non-traditional" areas as: MD's and Dentists, Engineers, Computer Specialists, Teachers, Public Administration, and Construction Workers. We should not be surprised to see women wanting to get into the construction business when they can make 92 cents for every

Most women who work are really liberated into two full time jobs: one in and one out of the home.

dollar a man makes.¹¹ Women are trying to get into traditionally men's jobs because that is where the money is and always has been; they find that they cannot live and support a family on what a woman has traditionally made.

Resentment and frustration sometimes build because a woman not only sees herself receive less pay for the same work but often she also sees less qualified men placed in positions over her; women are constantly being passed over for managerial positions because the boss believes that "a woman should never be over a man in anything."

Resentments also build because with all the talk of being "liberated" into the world of work which pays, most women are really liberated into two full time jobs: one in and one out of the home. A recent study at the University of Michigan confirmed other studies done in this area:¹² As women have gone to work outside the home, most men have not increased their household

work load. In addition, the market place has not encouraged male help with women's double load as evidenced by the fact that when remedial acts like flexi-time schedules are incorporated into the workplace, they are available for women only. Larger and larger numbers of women are asking to see more of Father in the home as helper—as well as disciplinarian.

As women enter the work force they are learning that they are valid and accepted in traditional female roles, but when they are compared to the *adult* norm in society they are often rated second class. Numerous studies have been done on the effects stereotyping has on both men and women. To highlight only a few:

1. At the University of Maryland a study was conducted with children from kindergarten through sixth grade who were asked to select toys and occupations under one of the following instruction sets: 1) choose for a *girl*, 2) choose for a *boy*, 3) choose the *best* one. Results: Children made selections for boys and girls which were in accordance with culturally accepted stereotypes. However, the children's selections of the BEST toys and occupations more closely resembled those chosen for boys than those chosen for girls.¹³
2. As boys and girls progress through school, the opinions of both sexes grow increasingly more positive toward males and increasingly more negative toward females. Both sexes are learning: Boys are *worth* more than girls.¹⁴
3. In a study of undergraduates at the University of Michigan, it was noted that women equated intellectual achievement with a loss of femininity. In a testing situation the bright young college woman worries not only about failure but about success as well, and often displays a desire to actually avoid success.¹⁵
4. A study of high school age students concluded that girls of high school age felt that male classmates disapproved of a woman using her intelligence.¹⁶
5. In the Boverman study of 1970, three groups of clinicians were asked to describe what a healthy, mature, socially competent (a) adult, sex unspecified, (b) man, or (c) woman should be. Results: The clinicians' descriptions of a mentally healthy, socially mature *adult* corresponded significantly more closely with the *male* than with the *female* stereotype. This means that if a woman displays *adult* characteristics she is considered by the clinicians to be pathological as a *woman*. The results confirm a double standard of mental/emotional health for men and women, with women perceived as significantly less healthy when judged by *adult* standards. Thus, according to the clinicians, for a woman judged to be "healthy" in our society, she must conform to the sex-related behaviors acceptable to that society, even though those behaviors are considered less socially desirable and less healthy for the generalized competent, mature *adult*. The bright, competent woman must then choose whether to behave as an "adult" and perhaps risk being declared "unfeminine" or adjust to the acceptable "role" society has given her, assume a second-class adult status, and perhaps live a lie as well.¹⁷

During childhood a young Mormon girl faces a paradox: She is supposed to acquire the proper gender identity and the standards of culturally held sex roles.

And yet the characteristics that she is supposed to acquire are less valued by the culture in which she lives than are those of the opposite sex. How our young girls deal with this paradox when they become aware of it and how well adult Latter-day Saint women deal with it throughout the span of their lives should be of major concern. Are there attitudes perpetuated in our Latter-day Saint culture that make it difficult for men and women truly to view each other as equal creations in the eyes of our Heavenly Father and therefore impede us in some way in our progress of becoming gods—together? And as such attitudes are being perpetuated, what affect are they having on the Latter-day Saint women's mental and spiritual health?

Mormon women, listening to what the prophet is saying, are beginning to demand their birthright blessings as daughters of God. They are listening to and internalizing temple and gospel teachings and more and more are realizing they don't read of "gods and clinging vines" or "priests and shrinking violets." They have been brought up to be respectful of and obedient to the "priesthood"—but too often have interpreted that to mean being subservient to all men. In true priesthood/patriarchal order, the Lord did not intend that every woman should be subject to every man.

Many women have been acted upon, told what to do, and when and how to do it most of their lives, but after hearing the Prophet say:

Marriage is a partnership. . . . When we speak of marriage as a partnership, let us speak of marriage as a full partnership. We do not want our LDS women to be silent partners or limited partners in that eternal assignment! Please be a contributing and full partner,¹⁸

they are saying, "I want to be in such a partnership! I don't want to play the child anymore!"

I will now briefly list a few of the needs of Mormon women as I see them, breaking them down into three

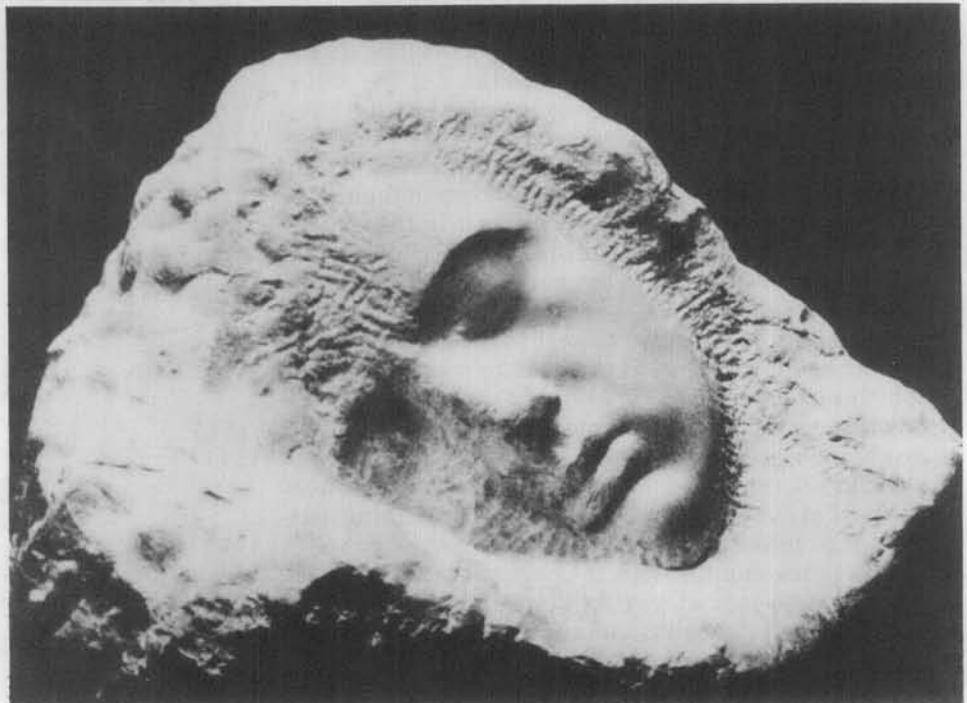
general areas: basic human needs, needs a woman might have in a counseling situation, and special needs a woman feels because of the added dimension in her life gained from learning gospel principles.

Basic Human Needs

She needs to know that she is a child of God, valuable and precious; she needs to feel loved and feel a degree of self-esteem; she needs to feel she has control over her life, to have input in decisions affecting her. In short, she needs to exercise agency. These thoughts were taken from a Relief Society Mother Education lesson on how to raise a child.¹⁹ A mother is instructed to implant these important concepts in the minds of her children—and in many cases she is handicapped because she, herself, does not experience them in her own life. I have heard women complain, as I am sure you have, "I have not participated in a single major decision affecting my life since the day I was married." The description in the Relief Society lesson continued: "[She] needs close loving relationships. [She] needs love. . . . Everyone needs to be shown affection—to be hugged and kissed. . . ." As I read these I thought: These are not only children's needs—or women's needs—or men's needs. These are human needs. We all need affection; we all need to be loved; we all need to have feelings of self-confidence and to see ourselves as capable, contributing human beings. And we all need to feel that we have input into decisions which affect our lives, that we have a right to exercise the free agency God granted to us (and that we fought for!) in the pre-existence—which will give us some control over our own lives.

In many studies, marriage is too often seen to increase happiness for the male and decrease it for the female. One such study describes this disparity as a problem of power; the person in the relationship who has the most power—to make decisions about where to live, how to

Allowing flaws in her family to automatically reflect her own inadequacies is a kind of misbehavior.



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earn money, how to spend it, etc.—was almost always the man. The person with less power—usually the woman—tried to seek power in manipulative or artificial ways.²⁰

In a statement to a group of psychiatrists, Marjorie Braude said, "Any group that is systematically invalidated economically, socially, and ideologically suffers thereby in its mental health. Their self-concept suffers; there's a lower level of aspiration, a higher incidence of depression."²¹

Many women have been conditioned to be silent: "Don't complain." "Accept your lot." "Remember *you* are responsible for the tones and atmosphere in your home. If things go wrong, it is *your* responsibility." As a result of such conditioning, there are women all across the country who tend to take responsibility (credit) for all the bad things that happen in their families whether it be the children's bad grades ("If only I were a better mother . . ."), the husband's business failures ("I need to be a better wife"), or the quality of the marital relationship itself. Yet when things go well, the American woman is far more likely to attribute the *successes* in her life to external forces or "luck," than to take credit for them herself.²²

In a survey in 1978 to which 52,000 women across the country responded, it was found that the American

The home was once the mainstream of society. When that home was fractured, women were profoundly shaken.

women who rated highest on the happiness charts are the ones who are middle-aged, just past menopause, and unburdened by their now-grown children. Of particular note: they are the women who all along have had access to satisfaction in *both* family life and outside work. Basically, they are women who feel they have had some control over their own lives. They have an identity of their own. They are more than just someone's wife, or someone's mother—they are *individuals* of worth all by themselves. One of the most dramatic findings of the study was that the older women who were highest on the happiness scale had not taken the easy way; they had not been free of conflict, hurt, or even tragedies. Their hardships and losses were as great as those of their miserable contemporaries. One reason for their success: they had weaned themselves from a crippling dependency on other people's approval and had begun to validate themselves.²³

A woman needs not to have to feel guilty—about everything—all the time. She needs to internalize that when things go wrong, it is not *always* her fault. She needs to have the insight, courage, and integrity to place the right monkeys on the right backs. The "happy face to the world" syndrome may become necessary because she feels that if everything is not all right, something may therefore be wrong with her. A woman needs to recognize this syndrome for what it is: unloving behavior. It demonstrates a lack of love for herself and others. Allowing flaws in her family to automatically reflect her own inadequacies is a kind of *misbehavior*, and she needs to know that *she* must *let go* of that ax and thereby refuse

to participate in her own carnage.

A woman needs to understand and accept her own sexuality—that she is a sexual being—always has been, always will be. And that just because she reaches menopause, it does not mean she must, therefore, become a eunuch. She needs to admit to herself—and hopefully have her spouse understand—that she has sexual needs and desires too and that she is not being out of line to want and expect those needs to be met. She needs emotional intimacy as well as physical intimacy in her marriage relationship.

Women are used to saying "Yes," and being agreeable. They need to learn to say "No," and still be agreeable—but be honest. After twenty years, one wife finally told her husband that she *hated* John Wayne movies and did not want to go to another one! He was stunned and asked why she had not said so before! She had believed that it was her responsibility to see that everyone else was happy and that her own happiness was not important. She needs to learn to say, "I really don't enjoy doing that, and I would rather not!" "No!" to sex on demand, "No!" to seeing a movie she does not want to see, even "No!" to "just one more" church job.

She needs to experience some victories of her own—times when she can say "I (and the Lord) did that!" Most men have such victories in the course of their work: "I



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removed that cancer," "I designed that building," "I built that temple," "I won that case," etc. With a mother in the home, her most important responsibilities are in the raising of her children. Where are her *personal* victories there? If her child does well in school or plays an instrument beautifully, or makes the team, or is the student body president, she cannot *honestly* say, "I did that!" The child also has free agency, and in the final analysis the child's personal accomplishments are his, not hers. Often hers are reflected victories. *This is in no way meant to down-grade the importance of what the mother does for that child.* But what happens if she does all the wonderful things for her children that mothers are wont to do and they turn out to be crummy kids, dropouts, drug users, liars, cheats, even criminals? With no victories of her own along the way, she could at that point look back to view her life as a waste, a failure. Women who must depend on someone else for *all* their victories are prone to nag and push their husbands and their children because if *they* do not produce and excel, she feels that *she* is zero!

Women are raised—Mormon women particularly—to believe that they will not really be validated as human beings until they have become wives and mothers: that by themselves alone, they are incomplete. A man is often taught that he is worthy as he honors his priesthood all by himself. A woman is often taught she is worthy as an adjunct to someone else. What then of the women who are single or divorced or who have problem-laden children? They often feel they have not only failed as wives or as mothers but have failed as *women* as well.

A woman needs the dignity of not having to ask for money every time she needs to shop. If she does not have money of her own, her husband should see that she has some—no matter how small or large the amount—for which she does not have to make an accounting.

She needs to hear her own name and feel a sense of identity in it. One woman recently commented that she was brought up short recently to realize she had not heard her own name for months. She was always "so and so's wife," or "so and so's mother." She was beginning to wonder if *she*, as an individual, existed.

A woman needs (and has a right) to receive nurturing as well as to give it. She has a right to be depressed without having her morality questioned. She needs to feel there is a safe place, somewhere, where she can share how she feels without fear of reprisal, condemnation, or ostracism and can be free of a fear or suggestion that she is headed for excommunication if she either disagrees with or speaks up to a man.

A woman needs help to overcome feelings of inadequacy when she feels she never really measures up, no matter how hard she tries or what she actually accomplishes.

She needs to learn what female bonding is all about and that she not only can, but should, have strong female relationships. Men gain such bonding with other men through sports, priesthood relationships, etc. Only forty-five minutes in Relief Society once a week will not do it for many. Women need to nurture strong female friendships which will not only give support in times of stress when they need it but will help them greatly to enrich the dimensions of their lives.

Family economic structure was drastically altered at the time of the industrial revolution when industry slipped from home to factory. Husband and wife were no longer "working together" (as men and women had been doing since Adam and Eve) and *both* their roles within the family changed. Many women also went to work in factories in the last century, but as wages increased for men, it became a status symbol for a man to have a non-working, stay-at-home wife. The feelings generated then are still with us today as many men feel that *they* are failures if their wives must—or do—work.

The responsibilities that have fallen to women the last 200 years have also changed dramatically because of the industrial revolution. With modern retail outlets available, a woman can have accomplished the equivalent of a week of her great-grandmother's work by noon on Monday! i.e.: raised, fed and milked the cow; fed the chickens and gathered eggs, raised and threshed the wheat, ground the flour and made bread; boiled the soap, washed, dried and ironed the clothes; raised and clipped the sheep, carded the wool, spun the cloth and made the garments; planted the seeds, raised the fruit and vegetables, picked, cleaned and canned them; separated the milk and churned the butter; and then have the rest of the day to turn to other activities. Indeed, if she is a big city dweller, that may be her *only* option. With so many

Many women tend to determine worth in terms of numbers: children, bottles of fruit canned, projects, dollars earned.

economically important responsibilities having been taken from women in the last 200 years, many women (and men) are feeling that since the wife's (women's) work is not as important to family survival as the husband's (men's) work, that therefore *she* is not as important as *he* is. Some women do not feel affirmed in the home and yet feel guilty at work. And as long as men look "down" on "women's work," women will not feel affirmed in the home.

Although a woman can do all the chores listed above with little mess, not too much fuss, and relatively little effort, there is no real achievement there either! The home was once the mainstream of society. When the self-contained home was fractured, women were *profoundly shaken*. Through the industrial revolution they have been stripped of most of their economically essential tasks and are now reigning in a place where people come and go—mostly to sleep, eat, and watch television—where bodies may be but not always minds. A woman's husband and family are often not interested in the routine of *her* day, and with little or no sharing of ideas, hopes, and dreams, life for her often begins to look very dull and empty.

Even though it is *possible* to do all of the above chores by noon on Monday, studies indicate that most housewives take as long to do housework now (even with all the vast array of electronic maids available) as they did forty years ago.²⁴ No wonder some become bored with it; housework alone is neither challenging nor rewarding for most of them. That boredom can manifest itself in many ways: from irritation, to depression, to prescrip-

tion drug abuse, even to extra-marital/sexual affairs. A great disservice has been done to women when they have been taught that housework *by itself* is synonymous with real womanhood. Traditional women's work is *vital* to the family. When her work is referred to as "noble" rather than "vital" she feels that a sop has been thrown to her in order to keep her doing the kinds of work that most men are either reluctant or refuse to do. (Example: cleaning up after sick children is hardly "noble"—but definitely "vital"!)

A woman needs a sense of personal identity. She needs to develop a political philosophy of her own, not just a rubber stamp of someone else's thinking. She needs to know that righteous following of the priesthood does not require that she be mindless or opinionless or that the admonition to "be beautiful in the home" means that she is to be purely ornamental. A woman needs to

The clinicians' descriptions of a mentally healthy adult corresponded more closely with the male than the female stereotype.

feel that she has great worth apart from any "counting system." Many women tend to determine worth in terms of numbers: "number" of children, "number" of bottles of fruit canned, "number" of projects, and now, "number" of dollars earned.

A woman needs to feel she is not or should not be in competition with other Mormon women. "Patty Perfect" may not be the right model for her. She needs to feel she has a direction in her life, that she is not just floating. She needs not to feel guilty when she uses abilities that the Lord has given her which are non-traditional in the culture in which she lives.

The women's movement has caused larger and larger numbers of women to become more aware of inequities in the world. In a recent update of a survey done ten years ago, it was found that women are a long way culturally, psychologically, and socially from where they were ten years ago.²⁵ They have grown more sensitive to all the kinds of discrimination they have to deal with in almost every area of their lives. And although an overwhelming 94 percent of the women interviewed favored marriage as a way of life, it is seen increasingly as a responsibility to be shared by both husband and wife.

Change is part of life and women need to know that change is not only okay but can be exciting. Rigidity can be stifling and damning. She needs to look at alternatives: housing, food, children, jobs. There is not just *one* acceptable life pattern for every woman in the Church—i.e., "all Mormon women are . . .," "all single people feel . . .," "all mothers will . . ." etc.

A woman needs to grow mentally, emotionally, and spiritually just as fully as a man! Her problem is to find a proper avenue and place in which to experience this needed growth. Sometimes she feels trivialized by her husband, her bishop, her stake president, her counselor (or whomever) when she makes a suggestion, expresses an opinion, or tries to describe her feelings about herself and her world. And because she does not want to *appear* to be what she feels she is *not*, namely disobedient to authority, extremist in her views, becoming a "women's

libber," she often remains silent. Such a woman may have symptoms of depression, illnesses—both physical and mental. She may or may not be aware of what her *real* problems are.

In most instances women's equality, in the home and in the workplace, strengthens the family and enables it better to resist dehumanization. *Families* are easier to control when *women* are passive and dependent. One of the first acts of the Nazis when they took over Germany was to take away some of the rights of the women. Despite all the rhetoric, the family has never ranked very high on the political and economic agenda—except as a unit to which to sell things. It basically has been a man's world. As women begin to take their place on the economic and political scene, perhaps those agendas will, finally, truly include the family, and begin to take it seriously.

From a Counseling Perspective

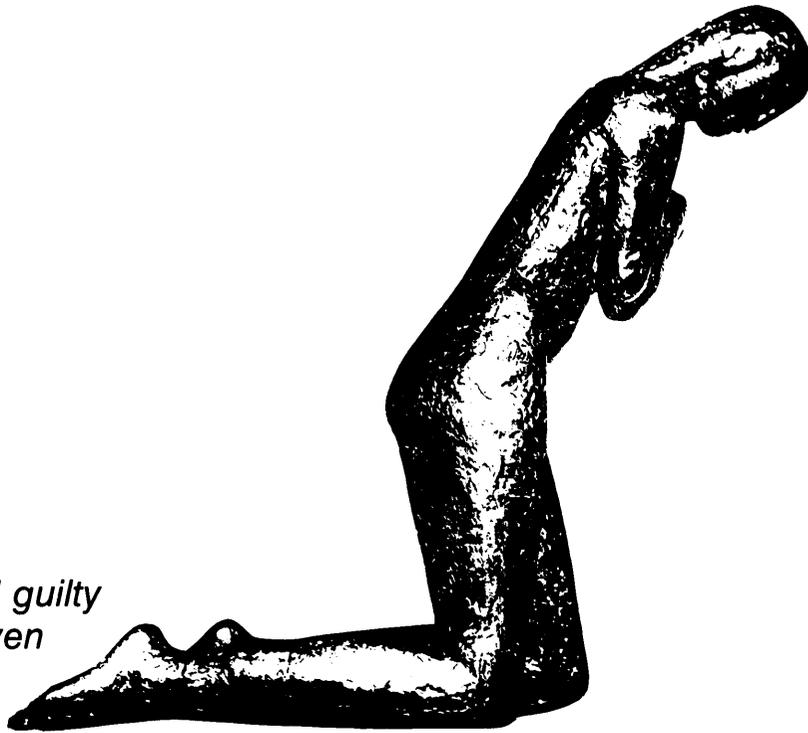
It must be kept in mind that many Mormon women are used to having men tell them what to do and how to think. There may be a temptation for a counselor, also, to tell her what to do. Being told to go home to pray and fast and repent about her problems may not help her at all if her problem is with prayer. Being told to talk it over with her husband may not help if *he* is the problem and she simply does not have the skills to break the negative downward cycle their relationship has assumed. Yes, she knows that she is a child of God, she has heard it and sung it a thousand times, but if she has not internalized it and does not have the *skills* to help her stand up for herself as a child of God, that piece of information will not help her.

There is a tendency for us to think of men as individuals—and women as roles. What do women need? What do wives need? What do mothers need? Women tend to be put in pigeon holes the minute they take on a new relationship: wife, mother. At those points there are many things that they are assumed to be, to think, and to do. My understanding of a therapist's responsibility is to help clients understand their own values and then help them deal positively with those values because, given the proper coping skills, human beings are capable of curing themselves.

Since some Mormon women have been trained all their lives to depend on men, it is very important, if the therapist is male, that it be made clear to the client that he is not going to tell her what to do or to solve her problems for her. She is often not used to seeing herself as a change agent, and that very vision of herself must change. She has a responsibility to take action in her own life. Very often a man may be at the root of her problem: a husband, a boss, a lover. Often he either cannot, or will not, come for help with her, and the therapist cannot deal with him directly. The woman must learn, therefore, how *she* can initiate change in the relationship and cope with it alone. It is important not to make assumptions that if there is trouble in the relationship, the woman is the cause—even if she is taking all the blame. Remember: she has probably been taught all her life that if the relationship isn't working it will be her fault.

Life cannot be reduced to a formula, it is not simple, and we should not pretend it is. If a woman is told by her bishop or counselor or whomever, that her problems can be solved by prayer and fasting, and she does, and the

A woman shouldn't feel guilty when she uses God-given abilities which are non-traditional in her culture.



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problems are not solved, her guilt will increase, her depression will go deeper, and it will be that much harder to help her out of whatever pit she is in. If a person is having problems building something and is hung up because he or she does not know how to use a power drill, we do not say, "Pray and fast about your problem and you will be able to solve it." We teach that person how to use a power drill! If a woman is having difficulties because she does not know how to deal with a man exhibiting chauvinistic behavior, she needs to be taught *skills* in how to make changes in herself which will help her deal positively with that relationship. And she very well might have a basic built-in fear of change as evidenced in women who will remain in relationships for years even though they are beaten regularly. Many women are conditioned to be silent. Verbally standing up for themselves, their ideas, their opinions—indeed their rights—does not come easy to them. As they make progress and have early successes, it is important not to assume the war is won. Watch for sustained change, a steady strengthening of the backbone. It took two years after one woman announced to her husband one night that she "was not going to be one of the children anymore!" before the reverberations in their relationship leveled to the degree that the counselor felt the marriage would last. It did. Two years later the marriage was a thousand times better than it had ever been before. But the changes did not take place overnight—or even after many months.

If it is necessary for a woman to be given medication, she should know what she is taking, what she might expect from the reactions to it, what is in it, etc. No one should be told to take anything into his or her body without being given information on the drug's contents and its possible effects. Prescription drug abuse among American (and Mormon) women is a *very* serious problem.²⁶

One final caution: LDS counselors should watch for biases in their own attitudes and make sure that they are not treating their *non*-LDS clients as individuals and their LDS clients as roles: i.e., "You really aren't depressed,

you're just an overworked mother and you need a rest." She may be tired yet still have some very serious problems that rest alone will not cure.

The Gospel Dimension

Women today are in a position similar to Blacks in the civil rights push of the sixties. The basic issue there was one of power: Blacks wanted a piece of the action, their share of the pie. Power in the country was then (and still is) basically in the hands of white males and the blacks wanted a share of it. Now, women are asking for a share of the pie, too.

The context in which I shall use "power" here is "the ability to cause or prevent change." It goes without saying that if women did not feel 'powerless' in their society there would be no need for a "Women's Liberation Movement"; and there would be no unrest among women in the Church if all, indeed, were well in Zion where women are concerned. Mormon women, affected by the women's movement, are becoming more and more aware that in many areas they are not considered equal with men. They may not understand the power struggle that is going on, but they know, instinctively, that there is a better way! There are basically two kinds of power. One is the power derived from having: to have. This is seen in the control over budgets, the power of the military to order to action or to move at will; this is the power to manipulate, to hire and fire; this is the power of control. It is very real and *can* be very destructive.

The second kind of power is the power of *influence*, the power of being: to be. It is this kind of power—non-manipulative, non-coercive, non-demanding, non-controlling—that God told Joseph Smith the priesthood should be (D&C 121:41-45):

No power or influence can or ought to be maintained by virtue of the priesthood, only by persuasion, by long-suffering, by gentleness and meekness and by love unfeigned; By kindness and pure knowledge, which shall greatly enlarge the soul without hypocrisy, and without guile—Reproving betimes with sharpness, when moved upon by the Holy Ghost; and then showing forth after-

wards an increase of love toward him whom thou has re-
 proved, lest he esteem thee to be his enemy; That he may
 know that thy faithfulness is stronger than the cords of
 death. Let thy bowels also be full of charity towards all
 men, and to the household of faith, and let virtue garnish
 thy thoughts unceasingly; then shall thy confidence wax
 strong in the presence of God; and the doctrine of the
 priesthood shall distil upon thy soul as the dews from
 heaven.

Gently. Not with a heavy hand.

The Lord has restored to earth the most awesome
 power ever known to man or to the world: priesthood
 power, the power to act in the name of God. By this
 power the worlds were made, rivers are turned from
 their courses, mountains are leveled or raised, disease is
 eliminated, and the blind are made to see. The Lord,
 knowing that power can corrupt and that absolute power
 can corrupt absolutely, placed severe restrictions on the
 use of priesthood power. He noted that some men, when
 given a little authority, tended to exercise unrighteous
 dominion, and he warned that whenever that happened,
 it would be amen to the priesthood of that man. Throughout the entire Gospel of Jesus Christ the Lord is
 trying to teach us to deal with each other the same way he
 deals with us: as equal beings endowed with free agency.
 He presented the plan of free agency before the world
 was; the plan was accepted by his Father, and we all
***In true priesthood order, the Lord did not
 intend that every woman should be sub-
 ject to every man.***

fought a battle supporting that plan. Now that we are
 here, our Father honors that free agency, and we are al-
 lowed to succeed, to fail, to be good, to be evil, to follow
 his plan or not to follow his plan. HE does not coerce his
 children. He relates to us on a love/trust level—not fear/
 anxiety level—and desires for us to relate to each other on
 the same level. Unfortunately most of our relationships
 limp along on a telestial, fear/anxiety level or on a terres-
 trial, duty/justice level. We order our children, our
 spouses, our employees about because too often our *in-
 fluence alone* will not bring about the action we desire. I
 learned a powerful lesson from my father in this area.
 When we were children and would ask, "Father, can I do
 such and such?"—a question which required some
 judgment to answer—rather than saying "No" (and
 perhaps triggering rebellion in us), he would say, "I
 would rather you didn't, but the decision is up to you."
 The monkey was put where it belonged. We knew that
 we would be responsible for whatever action we took. I
 knew my father loved me, that he knew in his wisdom
 what was best for me, and I don't ever remember after
 being given such counsel going and doing it anyway.
 "... even so, you are free to choose for yourselves."

Men—and women—need to reassess in their minds
 that *righteous* power is the power to *be*, not to *have*. The
 power of the priesthood is built not by putting controls
 on, but by building controls within. For example, righte-
 ous priesthood power over children is demonstrated
 when one look of disappointment at a particular behavior
 is all the punishment the child needs. If that were the
 kind of power being exercised in every Latter-day Saint

home, as well as on every level of Church governance,
 we would not be hearing Mormon women complain of
 feeling "powerless" in their homes or in the church.
 Coercive or heavy-handed pressure—even for so-called
 righteous reasons—is tampering on Satan's turf, and
 both men and women would be well advised to stay out
 of it.

In conclusion: Mormon women's psycho-social needs
 are not very different from non-Mormon women—or
 from men. Possibly the main difference is that she sees
 "equality" not as a women's liberation issue but as an
 issue with an eternal perspective: ultimately she must be
 equally yoked to an eternal companion if she is to make
 the celestial kingdom and have eternal offspring. She
 cannot do that if she is either unable to or incapable of
 taking her rightful place beside the man—not one step
 behind him or one step down. She wants her rightful
 place in eternity and the chance to prepare for it here, un-
 encumbered by the stereotypes and restrictions often
 placed upon her in Satan's world.

And that, as I perceive it, is what Mormon women
 want and need.

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Sunday School Supplement

The Sunday School Supplement is written by several interested scholars. Because diverse and wide-ranging material is addressed, the Supplement does not necessarily reflect the opinions of the editors or publisher. It is meant to encourage discussion and further study and is neither definitive nor authoritative. Questions or recommendations from readers are encouraged.

SACRED ITEMS FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT

I. Rod of Aaron

In the description of the Tabernacle used by the children of Israel, a number of sacred pieces of furniture are mentioned—foremost are the Ark and mercy seat, table of shewbread, golden candlestick, altar of incense, and altar of burnt offering. At one point a rod was placed in the ark. Here is one account of what transpired:

Israel had previously to their entering the land questioned God's appointed priesthood, and had murmured at the judgment of God which had fallen on those who had, uncalled for, and unappointed by Him, thrust themselves into the holy service. The Lord in His grace took this method of stilling their murmurings. He commanded twelve rods to be laid up before Him, with every man's name upon his rod, according to the house of their fathers. "And it shall come to pass that the man's rod whom I shall choose shall blossom; and I will make to cease from me the murmurings of the children of Israel, whereby they murmur against you." (Num. xvii. 1-11.)

The rod of Aaron, thus laid up before the Lord, was found on the morrow to have budded, and brought forth buds, and bloomed blossoms, and yielded almonds. This was God's mode of vindicating his priest. And this has been his way of vindicating Him, who now stands in heaven as our great High Priest. The dry twig, cut off from all nourishment, withered in death, has found these circumstances of darkness and ruin to be the very soil, as it were, from whence it should spring forth as the fruitful bough. Jesus disowned by Israel, and cut off out of the land of the living, has sprung up out of the grave—the BRANCH, in the full vigour and maturity of life, and with an eternal prospect of fruitfulness yet to come. Buds, blossoms, and ripe fruit, all at once found upon the almond rod, betokened a full

maturity of strength and beauty, as well as a further development of life and power, which render it an apt emblem of Him, who rose from the dead in all the freshness, and yet in all the perfectness, and ripeness of new creation. No eye but that of God rested on the rod laid up before Him; it remained all night shut up, and life was thus under His eye produced out of death, and the dry and withered rod was in the morning seen to be full of life, fruitfulness, and beauty. But this rod was subsequently hidden in the Ark, kept there as a token against the rebels.

From Henry W. Soltau, *The Holy Vessels and Furniture of the Tabernacle* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Kregel Publications), pp. 37-38.

An interesting parallel exists in early Mormonism in reference to a modern use of a "Rod of Aaron." Oliver Cowdery was given the gift.

O remember, these words and keep my commandments. Remember this is your gift. Now this is not all, for you have another gift, which is the gift of working with the rod: behold it has told you things: behold there is no other power save God, that can cause this rod of nature, to work in your hands, for it is the word of God; and therefore whatsoever you shall ask me to tell you by that means, that I will grant unto you, that you shall know." (*A Book of Commandments for the Government of the Church of Christ*, 1833, Chapter VII, Verse 3, pg. 19.)

In the revelation to Oliver Cowdery in May, 1829, Bro. (B.H.) Roberts said that the gift which the Lord says he has in his hand meant a stick which was like Aaron's Rod. It is said Bro. Phineas Young (brother-in-law of Oliver Cowdery and brother of Brigham Young) got it from him (Oliver) and gave it to President Young who had it with him when he arrived in this (Salt Lake) valley and that it was with that stick that he pointed out where the Temple should be built. (Anthon H. Lund Journal, 5 July 1901, Archives Division, Historical Dept. of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.)

During the Nauvoo period Apostle Heber C. Kimball "inquired by the rod" in prayer (Heber C. Kimball 1844-1845 Journal, 5 June 1844, 5 July 1844, 25 January 1845, Church Historical Department). Under the date of June 21, 1892, Sister Sarah M. Kimball signed her name to the following statements:

At a Relief Society Meeting held April 28, 1842, I heard the Prophet Joseph make this statement. "While other leading men of the church have been unrighteously aspiring, Heber C. Kimball has been true and is to me what John was to Jesus, my beloved disciple." Brother Kimball showed me a rod that the Lord through the Prophet Joseph had given to him. He said that when he wanted to find out anything that was his right to know, all he had to do was to kneel down with the rod in his hand, and that sometimes the Lord would answer his questions before he had time to ask them. My mother and my sister, Helen Mary, told me the same thing and added to it, that Pres. Young received a similar rod from the Lord at the same time. They claimed that these rods were given to them because they were the only ones of the original Twelve who had not lifted up their

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heels against the Prophet. ("Sacred History" by Solomon F. Kimball, Solomon F. Kimball Journal, Church Historian's Office.)

II. An Apocryphal Account of Adam and the Origin of Sacrifice

After a struggle with Satan and a subsequent rescue by God, Adam and Eve offer up a sacrifice in gratitude to God for prohibiting Satan from further destroying their field of corn.

And God adjured Satan with a curse, not to come again, and destroy the field of corn.

Then Adam and Eve took of the corn, and made of it an offering, and took it and offered it up on the mountain, the place where they had offered up their first offering of blood.

And they offered this oblation again on the altar they had built at first. And they stood up and prayed, and besought the Lord saying, "Thus, O God, when we were in the garden, did our praises go up to Thee, like this offering; and our innocence went up to thee like incense. But now, O God, accept this offering from us, and turn us not back, reft of Thy mercy."

Then God said to Adam and Eve, "Since ye have made this oblation and have offered it to Me, I shall make it My flesh, when I come down upon earth to save you; and I shall cause it to be offered continually upon an altar, for forgiveness and for mercy, unto those who partake of it duly."

... Then Satan, the hater of all good, envious of Adam and of his offering through which he found favour with God, hastened and took a sharp stone from among sharp iron-stones; appeared in the form of a man, and went and stood by Adam and Eve.

Adam was then offering on the altar, and had begun to pray, with his hands spread unto God.

Then Satan hastened with the sharp iron-stone he had with him, and with it pierced Adam on the right side, when flowed blood and water, then Adam fell upon the altar like a corpse. And Satan fled.

Then Eve came, and took Adam and

placed him below the altar. And there she stayed, weeping over him; while a stream of blood flowed from Adam's side upon his offering.

But God looked upon the death of Adam. He then sent His Word, and raised him up and said unto him, "Fulfil thy offering, for indeed, Adam, it is worth much, and there is no shortcoming in it."

God said further unto Adam, "Thus will it also happen to Me, on the earth, when I shall be pierced and blood shall flow blood and water from My side and run over My body, which is the true offering; and which shall be offered on the altar as a perfect offering."

Then God commanded Adam to finish his offering, and when he had ended it he worshipped before God, and praised Him for the signs He had showed him.

From Platt, *The Lost Books of the Bible and the Forgotten Books of Eden* (Collins World, 1974), pp. 47, 48-49.

III. Cultural Borrowing

Many Mormons are confused or disappointed at the similarities between Mormonism and Masonry, especially in regards to the temple; however, even Solomon's temple borrowed from its environment.

Solomon hired a Tyrian to take charge of the work and used Phoenician craftsmen (1 Ki. 5:10, 18; 7:13-14). It is not surprising to find parallels to the design of the Temple and its decoration in surviving examples of Phoenician or Canaanite handiwork. The ground plan is very similar to that of a small shrine of the 9th century BC excavated at Tell Tainat on the Orontes. This shows the three rooms, an altar in the innermost and two columns in the porch, but supporting the roof (for full report see R. C. Haines, *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch*, 2, 1971). At Hazor a Late Bronze Age shrine is also tripartite and was constructed with timbers between the stone-courses (Y. Yadin, *Hazor*, 1972, pp. 89-91; cf. 1 Ki. 5:18; 6:36). Numerous carved ivory panels (from the walls of furnishings of palaces)

found throughout the ancient East are Phoenician work, often with Egyptian themes. Among the common subjects are flowers, palms and winged sphinxes, undoubtedly comparable with the carvings in the Temple. As with the Temple's panelling, these carvings were overlaid with gold and set with coloured stones.

From *The Illustrated Bible Dictionary* (Wheaton, Illinois: Tyndale House Publishers, 1980), III p. 1524.

IV. The Levitical Endowment

On the 27 August 1843 the Prophet Joseph Smith made the following comments: (original spelling maintained)

Abraham's priesthood was of greater power than Levi's and Melchizedek's was of greater power than that of Abraham. The priesthood of Levi consisted of cursings and carnal commandments and not of blessings and if the priesthood of this generation has no more power than that of Levi or Aron or of a bishoprick it administers no blessings but cursings for it was an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. I ask was there any sealing power attending this priesthood. Oh no that would admit a man into the presence of God. Oh no, but Abraham's was a more exalted power or priesthood he could talk and walk with God and yet consider how great this man was when even this patriarch Abraham gave a tenth part of all his spoils and then received a blessing under the hands of Melchizedek even the last law or a fulness of the law or priesthood which constituted him a king and preist after the order of Melchizedek or an endless life.

The editors conclude:

While the Levitical order of the endowment would admit only one man, the high priest, within the veil, through the Melchizedek order, all men who prove worthy may be admitted into the presence of the Lord.

From *The Words of Joseph Smith*, Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook, eds. (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, BYU), pp. 246, 305.

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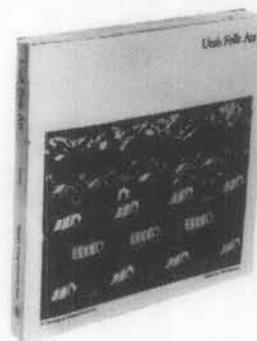
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