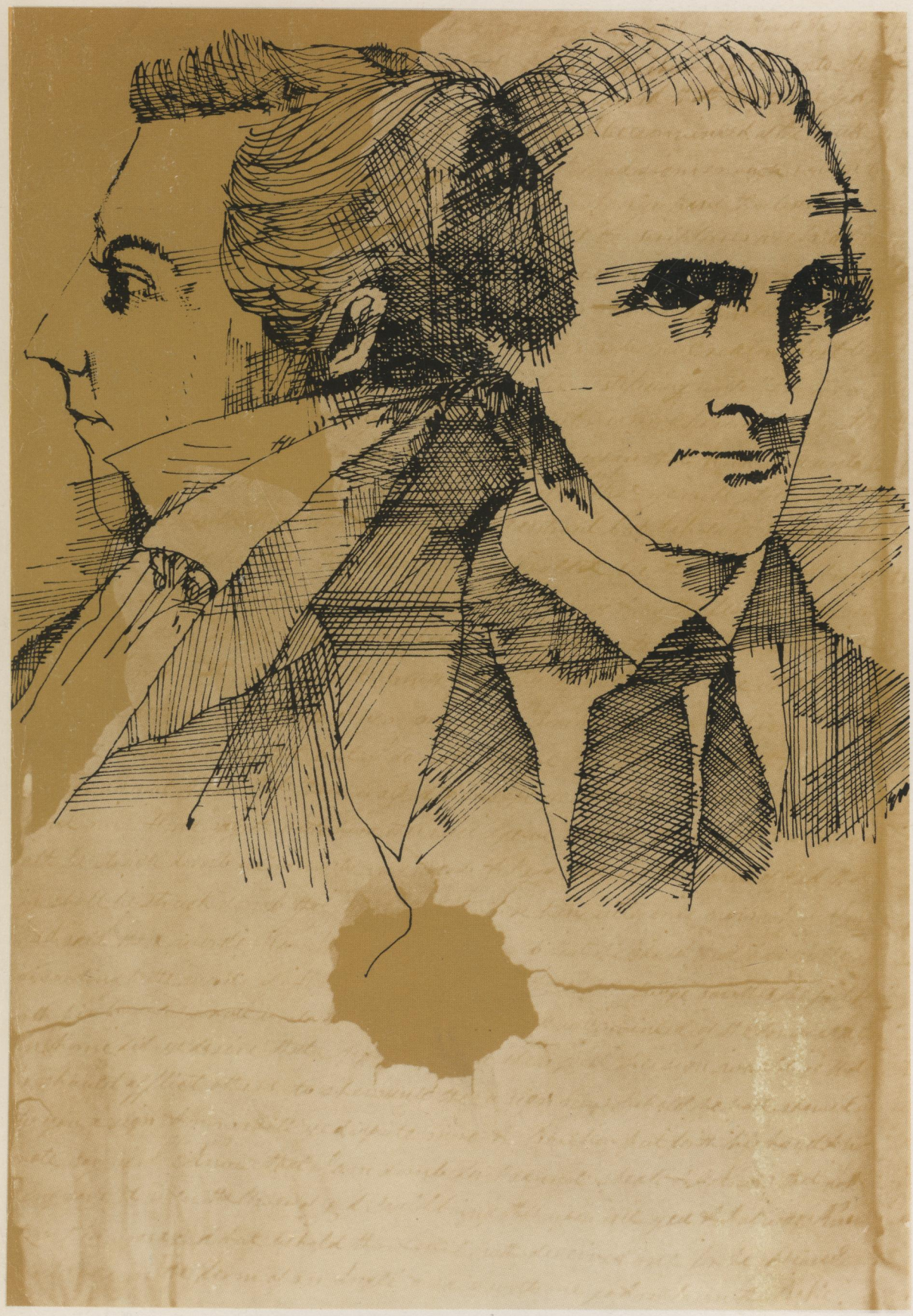

DIALOGUE

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT

DIALOGUE: A Journal of Mormon Thought is an independent national quarterly established to express Mormon culture and examine the relevance of religion to secular life. It is edited by Latter-day Saints who wish to bring their faith into dialogue with human experience as a whole and to foster artistic and scholarly achievement based on their cultural heritage. The Journal encourages a variety of viewpoints; although every effort is made to insure accurate scholarship and responsible judgment, the views expressed are those of the individual authors and are not necessarily those of the Mormon Church or of the editors.

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Letters to the Editor

statistical significance

Harold Christensen's article, "Mormon Sexuality in Cross-Cultural Perspective," is one of those articles where the footnotes are more important than the text. Careful reading of these notes indicates that the "Mormons" in Christensen's study were 220 students registered in sociology and other social science classes at an intermountain university. Such a sample hardly represents a cross section of the membership in this international Church. More importantly, only 70% of Christensen's sample identified themselves as Mormons. Since many of the responses reported in the article were at a level of less than 30%, it is entirely possible that these results could have been produced solely by the Gentile members of the sample group.

In his figures and charts, Christensen called his sample group "Intermountain," but in his conclusions he referred to "Mormons." Even if his entire sample were made up of Mormons, there is a difference between believing and nonbelieving Mormons. Christensen tried to account for this by measuring levels of Church attendance, but I am not convinced that in college-age groups Church attendance is equivalent to belief in Church doctrine.

D. James Croft
Salt Lake City, Utah

Harold Christensen responds

Although D. James Croft raises some important questions concerning my article, "Mormon Sexuality in Cross-Cultural Perspective," I do not believe his critique is completely accurate nor his conclusions valid in view of the care with which I have reported my admittedly limited data—including many qualifying phrases and cautions to the reader. Note the following as examples: "suggested relationship" and "the problem clearly needs further study," (p. 64, last paragraph); "I suggest that this be viewed with caution" and "I speculate that" and "It may be that" (p. 68, lines 24, 36–37, 45); "My data suggest" (p. 71, line 14); and "It seems reasonable to assume" (p. 73, last two lines). At several points I stress the need for further research (e.g., bottom of p. 64 and top of p. 74) and in footnote 27 I say:

> Certain of these problem areas have been rather clearly delineated by the data, while others have received only tenuous support. But even as hypotheses requiring further testing—which is all I intend them to be at this stage of research—they can provide valuable clues for understanding the forces affecting sexual patterns within Mormon culture.

I have faithfully reported and cautiously interpreted the data available, but at no time have I claimed them to be from a cross-section of Mormon culture or to be entirely representative of the Church as a whole. They nevertheless do, it seems to me, *reflect* up aspects of the Church and, when seen against a backdrop of comparable non-Mormon university data, they can offer clues to phenomena that are in need of study. The paper's title could, I suppose, have been more definitive—say something like, "Aspects of Mormon Sexuality as Reflected in a Comparison of Mormon with non-Mormon University Questionnaire Data." But then why be so stilted when there is the alternative of letting the title suggest the general topic with the paper itself spelling out qualifications and specifics?

Ideally, larger samples drawn randomly would have been preferable. But, as every social science researcher knows, it sometimes is necessary either to abandon one's research or to settle for something short of the ideal, especially when—as was true in this instance—the subject is sensitive and there are institutional roadblocks along the way. In obtaining my largely Mormon sample, it was necessary for me to promise anonymity to the cooperating university and "Intermountain" was the covering term agreed upon at that time. I was glad to do this and have kept to the commitment. Yet no other university has made such a request nor presented other difficulties of this kind.

Mr. Croft makes a point of there being only 70 percent Mormons in my Intermountain sample. Seventy-seven percent would be more accurate, for the 18 respondents who failed to specify religion should be excluded from the calculations (data provided in footnotes 1 and 2). Even so, there admittedly is a non-Mormon portion of the Intermountain sample. But it seems almost incredible to me for anyone to believe that the results which I report could be produced "solely by the Gentile members of the sample group." Just a look at item 8 in Table 1 should convince one otherwise: approval and experience percentages for the Mormon subgroup alone remain significantly high. Furthermore, the effect of removing non-Mormons from the Intermountain sample is to *accentuate* the contrast with Midwest I, not the reverse of this.

My article as published was considerably shortened from the original during the editing process and, because of this, discussions about method and procedure got shortchanged. Still, the reader was provided with a complete reference list of previous publications from this ongoing cross-cultural study and was invited to consult these sources for amplification—including discussions of research limitations (see second paragraph of footnote 2).

If Mr. Croft is asking for improved and continuing research on Mormon sexuality, I am all for that. Certainly I do not regard my research as the last word; far from it. But one has to start somewhere; and if the endeavor is worthwhile—as I am convinced this one is—why not begin, even if this means that the early work is mainly exploratory, to provide clues or hypotheses for more definitive work to follow. Drawing tentative conclusions from exploratory research, so labeled, is not "risky business," except that there always may be some who misinterpret what is being done.

Harold Christensen
La Jolla, California

I appreciated receiving the sexuality issue. The charts and graphs tickled my rational engineer self a little. But only a little—and then I came to "Solus" and the poems. As I read them, it was like a breath of fresh clean air—such truth! my friends, straight from the heart where it counts.

Blessings and peace,
Eugene Kovalenko
North Hollywood, California

I consider the issue dealing with sexuality a fine contribution and would like to congratulate *Dialogue* and the guest editors for the high quality of their effort.

Joseph A. Geddes
Boise, Idaho

solus reprise

Regarding "SOLUS" in the Autumn, 1976 issue, I am writing anonymously for the same reason that the article was written anonymously—I share the author's problem. I do differ from his experience, in that my own homosexuality was very active. While I can sympathize with and share some of his feelings and frustrations, I feel a real need to speak out against some of his thoughts and actions.

At some point in his development the author has to learn to control and overcome his feelings; whether on earth or in the hereafter. One of the basic precepts of the gospel is that we take with us when we die, only what we have learned in this life. Having gone through it myself, and having talked to many other homosexuals, I am convinced that it is a *learned* activity. One rape does not a homosexual make—rather it is the thought of homosexual activities, nurtured over a period of time, that causes active homosexual attitudes and activities.

I, too, was very afraid to speak to anyone about my experiences or feelings—least of all my quorum advisor, bishop, or stake president! I did not think that they would be sympathetic, or be able to give me proper guidance. When I finally did get up the nerve (because my actions finally demanded it) I found out how wrong I was.

I learned that my problem was not as unique as I had imagined, and that the Church leaders want to help one to repent. I was never ridiculed.

In spite of feelings that still surface, just as anyone's sexual fantasies do, no matter what they are, I served an honorable mission. I found a wonderful wife, whom I married in the temple. I have an excellent sexual relationship with her. I serve actively in the Church, and I don't lie to my leaders when I'm being interviewed for my temple recommend. That can only lead to severe problems. My bishop helps me set goals that aid me in overcoming the thoughts that still arise. His help greatly aids me in remaining "worthy."

So from the perspective of a Church member who shares the problem, I empathise, but I still cannot condone some of the actions the "SOLUS" author has taken and wants to have accepted by others. He has to learn to control

his appetities and passions the same as all other Church members have to control their own weaknesses. *Yes,* there is a place in the Church for homosexuals. But they must be repentant and striving to overcome their problem. They must be honest with their Church leaders. And they cannot be complacent or resign themselves to solving the problem after this life. It will go with them, and be just as hard, if not harder to solve, there.

Solus III

The *Dialogue* issue on *Sexuality and Mormon Culture* is splendid although my fears were realized: all from a male point of view except the poetry and Shirley Paxman's review!

Loneta Murphy
Provo, Utah

"greg" boomerangs

I appreciate your allowing us to reprint "Greg" in the *BOOMERANG* magazine. Your last issue of *Dialogue* encouraged our staff to publish an issue on morality—a subject we have considered for a long while.

"Greg" was an excellent contribution to our magazine, and we feel it will help many youth who can identify with it.

Scott Mulvay, Managing Editor
Salt Lake City, Utah

table manners

Congratulations on publishing some fine pieces of work. I continue to see substantial good in *Dialogue,* but sometimes I also see cuteness and even downright poor taste. I do not mean that what I object to is overwhelming, but occasionally it disturbs me, particularly because it seems gratuitous and easily avoidable. For example, regarding the Adam-Eve woodcut, since some General Authorities have pointedly said that the "Fall" did not constitute nor consist of sexual sin or initiation, the design(s) implying the contrary in connection with the issue of "sexuality" must constitute a defiant, or at least insensitive assertion.

I still consider the journal a good friend. It is just that this friend has some social habits which give me pause. Like emitting a hearty belch just before dessert is served, or talking too loud at parties. These trying ways to not mean I shall break off my friendship, but I do admit to sometimes choosing a seat at another part of the table and once in a while acting as if I do not know who he is.

John L. Sorenson
Provo, Utah

a voice crying . . .

You can't imagine how encouraged and gratified I am to hear of the continued viability of *Dialogue.* The fact of which I have not infrequently been in grave doubt intermittently over the years by virtue of long periods of total silence and near year-long intervals between issues since I became a subscriber back in the spring of 1966 and received my treasured Volume I, No. 1 which is still in a very special location on my bookshelf. As to *Dialogue*'s "wellness," once again I must confess to serious concern. My last issue received was Autumn 1976, and I have thus far received nothing, no verification, nary a word from you. I respectfully request a response—some kind of a response—from *Dialogue* immediately.

R. Forrest Allred, M.D.
Fresno, California

By now you should have received the media issue. By the end of the year all should be well. Editor.

I believe that *Dialogue* will have to work on its public image in the stronghold of Mormonism. There is a rather common feeling among Mormons that a magazine must be published by the Church or at least by BYU to really seriously represent Mormonism. Right or wrong that feeling is there. I'm certainly not telling you something you didn't know. I believe you'll have to work on changing that feeling! Would LDS Ward Libraries accept issues of the magazine? Would Mission Presidents accept issues or write something for a special issue on Proselyting? Perhaps you could find someone who has a supply of first facts about Utah—who might expand it to the Mormons—and use some of these as interesting fillers!

A. Thomas Challis
Librarian, Southern Utah State College
Cedar City, Utah

how about christianity yesterday?

When I heard about *Dialogue,* I hoped that it would examine the theology of the Church, the interaction of the various doctrines, and their impact on "the world out there." I thought that it would be a kind of Mormon "Christianity Today." But *Dialogue* seems to study questions I am not asking while sidestepping those I would like to see discussed. Perhaps I am not ready for *Dialogue;* I am still trying to find out if the Church ever published some sort of Systematic Theology.

I am wondering if Church doctrine can be organized and presented in an orderly and systematic fashion in which one proceeds logically and intelligently from one doctrine to the next. Certainly, a Church which teaches "The glory of God is intelligence " can present its doctrines in a manner which reflects our Heavenly Father's intelligence.

Stephen P. Mitchell
Norfolk, Virginia

mad about media

I think that an opportunity to consider the moral and spiritual implications of imagemakers Mormon or otherwise was missed in Volume X, No. 3. Perhaps I was expecting sharper issues than the "Imagemakers" descriptive subjects permitted. For instance, a round table reaction to Lang's "The Mormon Empire" may have generated issues I felt missing in Ashton's interview.

My subscription check should let you know that my momentary disappointment has not seriously influenced my loyalty to *Dialogue*.

Arthur H. Welsh
Mapleton, Utah

I received your issue on Mormons and the Media. Religion has become too sensitive a topic for *Dialogue*, right? Or is it simply that religion is such a thin vein in Mormonism that you've long since exhausted it?

Robert Ellis Dye
Saint Paul, Minnesota

good friend

Although not a Mormon, I find *Dialogue* to be a very interesting cross section of Mormon character. It serves a valuable place to me in better understanding my Mormon friends.

It was with great anticipation that I noted your intent to catch up with your distribution and to run the magazine in a more business like manner. Your notice that this was my last issue was puzzling, since I had just sent you a renewal in November 1976. I believe your records have been confused. I hope to continue receiving your fine journal which I have received since 1967.

I hope that you will solve your problems and fill the place *Dialogue* has for so many people.

Chuck Geltz
Audubon, Pennsylvania

Sorry for the inconvenience of being billed at the wrong time. The records are now corrected. Editor.

challenge

I am thoroughly bored with the theory that a person's pre-mortal or spirit life determines his place in the present mortal life, and I challenge anyone to show me any scriptural evidence for this idea. Don't come quoting what some Church official said to prove the point. Just reread the source and then read pages 203 and 204, volume 3, Doctrines of Salvation.

Cecil A. Gilbert
Panama City, Florida

ah flattery . . .

Recently a good friend of mine introduced me to your excellent publication. For years I have been looking for something like *Dialogue*. The Church is a very important part of my life and my testimony is strong and precious. At the same time, though, there are certain aspects of Mormon community life which can be extremely stifling and confining. What I find so refreshing about *Dialogue* is that it reinforces me when I start feeling that I am alone in my desire to broaden my horizons. It proves that one can be both a good Latter-day Saint and a skeptic when it comes to politics. There are many, many Church members who feel that unless you are a conservative Republican you are less than true to the Gospel. Keep up the good work.

Jack Hodson
Houston, Texas

TEXTUAL VARIANTS IN BOOK OF MORMON MANUSCRIPTS

STAN LARSON

Only 146 pages or part-pages of the Original Manuscript (MS) of the Book of Mormon are known to be extant—144 at the Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,[2] and two half-pages at the University of Utah.[3] Joseph Smith, III, President of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, once received from Lewis Bidamon pages of the Original MS for the Book of Jacob, but after being handled "the pages crumbled to pieces."[4]

The handcopied 464-page Printer's Manuscript of the Book of Mormon is complete except for some fifty-six words worn away from the bottom of the first sheet of text. For the greatest portion of the Book of Mormon, it constitutes the only manuscript in existence. The Printer's MS is in the possession of the RLDS Church in Independence, Missouri.[5]

A great value of these early manuscripts is that for the most part they substantiate the correctness of the present Book of Mormon text—fully 99.9% of the text is published correctly. In textual criticism, however, evidence should be weighed, not counted, since a unique reading in a reliable source may be better than any number of readings in less reliable sources. There are some 200 places where these manuscripts have readings that seem appreciably better than those of the printed editions.

Hugh Nibley has said that differences in the Book of Mormon text over the years have been brought about by (a) mistakes in the first edition that were later corrected, (b) changes made to clarify the English meaning, and even (c) conscious " 'corrections' that were better left unmade."[6] The present study adds to this list a fourth category—(d) mistakes made while the text was in its manuscript state.

The fifty textual variants which follow have been selected because they represent the most significant differences from our current printed edition.

Stan Larson works for the Translation Services of the Church. He has published articles on the Book of Mormon in *The Ensign* and *Sunstone*.

While similar errors have been corrected in later editions of the Book of Mormon, this group has previously gone unnoticed. They are presented under three general headings:

Part I—Corrections recorded on the manuscripts themselves, apparently by Oliver Cowdery or Joseph Smith. Although not necessarily resulting in "errors" in the published text, a few of these changes will be seen to be of questionable value.
Part II—Differences between the Original and Printer's Manuscripts, apparently representing transcription errors.
Part III—Differences between the manuscript version and the printed editions, apparently typesetting and proofreading errors.

These illustrations will show that valuable readings have been lost through scribal and typesetting errors. Because the authentic readings went unnoticed in the revision work for the 1837 and 1840 editions, they have not yet been restored to our text of the Book of Mormon. It is just as Moroni anticipated: "If there are faults, they are the mistakes of *men*."[7]

Several points should be made about the examples cited. Whenever a passage is presented, the preferred text (which is usually the oldest version of the text)[8] is placed on the left side. Due to the fragmentary nature and poor preservation of the Original MS, words or portions of words have occasionally been supplied based on their presence in other forms of the text; these are set off in brackets. Punctuation was sometimes added to the Printer's MS by the original typesetter, but since neither the Original nor the Printer's MS had any marks of punctuation these have been ignored when the manuscript text is quoted below. Whenever possible the Original MS is cited; if it is not cited, the relevant portion is not extant. Finally, in order to distinguish more easily between the different stages of the manuscript, the following abbreviations have been used:

"Original MS" refers to the original transcription as first dictated by Joseph Smith.
"Original MS^c" refers to the corrected Original MS.
"Printer's MS" refers to the transcription of the original manuscript made for the printer, *as first written*.
"Printer's MS^c" refers to the corrected Printer's MS.

PART I—Corrections Within the Manuscripts Themselves

The Original MS is a remarkably "clean" document: there are no major deletions, additions, or revisions of the text. Only a few minor corrections appear upon its pages. Usually when the Original MS has a correction, this Original MS^c is copied by the Printer's MS and followed by the editions. Scribal corrections in the manuscripts reveal efforts by Joseph Smith at the time of the original translation to clarify or restate a thought, indicating his intimate involvement in the process (variants 1–5). Additionally one finds revisions by Oliver Cowdery of the work of other scribes (variants 6–7), revisions made in preparation for the 1830 edition (variants 8–9), and revisions made for the 1837 edition (variants 10–11).

Variant 1—Alma 39:4

In the Original MS, Alma 39:4 first read "the Harlot Isabel yea she did *lead* away the hearts of many" to sexual immorality. Joseph Smith has changed

this in the Original MS^{c} to the more descriptive, "the Harlot Isabel yea she did *steal* away the hearts of many."

Variant 2—Alma 36:4

In Alma 36:4 the Original MS^{c} indicates not only that a thought was rephrased, but that it was done at the time of the original transcription of the Original MS. The stages in this revision were:

(a) & I would not that ye think [that] I Know of myself not of the *Carnal mind but of the spiritual*

(b) & I would not that ye think [that] I Know of myself not of the *tempral but of the spiritual*
Carnal mind but of the spiritual

(c) & I would not that ye think [that] I Know of myself not of the *tempral but of the spiritual*
Carnal mind but of the spiritual temperal but [of] the spiritual

(d) & I would not that ye think [that] I Know of myself not of the *tempral but of the spiritual*
Carnal mind but of the spiritual temperal but [of] the spiritual *not of the Carnal mind but of God*

(a) First the statement was written; then (b) the last six words were deleted and a revision written above; (c) this above-the-line revision was crossed out and re-written on the running line of the text (indicating that it was done at the time of the original transcription); and finally (d) there was further amplification of the thought in the "carnal mind" phrase which follows in the original transcription. The Printer's MS and the printed editions follow the final revision of the Original MS^{c}.

Variant 3—Alma 25:12

Another instance in which Joseph Smith appears to have deliberated over how to express an idea is Alma 25:12. The Original MS clause "their seed [should cause many] to *suffer* death" was changed in the Original MS^{c} to *be put to*
"their seed [should cause many] to *suffer* death."

Variant 4—Alma 56:41

Joseph Smith often translated a phrase out of usual English order, possibly because he was following the word order in the original. For example, the Original MS at Alma 56:41 has the phrase "we saw the Laman[ites upon us]" written and crossed out; and then the same phrase re-appears in the next line.

Variant 5—1 Nephi 20:11

Joseph Smith apparently used the King James Version in translating the plates that contained quotations from the Bible. The only Biblical passages in

the surviving parts of the Original MS are chapters twenty and twenty-one of 1 Nephi. At 1 Nephi 20:11 some of the wording of the King James Version is found in the Original MS: "*how should I* suffer my [na]me to be polluted." The Original MS^c shows the Book of Mormon revision: "*how should I will not* suffer my [na]me to be polluted." After following the wording of the King James Version Joseph Smith apparently decided that it needed improvement.[9]

When Oliver Cowdery produced the Printer's MS he made a number of improvements in the spelling, capitalization, and grammar.[10] In at least two additional cases Oliver Cowdery also changed Original MS passages written by another scribe.[11] The following revisions of the Original MS^c were probably inserted while Cowdery was making the Printer's MS for that passage.

Variant 6—1 Nephi 3:16

In 1 Nephi 3:16 of the Original MS—tentatively identified as in the handwriting of John Whitmer[12]—the phrase "of the Lord" at the end of the verse is added above the line by Oliver Cowdery. Evidently he felt a need to fill out the intended meaning.[13]

Variant 7—1 Nephi 7:17

Original MS	*Original MS^c, Printer's MS, All Printed Editions*[14]
O lord according to my faith which is in *me*	O Lord, according to my faith which is in *thee,*

Nephi is addressing the Lord in prayer. The phrase in the Original MS (in the hand of an unidentified scribe) seems to mean "according to the faith that I have within myself."[15] An extremely faint correction in the handwriting of Oliver Cowdery substitutes the word *thee* over the deleted *me.* Perhaps Cowdery thought the intent was to emphasize the object of the faith. Though the change was clearly intentional, it is not known whether it was authorized by Joseph Smith.

In variants 8–9 the Printer's MS followed the Original MS correctly, but then was revised for the 1830 edition. The Printer's MS^c was the basis for that edition. Numerous minor revisions were made to the Printer's MS for the 1830 edition, but they are not included here.[16]

Variant 8—Alma 33:14

When the Printer's MS was corrected sometimes the same change was also added to the Original MS. In Alma 33:14 the Original MS has a single question: "I would ask if ye have read these scriptures how can ye disbel[ieve] on the son of God[?]" Oliver Cowdery, after having copied the Original MS, felt a need to divide the single question into two separate queries: "I would ask if ye have read these scriptures [?] *how can if ye have* how can ye disbelieve on the son of God [?]" The "if ye have" which starts the second question was then added to the Original MS.

Variant 9—Titles to 1 Nephi and 2 Nephi

The original titles to the books of 1 Nephi and 2 Nephi both seem to have been simply "The Book of Nephi". This is indicated by the addition of *second* to the title of 2 Nephi in both the Printer's MS^{c} and the Original MS^{c}. The text in the Original MS is very faint at this point, but the word *second* added above the line is clear and obviously was written later than the body of the text. Similarly, the title to 1 Nephi appears in the Printer's MS^{c} as "The first Book of Nephi". While the Original MS for this is not in existence, it probably resembled that of 2 Nephi, being added when the Printer's MS^{c} was made.

In variants 10–11 the Printer's MS has been corrected, but the change is not reflected in either the 1830 or the 1837 edition. Because of this there is no certain way to determine whether the change was made (a) to conform to the Original MS, or (b) in conjunction with the 1830 edition, or (c) at the time of the 1837 edition. The historical context indicates that 1837 is the most likely date for this type of correction in the Printer's MS.

Variant 10—Alma 18:7

Printer's MS^{c}	*Printer's MS, All Printed Editions*
now it was the practice of *the*^{se} Lamanites	Now it was the practice of *the* Lamanites,

The Printer's MS^{c} *these* is more precise since it was the practice of only these particular Lamanites to scatter flocks at the waters of Sebus, rather than the practice of the Lamanites in general. This revision in the Printer's MS may have been overlooked.

Variant 11—Alma 16:5

Printer's MS^{c}	*Printer's MS, All Printed Editions*
desired of him to Know *whither* ~~they~~ the Lord would that they should go into the wilderness	desired of him to know *whether* the Lord would that they should go into the wilderness

An *i* has been written on top of the *e* of the Printer's MS *whether. Whither* better fits the context. (There is a parallel situation in Alma 43:23, in which Alma is asked to "inquire of the Lord *whither* the armies of the Nephites would go to defend themselves against the Lamanites). Notice that the reply does not answer the question of "whether" they should go, but "where" they should go (Alma 16:6). This correction in the Printer's MS probably went unnoticed.

PART II—Differences Between the Two Manuscripts

In variants 12–27 the Original MS is different from the Printer's MS. Though this difference *could* be due to intentional alteration, it seems to be due to the incorrect transcribing of the Original MS.

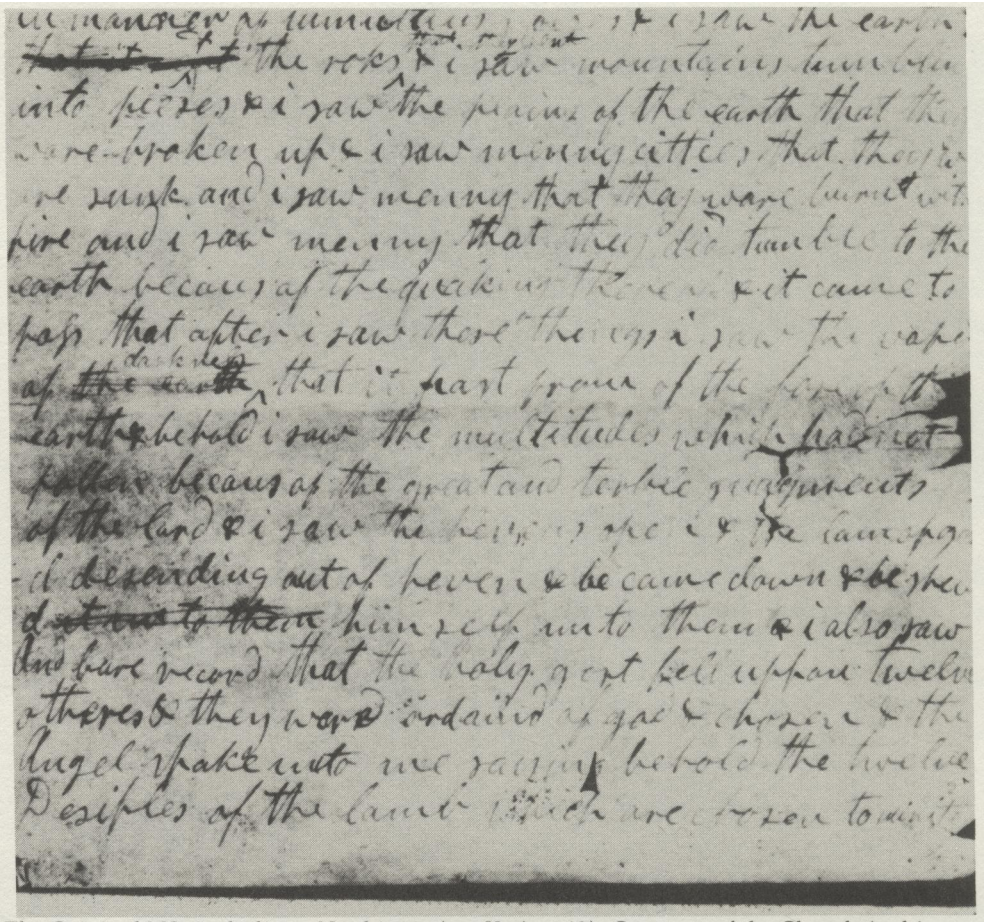
Oliver Cowdery had the task of making a complete manuscript copy to be used by the printer. The Printer's MS that he produced exhibits scribal errors common in any long transcription. Many times during the transcription process, words or phrases were accidentally omitted in the Printer's MS and then added above the line as a Printer's MS^{c}. In fact, in at least ten places entire lines were skipped and then recovered as interlinear corrections. Other times words or lines were accidentally doubled in the Printer's MS, and then one of the two was deleted. The numerous cases in which the Printer's MS was corrected to correspond to the Original MS illustrate the effort that was made to faithfully reproduce the original. As previously noted, the improvements that Oliver Cowdery intentionally made in the Printer's MS generally consist of capitalization and spelling, as well as a number of minor grammatical or stylistic improvements.[17] *Substantive differences between the Original MS and the Printer's MS seem to be unintentional*—a result of carelessness, not correction. Most of these variations result in little difference in meaning; but, significantly, whenever there is an appreciable difference, the better of the two is found in the Original MS. If the manuscript had been proofread more carefully, all of the unintentional differences between the Original MS and the Printer's MS would have been eliminated, and the textual variants illustrated in this part would have been corrected while the Book of Mormon was still in its manuscript state.

The following passages are due to misreading the Original MS when the Printer's MS was in preparation. In each case the printed editions follow the misread Printer's MS text. Therefore, none of the following sixteen readings from the Original MS has ever appeared in a printed edition of the Book of Mormon.[18]

Variant 12—1 Nephi 12:5

Original MS	*Printer's MS* *All Printer Editions*
i saw the multitudes which had *not* fallen becaus of the great and terble judgments of the lord	I saw multitudes which had fallen, because of the great and terrible judgments of the Lord.

According to the Printer's MS and all printed editions, after Nephi saw the lightning, heard the earthquakes, and saw the cities destroyed, he saw in vision wicked multitudes who had fallen dead because of divine judgments at the time Jesus Christ died in Palestine. The difficulty is that 1 Ne. 12:6 relates the Lord's descent from heaven and his appearance unto "them." What is the antecedent of "them"? If one knew no better, one would be forced to the conclusion that he appeared to the dead bodies of the wicked! The context of the Printer's MS and the printed editions implies this impossible situation. However, quite a different picture of Nephi's prophetic vision is offered by the significant reading of the Original MS. Notice that following the disappearance of the "vapor of darkness" and the subsequent clearing of his vision, Nephi sees specific multitudes as indicated by the definite article *the*—earlier in 1 Nephi 12:1–2 he merely saw general multitudes of his descendants. The words as originally translated by the Prophet Joseph



The Original MS, including 1 Nephi 12:4 (see *Variant 12*). Courtesy of the Church Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Smith refer to "*the* multitudes which had *not* fallen." Adding the word *not*[19] eliminates the difficulty and gives a more accurate picture of Nephi's vision. As his vision cleared in this verse, he saw those who (because they were more righteous) had *not* fallen. At this time the heavens opened and the resurrected Christ descended and showed himself unto "them," that is, to the righteous who had been spared. This rendition of the Original MS is perfectly consistent and clear and is fulfilled by the visitation of Christ related in 3 Nephi 11–28.[20]

Original MS	*Printer's MS* *All Printed Editions*
Variant 13—1 Nephi 13:4	
the *formation* of a great Church	the *foundation* of a great church.
Variant 14—1 Nephi 13:5	
behold the *formation* of a Church which is most abominable	Behold the *foundation* of a church, which is most abominable

Variant 15—1 Nephi 13:26

the *formation* of that great & abominable church	the *foundation* of a great and abominable church,

A difference in handwriting style seems to have caused problems at times. The handwriting—probably one of the Whitmers—differs in the formation of the letter *r* from Oliver Cowdery's handwriting.[21] In the above three passages Oliver Cowdery misread the word *formation*[22] in the Original MS as *foundation.* However, when reference is made in 1 Nephi 13:32 to these very statements about the church's formation, he correctly copied the *formation* from the Original MS.

Variant 16—1 Nephi 13:24

Original MS	*Printer's MS, All Printed Editions*
the *fulness* of the Gospel of the Lord	the *plainness* of the Gospel of the Lord,

In this passage the phrase "*fulness* of the gospel" found in the Original MS was incorrectly transcribed into the Printer's MS as "*plainness* of the gospel." The phrase "*plainness* of the gospel" occurs nowhere else, while "*fulness* of the gospel" appears seven other times in the Book of Mormon.

Variant 17—1 Nephi 15:12

Original MS	*Printer's MS All Printed Editions*
by the spirit of the Lord which was in our *father*	by the spirit of the Lord which was in our *fathers;*

Nephi was answering the questions of Laman and Lemuel about their father Lehi's vision, and throughout this chapter references to their *father* occur ten times. An eleventh reference to their *father* is found in the Original MS at this verse which was incorrectly copied into the Printer's MS as *fathers* and thus the plural form found its way into the printed editions.

Variant 18—1 Nephi 19:2

Original MS	*Printer's MS, All Printed Editions*
eng[raven] upon those *first* plates of which I have spoken	engraven upon those plates of which I have spoken;

Sometimes the omission of a word leaves a passage less precise. The Original MS of this verse mentions "those *first* plates of which I have spoken," specifying the large plates of Nephi and their prior construction.

Variant 19—1 Nephi 19:23

Original MS	*Printer's MS, All Printed Editions*
& I did read many things unto th[em whi]ch were in the *Books* of Moses	And I did read many things unto them, which were written in the *Book* of Moses;

According to 1 Nephi 5:11 the brass plates of Laban contained the "five books of Moses." There are a number of other places where such singular-plural variations occur. While one may seem no better than the other, unless there is some compelling evidence to the contrary it should be assumed that the earliest rendition is more reliable.

Variant 20—2 Nephi 1:1

Original MS	*Printer's MS, All Printed Editions*
our father Lehi also spake many things unto them *& rehearsed unto them* [how great things the] Lord had done for them	our father, Lehi, also spake many things unto them: how great things the Lord had done for them,

Here the double occurrence of the phrase "unto them" facilitated the accidental omission of the Original MS phrase *& rehearsed unto them*. The present edition attempts to bridge the hiatus by the omission of these four words, and accordingly has punctuated with a dash at the point where the deletion occurred. The Original MS eliminates the need for special punctuation.

Variant 21—Alma 30:5

Original MS	*Printer's MS All Printed Editions*
[& it came to pass in th]e *commencement of the* seventeenth year of the [reign of the judges]	And it came to pass in the seventeenth year of the reign of the Judges,

The accidental omission of this phrase, *the commencement of,* from Alma 30:5 in the Printer's MS and thus all printed editions results in the apparent implication that there was continual peace throughout the seventeenth year.[23] This, however, conflicts with the events during that year, which include the heresy of Korihor, the Zoramite apostasy, the humble ones of Antionum being cast out and then joining the Ammonites of Jershon, the Zoramites stirring up the Lamanites against the Ammonites, and their preparations for war (see Alma 30:5–35:12).

The Original MS resolves this conflict by stating that the peace which had begun in the "sixteenth year of the reign of the judges" (Alma 30:2) continued only as far as "the *commencement* of the seventeenth year," and that in the "latter end" of the same year (Alma 30:6) the disturbances and conflicts started to happen.[24] The Original MS preserves the consistent original translation.

Variant 22—Alma 30:52

Original MS	*Printer's MS All Printed Editions*
& I *always* Knew that there was a God	and I *also* knew that there was a God.

In the thirtieth chapter of Alma is related a dramatic encounter between the prophet Alma and the anti-Christ Korihor. After asking for a sign, Korihor is struck dumb. He writes that the devil told him that there was no God and taught him the things he should preach. Korihor claims he eventually convinced himself into believing them. The question could properly be asked whether Korihor knew all along the falsity of his teachings.

Truman G. Madsen has said the following concerning this crucial verse:

> Now he acknowledges that in the very midst of his campaign of disparagement, "I also knew that there was a God." A typographical error diminishes the scope of his knowing, for the original [manuscript] has him say, "I *always* knew that there was a God." (Alma 30:52.) Always? Even when, as he says, he "verily believed" that his denials were true? Yes. But isn't that a contradiction? Yes. A more than logical self-contradiction into which all of us frequently fall.[25]

The explicit statement found in the Original MS clarifies this incident and shows that deep-down Korihor was aware of his deception, underscoring his perfidy.

Variant 23—Alma 31:30

Original MS	*Printer's MS, All Printed Editions*
O Lord God how long wilt thou suffer that such wickedness & *infidelity* shall be among this People	O Lord God, how long wilt thou suffer that such wickedness and *iniquity* shall be among this people?

Oliver Cowdery seems here to have misread the Original MS *infidelity* as *iniquity*. In Alma's fervent prayer after witnessing the apostate practices of the Zoramites, he uses the word *infidelity* to describe their condition of holding apostate doctrines. The meaning of *infidelity* in this verse is not marital unfaithfulness, but rather a lack or "want of faith or belief."[26] Joseph Smith elsewhere used *infidelity* to mean unbelief.[27]

Variant 24—Alma 37:18

Original MS	*Printer's MS, All Printed Editions*
for he promised unto them that he would *preserve* these things	For he promised unto them that he would *reserve* these things

The omission of the initial letter was occasioned by Oliver Cowdery's method of dividing the word *preserve:* the *p* was placed at the end of one line and the rest of the word at the beginning of the next. In this chapter *preserve(d)* occurs six other places, but *reserve* is not found anywhere in

Alma. This verse is essentially a restatement of a message in a previous verse which used *preserve* (Alma 37:14).

Variant 25—Alma 37:36

Original MS	*Printer's MS, All Printed Editions*
let *all* [thy thoughts b]e directed [un]to the Lord	let thy thoughts be directed unto the Lord;

In Alma's discourse to his son Helaman as found in the Original MS, he repeats the word *all* three times. The last *all* (which had been written at the end of a line) was left out of the Printer's MS, and thus it is missing from the printed editions. A loss of emphasis results.

Variant 26—Alma 42:2

Original MS	*Printer's MS, All Printed Editions*
yea he *drove* out the man	yea, he *drew* out the man,

Though it is very faint in the Original MS, careful analysis of each occurrence of both *drew* and *drove* in the Oliver Cowdery portions of both manuscripts shows that the Original MS reading here is indeed *drove*. This passage refers back to the account in Genesis 3:24 where the Hebrew has *gāraš*, which means "drive out, drive away, cast out."[28] The reading *drew*, however, would place the Lord outside the garden, pulling Adam out! For further support of *drove*, compare the statement earlier in this verse that "the Lord God sent our first parents forth" and also the passages at 2 Nephi 2:19 and Moses 4:31.

Variant 27—Alma 52:36

Original MS	*All Printed Editions*
& the [re]mainder of them being much confused Knew not *whither* to go or to strike	and the remainder of them, being much confused, knew not *whether* to go or to strike.

In this passage the *whither* of the Original MS was at first written as *where* in the Printer's MS. Perhaps in an attempt to more accurately represent the *whither* of the Original MS, the *re* of *where* was crossed out and *ther* written above it, resulting in the Printer's MS^{c} *whether*. The reading *whether* implies that to the Lamanites there was a real question as to whether they should run away or stay and fight. Originally, however, they did not know *where* to go or strike.

PART III—Differences Between the Manuscripts and Printed Editions

In variants 28–50 the Printer's MS (and the Original MS, when it is extant) is different from the printed editions. Though this difference between the manuscript(s) and the editions *could* be due to intentional alteration, it seems

to be an unintentional printer's error caused by misreading or misprinting the Printer's MS.

Meticulous proof-reading of the 1830 edition against the Printer's MS would have eliminated the errors in this part.[29] Another measure of its inadequacy is the more than one hundred obvious typographical errors that went undetected. The errors enumerated below could only have been discovered by a careful comparison of the text against the Printer's MS. For the first printed edition of the Book of Mormon the typesetter added punctuation and made conscious improvements in the spelling, capitalization, and grammar. Such improvements are not included in the discrepancies to be noted below. There is no evidence that the typesetter made deliberate, substantive alterations of the text.

Because much of the Original MS has been lost, it is often impossible to verify the original reading of the following passages. Nonetheless, a noted textual critic has pointed out, "the odds favor that form found in the state of the text that lies nearest to the [original] manuscript."[30] The following passages are misreadings of the Printer's MS that were first misprinted in 1830. None were corrected in the second or later editions, and all are present in our current edition of the Book of Mormon.[31]

Variant 28—2 Nephi 2:27

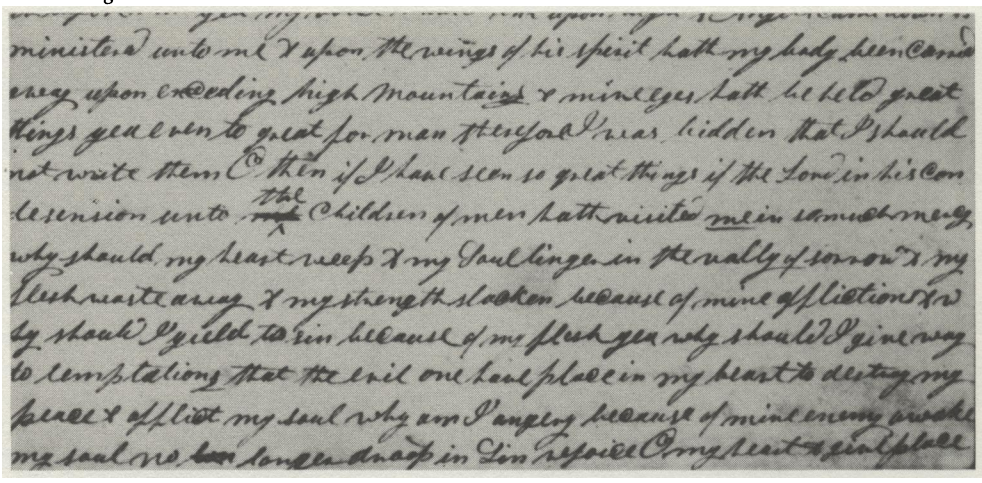
Printer's MS	*All Printed Editions*
& they are free to chose liberty & eternal life through the great *mediator* of all men	And they are free to choose liberty and eternal life, through the great *mediation* of all men,

Evidently the typesetter misread Oliver Cowdery's final *r*. In further support of this view is the fact that *mediator* occurs nowhere else in the Book of Mormon except the very next verse (2 Nephi 2:28).[32] By following the Printer's MS phrase "the great *mediator* of all men" it becomes clear that one must choose between two real individuals: either Christ the mediator or Satan the adversary.

Variant 29—2 Nephi 4:26

Printer's MS	*All Printed Editions*
if the Lord in his condescension unto ~~me~~ the children of men hath visited *me* in so much mercy	if the Lord in his condescension unto the children of men, hath visited *men* in so much mercy,

The Printer's MS has a somewhat more forceful rendition of Nephi's psalm. Nephi had seen such great things, and the Lord in his condescension had visited *him* with so much mercy. Why, Nephi then asks himself, do I act the way I do?



The Printer's MS, including 2 Nephi 4:26 (see *Variant 29*). Courtesy of the Library Archives, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, The Auditorium, Independence, Missouri.

Variant 30—2 Nephi 33:4

Printer's MS	*All Printed Editions*
the things which I have written in weakness will *he make* strong unto them	the things which I have written in weakness, will *be made* strong unto them:

The active *he make* is more forceful than the passive *be made* of the printed editions. In support of the active construction here compare the statement by the Lord in 2 Nephi 3:21.

Variant 31—Jacob 3:5

Printer's MS	*All Printed Editions*
for they have not forgotten the *commandments* of the Lord which was given unto our *father*	for they have not forgotten the *commandment* of the Lord, which was given unto our *fathers*,

As the text stands in the printed editions, Jacob seems to refer to a commandment given to his *fathers*, presumably such forefathers as Abraham and Jacob. The difficulty is that the reference is to a prohibition of polygamy. Jacob's forefathers were *not* prohibited from practicing polygamy. Therefore, the printed reference seems both perplexing and illogical. The explication of the problem seems to be in the reading of the Printer's MS. In this earliest available rendition, Jacob is speaking of certain commandments given by the Lord to his father Lehi to the effect that his people should not practice polygamy. In Jacob 2:34 a similar statement appears: "these commandments were given unto our father Lehi." The appearance of the plural *fathers* in the

first edition can be understood after an examination of the handwriting in the Printer's MS. The final *r* of *father* is very close to a semi-colon added by the typesetter, and could have resulted in a misreading of the word as *fathers.*

Variant 32—Jacob 7:25

Printer's MS	*All Printed Editions*
fortify against them with their *arms* & with all their might	fortify against them with their *armies,* and with all their might,

The Printer's MS correctly has *arms* (in the sense of "weapons"), but the printed editions have an anachronistic reference to *armies* too early in the history of the little Nephite colony. The earliest authentic occurrence of *army* or *armies* in the Book of Mormon (excluding the passage in question) occurs much later in the Words of Mormon 1:13, after which it properly appears often in the text.[33]

Variant 33—Mosiah 27:28

Printer's MS	*All Printed Editions*
nevertheless after *wadeing* through much tribulation	Nevertheless, after *wandering* through much tribulation,

The phrase "wading through much tribulation" in the Printer's MS pictures the diligence of one in the process of repentance. But the typesetter, possibly aided by the faulty spelling *wadeing,* misprinted it as *wandering.* Other parallel occurrences of the phrase "wade through" support the Printer's MS in the image brought to mind of resolutely trudging to a goal (albeit through tribulation) rather than wandering aimlessly.[34]

Variant 34—Alma 1:32

Printer's MS	*All Printed Editions*
persecuting lying thieving robing commiting whoredoms & murdering	lying, thieving, robbing, commiting whoredoms, and murdering,

In this list of wrongs committed by those not members of the Nephite church, the Printer's MS also has *persecuting,* but this was accidentally left out of the 1830 and later editions.

Variant 35—Alma 2:30

Printer's MS	*All Printed Editions*
to save and *protect* this people	to save and *preserve* this people.

In context *protect* seems more suited to the immediate desire of Alma, rather than the long-range implications of the *preserve,* as in the printed editions.

Variant 36—Alma 5:1

Printer's MS	*All Printed Editions*
declair the word of God unto the People	*deliver* the word of God unto the people,

Perhaps aided by the imperfect spelling *declair*, the word and meaning has been changed from *declare* to *deliver*. [35]

Variant 37—Alma 7:9

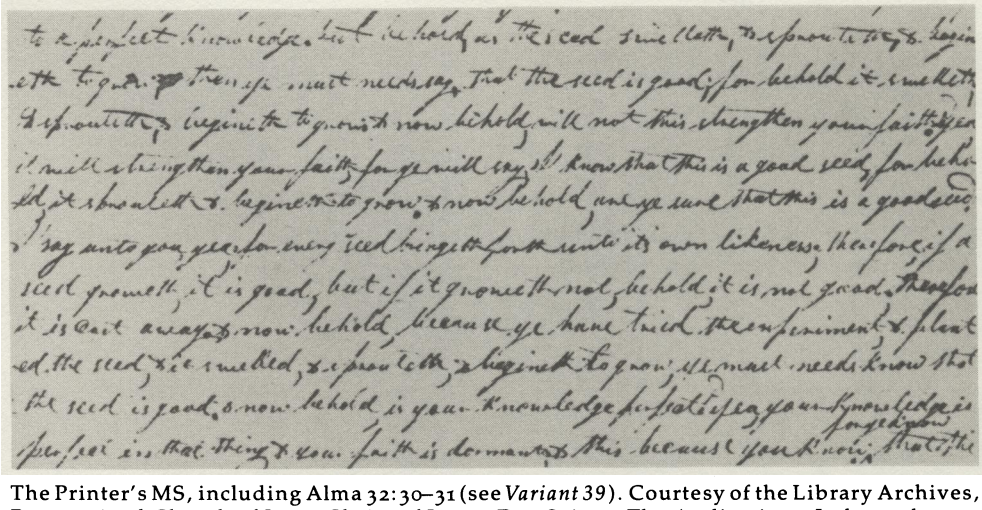
Printer's MS	*All Printed Editions*
Repent ye *repent ye* and prepare the way of the Lord	Repent ye, and prepare the way of the Lord,

In this case the emphatic double command *repent ye repent ye*, has been lost. The same error, of omitting a "repent ye", also occurred at Alma 9:25. [36]

Variant 38—Alma 10:5

Printer's MS	*All Printed Editions*
his mysteries and his *myraculous* power	his mysteries and his *marvellous* power;

The usage of the phrase *mysteries and marvelous powers* earlier in the verse may have been the factor that led to the printed rendition.



The Printer's MS, including Alma 32:30–31 (see *Variant 39*). Courtesy of the Library Archives, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, The Auditorium, Independence, Missouri.

Variant 39—Alma 32:30–31

Original MS, Printer's MS	*All Printed Editions*
for behold it swelleth & sprouteth & begineth to grow *& now behold will not this strengthen your faith yea it will strengthen your faith for ye will say I know that this is a good seed for behold it sprouteth & begineth to grow* and now behold are ye sure that this is a good seed	for behold it swelleth, and sprouteth, and beginneth to grow. And now behold, are ye sure that this is a good seed?

This passage represents the most extensive omission made anywhere in the text of the Book of Mormon. For the reader to appreciate the value of this missing section, the entire discourse should be carefully re-read.[37] The strengthening of faith as described in this "lost" section is a significant step in Alma's explanation of how faith grows and develops. The idea of "strengthening of faith" (rather than *increasing* faith) is found elsewhere only in Alma 25:16, where it is associated with the strengthening of one's faith in Christ. The fact that the typesetter's punctuation had been applied and that the missing section coincided with identical words just two lines apart suggest that the omission was accidental.

Variant 40—Alma 57:25

Original MS, Printer's MS	*All Printed Editions*
& to our great astonishment & also the *joy* of our whole army	and to our great astonishment, and also the *foes* of our whole army,

The printed text contains a puzzling reference to the *foes* of Helaman's army being astonished that none of his 2060 young warriors was slain during a battle. It seems to imply that after the battle Helaman's men went over to their defeated enemies to ask them what they thought of their own marvelous preservation! The word *foes* is a misreading of Oliver Cowdery's handwritten *joy*.[38] The meaning of the Original and Printer's MSS is more plausible. It is also consistent with the statements that "their preservation was astonishing to our whole army" (Alma 57:26), and "I was filled with exceeding joy, because of the goodness of God in preserving us" (Alma 57:36).

Variant 41— Alma 62:27

Printer's MS	*All Printed Editions*
as many of the Lamanites that were prisoners were desireous to join the people of Ammon	many of the Lamanites that were prisoners, were desirous to join the people of Ammon,

An inconsistency in all printed editions exists here because it states: (a) that "many" of the Lamanite prisoners were desirous to become free Ammonites; and then in verses 28 and 29, (b) that those who were desirous received according to their desires, and (c) that "therefore *all* the prisoners of the Lamanites did join the people of Ammon." The passage is unclear as to

whether "all" or only "many" of these prisoners joined the Ammonites. However, the Printer's MS resolves this by making it plain that *all* the prisoners were involved in the decision.

Variant 42—Helaman 13:20

Printer's MS	*All Printed Editions*
& because they have set their hearts upon their riches & will hide up their treasures	and because they have set their hearts upon their riches, *I* will hide up their treasures

The editions state that the Lord himself will hide up the treasures of the wicked. This statement was caused by the typesetter's mistaking the & (ampersand) of the Printer's MS for a capital *I*. The original meaning of the passage in the Printer's MS is much more consistent with our understanding of the way the Lord does things. The meaning of this verse is further clarified with the following puncutation:

> And the day shall come that they shall hide up their treasures because they have set their hearts upon riches; and because they have set their hearts upon their riches *and* will hide up their treasures when they shall flee before their enemies—because they will not hide them up unto me, cursed be they and also their treasures; and in that day shall they be smitten, saith the Lord.

Variant 43—Helaman 16:7

Printer's MS	*All Printed Editions*
& did flee out of their ~~*hands*~~ *lands*	and did flee out of their *lands*,

Samuel the Lamanite's dramatic escape in the Printer's MS from the *hands* of his enemies after they had just gone forth to "lay their hands on him" was misread by the typesetter. The word *lands* is also inconsistent with Samuel leaving the "land [not *lands*] of Zarahemla" (Helaman 13:2).

Variant 44—3 Nephi 4:18–19

Printer's MS	*All Printed Editions*
because of their much provision which they had laid up in store & because of the scantiness of provisions among the robbers	because of their much provision which they had laid up in store because of the scantiness of provisions among the robbers;

The omission by the typesetter of an & (ampersand) between two clauses has resulted in a confusing and incomplete statement. The 1830 edition states that the Gadianton robbers could not successfully besiege the Nephites "because of their [the Nephites] much provision which they had laid up in store because of the scantiness of provisions among the robbers." It is unclear why the scanty provisions of the robbers somehow caused the abundance of provisions of the Nephites. The present edition has sensed this problem, and punctuated the text into separate verses, but the result is that now 3 Nephi 4:19 is a dangling fragment. This difficulty is eliminated by

the reading of the Printer's MS, which connects the two "because" clauses by an *and.* Thus, the robbers' siege was impossible (a) because of the Nephites' much provision, and (b) because of the robbers' scanty provisions.

Variant 45—3 Nephi 6:3

Printer's MS	*All Printed Editions*
a covenant to keep the peace of the *land*	a covenant to keep the peace, of the *band*

Because of misreading *land* as *band,* the punctuation also has been incorrectly affixed. Following the Printer's MS the statement reads "a covenant to keep the peace of the *land,*" which is parallel to the conclusion of the verse which says that "thus they did establish peace in all the land."

Variant 46—3 Nephi 19:25

Printer's MS	*All Printed Editions*
Jesus *beheld* them as they did pray unto him	Jesus *blessed* them, as they did pray unto him,

Even though there is an intuitive desire to favor the reading of the printed editions because of the apparent significance of the Lord's action, it must be realized that the simple statement that "Jesus *beheld* them" is paralleled by the statement later in the verse that "his countenance did smile upon them and the light of his countenance did shine upon them."

Variant 47—Mormon 8:10

Printer's MS	*All Printed Editions*
& *whither* they be upon the face of the land no man knoweth	and *whether* they be upon the face of the land, no man knoweth.

According to the Printer's MS no one knew *whither* ("where") the three Nephites were. Moroni hastens to add that he and his father have seen and been ministered to by them (Mormon 8:11). Compare the similar phraseology in 1 Nephi 22:4.

Variant 48—Mormon 9:30

Printer's MS	*All Printed Editions*
for I know that ye shall *have* my words	for I know that ye shall *hear* my words.

In this case *have* means "possess" and indicates that a record with his words will be available to the people in the latter days.

Variant 49—Ether 1:41

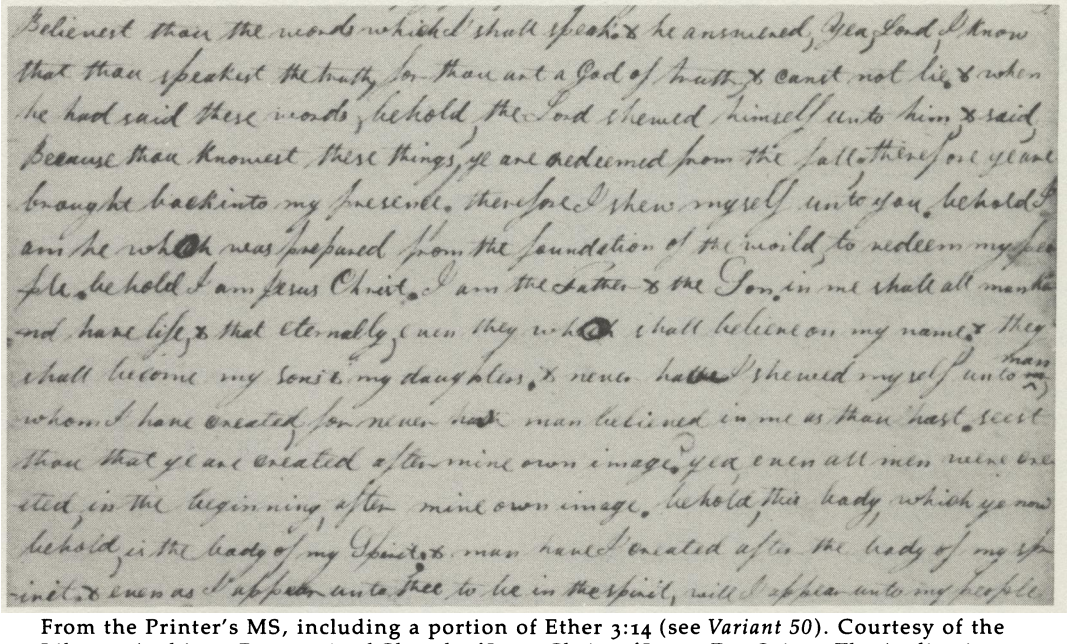
Printer's MS	*All Printed Editions*
& thy *family* & also Jared thy brother & his family	and thy *families;* and also Jared thy brother and his family;

There has been some conjecture in the past whether the brother of Jared was polygamous because of the printed reference to his *families*. For example, in the 1879 edition (and continuing until the 1920 edition) Orson Pratt commented as follows in the footnote to this passage: "From this verse it is seen that the brother of Jared had a plurality of families." No support is found in the Printer's MS which has the singular *family*.[39]

Variant 50—Ether 3:14

Printer's MS	*All Printed Editions*
in me shall all mankind have *life* & that eternally even they which shall believe on my name	In me shall all mankind have *light*, and that eternally, even they which shall believe on my name;

The truly faithful are promised eternal *life*, rather than the less meaningful eternal light misprinted in the published editions.[40]



From the Printer's MS, including a portion of Ether 3:14 (see *Variant 50*). Courtesy of the Library-Archives, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, The Auditorium, Independence, Missouri.

This glimpse into the early textual history of the Book of Mormon has shown that even though the Original MS is demonstrably inferior in such non-essentials as spelling, capitalization, and grammar, it appears to be superior to the other texts whenever there is a substantive difference between it and the Printer's MS or the early editions. That the rendition in the Original MS is preferable supports Joseph Smith's claim as an inspired translator. In June of 1829 the Lord declared to the three witnesses that Joseph Smith had "translated the book, even that part which I have commanded him, and as your Lord and your God liveth it is true" (D&C 17: 6). Strictly speaking, this statement refers *only* to the translation of the Book of Mormon as contained in the Original MS, since at that time neither a

Printer's MS nor any printed edition existed. Careful study has verified the judgment that in essentials the Original MS is the most correct text. The types of mistakes found in this manuscript—mere scribal and grammatical errors—underscores its essential integrity.

Nonetheless a number of misprints in the 1830 text were not (and have not yet been) corrected to agree with what seem to be the intended meanings found in the manuscript. The investigation of the scribal and printing variants of a particular document is especially important when such information helps clarify or even restore the concepts originally intended. Such has been the case with the study of Book of Mormon variants. Some of these variants demonstrate a certain lack of precision in the transcription process, and show that the Book of Mormon, as it passed from its manuscript state into print, has been subject to the same kind of textual difficulties found in other transmitted texts. The manuscripts have not revealed any suggestion of individuals busily altering a text to cover up blunders before publication, but rather a less than perfect effort to guard the textual integrity of a new scripture.

Our text of the Book of Mormon should be the very best possible. A careful comparison with the early manuscripts could in many instances improve our published text, bringing it back to the way Joseph Smith presumably intended it to be. It would not be a matter of making a poor thing better: it is a matter of making a work of inestimable value more accurate.

Post Script

As a basis for comparison with the variations that have occurred in the early Book of Mormon text, an independent investigation was made into the frequency and nature of alterations that are likely to occur during an oral recitation of the complete Book of Mormon. This involved listening to the *Listener's Digest: the Book of Mormon on Cassettes* (as read by Lael Woodbury) and noting those places where it differs from the Book of Mormon text. The variations, or errors, which were found arose from the following three causes:

(a) Misreading a word as one of similar appearance. For example, the tape recording has *enemies* instead of *armies* (1 Nephi 17:27); *trust* instead of *visit* (Enos 10); *Israel* instead of *Ishmael* (Alma 17:21); *resurrection* instead of *restoration* (Alma 41:10); *forfeited* instead of *fortified* (Alma 62:42); *appointed* instead of *anointed* (Ether 9:15); and *caused* instead of *ceased* (Moroni 8:28).

(b) Misreading a word as another word found in the immediate context, either before or after the misread word. For example, saying *word* instead of *world* (Jacob 4:9); *commandments* instead of *judgments* (Mosiah 6:6); *words* instead of *plates* (Jarom 15); *voice* instead of *head* (Alma 8:15); *toiled* instead of *fought* (Alma 56:16); *fallen* instead of *fled* (Moroni 9:17); and *dust* instead of *dead* (Moroni 10:27).

(c) Misreading a word or phrase by adding or deleting letters or words. Several times variations occurred between singulars and plurals. The most drastic alteration in the recorded version due to addition or deletion of an entire word was 2 Ne. 28:20 where the addition of a *not* reversed the original meaning.

Such variations as these are the type of error one would expect from an oral reading; they occurred even though a conscientious effort was made to read the text exactly as it was printed. Woodbury has said:

> At no time did we make any intentional change or substitution of any of the book's content. We had a director listen while we recorded, and the errors you describe are there only because they escaped his attention.[41]

Some of the errors radically distort the meaning, while others actually make quite good sense and speak truths just as much as the correct readings. But *all* must be rejected as variants with absolutely no authority. It is remarkable to see how similar were the types of accidental variation that occurred when the Original MS was read in preparation of the Printer's MS, and when the Printer's MS was read to make the 1830 edition.

NOTES

[1]Most of the textual variants discussed in this article are derived from the compilation in the writer's thesis, "A Study of Some Textual Variations in the Book of Mormon Comparing the Original and the Printer's Manuscripts and the 1830, the 1837, and the 1840 Editions," unpublished Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1974.

[2]Dean C. Jessee, "The Original Book of Mormon Manuscript," *BYU Studies*, X (Spring 1970), 273, presents a complete listing of the extant Original MS pages located in Church archives.

[3]Everett Cooley, "The Frederick Kesler Collection," *BYU Studies*, XIII (Winter 1973), 223–24.

[4]*The Saints' Herald*, XLVI (1899), 650. Cf. also *The Saint's Herald*, XXXI (1884), 538.

[5]See Richard P. Howard, *Restoration Scriptures: A Study of Their Textual Development* (Independence, Missouri: Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1969), p. 28, for the account of how the RLDS Church came into possession of the Printer's MS. The LDS Church archives has a microfilm copy of the Printer's MS. See *Deseret News*, Nov. 23, 1974, p. 4A, and *Deseret News*, "Church Section," Nov. 30, 1974, p. 3.

[6]Hugh Nibley, *Since Cumorah: The Book of Mormon in the Modern World* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1967), pp. 4–7.

[7]Title page of the Book of Mormon. Emphasis added. It should be noted that the original statement was: "If there be fault, it be the mistake of men." It was revised to the present form in 1837.

[8]The only two exceptions to this are examples 10 and 11 in which a Printer's MS^c is preferred over the earlier Printer's MS.

[9]Also in support of the view that the King James Version was utilized is the tendency for Book of Mormon revisions of Biblical material to cluster around words that are printed in italics by the King James translators. For evidence that the early brethren were aware of the significance of the italics, see the editorial by W. W. Phelps in *The Evening and the Morning Star*, I (January 1833), 58.

[10]Howard, *op. cit.*, p. 52, points out that the Original MS was in "need of refinement and grammatical and language improvement."

[11]The matching of a specific scribe to one of the differing handwritings in the Original MS is difficult. Sections recorded by Oliver Cowdery and perhaps John Whitmer have been identified. At least seven individuals were scribes during at least some part of the translation of the Book of Mormon: Martin Harris, Emma Smith, Reuben Hale, Samuel Smith, Oliver Cowdery, John Whitmer, and Christian Whitmer. The Printer's MS is almost entirely in the handwriting of Oliver Cowdery, but some parts were written by other (as yet unidentified) individuals.

[12]Jessee, *op. cit.*, pp. 277–78.

[13]Another instance in which Cowdery filled out the thought is found in Alma 59:9. After copying the Original MS into the Printer's MS, he answered the implied question ("Easier than what?") by adding to the Printer's MS^c and then the Original MS^c the clause "than to retake it from them."

[14]The phrase "All Printed Editions" refers to editions of the Book of Mormon published by the LDS Church. The passages mentioned in this article which RLDS editions have already corrected are listed in footnote 31. Also, since LDS editions vary slightly in punctuation and capitalization, for standardization, the exact text of the 1830 edition has been used in the right-hand column.

[15]A parallel instance is: "We will go speedily against those dissenters, in the strength of God according to the faith which is in us." (Alma 61:17).

[16]Even more revisions, and of greater significance, were made to the Printer's MS during the winter of 1836–37 in preparation for the second edition of the Book of Mormon. See Howard, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

[17]Howard, *op. cit.*, pp. 34–35.

[18]This statement applies only to the variants in Part II. For the situation with respect to the variants of Part III, see footnote 31.

[19]Evidently this reading of the Original MS was first noticed by Rev. Wesley P. Walters several years ago when "reading a few pages from photographs of the original MS while Mr. [A. William] Lund read out loud from the first edition." After discussing whether or not the "not" should be in the text, they concluded that it made "more sense than to have it omitted." (Wesley P. Walters, letter to the writer, dated March 30, 1973). Thus, avowed critics of the Book of Mormon have been aware of such significant differences in the Original MS, but have not published concerning them, presumably because they illustrate the superiority of the original rendition.

[20]When Oliver Cowdery transcribed the account of its fulfillment in 3 Nephi 8:20, he wrote in the Printer's MS "the inhabitants thereof which had fallen," but the Printer's MS^c corrected it to read "which had *not* fallen."

Another case of temporary omission of "not" is the Printer's MS of Mormon 9:29 which exhorts its readers to "see that ye partake of the sacrament unworthily," but again the Printer's MS^c corrected it to "partake *not* of the sacrament of Christ unworthily."

[21]Jesse, *op. cit.*, pp. 273, 277, identifies the handwriting of the two sections of the Original MS which correspond to 1 Nephi 3:7—4:14 and 12:8—16:1, as possibly being that of John Whitmer, or at least one of the Whitmer family.

[22]The correct reading of variants 15 and 16 are seen in a reproduction of a page of the Original MS in Jessee, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

[23]Both the likelihood of skipping words, and the care to correct such errors are illustrated in the temporary loss and then restoration of this same "the commencement of" phrase in the Printer's MS^c both at Alma 4:20, which was immediately corrected, and at Alma 51:1 which was later added above the line.

However, this same "commencement" phrase in the Original MS at Alma 54:1 was also missed but never corrected in the Printers MS and printed editions. Its restoration would make the text more accurate, but the loss does not cause internal inconsistencies like the omission from Alma 30:5.

[24]The historian Mormon is careful about distinctions between the "commencement" and the "latter end" of a certain year; for example, see Alma 52: 18–19.

[25]Truman G. Madsen, "Conscience and Consciousness," in the *Commissioner's Lecture Series*, Brigham Young University, 1973, p. 8. Italics in the original. Strictly speaking the mistake referred to is not a "typographical error" since it did not originate with improper typesetting. It could more precisely be described as a "transcriptional error".

[26]Noah Webster, *An American Dictionary of the English Language* (New York, 1828), s. v. *infidelity*.

[27]John C. Alleman, "Problems in Translating the Language of Joseph Smith," in *Conference on the Language of the Mormons*, May 31, 1973, Brigham Young University, p. 29.

[28]Francis Brown, S.R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1907), p. 176.

[29]For a partial listing of the differences between the Printer's MS and the 1830 edition, see William Kelley, Alexander Smith, and Thomas Smith, "The Book of Mormon Committee Report," *The Saint's Herald, XXXI (August* 23, 1884), 546–48, which is reprinted in Paul R. Cheesman, *The Keystone of Mormonism: Little Known Truths about the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1973), pp. 69–75.

[30]Fredson Bowers, "Established Texts and Definitive Editions." *Philological Quarterly*, XLI (January 1962), 9.

[31]The reference to "our edition" applies to that published by the LDS Church; since the RLDS Church has had possession of the Printer's MS, they have utilized it to correct their text of the Book of Mormon for the passages numbered here as 29–30, 33–35, 37–40, 42, 44–46, 48–50.

[32]Altogether *mediator* occurs eight other times in the Standard Works, but *mediation* not even once.

[33]This excludes the two references to "the armies of Pharaoh" at 1 Nephi 4:2; 17:27.

[34]This phrase, always coupled with tribulation, affliction, or sorrow, occurs five other times in the Book of Mormon: 1 Nephi 17:1; Alma 7:5; 8:14; 53:15; and Helaman 3:34. *Wander* never occurs elsewhere in association with *through*.

[35]This same change from *declare* to *deliver* has occurred in the text of Abraham 3:21, for in the Book of Abraham MS#4 written by Willard Richards in about 1841, the reading is *declare* which makes much better sense in the context, especially in light of Abraham 3:11.

[36]In the Printer's MS, the double phrase of "repent ye repent ye" occurs at 2 Nephi 31:11; Alma 10:20; Helaman 5:24, 32; 7:17; and 14:19; the 1830 edition printed all these correctly.

[37]Though parts of the Original MS page at this point are missing, providentially every word under consideration is preserved in the extant portion. See the missing segment of Alma 32 in

the reproductions of the Original MS and the Printer's MS pages for this passage in Stan Larson, "Changes in Early Texts of the Book of Mormon," *Ensign*, VI (Sept. 1976), 77–78. Evidently the first to notice this lost section was an RLDS committee that compared the Printer's MS with the 1830 edition at the home of David Whitmer in 1884. See Kelley, Smith, and Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 547.

[38]See the reproduction of the Printer's MS for this passage in Stan Larson, "Early Book of Mormon Texts: Some of the Textual Changes to the Book of Mormon in 1837 and 1840," *Sunstone*, I (Fall 1976), 44.

[39]See *family* on the fourth line from the bottom in a reporduction of a page of the Printer's MS in Brigham H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1930), I, 160. Compare Howard, *op cit.*, p. 58, and Walter W. Smith, "Another Defense Gone," *The Saints' Herald*, LVI (Oct. 6, 1909), 943.

[40] While it is true that Christ is *both* "the light and life of the world" (Mosiah 16:9), for the context of Ether 3:14 it seems more appropriate and significant to have the promise of eternal "life" given to the obedient believer.

[41]Lael Woodbury, letter to the writer, March 28, 1973.

THE 'BRASS PLATES' AND BIBLICAL SCHOLARSHIP

JOHN L. SORENSON

One of the notable intellectual activities of the 19th and early 20th centuries was development of the view that the Old Testament was a composite of ancient documents of varied age and source. Although the origin of the view in western European thought goes back over two hundred years, it was not until the early decades of this century, with the triumph of an evolutionary view of history, that the logical extreme of the position was attained. Julius Wellhausen's phrasing of the "classical documentary hypothesis" then became orthodox for virtually all well-educated divines and secular scholars on antiquity.[1]

Four major strands of tradition—or early sources—were thought distinquishable, particularly in the Pentateuch. These were variously considered actual original documents, or the distinct revisions of later editors, or the manifestations of separate bodies of tradition, first oral and then written. The earliest, or "J" strand was seen as fundamental, from which an "E" tradition diverged. Each had telltale stylistic differences and theological biases, especially in the preference for a different name for divinity—"J" deriving its designation from its common use of *J*ehovah (Yahweh), and "E" from *E*lohim. A third source, "P" (for *P*riestly), was held to present a tradition-conscious picture of a God distant from the lives and immediate concerns of men. The fourth source, "D", was identified as that emphasizing the *D*euteronomic law.[2] The Old Testament was seen as an intricate composite of all these separate sources or traditions.

In its extreme form, the logic of documentary analysis on the basis of lexicon, style and content eventually led to distinguishing many more than four sources, all supposedly based on peculiarities detected in the text by one or more analysts. At this extreme the subjectivity manifested by these analysts tended to discredit the entire enterprise.

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At the other end of the scale, some critics considered fine-grained stylistic distinctions unreliable and logically untenable, while conceding at the same time that the evidence indeed seemed to demonstrate that the Old Testament account did not derive from a single original source. Fundamentalist Christians looked on Wellhausen and his scholarly peers as "a cunning enemy,"[3] along with Darwin, for the multi-traditionary view seemed to them to challenge the historicity of the Old Testament as much as they thought "evolution" did.

Scholarly skepticism about the classical documentary view of the scriptures arose when the findings of modern biblical archaeology in the 1930's began to show that Hebrew religion had a complex history rather than being a simple development from tribal lore. The discovery and translation of ancient texts further demonstrated the untenability of many methods and conclusions of Wellhausen's era. The Dead Sea Scrolls showed, for example, that the ancient sources of the Old Testament were far more complex than was allowed in the evolutionism of the older critics.[4] In the words of H.D. Hummel:

> . . . In all likelihood, the original tradition was richer than any of its three major later derivatives (the Septuagint, Samaritan and Masoretic texts). . . . it now seems likely that [our present] text has suffered more from losses than from glosses.[5]

Today no one interpretation prevails among the scholars, yet a general tendency is clearly discernible. As John Bright has observed, "Even those who announce their abandonment of the methods of literary criticism for those of oral tradition still feel obliged to work with blocks of material corresponding roughly to what is designated by the symbols J, E, D, and P."[6] William F. Albright was, characteristically, more blunt: "There can be no doubt that nineteenth-century scholarship was correct in recognizing different blocks of material in the Pentateuch."[7] Umberto Cassuto, from an Israeli position, claimed that the divergences in the text which critics have attributed to multiple documents "do not prove the existence of documents such as J, E and P, and they contain nothing that could not be found in a homogeneous book," yet even he spoke of J, E and P as differing "sources" and supposed them to "indicate the different types of tradition that have been absorbed into the various sections."[8] Clyde Francisco, with a rather conservative American stance, quotes approvingly C. R. North's statement that, "It seems quite clear that if we bury the 'documents,' we shall have to resurrect them—or something very much like them."[9]

The general position of Latter-day Saints on the Old Testament has been defensive and apologetic, somewhat along the lines seen in the more traditional Christian denominations. The task for the rare LDS biblical scholar has been to defend unexamined Christian tradition about the text (e.g., that a single Isaiah produced the book that bears his name). Yet concern has been less with the Bible as such than with its relationship to the Book of Mormon, where extensive quotations are made from the Old Testament.[10]

Although the "brass plates" referred to in the Book of Mormon are said to have much in common with the Old Testament, they have received little attention from Mormon scholars.[11] Nonetheless, the hint has long been there that these plates contain a variant Old Testament text comparable to what

scholars have considered one of the basic "documents" or "texts" from which the Old Testament was compiled. The thesis of this article is that the brass plates are related to the "E" source. Mormon scripture may thus support rather than challenge the notion that more than a single source underlies the Old Testament.

The Brass Plates

Near the beginning of the Book of Mormon we read of Nephi and his brothers being sent back to Jerusalem to obtain a record particularly desired by their father Lehi.[12] This record was in the possession of one Laban, whose ancestry Lehi shared and who possessed significant power and influence in Jerusalem shortly before the Babylonian capitivity.[13] The content of the plates had two aspects: (1) "The record of the Jews," including "the law of Moses," and (2) "also a genealogy of (Lehi's) forefathers."[14] Upon the sons' obtaining the plates, a fuller description was entered in the Lehite record:

> Lehi took the records which were engraven upon the plates of brass, and he did search search them from the beginning. And he beheld that they did contain the five books of Moses, which give an account of the creation of the world, and also of Adam and Eve, who were our first parents; and also a record of the Jews from the beginning, even down to the commencement of the reign of Zedekiah, king of Judah; and also the prophecies of the holy prophets, from the beginning, even down to the commencement of the reign of Zedekiah; and also many prophecies which have been spoken by the mouth of Jeremiah. And it came to pass that my father, Lehi, also found upon the plates of brass a genealogy of his fathers; wherefore he knew that he was a descendant of Joseph. . . . And thus my father, Lehi, did discover the genealogy of his fathers.[15]

Amulek in the Book of Mormon (Alma 10:3) reports that Lehi descended from Manasseh. Joseph Smith also stated that according to the first portion of the Book of Mormon record—the transcript of which was lost by Martin Harris—Ishmael (who accompanied Lehi) was a descendant of Ephraim.[16]

The description of the contents of the brass plates indicates that they contained a record essentially similar to the Old Testament as we are familiar with it, but with an expanded text (1 Nephi 3:3), including a genealogy going back through the tribe of Joseph rather than Judah. This points to an origin in the Northern Kingdom, rather than in the Judaic South. This impression is further supported by a number of citations from the brass plate record scattered through the Book of Mormon.

Book of Mormon writers mention five prophets whose words appear in the brass plates: Zenos, Zenock, Ezias, Isaiah, and Neum (the last might be Nahum). Of the first four only Isaiah is surely known from existing biblical texts. Internal evidence suggests a reason why: All four direct a great deal of attention to the Northern Kingdom. Since the Masoretic text, which lies behind our King James version, came out of the South, omission of three of the four (or four of the five, counting Neum) is explicable. Zenos is quoted as saying, "And as for those who are at Jerusalem. . . ."[17] Nowhere else in the extensive quotes from Zenos does he mention Judah or Jerusalem. This in context strongly suggests that he was not located in the territory of Judah. (It is implied in 3 Nephi 11:16 that Zenos and Zenock were of a Joseph tribe,

although nothing is said of location.) The reference to Jerusalem implies a date after David's capture of the city and quite probably after the division of the monarchy (about 922 B.C.). Careful reading of the allegory of the olive tree, from Zenos,[18] as well as Alma 33:3–17 concerning both Zenos and Zenock, further confirms a context of a sinful Israel more reminiscent of the time of Amos (mid-8th century B.C.) than earlier or later. Moreover, Zenock was said to be a "prophet of old,"[19] a chronological term not used regarding Jeremiah or even Isaiah. The probability is high, therefore, that the prophets cited from the brass plates date between 900 B.C. and the end of the Northern Kingdom in 721 B.C.

Lehi's connection with the Joseph of Egypt is emphasized in the blessing he pronounced on his own son, Joseph.[20] When Lehi there asserts, "For behold . . . I am a descendant of Joseph who was carried captive into Egypt," there can be no question that his information was derived from the brass plates, for it was his first inspection of them which revealed to him that he was a descendant of Joseph.[21] He then continues on to communicate additional information about Joseph, finally quoting at some length a prophecy credited to that patriarch.[22] This added information and the genealogical tie again point our attention to the Northern Kingdom, the territory of Ephraim and Manasseh.

The emphasis on Egyptian tradition and language manifest in the Book of Mormon is also coordinate with the Joseph element in the brass plates. Nephi's statement that his record consisted of "the learning of the Jews and the language of the Egyptians"[23] could equally be said of the inscription on the back of one of the carved ivories from Samaria, where Egyptian glyphs were used in a cartouche apparently to spell out the sounds in a Hebrew name (A-L-Y-W-Sh-b or Eliashib).[24] Hugh Nibley's *Lehi in the Desert*[25] documents extensive Egyptian cultural ties among the Nephites which seem to support a far more fundamental connection than mere trade exposure in the time of Lehi. Lehi's purpose in obtaining the record was "that we may preserve unto our children the language of our fathers," not merely the language of Lehi's trade transactions.[26] It is also to be noted that Lehi, according to Nibley's analysis, was trade-, international-, and desert- oriented. Such characteristics, we shall see below, are congruent with the Northern-centered E tradition.

Other significant data on Northern Kingdom Ephraimitic inclusions and orientations in the Book of Mormon deriving from the brass plates will be pointed out later. It is already evident, however, that the record obtained from Laban's treasury included a version of the Old Testament with special Northern Kingdom characteristics.

The E Source and the Northern Kingdom

E source was fundamentally a Northern Kingdom expression. According to Albright, E gives strong indications of being an official rewriting of J intended for the Northern Kingdom and produced in the century following division of the Kingdom (about 922 B.C.). J itself could not date later than the division, and its formation under the United Monarchy (about 1000 B.C.)

is highly probable. The preferences in deity names between J and E sources have been demonstrated to be consistent and significant, not mere literary quirks.[27] They reflect different traditions transmitted through regionally-distinct "schools" of scribes which existed from the tenth century onward.[28] After the Assyrian destruction of the Northern Kingdom in 721 B.C. "faithful worshippers of Yahweh fled to Judah and there cultivated a number of their own traditions."[29] There in the first half of the seventh century J and E "were woven together . . . into a single narrative (JE)." J was the main source used, with E materials occasionally used in parallel or, more often, in replacement.[30]

Albright noted that differences between J and E already existed in the Pentateuchal poems dating between Exodus and the Monarchy, thus the later "schools" had a prior basis.[31] Such distinction could have had both a regional and a cultural basis, for the El names which characterize the E materials tended to be more popular on the edge of the desert, as a heritage from nomadic times.[32] Cassuto's observation also may be related. He noted that in Old Testament situations where God is represented as a universal or international deity, rather than as God of Israel, an El name occurs. For example in all the sections of Genesis pertaining to Egypt, including the entire story of Joseph, El names are used exclusively.[33] The universalizing influence, the desert influence and the Joseph influence in northern Israel all reinforced the separateness of deity names and motifs of the sacred tradition found in E, as against the more nationalistic J source preferred by the Jews at Jerusalem.

Other Indications of E in the Book of Mormon

Details not mentioned above further evidence possible E effects on the Book of Mormon, either through the brass plates or through the family tradition in which Lehi was reared.

1. The Book of Mormon virtually ignores the Davidic covenant, a "J" element. David is mentioned but six times (two incidentally in quotations from Isaiah). Two instances involved strong condemnation of David.[34]
2. Instead, considerable attention is paid to the Abrahamic convenant and to the patriarchs. All twenty-nine references to Abraham are laudatory. Jacob is also so named, a positive E characteristic, whereas J uses "Israel" as his personal name.[35]
3. The Jews, particularly the inhabitants of Jerusalem, are branded as evil in the strongest terms.[36]
4. Emphasis is placed on Joseph being sold into Egypt, his saving Jacob's house, and the Lord's special covenant with Joseph which is not attested in the Old Testament.[37] The coat of Joseph is a topic specific to E on which the Book of Mormon adds data not found in the Jewish version (J).[38]
5. The name Jehovah, the preferred J title of deity, occurs only twice in the Book of Mormon (once in a quote from Isaiah 12—with one word changed—and once in the very last sentence in the volume). The name Lord is usually used for divinity in the Book of Mormon (almost 1400 times).[39]
6. Unmistakable El (E source) names do occur in the Book of Mormon, notably Most High God (Hebrew "El Elyon") and Almighty God (the Septuagint's term for "El Shaddai"),[40] the former six times and the latter eleven.

In addition to these points, which are sufficiently specific that they strike me as probably based on the brass plates text, other characteristics of E of more generic nature are found in the Book of Mormon. We might suppose them to result from the early Book of Mormon writers' carrying on a record-keeping tradition or scribal "school" which had a strong E ingredient in it. The Book of Mormon, at least in its first portion (the small plates), could plausibly be considered a manifestation of that scribal tradition, on the basis of the evidence offered above.

E's focus on events, in contrast to J's remarkable characterizations of persons, fits the Book of Mormon, which is annalistic and for the most part limited in its treatment of characters. At least the text of the small plates, like E, is abstract, tending to be removed from mundane life. E's tendency to turn attention back to ancient times likewise fits. The Elohistic (E) tendency to refer to dreams and angelic messengers rather than to direct appearances by God (a J feature) is similarly apt for the Nephite volume. Other E features include greater concern with moral issues, and a relatively spiritualized, distant and abstract conception of God (as against J's picture of a God treading the earth and concerning himself with specific human events).[41]

Latter-day Saint scholars should especially consider whether the international or desert influences suggested in E could reflect the situation indicated in D&C 84:6-13, which asserts that a line of priesthood and sacred knowledge related to but distinct from that in Israel persisted in the desert from the time of Esaias, a contemporary and associate of Abraham, at least until Moses and Jethro. The last is an E name, in contrast to J's Hobab; of course Jethro's father was Reu'*El*.[42] (It is doubtful that Esaias is the same as the "Ezias" mentioned in Helaman 8:20, given the differing spellings of the names both of which came to print through Joseph Smith. Textual usage affirms the difference.)

Some may suggest that the Elohistic features noted above occur in the Book of Mormon as pure happenstance—that Joseph Smith in authoring or translating the Book of Mormon phrased the Book in biblical language familiar to him, some of which would necessarily be similar to E elements preserved in the King James' version. Chance seems ruled out, however, by Robert F. Smith's finding that the Book of Abraham in the Pearl of Great Price lacks E and appears to show J and P characteristics but no E.[43] Thus Joseph Smith's style is a doubtful explanation for E features in the Book of Mormon, there being no reason to think the language used by him would be any different from one volume to the next—except as the original sources differed.

A Plausible Synthesis

The record engraved in Egyptian characters on the brass plates had its origin long before Lehi's day.[44] Strong emphasis in this account on Abraham and Joseph hints that this usage could have begun as early as the visit of the former to Egypt and certainly no later than the time of Joseph, the Egyptian vizier. The record probably reached Palestine via the tribe of Ephraim, Joseph's son. The lineage maintaining this particular account probably continued living in Ephraimitic territory in northern Israel throughout the time of the Divided Monarchy, until the 721 B.C. destruction of the Northern

Kingdom by the Assyrians. At that point the plates likely were brought south to Jerusalem by a relatively wealthy and influential descent group.

Maintaining the brass plates required becoming literate in the writing system, which was no mean task in itself,[45] and then adding to it sacred materials, history and genealogy as this information developed through time.[46] Although the lineage record was privately held and controlled, it was known and available to the leading Jews in Jerusalem.[47] No doubt records kept by other groups were in turn known to the scribes keeping the plates of Laban. Comparing, editing and making new copies would have been among the scribal functions.

At least two branches of the kinship unit having custody of the brass plates had developed by the time of Lehi in the latter half of the seventh century B.C. His family had lost direct contact with the scribal branch but were aware of some connection.[48] The scribal branch was both wealthy and powerful within the Jerusalem establishment.[49] Lehi's branch was also in a substantial status though not prominent.[50] Upon Lehi's determining to leave the kingdom of Judah in anticipation of coming disaster at the hands of the Babylonians, he had his sons seek the plates of brass from Laban, the record custodian for the related group. They did obtain them—with great difficulty—then departed into the desert, eventually reaching the New World.

Lehi had lived all his life at Jerusalem, yet he found himself antipathetic to the Jews there, and they to him.[51] His personal characteristics in some ways stood against those common in the Jerusalem hierarchy in ways parallel to how the E source differed from J. Lehi was moralistic, a dreamer, archaistic, with a rather abstract view of God, and more concerned with historical events and sacred principles than with personalities or the concrete present.[52] Judging by his son Nephi he liked to contemplate the complex symbolism and distant prophecy of an Isaiah rather than the concreteness of Jeremiah's burdens against his contemporaries at Jerusalem.[53] He preferred the clarity of Abraham's and Joseph's god El (Elohim, El Shaddai, El Elyon), over a Yahweh encumbered and obscured by pagan cult practices of the Jerusalem of his day.[54]

The record-keeping tradition begun among the Nephites took its form out of the character and cultural background of Lehi and Nephi, the two pivotal persons in the transfer. While we expect some changes took place between the form and process of tradition-keeping manifest in Lehi's line in Palestine and that by which the Nephite scribes carried out their responsibilities, a great deal of continuity is also evident. Nephi, a culture hero, was followed by his brother, Jacob, who confirmed the religious and literary tradition which his elder brother had implemented. Both of them preferred prophets who dealt at length with the Northern Kingdom, Isaiah on the one hand and Zenos on the other.[55] Then later keepers of the Nephite records followed implicitly the pattern set by these early leaders.[56] In this manner an Old World scribal tradition was transplanted to the New World where traces of it might still be seen two millennia later.[57]

In conclusion, there appears good evidence that the Book of Mormon contains elements which are congruent with what scholars of the Old Testament distinguish as the E or Elohistic source. To biblical scholars this

congruence should invite serious attention to the Book of Mormon for what it may reveal to them about Old Testament sources. To Latter-day Saints, the presence of E materials in the Book of Mormon should serve as a challenge and stimulus to examine more carefully the scriptures entrusted to them, and to participate actively and cooperatively in elucidating both the texts and their interpretations.

NOTES

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[1]Luke H. Grollenberg. *A New Look at an Old Book*. Newman Press: Paramus, N.J. and New York, 1969, 11–28; or any standard encyclopedic source.

[2] E. A. Speiser. "Introduction." *The Anchor Bible: Genesis*. Doubleday: Garden City, New York, 1964.

[3] Grollenberg, *op. cit.*, 21.

[4] William F. Albright. *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan: A Historical Analysis of Two Contrasting Faiths*. University of London, The Athlone Press: London, 1968, 25–6.

[5] Horace D. Hummel, "Bible: Bible Research and Criticism," *Encyclopedia Judaica*, Vol. 4. Keter Publishing House Ltd.: Jerusalem, 1971, 93; cf. Albright, *op. cit.*, 32; Hugh Nibley. *Since Cumorah*, Deseret Book: Salt Lake City, 1967, 26, 30.

[6] John Bright. *A History of Israel*. Second ed. Westminster Press: Philadelphia, 1972, 69.

[7] Albright, *op. cit.*, 26–27.

[8] Umberto Cassuto. *The Documentary Hypothesis and the Composition of the Pentateuch: Eight Lectures*. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University, 1961.

[9]Clyde T. Francisco. "Genesis. Introduction." *The Broadman Bible Commentary*. Vol. 1. Revised ed. Broadman Press: Nashville, 1973, 104.

[10]Nibley, *op. cit*, 130–152, is somewhat more ambitious, but more typical are Sidney B. Sperry, *Our Book of Mormon*. Stevens and Wallis: Salt Lake City, 1947, chapters 14–16; *Book of Mormon Compendium*. Bookcraft: Salt Lake City, 1968, 177, 508–512; and H. Grant Vest. *The Problem of Isaiah in the Book of Mormon*, Masters thesis, BYU, 1938. Kent Robson. "The Bible, the Church, and its Scholars," *Dialogue, A Journal of Mormon Thought*, 2 No. 1 (Spring 1967), 85–90, hopes for better days but makes no substantive contribution.

[11]Nibley, *op. cit.*, 131–134.

[12]1 Nephi 3:3–4, 19–20.

[13]1 Nephi 5:16, 4:1, 9, 22.

[14]1 Nephi 3:3, 4:15–16.

[15]1 Nephi 5:10–16.

[16]Sidney B. Sperry. *Answers to Book of Mormon Questions*. Bookcraft: Salt Lake City, 1967, 10.

[17] 1 Nephi 19:13.

[18]Jacob 5.

[19]Alma 33:17. Nibley thought Zenock an Egyptian name, *Lehi in the Desert*, p. 30.

[20] 2 Nephi 3:4; cf. 1 Ne. 5:14–16.

[21]1 Nephi 5:16; cf. 1 Ne. 5:14–16.

[22]2 Nephi 3:6–22.

[23]1 Nephi 1:2; cf. Nibley, *Lehi in the Desert*, p. 13–17.

[24]J.W. and G.M. Crowfoot. "The Ivories from Samaria," *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly*, Q.S., 1933, 12-13, Plate II; cf. Mormon 9:32 on "reformed Egyptian" as a phonetically-related script.

[25]Hugh Nibley. *Lehi in the Desert, and the World of the Jaredites*. Bookcraft: Salt Lake City, 1952.

[26]See 1 Nephi 3:19, and compare Mosiah 1:2, 4, which seem to me to indicate that "language of the Egyptians" refers to "engravings" of the glyph system, used to represent Hebrew *parole*. Others disagree with this view.

[27]Robert J. Boling. "Synonymous Parallelism in the Psalms," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 5 (1960), 221–225, cited in Albright, *op. cit.*, 27–28.

[28]Albright, *op. cit.*, 25–26.

[29] Grollenberg, *op. cit.*, 33.

[30]Bright, *op. cit.*, 71–72. *Westminster Introduction to the Books of the Bible*. Westminster Press: Philadelphia, 1958, 32–33. Anthony Phillips. "Commentary." In *Deuteronomy*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1973, 6.

[31]Albright, *op. cit.*, 29.

[32]*Ibid*, 30.

[33]Cassuto, *op. cit.*, 61.

[34]Jacob 1:15, 2:23–24, 31–33.

[35]On the covenant with Abraham: 1 Nephi 15:18, 17:40; 2 Nephi 29:14. On Jacob/Israel: Speiser, *op. cit.*, 293–294.

[36]For example, 1 Nephi 1:19, 17:42–44.

[37]1 Nephi 5:14–15; 17-40; 2 Nephi 3:4–5, 9–10, 16–17; 4:1–3; 10:3.

[38]Speiser, *op. cit.*, 289–293. Nibley, *Approach to the Book of Mormon*, 186–8. I am indebted to Benjamin Urrutia for drawing this to my attention.

[39]Robert F. Smith (personal communication) has suggested that this title may represent the Tetragrammaton, and thus be equivalent to Yahweh or Jehovah. That may be so, but then it is difficult to see why Joseph Smith, the translator, specifically used the term Jehovah at all.

[40]Albright, op. cit., 30, 94, 164.

[41]Speiser, *op. cit.*, xxx-xxxiii; Robert Pfeiffer. *Introduction to the Old Testament*. Rev. Ed. Harper and Row: New York, 1948, 139–140. Grollenberg, *op cit.*, 19–20.

[42]Albright, *op cit.*, 34 (N.Y. ed., p. 38).

[43]Smith's comments and materials have been most helpful to me. See "A Documentary Analysis of the Book of Abraham," prepared for a festschrift honoring Hugh Nibley.

[44]1 Nephi 3:19; Mosiah 1:2–5. Nibley (*Lehi in the Desert*, 15-16) over-simplifies here.

[45]Mosiah 1:2; cf. 3 Nephi 6:12.

[46]1 Nephi 5:12–13.

[47]1 Nephi 4:20–27.

[48]1 Nephi 3:2–5; 10–13. Apparently Lehi never connected Laban, who was a well-known figure (to judge by verses 3 and 31) with the plates or his ancestry until advised so in a dream.

[49]1 Nephi 3:31; 4:20–22.

[50] 1 Nephi 2–4, ii; 3:22–25; yet note 3:13 and 4:36.

[51] 1 Nephi 1:4, 18–20.

[52] 1 Nephi 2:11; 1: 5:2, 4; 5–6; chapter 10; 2 Nephi chapters 1–3; etc.

[53]Compare 1 Nephi 7:14.

[54]2 Kings 23.

[55]2 Nephi 25:5; Jacob chapters 5 and 6.

[56]Jacob 7:27; Enos 16; Jarom 1–2, 15; Omi 1, 3–4, 9, 11, 14, 17, 25; Mosiah 17:2, 25:1–3; 3 Nephi 5:20; Mor. 1:1; Words of Mormon 1–11. These passages demonstrate that all the Nephite record-keepers whose materials are incorporated in the Book of Mormon belonged to one of two descent groups (Nephi's or Jacob's) and followed similar procedures.

[57]See my "Social Structure and Cult among the Nephites," paper read to the Society for Early Historical Archaeology, BYU, Oct. 26, 1947; cf. Robert Carmack, *Quichean Civilization*. University of California Press: Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1972; and Lawrence H. Feldman, "Tollan in Central Mexico," *Katunob*, 8 No. 3 (February 1973), 1–6.

THE SPALDING THEORY THEN AND NOW

LESTER E. BUSH, JR.

But now a most singular & delicate subject presented itself for consideration. Seven young women we had on board, as passengers, to visit certain friends they had in Britain—Three of them were ladies of rank, and the rest were healthy bucksom Lasses.—Whilst deliberating on this subject a mariner arose whom we called droll Tom—Hark ye shipmates says he, Whilst tossed on the foming billows what brave son of neptune had any more regard for a woman than a sturgeon, but now we are all safely anchored on Terra firma—our sails furled & ship keeled up, I have a huge longing for some of those rosy dames—But willing to take my chance with my shipmates—I propose that they should make their choise of husbands. The plan was instantly adopted. As the chois [sic] fell on the young women they held a consultation on the subject. & in a short time made known the result—Droll Tom was rewarded for his benevolent proposal with one of the most sprightly rosy dames in the company.—Three other of the most cheerful resolute mariners were chosen by the other three buxhum Lasses—The three young Ladies fixed their choise on the Captain the mate & myself. The young Lady who chose me for a partner was possessed of every attractive charm both of body & mind—We united heart & hand with the fairest prospect of enjoying every delight & satisfaction which are attendant on the connubial State. Thus ended the affair. You may well conceive our singular situation. The six poor fellows who were doomed to live in a state of Cebicy [sic] or accept of savage dames, discovered a little chagrine & anxiety—However they consoled themselves with the idea of living in families where they could enjoy the company of the fair sex & be relieved from the work which belongs to the department of Women . . .

Fabius, in "Manuscript Story"

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And it came to pass that I, Nephi, took one of the daughters of Ishmael to wife; and also, my brethren took of the daughters of Ishmael to wife; and also Zoram took the eldest daughter of Ishmael to wife. And thus my father had fulfilled all the commandments of the Lord which had been given unto him. And also, I, Nephi, had been blessed of the Lord exceedingly. And it came to pass that the voice of the Lord spake unto my father by night, and commanded him that on the morrow he should take his journey into the wilderness . . .

Nephi, in The Book of Mormon

I

Late in the summer of 1833 one Doctor Philastus Hurlbut, recently excommunicated from the Mormon church for "unchristianlike" conduct toward some of the sisters,[1] learned of a manuscript written some twenty years before by the late Reverend Solomon Spalding which was similar to the Book of Mormon. His interest piqued, he set out to investigate this story, principally through interviews with former residents of Conneaut, Ohio, where Spalding once had lived.

Hurlbut obtained remarkably similar affidavits from the Reverend Spalding's brother John, John's wife Martha and six other former neighbors and friends,[2] all of whom remembered that Spalding had written a "historical romance" about the "first settlers" of America. Entitled "Manuscript Found," this novel "endeavored to show" that the American Indians were descendants of the Jews, or the lost tribes. John and Martha recalled that it "gave a detailed account of their journey from Jerusalem, by land and sea, till they arrived in America, under the command of *NEPHI* and *LEHI*. They afterwards had

quarrels and contentions, and separated into two distinct nations, one of which he denominated Nephites and the other Lamanites. Cruel and bloody wars ensued, in which great multitudes were slain. They buried their dead in large heaps, which caused the mounds so common in this country." Other Spalding acquaintances recalled that the story included characters named "Moroni" and "Laban," and even a place called "Zarahemla." The constant repetition of the phrases, "it came to pass" and "I, Nephi" seemed especially familiar.[3]

His appetite whetted by these statements, Hurlbut traced the manuscript to Otsego County, New York. There, he learned from Spalding's widow—now Mrs. Davison (Spalding died in 1816)—the manuscript might be in a trunk in a friend's home among some of Spalding's other papers. On locating the chest in question, Hurlbut took what he supposed to be the original Manuscript Found.[4]

The storyline, as Hurlbut and his associates were shortly to discover, bore a superficial similarity to the Book of Mormon. While out for a walk one day, Spalding wrote in his introduction, he "hapned [sic] to tread on a flat Stone" engraved with a badly worn inscription. "With the assistance of a leaver I raised the Stone . . . [and discovered] that it was designed as a cover to an artificial cave." Descending to the bottom, he found "a big flat Stone fixed in the form of a doar [sic]." On tearing down the door, he discovered an earthen box within which were "eight *sheets* of parchment." Written on the sheets "in an eligant hand with Roman Letters & in the Latin Language" was "a history of the authors [sic] life & that part of America which extends along the great Lakes & the waters of the Mississippy." The history which followed, explained Spalding, was a summary translation of this Roman account.[5]

Although there are unmistakable parallels in Spalding's introduction and Joseph Smith's early experiences,[6] there is little to compare in the actual narrative histories. Spalding wrote of a group of Romans living about the time of Constantine, who had been blown off course on a voyage to "Brittain." Through the "tender mercies of their God," they safely reached the east coast of North America, where one of their number, Fabius, began writing a history of their experiences. Most of Fabius' account deals with the Deliwan, Kentuck and Sciotan Indians. Aside from an emphasis on wars, however, there are virtually no similarities in episodes, characters, or themes between Spalding's account and what was found in the Book of Mormon. Only one brief passage is notably reminiscent of the Book of Mormon: one of Spalding's characters, Hamack, had "a stone which he pronounced transparent—tho' it was not transparent to common eyes. Thro' this he could view things present & things to come. Could behold the dark intrigues & cabals of foreign courts, & discover hidden treasures, secluded from the eyes of other mortals."[7]

The narrative style is particularly dissimilar, and Spalding's story contains not a single "it came to pass." As to the specific names recalled by those Hurlbut interviewed, Spalding had written of neither a Nephi, Lehi, Laman, Moroni, nor a Zarahemla. Stretching credulity (but being charitable to faded memories), one can find some similarity to a handful of Book of Mormon names. There was a "Moonrod" (cf. Moroni); a "Mammoon" (cf. Mormon), the native term for a domesticated woolley mammoth; a "Lamesa" (cf. Laman), in this case a woman; a "Hamelick" (cf. Ameleki or Amelickiah), and a couple

of additional Book of Mormon "sounding" names, "Hadoram" and "Boakim." More commonly Spalding used names (such as Bombal, Chianga, Hamboon, Lobasko, and Ulipoon) with no resemblance whatsoever to those of Joseph Smith.[8]

The materials collected by Hurlbut, including the affidavits and the Spalding manuscript, were sold shortly thereafter to Eber D. Howe, who in 1834 published what B. H. Roberts termed the first anti-Mormon work "of any pretentions." The final chapter of Howe's book, *Mormonism Unvailed* [sic], set forth at length the "Spalding theory" of the origin of the Book of Mormon. It had been evident, Howe wrote (although Mormons were convinced that Hurlbut was actually the author), "from the beginning of the imposture" that "a more talented knave [than Joseph Smith was] behind the curtain." The ultimate source, he proposed, was the Reverend Solomon Spalding, literate graduate of Dartmouth College. In support of this thesis were placed the eight striking statements collected by Hurlbut. A passing reference was made to the manuscript obtained by Hurlbut from the Spalding trunk to indicate that it had not proved to be a copy of Manuscript Found. Rather, it was "a fabulous account of a ship's being driven upon the American coast, while proceeding from Rome to Britain." When this latter manuscript was shown to several of those previously interviewed by Hurlbut, they reportedly recognized it as Spalding's work, but said that it bore "no resemblance" to the Manuscript Found. Spalding, according to Howe, had "told them that he had altered his first plan of writing, by going further back with dates, and writing in the old scripture style.[9]

Howe's casual dismissal of the Spalding manuscript located by Hurlbut was merely the first of many selective presentations of the relevant facts. Much of what Hurlbut's eight witnesses remembered could well have been based on the story found in the trunk. Although not apparent in Howe's brief summary, that story was indeed about a "manuscript found," and recounts the "arts, sciences, customs and laws," and particularly the wars of ancient inhabitants of America. Moreover, it purports to be based—as one of Hurlbut's sources had recalled—on a translation of some records "buried in the earth, or in a cave." The claim that Spalding's work was interesting listening—one witness even spoke of "humorous passages"—is hard to reconcile with either the Book of Mormon or the Roman story. The text of the latter at least gives occasional evidence of trying to be amusing. None of the foregoing parallels was central to the plagiarism argument, of course, but a detailed knowledge of the manuscript located by Hurlbut should have focussed more careful attention on claims uniquely related to the Book of Mormon.

The Hurlbut-Howe case for plagiarism rested primarily on two such unique claims—the assertions that "most" of the names and the "leading incidents" in the Book of Mormon originated with Solomon Spalding. Actually this sweeping generalization rested on less than a dozen disingenuously uniform bits of evidence. For example, in a sentence of virtually identical wording, the majority of Hurlbut's witnesses cited Spalding's alleged account of the departure of a small group of Jews from Jerusalem, and "their journey, by land and sea, till they arrived in America." Many also recalled that the emigrants were descendants of the "lost tribes"—at the time a common explanation of Indian origins, but without support in either the Book of

Mormon or the Roman story. One of Hurlbut's sources recalled the group landing near the "Straits of Darien" (now Panama), reflecting an early interpretation of Book of Mormon geography shared by Eber D. Howe, among others. (Joseph Smith reportedly placed the landing near Valparaiso, Chile.)[10]

The most striking aspect of the early claims unquestionably related to the proper names. Here, however, the coincidence of memory was even more suspect. Of some 300 potential names, Hurlbut's witnesses all used the same handful of specific examples. Most cited "Nephi" and "Lehi." Two witnesses (John and Martha Spalding) added "Nephites" and "Lamanites," and only three additional names were mentioned even once—"Laban," "Zarahemla" and "Moroni." (The last two by the witness who remembered the humorous passages). Despite the elapsed decades, all recalled identical spellings for these odd-sounding names, spellings which matched exactly those found in the Book of Mormon. A corollary claim that Spalding wrote in a "scripture style" was illustrated with the same unanimity. Everyone who recalled specific wording cited "and it came to pass," with "now it came to pass" a distant second. Not surprisingly, nearly everyone acknowledged that his memory had been refreshed by a recent reading of the Book of Mormon.

Joseph Smith's access to the Manuscript Found was not as well documented as the plagiarism itself. Spalding's widow, Mrs. Davison, reportedly told Hurlbut that on moving to Pittsburg, "she thinks" her husband took his manuscript to the printing office of Lambdin & Patterson. She was "quite uncertain" if it had been returned. Howe added, "We have been credibly informed that [Sidney Rigdon] was on terms of intimacy with Lambdin" and "was frequently in his shop." Lambdin, Howe surmised, gave the manuscript to Rigdon sometime between 1823 and 1824, during which time Rigdon lived in Pittsburg. Rigdon, in turn, assisted Joseph Smith in expanding Spalding's secular historical piece into the Book of Mormon. Howe had been unable to establish this connection conclusively for Lambdin was dead (having died in 1825), and Patterson had "no recollection of any such manuscript." It was unlikely, however, that Patterson would have seen it, since during the time of Spalding's residence in Pittsburg (about 1812–1814), "the business of printing was conducted wholly by Lambdin." Patterson reportedly recalled manuscripts remaining on the shelf for years, "without being printed or even examined." Howe, in concluding, felt confident in holding "out Sidney Rigdon to the world as . . . the original 'author and proprietor' of the whole Mormon conspiracy. . . ."[11] The lapses in documentation were, it seems, not that important in the face of the substantial evidence already presented.

Initially the publication of *Mormonism Unvailed* appears not to have been a major concern to the Mormons. By 1838, however, Apostle Parley Pratt found that "certain religious papers"[12] in New York were advancing the Spalding theory as "positive, certain, and not to be disputed." He therefore included a brief denunciation in a short work entitled *Mormonism Unveiled* [sic] (1838), limited principally to a denial of Rigdon's early involvement with the manuscript, and an attack on the motives and character of Philastus Hurlbut.[13] Subsequent exchanges between Mormons and their antagonists regularly included increasingly lengthy sections on the Spalding theory, which by the early 1840's became the accepted explanation of the origin of the Book of Mormon.

"The Relic of Solomon Spalding"

For the next half-century Spalding advocates continued to turn up new but increasingly elderly "living witnesses" to support their case. Perhaps the most significant addition to the evidence came with the publication in 1839 of a statement purportedly written by Spalding's 70-year-old widow. Her statement, which was included in an article by the Reverend John Storrs appearing in a May issue of the *Boston Recorder*, enlarged considerably on the brief comment attributed to her in *Mormonism Unvailed*. Mrs. Davison now stated that Patterson had been enthusiastic about her husband's novel, even recommending that he write a title page and preface. Spalding, for reasons unknown, failed to do so and at length received back his manuscript. She also alleged that Sidney Rigdon "was at that time connected with the printing office of Mr. Patterson" ("as Rigdon himself has frequently stated"), and had ample opportunity" to copy her husband's manuscript. Although in 1834 Howe had written that Mrs. Davison had "no distinct knowledge" of the content of the manuscript, she now remembered that it was written "in the most ancient style," imitating "as nearly as possible" the Old Testament. As to the fate of the original manuscript, she had carefully preserved it following her husband's death in 1816, and it "frequently" had been examined by her daughter.[14]

The Mormons almost immediately imputed to "Priest Storrs" much the same role they felt previously had been played by Philastus Hurlbut—a molder rather than collector of relevant testimony, and the new Davison statement elicited a more vigorous response than had *Mormonism Unvailed*. Sidney Rigdon sent an impassioned denial to the *Boston Journal*, much of which was devoted to impeaching in detail the moral character of Philastus Hurlbut (as well as his wife). He hotly denied any knowledge of Spalding or "his hopeful wife."[15] While he did have a "very slight acquaintance" with Patterson during his residence in Pittsburg (1822–1826), Patterson was not in the printing business during that time (nor, so far as he knew, at any earlier time). Why, Rigdon wrote, hadn't someone sought the testimony of Patterson directly? "He would testify to what I have said." Parley Pratt also penned an indignant letter, this one to the editor of the *New York Era*, one of many papers which had reprinted Storrs' *Journal* article. He, as well, denied that Rigdon had any connection with Patterson, the latter's printing establishment, the writing of the Book of Mormon—or, for that matter, the organization of the Church itself (Pratt having baptized Rigdon in October 1830). He was particularly sensitive to an impression, implicit in Mrs. Davison's statement, that Hurlbut had in fact obtained the implicated manuscript: ". . . if there is such a manuscript in existence, let it come forward at once. . . ."[16]

At the very least, the language and style of Mrs. Davison's statement did seem inconsistent with both her age and previous limitation of memory. Even some Spalding proponents later acknowledged the suspiciously "argumentative style and failure to distinquish between personal knowledge and argumentative inference."[17] It was to be over a century before a non-Mormon would finally wonder in print if Hurlbut himself had not co-authored at least a portion of the statements he collected. That the Reverend John Storrs did not fare quite so well is due largely to the efforts of Mr. Jesse Haven. Haven, who apparently was a Mormon, sought out and interviewed both Mrs. Davison and the

daughter with whom she now lived, Mrs. Matilda Spalding McKinstry. A reconstruction of this interview was published in the *Quincy Whig*. While "in the main" Mrs. Davison believed that what was published in Storr's article over her name was "true," she had not written the account, nor had she signed it or even seen it before publication. A Mr. Austin had interviewed her and then sent the notes to Storrs.

Even in the Haven interview, however, Mrs. Davison added something new, as she for the first time claimed to recall something of the Spalding text. She had now read the Book of Mormon, she said, and thought "some few of the names are alike" to those in her husband's work. The Manuscript Found, however, was only about "one-third as large" as the Book of Mormon, and concerned an "idolatrous" rather than a religious people. She also recalled that shortly after Hurlbut had taken the manuscript from her trunk (to publish it, he said), he wrote to say that the manuscript did not read as expected and was not going to be published. Mrs. Mckinstry, the daughter, added that she, too, had read the Manuscript Found, when about twelve years old (this would be 1818, about two years after Spalding's death). Although not certain, she also thought that some of the names agreed with those in the Book of Mormon, which she acknowledged she had *not* read.[18] Some forty years later, Mrs. McKinstry would be interviewed again and, like her mother, demonstrate an enlargement of memory. That both simply did not recall any details of Spalding's story—as they initially stated—is supported circumstantially by the apparent failure of either to recognize Howe's accurate summary of the Roman story, the one indisputable Spalding novel.

A defense of what the Mormons quickly termed the Reverend Storr's "cunning deception" was not long in coming. In a chapter entitled "Mormon Jesuitism," the Reverend John A. Clark (*Gleanings By the Way*, 1842) reprinted letters solicited from both Storrs and Austin. Mrs. Davison, explained Austin, was "aged" and "very infirm" at the time of the interview, but had indeed signed "a statement of facts contained in that [published] letter" (which signed paper he still possessed). To this Storrs added that in view of Mrs. Davison's confirmation of the accuracy of the account, Mormon objections to his literary license were mere "quibbling."[19] Regarding the fate of Spalding's original manuscript—a point of considerable importance in later years—Mrs. Davison was said to have had "not the least doubt" that Hurlbut found it in the trunk where she had stored it. As the trunk was now known to be empty, Mrs. Davison was sure that Hurlbut had sold it to the Mormons. She was joined in this view by Storrs, Austin and Clark; Austin even reported the price—$400.[20]

The most extensive Mormon response to the Hurlbut and Storrs accounts was a short book published in 1840 by Benjamin Winchester on *The Orgin of the Spaulding Theory* (Philadelphia, and republished the following year in Liverpool). Winchester's approach, a lengthy restatement of the variously published Mormon arguments to date, was followed by nearly all Mormon apologists thereafter. He began with an extensive attack on Philastus Hurlbut, portraying him as both a "fabricator" and "confirmed drunkard," who after being "reduced to beggary" fled the country to escape a charge of theft. His disreputable background included "adultery" and a threat on the life of Joseph Smith "for which he was bound over in the sum of five hundred dollars, to keep the peace."[21]

Winchester followed his discussion of Hurlbut with a lengthy biographical sketch of Sidney Rigdon, designed to demonstrate the improbability of his involvement in the scheme, and also included a reprint of Jesse Haven's interview with Mrs. Davison. Little effort was expended on analyzing or refuting directly the Hurlbut or Storrs-Davison statements, beyond enumerating a number of internal inconsistencies. Rather, Winchester—and those who followed him—relied principally on establishing three basic points: Rigdon had not arrived in Pittsburg until about 1822, well after Spalding had retrieved his manuscript; after 1816 the manuscript remained with Spalding's widow until about 1833 when Hurlbut obtained it from the trunk; Hurlbut found, on reading the manuscript, that it did not match the Book of Mormon. Thus, there never had been a credible case in the first place.

Although Winchester's documentation and analysis were no more rigorous than those published previously he did contribute summaries of two new testimonies. In the first, a Mr. Jackson, allegedly a former neighbor of Spalding, denied any similarity between Spalding's Manuscript Found and the Book of Mormon. He had read both, he reportedly said, and the former was about a group of Romans.[22] Unfortunately Jackson's memory did not extend beyond the synopsis already published by Howe in *Mormonism Unvailed.* Winchester's second new item was a one sentence summary of an interview between a Mr. Green and Patterson, in which the Pittsburg printer reportedly again denied (as Howe previously had written) any knowledge of the Spalding manuscript.[23]

The Thick Plottens

The opinion of Patterson was central to the claims of both sides. Rigdon believed Patterson would vindicate him, and both Winchester and Howe wrote that Patterson denied any knowledge of the Spalding manuscript. Mrs. Davison, on the other hand, allegedly remembered Patterson responding positively to her husband's manuscript. In 1842, Patterson himself finally provided a cautiously worded statement on the subject. As he recalled it, "a gentleman, originally from the east, had put into his [assistant's] hands a manuscript of a singular work, chiefly in the style of our English translation of the Bible, . . ." Patterson had "only read a few pages" of the work, and "finding nothing apparently exceptionable" about it, agreed "he might publish it if the author furnished the funds." No funds were forthcoming, so after "some weeks," the manuscript, "as I supposed at the time," was returned to the author.[24]

Apparently this was Patterson's sole published statement. His son Robert, investigating the Spalding theory some forty years later, added nothing new from his father, even relying on a secondary source for the foregoing quotation (the senior Patterson died in 1854).[25] The younger Patterson, however, was able to add some relevant background material. Lambdin, who was implicated in *Mormonism Unvailed* as Rigdon's source, had joined Patterson's firm in 1812, at the age of 14, but did not become a partner ("Patterson & Lambdin") until 1818. He died, as Howe had stated, about 1825. Robert Patterson eventually contacted Lambdin's widow (in 1879), and she denied knowledge of Rigdon, who "certainly could not have been friends with Mr. Lambdin." He also

located a former employee of Patterson & Lambdin, who had worked with the firm from 1818 to 1820, but who had no recollection of either Spalding or Rigdon. The younger Patterson, who accepted Rigdon's role as the instrument in conveying Spalding's story to Joseph Smith, also sought out both Hurlbut and Howe for an explanation of their misstatements on Patterson & Lambdin. Howe attributed the information to Hurlbut, who in turn denied ever having spoken with Patterson in the first place![26]

Conflicting reports about Rigdon's access to the manuscript proved no obstacle to the early acceptance of the basic Spalding theory. Its real strength lay in the unquestioned assertions that essential elements of the Book of Mormon were identical to Spalding's romance. Any lingering doubt about the acceptability of the Hurlbut-Howe thesis was put to rest in 1842 by the publication of no fewer than six works on the Mormons—all expounding the Spalding theory.[27] Some, such as Daniel Kidder's *Mormonism and the Mormons,* stayed strictly with the original thesis, for the most part simply extracting text verbatim from *Mormonism Unvailed.* Others, such as the Reverend John Clark, in *Gleanings By the Way,* were willing to acknowledge that there were significant questions about Rigdon's involvement. On reflection, Clark did not find this to be a problem: Someone with earlier access to Spalding's manuscript could have made a copy which Rigdon obtained on moving to Pittsburg in 1822; or, perhaps Rigdon had not been involved at all, in which case Smith himself must have obtained the manuscript "some way or other."[28] The Reverend J. B. Turner, also acknowledging a Rigdon problem, offered a more specific solution in his *Mormonism in All Ages* (1842). Joseph Smith probably had obtained the manuscript directly from the chest where it had been stored in New York; he had, after all, been seen "loitering about these regions" for some four years after working nearby for Josiah Stowell in 1823.[29] This explanation had special appeal to Turner, who could "not imagine a man of Rigdon's talent, power of language, and knowledge of the Bible, ever could have jumbled together such a bundle of absurdities. . . ." His conclusion was almost exactly the opposite of a key assumption of Hurlbut and Howe:

> Whoever got the Spaulding manuscript, Joe Smith, and Joe alone, is sole 'author and proprietor' of its offspring, the Book of Mormon. There is not, probably, another man on the globe that could write such a book . . . and he would not have done it had not some materials been furnished to his hand to suggest the outline of the story.[30]

Mormon John E. Page responded to the now unanimous acclaim of the Hurlbut-Howe thesis with a small book of his own, *The Spaulding Story . . .,* published in 1843.[31] While relying primarily on lengthy quotations from the statements previously published, he also added several new testimonies, directed primarily at the weak Rigdon link. Benjamin Winchester, in his earlier defense of the Mormon position, stated that Rigdon's mother told him "before the Spaulding theory was ever thought of" that Sidney had "lived at home, and worked on the farm, until the twenty-sixth year of his age [1819]."[32] To this, John Page now added an affidavit from older brother Carvil Rigdon and brother-in-law Peter Boyer to the same effect. Sidney had lived on his father's farm until 1818 or 1819 when he left to study with a Baptist minister in Beaver County, Pennsylvania. From there he moved to Ohio, finally "returning" to Pittsburg (the Rigdon farm was about 15 miles outside of the city) in the

winter of 1821–22 to preach at the "First Regular Baptist Church."[33] Boyer, who for a short while was a Mormon, was questioned further on this point many years later, but "positively affirmed" that Rigdon never lived in Pittsburg prior to 1822, adding that "they were boys together and he ought to know."[34]

Page also quoted the Rev. John Rigdon—apparently Sidney's uncle or brother—as saying he had known Sidney "on the greatest terms of intimacy" "from his infancy till after the publication of said Book of Mormon," and that he did not believe he "had anything whatever to do with it."[35] Finally, Page published a letter written two years before by Mormon apostle, Orson Hyde. Hyde wrote that before becoming a Mormon he had been a student of Sidney Rigdon in the Christian Baptist Church. He had known Rigdon "intimately" over "a number of years," and resided in his home in 1829. Hyde was sure that were Rigdon guilty of the schemes laid to him, some hint of his involvement would have been apparent, but there had been no such intimation "in any shape or manner."[36] Furthermore, Hyde wrote, in 1832 he had preached in New Salem (formerly Conneaut) "and baptized many of Mr. Spaulding's old neighbors, but they never intimated to me that there was any similarity between the Book of Mormon and Mr. Spaulding's romance." After Hurlbut "brought forth the idea," Hyde returned to New Salem and made inquiries of the neighbors. "They said that Mr. Spaulding wrote a book, and that they frequently heard him read the manuscript: but that any one should say that it was like the Book of Mormon, was most surprising, and must be the last pitiful resort that the devil had."[37]

Not unexpectedly, the outcome of the debate—despite the efforts of Haven, Hyde, Winchester and Page—was never in doubt: the Book of Mormon was a plagiarism. During the decades after the unanimous verdict of 1842, only one lost non-Mormon voice advanced a distinctly contrary view. Orsamus Turner, in a local history of western New York published in 1851, wrote that "those who were best acquainted with the Smith family" believed there was "no foundation to the Spaulding story." The Book of Mormon "without doubt [was] a production of the Smith family, aided by Oliver Cowdery."[38] Overwhelmingly, however, later writers on Mormonism simply extracted or restated sections from Howe's *Mormonism Unvailed*, Storr's Davison statement, Clark's *Gleanings*, or later, tertiary works. Admittedly, there was uncertainty as to the means by which the plagiarism had been effected, but unraveling the "how" of the fraud was necessary only to satisfy "public curiosity."[39]

Although inconsistencies in the published testimonies did not lead to fundamental questions about the validity of the reported accounts, they did spawn a remarkable variety of postulates as to how the deed might have been done.[40] Mid-century discussions, however, contributed more to the original Hurlbut-Howe thesis than an increasingly convoluted analysis. While it was to be many years before new "primary" source material was published, the evidence still managed to grow more convincing by the decade.[41] Perhaps the most egregious addition to the traditional story appeared in the *New American Cyclopedia*, which informed its readership that "as early as 1813 this work [of Spalding] was announced in the newspapers as forthcoming, and as containing a translation of the 'Book of Mormon.' "[42]

Another example of the new "evidence" added to the theory at mid-century, not strictly speaking in the same category as the foregoing, was found in

Pomeroy Tucker's *Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism* (1867). Tucker, former editor of the *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, New York) and distant neighbor of the Smith family, carried the Rigdon connection one step further than previous writers. Notwithstanding an error-filled reconstruction of the early Spalding story, his new information on Rigdon was readily accepted by non-Mormon authors. Tucker recalled a "mysterious stranger" visiting the Smith home twice between 1827 and 1830—in his mind, none other than Sidney Rigdon. This appears to be the first published attempt to "document" a pre-1830 link between Rigdon and Smith, a consideration previously ignored and probably felt by most to be unnecessary.[43]

New Life and New Light

The 1880's, a high point in national anti-Mormon activity, saw a resurgence of interest in the Spalding theory unprecedented since its original introduction. This was at first due to the independent efforts of the Reverend Robert Patterson (son of the printer) and Ellen Dickinson (grandniece of Solomon Spalding) to resolve some of the lingering questions. Between them they collected, both from published sources and directly, some twenty to thirty new testimonies. These materials were shortly published in Patterson's *Who Wrote the Book of Mormon?* (1882) and Dickinson's *New Light on Mormonism* (1885), and it was in large part because of this new "evidence" that the Spalding theory survived the discovery in 1884 of a long lost Solomon Spalding manuscript.

Although the most significant of the newly collected statements came from Mrs. McKinstry, Spalding's now elderly daughter, there were important interviews with Philastus Hurlbut and Eber D. Howe—both now in their eighties. Several new "living witnesses" to the "identity" of the Book of Mormon and Manuscript Found were also located, as was Mrs. Lambdin (wife of Rigdon's alleged accomplice). Dickinson and Patterson published a few interviews with several older residents of Pittsburg, some of whom claimed early knowledge of Patterson & Lambdin, and a handful of second-hand accounts relating to Sidney Rigdon's early activities. Buried in Mrs. Dickinson's appendix—and dismissed by her—was a letter from one W. H. Rice, dated August 1885, who wrote that his father recently had located "an original manuscript from the pen of Solomon Spaulding." It had been marked "Conneaut Story," and was written in "Scripture narrative style", similar but "not identical . . . in any part to the Book of Mormon."[44]

The new McKinstry statement was first published in *Scribner's Monthly* in August 1880. Now in her mid-seventies, Mrs. McKinstry nonetheless displayed a more vivid memory than was apparent in her brief interview some forty years earlier. Where before she had seemed uncertain about the names in the Spalding manuscript, now they were "as fresh to me . . . as though I heard them yesterday . . . 'Mormon,' 'Maroni,' 'Lamenite,' 'Nephi.' " Patterson, she also remembered, had been an "intimate friend" of her father (in contrast to Patterson's vaguely worded recollection of a "gentleman, originally from the east"), and she and her father had frequently visited his library. Her mother told her that Patterson had recommended that her father "polish" up his manuscript; "finish it, and you will make money out of it."

Mrs. McKinstry had seen the manuscript when she was eleven years old (about 1817). It was about "an inch thick," and stored in the trunk with some other papers. While "she did not read it," she had "looked through it and had it in my hands many times, and saw the names I had heard at Conneaut, when my father read it to his friends." She credited her mother with saying that the manuscript was written "in biblical style."[45]

Two years later, W. H. Kelley of the Reorganized Church asked Mrs. McKinstry how she had first come to notice the similarity of names. She reportedly replied that her "attention was first called to it by some parties who asked me if I did not remember it, and then I remembered that they were [alike]." "Mr. Spaulding had a way of making a very fancy capital letter at the beginning of a chapter and I remembered the name Lehi, I think it was, from its being written that way."[46]

Ann Redfield also was consulted by Ellen Dickinson in 1880. She too had been in the Spalding home, about 1818, as a boarder. She had not read the manuscript herself, she reported, but she had heard enough about it from the family to "at once recognize the resemblance between it" and the Book of Mormon when the latter appeared some years later. In addition, Redfield asserted, Mrs. Davison sometime *before* 1828 had expressed the belief that Sidney Rigdon had copied her husband's manuscript![47] (All this despite Mrs. Davison's apparent failure, when first interviewed in 1833, either to implicate Rigdon or to recall details of the Spalding text.) Early suspicion of Rigdon by the Spalding family was alleged by several other late witnesses, who purported as well to have some knowledge of the text of Spalding's Manuscript Found.[48]

To exponents of the Spalding theory (i.e., virtually everyone but the Mormons), the case for plagiarism was now stronger than ever. Unfortunately, however, pieces with no apparent place in the puzzle continued to turn up. In 1880 Ellen Dickinson learned that George Clark's wife had been shown the Spalding manuscript as late as 1831. It was in Clark's home that the Spalding trunk was stored, and there that Hurlbut found his manuscript. Clark recounted that his wife—then his fiancee—was given the manuscript by Mrs. Spalding when both had been staying in the Clark home. She found it "dry reading" and returned the manuscript after reading only "a few pages." In response to a specific question from Dickinson, Mrs. Clark denied any memory of the contents, nor had she any recollection of the names "Maroni" or "Mormon."[49]

Not surprisingly, in light of the accumulated evidence, the Spalding family was convinced that Philastus Hurlbut had indeed taken the original Manuscript Found from the trunk. Dickinson, in pursuing this point, sought out and interviewed both Hurlbut and Howe. Despite her efforts to obtain a confession from Hurlbut, she was unable to shake his original testimony. He had found a manuscript in the trunk and given it to Howe. The story it contained did not match the Book of Mormon, but rather—as stated in *Mormonism Unvailed*—recounted the adventures of some Romans. Howe had apparently misplaced the manuscript, and he assumed it later was destroyed in a fire.[50]

As Dickinson reconstructed her later interview with Howe, she was able to provoke him into speculating that Hurlbut might have found *two* manuscripts in the chest.[51] It is clear, however, from a letter written by Howe just a few months before, that he accepted Hurlbut's account of a single Spalding manuscript in the trunk.[52] Unsatisfied, Mrs. Dickinson could only offer her

readers an affidavit from "O. E. Kellogg," who had accompanied her to see Hurlbut: "We carefully listened to every word said, and watched Mr. Hurlbut's countenance and arrived at the same conclusion—that Hurlbut knows more than he told."[53]

In general, efforts to implicate Rigdon were about as successful in the 1880's as they had been previously.[54] Unable to locate a source who would claim first-hand knowledge of Rigdon's employment with Patterson, Mrs. Dickinson and the younger Patterson turned instead to second-hand accounts of several "unimpeachable" witnesses. George M. French, for example, "now in his eighty-third year," retained a "vivid impression" of a conversation he had some fifty years earlier with the Rev. Cephas Dodd, a physician who attended Spalding's last illness. Dodd had expressed his "positive belief" that "Rigdon was the agent in transforming Spaulding's manuscript into the Book of Mormon." French dated the conversation with Dodd to 1832, a year before the original Hurlbut interviews; Dodd's suspicion must therefore have been derived from Spalding himself![55] Equally solid was the testimony of the Rev. A. G. Kirk, who recalled a conversation a decade before (about 1870) in which the Rev. John Winter recounted a visit over fifty years earlier to Sidney Ridgon's study, in 1822–23. During the visit, Rigdon allegedly had taken a large manuscript from his desk, and said "in substance," ". . . Spaulding . . . brought this to the printer to see if it would pay to publish it. It is a romance of the Bible."[56]

Additional testimony, if no less credible, was generally a little less specific. The statements of three early ministers were located, all attesting to Rigdon's knowledge of the Book of Mormon well before its publication. Two of these were Alexander Campbell, whose movement Rigdon had left to become a Mormon, and Adamson Bentley, Rigdon's brother-in-law (their wives were sisters). Bentley, "whose testimony is beyond the imputation of doubt or suspicion," had written in 1841 of a conversation he had with Sidney about 1828. A book was "coming out," Rigdon allegedly said, "the manuscript of which had been found engraved on gold plates."[57] No mention was made of the long-standing antipathy between Rigdon and the purportedly impartial Bentley, dating back at least six years before Bentley's statement. By Rigdon's account at least, the Rev. Bentley had convinced his father-in-law to exclude Ridgon's wife from her family inheritance (before 1836).[58] Bentley's statement was supported by Alexander Campbell, who claimed in 1841 to have been present during the alleged Bentley-Rigdon conversation.[59] Conveniently omitted, however, is any reference to Campbell's earlier view, published in 1831 ascribing total responsibility for the Book of Mormon to Joseph Smith.[60] The paradox becomes less confusing when one learns that Campbell changed his mind about the authorship of the Book of Mormon after reading Howe's *Mormonism Unvailed*.[61] The testimony of the third of this group of ministers, while coming much later, is probably related to the previous two. Campbellite Reverend D. Atwater, "a man noted for his strict regard for truth and justice," wrote in 1873 that he could still remember hearing as a youth a conversation between Rigdon and his father along the same lines as that recounted by Bentley and Campbell. He was sure it had been before 1830.[62] One presumes that either father or son Atwater was the "Darwin Atwater" characterized by Rigdon in 1836 as having "a great deal of labor to carry about and read Howe's

book."[63] The remaining new testimonies were, if possible, less impressive still.[64]

Conspicuously absent from the ostensibly exhaustive surveys of Patterson and Dickinson was any later statement by Sidney Rigdon, or any reference whatever to Oliver Cowdery. Rigdon, after a turbulent thirteen years with the Mormons, had been excommunicated in 1844. He moved to Pittsburg and attempted to establish his own branch of the church, but this soon failed. The remainder of his life was one of complete alienation from the Mormon community. Nonetheless, he continued till his death in 1876 to deny vigorously any knowledge of the Spalding manuscript, or collusion with Joseph Smith in the preparation of the Book of Mormon.[65] Oliver Cowdery, as Joseph Smith's principal scribe in the preparation of the Book of Mormon, should have been an invaluable source as well—particularly since he too had been excommunicated from the church, in 1838. But, like Rigdon, Cowdery also denied throughout his life any charge of fraud in the writing of the Book of Mormon.[66]

Even without these apparently suspect ex-Mormon witnesses, the Rigdon link remained fraught with conflicting testimonies. In his final analysis, Robert Patterson resolved this problem by an unquestioning acceptance of the occasionally second-hand, but always confident statements of his "unimpeachable witnesses."[67] Sidney Ridgon thus remained the prime mover in the Spalding plagiarism. While it was no longer deemed likely that he had the original manuscript, it was evident that somehow he had obtained a copy. Both Patterson and Dickinson agreed that the original manuscript remained with the family until 1833 when it probably fell into the hands of the Mormons. This, of course, was through the collusion of Philastus Hurlbut—who despite a half century of personal villification from the official Mormon press, continued to deny the charge.

Manuscript Refound

As events would shortly reveal, the manuscript which Hurlbut obtained from the trunk had indeed been given to Howe, who in turn published a generally accurate summary of its contents in *Mormonism Unvailed*. While the manuscript was lost sometime later, it was not destroyed in a fire. In retrospect it was still among Howe's papers when he sold his business to Mr. L. L. Rice in 1839. Years later Rice unknowingly carried the manuscript to Hawaii, where in 1884 it was rediscovered among some old papers. The key to the identity of the "old, worn, and faded manuscript of about 175 pages" was the following statement, recorded on an empty page:[68]

> The writings of Solomon Spalding, proved by Aaron Wright, Oliver Smith, John N. Miller and others. The testimonies of the above gentlemen are now in my possession.
> D.P. Hurlbut

Rice sent the manuscript, which he labelled "A manuscript story," to his friend James Fairchild, President of Oberlin College, who in turn published his analysis of the discovery. Finding, as had L. L. Rice and others, no similarity in style, names or incidents between the manuscript and the Book

of Mormon, Fairchild at first concluded that the Spalding theory "will probably have to be relinquished."[69]

Later, while acknowledging that it was "perhaps, impossible at this day to prove or disprove the Spaulding theory," he still found the affirmative case to be particularly weak. There seemed "no ground to dispute" the Mormon claim that Sidney Rigdon had been neither a printer, nor a resident of Pittsburg prior to 1822. The accepted view that the religious portions of the Book of Mormon were interpolations into a much shorter historical narrative he found "difficult—almost impossible, to believe." Such sections were "of the original tissue and substance of the document," and besides "a man as self-reliant and smart as Sidney Rigdon . . . would never have accepted the servile task."[70]

Moreover, Fairchild reasoned, "in its general features the present manuscript fulfills the requirements of the 'Manuscript Found' "—an important point which Hurlbut and Howe had neglected to call to the attention of their early readers. It was, in fact, the story of a manuscript found in a cave containing an account "of the aboriginal inhabitants of the country." Wrote Fairchild, "These general features would naturally bring it to remembrance, on reading the account of the finding of the plates of the 'Book of Mormon.' " It had, after all, been "twenty-two years or more . . . since they had heard the manuscript read; and before they began to recall their remembrances they had read, or heard the 'Book of Mormon,' and also the suggestion that the book had its origin in the manuscript of Spaulding." The cautious Fairchild nevertheless chose not to carry his speculations to a firm conclusion. Some people were saying that a second manuscript was "still in existence, and will be brought to light at some future day." "It would not seem unreasonable to suspend judgment in the case until the new light shall come . . ."

While raising important points, overlooked despite a half-century of vigorous discussion, Fairchild stopped short of the critical analysis which by then was possible. A closer examination of the testimonies collected in support of the Spalding theory would have yielded some surprising results. Eight witnesses had asserted that Spalding still had his story when he left Pittsburg. Following Spalding's death in 1816 the manuscript—by the uncontradicted testimony of four of these witnesses—apparently remained stored for many years in a family trunk (its presence being reconfirmed in 1817, 1818, 1820 and 1831). The speculation that the manuscript had been copied in Pittsburg was never supported by either first- or second-hand testimony. In fact, six of seven people claiming some early first-hand knowledge about either Rigdon or Patterson's printing office failed to recall or explicitly denied any contact between the two. (The exception, an 87-year old former postal clerk with a "marvelously tenacious" memory of events 65 years earlier.)

Nor did any of the fourteen claimants to knowledge of the text of Spalding's writings issue any signed statements to the effect that there were two versions of his romance ("Roman" and "Book of Mormon"). When the "manuscript story" was rediscovered, the names of three of the original witnesses were found written in it by Hurlbut (quoted above) as confirming the story as the work of Spalding, but there was no verification of Howe's claim about a second version. One of the three, Oliver Smith, with whom Spalding reportedly lived for six months in 1810, had a credible claim to knowledge of an earlier manuscript. It was in his home, according to Smith, that Spalding conceived,

outlined and wrote over 100 pages of the Manuscript Found. Yet there was not the slightest hint in his original affidavit that Spalding was revising an earlier work. Most other witnesses did not claim familiarity with Spalding's story until 1811, or early 1812, by which time the "earlier version" should long since have been abandoned. In fact, however, close examination of the Roman manuscript would have revealed even stronger evidence that it was *not* a discarded early version. On the back side of page 135 of the 171 page manuscript was a portion of an unfinished letter from Spalding to his parents referring to correspondence dated January 1812—almost certainly penned prior to the narrative text on the other side of the same sheet. (The reverse order would make no sense; and in all other cases the Spalding story appears on both sides of the manuscript pages.) Spalding thus was still at work on his Roman story well after several of Hurlbut's witnesses claimed to have read or heard read Manuscript Found. Moreover, it appears that Spalding penned an additional 36 pages of text *after* January 1812, the probable year of his move to Pittsburg.[71]

Notwithstanding the limitations of Fairchild's analysis, the rediscovery of the Roman "manuscript story" marked a turning point in the history of the Spalding theory. A recent review of Ohio authors and their books went so far as to date the downfall of the Hurlbut-Howe thesis to 1884.[72] To some early non-Mormon authors this assessment was partially correct. Theodore Schroeder, a staunch defender of the Spalding theory, noted in 1901 that "in the past fifteen years . . . all but two of the numerous writers upon the subject have asserted that the theory . . . must be abandoned."[73] So far as the Mormons themselves were concerned, their opposition in 1900 was limited solely to "the densely ignorant or unscrupulously dishonest."[74]

In retrospect, however, this hopeful judgment was several decades premature. A few writers, such as Hubert Howe Bancroft, in his *History of Utah* (1890), took a noncommital approach to the debate. Others, such as I. Woodbridge Riley, Eduard Myer and Walter F. Prince, moved beyond what they termed inconclusive "external" evidence on the source of the Book of Mormon to newly considered "internal" evidences pointing to Joseph Smith as the author.[75] As late as 1917, however, Prince found only "a few scholars, mostly within the last 15 years" who supported his view.[76]

In practice, the rediscovery of Spalding's story had very little impact on the established arguments, or the frequency or confidence with which they were advanced. Thomas Gregg's *The Prophet of Palmyra* (1890) offered, if anything, a less sophisticated discussion than had Eber D. Howe fifty-five years before; and the most popular turn-of-the-century work, William Linn's *The Story of the Mormons* (1902), included little more than a condensation of Patterson's *Who Wrote the Book of Mormon?* (1882).[77] The Mormons as well relied on their long established counter-arguments. Both LDS and RLDS churches, to be sure, rushed out "verbatim and literatim" editions of Spalding's new found manuscript. And Orson Whitney, in his *History of Utah* (1890), quoted from it at great length, as did B. H. Roberts in *New Witness for God* (1909). Neither Whitney nor Roberts added much to the case presented just before the rediscovery of the manuscript in George Reynolds' *The Myth of the "Manuscript Found"* (1883). Reynolds, who presumably was responding to the interest stirred by Patterson and Dickinson, in turn added little to the arguments advanced many years before by John E. Page (1843) and Benjamin Winchester

(1840). On both sides of the debate, new testimonies had simply been piled onto old arguments.

The Twentieth Century

By 1900 Spalding advocates were left for the first time without the potential of new "living witnesses" to revitalize the otherwise shallow repetitions of their predecessors. Their efforts in the twentieth century, therefore, are little more than restatements of all that has gone before. The case is treated as both opened and resolved by Hurlbut's original affidavits. Sidney Rigdon remained the likely agent in the plagiarism, but the means by which the whole thing was accomplished was no clearer than when Howe first speculated on the subject.[78]

A few subtle changes are apparent in the twentieth century discussions. The most conspicuous of these was the addition of scholarly trappings such as Theodore Schroeder's copious footnotes. His profusely documented Salt Lake City ministerial tract, *The Origin of the Book of Mormon* (1901), was even serialized in the *American Historical Magazine* (1906). Although for the most part Schroeder's work is an uncritical compilation of all the previously collected evidence, there was one distinct difference. It was finally clear, asserted Schroeder, that the Manuscript Found never was in the Spalding trunk—only an earlier version. No new evidence was introduced to support this departure from a near unanimous late nineteenth century consensus. Rather, the considerable evidence to the contrary was simply dismissed as less "satisfactory" than the claims of Patterson's unimpeachable witnesses.[79] More recent Spalding supporters all have followed Schroeder's lead on this point.

The only genuine innovation in the Spalding argument to be found in the twentieth century sources—before the past few months—is contained in Charles Shook's otherwise undistinguished *The True Origin of the Book of Mormon* (1914). After studying Spalding's Roman "manuscript story," he concluded that it was considerably more than a source of confusion to those early but faded memories. To Shook there were unequivocal internal evidences that it was indeed an early version of the Manuscript Found, and thus the Book of Mormon. How else could one explain such anachronistic parallels as both Spalding and Smith writing of a "Great Spirit," horses, iron, and the revolution of the earth around the sun. In 1932 George Arbaugh added to Shook's list the similarity of Smith's "elephants, cureloms and cummons" to Spalding's "mammoons." Arbaugh could even imagine the transition: "mammouth, mammoon, cumon, curelon." As usual, however, no meaningful attempt was made to evaluate these parallels.[80]

The Spalding theory, if no longer undisputed, remained the dominant theory of the origin of the Book of Mormon well into the twentieth century. It was included in Stuart Martins' *The Mystery of Mormonism* (1920); Harry Beardsley's *Joseph Smith and his Mormon Empire* (1931); George Arbaugh's *Revelation in Mormonism* (1932); and Alice Felt Tyler's *Freedom's Ferment* (1944). But time was rapidly running out. The "new Mormon history" was about to make its debut, and with it the first serious historical scholarship on Mormonism. No longer were studies in Mormon history to be primarily uncritical adversarial presentations, but rather they were to be characterized by a dispassion which

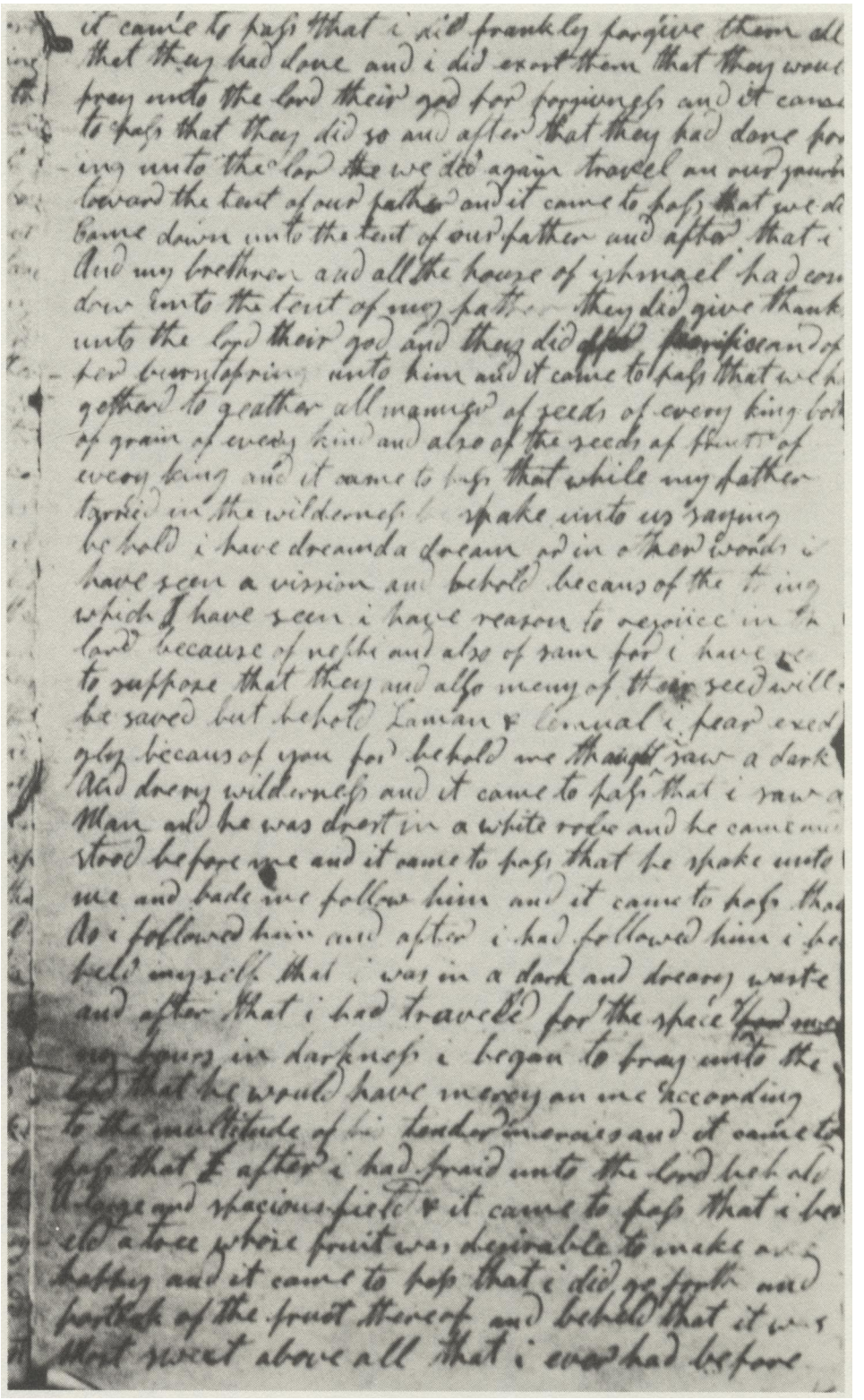
for the first time would obscure the religious affiliation (Mormon or "non-Mormon") of the author. Such a setting was alien to the entire Hurlbut-Howe tradition of "scholarship."

In 1945, Fawn Brodie's *No Man Knows My History* was published, a book viewed by most Mormon scholars as transitional between the old "anti-Mormon" school of Mormon history and the new Mormon history, and acclaimed in academic circles as the best biography yet published on the life of Joseph Smith. A 14-page "Appendix B" was devoted to "The Spaulding-Rigdon Theory,"—the first in-depth assessment of the Hurlbut-Howe thesis by a modern historian.[81] Finding the pro-Spalding case to be "heaped together without regard to chronology . . . and without any consideration of the character of Joseph Smith or Sidney Rigdon," Brodie proceeded to examine directly some of the facts on which the theory was built. Hurlbut's affidavits she judged to be "clearly . . . written by Hurlbut, since the style is the same throughout . . ." The statements collected in the 1870's and 1880's were "all from citizens who vaguely remembered Spaulding or Rigdon some fifty, sixty, or seventy years earlier. All are suspect because they corroborate only the details of the first handful of documents collected by Hurlbut and frequently use the same language. Some are outright perjury." Her conclusion, after reviewing the accumulated evidence and what was known of Rigdon's pre-1830 activities, was that it was "most likely" that there had been "only one Spaulding manuscript." Furthermore "if the evidence pointing to the existence of a second Spaulding manuscript is dubious, the affidavits trying to prove that Rigdon stole it, or copied it, are all unconvincing and frequently preposterous." Even this "tenuous chain of evidence" broke altogether when it tried to "prove Rigdon met Joseph Smith before 1830."

Brodie's lead was followed not long thereafter by a number of distinguished scholars, notably Whitney Cross in *The Burned-Over District* (1950), and Thomas F. O'Dea in *The Mormons* (1957). Since 1945 serious students of Mormonism have treated the Spalding theory as little more than a historical curiosity. Until recently, most non-historians had forgotten about it altogether. The theory, however, did not disappear entirely. A well-preserved edition continued to be promulgated by the small remnant of a once distinguished school of Mormon pseudo-history. While generally unfamiliar to most students of Mormonism, such works as James Bales' *The Book of Mormon?* (1958) and Walter Martin's *The Maze of Mormonism* (1962), continue to retrace the ingenuous path of innumerable intermediary works back to the hard evidence of such early scholars as Patterson, Dickinson, Hurlbut and Storrs.

II

Just when it seemed that the Reverend Spalding might be forever buried in obscure academic footnotes or among the equally remote vestiges of the anti-Mormon publishing industry, a whole new Spalding debate has suddenly been proclaimed. "Based on the evidence of three handwriting experts," reported the Los Angeles *Times* news service of June 25, 1977, "researchers have declared that portions of the Book of Mormon were written by a Congregationalist minister . . ."



it came to pass that i did frankly forgive them all
that they had done and i did exort them that they would
pray unto the lord their god for forgiveness and it came
to pass that they did so and after that they had done pray-
ing unto the lord we did again travel on our journey
toward the tent of our father and it came to pass that we did
came down unto the tent of our father and after that i
and my brethren and all the house of ishmael had come
down unto the tent of my father they did give thanks
unto the lord their god and they did offer sacrifice and of-
fer burnt offering unto him and it came to pass that we be-
gathered all manner of seeds of every kind both
of grain of every kind and also of the seeds of fruits of
every kind and it came to pass that while my father
dwelt in the wilderness he spake unto us saying
behold i have dreamed a dream or in other words i
have seen a vision and behold because of the thing
which i have seen i have reason to rejoice in the
lord because of nephi and also of sam for i have reason
to suppose that they and also many of their seed will
be saved but behold laman & lemuel i fear exceed-
ingly because of you for behold me thought i saw a dark
and dreary wilderness and it came to pass that i saw a
man and he was dressed in a white robe and he came and
stood before me and it came to pass that he spake unto
me and bade me follow him and it came to pass that
as i followed him and after i had followed him i be-
held myself that i was in a dark and dreary waste
and after that i had traveled for the space of many
hours in darkness i began to pray unto the
lord that he would have mercy on me according
to the multitude of his tender mercies and it came to
pass that after i had prayed unto the lord i beheld
a large and spacious field & it came to pass that i be-
held a tree whose fruit was desirable to make one
happy and it came to pass that i did go forth and
partook of the fruit thereof and beheld that it was
most sweet above all that i ever had before

FIGURE 1. Page of original Book of Mormon manuscript in disputed handwriting. Courtesy of the Public Communications Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

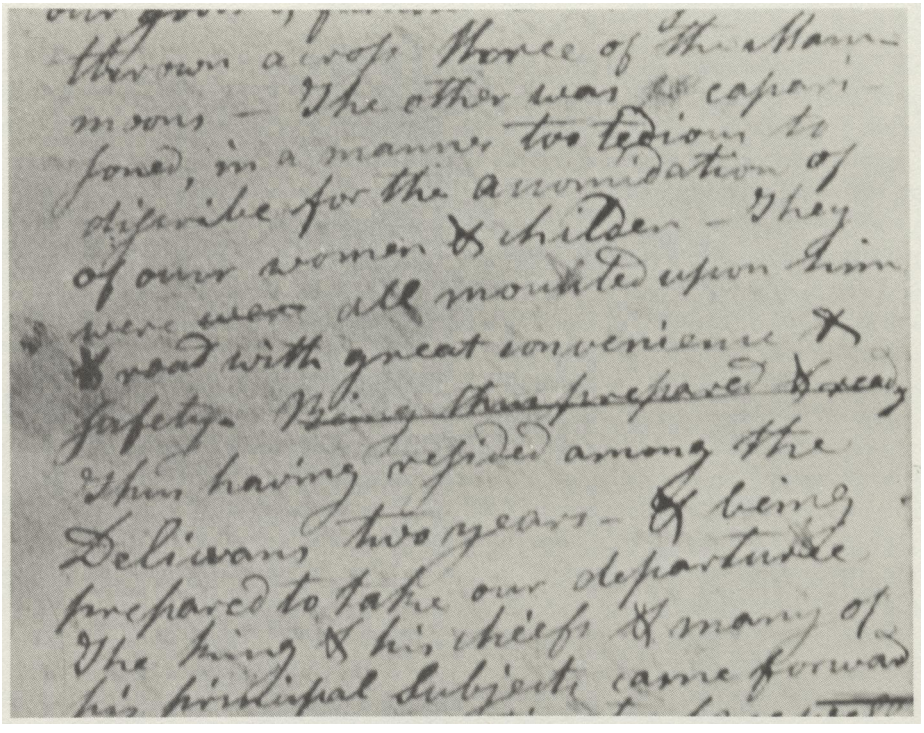


FIGURE 2. Portion of the "Manuscript Story" in the handwriting of Solomon Spalding. Used by permission of Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio.

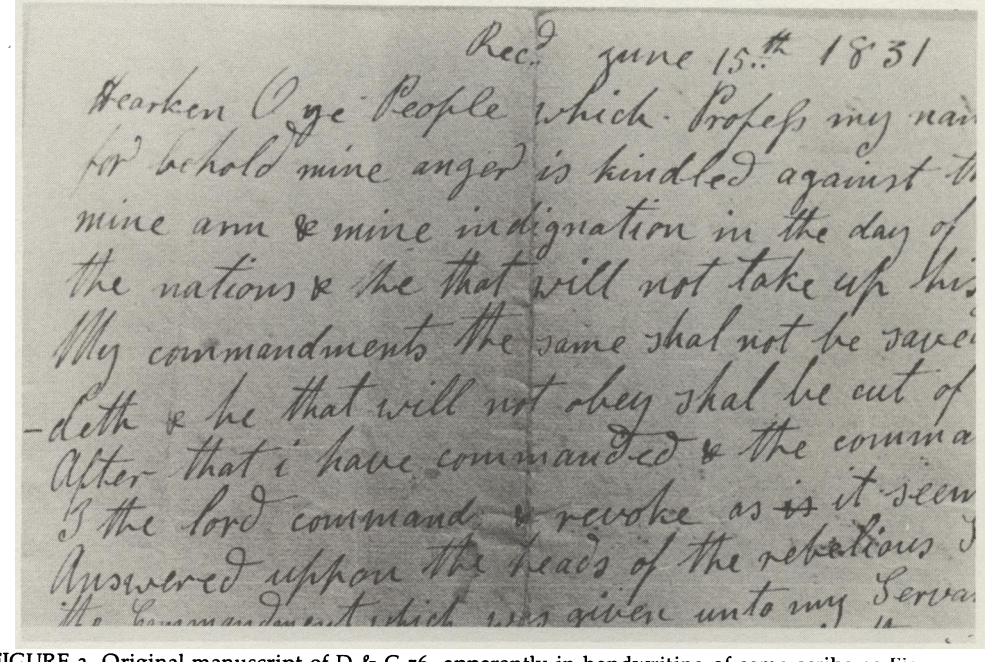


FIGURE 3. Original manuscript of D & C 56, apparently in handwriting of same scribe as Figure 1. Courtesy of the Public Communications Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

The three California-based "freelance researchers"—Howard Davis, Donald Scales, and Wayne Cowdrey—had provided nationally known handwriting specialists—Henry Silver, William Kaye, and Howard Doulder—with photocopies of several original manuscript pages of the Book of Mormon. Comparisons were made with "specimens of handwriting in [Spalding's] 'Manuscript Story.' " According to the *Times*, Silver had stated his "definite opinion that all of the questioned handwriting (was) written by the same writer known as Solomon Spalding." The other two experts were said to agree. Kaye reportedly had written in August 1976 "that it was his 'considered opinion and conclusion that all of the writings were executed by Solomon Spalding.' " Doulder was quoted as stating, "This is one and the same writer."[82] Shortly thereafter both *Time* and *Christianity Today* carried essentially the same story.[83]

Less conspicuously reported were the disclaimers issued shortly thereafter. In a press conference three days later, Silver stated that the *Times* had "completely misrepresented" him, and that he would be unable to give a definite opinion until he had examined original specimens of the handwriting.[84] After examining the Book of Mormon manuscripts, he reaffirmed that he still could not "definitely come to a conclusion" until he also had examined original pages of the "Manuscript Story."[85] A week later, the 86-year-old Silver withdrew from the case. His doctor had advised against further travel, and he was also "fed up." In addition to his displeasure at being misrepresented in the press, he was concerned that Walter Martin, whose Christian Research Institute was financing the study, "has a vendetta against the church."[86] Interviewed later in his home, Silver added, "I don't like their methods and their attack on the Church. I want no further part of this whole matter."[87]

Meanwhile, William Kaye, second of the handwriting experts, arrived in Salt Lake City on July 7 to study a page of the original Book of Mormon manuscript. It appears that he, too, may have been misrepresented in the *Times* account, for he now stated that he could not give an opinion on the subject until he had examined all twelve disputed pages of the manuscript.[88] Accompanying Kaye was Jerald Tanner, perhaps the best known present-day publisher of "anti-Mormon" literature. Tanner explained later that he was there only at the request of a friend, and felt the handwriting allegations to be a "poor case." While disclaiming handwriting expertise, he said there were "too many dissimilarities" evident, which "just an ordinary layman could spot."[89] Other observers, including Dean Jessee, leading authority among Mormon historians on early Church holographs, also found the differences readily apparent. Said Jessee, "Any competent handwriting analyst will easily spot numerous differences in the two hands. In fact, even the untrained eye can see the basic differences."[90]

Kaye, who also has examined the Spalding manuscript at Oberlin College, returned to LDS Church archives on July 20 to examine the remaining eleven pages of the original manuscript. The same day the third of the original group of experts, Howard Doulder, also visited church archives to study the manuscripts. Neither issued a statement following his one day visit; final reports* are expected within a few weeks.[91]

*As of October 1, the full reports of the handwriting experts still have not been released. Kaye has been quoted in the September 8 *Los Angeles Times* as reaffirming in his final "summary report" that the pages he examined were "unquestionably . . . executed by the same person." Doulder, however, was reported in a September 24 *Times* article to have concluded that the pages

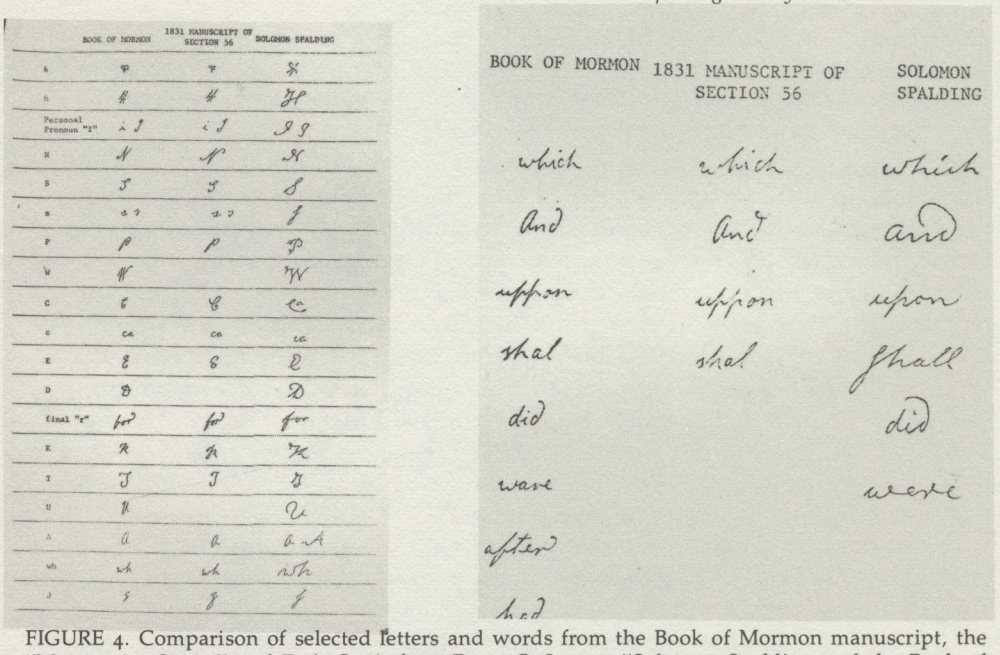


FIGURE 4. Comparison of selected letters and words from the Book of Mormon manuscript, the "Manuscript Story," and D & C 56, from Dean C. Jessee, "Solomon Spalding and the Book of Mormon," *Church News*, August 20, 1977. Used by permission.

Mormon spokesmen have been described as "unruffled" throughout these developments. LDS "press spokesman" Don LeFevre issued the expected official testimonial, ". . . Truth is unchanging, and the truth of the matter is that the Book of Mormon is precisely what the church has always maintained it is. . . ."[92] Church Historian Leonard Arrington was more direct, "The whole theory is ridiculous."[93]

Little study is necessary to discover that the confidence of Church officials in the face of the recent claims is well justified. What negligible historical evidence there is for the Spalding theory is itself incompatible with the recent claims. Virtually every witness claiming to have read Manuscript Found described it as a strictly secular, historical work. Sidney Rigdon and Joseph Smith were always credited with the extensive scriptural and religious interpolations. Yet the pages recently alleged to be in the hand of Solomon Spalding (covering 1 Nephi 4:20 to 1 Nephi 12:8) are perhaps as heavily "religious" as any passage of comparable length in the entire book. Most of the narrative is taken up with a detailed description of a prophetic dream by Lehi, its inspired interpretation, and a subsequent vision by Nephi.

As a corollary, Spalding advocates—particularly following the rediscovery of the Roman "manuscript story"—denied that any of the Book of Mormon was "verbally" the work of Spalding. Charles Shook, for example, was "sure that no anti-Mormon writer, who has given the matter due consideration, holds to any such theory." Spalding's Roman story was just too incompatible

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were the work of "different authors." Neither Doulder nor Kaye were quoted as addressing the questions implicit in the other apparent examples in Church records of this disputed handwriting, discussed above. The disagreement underscores the limitations of this type of analysis. Kaye and Silver—the third of the original three experts—previously had differed on the authenticity of the Hughes will.

stylistically with the Book of Mormon to argue otherwise.[94] Now, however, the handwriting claims would have one believe that Spalding had contributed to the Book of Mormon both key portions of the religious structure and the basic writing style.

In addition to the historical obstacles, the handwriting theory faces a seemingly insurmountable challenge from the Book of Mormon manuscripts themselves. The twelve pages of disputed authorship were part of a group of twenty pages which give every appearance of coming from a single copybook, with the same ink apparently used on every sheet. The handwriting on the remaining eight pages of the group already has been identified as that of known Book of Mormon scribes—Oliver Cowdery and, tentatively, John Whitmer.[95] The California researchers attempted to discount the major problem this raises (Cowdery being age nine when Spalding died) by proposing—in *Time*'s words, "somewhat lamely"—that "Smith was so poverty-stricken that he and his aides might have stuck sections of Spalding's manuscript between pages of their own in order to save paper."[96]

The problem, however, is not nearly so simple. At the top of each page of manuscript is a one-line summary of the narrative appearing on that page. The summaries appearing on the disputed pages are in the same handwriting as the text below. What appears to be this same handwriting summarizes the text of two of the three preceding pages of manuscript, the body of which is written by Oliver Cowdery and, tentatively, John Whitmer.[97]

Nor are the problems for the "handwriting theory" restricted to the Book of Mormon manuscripts alone. Church historians have also produced the original transcription of a revelation dated June 1831—some fifteen years after Spalding's death—which appears to be the work of the same unidentified scribe who wrote the disputed twelve pages. Published as D&C 56, this revelation dealt in explicit terms with personalities and circumstances not present before the time it was dated. Specific guidance is given to Thomas B. Marsh, Ezra Thayre, Newel Knight and Joseph Smith. As described by Dean Jessee, such posthumous regulation of Church affairs would be nothing short of "miraculous."[98]

The ultimately unrelated question remains, who did record the disputed twelve pages? Both Reuben Hale, brother of Emma Smith, and Martin Harris have been suggested. Current thinking favors Harris, who is known to have been present both in Kirkland, Ohio, in 1831 when *D&C* 56 was written, and also Fayette, New York, two years earlier when the relevant portions of the Book of Mormon were dictated. On several occasions Harris was identified, by Emma Smith and others, as one of the scribes for the Book of Mormon.[99] Unfortunately, no definite specimen of his handwriting has been located.

While for the past thirty years the Spalding theory has been a dead issue, it has never truly disappeared. The very imprecision of the original arguments, so integrally tied to the eventual abandonment of the theory by scholars of Mormonism, has served to assure its preservation. However high the possibilities, no one has ever been able to "prove" in any absolute sense that the Hurlbut affidavits were erroneous recollections, deliberate or otherwise. Superficial analyses, shaped largely by an *a priori* assumption that Joseph Smith was incapable of producing the Book of Mormon alone, will no doubt continue

to find "hard evidence" in the persisting trace of uncertainty—and carry the Spalding corpus perpetually onward. So long as the subject remains, in O'Dea's words, a "not-quite-solved" historical problem, this will probably ever be so. One therefore can reasonably expect that new variants will, like the influenza, reemerge every now and then. The strength of these will probably be, as in the most recent instance, inversely proportionate to the publicity with which they are heralded. One newspaper headlined this latest episode, "BOOK OF MORMON'S AUTHENTICITY DOUBTED BY HANDWRITING EXPERTS." More aptly the title could have been, "THE LATE REVEREND SPALDING DISINTERRED . . . BUT SLATED FOR REBURIAL."

NOTES

The standard references on the Spalding theory in recent years include the following: Leonard Arrington and James Allen, "Mormon Origins in New York: An Introductory Analysis," *BYU Studies* 9:241–274; Fawn Brodie, *No Man Knows My History* (New York, 1945), Appendix B; Marvin S. Hill, "The Role of Christian Primitivism in the Origin and Development of the Mormon Kingdom, 1830–1844," (PhD Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1968), pp. 80–97; and Francis W. Kirkham, *A New Witness for Christ in America:* The Book of Mormon (Independence, Mo., 1942), especially volumes 1 and 2. Many of the works cited below are also useful sourcebooks on the subject, notably the books of Ellen Dickinson, Robert Patterson, George Reynolds, and B. H. Roberts.

[1]Joseph Smith termed the infraction, for which Hurlbut was excommunicated in late June, 1833, "lewd and adulterous conduct." Donna Hill recently has asserted that "unchristianlike conduct" was meant to describe the use of obscene language to a young member. She also provides additional background on Hurlbut in her *Joseph Smith: The First Mormon* (Garden City, 1977), pp. 46, 67, 103, especially 155–157. Most of the Mormon sources cited below discuss him as well.

[2]Henry Lake, John N. Miller, Aaron Wright, Oliver Smith, Nahum Howard and Artemas Cunningham.

[3]Eber D. Howe, *Mormonism Unvailed* (Painesville, Ohio, 1834), pp. 278–287.

[4]*Ibid.*, pp. 287–288.

[5]*The "Manuscript Found:" Manuscript Story, by. Rev. Solomon Spaulding, Deceased* (Salt Lake City, 1886), pp. 1–3.

[6]See Joseph Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Period I*, B. H. Roberts, ed. (Salt Lake City, 1902), 1:16.

[7]*The "Manuscript Found"* . . . , pp. 74–75. Compare Mosiah 8:13–19, Alma 37:23, etc. Allusions to such "urim-and-thumim"-like devices were hardly unique to Spalding and the Book of Mormon. Contemporary references to the Indians possessing such instruments included Ethan Smith's *View of the Hebrews* (1823) and Elias Boudinot's *Star of the West* (1816). Whatever the similarities of Spalding's stone and that found in the *Book of Mormon*, their uses diverged somewhat: "[Hamack] could behold the galant & his mistress in their bed chamber & count all their moles warts & pimples."

[8]Other members of the Spalding cast: Baska, Bithawan, Colorangus, Crito, Drafolick, Elseon, Gamasko, Gamba, Geheno, Habelon, Hamkien, Hamkol, Hamul, Hanock, Helicon, Heliza, Kelsock, Labarmack, Lakoon, Lambon, Lobanko, Lucian, Numapon, Owhahon, Ohons, Rambock, Ramoff, Sambal, Suscowah, Taboon, Thelford, Tolanga, and Trojanus.

[9]Howe, *op. cit.*, pp. 278, 288. The first explicit published reference alleging Spalding as the ultimate author of the Book of Mormon appeared in the *Painesville Telegraph*, January 31, 1834. A short notice announced that the details of Hurlbut's findings shortly would be published, presumably referring to *Mormonism Unvailed.* Several weeks earlier, the *Wayne Sentinel* reported that Hurlbut had learned from the widow of an unnamed but "respectable clergyman now deceased" that the Book of Mormon was based on a manuscript penned by her late husband. See reprinted accounts in the January 18, 1834 editions of the *Chardon Spectator & Geauga Gazette*, and *Guernsey Times* (Cambridge, Ohio).

[10]George Reynolds, *A Dictionary of the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City, 1891), p. 294; Howe, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

[11]Howe, *op. cit.*, pp. 278, 288.

[12]Identified by Pratt as *Zion's Watchman* and the *New-York Evangelist*. Also published in New York in 1838 were Origen Bacheler's *Mormonism Exposed* and James M. McChesney's *An Antidote to Mormonism*. Both advocated the Spalding theory. See Francis W. Kirkham, *A New Witness for Christ* (Salt Lake City, 1951, revised 1959), 2:159–163.

[13]Parley P. Pratt, *Mormonism Unveiled* (New York, 1838), pp. 40–42, reprinted in *Pre-Assassination Writings of Parley P. Pratt* (Salt Lake City, 1976).

[14]Davison's statement is found in John E. Page, *The Spaulding Story Concerning the Origin of the Book of Mormon* (Pittsburg, 1843), republished by the Reorganized Church (Plano, Illinois, 1865), pp. 2–4, and many later works; her earlier report is in Howe, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

[15]As quoted in *The Religious, Social, and Political History of the Mormons . . .*, Samuel M. Smucker, ed. (New York, 1856), pp. 45–48. For an early problem between Rigdon and Hurlbut, see Donna Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

[16]As quoted in Page, *op. cit.*, pp. 13–14, and others.

[17]Particularly in passages providing "new" support to the Hurlbut-Howe thesis. For example:

—Rigdon was connected with Patterson's printing office "as is well known in that region, and as Ridgon himself has frequently stated." His "ample opportunity" to copy her husband's manuscript was "a matter of notoriety and interest to all . . ." (Recall Mrs. Davison's apparent failure to mention Ridgon in her previous discussion with Hurlbut.)

—The style of the Manuscript Found, since it described people of "extreme antiquity" (those who built the mounds) "of course, would lead him to write in the most ancient style, and, as the Old Testament is the most ancient book in the world, he imitated its style as nearly as possible."

—Spalding's "acquaintance with the classics and ancient history" enabled him "to introduce many singular names, which were particularly noticed by the people, and could be easily recognized by them." As an illustration she briefly (and probably inaccurately) summarized not her own experience, but that of her brother-in-law, John Spalding.

The Davison statement concluded with a faintly "minsterial" ring: "Thus a historical romance, with the addition of a few pious expressions, and extracts from the sacred scriptures, has been construed into a new Bible, and palmed upon a company of poor deluded fanatics as divine."

The critical quotation is from Theodore Schroeder, *The Origin of the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City, 1901), pp. 11–12. Schroeder's work was also published in three parts in the *American Historical Magazine*, beginning in September, 1906.

[18]As quoted in Page, *op. cit.*, pp. 5–6, and others.

[19]John A. Clark, *Gleanings By the Way* (Philadelphia, 1842), pp. 259–266.

[20]*Ibid.*, p. 265.

[21]Benjamin Winchester, *The Origin of the Spaulding Story* (Philadelphia, 1840), p. 11.

[22]*Ibid.*, pp. 8–9.

[23]*Ibid.*, p. 13.

[24]As quoted in Page, *op. cit.*, p. 7, and others, who cite a pamphlet by Rev. Samuel Williams, "Mormonism Exposed," published in Pittsburg in 1842. Note that except for his significant failure to implicate Rigdon, Patterson's account was similar to that of Mrs. Davison.

[25]Robert Patterson, *Who Wrote the Book of Mormon?* (Philadelphia, 1882), p. 7.

[26]*Ibid.*, pp. 7, 9.

[27]John C. Bennett, *Mormonism Exposed* (New York, 1842); Henry Caswell, *The City of the Mormons* (London, 1842); Clark, *op. cit.*; Daniel P. Kidder, *Mormonism and the Mormons* (New York, 1842); Nathan B. Turner, *Mormonism in All Ages* (New York, 1842); and Williams, *op. cit.* The following year Caswell added *The Prophet of the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1843). Bennett, late of the Mormon hierarchy, added nothing new to the Hurlbut-Howe thesis.

[28]Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 266–267.

[29]Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 213. Turner attributed his information to "other sources." Smith actually had worked for Stowell in 1825 and 1826. No evidence was ever produced that there was any

contact between him and those who held the trunk, and after a few decades this notion was finally abandoned.

[30]*Ibid.*, p. 211.

[31]Page, *op. cit.*

[32]Winchester, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[33]Page, *op. cit.*, p. 7–8.

[34]Patterson, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

[35]Page, *op. cit.*, p. 8–9.

[36]*Ibid.*, p. 9–11.

[37]*Ibid.*, p. 10.

[38]O. Turner, *History of the Pioneer Settlement of Phelps and Gorham's Purchase* (Rochester, 1851), p. 214. Hurlbut also failed to find support for the Spalding theory in the Palmyra area. See Donna Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

[39]Patterson, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

[40]A few mid-century works advocating some variation of the Spalding theme (see also note 24 above): John Bowes, *Mormonism Exposed* (London, 1850?); Robert Chambers, *History of the Mormons* (1853?), reprinted in *Chambers's Miscellany of Instructive & Entertaining Tracts* (London, 1872); Benjamin G. Ferris, *Utah and the Mormons* (New York, 1854); Samuel M. Smucker, *op. cit.* (1856); J. W. Gunnison, *The Mormons, or, Latter-day Saints, in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake* (Philadelphia, 1856); T. W. P. Taylder, *The Mormon's Own Book* (London, 1857); John Hyde, Jr. (an ex-Mormon), *Mormonism: Its Leaders and Designs* (New York, 1857); and Pomeroy Tucker, *Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism* (New York, 1867). Of these, the most popular as secondary sources for later works on the Spalding theory were Chambers, Ferris, Smucker, Gunnison, Hyde, and Tucker.

[41]Benjamin Ferris, the former Secretary of Utah Territory, published his *Utah and the Mormons* in 1853. As described by him, the Manuscript Found told the story of "a family of Jews—the father, Lehi, and four sons, Laman, Lemuel, Sam, and Nephi, with their wives" who departed "Jerusalem into the wilderness, in the reign of Zedekiah." "Besides the names already mentioned, the names of Mormon, Moroni, Mosiah, Helaman, and others, frequently occur in the [Spalding] book." Ferris was not alone in imaginative reconstructions. An anonymous work appearing the same year—republished later as Smucker's *History of the Mormons*—added somewhat less ambitiously that two of the "principal characters" in Spalding's manuscript were Mormon and "his son" Moroni. Ferris, *op. cit.*, p. 51. [Charles Mackay], *History of the Mormons* (Auburn, 1853); Smucker, *op. cit.*, p. 40. Chambers, *op. cit.*, made the same claim.

[42]*The New American Cyclopedia*, George Ripley and Charles A. Dana, ed. (New York, 1863), 11:735. Patterson, who attributed this assertion to "Appleton's [the publisher] Cyclopedia," searched Pittsburg papers for the advertisement without success. He writes that when the author of the article was "interrogated," he "could not recall his authority for the statement, but was positive that he had ample warrant for it at the time of writing." (Patterson, *op.cit.*, p. 7)

[43]Tucker, *op. cit.*, pp. 28, 46, 75, 121. Typically, Tucker's claim, though without previous support, received corroborative testimony of sorts over a decade later. Abel Chase, in 1879 indistinctly recalled that when he was a boy of 12 or 13, he had seen someone in the Smith home said to be Ridgon, about 1827. Lorenzo Saunders, in 1885, after puzzling over the matter for thirty years, concluded that he too had seen Ridgon, both in 1827 and 1828. See W. Wyl, *Mormon Portraits* (Salt Lake City, 1886), p. 230–231; and Charles A. Shook, *The True Origin of The Book of Mormon* (Cinicinnati, 1914), p. 132, and Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History* (New York, 1945, rev. ed., 1971) p. 453.

[44]Ellen E. Dickinson, *New Light on Mormonism* (New York, 1885), p. 265.

[45]"The Book of Mormon," *Scribner's Monthly*, August 1880, 20 (no. 4): 613–616. Recall, however, the discussion of the Storrs-Davison statement of 1839.

[46]"Public Discussion of the Issues Between the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints and The Church of Christ (Disciples), Held in Kirtland, Ohio, Beginning February 12th, and Closing March 8th, 1884" (St. Louis, 1884), generally cited as the "Braden-Kelley Debates," p. 83.

[47]Dickinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 241–242.

[48]Joseph Miller, in various accounts dated from 1869 to 1882, recalled that he knew Solomon Spalding in Amity, Pennsylvania (to which the Spaldings moved from Pittsburg, about 1814), and had heard him read his manuscript. "Some time ago" Miller also had heard read the Book of Mormon, and "the battle between the Amlicites and the Nephites, in which soldiers . . . placed a red mark on their foreheads . . . seemed to reproduce in my mind not only the narration but the very words . . . of Spaulding's manuscript." "The longer I live [he was 88 at the time] the more firmly I am convinced that Spaulding's manuscript was appropriated and largely used in getting up the Book of Mormon." Miller also recalled that the manuscript had been left with Patterson while Spalding prepared a preface, but that while there it had been "spirited away." "Mr. Spaulding told me that Sidney Rigdon had taken it, or that he was suspicioned for it." (This prior to October, 1816.)

A published account of Miller's recollection struck a responsive chord in "Redick McKee, Esq.," who wrote to say that he, too, had known Solomon Spalding in Amity, Pennsylvania, and was familiar with his manuscript. It "purported to be a veritable history of the nations or tribes who inhabited Canaan." McKee, who was at least 70, also had "an indistinct recollection of the passage referred to by Mr. Miller about the Amlicites . . ." He, too, recalled that Spalding mentioned a Sidney Rigdon, as working for Patterson—but contrary to Miller, McKee said that the manuscript had been returned to Spalding for further work.

Another "living witness" was located in the person of the Rev. Abner Jackson. Writing in 1880, Jackson recalled that as a boy he once had heard Spalding tell his father about his novel. He could recall some of the names—"Maroni, Mormon, Nephites, Laman, Lamanites, Nephi"—and the frequent repititions in the text. Why, they used to call Spalding "Old Come-to-pass." Although denying that Mrs. McKinstry's recent statement (he had read the Scribner's article) had influenced his memory, by chance his list of names was surprisingly similar to hers, including the unique spelling of "Maroni." Like many of his predecessors, Jackson recalled that the story was a "history of the lost tribes of Israel," but he differed on one key point. He recalled their journey from "Judea" as proceeding "up through Asia" and "passing over the [Behring] Straits." See Dickinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 240–241; Patterson, *op. cit.*, pp. 6–10; and Thomas Gregg, *The Prophet of Palmyra* (New York, 1890), pp. 443–450. Gregg attributes to Jackson a slightly different list of names.

[49]See the letters of George Clark in Dickinson, *op. cit.*, p. 244. Mrs. Clark did remember "perfectly what Mrs. Davison said about it as being the origin of the Mormon Bible.

[50]*Ibid.*, pp. 62–72, 245, see also Patterson, *op. cit.*, p. 14, for another interview with Hurlbut.

[51]*Ibid.*, pp. 72–74.

[52]*Ibid.*, p. 259.

[53]Dickinson's final solution reflected the creative logic which to date had characterized the whole pro-Spalding case: "Hurlbut made a copy of the original manuscript, which he sold to Howe . . . , and sold the original to the Mormons, who destroyed it." This ingenuous presumption, which ignored the enmity between Hurlbut and the Mormons, is nonetheless indicative of the confidence voiced not just by Dickinson, but by Patterson and others, that the original manuscript remained in the trunk. See *Ibid.*, p. 245, 62; Patterson, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[54]As noted earlier, Lambdin's wife was interviewed and denied any knowledge of Rigdon, as did Robert P. DuBois, another early (1818–1820) worker at Patterson's firm. Samuel Cooper, another friend—both of Lambdin and other printing office workers—was equally sure Ridgon never worked there. Isaac King. "a highly respected citizen" and neighbor of the Rigdon family, recalled Sidney still at the farm during the time Spalding was alive. On the other hand, Mrs. R. J. Eichbaum, a former clerk in the Pittsburg post master's office "with a memory marvelously tenacious of even the minutest incidents" recalled (in 1879, at the age of 87) that Rigdon and Lambdin were friends who often came to the Post Office together, along with Patterson and another printing office employee. See Patterson, *op. cit.*, pp. 9–11.

[55]*Ibid.*, p. 10.

[56]*Ibid.*, p. 11–12. Winter, who died in 1878, apparently told the same story to his daughter and step-son, both of whom also reported it to Patterson about 1881.

[57]*Ibid.*, pp. 12–13, quoting an 1844 issue of the *Millenial Harbinger*, in which Bentley's letter, dated January 22, 1841, was published.

[58]See Rigdon's letter in the *Messenger and Advocate*, 2:334–335 (June, 1836); also F. Mark McKiernan, *The Voice of One Crying in the Wilderness: Sidney Rigdon, Religious Reformer, 1793–1876* (Lawrence, Kansas, 1971), pp. 28, 70.

[59]Patterson, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

[60]*Millenial Harbinger,* February 7, 1831, as quoted in Kirkham, *op. cit.*, 1:296–297.

[61]See the three *Millenial Harbinger,* articles from 1835 and 1839, as quoted in Kirkham, *op. cit.*, 1:310–314.

[62]Patterson, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

[63]*Messenger and Advocate* 2:334–335 (June, 1836).

[64]"Z. Rudolph, father of Mrs. Gen. Garfield, knew Sidney Rigdon very well." He recalled that Sidney had "indulge[d] in dreamy imaginative talks" the winter before the Book of Mormon was published, and that he had been away for "weeks." And Mrs. Amos Dunlap, of Warren, Ohio, recalled in 1879 a visit made when she was still "quite a child" to her uncle Sidney Rigdon's home. She remembered that he kept a "certain manuscript" locked in a trunk, which she once heard him say would be "a great thing some day!" Patterson's book was published two years too early to include James Jeffries' statement of January, 1884, but it would have fit nicely with the foregoing claims. About 1840, Jeffries recalled, Sidney Rigdon had told him "several times" about finding Spalding's manuscript ("Tracing the origin of the Indians from the lost tribes of Israel") in a printing office "with which he was connected, in Ohio." "He and Joe Smith used to look over the MS. and read it on Sundays. Rigdon said Smith took the MS. and said, 'I'll print it,' and went off to Palmyra, New York." See Patterson, *op. cit.*, p. 12, and Wyl, *op. cit.*, pp. 241–242.

[65]See McKiernan, *op. cit.*, pp. 144–145; and B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City, 1930), 1:234–235.

[66]Stanley R. Gunn, *Oliver Cowdery, Second Elder and Scribe* (Salt Lake City, 1962), pp. 165–210.

[67]Accordingly, Patterson was drawn "irresistabl[y]" to the conclusion that "Sidney Rigdon was the agent by whom the plagerism was affected." On the other hand, Patterson found to evidence whatever to support the principal alternative explanation—that Joseph Smith somehow had obtained the manuscript from the widow Spalding's trunk. While there was a persistant rumor that Smith was once a "a laborer in [the] employ" of Mrs. Davison's brother, "no evidence" had ever been offered to support this claim. Moreover, Smith would have been at most 15 years old at the time, "scarcely able to read, and the document would have been of no use to him." Finally, the manuscript according to a number of testimonies remained in the trunk well after Joseph allegedly had access to it. Ellen Dickinson's much less rigorous analysis accepted without qualification Joseph's alleged employment by the Spalding in-laws. For her this did not diminish Rigdon's role, for Smith only learned the outlines of the story during his stay; he had not taken the manuscript. Patterson, *op. cit.*, pp. 14, 8; Dickinson, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

[68]James H. Fairchild, "Manuscript of Solomon Spaulding and the Book of Mormon," paper read before the Northern Ohio and Western Reserve Historical Society, March 23, 1886, published as Tract No. 77, Western Reserve Historical Society (Cleveland, Ohio, 1886), pp. 187–200.

[69]James H. Fairchild, "Solomon Spaulding and the Book of Mormon," *Bibliotheca Sacra* 60:173–174 (January, 1885).

[70]Fairchild, "Manuscript of Solomon Spaulding . . . ," *op. cit.*, p. 197.

[71]The existence of this letter, which is not included in the published versions of the "Manuscript Story," was called to my attention by Dean Jessee. Fairchild, in his discussion in 1886, mentioned and dated the letter, but failed to note that it was written on the same sheet as a page of the narrative text. See Fairchild, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

[72]*Ohio Authors and Their Books,* William Coyle, ed. (Cleveland, 1962), p. 588.

[73]Schroeder, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

[74]See *Deseret News* editorials of July 19, 1900, and May 14, 1901.

[75]I. Woodbridge Riley, *The Founder of Mormonism, A Psychological Study of Joseph Smith, Jr.* (New York, 1902); Eduard Myer (1912); Walter F. Prince, "Psychological Tests for the Authorship of the Book of Mormon," *American Journal of Psychology,* July, 1917, pp. 373–389.

[76]Prince, *op. cit.*, p. 373.

[77]Others appearing about this time, of the same quality: S. J. S. Davis, *The Origin of the Book of Mormon* (Louisville, 1899); Lu B. Cake, *Peepstone Joe and the Peck Manuscript* (New York, 1899); M. T. Lamb, *The Mormons and Their Bible* (Philadelphia, 1901); Henry C. Sheldon, *A Fourfold Test of Mormonism* (New York, 1914).

[78]This didn't really matter, for it was still held to be "more important to establish that a certain thing *was done* than to prove just *how* or *when* it was done," Linn, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

[79]Schroeder, *op. cit.*, pp. 10–13.

[80]Shook, *op. cit.*, pp. 159–163; George B. Arbaugh, *Revelation in Mormonism: Its Character and Changing Form* (Chicago, 1932), p. 17. Some early Mormons believed the cunoms and cureloms to be mastedons (see Reynolds' *Dictionary of the Book of Mormon*, p. 109), but the association of mastedons with the ancient Indians was by no means unique to Spalding and Joseph Smith. Ludwell H. Johnson, III, recounts some of the early interest in this subject in his "Men and Elephants in America," *Scientific Monthly* 75:215–221 (October, 1952), including Thomas Jefferson's relevant discussion in *Notes on Virginia* (1801). Similarly both Ethan Smith's *View of the Hebrews* (1823) and Boudinot's *Star of the West* (1816), as well as others, discuss the notion of a Great Spirit among the Indians, and the possible implications of this accepted view for a Hebrew origin for the American aborigines. While iron was not believed to be in common use, the noted Alexander De Humboldt, in his famous *Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain* (1811) asserted that iron was probably known to the pre-Colombian Mexicans, and spoke of a misplaced tradition held by some "men of learning" that they had made steel as well (3:112–115, in the John Black translation, London, 1811). Moreover, iron, presenting the appearance of being partially smelted—in one case in the shape of a plate—had been discovered and widely reported in an Ohio Indian mound in 1819 (see P. De Roo, *History of America Before Columbus*, Philadelphia, 1900, 1:67). Shook clearly has credited Spalding with unjustified originality. On the issue of horses, however, both Spalding and the Book of Mormon took a distinctly minority view, even in the early nineteenth century. See Samuel Cole Williams, ed. *Adair's History of the American Indians* (1775) (Johnson City, Tenn., 1930), pp. 340–341, 451. Even in this instance there were apparently some dissenting views (see his footnote 176, p. 340). The astronomical allusion would also have been viewed as an anachronism, whether it was applied to Romans (as Spalding had done), Jews, or Indians (*Ibid.*, pp. 21–23). Whether modern historians of science would view all these points similarly is too complex a question to be treated in a short note.

[81]Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History* (New York, 1945; revised edition, 1971), pp. 442–456. A decade earlier, Bernard DeVoto also abandoned his previous support for the Spalding theory. See Leland A. Fetzer, "Bernard DeVoto and the Mormon Tradition," *Dialogue* 6:23–38 (Autumn-Winter 1971).

[82]"Book of Mormon's authenticity doubted by handwriting experts," by Russell Chandler, The Los Angeles Times, in the *Arizona Republic*, June 25, 1977.

[83]"Mormon Mystery," *Time*, July 11, 1977; p. 69 "Who Really Wrote the Book of Mormon?" Christianity Today, July 8, 1977, pp. 33–34.

[84]"Handwriting Expert Unsure About Book," *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 29, 1977.

[85]*Ibid.*

[86]"Handwriting Expert Quits Book of Mormon Case," *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 9, 1977. As noted earlier Martin has long been a vocal advocate of the Spalding theory. He espoused it in both his *The Maze of Mormonism* (Grand Rapids, 1962), and *The Kingdom of the Cults* (Minneapolis, 1974). He relies heavily on Bales' *The Book of Mormon?*, and through him, Shook, Shroeder, Linn, and, ultimately, Pomeroy Tucker and Eber D. Howe. Both Bales and Martin are particularly taken by the parallels pointed out by Shook between the Roman story and the Book of Mormon.

[87]"Handwriting Expert Quits Group that Challenges Authenticity of Book of Mormon," Press Release of interview with Melvin A. Jensen, Los Angeles Public Communications Coordinator, LDS Church, n.d., available at Historical Department of the Church. Silver had also said, "I want no further part in this whole thing. I have been misquoted and used by prominent newspapers, a wire service and national magazines in their news stories. . . ." This charge has been denied by *Los Angeles Times* religion writer, Russell Chandler, who has reaffirmed in personal correspondence to *Dialogue* that Silver's original statement—admittedly based on an examination of photocopies—did in fact attribute the handwriting to one person.

[88]"Handwriting Expert Quits Book of Mormon Case," *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 9, 1977.

[89]"Mormon Critic Discounts Latest Attack on Book," *Salt Lake Tribune* July 10, 1977; and Tanner's letter, *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 21, 1977. Tanner added that both he and Martin were "crusading against the church."

[90]*Christianity Today, op. cit.*; see also letter by Cheri Smith, *Deseret News*, July 20, 1977. More recently Dean C. Jessee has provided a persuasive illustration of his claim. See his "Solomon Spalding and the Book of Mormon," Church News, Aug. 20, 1977, pp. 3–5.

[91]"2 Handwriting Experts View Book of Mormon," *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 21, 1977.

[92]*Christianity Today, op. cit.*

[93]"Statement of Leonard Arrington, LDS Church Historian, 28 June 1977, Historical Department of the Church.

[94]Shook, *op. cit.*, p. 172. "All that we claim is that Rigdon took the historical outline, proper names and certain Scriptural expressions from the 'Manuscript Found' and clothed them in his own particular literary style, and presented them to the world as the Book of Mormon."

[95]See Dean C. Jessee, "The Original Book of Mormon Manuscript," *BYU Studies* 10:259–278 (Spring, 1970).

[96]*Time*, op. cit.

[97]Jessee, "Solomon Spalding and the Book of Mormon," *op. cit.*

[98]*Ibid.*

[99]For Emma's statement, see "The last testimony of Sister Emma," *Saints Herald* 26:290 (October 1, 1879); see also Andrew Jenson, *Historical Record*, 6:205; and Howe, *op. cit.*, p. 14. Reuben Hale, also identified as a Book of Mormon scribe, was not present in Kirtland at the time of the 1831 revelation. No known specimen of his handwriting has been found.

THE ENIGMA OF SOLOMON SPALDING

CHARLES H. WHITTIER and STEPHEN W. STATHIS

"Every man's life," wrote Emerson, "is a secret known only to God." Certainly this must be said of Solomon Spalding, much of whose story remains obsure. The events of his life suggest a pattern of disappointment, frustration and failure, as the world judges. In the inner realm of the spirit, his vivid imagination found release and solace, and brought him, in the end, some measure of that fame which eluded him in his life. Ironically, he is remembered today solely for his alleged influence on the creation of the Book of Mormon, a curious fate for one to whom revealed religion was, at best, "delusion."[1]

Solomon Spalding was born of old New England stock at Ashford, East Ashford Society, Connecticut on February 21, 1761. As a youth he attended the academy at nearby Plainfield. In January of 1778, like others in his family, he entered the Revolutionary Army, serving in "Captain Williams' Company," where he is listed as "Spaulding," though the variant "Spalding" appears most often in his later life.

On leaving the Army, he read law with Judge Zephaniah Swift of Windham. Then experiencing what one writer has called a "change of religious views,"[2] a conversion "from law to Gospel,"[3] he decided upon the ministry and, at the age of 21, entered the sophomore class at Dartmouth College. He graduated in 1785, receiving an A.M. Having "studied divinity" for a time, he became a licentiate of the Windham Congregational Association on October 9, 1787.

He entered upon his ministry on the eve of the Second Great Awakening, for whose advent the evangelical Congregationalists had prepared the way during the war time period of religious decline. According to Theodore Schroeder, Spalding was a classmate at Dartmouth of the "famous imposter and criminal," Stephen Burroughs (1765–1840), sometime self-ordained clergyman, acknowledged counterfeiter, (ultimately) convert to the Church of Rome and a charming rogue. His *Memoirs* ("of the Notorious Stephen Burroughs"),

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published at Albany in 1811, were reprinted in 1924 with an introduction by Robert Frost. Asserting Spalding's desire to "burlesque the Bible" and so demonstrate the "gullibility of the masses," Schroeder, in a vigorously anti-Mormon vein, goes on to suggest that Burroughs' career of profitable fraud may have inspired Spalding—a strange idea inasmuch as Spalding's alleged link to Joseph Smith and the Book of Mormon could only be an accident of history: Spalding was dead more than a decade before the birth of the Mormon faith. Burroughs entered Dartmouth in 1781, a year before Spalding, and appears to have left under a cloud not long after. Moreover, there is no mention of Spalding in Burroughs' *Memoirs*.

Ordained as an evangelist, Spalding preached for "8 or 10 years," declining several offers of settled pastorates on the ground of poor health. His "invalidism" appears to have become a permanent condition, though alluded to vaguely. Henry Caswell, a nineteenth century professor of divinity at Kemper College, Missouri, speaks of him as deserting the pulpit "for some reason which has not transpired."[4] More recently, George Bartholomew Arbaugh, finding a loss of faith and "uncertain morals" in Spalding's manuscript novel, thus reads them into his life.[5] Eber D. Howe, whose *Mormonism Unvailed* was the first work to associate Spalding and the Book of Mormon, speaks of Spalding as "inclined to infidelity" in later life, a judgment based upon a brief statement of his (presumably later) religious views, which are not unlike those of Thomas Jefferson regarding Christian othodoxy and the Bible.

Whatever his motives, Spalding did abandon the ministry, married Matilda Sabin of Pomfret in 1795, and soon afterwards went into business with his brother, Josiah, at Cherry Valley, New York. The town was recovering from the destruction wrought by the Cherry Valley Massacre of 1788, in which many inhabitants were murdered by the Indians. Here he served also as principal of the Cherry Valley Academy (begun in 1742), the first classical school west of Albany. He also preached occasionally at the Presbyterian Meeting House in Cherry Valley: the consociated Congregationalists of Connecticut were seeking fuller rapprochement with Presbyterians elsewhere, fulfilled in the Plan of Union adopted in 1801. Several sources speak of Spalding as a "Presbyterian minister."[6]

At least one author suggests it was while Spalding lived in Cherry Valley that he wrote his now famous romantic novel, which allegedly provided the "historical" source for the Book of Mormon. Ultimately, for reasons unknown, the trustees of the academy are said to have "called for his resignation."[7] What is certain is that his business venture failed, and the brothers removed themselves and their store to Richfield, New York in 1799. Later they appear to have engaged in extensive land speculation in Pennsylvania and Ohio, and in 1809 Spalding moved to New Salem, Ohio (now Conneaut) to oversee his real estate deals. In New Salem he and Henry Lake opened an iron foundry as well.

The War of 1812 disrupted his business ventures and reduced him to bankruptcy and ruin. Depressed, burdened by debt and broken in health, Spalding found solace in his literary pursuits, writing a romance about the original inhabitants of America and reading portions of it aloud to entertain his friends and neighbors. It recounted the adventures of a ship's company of Romans in the time of Constantine the Great, driven by storms to the New

World and casting their lot with the Indians. It has been maintained that he shared the widespread belief in the Hebrew origins of the Indians as descendents of the Lost Tribes, a belief asserted in 1816, the year of his death, by Elias Boudinot in his *Star in the West*. The mounds and earthworks near New Salem had excited Spalding's imagination regarding civilized races in America now extinct, and he was one of the first to speculate and write on the Mississippi Valley earthmounds.[8]

As a result of his difficulties in Ohio, Spalding moved his family to the Pittsburgh area in 1812. Sometime during the next two years, it is claimed, he met with a printer, the Rev. Robert Patterson, whom he hoped would publish his novel.

Apparently Spalding's lack of money for that purpose led to Patterson's rejection of the manuscript, and its eventual fate has become a matter of endless dispute. Was it misplaced by Patterson or simply retained for future consideration? Was it returned to Spalding and subsequently lost? Was it the manuscript discovered in Honolulu in 1884 by President Fairchild of Oberlin? Was there another novel, now lost, or was the first rewritten? Was it copied and stolen by Sidney Rigdon or an unknown stranger, as some have alleged?

Whatever the truth, Spalding moved to Amity (near Pittsburgh), where he died on October 20, 1816. Years later his home became a point of historic interest after the publication of Eber Howe's *Mormonism Unvailed* in 1834 popularized Philastus Hurlbut's allegation that Sidney Rigdon had conspired with Joseph Smith in writing the Book of Mormon, basing it upon Spalding's "lost" manuscript romance.

Spalding's house was standing well into the present century. His sandstone grave marker, beset by eager souvenir hunters, had disappeared by 1899. In 1905 the town of Amity, by public subscription, raised a granite marker over Spalding's grave in the old churchyard, and restored the text of the original inscription, which may serve as a final, if inconclusive, judgment until that Day "when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed."

Kind cherubs guard his sleeping clay
Until that great decisive day,
And saints complete in glory rise
To share the triumphs of the skies.[9]

Note: All sources consulted agree that Spalding died on October 20, 1816, except Edward Spalding, *Spalding Memorial*, who gives the date as September 10, 1816.

NOTES

[1]James H. Fairchild, *Manuscript of Solomon Spaulding and the Book of Mormon* (Cleveland, Ohio: Western Reserve Historical Society, Tract no. 77, March 23, 1886), 196.

[2]George T. Chapman, *Sketches of the Alumni of Dartmouth College* (Cambridge, Mass.: Riverside Press, 1867), 39.

[3]Samuel J. Spalding, *Spalding Memorial: A Genealogical History of Edward Spalding, of Massachusetts Bay, and His Descendents* (Boston: Alfred Mudge & Sons, Printers, 1872), 159.

[4]Henry Caswell, *The Prophet of the Nineteenth Century* (London: J. G. F. & J. Rivington, 1843), 14.

[5]George Bartholomew Arbaugh, *Revelation in Mormonism: Its Character and Changing Forms* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932), 16.

[6]Thomas Gregg, *The Prophet of Palmyra* (New York: John B. Alden, Publisher, 1890), 408; M. T. Lamb, *The Mormons and the Bible* (Philadelphia: The Griffith & Rowland Press, 1901), 33; Spalding, *Spalding Memorial*, 161; and *History of Otsego County*, New York (Philadelphia: Everts & Fariss, 1878), 127, 325.

[7]John Sawyer, *History of Cherry Valley From 1740 to 1898* (Cherry Valley, N.Y.: Gazette Print, 1898), 2–3, 56.

[8]Caswell, *The Prophet of the Nineteenth Century* 16–18; Dickinson, *New Light on Mormonism*, 14–15; and Pomeroy Tucker, *Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1867), 122. Henry Steele Commager in *The Empire of Reason*, p. 28, notes the similar "passion for . . . exploring Indian mounds" in Ohio country by the Rev. Manasseh Cutler (1742–1823), an original organizer of the Ohio Company.

[9]Boyd Crumbrine, *History of Washington County Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: L. H. Everts & Co., 1882), 426; and Joseph F. McFarland, *20th Century History of Washington and Washington County Pennsylvania* (Chicago: Richmond-Arnold Publishing Co., 1910), 184.

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Hill, Marvin S. "The Role of Christian Primitivism in the Origin and Development of the Mormon Kingdom, 1830–1844." Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Chicago; 1968. p. 97 (footnote 3).

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Patterson, Robert. *Who Wrote the Book of Mormon?* Philadelphia: L. H. Everts and Co; 1882. p. 3.

Ripley, George and Charles A. Dana. *New American Cyclopedia*, 16 vols, New York: D. Appleton and Co; 1863. Vol. XI p. 735. Amusingly, this account announced that as early as "1813 [Spalding's] work was announced in the newspapers as forthcoming, and as containing a translation of the 'Book of Mormon.' "

Schroeder, Theodore. "The Origin of the Book of Mormon," *American Historical Magazine*, 1; Sept. 1906. p. 3, 382–83.

Shook, Charles A. *The True Origin of the Book of Mormon*, Cincinnati, Ohio: The Standard Publishing Company; 1914. p. 62.

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The Liberal Institute, circa 1875, at Second South and Second East, Salt Lake City. (Courtesy, Church Historical Department.)

THE LIBERAL INSTITUTE: A CASE STUDY IN NATIONAL ASSIMILATION

RONALD W. WALKER

In a time of the Chautauqua and the public meeting hall, when cultural values were established and reinforced by pulpit and lectern, there stood in the very heart of Brigham Young's Zion the Liberal Institute, a free thought forum dedicated to radical reform and the overturning of the Mormon commonwealth. The Institute would survive less than fifteen years, but during its brief and now largely unknown career, it would serve Mormon opponents as a court room, political hall, school, entertainment center and radical lyceum. The Institute also became a religious counterweight. Utah's earliest congregations of Protestants, Jews, Spiritualists, and "Reorganized" Mormons used its facilities, sometimes to challenge dramatically Utah's prevailing faith. If the everyday rhythms and concerns of societies are revealed in their institutions, the Liberal Institute represented Utah's growing cultural pluralism as the territory matured from its pioneer isolation and Mormon exclusiveness.

This is precisely what the founders of the Liberal Institute intended. By the late 1860s, a group of intellectually disposed and liberal minded Mormons had grown increasingly dissatisfied with their faith. To men like William S. Godbe, E. L. T. Harrison, Henry W. Lawrence, Eli Kelsey, Edward W. Tullidge, Amasa Lyman, and William H. Shearman, Mormonism no longer seemed the advanced and liberal institution of their conversion. Their frustration led them to repudiate their church membership and to embrace the Godbeite Protest or "New Movement" in late 1869 and early 1870.[1]

The Liberal Institute was the child of their apostasy. At first the Godbeites channeled their disillusionment into a schismatic Church of Zion, fashioned in the Mormon image. Consequently, the cornerstones of the Institute were inscribed with the name of the Godbeite rival church.[2] But long before the building was completed, the Church of Zion had proven only a brief way-station in the dissenters' journey to free thought spiritualism. The Godbeites believed that the scientific and intellectual currents of the century ran contrary to Christianity in general and to Mormonism in particular. They found in spiritualism's loosely defined but radical formulations a better expression of their religious and political thinking. Their personal transfor-

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mation altered the proposed purposes of the nearly completed Institute. The reformers now spoke broadly of its "religious, literary, and political" reform destiny and consecrated the building to "freedom, equality, and fraternity."[3]

That the dissenters chose to establish a public forum was hardly surprising. Utah society had long reflected the contemporary British-American interest in public discussion, debate, and lecture. First generation Utahns had organized themselves into "Polysophical," "Philomathian," and "Universal Scientific" societies; they listened to the literary and scientific "Seventies' Lectures"; and they deliberated in their "Ward Institutes" and "Schools of the Prophets." But more than continuing a local forensic tradition, the Godbeites saw the Liberal Institute as a means of exerting persuasion and influence. Only diminutive and makeshift assembly rooms remained exempt from Brigham Young's control, but they, no less than the Mormon meeting houses, seemed an unwelcome harbor for the free-wheeling spiritualists. The latter wished to follow the pattern set by free thinkers elsewhere.[4] They might share their hall with others, but above all they required a home where spiritualist public meetings, lectures, libraries, and séances might flourish and where the word of their new revelation might go forth.

The design and appointment of the Liberal Institite reflected its purposes. Harrison himself had conceived the architectural plans which, by conveying early Victorian mass and weight, gave the building the aspect of a Gentile rampart within Zion. The structure was sixty feet square at the base; its ceiling rose to an impressive thirty feet, while the seating was arranged in a half octagon to facilitate hearing and seeing. The use of the gallery allowed an approximate audience of 1,000, although on at least one occasion temporary seating crowded twice that number into the facility.[5] The pioneer artisans Tullidge and McAvoy grained the woodwork of the interior, which tastefully set off the building's plastered walls. There were prominently displayed portraits of George and Martha Washington—the latter suggesting the Godbeites' feminism. Later, heating stoves were provided to warm the interior (in contrast, the Mormon Tabernacle was forced to suspend its meetings during the winter season), and a removable level floor was laid to permit dancing. A cabinet organ which promised to "supersede everything in the market" was imported from the East.[6] "For convenience of arrangement, beauty of interior finish, and acoustic properties," the Godbeite *Salt Lake Tribune* justifiably boasted, "the Hall surpasses any hitherto erected in the city."[7]

Such a structure obviously was a major undertaking in territorial Utah. Virtually every Salt Lake Gentile of influence, led by Governor J. W. Shaffer, endorsed a circular requesting construction subscriptions from the East, and Shearman was accordingly dispatched to solicit donations. Lyman in turn requested his southern Utah friends to "send us a helping hand at this time of our trial."[8] The wealthy Godbe was a more substantial financial source. The pioneer druggist and his wife, Annie, donated property directly north of their Octagon mansion on the east side of Second East street between First and Second South streets for a construction site. In addition Godbe was apparently the principal benefactor in raising the Institute's $50,000 construction costs.[9] "Seldom have we met a nobler self-sacrificing band of independent thinkers," wrote the itinerate spiritualist, J. M. Peebles, after visiting Salt

Lake. "Showing their faith by their works, these enterprising souls have erected, and neatly furnished, a magnificent hall."[10]

At the inauguration emotions surged. The reformers "sang their songs of freedom, poured out their rejoicings over the emancipation from the thrall of the Theocracy of Brigham, and told of the beatitudes of soul-to-soul communion with the All-Father," related Susan B. Anthony who happened to attend the dedicatory services on 2 July 1871. At an opportune pause in the proceedings Anthony herself strode to the platform to deliver an impromptu and impassioned plea for women's equality. That evening Elizabeth Cady Stanton delivered her famous lecture, "The True Republic," before an overflowing and highly appreciative audience ("perhaps the very ablest [lecture] ever listened to by a Salt Lake audience").[12] Two days later, additional seating on specially raised platforms allowed 2,000 "Reformed Mormons" and Gentiles to celebrate national Independence apart from the Mormon community—and perhaps more significantly to demonstrate their own growing strength and numbers. Such a response led the dissenters to envision a stream of the most prominent national speakers. The hoped-for Phillips, Emerson, Beecher, Taylor, and Douglass in fact never appeared, but business at the forum initially boomed.[13] "People are fairly flocking to the Institute," the *Tribune* proudly reported after a year's operations. Prosperity's message seemed clear. "Utah Mormonism has either got to harmonize itself with Christian ideals and practices or go by the board."[14]

Initially religious services were a Liberal Institute staple. The 1870s were a seedtime for Utah denominationalism. But without the resources to establish immediately their own houses of worship, Methodists, Presbyterians, Jews, Swedish Lutherans and "Josephite" Mormons turned at various times to the Institute for shelter.[15] The *Tribune* explained the spirit of the free thinkers' hospitality. "The Hall will . . . have Mr. Peirce and his [Methodist] flock in the morning and afternoon and the Reformers, with Mr. Harrison as speaker, in the evening. Neither party seems the least afraid of contact."[16] The "Reorganites" lingered longer than most denominations. Their missionaries, including the sons of the Prophet Joseph Smith—David, Frederick, and Joseph—used the Institute throughout the decade as a staging center for their assaults on Utah Mormonism.

But if the religious language of the Institute was diverse, the dominant tongue was Spiritualism. The free thinkers' worship meetings were typically opened and closed by prayer, with Orson Pratt, Jr., and W. D. Williams respectively playing the organ and conducting the choir. The Mormon hymnal was replaced with the "Psalms of Life"—the "best hymn poetry of the day," with selections by Longfellow, Tennyson, and Whittier.[17] The actual format of the proceedings expressed the mood of the moment—variously devoted to exposition, music and culture, or simply discussion. Religion was broadly described as anything which refined, with "poetry and all that is beautiful or useful in Art and Science" being components of the spiritual experience.[18] "If the Orthodox reader wants a genuine sensation," promised a reporter of the *Tribune*,

> let him attend a session of the Progressive Spiritualists, . . . A subject for discussion is usually announced, but if nobody cares to discuss it, any one is at liberty to advocate any views he pleases on any subject. . . . On Sunday last, we heard there pure

> Mormonism, scientific materialism, Unitarian ideas and flat atheism. One speaker demonstrated from the Bible that Abraham was a liar and coward, and Jacob a thief; whereupon . . ., "a lineal descendant of the House of Israel," rose to defend his ancestors and Mormonism together. . . .
>
> Shortly after a wandering bohemian gave us his views on the "Origin and Evolution of the God-idea," and an eloquent physician demonstrated that the Bible was the worst book ever published, in that it taught the worship of a monster! The style of speaking was as far ahead of the Tabernacle as the sparkling mountain torrent excels the stagnant pool. In short, no matter what your belief is, if you want to be shaken clear out of the old ruts and set to thinking as to where you stand, go and hear the . . . [Liberals].[19]

The ministry of the itinerant spiritualists lent additional attraction. During the 1870s and early 1880s over forty-five harmonial lecturers and mediums, including some of the most celebrated of the movement, inducted Institute audiences into the spiritualistic mysteries. Trance speaking, or public speaking while in the bodily possession of another spirit, was among the most popular. The public demeanor of the nineteen year old Thomas Walker, the only male of eight recorded trance speakers to visit Utah, illustrated the technique.

> He is of slight build, verdant appearance and awkward in his movements. He looks and acts much like a plain, bashful country boy, for the first time dressed in "Sunday clothes." He goes upon the rostrum, seating himself in a condition of easy composure. Very soon a dull, glassy appearance is seen in his eyes, followed by a shivering of his body and the instant closing of his eyes. In a few moments he rises and offers a prayer that compares favorably with the best the preachers can do in that line. He then at once begins his discourse, which usually lasts from an hour to an hour and a half. Any subject presented by the audience, at the moment, is seemingly treated with as much ease and freedom as one of his own choosing.[20]

Frequently the trance speakers composed on-the-spot poetry. If the verses of the eminent and renowned Cora L. V. Tappen-Richmond seemed unfelicitous (the *Tribune* counseled that "the spirit who prompted her numbers should never try his hand at poetry again"),[21] C. Fannie Allyn's rhyming answers to the congregation's questions seemed overpowering. "If Mrs. Allyn could have been heard at the [LDS] Conference," the excited spiritualists held, "the lady would have scattered to the winds all the notions of the Apostles and High Priests about their material-personal-Adam-God."[22] Indeed the trance speakers were the conduit for posthumous messages from the Mormon leaders. Mrs. W. H. King assured her audience that the spirit of Joseph Smith himself, temporarily visiting in Utah, would answer their questions, while Mrs. H. T. Stearns became the mouth for Brigham Young's spirit to detail his current work in the Summerland of the departed.[23]

Almost as dramatic were the test or "cabinet" mediums—and their detractors. The former publicly performed sleight-of-hand tricks or "tests" which supposedly were achieved by spiritualistic intervention. The Keeler family of Moravia demonstrated before an incredulous Institute audience the reason for their international reputation:

> On the platform there was a "cabinet" six feet long, six feet high and about three feet deep, constructed of blankets, and containing a wooden seat in each end. This cabinet was thoroughly examined by a number of citizens, and then the committee securely tied one of the mediums to each of these seats.
>
> The cabinet was closed, and immediately three or four bells, which had been placed

> on a chair between the mediums, were thrown out of two small apertures at the top of the cabinet. The cabinet was then quickly opened and the mediums remained bound motionless to their seats, just as the committee had left them. The mediums would go into the cabinet with pieces of ropes, and in a few seconds they would be bound hand and foot to the seats. While thus bound their coats would be mysteriously taken off and passed out of the cabinet. Many other manifestations were made. . . . Certain it is that no public séance has ever been given in this city, which has [so] excited the curiosity of the public.[24]

The success of the test mediums, however, brought detractors—especially when exposé promised profitable theater. Charles B. Cutler was not the first debunker to demonstrate before a Salt Lake audience that the cabinet mediums' "supernaturalism" lay only in illusion, but he was the first to do so before the Liberal Institute reformers—who scarcely concealed their hostility. "Certain believers were considerably annoyed at having their idols thrown down and broken," reported the pro-Mormon *Salt Lake Herald* cheerfully. "At times there was much confusion in the hall with indications of a row, but taken as a whole, the entertainment passed off in good style."[25] The Utah free thinkers, who had long believed that popular spiritualism mixed valid phenomena with humbuggery, may have been temporarily shaken, but Cutler's exposure did little to undermine their broader faith.

At least a half dozen spiritualists who preached or practiced "magnetic" or hypnotic healing also appeared in Salt Lake during the 1870s. None, however, approached the drama which the internationally renowned Dr. J. R. Newton afforded Institute audiences. After taking hold of the ailing John Manning, Newton "made a magnetic wave felt by the audience," and then threw "out an electric shock which was felt by many persons." The doctor, who earlier had introduced a device promising relief from pain and chronic disease, healed instantly by wholesale. Over sixty cases of blindness, deafness, sore eyes, cataracts, heart disease, consumption, and lameness were reportedly cured during his one week ministry at the Institute. Truly, the *Tribune* reported, "Dr. Newton is a very wonderful man."[26]

In addition the Institute attracted "scientists" of the arcane. Physiognomists, psychometrists, and phrenologists each combined elements of spiritualism with the ideals of science, personal growth, and social reform. Dr. Joseph Simms gave six illustrated lectures on physiognomy, a study which sought to demonstrate the interrelationships of bodily features, health, culture, and future modes of personal activity.[27] Psychometry, in turn, claimed the power to read personal character, although the books of William Denton, whose lectures at the Institute went unreported, pushed psychometric discovery to include detailed maps of the planets and vivid descriptions of their inhabitants.[28] But phrenology, or the idea that mental and character traits were revealed by the conformation of the skull, was clearly the Utah spiritualists' prime "scientific" fascination. Several of their leaders had previously received highly flattering readings (Mormon authorities in fact believed that resulting pride may have encouraged their apostasy), and during the 1870s they warmly urged attendance when four phrenological lecturers visited Utah. But their affection was tested when the eminent Orson S. Fowler compared two members of the Institute audience, one a Mormon bishop and the other a Utah dissenter, in "No. 7 Veneration." When the

comparison proved unfortunate to the latter, the city's radicals for a moment seriously questioned the professor's expertise. But the *Tribune* quickly regained its equilibrium. "The lack of veneration," judged the newspaper after more mature reflection, "is eminently a Gentile organ. . . . The Anglo-Saxon has a constitutional repugnance to priestcraft or kingscraft."[29] This perspective, plus Fowler's well received lectures on self-culture, the laws of health, the secrets of female beauty and manhood strength, and a phrenological proof of immortality, restored the professor to the Utah spiritualists' graces.

Spiritualism with its pseudo-scientific derivations was not the only ingredient in the caldron of nineteenth century radicalism. Probably no question agitated Liberal Institute audiences more than feminism. In addition to the touring spiritualists who made no effort to conceal their allegiance to the women's cause, others spoke directly in its support. Besides Anthony and Stanton, there were Emily Pitts Stevens, editor of the San Francisco *Pioneer,* A. S. Duniway, proprietor and editor of the *New North West,* Laura Cubby Smith, celebrated suffragette, Mrs. C. H. Spear, California feminist organizer, Victoria Claflin Woodhull, publisher of *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly,* and a half dozen others.[30] The local sisters were at least as active. In the summer of 1871, over one hundred dissenting and Gentile women organized themselves at the Institute into a Ladies' Mutual Improvement Society, with the anti-Mormon crusader, Fanny Stenhouse, as president. The Society dedicated itself to securing "equal footing with man in every issue," promised an evening school for ladies whose early education had been neglected, and endeavored to found a library.[31] Although the society continued for over a half year, it seems to have realized few of its original objectives. Local women also occasionally occupied the Institute's podium. Fanny Stenhouse embraced the opportunity to brand "Brigham Young as a despot and Polygamy as a fraud."[32] Nellie Paddock delivered her nationally famous anti-Mormon lecture at the Institute, while Phoebe Couzin, one of the first women admitted to the Utah Bar, also spoke before the free thinkers.[33]

Temperance likewise became an Institute cause. Mormon authorities had only recently begun to enjoin the church's longstanding health codes upon its frontier membership, and clearly considerable work lay at hand. Several itinerants introduced the cause, including Carrie F. Young, former editor of the *Journal of Health,* who imaginatively premised her temperance address upon "the second, third, and fourth clauses of the Declaration of Independence."[34] More systematic were the efforts of Dr. McKenzie and his Reform Club. McKenzie leased the Institute for a well attended temperance campaign. At one session Judge Boreman "gave a rousing speech, calling upon all young men to come forward and sign, give up their drinking habits and acquaintances and make men of themselves." At least 208 men and 150 ladies requested membership cards during the crusade.[35]

Indeed "Reform" became a synonym for Institute activity. Lecturers continued periodically to lay bare flaws in Utah's prevailing faith; the Saints' tragedy at Mountain Meadows was a repeated subject for discourse.[36] But the Utah dissenters obviously had travelled far beyond their original objective of "reforming" Mormonism. Tom Paine now became a lodestar and traditional Christianity seemed as "irreconcilable with the facts of nature and science as

the story of Sinbad the sailor was with modern geography."[37] Long-time national radicals such as Warren Chase and Victoria Claflin Woodhull inveighed at the Institute against the established order. As early as 1872 a local chapter of the radical "Peoples' National Convention" was organized at the Hall, pledged to sexual and racial equality and to a vigorous program of government activism a half century before such ideals became recognized as legitimate national concerns. Utah's budding radicalism was making the territory, as one dissenter phrased it, "the Massachusetts of the West."[38]

The Liberal Institute became a prominent political center as the Utah dissenters sought to implement their reform ideals. At the outset they recognized the need for a political vehicle and joined with the territory's Gentiles to forge the "Liberal" or "National" party. The marriage proved tempestuous. In July 1871, the union's two factions broke into angry name calling as party members at the Institute debated tactics and philosophy.[39] But the common enemy of the Mormon establishment was sufficient to unite them periodically and to draw protest crowds. In 1872, the party held what it described as the "greatest political meeting ever held in the Territory" to lay plans for Salt Lake municipal reform. Four years later at another gathering at the Institute, Henry Lawrence declared that Mormon leaders, by preaching political obedience, had "bamboozled" the people in an effort to get "away with the spoils."[40] But formal political gatherings were not the only measure of the Hall's political prominence. Gentile officals led by Governor Wilber A. Woods and members of the territorial judiciary frequently spoke before Institute audiences. When the Gentile courts sought maximum political exposure for the belated trial of the murderers of J. King Robinson, they requisitioned the reformers' hall.[41]

The cultural ministry of the Hall was a more constant endeavor. Popular scientific offerings predominated, no doubt reflective of the interests of the *au courant* Utah dissenters. Local speakers such as O. H. Congar, E. M. Barnum, and W. H. Holmes lectured on the origins of life, the progress of science, and the solar system. Mr. Frink dazzled audiences with chemical experiments and by microscopically transforming "a flea to the size of a horse."[42] Bentham Fabian's unsuccessful lecture, "The Past History of the World," combined geology, Biblical fundamentalism, and bloody sacrifices. "Had it been delivered before the [touring] Japanese Embassy, as originally intended," the *Tribune* severely commented, it "would doubtless have had a terrible effect upon their barbaric brains, causing spasmodic if not chronic congestion."[43] Lectures on law, domestic relations, and especially popular culture were also frequent staples. Miss De Wolf spoke on "Thoughts and Their Chariots," Judge Emerson on "Culture," Frank Tilford on "The Creations of Shakespeare," while former Vice-President Schuyler Colfax reminisced on "Lincoln." Professor Griffiths, in turn, drew some of the largest crowds in the history of the Institute as he displayed his considerable abilities at ventriloquism and declamation.[44]

Lyceums might broaden the perspectives of the mature, but the Institute also owed a responsibility to the young. Only months following the Hall's inauguration, the Liberal or Institute Academy was established under the preceptoral direction of Professor W. H. Holmes. The school "is in no way allied to Spiritualism or any other 'ism,' " explained the *Tribune*. "It is

representative alone of liberal sentiment and free thought."[45] The principal opened the Academy to all elementary and secondary grades for a $2 tuition charge per quarter, and for a time it claimed to be "steadily on the increase."[46] But after only a year's operation, Holmes left Salt Lake to pursue a lecturing tour, and the project collapsed.

The Children's Progressive Lyceum was a less conventional educational venture. Like its predecessor it claimed no sectarian orientation, but actually it borrowed both its name and philosophy from prototypes sponsored by the American Association of Spiritualists.[47] In Salt Lake, Mrs. L. T. H. Congar conceived the undertaking and remained as the school's "Guardian"; W. H. Shearman was named Conductor, with Godbe and Lawrence respectively serving as Librarian and Treasurer. "A Children's Lyceum," the *Tribune* explained:

> is one of those Sunday Schools where children are taught to do their own thinking. They are required to use their judgments respecting every subject presented to them by the teacher. The chief method relied upon is to draw out of the child what it knows and understands and develop its powers rather than to make it a little machine into which somebody else's wisdom is pumped. No creeds are taught on the strength of Authority, ancient or modern; and all this is combined with so much of variety and even amusement in the exercises that children seldom fail to take as much interest in the Lyceum as the teachers themselves.[48]

Like other Sunday Schools of the era, the Progressive Lyceum undertook more than a religious curriculum. "Truth, justice, fraternity, purity, art, science, health, and spirituality" were its self-confessed objectives. But it substituted reasoning for convention and personal judgment in the place of absolutes. In March 1874, after a year's service, the school boasted an enrollment of 150 children and a library of 300 books, which Institute leaders eventually sought to expand for adult purposes. Throughout the middle 1870s, the Lyceum's Sunday afternoon sessions and periodic concert recitations were very much a part of the Salt Lake scene.[49]

Captain J. W. Witherell's "Free School" was another educational enterprise undertaken at the Institute. The aging but ebullient "professor" had recently found himself unemployed when President John Taylor urged that non-Mormons be excluded from teaching Mormon youth. His personal exigency, coupled with the city's need for inexpensive, mass education led Witherell to open Utah's first nontuitional school. Expenses would be met through voluntary contributions by parents, recently imposed tax levies, community endowments, and the use of the Institute facilites without charge. But the professor found the hall poorly constituted for a school. Its high ceiling made heating difficult, while only improvised desks could be fastened to the backs of a few seats. After only three months Witherell moved with his 135 students to the Seventies Hall.[50]

Although the Institute's tone, particularly during the early years, was generally sedate and grave, its managers understood the need to leaven the intellectual loaf. During the early 1870s, New Year, May Day, and Christmas parties were scheduled, while social entrepreneurs Professor Sheldon and John Manning periodically staged parties for profit.[51] The Institute was accordingly transformed:

> The interior of the building [was] beautifully festooned with national ensigns, [the] paper[being] of various colors, . . . Down stairs the southwest corner is divided off with flags as an ice cream room, while in the gallery there are two dressing rooms of a similar kind, and a table about twenty feet long on which a sumptuous repast will be spread for those who may desire refreshments during the night. Everything that might tend to make the occasion one of pleasure has been done by the conductors of the affair.[52]

Activities varied. Institute dances featured not only pioneer Utah's customary quadrilles and lancers, but the polka, the schottishe, and even the waltz. A "grand old-fashioned tea-party," which promised to "beat everything out," greeted one New Year.[53] Children in turn were treated to such Gentile delights as an appearance of the Queen of May and, at the appropriate season, to a Christmas tree with gifts. Institute recreation, like its intellectual endeavor, charted the infiltration of Gentile influence.[54]

Spectator entertainment at the Institute at times was innovative. At one end of the spectrum were the cultured Holbrook sisters, who rendered their theatrical production without the aid of scenery, stage effects, or orchestra. "To make a performance of this kind successful, in this degenerate day of spectacle dramas, immoral language, limbs and general nudity," the *Tribune* commented approvingly, "requires the highest type of genius."[55] But as spiritualism and the use of the forum declined during the late 1870s, Institute managers no longer demanded the highbrow. In 1879, the hall staged probably Salt Lake's first sparring exhibition, as twenty-four light, medium, and heavy weights contested both for prizes and the honor of being the "most scientific head puncher in the ring."[56] Two years later the building was temporarily transformed to permit a disreputable contest of billiards. "There was just enough betting to keep the interest of the spectators," the *Tribune* reporter wrote, "and the few losers seemed to pocket their losses as good humoredly as the winners did their spare twenties and fifties."[57]

The decline of the Liberal Institute seemed to confirm official Mormon policy. "Strangers would not know of its existence," the *Tribune* bitterly complained, "if they depended upon the organs of the Church for the information."[58] The churchmen hoped that the spiritualist insurgency would expire by its own hand and accordingly ignored the hall and its activities. Nevertheless the Institute possessed an undeniable allure. During its early years, the Spiritualists' Sunday evening services probably outdrew any Mormon ward meeting in the city. One local Relief Society leader expressed dismay "to see so many of the saints drawn there."[59] But there was more curiosity than conversion in this, and as soon as the edge of the novelty wore thin, the failure of Utah spiritualism and its hall became obvious.

The *coup de grâce* was administered by the construction of the sumptuous Walker Opera House which competed for the Gentile literary and theatrical trade. In the fall of 1884, after serving Utah spiritualism for only thirteen years, the Liberal Institute was sold by Godbe and Lawrence to the First Presbyterian Church for $6,500. The Presbyterians would use the building as a male dormitory for their Collegiate Institute, the progenitor of Westminster College. Several years later they razed it to make way for a school building of their own. "Nothing that ever went into its walls ever prospered," the *Salt Lake Daily Herald* jibed, "not even excepting the Liberals and the Rentz-Santley Minstrels."[60] The *Herald's* mirth was truthful only in a narrow sense.

The short-lived career of the Liberal Institute symbolized a force larger than itself. During the 1870s the winds of national assimilation were blowing on Deseret. The sometimes bizarre but always very much American activity of the Institute bespoke something more than a spring zephyr.

NOTES

[1]I trace the origin and development of Godbeitism in "The Commencement of the Godbeite Protest: Another View," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 42 (Summer 1974): 216–44.

[2]"No Bribery" to the Editor, 26 July 1871, *Deseret News*, 2 August 1871.

[3]*Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, 22 April 1871. Also see William S. Godbe, "The Situation in Utah," *The Medium and Daybreak* (London), 15 December 1871, p. 407.

[4]Andrew Jackson Davis, *Beyond the Valley* (Boston: Colby and Rich, 1885), p. 144.

[5]*Salt Lake Tribune*, 17 September 1870; *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, 22 June and 1 July 1871; and *Daily Corinne Reporter*, 5 July 1871. Harrison's architectural contributions to Pioneer Utah are traced in Allen Roberts, "Utah's Unknown Pioneer Architects: Their Lives and Works," *Sunstone* 1 (Spring 1976): 79–84.

[6]On graining: *Salt Lake Weekly Tribune*, 20 May 1871. On the portraits of George and Martha Washington: *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, 6 July 1871. On heating: ibid., 3 November 1871. On flooring: ibid., 8 and 17 February 1872. On organ: ibid., 22 April 1871.

[7]*Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, 28 June 1871.

[8]Amasa Lyman to Robert Richey, 13 May 1870, Amasa Lyman Papers, Church Library-Archives, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter cited as Church Archives). See also *Salt Lake Herald*, 21 August 1870.

[9]Salt Lake City Survey, Block 72. Plat A, Lot 4, 7 November 1871, Salt Lake County Recorder's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah; *New York Tribune*, 16 September 1871.

[10]J. M. Peebles, *Around the World: Or Travels in Polynesia, China, India, Arabia, Egypt, Syria and Other "Heathen" Countries* (Boston: Colby and Rich, 1875), p. 15.

[11]*Revolution*, 5 July 1871, as reprinted in the *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*,19 July 1871.

[12]*Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, 3 July 1871.

[13]Ibid., 1 and 6 July 1871 and 19 September 1871; *Daily Corinne Reporter*, 5 July 1871.

[14]*Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, 11 July 1872.

[15]On Methodists: ibid., 12 August 1871. On Presbyterians: ibid., 3 January 1873 and 1 January 1875. On Jews: ibid., 17 February 1872, 11 October 1872, 13 September 1874; Juanita Brooks, *The History of the Jews in Utah and Idaho* (Salt Lake: Western Epics, 1973), p. 74. On Swedish Lutherans: *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, 24 January 1875. On "Reorganized" Mormons: ibid., 16 September 1872, 16 January 1873, 30 August 1874, 1 September 1874, 2 December 1876, 10 December 1876, 20 October 1878, and 26 November 1879.

[16]*Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, 12 August 1871.

[17]*Salt Lake Tribune*, 22 October 1870.

[18]*Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, 18 November 1871. Also see ibid., 21 November 1871.

[19]Ibid., 23 June 1875. For other discussion topics, ibid., 27 April 1872, 6 June 1875, and 4 July 1875.

[20]Ibid., 5 December 1876, quoting from the *Osceola* (Iowa?) *Beacon*.

[21]Ibid., 26 March 1876.

[22]Ibid., 7 October 1873.

[23]On King: 16 April 1876. On Stearns: 9 October 1881. At times the Utah spiritualists had demanding standards. They refused to print a synopsis of Fanny Young's discourse because "it was so rambling and abstract in its character that we could not follow any particular train of thought," ibid., 29 July 1872.

[24]Ibid., 30 June 1876. Also see 27 June 1876.

[25]*Salt Lake Herald*, 17 September 1876. The paper did not regard the exposé as a conclusive refutation. "Whatever great and glaring errors there may be in . . . [spiritualism]," it had earlier declared, "professors of legerdemain are not the agencies to meet and overcome it," ibid., 17 September 1871.

[26]*Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, 14 October 1872. Also see ibid., 12 and 15 October 1872; J. R. Newton, *Directions for the Use of the "Vital Recuperator"* (Cincinnati: Wrightson and Co., 1859); and Frank Podmore, *Mediums of the Nineteenth Century*, 2 vols. (New Hyde Park, New York: University Press, 1963), especially 1:51–66.

[27]*Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, 22 and 28 September 1880. Simms had published widely, including his physiognomic text, *Nature's Revelations of Character; or Physiognomy Illustrated; A Description of the Mental, Moral, and Volitive Dispositions of Mankind, as Manifested in the Human Form and Countenance* (New York: D. M. Bennett, 1879).

[28]"The People [of Mars]," Denton reported another medium as saying, "are darker colored

than ours, and have four fingers instead of five, . . . All that I see are barefooted. No: some have a little thing under the foot, that seems made of metal, . . . Their faces are not as pleasant as ours. . . They have large, wide mouths, cut farther back than ours. The hair is yellow. I tried a number, and they had blue eyes. I see no beards, but just a few bristles on the chin." William and Elizabeth M. R. Denton, *The Soul of Things; or, Psychometric Researches and Discoveries* (Wellesley, Massachusetts: Denton Publishing Co., 1863). For other pyschometrical lectures at the Institute, see the *Leader* (Salt Lake), 18 October 1873 and *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, 24 February 1874.

[29]*Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, 31 January 1872, emphasis in the original. See also ibid., 30 January 1872.

[30]On Stevens: ibid., 19 July 1871. On Duniway: ibid., 6 July 1872. On Smith: ibid., 16 December 1877. On Spear: 22 June 1871. On Claflin Woodhull: ibid., 13 May 1874.

[31]*Salt Lake Daily Herald*, 8 July 1871. See in addition, ibid., 6 August 1871; *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, 12 and 19 July 1871; 10 and 15 August 1871; and 23 January 1872.

[32]*Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, 25 June 1874.

[33]On Paddock: ibid., 17 February 1872. On Couzin, ibid., 21 and 23 September 1872. I treat Fanny's career in "The Stenhouses and the Making of a Mormon Image," *Journal of Mormon History* 1 (1974): 51–72.

[34]*Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, 19 July 1873. See also ibid., 20 February 1876.

[35]Ibid., 12 February 1880.

[36]For example, see ibid., 16 October 1872 and 30 January 1873.

[37]Ibid., 25 March 1872. Tom Paine was considered not sufficiently "scientific" for several Utah dissenters, but he nevertheless was a continuing Institute theme, see for instance ibid., 9 January 1877.

[38]James T. Cobb, "Mrs. H. T. Stearns," *Tullidge's Quarterly Magazine* 1 (April 1881); 424. On Chase: *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, 17 and 20 May 1881. On Claflin Woodhull: ibid., 13 May 1874. On Peoples' National Convention: ibid., 20, 22, and 24 April 1872.

[39]*Salt Lake Daily Herald*, 25 July 1871; *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, 24 July 1871; Eli Kelsey to the Editor, ibid., 27 July 1871; "No Bribery" to the Editor, 26 July 1871, *Deseret News*, 2 August 1871; and Edward W. Tullidge, *The History of Salt Lake City* (Salt Lake City: Star Printing Company, 1886), pp. 428–29, 506–11.

[40]*Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, 20 February 1872 and 6 February 1876.

[41]Ibid., 15 December 1871 and 7 January 1874.

[42]Ibid., 2 and 4 December 1871, 13 January 1872, 8 March 1872, 9 September 1872, and 14 February 1875.

[43]Ibid., 4 March 1872.

[44]On law: ibid., 8 January 1875, 28 February 1875, and 14 March 1875. On domestic relations: 18 August 1871 and 19 August 1872. On De Wolf: 12 October 1872. On Emerson: 24 March 1874. On Tilford: 12 July 1873. On Colfax: 20 June 1878. On Griffiths: 15 November 1873.

[45]Ibid., 6 November 1871.

[46]Ibid., 8 February 1872. See in addition ibid., 4 November 1871, 4 March 1872, and 19 September 1872.

[47]J. M. Peebles, *Seers of the Ages: Embracing Spiritualism, Past and Present* (Boston: Willaim White, 1869), p. 354. Andrew Jackson Davis, perhaps America's leading spiritualist, claimed to have originated the concept of the Children's Progressive Lyceum. See his book, *Beyond the Valley*, pp. 98, 136, 149, 153, 332.

[48]*Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, 10 March 1873.

[49]Ibid., 28 September 1873, 4 March 1874, 17 October 1875.

[50]Letter of J. W. Witherell to the Editor, ibid., 14 and 27 August 1878; ibid., 6 and 17 September 1878, and 19 and 27 December 1878.

[51]Ibid., 18 November 1871, 12 and 28 December 1871, 24 and 27 April 1872, 3 and 9 May 1872, and 1 and 20 May 1873.

[52]Ibid., 1 May 1873.

[53]Ibid., 12 December 1871.

[54]On dances: ibid., 18 and 22 November 1871. On tea-party: ibid., 12 and 28 December 1871. On Queen of May: ibid., 3 May 1872. On Christmas tree: ibid., 12 and 28 December 1871.

[55]Ibid., 11 May 1875.

[56]Ibid., 24 January 1879.

[57]Ibid., 27 February 1881.

[58]Ibid., 19 July 1871.

[59]Sarah Decker, Minutes, Senior and Junior Cooperative Retrenchment Association, 31 October 1874, Church Archives; "Honest Poverty" to the Editor, *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, 21 January 1873.

[60]*Salt Lake Daily Herald*, 16 October 1884. See also *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, 16 October 1884.

PASSIVE AGGRESSION AND THE BELIEVER

K-LYNN PAUL

A Priesthood group of six was contemplating an activity proposed by the group leader. One member objected, but the remaining five supported the proposal so enthusiastically that it was scheduled for the following Saturday. When the day arrived, the objector was the only one to attend. Why do people give lip service to Church principles, practices and programs, but by their actions disavow them? Why do people accept callings or responsibilities in the Church and then make only token attempts to fulfill them—or fail to fulfill them altogether?

Many reasons have been suggested, but to my knowledge one fundamental explanation has been overlooked: "Passive-aggression," a psychiatric term, defined as the use of such means as obstructionism, pouting, procrastination, intentional inefficiency, or stubbornness to reflect the disagreement or hostility one dares not express openly. Often directed toward individuals or institutions upon which a person is over-dependent, it is one of the more widespread phenomena observed by mental health professionals.

Typical examples include the alcoholic, who when angry at boss or spouse does not speak up, but who retaliates indirectly by getting drunk; the wife whose anger at her husband takes the form of indifference; the husband who refuses to discuss mutual problems with his wife; the wife who becomes "sick" the day her husband had planned to go fishing; and the husband who, unhappy with his family relationships, pursues a hobby to their neglect. These passive means really communicate the same message as open active disagreement or conflict. But unlike open disagreement, these methods cannot solve problems because the problems are not brought into the open.

Most well-adjusted people use passive-aggression occasionally, for example, in social settings where one may act "politely" interested, with no intention of following up a suggestion. However, those who use passive-aggression extensively are considered to have a chronically maladaptive and self-defeating "personality disorder."

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Among church members passive-aggression affects such areas as marriage and parent-child relationships as well as member-church and leader-follower relationships. In marriage passive-aggression can be particularly devastating when spouses react against each other rather than discuss and work out differences. When parents treat each other passive-aggressively, their children too learn this method for handling family problems. The tendency may then be passed on from generation to generation.

In the family a small child may dawdle when his parents are in a hurry, keep his room messy when his parents are perfectionistic housecleaners, or "forget" what he is continually told to do. A teenager may patiently listen to his parents, nod in agreement and mumble, "Sure, Dad," and then go out and do exactly the opposite. He may have learned by experience that it is useless to try to communicate or that an attempt will be made to dissuade him from his true feelings. In some families where the policy is to avoid confrontation at all costs, passive-aggression is the only recourse. Individuals with this background often conceive of anger only in terms of top-blowing like a volcanic eruption, and are unaware that anger can be expressed in such useful ways as self-assertion or in the defense of one's rights.

Within the Church, a person may accept a position and then fail to fulfill it, or he may agree to attend a function and then fail to do so—without notifying anyone—often rationalizing his absence by minor medical complaints. Of course failure to attend a function after agreeing to come does not automatically imply passive-aggression. A person can have a legitimate excuse or he may simply be living such a chaotic life, that he does not know from day to day what he will be able to do. But when passive-aggression is present, it can be dealt with directly only when it is recognized by leaders. For example, if a church member states that he feels certain meetings are unnecessary and that his only purpose in attending them is for the "body count," he may be viewed as hostile to the Church. If, however, he says, "I'll be there," and then when questioned later about his absence reports, "I just couldn't make it," the leader may think he needs to be lectured on the importance of the particular meeting. After hearing the lecture he returns to good standing by saying, "I'll try harder next time." But next time may never come. Or he may actually go to the meeting in question but slack off somewhere else.

Why is it necessary to be passive-aggressive if one does not wish to attend some function or hold a certain job? Having heard such axioms as, "One should never turn down a church calling," members in many cases do not feel that they have the option to say, "No." One sister finally accepted a position she did not want as the Friend representative because she was told, "You *have* to have a church job." When she made no effort to sell subscriptions, she was told she would "be happy and get blessings" if she did. Therefore she went through the motions, but passive-aggressively undermined what she was doing with the statement, "I really don't think it's as good as another children's magazine I know of." If members could say no without being considered bad people or without having to carry a burden of guilt, church leaders could honestly work out with each member what is expected of him and what he will do.

Members who have testimonies, but who do not fully accept a specific church policy or procedure, often eventually resort to passive-aggression. The person who speaks out with constructive criticism frequently finds himself lumped in the category of "fault-finder," "backbiter" or "nonbeliever." Some church leaders are prone to view all criticism as a threat. They often appear unable or unwilling to differentiate between the person who offers a constructive criticism in the hope that the Church can better fulfill its purpose, and the chronic complainer who finds fault with everything his Bishop or the Church says or does. When an individual does find his constructive criticism viewed as a threat and hears himself denounced or otherwise put down, he may feel that he has no recourse but to speak only to sympathetic soulmates or to resist passively. The local authority, in his self-perceived role of exhorter and encourager, may view such a person as someone who needs to be "worked with." In cases of true need, however, encouragement helps. But if the person is passively resisting, this response may only solidify his resistance.

A particular problem occurs when a husband or a wife has such a demanding church job that the spouse becomes frustrated because the partner is gone from home so much. He or she cannot speak to the brethren because they were the ones who made the call and are probably so overworked themselves that the complainer would feel guilty. He or she cannot speak directly to the partner as this would not be supporting the calling. At this point some spouses may become unconsciously hostile, with the hostility cropping out in little ways—subtle nagging about unrelated topics, greater irritability with the children or even lack of affection. Others may simply become too frustrated to handle all of the added responsibilities without support from the absent mate.

How prevalent is passive-aggression among church members? While it will vary according to circumstance and locality, some examples may give some idea of the extent to which it pervades the Church. In Sunday School a teacher may ask, "And what happened to Joseph Smith in 1820?" A question like this one may be appropriate for the investigator class or the Junior Sunday School, but not for the regular teenage or adult classes. Does anyone say, "Look, don't ask us such obvious questions"? No, people respond passively with a long period of silence, until someone finally recites the answer so the class can move on. Perhaps courtesy is coupled with passive-aggression in this example. However, in similar classes, youth may sit with glazed eyes, tuning out what is said, or occasionally regurgitating a stock answer—and then go out and live as though the Gospel has no part in their lives.

Home teachers procrastinate to the end of the month in spite of all encouragement to the contrary. Members never quite get to their genealogy. Occasionally a non-member or an inactive husband becomes passive-aggressive. Knowing that, more than anything else, his wife would like to have him active in the Church, he may resist as a passive-aggressive way of getting back at her—perhaps because of some unrelated grievance or problem in the marriage.

In the mission field missionaries used to be instructed to pressure their contacts with such questions as, "Now Mr. Brown, is there any *good* reason

you can't be in Church next Sunday?" Questions were worded so that people could not easily say no. Missionaries found people making appointments for discussions and then leaving home rather than feeling free to state openly that they were not interested in the Gospel. Baptism dates were supposed to be set on the first discussion, regardless of whether it was appropriate for the particular contact involved, with the result that many members were afraid to refer their friends to the missionaries. Missionaries could not disagree with these instructions from above and so either had to follow them or resist passively.

Believing as we do in inspired leaders, it still can be difficult to tell where Gospel principles end and leaders' personal views begin, particularly when the latter are preached from the pulpit. Often I think it is hard for the leaders themselves to distinguish which is which. Leaders are prone to view a disagreement with their personal views as a rebellious attack upon the Church. So members keep their own counsel and do as they think best. Nowhere is this more prevalent than on the subject of birth control. More members practice birth control than publicly advocate it. It is instructive to observe the transition in attitude which occurs in the young couple, first loudly promulgating the view expressed by some authorities, and then moderating their view as they have four, five or six children in as many years. Suddenly the couple stops having children, even though the wife has ten to fifteen reproductive years left!

Just why is passive-aggression a problem to the Church and its members? First, the strength of the organization is sapped when leaders never know when they can count on people to fulfill their responsibilities. The quality of a church function is lowered when a teacher does not appear and some unprepared person must pinch-hit. The enthusiasm of members is sapped when they feel self-expression is futile.

Second, and perhaps even more important, is that the strength of character of individuals within the Church is jeopardized. Passive-aggressive individuals seldom live up to their potential when they are passive-aggressive from their upbringing or when they become that way as a result of conditions within the Church. It is ironic that the very qualities of character which led people out of their former religions into the light of the Gospel—such qualities as willingness to express dissatisfaction, to question authority and refusal to accept doctrines that appear unreasonable—are felt to be suspect if they are manifested in the members. And yet it does seem at times that some would prefer to prevent the probing, analyzing, questioning and discussing that are for many the means to the understanding of Gospel principles.

What are some of the causes of passive-aggression in the Church? Excessive authoritarianism is one. As Joseph Smith recorded, "We have learned by sad experience that it is the nature and disposition of almost all men, as soon as they get a little authority, as they suppose, they will immediately begin to exercise unrighteous dominion. Hence many are called, but few are chosen,"—in other words, maintenance of power and influence "by virtue of the priesthood," rather than by "persuasion, by long-suffering, by gentleness and meekness, and by love unfeigned." (D&C 121: 39-41)

A second cause is insecurity. Basically a rigid or authoritarian person under threat or stress becomes even more so. Thus under the "threat" of a member questioning a church policy, an authority may hold the line even more strongly, and feel compelled to refute the member or to set him straight.

A third cause can be attributed to members, not leaders. Many people have a desire for instructions spelled out in precise detail rather than general guidelines. These members try to pressure church leaders into pronouncing "the final word" on every issue—fostering both increased authoritarianism, and its concomitant—passive-aggression.

The fourth cause, mentioned before, is family upbringing. An interrelationship exists between church culture and family rearing practices, with each affecting the other.

What should be done about passive-aggression in the Church? Should it be eliminated? Can it be eliminated? Is it ever justified? There are institutional changes which if undertaken would make passive-aggression unnecessary. And there are individual steps to be taken if the institutional changes are not forthcoming. I feel that the Church can develop an atmosphere where questions can be raised and then—can be left as questions. It should be emphasized in terms that can be understood by all that a person's loyalty and integrity and devotion to the Gospel are not to be doubted solely because he raises a question or expresses a dissenting opinion. As a corollary, members should be permitted to decline acceptance of positions without having to feel that they are "bad" people.

In social science and family relations classes, the principle of passive-aggression needs to be discussed, including the fact that it is as potentially serious as active aggression. Child rearing particularly needs to be discussed since passive-aggressive behavior patterns resulting from upbringing often persist even in situations where they are inappropriate or self-defeating. In a similar vein, the Church, through its programs, could encourage marriage partners to air and work out their differences rather than silently reacting against each other. As a former Bishop of mine said, "If two partners in a marriage always agree on every issue, it's a sign that at least one of them has stopped thinking."

But what should we do if the Church as an institution or our local leadership cannot or will not tolerate more freedom of expression? What if the authorized channel for problems, grievances or suggestions *is* the problem? When we as individuals feel trapped in such a situation and wonder if dissent is possible, I would recommend the following steps: (1) Examine ourselves and our motives. Do we really disagree with *what* has been stated or just with the *way* it was stated? When someone presents an idea in an offensive manner, let us have the charity to accept the principle for its own merits, perhaps saying, "I agree with what you say, but you say it so dogmatically that I want to turn you off," and thereby also give him valuable feedback. (2) *Try speaking out.* To remain silent would be to prejudge or write off our leaders and our fellow members as unwilling or incapable of listening to us. Even if we think it won't do any good, or that the group has closed minds, let us make the attempt. We may even find allies who had previously kept silent. If what we say is accepted, we have

accomplished our goal. If we are ignored or put down, the responsibility must be on the shoulders of others. (3) Finally, after repeated attempts, if we find that speaking out is futile or that it may result in an unacceptable loss of status or position in the congregation, there is always passive-aggression.

FURTHER READING

Jerome L. Schulman, *Management of Emotional Disorders in Pediatric Practice* (Chicago, 1967), especially Chapter 2.

CARIDAD

MARGARET R. MUNK

Typhoon rains were pounding the house for the fifth consecutive night. I was preparing for bed with a candle and a bowl of water when I heard urgent feet on the stairs. Belen Rivera, our Filipina house girl, was drenched with rain.

"Ma'am, can you take care of a baby for a few minutes? The little house by the river is flooded. We will get the other children." I followed Belen downstairs. There in the dark hallway behind the kitchen stood a little girl. Her eyes were shut and her mouth wide open in a long, soundless wail. The hands at the ends of arms no thicker than broomsticks were clenched into tiny fists. Water streamed from her shaggy black hair down her back to blend with the puddle in which she stood. Her only clothing was a tattered undershirt.

Manny, Belen's husband, waited in the kitchen doorway, his clothes and hair plastered against him and rain running in little streams down his face. Belen followed him into the storm.

The tiny creature in the hallway had not moved. As I took a step toward her, she made her first sound, a convulsive sob, as the little bones that were her chest and shoulders lurched upward and fell back. As I reached out to lift her up, she flinched and screamed with fear. I spoke to her reassuringly, but nothing I said could calm the taut little body.

She was still standing exactly as I had first seen her when Belen and Manny finally burst in, carrying three more children, all smaller than the first.

The Riveras moved inside, and then suddenly the wailing stopped. Four pairs of eyes turned toward the door with a look of terrible relief, and four pairs of little claw-like brown hands clung to the sodden skirt of the person who stood there.

Staring out of the darkness above the heads of the children were two enormous dark eyes above parted lips and a small, flat nose. The baby she held against her breast was protected only by a piece of cotton cloth. For a moment it seemed that some island artist's madonna had suddenly appeared in our doorway.

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I beckoned to her three times before she moved hesitantly into the now candlelit room, her head bowed, pushing the children gently ahead.

I would have judged her to be not more than twenty, the five children notwithstanding. But she moved slowly, and her faded, shapeless dress clung wetly to the body of a woman at least ten years older. I realized then that these were the occupants of a tiny caretaker's shack I had seen through banana trees growing on the bank of a creek flowing not far from our home.

The woman's name was Caridad, Belen said—Charity.

The family stood huddled together in the middle of the shadowy kitchen, the children still clinging forlornly to their mother's dress. A candle threw wisps of light and shadow across Caridad's face. Her beautiful eyes stared at me, shyly but calmly, without fear and without expectation.

I asked Belen to prepare the beds in our extra room while I searched in my children's drawers for some dry clothing. A few minutes later, I came downstairs to find our guests crowded into the back kitchen, sharing a soggy towel belonging to Manny and Belen. Belen approached me and thanked me for the motley assortment of pajamas I had collected.

"Ma'am, they will just sleep here in our room."

"But there's not enough room there."

"We will put our mattress on the floor. It will be all right, Ma'am."

"But Belen, there's plenty of room upstairs. Why don't you—"

She stopped me with half a smile. "Ma'am, she's ashamed."

For the next two days, eight people lived in the small back kitchen and bedroom and four pigs rooted in the bog which our yard had become. The pigs were the last refugees from the flooded land on which Caridad lived, and they were valuable to the absentee owner. Each one, when fully grown, could bring him four or five hundred pesos—almost as much as Caridad was able to earn in a year with the mending she took in and her occasional service as someone's laundress or housecleaner. But I had not yet considered the logistics of feeding six people on thirty pesos a month. I only wondered occasionally why Caridad's children were so quiet while my own spent the two days making curious and then friendly and somewhat noisy overtures to the visitors.

On the third day, I was able to drive to the market and back, though the roads were full of enormous, water-filled holes. When I returned, there was no sign that Caridad or her children or even the pigs had ever been there. The rain stopped, the water receded, and so, for a time, did my interest in the family beside the creek.

A few months afterward, a joyous thing happened. Belen had a child. In a country of large families, I knew that her thirteen childless years had been a source of deep pain to her. Now there was a baby boy to fill the empty spot in Belen's heart, bear his father's name, and provide some promise of security to his parents in their old age.

During the days preceding the baby's birth and following Belen's return from the hospital, a desire for a certain kind of privacy and cultural familiarity at a crucial time led her to forego the relative comfort of our house

and seek out temporary quarters somewhere else. She turned to Caridad and the little shack by the creek.

I paid a call or two on her there, but I suddenly found myself a stranger in a world of tales, prophecies, precautions and remedies, mysteries reaching with ancient but powerful force from a prehistoric Malay past into a present in which the birth of a child still remained the greatest mystery of all. Here Caridad was the authority—seer, guru, midwife, medicine woman and voice of experience embodied in one gentle feminine form, and Belen was her humble devotee.

Upon my first visit to Manuel Rodrigo Rivera, Junior, he was lying beside Belen on a makeshift bed in Caridad's house. Six inches from his face lay a rusty kitchen knife. Instinctively I reached for it, although he was too small to do so. Belen's hand stopped me. "Just leave it, Ma'am. Don't you think it is important?" Later, I offered to trim away some gummy substance that had become entangled in the baby's soft, dark hair. "Just leave it, Ma'am," Belen advised me. "Caridad says it is bad luck to cut the baby's hair before he is one year old." I was left with scissors in hand to contemplate the wisdom of the ages and the prospect of Little Manny spending the next ten months with gum in his hair.

"Belen," I asked soon after the enlarged Rivera family had been re-established behind our kitchen, "what do Caridad's children have to eat?"

"Some rice, Ma'am. Sometimes they have bananas, but the trees belong to Mr. Santillan."

"Is he the owner of the land?"

"Yes, Ma'am."

"How much does he pay Caridad to take care of it?"

"Oh, he doesn't pay her, Ma'am. She just gets her house and the water tap without paying."

"You mean he doesn't pay her anything at all?"

"No, Ma'am."

"And the bananas are his. How about the pigs and the chickens? Does Caridad get any eggs?"

"No, Ma'am. They all belong to Mr. Santillan. He gets money for selling the bananas and the eggs and the pigs. But he is a good man. He lets Caridad stay there, even without her husband."

"A good man! To let them live like that? And Caridad's husband is dead?"

"Yes, Ma'am. He was killed last year. He was working on a building, and he fell. That was just before the baby was born."

"Is the family getting any money from the husband's employer?" Belen looked puzzled. "No more, Ma'am. He is dead."

"So Caridad has no money at all except what she makes from mending old clothes?"

"No, Ma'am. I pity them because sometimes they have no money and then there is no food, and the children are crying."

"What about the baby? Is Caridad still nursing her?"

"No more, Ma'am. I think she cannot any more."

"So where is she getting milk for the baby?" The little faces staring at me from the Gerber's jars arranged along my cupboard shelf seemed to have taken on an ugly leer.

"Sometimes she buys milk. She knows where to buy the cheapest kind. Then she puts plenty of water so it will last a long time. And when she has no milk, she gives coffee."

Canned milk for the children; a dozen eggs; a package of cheese; a sack of kalamansis, the tiny limes which are the Philippines' only abundant citrus fruit; a can of fish or beans; a few mangoes or guavas. Our grocery bill increased a little, but this had small effect on us, and the cartons were received at the house by the creek with grateful dark glances and mumbled thanks.

And yet it was not easy to give in this way. It often seemed to me that Caridad accepted with the same passive fatalism whatever came her way, for better or for worse—sunshine or rain, groceries or starvation, illness which was always blamed on "the season," discarded toys found in trash cans, manna from heaven. Pride is a luxury, I thought as I watched her. So is shame. I saw my own children leave food on their plates and wondered how much my own pride would be worth if I had nothing to put there.

And yet I kept remembering Belen's words that night when the storm had washed Caridad and her family into our lives: "Ma'am, she's ashamed." I accepted occasional gifts of bananas from the grove by the creek, and no one mentioned Mr. Santillan. I began giving Caridad clothing that needed mending, and it was always returned promptly, skillfully repaired, no payment accepted. When I insisted on paying her, Caridad began returning the clothes to me through Belen. After a dinner party, I often found Caridad in the kitchen with Belen, arms submerged in a sink full of greasy pans. She gravitated naturally to the grimiest tasks, and left, carrying only a can full of table leavings destined to become *kaning baboy*—food for the pigs. Some things my children said made me wonder whether the pigs were the real recipients.

Voices began to disturb me as I handed over the boxes each week with an embarrassed smile. "There are thousands of families like that. What can you do?" "If you give them something for free, they'll lose their sense of responsibility." (Caridad's aunt, her only relative of means, had dismissed her most recent request for some used clothing for the children with, "I don't need to worry about you now. Those Americans are taking care of you.") "Give a man a fish, and you feed him for a day. Teach him to fish, and you feed him for a lifetime." Weeks passed and several roads which seemed to lead to work opportunities for Caridad proved to be dead ends. And all the time my next door neighbor's persistent question nagged at me: "What will happen to them when you leave?"

Meanwhile, I had the satisfaction of seeing a little plumpness appear on small bodies and some lively children's play begin among the banana trees. The baby's teeth came in and did not disintegrate as the older children's had done. I spent some bemused but peaceful moments sitting on a crude bench in the banana grove watching my own children and Caridad's neglect the well-stocked nursery at our house for the pleasures of "house," "doctor," or "airplane" played with leaves, sticks and stones on an old bedstead.

At Caridad's home I was always greeted with a shy smile and a few soft words of greeting, and then ignored. I sometimes felt compelled to offer advice concerning the children's health. Caridad listened to my homilies politely but her soft, frequent "yes, Ma'am" gave me no idea whether my words were understood or not. I resorted to asking Belen to serve as go-between in such matters, and together we found a well child clinic where Caridad's children could be immunized against the common childhood diseases as well as the cholera and typhoid which threatened Manila's poor during the hottest season of the long, hot year. We got pills for worms, medicine drops for fever, ointments for scalp sores—dolls for birthdays.

One day Belen made an announcement that took me by surprise. "Ma'am, Caridad wants to know about your church."

Belen had made it clear to me long ago that she herself had no interest in changing her religion, and it was a subject we did not discuss. She knew our church schedule and the names of members who might call ("Your brother, Gomez, is on the telephone"), and she cooperated. She prodded Manny out of the house for Mass twice a week, and we took this into consideration when making plans of our own. I had stood with pleasure as godmother to Little Manny, but Belen had never set foot inside our church. I knew that the initiative behind the request she was now making must have come from Caridad herself, and yet not a word on the subject of religion had ever passed between us.

The first consideration with Caridad was usually of necessity a practical one, and my immediate reaction to Belen's information was, "Oh, Caridad, from every peso you scraped together they would take ten centavos, and what would you do then?"

That night I lay in bed, fully conscious and in my right mind, confronting Peter the fisherman. He was a rough man, poorly dressed; he was lacking in education and in genteel speech and manners; he lived in a shack, and he eked out a living for his family during long nights on the lake with a net and a battered boat. And someone called to him, "Follow me," and proceeded to tell him about the lilies of the field. This rustic apparition was replaced by my Danish great-great-grandmother, age twenty-one, leaving her parents' small seaside farm, her hands empty except for a knotted handkerchief holding a few coins with which she hoped to enter the dark, infested hold of a boat which would carry her toward a desert on the other side of the world. She stared at me across a century, and I felt she did not recognize me. "I never knew you"—motoring to your air-conditioned chapel on a Sunday morning, whiling away an hour or two half-listening to familiar messages, leaving your tithes and offerings behind you, and returning home despite them to a well-stocked refrigerator and a table heaped with supermarket delicacies.

To which of us did He come? I asked the night visitors. Would such as I have listened to Him then? How many Katrina Mattsons, how many Peters, can the Church afford now? Yet how can it afford to ignore them in the name it carries? The least of these . . . here, behind the banana trees . . .

A week earlier as I had passed up the aisle in search of my oldest child, four young missionaries were talking more animatedly than is usual after three hours of meetings. Elder McGrath, an intense young Arizonan recently transferred to Manila from the southern island of Mindanao, was speaking.

"We should say something to the branch president! We can't have people saying things like that in sacrament meetings! They're still talking like Catholics."

"Hold it now." A placid faced young man with a touch of a southern accent. "'Which one are you talking about?"

"Oh, Brother What's-His-Name, Domingo. Religious festivals, processions. What was he doing, giving a church talk or a pitch for the tourist industry? These people should forget about that stuff now. You can't believe some of the superstition that's still floating around in a lot of these people's heads." Elder McGrath focused in on an Elder Budge, the greenest of the group. "Do you know I've heard baptized members scare their little kids with stories about ghosts and things that they learned in the provinces? The *aswang*—some kind of supernatural creature that appears to people in lonely places and comes after bad little kids. Then they have this image in a big cathedral downtown—the *Santo Niño*. They parade that thing through the streets, and people go crazy. Do you know that last year, when there was a long rain and bad floods, everybody was saying it was because the *Santo Niño* had been stolen? And even the president of the country made a big show of going to church to give thanks when the thing was found."

"But the rain stopped." There was wry amusement in the voice of the new speaker, a blue-eyed young man with smooth brown hair who was looking keenly at Elder McGrath.

"Oh, well—" Elder McGrath's glance conveyed his opinion of the interruption as he made a hand-washing gesture toward the group and turned to gather up his books.

"Sorry! I didn't mean to get smart," said the other, laying a conciliatory hand on Elder McGrath's shoulder. "But Elder—you don't have to weed out all the people's cultural traditions in order to teach them a new religion. There are some things that have to go, some others that will probably fade out with time. And then there are some that are sort of fun to keep."

"Okay, Elder Brennan. You try that philosophy for a while, and I think you'll soon find, when you've been out a little longer, that it's not the way to hold a church together."

As the group began to disassemble, I offered a smile and a mental salute to Elder Brennan.

The following Sunday, I asked which elders were currently working in the area where we lived. I was referred to Elders McGrath and Brennan, now companions. I sought out Elder Brennan after church. "Caridad speaks only a little English and has some trouble with Tagalog," I said. "They are the poorest family I have ever known. I would not like to be the one to tell them about tithing."

Elder Brennan was slightly older and more experienced than the average missionary, having completed three years of college before embarking on his

religious labors. Later I learned that two of those years had been spent in vascillation and painful self-examination as he came to the decision that he could now become a missionary because he wanted to and not because it had always been expected of him. He was still only twenty-one, and he wore a well-tailored pin-striped suit and was as clean-shaven, well-scrubbed and neatly barbered as any missionary. He had been in the Philippines for thirteen months, and he looked nothing like Peter the fisherman, but I thought somehow that they would have been at ease with each other. The deep-set blue eyes watched me calmly as I completed my hesitant introduction; then he promptly reached into his pocket for pen and paper.

"Well, we're used to families like that. What is their name?"

I realized then that I had never known Caridad's family name. Like a child or a slave, she had not needed one.

A few days later, the two missionaries called at our home before visiting Caridad. "Their name is Flores," I informed them, thinking that Caridad's life had had little of either charity or flowers.

I did not mention a visit I had made to Caridad the day before. We had communicated slowly but surprisingly well, now that we had something to talk about. I had told her about the twin rocks upon which many converts became shipwrecked—financial contributions and leadership or teaching assignments, for both of which the Church depended entirely upon its lay members. She had replied calmly that she knew we paid a ten per cent tithe and spent a lot of time working at the church.

After their third visit, the two elders called on me again.

"Sister Carter, I don't think it's going to work," began Elder McGrath as he sipped kalamansi juice. "She's interested, but her English just isn't good enough. She can answer some of our questions, but we never know how well she's understood us. She didn't go far enough in school to read English, which means she can't read the Book of Mormon or any of the tracts we have. She might join the Church out of gratitude to you, but I don't think she'd last long. How much could she get out of it?"

It was true, I knew. Slightly more than half the people of the Philippines could speak and understand Tagalog, the Manila area dialect whose national scope was gradually being widened by government and mass media. Slightly less than half were able to use the language of their former conquerors, which remained the language of the schools above the primary level. In the absence of a national language, the Church operated in English, effectively barring some people from participation. This disturbed me, and I had been both amused and disgusted once to hear an eager young missionary declare in all seriousness that he had never met a person really interested in the gospel who did not know English. I felt myself growing angry at Elder McGrath, even as I recognized the logic in his words.

Now Elder Brennan was speaking. "I think your family has been doing a lot to help the Flores family. It's very good of you." I spoke more sharply than necessary. "It's very little that we're doing, maybe not even enough to

do any real good. And Elder Brennan, for heaven's sake, don't let her think that joining the Church is something she owes us or that it's the price of the groceries. I never mentioned it to her; I don't know what put it into her head."

"It's all right, Sister Carter," he replied, unperturbed. "I think she understands that. The main problem right now is language, but—there may be a way around that."

"Well, I'd be glad to know what it is." Elder McGrath was obviously ruffled at having had his opinion called into doubt by his junior companion, and he marched several paces ahead of Elder Brennan as the pair took off down the street.

A week later Elder Brennan turned up again with a wide grin on his face and a new companion at his side. "Sister Carter, meet Elder Juanito Wong." I smiled into the pleasant Chinese face of the half-Malay boy who was called Johnny in Spanish. "Come in, please," I invited them, but Elder Brennan's news couldn't wait. "Guess what. Elder Wong is from Pangasinan province. So is Sister Flores. Suddenly our language problem doesn't look so serious."

"What happened to Elder McGrath?" I asked when we were settled again over kalamansi juice.

"He was transferred to Legaspi a few days ago, made a zone leader."

"Good," I muttered. "He must be in his element." Sensing myself slipping out of the proper Sister Carter attitude, I re-routed the conversation to our main interest. "Then you're going to continue teaching Cari—Sister Flores?"

"Yes. She's interested in the Church, and then—well, I think it means something to her that we go there and spend time with her. Elder Wong can make the lessons much easier for her to understand, and we'll be able to understand her. But of course that won't solve her problem once she goes to church, so I think she needs to start going right away and getting used to listening. Uh—you usually drive to church, don't you, Sister Carter?"

I nodded slowly and began mentally fitting eight children and three adults into our compact car.

The sweltering summer months passed slowly. Elders Brennan and Wong continued to visit Caridad, and often they stopped afterwards to cool off and report her progress to me. She was an eager listener, they said, proud to be able to answer their questions but not inclined to ask any. She was moving satisfactorily through their series of lessons. Reading was a problem. Investigators were usually asked to read the Book of Mormon, over five hundred pages from Nephi to Moroni, before baptism. Elder Wong had tried reading with her, translating as he went, but it was slow going. Now she was working on it alone, with the help of a dictionary.

Meanwhile, our car stopped in front of the banana grove every Sunday morning to take on six extra passengers. The first time Caridad brought the children to church, I did not really notice the transformation until they were seated in the chapel across the aisle from us. I had never seen the children wear anything but ragged shirts or dresses and rubber thongs on small, grimy feet. I had never seen the family "dressed up," and I realized that to my knowledge they had never before had any place to go. Now each child

was scrubbed, brushed, shod and neatly dressed, mostly in clothing my children were all too eager to identify as formerly theirs. Caridad was wearing a flowered dress I had not seen before, and her hair was neatly tied back to display her lovely eyes and childlike face. The children were too quiet and still that first Sunday and it was a relief to see them begin to behave more normally, if less reverently, as they became more accustomed to attending meetings. Caridad's face was bright and she leaned forward, straining with an almost physical effort to understand what was being said. I thought of all the long, lonely days she must have spent in the banana grove, and the picture of the family across the aisle blurred as I firmly bit my lip.

After three months, just when the rains were beginning again, Caridad was baptized. The night before, I went after dark to her home and found her bending over beside a little kerosene lamp, Moroni's last words in one hand and a dog-eared pocket dictionary in the other. Ten people were baptized the next day. The atmosphere was solemn and dignified but cheerful, and the ten were dressed in white garments which, though cumbersome and ill-fitting, set off dark hair and smooth brown skins and conveyed a message not only of purity but of equality. This is the way it should be, I thought. No one knows or cares right now who lives in a shack and who in a mansion, who is the master and who the servant, who has been to the university and who cannot read and write. Elder Brennan escorted Caridad down the steps into the font with a courtly deference, and Elder Wong, having pronounced his short prayer of confirmation in English, repeated it in the dialect of Pagasinan province.

I now found myself visiting Caridad in an official capacity as a visiting teacher for the Relief Society.

"Caridad," I teased her shortly after her baptism, "I think you've got to stop calling me 'Ma'am' now."

She smiled shyly. "Yes, Ma'am. Sister?"

Why don't I ask her to call me Janet? I thought. But I knew that she would not do it, and that somehow I could not ask her.

I did learn more about Caridad's past life—how she had been orphaned as a young girl in Pangasinan, had come to Manila to work in the kitchen of a wealthy relative, had been shabbily treated there, and had escaped by eloping with the relative's gardener. She had borne a child every year of their marriage, and the family had almost starved during the first two years. Their former employer had wanted nothing more to do with them, but another relative had finally steered Caridad's husband to a job on a construction gang. The manager was Mr. Santillan, owner of the banana grove, and he had offered the Flores family the little shack, rent free, in exchange for keeping watch over the bananas, the pigs and the chickens. It was considered a magnanimous gesture by all who knew him. When Caridad's husband had fallen to his death, Mr. Santillan had sent a wreath of flowers.

I wondered if Caridad was making friends at the church. She seemed to have little to say to anyone, but she attended meetings faithfully, shepherding the five children as best she could, and they were always ready and waiting

long before it was time to leave for church. The older children began to attend Primary and Sunday School classes. Caridad liked to sing, but the children made it difficult for her to join the branch choir. Instead she proudly carried home a choir hymn book each week, and I had no heart to tell her that the book, dearly purchased at American prices from meager branch funds, did not belong to her, especially when I noticed that a rat had helped himself to a sizeable chunk of the cover.

At Christmas time, we took our biennial home leave for a reunion with our families and experienced a blanket of snow for the first time in several years. I felt reasonably at peace concerning the people left behind. We had sent Manny, Belen and the baby on a vacation to their province for the holidays. We had left a good supply of milk and other canned goods with Caridad, and I knew that my visiting teaching partner was planning to surprise the Flores family with stuffed dolls and a little Christmas tree.

But this temporary leave-taking had renewed my concern about the long-term help we could or should plan for Caridad and her children. My husband was beginning to talk of a transfer back to the United States, and we knew we might not see the end of another year in the Philippines. Caridad's oldest child should be starting to school soon, and each of the next five years would add one tuition fee. She had once told me about her own family, in which two of the ten brothers and sisters had been sent to school each year. Under this rotational system, she had managed to piece together four years of education before she went to work at seventeen. Perhaps unconsciously intending to assure myself of a quiet conscience for Christmas, I placed an envelope in her hand as I said goodbye. It contained two hundred pesos, which I suggested she use for any emergency that might come up in our absence, or save toward next year's school expenses.

Returning from a round-the-world odyssey with three children, I expected to collapse for several days and feel fully justified, but somewhat to my disappointment I felt quite well after a short nap. After unpacking suitcases and delivering a mountain of laundry to Belen, I opened the rusty gate to the banana grove expecting to hear a little voice call out, "Ay, si Ma'am!" But none came. I approached the house, and still there was no sign of activity. Caridad seldom went out, as it required taking the five children with her, but perhaps she had gone to the market or in search of mending to do.

I looked through the open door of the small house. No one was there, and I had turned around thinking I would come back later, when I realized that there was nothing there at all. The family's possessions, few though they were, were conspicuously absent. There were no pigs, no chickens or dogs to break the silence.

I hurried back to our house, where Belen was working in the kitchen. She had returned to Manila only ten days before. "Belen! Caridad is gone!"

She looked up a little warily. "I know it, Ma'am. I was going to tell you. I don't know where she is. Everything is gone."

"Did you ask anyone about her?"

"No, Ma'am, there is no one there to ask."

"Do you know how to contact Mr. Santillan?"

"No, Ma'am."

In the next few days, I asked everyone who might know what had become of Caridad and her family. The list was quickly exhausted. The doctor's wife who lived in the big house next to the banana grove had not noticed the family was gone. "What do you have to do with them?" she asked curiously. The people at church could not recall seeing Caridad for three or four weeks. My visiting teaching partner had been out of the city since Christmas. I called the mission home and learned that Elder Brennan had been transferred three weeks before, but that he was working in Quezon City, not far away. After several attempts to get a message to him, I met him at the mission home.

"Sister Flores is gone, there's nothing there at all, and no one knows where she is. When was the last time you saw her?"

He looked a little ashamed. "Really? I saw her just before I was transferred. Darn! I meant to get back to Parañaque to visit before now, but I've been tied up with learning a new area and breaking in a new companion. The branch members don't know anything about her?" I shook my head. "What was the name of her husband's boss?" he asked.

A few days later, we received a letter that meant we would leave the Philippines permanently within two months.

Now the days flew by, as we entertained friends and were entertained, rushed here and there to do the shopping and sightseeing we had put off for five years, and prepared a houseful of accumulated belongings for shipping.

The day came for us to leave. Up before dawn, we arrived at the airport before eight o'clock, but we were not the first ones there. Some neighbors and friends from my husband's office formed a noisy, cheerful vanguard to wish us farewell. Several of the missionaries were also there. Behind them, filling out the ranks more timidly but eagerly, were over half the members of the Parañaque Branch.

We clasped hands and joked as we chatted with the neighbors, the office friends, the elders. But tears overflowed as I embraced Carminda Garcia, with whom I had tramped through narrow streets of Las Piñas to deliver a Relief Society message and a *ganta* of rice; fifteen-year-old Julie Roces, who had wept over a lost boyfriend in my classroom after MIA one night; and old Brother Perfecto Villareal, who had lost his only son to tuberculosis and had sold his wife's wedding ring to pay the funeral expenses rather than accept financial aid from the Church. The swelling of feeling inside was even more overpowering than the scent of *sampaguita* hung in garlands around my neck. This was more than a parting with friends; it was a separation from some part of myself.

And yet through all the love, joy and sorrow, one uncomfortable awareness gnawed uncharitably at me—Caridad was not there. The tears on my cheeks were a welcome cover for my dismal realization that the old feeling of condescension was not conquered after all. She was not properly grateful. After all we had done for her, she had gone and left no word of her

whereabouts. Now we were going away, and she did not know; she could not take the last possible opportunity to thank us with her presence. She need not have said anything. I would have been embarrassed if she had. She need only have come.

It was Elder Brennan who told me. He himself would be leaving for California within a week, his mission completed. In a quieter moment, while we waited for our flight to be called, he took me aside and handed me a thin yellow envelope, smudged with small fingerprints.

"I've seen Sister Flores," he said. "I tracked down the man who owned the land she lived on. He said he had sold the land, and her family had been asked to leave. I went back to their house several times, and finally ran into the man who used to bring food for their pigs. He said they had gone to some relatives who lived in Cavite. I asked him to take me there last Monday, and he did. They're living in a cardboard and tin shack in a squatter area on the beach, along with nine other people—some sort of cousins. She sent you this."

It was as though the rope by which the two of us had struggled for many months to raise six people from a deep ravine had suddenly snapped. Yet all I could say was, "She's not coming to say goodbye?"

"She said she was ashamed."

"Ashamed of what?"

"She didn't want you to know what had happened to her. And what she did with the money you gave her."

"What did she do with it?"

"Her cousin had a lot of debts. She gave most of it to him."

"And the children—what do they have to eat?"

"Some rice; sometimes fish, or seaweed."

I felt desperate. "Maybe we can send her some more—"

"I'm afraid it will go where the other went."

"But she knows now how important it is to give the children good food! She's seen how they've changed, how healthy the baby looks—"

The missionary looked down for several seconds.

"Sister Carter, she doesn't believe that. She's grateful to you for the things you gave them, but she doesn't think the food is what made the children healthier."

"She—what?" He shook his head. "Well, what does she think—?"

"It seems that some time ago, a year or so, someone convinced her that two of the little girls had tumors in their stomachs that were destroying their health. She was told she should take them to one of these pseudo-doctors, a faith healer, who claimed he could perform operations without using a knife. After he 'operated,' Sister Flores says she noticed the health of all the children improved a lot."

A voice was calling over a loud speaker. In a blur, I saw the crowd of friends turn a collective glance toward us and my husband begin to move in my direction.

"And the rest?" I whispered. "Her conversion? Joseph Smith? The restoration? She never really believed it?"

"She did believe it. She still does. She's a believing person."

"But she also believes in the quack doctor."

"Yes."

"And the *aswang*?"

"Yes."

"And the *Santo Niño*?"

He smiled slightly at the reference to our first meeting. "Probably."

Several voices were calling from somewhere, "Sister! Sister! Your flight!"

"Then it was all wasted?" I stared bleakly at the young missionary.

"Wasted? I don't know that it was. She learned that somebody cared about her. Let's hope somebody will again. The Church won't desert her. And the kids have had some good dinners."

A hand grasped my wrist. It was my husband's. I was propelled through a sea of faces, hands touching and clasping, voices calling, some bright, some tearful. Then I was in a small bus beside my husband, my children in my lap, and looming ahead was the silver craft that would carry us away. Both worlds seemed unreal, the one being left behind as much as the one to which we were returning.

Only when our plane had settled into a steady course above a cloud landscape and the children had relaxed from their excitement into sleep did I take from my handbag the smudged yellow envelope. Inside was a single scrap of paper, with a carefully penciled message:

"Thank you Mam.

Caridad"

In my lap was another gift, a tiny and beautifully bound Bible which had been placed in my hand as we plunged into the crowd to leave the airport. I opened the cover to find it inscribed,

"With esteem and best wishes,

Patrick Brennan"

A slender leather bookmark protruded from the little volume, and answering its invitation, I opened to a page in Proverbs. Two lines were carefully marked in ink:

"Trust in the Lord with all thine heart; and lean not unto thine own understanding."

Wisps of cloud brushed the windows as the wind bore us northeastward toward Hawaii.

Dawn Baker Brimley

Koosharem, Utah—1914

Three brass-skinned boys of Box Creek Reservation
in new Grass Valley Mercantile pants
black hair cut straight above their wary eyes
moved soft as any hunted cottontail
through deepening grass that fenced the school yard.
They sat by bolted gate prepared to wait
in blunted wind, pointless as old pain;
the heedless hours passed and no one came
though sun rode high and they could hear the skies
begin to roll and swell, conjuring rain.

> Then cracked the sailing sun and hung impaled
> in blood-red sign from Spirit of the Sky;
> out of the fabulous rain,
> in the fierce clouds,
> a great wound bloomed for Red Man,
> on whom a world of ills came down like fire.

Till well past noon they waited in the storm,
walking forth to meet him when he came,
Old Schoolman moving fast, to keep a vow,
and calling them by name: "Tommy Indian, Joe Bob
and Walker, come in now and take a seat!"

Dawn Baker Brimley has published poetry in Church magazines and in *Mountainwest*. She teaches children's literature at the Brigham Young University.

That evening, still in rain, sun going early,
three white boys fell like arrows on their prey:
Old Schoolman, white hair sliced down to the scalp
where blood coursed out as copiously as the rain.

> Then cracked the sun again and hung impaled
> in blood-red sign from Spirit of the Sky;
> out of the fabulous rain,
> in the fierce clouds,
> a great wound bloomed for Red Man,
> on whom a world of ills came down like fire.

"Ain't no dumb Indian I'll sit by in school,"
they told the local justice of the peace,
one Harry Payne, who heard the case
and spoke quite artlessly of "scalping
in the streets." He passed down quick expulsion
for them all: "A group of white skinned savages!"

Old Schoolman went to school no more that year
or ever, though in six months his hair was thick
and whiter than before, for he remembered
times of vows and signs, the day the
sun bled twice and open skies cried long.

Estaleah Harmsen Baker

Elizabeth the Fijian

"Since we became civilized," she said
in her British voice,
as we gazed on the artifacts
of the last King—

What a Queen she would have been for him!
The autocratic body
laden with necklaces of bone,
standing at the entrance of the Mbure,
her black eyes intent on her musicians,
the hair teased five feet out—

"the cannibals are gone."

"The people in my country," I said,
"gulp gold, power and glory
—aeropagites."

Estaleah Harmsen Baker is a retired concert singer, now President of Community Concerts in Manassas, Virginia. She teaches intensive study courses in the *Book of Mormon* and the *Doctrine and Covenants.*

Esta Seaton

Poem for an Infant Son

The little fish of life
Came unready to the land
His lungs unequal to the task
Of elemental air.
My flash of pain
A blinding slash of light
The one swift moment when our bodies split . . .
And that was it.
He never had a name.
I never saw his face.
Though for a year
I hated every mother in the park,
I did not mourn my phantom child.
For that, I beg his pardon now
For that, I finally allow . . .
This poem.

Esta Seaton, a widely published poet, teaches English at Georgia Tech in Atlanta.

AMONG THE MORMONS

STEPHEN W. STATHIS

Eleven years ago, *Dialogue* and Ralph W. Hansen began an association which would last a decade and produce nearly forty *Among the Mormons* columns. His painstaking contribution stands as a monument to dedication and diligence. Who else would have had the sheer tenacity to prepare incisive, comprehensive surveys of Mormon literature every three months for almost ten years? *Dialogue* appreciates this unique man whose name has graced its pages on more occasions than any other author. As long as there are serious students of Mormons and Mormonism, Ralph Hansen's works will continue to serve the purpose for which they were intended.

In our quest to continue the excellence of *Among the Mormons*, we gratefully acknowledge our debt to Chad Flake for his bibliography *Mormon Americana*, distributed semi-monthly by the Brigham Young University Library primarily for the benefit of libraries with an interest in Mormon literature; the editors of the new reference publication *Index to Mormonism in Periodical Literature*, published by the Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; and those various other authors whose studies for a variety of reasons grace neither of these comprehensive publications.

The bibliography of periodical literature which follows includes the major articles published since Hansen's *Among the Mormons* column in Volume X, No. 1 of *Dialogue*. As has been the practice, with few exceptions, articles appearing in official LDS publications, with which most *Dialogue* readers are familiar, have not been included.

Among the Mormons will continue to cover the entire bibliographical spectrum—articles, books and dissertations—each year. It is also proposed to develop an annual bibliography of articles on Mormons and Mormonism which have appeared in major newspapers.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

Bird Island

A Lecture by Hugh Nibley

"Bird Island" is a transcription of a talk given several years ago which has become one of the most popular of the Nibley samizdat.

It will come as news to all Latter-day Saints that after many years of deep scholarly research the Hill Cumorah has finally been located—at the north end of Bird Island in Utah Lake. Those familiar with the area may wonder why such a flat place should be called a hill. Ah! You forget, this was the hill Ramah before the great destruction. "And then the whole face of the land was changed," (3 NEPHI 8:12) "and the high places became low." Moreover, as a scholar whose name you all would recognize points out, since it would have to be a big hill many records were buried in there. He believed Popacataptl was big enough, but if *everything* was changed, a big hill would have to become a small island. More important, the very name of the island proves its identity.

The name Bird Island is indeed a modern name, as we have learned after exhaustive investigation, and probably refers to the presence on the island of birds or of creatures sufficiently like birds to suggest to the mind of the ingenuous observer the actual presence on the island (and this assumes also the presence of an island—another control) of bird-like objects. But though this is the modern name of the island, to be sure, there is no good reason for doubting that birds were on the island for a long time, perhaps even before the island received its name. The Egyptian word for bird is *apid*. If we drop the vowel, which is expendable, and change the consonants only slightly—such as to be hardly perceptible to the Egyptian ear—we get the Hebrew word *zippur, zippor,* which by a remarkable coincidence means "bird." The feminine form is of course *Zipporah,* but the Hebrews wrote from right to left, as we learn in our third year Hebrew class. Read *Zipporah* from right to left and what do you get? *Haroppist*. The "o" can be conveniently dropped since Hebrew doesn't write the vowels. This then is an unmistakable allusion to the psalms of David. But since the Hebrews wrote from right to left, and David himself was a Hebrew, we must read his name too in the correct

Hugh Nibley is Hugh Nibley.

direction. The result is the word *Divad*, or *Divot*. This can only refer to the violent removal of the hill by the forces of nature.

If these internal evidences are not enough to clinch the case, we have numerous points of reference in surrounding geography. It was my great-grandfather Adoration Weevil, who when he was living in Holden, had a dream that Zarahemla was situated at the southwest corner of our orchard. Even if one were to question the validity of revelation, the fact remains that the inscription in nearby Chalk Creek Canyon proves this point. This would mean that the narrow neck of land is northward somewhere. My companion and I first located it in Rock Canyon near Provo, which does have a sea on the east, the Atlantic Ocean, and a sea on the west, the Pacific, and does indeed lead to the land northward if one turns off at Rock Canyon Campground and follows the road north to Provo Canyon. In spite of this remarkable coincidence of details, we have lately come to favor the Jordan Narrows as a more likely location of the narrow neck of land, both because of its name "The Narrows" and of its greater accessibility.

An archaeological field survey of the island has already yielded valuable Nephite artifacts, the most significant of which is part of a pre-Columbian zipper. Since at the time of the discovery nothing whatever was known about the use of the zipper among the pre-Columbian Americans, it was necessary to offer a course in the subject at the Brigham Young University. It was not until one of our most promising students produced a master's thesis, suma cum fraude, on the subject, under the title *An evaluation of some aspects of the possible employment of metal alloy talon fasteners by the pre-Columbian ichthyophagous troglodytes of the southern lateral of Utah Lake extension of lacus monovalentis as based on the opinions of thirty-five selected male and female non-vegetarian students between the ages of thirteen years, eight months and fifteen years, two months, five days from three medially selected classes at the junior high school level of the Juab School District: A study in values and probabilities* that it became possible to give a definitive answer to the question of the provenance of the zipper. (We use the unscientific term "zipper" here in deference to any non-professional archaeologist who may wish to follow the steps of the investigation.)

It seems that the father of one of the students, who was also the uncle of another, had gone fishing and stopped at Bird Island to cool a bottle of 7-Up (see our appendix on the cooling qualities of Bird Island mud) and that he did indeed leave his jacket on the island. On close examination it was determined that the zipper was in fact attached to a badly worn windbreaker with the label of J. C. Penney (probably referring to a line of retail stores that bear that name). But since the zipper was in much better repair than the jacket, it was believed by our trained observers that the zipper and the jacket cannot have been contemporary, or, as the layman would say, of the same age. Moreover, it is absolutely out of the question that a Nephite zipper could possibly have belonged originally to a hunting jacket from J. C. Penneys. This was pointed out in a three day symposium at the Brigham Young University, in which it was concluded after long and careful consideration, that the zipper and the jacket were brought together at a later date, as is plainly indicated by the fact that the two had been obviously joined together by modern techniques of machine sewing.

From that it follows that the incongruous conjunction of an ancient Nephite zipper and a modern garment is indeed the result of later manipulation, thus vindicating the prior antiquity of the zipper. The question of whether this could be a forgery or not sinks into insignificance when one considers the difficulty of forging a workable zipper and, even more important, the lack of apparent motive for hiding such an object produced at such pains, and with such an expenditure of patience and ingenuity, in the mud where the chances of it ever being found by an interested party are, to say the least, unlikely. A federal grant of two hundred and fifty dollars was requested for continued work on the project, but since the Administration felt that such aid would undermine the integrity and weaken the characters of the recipients, the money was supplied by the Church instead.

I would now like to show you Dr. W. H. Sterling's reproduction of the so-called *Izapastella* number five, of which he was the discover. This reproduction is remarkable for its almost total lack of resemblance to the local reproduction familiar to students of the Book of Mormon. Apparently Dr. Sterling does not have access to such refined technical aids as a magnifying glass. The remarkable thing about this document is that even in Dr. Sterling's reproduction, we have the signature of Moroni clearly and unmistakably before our eyes. I call your attention to the two fishes in the upper right hand corner. Now, as G. B. Shaw has shown, a possible phonetic writing for "fish" in English is "gh" as in *enough, rough*; "o" as in *women*, "i" and "sh" (ti) as in *nation, ration* and so forth. So "ghoti" spells fish. Be that as it may, even a layman will recognize that a goatee is a beard; he may also recall that Aaron's beard reached the hem of his garment. Now "hem" in Egyptian also means warrior, and who will doubt that Moroni was a great warrior? Beyond the shadow of a doubt, Moroni has signed his name on this remarkable stella.

The three pyramids, at the bottom—plainly of Egyptian origin—indicate that the writing is Egyptian. We should notice here that the figure identified locally as Lemuel has a long tail and has been called a monkey, and this confirms the identification since this is the Egyptian scribe's way of indicating that Lemuel aped his brother Laman, behind whom he is standing. Moreover, the resemblance between a small spider monkey and a lemur is remarkable, as is also the obvious affinity between the names lemur and Lemuel, the "r" and "l" being interchangeable in Semitic languages.

The object held by the figure in front of Laman has been identified as a flute. What the layman is liable to overlook is that there is no indication that the iron rod of Lehi's dream was not hollow. It survives in early American tradition as the flute of the spider lady (note the significant allusion to the spider monkey), which was ritually filled with sugar-coated pimientos, symbolic of the earth mother's power of turning herself into the sacred drum, the beating of which made a sound which to the primitive ear must have resembled that of the snapping of a crocodile's jaws, such a sound as "Lehi, Lehi, Lehi." It was this drum that caused the rain to fertilize the upper side of the hallucinogenic mushroom, *agaricus campestres whoopie*, which, when eaten by the natives with a mixture of creosote, buttermilk of the giant sloth, and the breastfeathers of the Walker's flightless hummingbird gives the devotee the sensation of walking on imitation plover's eggs. The significance of all this for the Book of Mormon student needs no commentary.

Some laymen have had the audacity, which we might call the impertinence, to challenge some of our conclusions. The only fit reply to such is that they are hardly in a position to question the opinions of eminent, trained, seasoned, degree-holding professionals. On the other hand, there are those who ask why, since our conclusions are based on interpretations of Egyptian glyphs, we have not bothered to consult any Egyptologists. The answer to that is simple: we are but humble servants of the Lord who neither expect nor receive serious consideration from the haughty and arrogant representatives of worldly learning. We would no more think of asking their opinion than we would of publishing in their journals.

With the discovery of Bird Island's zipper, a new and fascinating phase of Oriental studies has been opened up at the BYU. And now, since there are no questions, I would like to invite you to our next lecture which will be on the subject of Jaredite eggbeaters and their designation in the Adamic language. I thank you.

A Nibley Post Script:

The Bird Island Fantasy was not meant to be read by anybody. It was recited many years ago at a social gathering of the entire Division of Religion at BYU, and was scrambled at the time by the most diabolically refined encoding process so far devised by the mind of man, being read in a rapid babble from a quickly scribbled script into a faulty tape recorder, picked up by a desperately typical typist, and then corrected by an editor with just enough knowledge to overlook the most extravagant errors of the typist while patiently altering the few things the typist got right. Then it was widely circulated without the writer's knowledge and appears in this journal over his hysterical protest.

Actually the story has a moral, but how easily may the casual reader, lacking the admonition of the composer's great reverberating voice, be carried away by the sheer beauty of the proposition to overlook its profounder implications. For those who may have missed it, the moral is that everything goes in a free discussion as long as the discussion is going on—give it time and everything will come out in the wash.

The trouble with our Bird Island arguments is not that they are silly, but that they stop too soon.

Hugh N.
(H. Nibley, retired)

PREACHING

and

PUBLIC SPEAKING

AMONG LATTERDAY SAINTS

A PROTEST AGAINST ABUSES AND A
COURSE OF INSTRUCTIONS
WHEREBY THEY MAY
BE OVERCOME

SECOND EDITION

BY

N. L. NELSON

PROFESSOR OF RHETORIC AND ELOCUTION IN THE
BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY, PROVO, UTAH

Salt Lake City, Utah
THE DESERET NEWS
1910

Speaking in Church

NELS NELSON

When the second edition of Nels Nelson's Preaching and Public Speaking Among the Latterday Saints *was published in* 1910, *it carried the following "Recommendation" from the First Council of Seventy:*

"The First Council is advised that the Deseret News Book Store is getting out a second edition of Elder N. L. Nelson's Preaching and Public Speaking; *also that the book, after having been thoroughly revised by the author, has been read critically by a committee suggested by the First Presidency, and been duly accepted as worthy the study of all who expect to take part in the ministry of the Latter-day Saints.*

"Now, while the first requisite of a Latter-day Saint preacher is a testimony of the Gospel, and the second, a wide range of facts and truths to sustain that testimony, these prime qualifications become effective only to the extent that he can evoke and hold the attention of his audience. In other words, his effectiveness will depend, to a very large extent, upon his method of presentation. In this respect, Elder Nelson's book will be found helpful. We therefore cordially recommend it to the Seventies generally, and especially to those preparing for missions."

The following excerpts, from the Preface and Chapter 1 *of the first edition, are also found in almost identical form in the commended* 1910 *edition.*

This book is the outgrowth of ten years observation and reflection. The conviction that such a work is needed came to the author while on a mission to the Southern States, where he had frequent occasion to deplore the fearful waste of time, money, energy, and opportunity to save souls,—to say nothing of the mental anguish,—which is involved before the raw missionary, with no other guide than blundering experiment, is changed into the fairly capable preacher. The conviction was intensified by his acting as clerk of Sabbath meetings for three years, and having to record the substance of the sermons there delivered. If any one would know how strong is the sense of duty among Latter-day Saints, even in the face of peculiar discouragements, let him note how, in spite of our preaching, they still continue to attend meeting on the Sabbath day.

. . . many Elders do not agree with me in this. The good will of these I desire also to carry with me from the start in this discussion. It is only just therefore that I stop briefly to consider their objections.

Whenever it is urged that due attention be given to the manner of preaching, these at once cry: "Prepared sermons! sectarianism! that's what we left the world to get away from. No, 'Take no thought about what ye shall say'—that is the only kind of preaching God is pleased with.". . .

Observe first how admirably this argument is adapted to justify our indolence and flatter our holiness. The gray-haired Elder in our Sabbath meeting, the young man before the Improvement association, the Seventy before his quorum theological class—all stand up and claim a merit for not being prepared. Their minds, they start in by saying, are utterly vacant. Now, if they would sit down after making this confession, they might count on the pity and perhaps the sympathy of the audience. But alas! it is not so: they go on exhibiting the vacancy.

Sleep, Phantasy, or Mental Torture.—When we strike a barrel and it gives us a hollow sound, the first stroke is a pleasure because it gives some information to us, viz: that the barrel is empty. The second stroke does not even arouse curiosity; and the third, if we are compelled to bend our attention upon it, becomes painful. Try to sense the cumulative pain then of having to listen attentively and expectantly to one hour of such aimless drumming!

Of course, if we pay only the dreamy attention that we give to a waterfall, allowing the mind to busy itself elsewhere, we can sit it through without getting nervous. The agony begins when one bends his mind for ideas, and gets only sounds. In the case of the empty barrel, one never thinks of bending the mind. But it is not so with the empty preacher. In his case we feel called upon to listen; and the pain we feel is evidently caused by the conflict of our sense of duty and our knowledge: the duty we feel of paying strict attention to one who speaks in the name of the Lord, and our conviction by the first stroke of his tongue that his head is empty. When such a speaker announces that he has nothing on his mind to say, we contemplate the fact in connection with the man and the occasion. But when he proceeds to take a whole hour of our time in saying it, one of three things happens: we sleep—blessed escape!—we wander, or we are mentally tortured.

Would that for three consecutive Sundays there were but one channel—the last—for the mind of every Latterday Saint. Would that sleep were impossible, and mind-wandering furnished no escape valve; that every Latterday Saint were compelled to bend his attention for ideas—connected, logical ideas—and feel the excruciation of getting empty sound, or, in lieu thereof, mere scraps and platitudes! How eagerly we should then turn to the Scriptures to see if God has really promised to put thoughts and ideas into vacant heads; to discover if infinite wisdom may really be expected to rest upon the man who virtually says: "Here I am, Lord; I have a mouth and a good pair of lungs, which I will lend you for a brief season; fill me with wisdom that I may edify the people."

Self-Stultification.—But the truth is, we can and do too easily become listless and heedless; and having yawned the hour away without any attempt at bending our attention, we are doubtful whether the fault is with the preacher or with ourselves, that we go home empty and leaden-hearted. The stream of sound, we say to ourselves, went fluently on: what grand ideas may not have escaped us! "Fine sermon we had today," says some one who feels conscience-smitten for having fallen asleep. "Beautiful!" we reply for a similar reason.

Each thus convinces the other that the fault lies, not with the speaker, but with himself; and while I do not take the ground that there is not some truth in this view, since, as is well known, the attention or want of attention of an

audience never fails in aiding or retarding the speaker, the point I insist upon is, that aimless preachers inflict their talks upon us again and again, simply because there are three ways of sitting through them—sleeping, mind-wandering, and mind torture—instead of one way—the last. For if there was only this last way, we should protest to a man against allowing the abuse to continue. . . .

The Non-Progressive Elder and His Sermon.—The Elders that preach before the Latter-day Saints may be divided into four classes: (1) those that read much and think much; (2) those that read little, yet think much; (3) those that read much, yet think little; (4) those that read little and think less. The last class, in this year of grace, is a big one.

I should be tempted here to devote a paragraph of kindly advice to this class, were I not hopeless of its ever reaching them. Solomon wrote many striking proverbs about wisdom, and them that refuse to seek it. But it is very unlikely that they were ever read by the people whose attention he tried to catch. At any rate the wise man felt like "braying them in a mortar," but confessed it very doubtful whether even this would improve them. Let me not seem satirical. These are generally good men—goody-good. The only mistake they make in preaching is in setting their tongues wagging and then going off and leaving them. . . .

Mormon theology embraces such a variety of truths that nothing which affects the temporal or the spiritual welfare of man, can come amiss on Sundays if selected by the Spirit of inspiration. Indeed, anything that arouses attention and stimulates thought—be it Gospel principle or advice about husbanding crops—will be not only listened to but relished by Latter-day Saints, such is our boundless respect for all God's truths.

But it requires thought to arouse thought. What then can be expected from men that never think themselves? What can the Spirit find there to edify the people? Often there is but a very scant store to draw from, even of the ideas of others. Such minds resemble second-hand junk-shops. The sermons drawn therefrom are a wearisome patchwork, made up of thoughts and ideas disconnected; aged but not venerable; worn out by having been said a thousand times before; dressed in a garb of insufferable phrases, old and hackneyed; platitudes with the green mold clinging to them.

And yet such sermons are generally prefaced by a commiseration of sectarian preaching and by thanks to heaven that Elders in this Church are required to take no thought about what they shall say. Is it not the case of the Pharisee and publican over again? Is it not like saying in effect: "O Lord, I thank thee that I who take no thought am a fit vessel for thy inspiration, and that I am not like yonder publican (or sectarian) who doth meanly grub among books and men for thoughts and ideas"? . . .

. . . Suppose [there is] a good man (goodish is a better term), one who prays earnestly the prayer of habit, who pays his tithes, etc., but nevertheless one who, in spite of all these good qualities, is mentally lazy. What will be the quality of his sermon? Whom shall we praise or blame for it?

I answer this question only for myself. I cannot think of a more profitless hour than that spent in listening to an aimless speaker; whose "remarks" are spread out from Dan to Beersheba, and actually touch nothing but the peaks

of thought; whose worn-out generalities one sees with dread afar off, as one by one they come, each caused by the speaker's stumbling upon some familiar word, which like a stone in the road, bobs up in the distance and throws the discourse into a rut.

The weary length of these ruts must be painfully familiar to Latter-day Saints. Occasionally one is beguiled into an idle curiosity as to whether there will be a variation this time. But generally one is doomed to be disappointed; for the man that can inflict platitude after platitude upon a congregation, is not the man of sufficient mind-activity to draw new applications from old truths.

What is my duty, then? May I stay away from meeting? No; I will go, even though I know such a rambling talk is coming. The real blessing of a Sabbath meeting—the strengthening of one's determination and the renewal of one's covenants, which come from thoughtfully and prayerfully partaking of the sacrament—no preacher can take away. This received, I can sit back to an hour's punishment, if need be, and count it among the blessings of adversity.

A Side Talk.—And now one word to those of my brethren who will rise up and say this criticism comes from a disaffected mind and a fault-finding spirit. I am fully aware of the danger I run of being misjudged by thus speaking right out. I know, too, how a man's usefulness is crippled once it is believed he is "on the road to apostacy." Indeed, it is from fear of this misjudgment that ten men think what they will not say, where one man says what he thinks. Let those who doubt this, visit and talk confidentially with the multitude of Latterday Saints who now seldom go to meeting. For myself, let me say, it has given me no pleasure to handle without gloves what I regard as a serious abuse. But the chapters I still have in view on preaching necessitate the establishing of clear-cut views on the points I have discussed. I might have used language so polished in phrase and distant in meaning as to arouse no objection; but this would have left the matter untouched, and burdened the pages of this book with empty words. For the present, then, let my candor and bluntness count for evidence of honestly and sincerity.

Effect of Aimless, Rambling Sermon.—But after all what matters any one's opinion? The question still remains. An aimless, rambling sermon is or is not profitless; it is or is not inspired by God. Perhaps it will help us to decide by watching its effect upon any congregation. Among the portion that sleep, some of whom are on the stand, may be counted here and there leading members of the ward. Of the portion awake, the majority show the leaden eye and lackadaisical expression, which, were it in the school-room, would be the agony of a teacher accustomed to sparkling attention. There remains then the third class, the punished few, who have been vainly trying to gather and combine something from this aimless scattering. These you can generally tell by the squirming way they have of trying to fit their seats. After meeting, go and have a confidential chat with one of them. You will be edified; or, if you are of the goody-good kind—shocked.

Are all Sermons Inspired?—Be patient, kind reader. I am almost through fault-finding—at least on this particular subject. To what purpose, it may be asked, is the objection against studying how to preach, discussed from so many points of view, and illustrated by such a variety of phases? Chiefly that we as a people may choose intelligently between these two alternatives:

First. 'That every Elder is inspired who first asks for the faith of the Saints and then launches out on a sermon.' Those members of the Church who still persist in clinging to this fiction will sometime have these very curious consequences to reconcile:—

a. No matter how scattering or irrelevant the sermon, being inspired, it is as God would have it; consequently,

b. Those who felt punished in listening, and those who staid away to avoid hearing it, must be accounted on the highway to apostacy, since they find fault with what is inspired.

c. The only ones, then, who are really benefited by the sermon are those who slept and those whose minds wandered; that is to say, those who did not hear it (which is doubtless true).

Now, Mormons who are capable of swallowing the above proposition, will, I have little doubt, also be able to stomach the consequences I have named. They may moreover defend themselves by these most excellent reasons: (1) Such a belief is likely to leave one free from those disquieting aspirations for something nobler and better, which disturb the serenity of those respectable people who are satisfied with good enough. (2) It will tend to keep up the prestige and reputation of antedated preachers and so enable these good men to live and die with exalted opinions of themselves. (3) It is an admirable device for thinning out congregations and thus cutting down the burden of building new houses (during these hard times).

All Sermons Not Inspired.—In spite of these reasons however, I very much fear that most Latterday Saints will be likely to believe,—

Second. 'That the Lord is ever ready to inspire a speaker provided he has complied with the conditions of such inspiration; and consequently, that if he has not thus complied, he speaks from the fulness or emptiness of his own head.' This proposition also leads to some important consequences:—

a. Latterday Saints will occasionally feel at liberty to characterize a sermon with the same force and brevity that they speak of a mismanaged, weed-grown farm, and not fear that their standing may be misjudged on account of doing so. It seems to me a healthy rule to count that charity misplaced which fosters the evil it feeds, be it beggary or bad preaching. There was a time, not long ago, when most of our school rooms were filled by just such inattentive, sleepy gatherings as I have been trying to portray. Would they not have remained so till now, had the teachers been covered by the charity so unwisely thrown round our Elders? Let us not fear a healthy public awakening on this point. Marvels will grow out of it, for—

b. Stereotyped preachers will break through their shells and begin to grow again. Young men will feel that the first qualification of a preacher is to know something, to feel something, and to think something. Elders who refuse to learn the lesson will at least, out of very shame, forbear to inflict upon the congregation the hackneyed phraseology of musty memories. Thus,

c. Preaching will be made a study both as to subject matter and method of delivery, just as teaching has already been; and equally good results may be expected to follow. If the teacher has found the secret of interesting little children, let not the preacher despair of finding the way to interest grown-up children.

Warning: Labels Can be Hazardous to your Health

VAL D. MACMURRAY

While serving as a High Councilman in a State Social Services Program, I often met with church members who labeled themselves in a variety of ways: "I'm depressed," "I'm certain I've got a split personality," "I'm schizophrenic," and the like. One label I found to be frequently misused or inappropriately applied was *homosexual*.

We all use labels to help us classify, categorize and organize our world and our perceptions of ourselves and others. Labels also help us simplify very complex ideas and the conceptions we may have of others. So when we say, "He is a smart, dependable child"; "She is the responsible one in our family"; "She is the tender heart"; or "He's the cut-up," we instantly have a way of thinking about or categorizing that person.

Although labels have apparent usefulness in helping us organize and understand ourselves and others, all labels are limiting—even ones that may appear to be positive (e.g., "Bob works well with his hands" may be used in such a way as to ignore other skills or abilities he may possess). But some labels have especially negative consequences for ourselves or others.

To an individual who may be discouraged or who has a poor self-image, the label may be the only identity he can clearly see. If this happens, behavior will often be directed towards maintaining that identity. Labeling can provide unfortunate cues for persons who use the label to describe others. For example, "He is a homosexual" not only describes presumed past activity, but it includes an implied judgment about future behavior. Therefore, the label may be a kind of self-fulfilling prophecy.

There is a confining cycle that breeds the labeling process itself: (1) Because of a thought, fantasy, or a brief encounter, an individual labels himself/herself; (2)Through self-fulfilling prophecy or expectations of others, behavior may conform to thoughts or feelings; (3) These actions confirm the feelings and inner thoughts even more; (4) Commitment to a life style begins to emerge; and (5) Once regular behavior occurs, it becomes more difficult to break the cycle.

From hours of consultation it appears to me that the use of labels such as *schizophrenic, psychotic* and *homosexual* have worked against the individual and have had little if any diagnostic value and essentially no therapeutic usefulness. In fact, it occurs to me that the labeling process may help to explain the development of particular emotional or learning disorders. (For example, I think the detrimental effects of labeling constitute a large part of the controversy surrounding the use of I.Q. tests. Teachers look for, expect and reinforce behavior which support the I.Q. rating.)

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I have had young people between the ages of 14 and 26 come into my office already defining themselves as homosexual or asking if they were. I believe that in these cases the homosexual label may be deceptive, distracting from the real problem the person may be experiencing. The fact is that there are few non-negative alternative labels, and I suspect this contributes to our inability to discuss sex in an open and frank atmosphere. I want to add here that to change or dispel negative attributions of the "homosexual" label, a therapist is not always required. A therapist is used in some cases because a client may be too ashamed to check the validity of his perceptions with his friends and authority figures. Many times a trusted friend, counselor, teacher or parent can dispel the shame and lead the person to correct interpretations.

I believe there is a desperate need in our culture (American, but especially Mormon) to rid ourselves of the negative attributions which lead to the "dysfunctional" consequences that keep people from talking about homosexuality. We must defuse the term by being more open and less negative so that people will be willing to discuss "homosexual" problems with qualified counselors, and parents, friends, or bishops. These people, in turn, will be able to react with love rather than with horror, disgust and fear.

Over a relatively short period of time, by consistently and frequently replacing incorrectly applied labels with definitions containing less negative attributions, I have seen people leave my office with a greater awareness of the cause of their "pain" and thoroughly convinced of their heterosexuality.

President Spencer W. Kimball in his paper, "New Horizons for Homosexuals," warns against the acting out of homosexual interests or desires.* He poignantly argues that such acting out only commits the actor to more fully and completely defining himself or herself as a homosexual. I would argue that once an individual begins to *act out* feelings, then it becomes more difficult to resolve heterosexual problems. The individual then develops feelings and behavior that will make it extremely difficult for him to mature into a heterosexual life style.

If one drops the label of "homosexual," his or her chances for breaking this chain are far greater. I would argue further that change will occur only if new definitions replace negative attributions. If, rather than defining oneself as homosexual, one simply defines himself as a person with difficulties in relating to the opposite sex, the focus shifts to the learning of adequate social skills appropriate for normal male-female contacts and for the deepening of relationships.

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* Kimball, Spencer W., *New Horizons for Homosexuals*, Deseret Press, 1974, pp. 5–8.

REVIEWS

Equality and Plain Living

JAMES CLAYTON

Building the City of God, Community and Cooperation Among the Mormons. By Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz Y. Fox and Dean L. May. Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Company, 1976. 497 pp. including nine appendices, illustrations, maps, and footnotes. $7.95.

In 1831 Joseph Smith announced the Law of Consecration and Stewardship. This law was revealed, according to the Prophet, to establish the social and economic basis of the Restoration on the same scriptural foundations as existed in Biblical and Book of Mormon times, to comply with the Lord's commandment that "it is not given that one man should possess that which is above another," and to lay the economic groundwork for the Second Coming.

The authors of *Building the City of God* suggest that there were also more practical reasons for this revelation. They argue that 1) the Prophet wanted to offer an alternative system of communal living which would appeal to Sidney Rigdon's recently converted and communitarian following in Kirtland, Ohio; 2) this new revelation—by dividing up the property on the basis of need—would provide the means of attracting poor members from New York to Ohio, the new center of the Church; 3) the revelation would also help provide for the temporal needs of Church leaders; and 4) provide an effective refuge from the socially disintegrating forces of Jacksonian America.

In theory, the Law of Consecration and Stewardship required faithful members of the Church to deed to the bishop *all* of their property, both personal and real. In return the member received an inalienable stewardship based on need determined jointly by the member and the bishop. At the end of each year all surplus was to be turned back to the bishop. This arrangement placed the use of virtually all investment capital in the hands of the Church, while still allowing the profit motive to function relative to the stewardship. By encouraging plain living and relative equality, and by dispensing with

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the ever pressing need for charity, the consecration principle also maintained maximum control of the membership by the leadership and, if practiced effectively, discouraged worldliness.

The Law of Consecration and Stewardship was never effectively and only briefly practiced. Persecution, frequent moves, too few good stewards and problems inherent in the doctrine itself, e.g., diminished incentives, insufficient doctrinal details, questionable legality, caused the practice to be abandoned in 1834. Thereafter a series of "inferior" formal and informal systems based on this ideal were introduced at Far West and still later by Brigham Young in a surprisingly large number of Great Basin communities. Even the current Welfare Plan and food storage program have some important roots in this initial revelation, according to these authors.

Perhaps the most successful of these later "experiments"—which came to be known as the United Order—was at Orderville in southcentral Utah. From 1874 to 1885 this small, poor, but marvelously unified village came as close as anyone ever did to the ideal pronounced in 1831. Their dedication was truly impressive. In part they succeeded because they had already failed together once before in Nevada, and because they had little more to lose. But in the end they, too, could not survive the polygamy raids of the mid-1880's or the desire for the greater affluence that surrounded and enticed the young of even that isolated settlement.

Most of the other successes were to be found in the widely dispersed southern settlements (with the notable exception of Kanab). The northern Utah communities were older, more established in their ways, and apparently less pious. Their general experimental contribution was the economic "cooperative," which supplemented but did not supplant the usual private economic activities of its members. The Brigham City cooperative represented the model and the acme of northern achievement, but even on this less intense foundation the coming of the railroad and the desire for "finer fabrics and footwear than could be produced at home" also caused Brigham City to go the way of Orderville. In the end the Church's attempt to preserve its unique but crumbling communitarian system against the onslaught of the spiritually disintegrating forces of 19th century capitalism fared no better than the Church's attempt to preserve polygamy.

If 19th century Mormon communitarianism was a failure, this book is not. Superbly researched and broadly conceived, *Building the City of God* is one of the best books within the genre of the New Mormon History. It will be a standard against which the multi-volume Mormon history series will be measured when these begin to appear. It is free from polemics, written with sympathetic detachment, and should interest everyone who wants to understand the Mormon past.

Those who try and fail are admired for their efforts while the reasons for failure are clearly and honestly faced. Unlike those who would manipulate our past so as to build faith in what is not true, the authors of *Building the City of God* are frank to show that Brigham Young was not always willing to practice what he preached, that Erastus Snow believed Brigham Young's United Order was more an experiment than a commandment and that John Taylor was glad to see the experiment die when Brigham Young died.

Sometimes, when asked for specific advice from the southern communities, Church leaders equivocated and straddled the issue; at other times their advice was both specific and wise. One of the more sobering findings of Brothers Arrington, Fox, and May, is that despite considerable sacrifice, little spirituality actually resulted from the northern experiments, and in the large urban centers of Ogden and Salt Lake the order was patently unworkable.

I have only two minor criticisms to offer. First, the closer one gets to the present the less objective these writers seem to become. The standards of criticism so clearly evident in the 19th century are not so clearly evident when discussing current leaders and programs. Unlike the earlier period, there are no disagreements among living General Authorities, no mistakes or inconsistencies in current doctrine and all seems well in Zion today. I believe that I understand the reasons for this scholarly hesitancy, but they are not so compelling for a reviewer as they are for an author. Second, including a discussion of the Church's Welfare Plan of the 1930's and contemporary food storage programs—which comes decades after the demise of the last United Order—stretches the concept of the original stewardship idea a bit far. There is not the slightest desire to achieve greater economic equality within the Church today, and cooperating with the secular government which was then attempting to destroy the Kingdom is hardly what the Mormons of that day had in mind. Nor is the "sharing of burdens" in depressed times an exclusively Mormon idea. Any Christian—indeed any American—could easily participate in the Church's welfare programs today. But even the most devout Mormons far removed from the thrust of capitalism were unable to make a go of the truly radical notions of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young. Comparing the demise of the stewardship principle with the contemporaneous demise of the polygamy principle would have been, to my mind, a much more interesting and historically defensible undertaking than trying to tack current efforts onto experiments long since discontinued.

Despite these shortcomings, *Building the City of God* must be judged a signal achievement which ranks among the very best books about Mormonism written in the past several years.

Artful Analysis of Mormonism

DENNIS L. LYTHGOE

The Story of the Latter-day Saints. By James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, in collaboration with the Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Company, 1976. xi + 722 pp. Notes and Index. $9.95.

Since its 1922 publication, Joseph Fielding Smith's *Essentials in Church History* has been regarded by Mormons as the standard one volume account. Even

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though it was continually expanded and up-dated through 28 editions (most recently in 1973), it retained obvious defects. In the words of Leonard Arrington, Church Historian, it is "theologically oriented," and primarily an account of "the recurring conflict between the Church and its 'enemies,' " with "no attempt to relate Mormon history to contemporary national developments." When President Smith died in 1973, Church officials and Deseret Book Company requested that the Church Historical Department prepare a history that would meet the same needs as *Essentials*. With the approval of the First Presidency, Arrington appointed James B. Allen, Professor of History at Brigham Young University, and Assistant Church Historian, and Glen M. Leonard, a Senior Historical Associate in the department to prepare the history. The result is the most important volume yet produced in the new Mormon history. *The Story of the Latter-day Saints* has been received so enthusiastically by Church members that at this writing, it has sold more than 20,000 copies.

Perhaps the authors' most scholarly contribution lies in their artful analysis of Mormonism within the context of American history. For instance, they perceptively treat the "Mormon Question" in politics in relation to national concerns, particularly the Know-nothing and Republican Parties. As professional historians and active Mormons, the authors have achieved a remarkable blend of the scholarly approach and the religious story. When recounting an event of religious significance, they are careful to speak as historians, "according to Joseph and Oliver," and "according to Joseph's account." They do not feel constrained to bear testimony, and yet they demonstrate an empathy toward Mormonism that could only emanate from devoted members. It is a pleasing balance.

In refreshing contrast to Joseph Fielding Smith's morality play, Allen and Leonard freely and frequently describe the Saint's imperfections, concluding, for instance, that they were not without blame in early persecutions. Although somewhat textbookish, the narrative flows smoothly with a consistent style. The interpretation, on the other hand, is curiously inconsistent. Due to Allen's special research, the treatment of the First Vision must be regarded as progressive, even though it does not include an examination of the various accounts. In what may be a surprise to some Mormons, the authors note that Joseph Smith stopped recounting the story very early because of his desire to protect sacred things from contempt.

An especially refreshing approach is made to the translation process of the Book of Mormon, the authors suggesting that words did not miraculously appear, nor did a literal translation pop into Joseph's mind. Rather, "he was forced to concentrate deeply, attempting to determine the meaning for himself, and once he had the idea correct, he would know by a divine confirmation that he was right." Noting that ideas are expressed differently in different languages, the authors claim that the best translations "always carry the marks of the translator himself, who inevitably uses certain idioms and expressions characteristic of his training and background." As a result, the language of Joseph Smith's time and the grammatical problems he possessed also appear in the Book of Mormon, especially in the first edition. The only disappointing aspect of this enlightening discussion is the authors' annoying decision to "pass the buck" for the interpretation, prefacing it with

"many Latter-day Saints conclude . . ." Unfortunately, this awkward propensity to avoid ultimate responsibility for interpretation pervades the work.

The authors treat Martin Harris' delivery of the Book of Mormon manuscript fragment to Charles Anthon realistically, suggesting that Anthon probably could not verify the translation, and that Harris may have read too much into what he said. With respect to the Book of Abraham, the authors admit that the papyrus fragments discovered in 1967 were not part of the Abraham text. But plausibly, they suggest that the scrolls themselves may have been "catalysts that turned Joseph's mind back to ancient Egypt and opened it to revelation on the experiences of Abraham." With perception, they conclude that when applied to Joseph Smith, "the term 'translator' thus has a special meaning."

The authors tastefully compare the temple endowment with Masonic ritual, suggesting that "many parts of the endowment can be seen in ancient religious ceremonies," but that the meaning remains a distinctive part of Mormon faith. They are equally frank and evenhanded in their treatment of polygamy, tracing its beginning to 1831, and suggesting that Joseph Smith "may have begun taking plural wives as early as 1835." Even though they cannot resolve it, they briefly refer to the very sensitive issue of whether Joseph lived as husband with any of his plural wives. Allen and Leonard correctly acknowledge that "probably between 10 and 14 percent of the families in pioneer Utah" practiced polygamy, instead of the stereotyped two or three percent most Mormons are programmed to believe. Even so, many of the pioneers avoided polygamy, and those who entered it usually stopped at wife number two. The authors' explanation of the Manifesto exemplifies both the insistent pressure of the federal government and the firm Mormon belief in revelation. Said Wilford Woodruff: "The Lord showed me by vision and revelation exactly what would take place if we did not stop this practice." These are issues that are rarely covered in the usual "church book," let alone with the insight evident here.

On the other hand, the authors are disappointing on a number of other important facets of Mormon history. One noticable weakness is their unenlightened description of the Mountain Meadows Massacre. First attributing the murders to "an angry band of Indians and a few overzealous settlers," (an unfortunate phrase reminiscent of Nixon's overzealous lieutenants), they claim that it is "difficult to ascertain" just "exactly how the tragedy occurred," a mysterious conclusion in light of Juanita Brooks' definitive work. Of the Mormons involved, only John D. Lee is considered worthy of mention, and even then his true role is not delineated. It is not made clear that he was executed in later years as an obvious scapegoat, or that two stake presidents, William H. Dame and Isaac Haight escaped punishment even though they played key roles in the development of the massacre.

Another disappointment is the authors' decision to virtually ignore slavery as it related to Mormon history. They just barely mention the "Free People of Color" controversy in Missouri, and do not bother to cite the presence of slaves in the first pioneer migration to Utah in 1847. What happened to Green Flake, Oscar Crosby, Hark Lay, or the most famous black priesthood holder, Elijah Abel? Finally, Allen and Leonard erroneously characterize the denial of the priesthood to the black as the consistent policy of the Church.

Other notable examples of under-treatment are the analysis of the Godbeite movement; the seagulls and the crickets; the Gold Rush and its effect on the Mormon economy; and the transfiguration, which they do not even acknowledge by that name. They cite only Wilford Woodruff's recollection of the event when he described Brigham Young speaking in the voice of Joseph Smith. Actually, George Q. Cannon gave a much more revealing account, claiming that Young both sounded and *appeared* like Smith, and B.H. Roberts in his *Comprehensive History* asserted that many prominent brethren described it similarly. It would be interesting to know if Allen's and Leonard's research convinced them otherwise.

In spite of these shortcomings, the *Story of the Latter-day Saints* must be judged as a milestone—a refreshing, readable narrative which every Latter-day Saint should not only own, as an indispensable addition to his library, but should read with enthusiasm. Its bibliography, with few exceptions, is beyond reproach, and undoubtedly the most complete yet published on Mormon studies. Many ideas and discoveries from a wide variety of useful articles in *Dialogue, BYU Studies, Journal of Mormon History,* etc., are placed here under one umbrella. Allen and Leonard have made a giant contribution to Mormon studies, and at the same time offered an impressive preview of the susquicentennial history to come.

Taking Them Seriously

ELOUISE BELL

Mormon Sisters: Women in Early Utah Emmeline Press Limited: Cambridge, Mass. 1976. 283 pp, including index. Hardback $7.95 and Paperback $4.95.

Edited by Claudia Lauper Bushman, founder of *Exponent II, Mormon Sisters* covers sizeable ground: articles about women as mystics and healers, midwives, schoolteachers, politicians, feminists; selections dealing with individual women (like Eliza Snow and Susa Young Gates); analyses of women as characters in Mormon fiction. Although the quality of the writing is uneven, the book is certainly scholarly enough for the classroom, readable enough to be enjoyed by those long absent from the classroom and important enough to be read by all Mormons. I would welcome *Mormon Sisters* even if it were no better than mediocre in style and technique. Happily, it is better than that. Now the question is, "How may it best be used?"

Bushman begins her preface by explaining that the book emerged after a group of Mormon women "began to meet together to discuss their lives." For LDS women who have been thinking off and on about meeting with other women and "discussing their lives," *Mormon Sisters* offers a fine point of departure. (Given our cultural shibboleths, it is easier to tell friends you are going to a "study group" than to a "consciousness-raising session.") Such

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a study group might begin with Judith Rasmussen Dushku's "Feminists," pausing on such statements as "Neither vicarious influence nor coat-tail salvation was sufficient for the Latter-day Saint woman," or "Emmeline Wells was particularly concerned with the constraints of the pedestal." Or they might ponder together "Fictional Sisters," by Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, who catalogues Mormon women in early fiction as Earth Mothers, Amazons, Pandoras, or Virtuous Victims.

But the study group is only one unit that might profit from *Mormon Sisters*. Families, especially those with daughters, could use this book as a source of models of faithful Church women, enriching family home evening by giving their girls details from the lives of women who exemplified the highest gospel standards. Similarly, anyone planning a church talk could draw upon the book for fresh examples and faith-promoting stories about women. Currently, most of our stories and anecdotes in church meetings are about men simply because we have not had available in any detail the history of our women.

The book could be used to a similar end in Primary classes, and in Young Women's classes, when examples of faith, courage, perserverance and sisterly kindness are required. Relief Society "mini-classes" or other lessons built around the history of our pioneer foremothers seem not only appropriate but overdue. Seminary and institute classes in Church History and other subjects surely need to be updated to include material such as that found in *Mormon Sisters*.

Youth conferences, and in particular, Young Women and combined YW-Relief Society conferences could plan meaningful workshops around one or several of our great early-day women, or around a theme suggested by this material. *Mormon Sisters*, with its small fortune of information, would allow workshop leaders in such cases to "get beneath the sunbonnets," to use Maureen Ursenbach Beecher's expression—to flesh out the heretofore one-dimensional pictures we have had of these early sister saints.

And certainly a number of college courses, particularly but not exclusively taught at BYU, Ricks, and the BYU-Hawaii campus, not only could but *ought to* investigate the possibility of using *Mormon Sisters*. Classes dealing with Western American History, the settlement of the West; classes of all sorts in women's studies; literature courses dealing with Western Literature—all of these have a responsibility to take into account the role and contribution of the 19th century Mormon woman. Certainly *Mormon Sisters* is not a definitive text for such classes but it is a place to start, a reference point. With its useful Chronology, Reading List, and Bibliography of Mormon Novels, it is assuredly a helpful tool.

Claudia Bushman and her Boston circle of "Mormon Sisters" have made an important contribution to our LDS culture. Perhaps their claim to have "made history while making history" overstates the case just a bit, but at this point in our history I believe we will lose more by underestimating, rather than overestimating, the significance of this work. I hope *Dialogue* readers give serious thought to studying the book, and to using it in some of the ways suggested, or in ways of their own devising. Only such a response will convince Bushman & Co. and other prospective writers that we, like Leonard J. Arrington, "take them seriously"; only such a response will assure us that other books on this crucial subject will be forthcoming.

"And It Came to Pass"

EDNA K. BUSH

The Book of Mormon. Independence, Mo.: Herald House, 1966, 374 pp. $5.50, pb $1.00; New York: Family Library, Pyramid Publications, 1973, 374 pp. pb $1.75.

Most Latter-day Saints probably would be surprised to learn the Book of Mormon is available in modern English and has been for over a decade. More recently the 1966 RLDS "reader's edition" has been republished in paperback by Pyramid Publications and is now turning up at local bookstores. This latest edition is not designed to be attractive to Mormons, for many will be put off by the Pyramid cover—purple and emblazoned with a golden, winged, bosomed angel which appears to be taken from the frontispiece of Pomeroy Tucker's 1867 *Origins, Rise and Progress of Mormonism.* One can imagine with what narrowed eyes Moroni must view this depiction. (The angel is not on the Herald House paperback.) Equally disquieting is the prominence given by Pyramid to Marcus Bach, PhD, of the "Foundation for Spiritual Understanding" whose foreword invokes "paranormal research" and "divination through 'stones and bows.' "

The reader who overcomes these initial obstacles will be pleasantly surprised at the quality of the RLDS work. The three editors—Chris B. Hartshorn, Audrey Stubbart, and Paul Wellington—have successfully and inconspicuously enhanced the readability of the narrative without doing violence to the original text or meaning.

The vast majority of editorial changes are straightforward and obvious. Previously, similar minor changes, on a more limited scale, have been introduced into both RLDS and LDS editions. Archaic forms have been eliminated (verbs lose "th" endings; "yeas," "nays," and "untos" disappear; "durst" changes to "dared," "wroth" to "angry"; and "thee" and "thou" become "you" except when deity, angels, or royalty is addressed). Punctuation has been updated and standardized. Some lingering grammatical errors also have been corrected.

Most noticeable to readers familiar with the Book of Mormon is the deletion of over a thousand "it came to pass's." Only the twenty percent judged by the editors to refer to the actual passage of time were retained. Less readily apparent, but numerous, are clarifications (through deletions, rearrangements, and simple additions), frequently in an attempt to eliminate redundancy after

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parenthetical asides. An example, one of over forty similar cases, is the following:

LDS Alma 17:26–27

26. [And] after he had been in the service of the king three days, as he was with the Lamanitish servants going forth with their flocks to the place of water, which was called the water of Sebus, and all the Lamanites drive their flocks hither, that they may have water—

27. [Therefore, as Ammon and the servants of the king were driving forth their flocks to this place of water,] behold, a certain number of the Lamanites, who had been with their flocks to water, stood and . . .

RLDS Alma 12:38

38. After he had been in the service of the king three days, as he was with the Lamanitish servants going forth with their flocks to the place of water which was called the water of Sebus (and all the Lamanites drive their flocks hither, that they may have water), behold, a certain number of the Lamanites, who had been with their flocks to water, stood and. . . .

In at least one such case something may have been lost in the editing. Mormon's redundancy *and* his emphatic concern may have been deleted in the following revision from Alma:

LDS Alma 23:6

6. And as *sure* as the Lord *liveth*, so *sure* as many as believed, or as many as were brought to the knowledge of the truth, through the preaching of Ammon and his brethren, according to the spirit of revelation and of prophecy, and the power of God working miracles in them—[yea, I say unto you, as the Lord liveth, as many of the Lamanites as believed in their preaching, and] were converted unto the Lord, never did fall away.

RLDS Alma 14:10

10. And as *surely* as the Lord *lives*, so *surely* as many as believed, or as many as were brought to the knowledge of the truth through the preaching of Ammon and his brethren, according to the spirit of revelation and of prophecy and the power of God working miracles in them, and were converted to the Lord never did fall away, for they became a righteous people.

Minor rearrangements of the text are common, and appear to have been made judiciously. For example:

LDS 1 Nephi 7:3

3. [And it came to pass that] I, Nephi, *did again, with my brethren, go forth* into the wilderness to go up to Jerusalem.

RLDS 1 Nephi 2:9

9. I, Nephi, *with my brethren, went forth* again into the wilderness to go up to Jerusalem.

Or, in another example:

Alma 43:19

19. And [when] the armies of the Lamanites saw that the people of Nephi, *or that Moroni, had prepared his* people with breast-plates and with arm-shields, [yea,] and also shields to defend their heads, and also they were dressed with thick clothing—

RLDS Alma 20:21

21. And the armies of the Lamanites saw that the people of Nephi, *had been prepared by Moroni* with breastplates, and with arm shields, and also shields to defend their heads; and also they were dressed with thick clothing.

At least once, as in the previous group of revisions, the editors have introduced a questionable change. Regardless of the proprieties of modern tact, one wonders at the wisdom of transforming "traditions of our wicked fathers" to "the wickedness of traditions of our fathers." The change was probably based on the precedent of Alma 23:3 (RLDS Alma 14:5). Occasionally the editors fail to correct rather obvious problems. LDS 1 Nephi 2:23-24 (RLDS 1 Nephi 1:57–58) still needs to be clarified—as has been done in the LDS German edition.

In a few instances words have been added to the text, generally only to identify more clearly a pronoun of ambiguous or distant antecedent. "They" of Mosiah 19:19 becomes "those who had fled with the king" (RLDS Mosiah 9:95); and "him" of Ether 14:10 becomes "him (the high priest)." A particularly intriguing addition is found in 2 Nephi 8:15 (an excerpt from Isaiah), in which the editors have added "that divided the sea" to make the verse agree with the King James and Inspired Version of the Bible. The verse now reads:

> "But I am the Lord thy God, *that divided the sea*, whose waves roared; the Lord of hosts is my name."

Some of the changes most startling to LDS readers did not originate with the reader's edition. In preparing the earlier 1908 edition of the RLDS Book of Mormon, the original Printer's manuscript was rechecked, and errors noted in the previous printed editions. As a result, a verse inadvertently omitted from Alma 32 was restored to the 1908 edition, and many single word changes were made: the more logical "joy" in place of "foes" in Alma 57:25, "beheld" for "blessed" (3 Nephi 19:25), and a number of others—including some mentioned by Stan Larson elsewhere in this issue as missing from LDS editions [see Stan Larson, "Textual Variants in Book of Mormon Manuscripts"].

Rarely, other word changes—apparently differing from both previous editions and the original manuscripts—have been made. Helaman 1:22, which formerly read, "were slain, *and* were taken, and were cast into prison . . ." has become ". . . were slain *or* were taken and cast into prison . . .", probably on the assumption—as noted by RLDS Church Historian Richard Howard—"that those slain would not also have been later imprisoned" (personal correspondence). One is inclined to agree. Also that Nephi was "resigned" (rather than "consigned") that these are my days . . ." (Helaman 7:9, RLDS Helman 3:9). In most cases an ambiguous word has been replaced by a more specific term—"reach" or "achieve" in place of "obtain," and "retract" for "recall" (the latter, in Alma 44:11, being a notable improvement). Discarded was the controversial but acceptable "adieu" of Jacob 7:27; it now reads, "farewell."

Perhaps the most daring word change is found in Alma 51:26 (RLDS Alma 23:32), in which the city of *Nephihah* becomes the city of *Moroni*. While one would prefer that such a major reinterpretation had been footnoted (it wasn't), the context supports this correction. Mormon had just completed a description of the battle for the city of Moroni, while the battle for the city of Nephihah is not dealt with until several chapters later. Reynolds, in his Book of Mormon *Concordance*, tried to reconcile the confusion over these names by postulating two cities of the same name; more recently J. Nile Washburn, in

his *Book of Mormon Lands and Times* also proposes an alternative but very convoluted reconciliation. Neither Reynolds' nor Washburn's explanation is very satisfactory in the context of Mormon's narrative. A "slip of the stylus," if such this be, might account also for Moroni's use of "Shiblon" in Ether 1:11–12 rather than "Shiblom" whose story is being told. (This also was corrected in the reader's edition.)

The clearest example of ancient "scribal errors" are the twenty or so instances in which a Book of Mormon writer corrects himself in mid-sentence: ". . . and thus we see that they buried their *weapons of peace*, or they buried the *weapons of war*, for peace" (Alma 24:19). Surprisingly, the reader's edition "corrects" only four such cases, and not the foregoing example. Also missed: ". . . being shielded from the *more vital parts of the body*, or the *more vital parts of the body being shielded* from the strokes of the Lamanites, by their breast plates . . ." (Alma 43:38).

While few if any significant criticisms can be directed at the RLDS editorial skill and judgment evident in their modernization of the Book of Mormon text, several minor lapses still need to be corrected. Beyond those suggested above:

•While repairing previous "typographical" errors, the reader's edition predictably introduced a couple of its own. (RLDS 2 Nephi 7:12, Helaman 2:23).

•The changes in punctuation, though generally beneficial, are sometimes more confusing than earlier versions. For instance, quotation marks are not used in a consistent manner, and occasionally are incorrect. One wonders why the editors did not eliminate double column text and simply inset the major quotations. Unscrambling the quotations in the Book of Mormon is not a simple task, of course, but when the 1966 RLDS edition moves into triple sets of quotation marks, the book ceases to be a "reader's" version.

•The dating in the footnotes applied to Ammon's search party is in error, as it is also in the LDS editions. Whoever originated these dates failed to take into account the episode was B.C., for the dates indicate the search party returned the year *prior* to its departure (cf. Mosiah 7:2, 21:22, 22:13, and 24:25).

•The RLDS index has not been updated to agree with the reader's edition. The introductory study plan has been revised to fit the new text, but contains errors (e.g., the statement that Christ's first and last appearances in ancient America were immediately after resurrection, without reference, for example, to his prior visit to Emer of the Jaredites, or his later visits to Mormon and Moroni.

•A statement in the preface by the RLDS First Presidency (p. xxii) incorrectly attributes to Mormon a quotation by Moroni.

Despite its shortcomings, the 1966 RLDS reader's edition of the Book of Mormon is an excellent work and a welcome addition. The editors, while devoting great care to the preservation of the literal meaning of the original text, have successfully enhanced the readability of this sacred writ. One hopes the modern English edition will help more Book of Mormon readers to a fuller understanding of its Gospel, and that the LDS Church will not be too long in bringing out its own reader's version, with chapter and verse divisions familiar to LDS members.

Anthology That Sings

REBECCA CORNWALL

22 Young Mormon Writers. By Neal E. Lambert and Richard H. Cracroft, editors; Provo, Utah: Communications Workshop, 1975

These five short stories and twenty-four poems are marked by talent, self-consciousness and unevenness. The stories are more consistently accomplished than the poetry, with one exception I will discuss later.

I began at the beginning with "I Just Don't Think That It's Such a Big Deal Any More" by Ann Doty, a story whose lithe prose caught me by surprise—there was a writer. Then I went to the end, to Kent A. Farnsworth's, "A Season and a Time," selected by the publisher as the best-written piece to have "a deep understanding of the message of Jesus Christ." It is beautifully crafted in setting and tone, specifically a Mormon story for its realistic, sensitive telling of a missionary's experience.

Three of the stories are about death. In many of the poems, too, there is self-conscious reaching toward serious themes of universal value. This does not lessen their legitimacy, but the price is the dazed, groping quality of a youth's response to death. What Peggy Wiseman's story, "Of Age," lacks in maturity, it makes up for in wry, sympathy-swelling understatement of an experience indigenous to youth—the gaining of independent judgment.

Disillusionment is another youthful theme—the frustration of doubt and a certain mournfulness that the trust of childhood has gone:

> I wish
> to heaven
> he had taken
> the queen's mad money
> and sailed right
> off the edge . . .

Susan Chock's "For Mary Frances . . ." suffers in citation, for its effect depends on a progressively pounding rhythm:

> There is a spirit here but I have lost it . . .
> . . . Now with cautious eyes I must
> discern it and dissect it, though I held it once
> within my hand, the sand
> unquestioning and warm.

("Prodigal" by Ann Doty gains in citation; it still has poignancy, but it needs editing and the metaphor has been used before.)

These are honest poems. Sometimes too honest, as Jed A. Bryan's ballad, "Sheep Crossing," in which two stanzas detail the collision of a train with a flock of sheep. (It would have made a fine short story—and an exercise in understatement.) Sometimes just right, as Cathy Gileadi's pregnant sonnet, with its awkward, cautious probings that raise more than the obvious

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wonderment. Sometimes only superficially honest, the writer barely taps his feelings and perceptions or strangles them in preachiness. The first stanza of Clifton Holt Jolley's "Mamo" does not suffer from this; blatantly preachy, the tone has definite artistic purpose—irritating and unjust though it may seem to any feminist. (What his poem does suffer from is splayed metaphor.)

I did not expect so many experiments with traditional rhyming. With one or two excellent exceptions, less restrictive verse proves more successful partly because it encourages precision. Take Giles H. Florence, Jr.'s regal tribute, "Nearly Blanched":

> North America's Southwest, nearly blanched, boasts
> A solitary land and a reserved nation—a landscape
> Whose face at incandescent
> day reflects the hue and hewn
> of its natives who have for centuries lived
> Among and on the holy mesolithic totems . . .

Later it is more vivid, but what first attracted me was the music; only once or twice does his ear fail, as in this line: "The sun-baked red rock rose-/ tinted natural Rushmores . . ." (I do not like the final intrusion of a supernatural symbol. The symbol is a provocative but small piece of irony and it destroys a beautiful piece whose meaning already encompasses the irony and much more.)

Here is a predictable rhythm which ruins some marvelous word-pictures about an unpredictable father:

> He gave us all it took to get along,
> Including bowls of laughter with the soup
> And closets full of teasing till we cried.

Put some surprise in that monotonous phrasing and "The Provider" by Bonnie Howe is an unsentimental, very moving portrait of a father. At least three other poems have the same problem—rhythm working against the intent of the poem—and in others the rhythm does not help. I still cannot decide if Linda Sillitoe has overdone the cumbersomeness of her "Still-life Study" of a plodding ancestor; the more I read the poem the less trouble I have with it.

There are poems that tickle the intellect—"The Gift" by Don M. Sharp., Jr., a picture poem, an epic in an apple—and "To Compose a Poem" by Stephen O. Taylor, with its almost-perfect ambiguity. Then there is Kris Cassity's "Every Man's Prayer"; senses and idea come together here, the images stringing like rosary beads into lines that chant toward a flash of impact with . . . something. "Blessed Jesus, Great and Good, save my wretched soul. Amen." (Never able to let a good "Amen" rest, I've begun to consider those images more closely and wonder if they aren't more symbolic than sensuous and if this doesn't limit the power of the poem. Maybe not.)

Other pieces are flatly unfinished. "Released," the fifth short story, is an unsatisfying attempt to get at the feelings of a bishop being released after a nervous breakdown—unsatisfying because the conflict has intriguing possi-ities but we are given only a surface glimpse and resolution of it. This is probably a case of writing about foreign experience, also writing about

thoughts rather than feelings or motives. "The Mustard Seed" by Bela Petsco is a more ambitious character study with evidence of real intent and some fine moments. But its point of view is confused; the problem might have been solved by either assigning the bishop knowledge short of omniscience to narrow the focus, or adopting an outside observer whose omniscience is plausible.

A frequent weakness is insufficient trust in the reader—or perhaps in the author himself. Note the tacked-on moral of "Fitzgerald, My Comfort" by Peggy Wiseman, which belabors an already labored point:

> Fitzgerald, whose few public ruffles
> Were polite and quite bloodless—
> Fitzgerald, my comfort—
> Fitzgerald
> More bitter for what he witheld.

Three of Jan Lalli's "Poems Too Short for Titles" suffer not from redundancy but pre-dundancy; she means to be writing proverbs. Some are appealing anyway, but ingenuity is no substitute for obedience, without which a poet limits her depth as well as her skill. Her fourth poem, "And he said he'd," proves that all but one or two elements of poetry can be ignored and the effect still be poetry—sort of. In fewer words than I need to analyze it, she draws images and drama out of imageless slang:

> And he said he'd
> kinda like to take
> me out
> and I said
> for a date
> and he said
> he guessed so
> and then
> I said
> all right . . .

One rule working here is rhythm, visual as well as spoken, which quickly brings this little monologue to a close:

> and we went
> out
> and
> came back
> very quickly.

Some of the straying from poetic motives can be blamed on the editors, who take pains to say:

> But above all the young writer must, in the face of all difficulties, remain true to the best that is in him, knowing all along that, at bottom, the feelings that stir in his heart stir in the hearts of all men. To concentrate on his own bruises, to be content with simple self-exposure as another failing human may touch our sympathy but not our spirit. To concentrate on his own heart, to work at self-expression as a struggling son of God may move us not only to hope, but to try. Pity is a good thing, but courage is better.

The advice is fine, but I wonder if it shouldn't be given elsewhere, perhaps at church or in a Nobel acceptance speech. Otherwise it will prove another of the difficulties for young writers.

Self-exposure is not simple. It is agonizing, artistically and personally, and it requires courage. If the self-searching is honest, increasing insight and control will follow, and that is about as affirmative an affirmation as could possibly be made about life and human nature. So far our unique Mormon insight into ourselves and eternity is more doctrinal than real. To impose on ourselves a voice that doesn't yet jingle in our bones will make us self-conscious and slightly dishonest, as it has some of the writers in this book.

But *22 Young Mormon Writers* is a pleasure-full volume that sings. It includes ingenuous pieces done with care and sensitivity, which are foil to a number of works that shine with sustained artistry. What these authors lack in substance they'll learn from their reading and observing. They need competent editors, alert readers, and chances to make mistakes. May there be more volumes like this one.

Canyon Eden

ROBIN HAMMOND

Never Past the Gate, by Emma Lou Thayne. Peregrine Smith, 1975. 239 pp. $7.95.

A serious novel about children usually is fascinating to adults. Emma Lou Thayne's first novel, *Never Past the Gate,* is a zestful story with a mature theme. Ostensibly a lighthearted, nostalgic narrative of a family's summer retreat, there are forebodings that this will be no ordinary symmer. It begins ordinarily enough in the summer of 1935. The Barton family (Father, Mother, hired girl Lena, Wid, James, Katie and Davy) are closing their Salt Lake City home for the annual move to their cabin in Armchair Canyon, twelve miles east of the city. They share the canyon with Mother's extensive family. Over the years the move has become almost ceremonial. The most important ritual is performed as they enter the canyon—each cousin cuts a notch in the canyon side of the gate and solemly swears "never past the gate" until fall.

For ten-year-old Katie Barton this summer begins like all the others. She rediscovers old haunts, discovers new ones, reluctantly surrenders others. She and her brothers and cousins create the best underground hideout ever, its detection-proof entrance through the floor of an abandoned truck cab. They build "bugs" (go-carts) and manage one wild, clandestine ride the entire length of the canyon. Their activities are spiced with secrecy. Mr. Davis, the canyon gatekeeper mustn't know about the bugs because they might damage his precious road. Mother has rigid ideas of propriety that require elaborate circumvention. Above all, the Enemy, an ominous unseen presence whose existence is revealed by the havoc he leaves in his path, must be thwarted.

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Katie feels that she will love this summer best of all. At first her expectations are realized. Many of the familiar traditions resume: the 24th of July hike to the Armchair and evening bonfire; Father's recital of the famous Old Hotel ghost story; Sunday School at Uncle Philip's; school sessions with Mother, designed to keep the children out of certain predictable mischiefs. Slowly, Katie observes some troubling differences. Cousin Isabel inexplicably declines to remove her shirt according to custom on the big hike and develops a baffling interest in freckle cream. Wid has lost interest in building moss villages. Since Katie is at an age that regards growing up as the worst possible fate, these changes make her uneasy.

Another cause for uneasiness is a sense of unexpected evil in the canyon. Everyone knows there is danger—rattlesnakes, for one thing. But evil had existed mostly in attributing an omnipresent menace to sad, blunderous Daniel Moon. It becomes shockingly real in the person of Mr. Davis, the omniscient gatekeeper. Before the summer is over, some of Katie's most frightening fantasies come alive. Snakebite, fire, suicide, disease and perversion have entered her experience. How she learns the difference between real evil and imagined evil is the central theme of the novel.

As my children would say, *Never Past the Gate* is a "wicked good" story. The lively antics of the Ruskin cousins are unfailingly entertaining. Katie is an appealing heroine, a beguiling mixture of tomboy and lady. The Barton family is close, warm and loving. At times the adult characters seem inhumanly wonderful. There is athletic, yarn-spinning Father with his easy sense of humor; a euphemistic, fearless Mother, controlled in crisis; a wise, understanding Grandma, reliable source of strength and comfort. Yet they are believable, well-drawn and likeable. Perhaps they seem better than life because we see them through Katie's uncritical eyes. Children generally are oblivious to the faults in adults they love.

Mr. Davis is the exception in this gallery of lovable adults. His pleasantly sinister presence is not unbelievable early in the book. However, there isn't sufficient motivation for his later transformation into a "dirty old man." The scenes at the fire and in his cabin are unconvincing because they seem contrived for dramatic effect. In a book that is otherwise notable for its authenticity, the climax simply doesn't ring true.

Emma Lou Thayne has a good ear for dialogue. Although she occasionally allows her young characters to speak a bit too poetically, these lapses are rare. She has the ability to take us into the children's absorbing world. This canyon Eden comes complete with gates, serpents, and fire, and in Armchair Canyon these overworked symbols take on new power.

It is refreshing to read about Mormons who aren't *Mormons*. The peculiarities of the Mormon faith are not dwelt upon. One feels that the Bartons differ from Southern Baptist Georgians or Congregational New Englanders in only minor detail. This affectionate portrayal of an exceptionally close-knit family that happens to be Mormon gives the book a universal resonance. *Never Past the Gate* holds the reader spellbound till the last day of summer.

For several weeks it appeared that "Dialag" was about to tarnish its well-deserved reputation. A general issue was at the printer's which gave every indication of being ready just three months after the last one! In the middle of an extended round of self-congratulations, however, we were dismayed to see that none other than Solomon Spalding had been not only exhumed but sent forth like El Cid, strapped to a shiny new horse. It was more than just the aggravation of another psuedo-scholarly assault on the Mormon past. Almost accidentally, our issue included a Book of Mormon cover and two thoughtful Book of Mormon articles by Stan Larson and John Sorensen. Where, people began to ask, was the article on Spalding? As media interest in what Mormons viewed as a historical curiosity continued to mushroom, our "omission" loomed large. The ringing promise to bring Dialogue out on time—no matter what—wavered, and we decided to delay it long enough to include some background on the Spalding theory which we hope our readers will agree was worth the wait.

Editor

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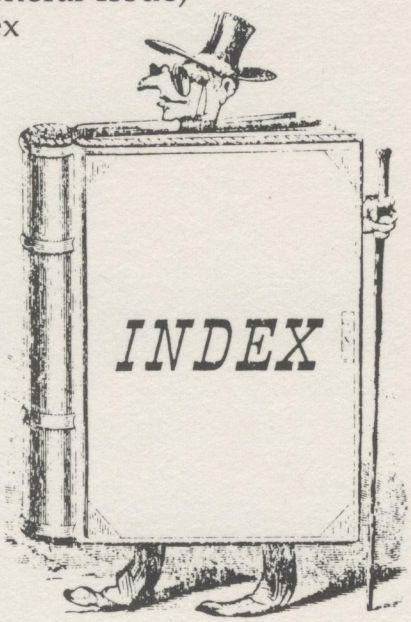

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