2018

Full Issue

BYU STUDIES QUARTERLY

INVOLVING READERS
IN THE LATTER-DAY SAINT
ACADEMIC EXPERIENCE

BYU STUDIES QUARTERLY

Vol. 57 • No. 3 • 2018

ARTICLES

ESSAY

POETRY

From the Editor

John W. Welch

I am once again pleased and proud to complete the production of this issue of *BYU Studies Quarterly* at the beginning of this fall season. These pages represent the harvest of another fine summer season of wonderful writing, reviewing, source checking, editing, and publication. Looking back over the past months and years, I speak for everyone in thanking all the extended family of scholars, friends, and supporters who have made this issue possible.

I am especially mindful of the crucial services provided voluntarily by the members of the BYU Studies editorial boards. These colleagues dedicate their time and keen critical eyes in directing the peer review process that vets and polishes all of the articles and reviews that appear in this journal, issue after issue. Without them, this scholarly LDS periodical would be nothing.

And so it is with special pleasure that I am very pleased to welcome Steven C. Harper as our new Editor in Chief. Steven comes with a host of wonderful personal talents, professional skills, and spiritual gifts. He has been involved with BYU Studies as an editor, author, and colleague for twenty-five years. We are all very excited to support and follow him going forward. Steve returns now to Brigham Young University from the Church History Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. There he has served most recently as a General Editor and the Managing Historian for the new history of the Church, *Saints: The Story of the Church of Jesus Christ in the Latter Days.*

Turning to the contents of this outstanding issue, we lead off with a powerful article by Tyler Johnson, an oncologist who uses the latest

technology in his practice of medicine. He warns about the dangers, both mental and spiritual, of the digital world that surrounds us. In keeping with the words of President Russell M. Nelson, inviting young men and women to go on a seven-day fast from electronic media, Dr. Johnson diagnoses from numerous clinical cases the ways in which relationships and revelation suffer if we become slaves to our devices.

Adding literary variety and vision to this issue, we publish here the first-place winner of this year's Richard L. Cracroft Personal Essay Contest. Patrick Moran sensitively ponders the difference between a journey and a commute.

In Royal Skousen's latest article, readers will find a compelling report of new conclusions coming out of his monumental Book of Mormon Critical Text Project. In these pages, Dr. Skousen conveniently describes some unexpected findings regarding the nature of English expressions that Joseph Smith dictated to his scribes. His technically precise data intriguingly enhances everyone's appreciation of the precise nature of the language of the Book of Mormon.

As BYU Studies will be releasing very soon a new biography of Martin Harris, written by historians Susan Easton Black and Larry C. Porter, we are pleased to present here a preview of this new book. The excerpt published in this issue tells of Martin's move as an elderly man from Kirtland, Ohio, to northern Utah in 1870, where he was rebaptized into the Church, of which he was an original member. The certificate of his rebaptism, printed for the first time on page 161 below, allows us to draw ourselves close to the return of this Witness who financially underwrote the publication of the Book of Mormon.

And speaking of recent books worth reading, this issue contains six full book reviews and six informative book notices. The dozen books discussed in this issue exemplify a constructive dynamic of harmonizing apparent divergences: art and history, unity and race, spirit and emotions, church and state, prophet and poet, science and religion, global unity and diversity, men and women, intellect and faith, and adobe homes in an urban setting. As I wrote in my first issue as editor of *BYU Studies,* one of the great strengths of the restored gospel is its ability to harmonize and transcend in a spiritual, intellectual, and practical unity elements that appear to be incompatible. Here, many of the traditional paradoxes are not viewed as competing opposites but as companions, unified through higher intents and purposes. "The objective is to embrace both."[1]

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1. John W. Welch, "Into the 1990s," *BYU Studies* 31, no. 4 (1991): 25.

My own documentary article in this issue publishes letters that shed new light on the last days of Joseph Smith's life. Letters delivered to three Iowa lawyers, written from Iowa on Sunday, June 23, 1844, reveal that one reason Joseph crossed the Mississippi River over to Iowa at about 2:00 AM was to have time and place to secure legal counsel for a trial scheduled for the next day in Carthage. Three Iowa lawyers would, in fact, successfully represent Joseph, Hyrum, and the Nauvoo City Council in that court proceeding at the county seat on Tuesday, June 25, two days before his murder there.

Finally, Noel B. Reynolds delves into the theological underpinnings of the gospel of Jesus Christ found in the Book of Mormon by examining three iterations of the covenantal blessings of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Dr. Reynolds shows the precise and complex dependencies of various Book of Mormon prophets on this foundation of Judeo-Christian religion.

In the end, looking back to Father Abraham, I hope that Noel's study will inspire all to reach for and embrace these promised blessings. May all be blessed, as Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were blessed, with the gifts of obedience, with faithfulness, and with revealed foreshadowings of the Savior. May the ram be there in the thicket for all as an unexpected gift found in their willingness to sacrifice and to be sacrificed. May all be blessed, as Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were blessed, with priesthood assurances, with guidance home from their wanderings, with protection as they endured trials, and with happiness as they, their wives, and their families worked hard to make and keep sacred eternal covenants. May all be blessed as heirs of the blessings of Abraham and thereby find everlasting joy and peace through the love and goodness of the Lord Jesus Christ.

Reclaiming Reality

Doctoring and Discipleship in a Hyperconnected Age

Tyler Johnson

Have we counted the cost?

While the many benefits of smartphones and the digital revolution they represent reveal themselves readily, I fear we fail to fully appreciate the toll they take.

My concerns echo those of past generations. Something about humanity's indomitable drive "to strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield"[1] has shepherded into the world a ceaseless cycle of technological revolutions. With each new wave of technology, some naysayers have bemoaned the passing era and looked with trepidation toward the future. Before the internet, we worried about the overpowering effects of television; in the early twentieth century, cultural critics lamented "talkies," radio, and the emergence of "mass culture"; and long before that, philosophers and religionists fretted over the advent of the printed word and the end of memorizing our most important ideas.[2]

I am acutely aware of this history and that current concerns over the internet's effect on society may seem like little more than a longing for a nonexistent golden yesterday. Still, I can't shake the sense that society's tectonic plates are moving beneath our feet in ways we will not fully

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1. Alfred, Lord Tennyson, "Ulysses," Poetry Foundation, https://www.poetry foundation.org/poems/45392/ulysses.

2. Nicholas Carr, *The Shallows: What the Internet Is Doing to Our Brains* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2010), 54, see also 69; Pamela Radcliff, "Defining Mass Society and Its Consequences," ch. 8 in *Interpreting the 20th Century: The Struggle over Democracy,* The Great Courses, https://www.thegreatcourses.com/courses/interpreting-the-20th-century-the-struggle-over-democracy.html.

appreciate for years, maybe decades. Some days it seems that "things are in the saddle, and ride mankind."[3] My persistent concerns persuade me to write them down.

But why should you care what I have to say?

Perhaps in part because I was born in 1980. This may seem a faint qualification, but hear me out. As a Xennial (not quite a Gen-Xer, not quite a Millennial), it's as if I moved to the digital world while I was young, but aware. I'm a passable—even well-camouflaged—resident, but not really a native. I may seem to overstate the effect of my exact age, but sociologists and demographers have made a similar argument.[4] My non-native discomfort keeps me keenly aware and grants me special insights into a culture I understand well but from which I will forever feel apart.

Beyond this, perhaps my strongest qualification is simply that the more I lean into the pursuits that matter most to me—evolving as a father and husband, doctoring, and discipleship—the more troubled I become. All around me I sense the effects of an infiltrating and nearly omnipresent technology that we often do not notice because it is our forest's trees.

My experiences as a doctor have been particularly poignant in this regard. Facing down existential threats with my cancer patients brings me enormous satisfaction and adds great depth and meaning to my life. Doctoring is a deeply spiritual pursuit and an integral part of my Christian discipleship. In this sense, my professional and spiritual lives feed off each other—and I see the internet affecting them both.

Don't get me wrong: the things my phone, in particular, does—and the speed and fluency with which it does them—stagger me. Without moving from my chair, I log into Facebook and look at photos of friends I have not seen for many years and watch birthday videos of a child born to a girl I taught in Mexico as a missionary. I watch my wife loop through the hills near our home in an app that tracks her training runs. I briefly log onto a webpage that contains the most up-to-date information on virtually every medical topic, and then I check my email to find

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3. Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Ode, *Inscribed to William H. Channing,*" Poetry Foundation, https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poems/45874/ode-inscribed-to-william-h-channing.

4. Anna Garvey, "The Oregon Trail Generation: Life before and after Mainstream Tech," *Social Media Week,* https://socialmediaweek.org/blog/2015/04/oregon-trail-generation/.

an important message sent to me just two minutes ago by someone across the country and flick off an instant response. Later, my wife sends a video showing me our youngest son's first steps, and I push a button on my phone and dictate an answer detailing my delight. Simultaneously, the nurse practitioner on my oncology team sends me a message detailing a chemotherapy calculation to which I work out the answer on my phone and respond within moments.

Beyond even these magical abilities, the advent of the internet and widespread access to smartphones have unquestionably affected our lives in broader ways as well. The internet has shrunk the world and forever changed commerce. It has opened our eyes—often in real time—to corners of the globe that previously would have remained largely obscure to us. It has made citizens into reporters and allowed access to information in ways unimaginable even twenty years ago.

All this frequently leaves me feeling like I've slipped into the wizarding world of Harry Potter, where I hold a kind of magic in my hands. My smartphone tidily represents the technological transformation I have witnessed over twenty-five years—from plodding, earthbound, ugly computers to beautiful, sleek, and efficient technological marvels. My iPhone has become my constant companion and my handheld portal into an endless world of wonder, efficiency, and possibility.

And yet.

I sense, too, that this technology is changing me from the inside out. Neil Postman memorably argued—some thirty years ago, in *Amusing Ourselves to Death*—that Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* should worry Americans much more than *1984* because we are hardly independent and bristle at the slightest forcible attempt to withdraw our freedoms (à la Big Brother). Lull us to sleep, however, and the matter changes entirely. Ply us with comfort, convenience, and pleasure, and you can enwrap us in spider strings that, woven together, become strong enough to lead us wherever those wily enough to master those enticements want us to follow (see 2 Ne. 26: 22).[5]

I fear that without noticing I may wake up one morning bound and mummified: a prisoner in my own Brave New World.

Part of me wonders, am I already there?

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5. Neil Postman, *Amusing Ourselves to Death: Public Discourse in the Age of Show Business* (New York: Penguin Books, 1985), xix–xx.

Part 1: Transformative Technology

Virtual Doctoring

I am not sure how concerned I should be, and I am not sure I want my patients to know, but having recognized it, I might as well say it: the internet now forms part of my brain.

I am a medical oncologist, which means I give chemotherapy to patients with cancer. Making appropriate and cutting-edge recommendations to my patients requires my staying abreast of an enormous, ever-changing body of medical literature. Keeping up with the constant flow of new information daunts me.

Consequently, I resort to the internet multiple times a day to fill in my knowledge gaps. Usually, this is a double-check. Sometimes, however, I simply don't know—especially if the question lies outside my narrowly defined specialty. Many years ago, this situation would have required consultation with an enormous medical encyclopedia or, heaven forbid, going to a medical library to leaf through a stack of journals. Now, however, print journals seem superfluous, and I sometimes wonder why brick-and-mortar medical libraries exist at all. I simply pull up one of a few trusted medical websites, punch in the magic words, and—*voila!*—the information I need appears.

What concerns me, or at least unnerves me, however, is the gnawing awareness that my relationship with online information is much more complicated and nuanced than it might at first appear. I wish I could believe that the things I need to look up online were encompassed in one tightly contained and contiguous area. Increasingly, however, I recognize it's not really like that. More and more, the borders between the information in my physiologic brain and that in my internet brain bleed into one another: sometimes I'm not sure which facts reside where.

When I was in medical school, I felt like I needed to know *all the things.* In retrospect, of course, I recognize the folly and hubris of thinking that would or could ever happen, but when the supervising physician on my team would pepper me with questions in front of a group of doctors, that was certainly how I felt. Compounding my insecurities, it seemed like everyone else on the team knew everything already anyway. When I didn't, I felt a twinge of shame. Increasingly, however, I sense not only that I don't know all of the things (that became glaringly obvious a long time ago), but that I'm not even really supposed to—at least not in the way I imagined ten years ago. Facts available in my internet brain, after all, don't need to also reside in my physiological brain—do they?

Technology has begun to infiltrate not just what I know but how I know it. I sense that the technological portion of my brain has become like a symbiotic tumor that is slowly spreading fingerlike projections into my cerebral cortex. I doubt I could remove it if I wished. Stranger still, I don't wish. I'm glad it's there. I'm not sure I could fully function without it.

Well, you might counter, *isn't that all for the good? If medical literature is as complex and vast as you describe, Dr. Johnson, shouldn't we be grateful that technology augments doctors' brains to allow them to access the entirety of the data when making medical decisions?* To this question, hesitantly, I answer *yes*. But even before the answer crosses my lips, it catches uncomfortably in my throat because I recognize that technology influences my doctoring in other ways too.

The internet also challenges my doctoring because it fractures my thinking. In hospitals where doctors are learning to doctor, "rounds" fill most mornings. Rounds are a complex didactic ritual where doctors-in-training marshal all the information they have gleaned about a patient into a formal presentation that they rehearse in front of a large group of medical professionals that includes other doctors-in-training of various classes as well as the "attending physician"—a senior doctor who leads the team and takes responsibility for the patient's care. As you might imagine, this process can be deeply stressful and also immensely powerful for teaching young doctors. When I first began to "round" eleven years ago, the iPhone had not yet been invented and its predecessors were poor enough that they did not seduce much attention. Now, of course, we live in the world of technological sirens like the iPhone X and the Google Pixel. As this technological evolution has unfurled, the very devices that so captivate us have increasingly and frustratingly inserted themselves into rounds (just as they have into almost all other classroom settings) so that now it is not uncommon to find medical students scrolling through various feeds while a doctor on the other side of the circle is presenting a patient, and many mornings the buzz of text messages and incoming calls punctuate the teaching process so frequently it can be hard to proceed in a meaningful and linear fashion. Before I get ahead of myself, however, I jump to admit I am the pot calling the kettle black. I recognize in myself that same fractured thinking—whereas ten years ago I could easily follow complex oral arguments (synthesizing a patient's history or arguing for and against a particular treatment) for hours on end, I note that this now requires greater sustained mental effort. I am accustomed to the online world, where I can and do jump

back and forth endlessly between apps and information streams. Focusing on just one line of thought for hours is increasingly difficult.

Perhaps the effect that worries me the most, though, is not how the internet is changing our doctoring brains, but the insistent way the digital world pulls us apart from our patients. Increasingly, the patient herself is the last place many doctors look for important medical information—after all, everything I need to know is in the electronic medical record. When I care for a patient in the hospital, I can arrive in the morning, and within about seven minutes I can ascertain everything that happened to the patient overnight, the results of all scans and blood tests from the last twenty-four hours, every vital sign since I last saw the patient, the opinion of every other doctor caring for the patient, and every note from a nurse or other practitioner, all without ever doing something so prosaic as dialing a phone, calling a colleague, or actually seeing the patient. Indeed, perhaps we shouldn't be surprised that this era has also seen the rise of the "virtual ICU," where a health-care professional is given patient data remotely and largely manages the patients' care from afar.[6]

This consolidation of information dramatically increases our efficiency, but at a cost. One of the country's best-regarded physicians captured this sense in his unforgettable essay, "Culture Shock," ten years ago.[7] In that piece, he described how there was a time twenty years earlier when a doctor caring for patients in the hospital spent virtually all her time caring for patients. Increasingly, however, the embodied patient has faded into a secondary role, largely replaced by a digital avatar. Doctors in training now spend more time in front of computers and less time engaging with patients. When we make "rounds" (as described above), it becomes more and more of a chore to peel the young trainees away from their computer screens to "round" in the first place; after all, "everything that matters" seems to reside in the computer anyway. All of this has led to a startling irony—many patients admitted to the hospital see nurses, physical therapists, dieticians, and many other health-care practitioners frequently but are left wondering where all the doctors have gone.

This, again, causes me deep concern. Technology was supposed to augment our ability to care for patients by routinizing the busywork

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6. "Anatomy of a Virtual ICU: Study Probes Teamwork among On-Site, Remote Staff," June 2, 2015, *VA Research Currents,* https://www.research.va.gov/currents/june15/0615-1.cfm.

7. Abraham Verghese, "Culture Shock—Patient as Icon, Icon as Patient," *New England Journal of Medicine* 359 (December 25, 2008): 2748–51.

that previously kept us from them. In an existential sleight of hand that is both ironic and disturbing, however, instead of freeing us, technology demands increasingly more of doctors' time.[8] While causality would be virtually impossible to prove, I am nonetheless struck that the digital medical revolution just preceded a wave of doctorly stress, burnout, and disengagement.[9] A profession that was once regarded by both the public and its practitioners as among the most noble of arts has recently seen diminishing public respect and a souring of its own doctors, with one recently and infamously labeling the practice of medicine "the most miserable profession."[10] Instead of carrying us to our patients, computers are carrying us away from them—we increasingly ignore the people in the beds to tend to the screens in our workrooms. Interacting with screens, it turns out—even if they are filled with important information—does not fulfill us doctors in the same way caring for people in beds does.

I was reminded of the potential seriousness of this toll on the very day I was preparing final edits to this essay. That afternoon, in the midst of a busy clinic, my team and I saw a woman with a serious cancer that had spread to her liver, lungs, and other organs. Diagnosed about a year ago, she had subsequently received from us a sequence of chemotherapy drugs that had so far kept her cancer at bay. Recently, however, she had grown sicker, and we suspected the chemotherapy was no longer working. Two days ago, she had a CT scan, and yesterday I reviewed it and saw that it clearly demonstrated her tumor had continued growing, in spite of the chemotherapy. This afternoon, we met in my office. We outlined the results of the scan, and, with the same unblinking stare with

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8. One might argue that the delivery of better patient care might validate the need for increases in documentation requirements. It would be relatively difficult to prove such improvements conclusively since a randomized controlled trial with this as an intervention would be very difficult (and, in any case, impractical since virtually all health systems either have moved or are moving *en masse* to using electronic medical records). These caveats notwithstanding, I am not aware of any conclusive evidence that the advent of electronic medical records in general—let alone the volume and complexity of documentation they currently require—has improved patient outcomes.

9. Carol Peckham, "Medscape National Physician Burnout and Depression Report," January 17, 2018, https://www.medscape.com/slideshow/2018-lifestyle-burnout-depression-6009235#3.

10. Daniela Drake, "How Being a Doctor Became the Most Miserable Profession," *The Daily Beast,* April 4, 2014, https://www.thedailybeast.com/how-being-a-doctor-became-the-most-miserable-profession.

which she has viewed me every two weeks for the last year, she asked me what this meant. I explained that we had no further chemotherapy to offer.

And so there we sat, face-to-face, as tears began to brim over her eyelids and stream in rivulets down her cheeks.

What scene could more effectively underline the ultimate impotence of modern medicine? The drugs I have given her over the last year are really little more than carefully controlled poison, poison we hope will harm the cancer cells more than the healthy ones. And now even the poison would not work anymore. There was nothing more I could offer.

And yet, how untrue that is.

Because in that tearful moment, it was as if the world stopped spinning around us, and we sat, her hand in mine, eyes locked, in silence, as she cried. This is the moment that makes doctoring doctoring. The day may well come when my brain is all but replaced by a machine whose stores of knowledge will be vast and whose ability to sift through information to compose a coherent plan will far exceed mine. Already, we live in a world of iPatients and virtual ICUs. But none of that has taken or ever will take away this most fundamental of human and doctoring moments—the instant where we sit together, facing an unconquerable illness, and where I say to her: *We are your doctors; we will always be here to care for you.*

What we must ensure is that technology does not so alter medicine and the people who practice it that they become either unable or unavailable to engage in these crucial moments.

At the end of the day, then, what am I to make of the ways in which technology has changed me as a doctor? As with any transformative force, there is no easy answer. Technology has expanded my knowledge but shallowed my thinking. It has streamlined my work but lured me away from the very people to whom I need to attend. I fear it has made me more knowledgeable but less wise, more efficient but less present, more capable but less compassionate, more machine and less me.

Hyperconnected Discipleship

It is not just in my doctoring, however, that technology is changing me. I likewise worry that technology profoundly affects the way I live out other aspects of my Christian discipleship.

Part of this is a prioritization problem. One of the internet's defining characteristics is its endless supply of what Elder Bednar called "digital

distractions, diversions, and detours."[11] Even a person steering clear of sinister content can find his life consumed by the thick of ephemerally thin things. While the internet offers substantive content, the online world's very design makes meaningful engagement with this content more difficult. Multiple studies have shown the vast majority of readers very rarely finish even a fairly simple online news article, let alone important long-form content that requires deep engagement over hours. Importantly, the problem is not a lack of meaningful information—you can just as easily access *The Iliad* or Shakespeare as you can BuzzFeed or 1,001 cat videos on YouTube. The problem instead is that the online universe is designed such that it makes the meaningful processing of long-form content more difficult. Hyperlinks are the order of the day, and each click on one transports a reader to a different online world. Thus, the internet isn't even content to allow us to peacefully peruse its own offerings—it is almost by definition a fractured and frenetic place where nearly constant pings, alerts, and interruptions intrude on whatever meaningful sustained engagement we might attempt there. It is as if the internet is a grocery store where the Doritos, Twinkies, and Swedish Fish are dispensed for free from bright bins just inside the door, while the fruits, vegetables, and whole grains are in the very back corner, hidden in an unmarked room.

Furthermore, the internet distracts us not only from the content we consume within its confines but also from the world around us; this sense that our phones increasingly invite us to devote significant time to insignificant things is not just anecdotal. Multiple studies show that the average adult checks her phone 80 to 160 times a day, and teens, especially, now spend some eight hours daily confronting a screen of some kind. Emerging data indicate this screen time may be linked to increased rates of teen depression,[12] and it is concerning if not diagnostic that, if a common screening test for alcoholism is applied to smartphone use,

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11. David A. Bednar, "Things as They Really Are," *Ensign* 40 (June 2010): 19, https://www.lds.org/ensign/2010/06/things-as-they-really-are?lang=eng.

12. Jean M. Twenge and others, "Increases in Depressive Symptoms, Suicide-Related Outcomes, and Suicide Rates among U.S. Adolescents after 2010 and Links to Increased New Media Screen Time," *Clinical Psychological Science* 6 (January 1, 2018): 3–17, https://doi.org/10.1177/2167702617723376. It is worth noting that the correlation seen in this paper did *not* persist if the depressive symptoms were compared to use of nonscreen activities (for example, reading a book or doing homework) and persisted even when controlling for other variables such as race and socioeconomic status.

virtually everyone I know would be classified as a phone-aholic.[13] Studies have even shown that we don't need to be directly engaging with an electronic device for it to sap our attention and presence; a phone buzzing on a table in a room where I am sitting distracts me even if I never touch it and cannot see its screen.[14]

And of course phones can be much more than just distracting.

I remember vividly sitting in general conference as a teen, before the internet's ubiquity, and listening to President Hinckley implore "any within the sound of [his] voice" to eschew pornography.[15] That advice was vital then but has become even more urgent in a world where the internet has facilitated the widespread dissemination of prurient content ranging from troubling to shocking to exploitative. In some ways, however, I worry that the manifest problems with pornography may lead us quietly and too contentedly to pass by other, perhaps even more pervasive, problems. This is because even though pornography elicits special concern through its sexual dimension, it is also the leading indicator of a broader problem with this brave, new virtual world: as we increasingly wander the endless halls of the internet's infinite maze, we can commensurately abandon the real world.

On the one hand, as I indicated in discussing the ways medical rounds have changed over the last ten years, our abandonment of the real world for a virtual one is changing the ways we think. In his unsettling book *The Shallows*, Nicholas Carr describes how the internet is robbing an entire generation of its ability to think deeply. Carr's preferred metaphors are those of scuba diving and waterskiing. Whereas previous

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13. A common, quick screening test for alcoholism is to ask patients the "C.A.G.E." questions: Do you feel the need to **C**ut down on your drinking? Have people **A**nnoyed you by criticizing your drinking? Have you ever felt **G**uilty about your drinking? Have you ever felt you needed a drink first thing in the morning as an **E**ye-opener? While this has been scientifically validated only in the setting of alcohol use, the parallels to internet use seem intuitive. This is not to imply that it can or should be used as an instrument for diagnosing addiction to digital media, as such use would require its own validation in that context.

14. Cary Stothart, Ainsley Mitchum, and Courtney Yehnert, "The Attentional Cost of Receiving a Cell Phone Notification," *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Human Perception and Performance* 41 (August 2015): 893–97, http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/xhp0000100.supp.

15. See, for instance, Gordon B. Hinckley, "A Tragic Evil among Us," *Ensign* 34 (November 2004): 59–62, https://www.lds.org/general-conference/2004/10/a -tragic-evil-among-us?lang=eng.

generations could freely do the former—meaning they had the ability to immerse themselves in lengthy manuscripts and to linger on words, phrases, and ideas—the millennial generation finds this a progressively impossible task. Instead, they are often merely skimming across the top of information, imbibing endless streams of tweets and headlines but rarely even finishing the end of an article, let alone sustaining attention over minutes, months, or years toward deeper understanding and long-term endeavors. This is not to imply, of course, that the generation has lost the ability entirely, but only that the cultural consciousness is migrating away from attention and toward quick informational fixes.[16]

I have felt that shift within myself.

During my junior year at Brigham Young University, I took the best class of my undergraduate education: "Studies in the American Experience." So many aspects of the class—Professor Neil York among them—were superlative, but what lives most vibrantly in my memory were the nights spent in front of a fire with Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*. Those evenings passed swiftly as I scoured the pages, sometimes perplexed, but often dazzled. I can still trace the way my emotions swelled—the way I very nearly held my breath—as I read one particularly erudite passage in which Tocqueville felt his way toward what he considered the wellspring of American democracy's success. I heavily highlighted the pages leading up to that section, and the passage where he finally reveals the secret at the center of his explorations—our "habits of the heart!"—finds my margins erupting with exclamations.[17] Reading that book demanded my sustained attention over weeks, maybe even months.

Sometimes I wonder if I am capable of such immersive learning anymore.

The dark side of immediately accessible information is that its very convenience robs me of the ability to have experiences like the one I describe above. One of a cell phone's principal functions is to make everyone constantly, universally, and immediately accessible to everyone and everything else. This sounds wonderful until we remember that perhaps we are not designed to be so pervasively and ceaselessly accessible. I am sitting in my room typing, but within moments my eyes stray to the score of the NBA game I've been tracking, then my email pings

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16. Carr, *Shallows*, 115–48.

17. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994), 321–23.

and I'm distracted by an incoming message, after which a text arrives to which I am expected to reply promptly, and then I see my Facebook queue has filled up in the last ten minutes and demands to be checked, and by the time I circle back to my writing, I can't even remember the subject of my paragraph, let alone the flow of the sentence. What masquerades as impressive efficiency is just as surely creeping distractedness. Yes, of course, our minds have always wandered, and daydreams predate the advent of the internet by millennia, but never before has a technology so comprehensively and effectively distracted us.

Research bears out these suspicions. Carr lays out many of these findings. One researcher whose work he discusses attached tiny cameras to the glasses of study participants so he could track the movement of their eyes as they read. When participants read pages from a book, their eyes moved as you would expect, from left to right, in descending lines. When asked to read pages online, however, the movements changed dramatically and instead of continuous descending lines he found their eyes roughly traced large "Fs" over the surface of a page, skipping large chunks of content and skimming only a few lines to try to gather highlights, but without time for depth, analysis, or understanding. Unsurprisingly, then, he also cites multiple studies showing that participants consistently learn and understand less when reading online than when reading on paper.

Beyond even changing the way we read, however, consuming digital media also rewires our brains. In one of the most striking studies Carr cites, volunteers were sorted by their experience with online media into novices and experts. Both groups were asked to read online content while being monitored with fMRI (functional MRI is a way of imaging the brain that uses glucose consumption to demonstrate the areas of the brain that are being used across time, rather like seeing wires glow as electricity passes across them). When the experts consumed the online content, certain brain circuits lit up quite brightly that did not light up in the novices' brains. In other words, those users had trained themselves through practice to use those circuits more nimbly, just as a bodybuilder has larger biceps than a couch potato. Even more striking, however, when the novices were given just a couple of weeks to practice consuming content on the web and were then invited back for the same experiment, those same circuits had already begun lighting up quite brightly. That is to say: just a few weeks of online media consumption had already begun rewiring their brains.

We do not know, of course, the exact long-term implications of this phenomenon, but such fundamental changes in such a short time should call our attention and make us at least stop to wonder what they mean. By the same token, while the study is small, a recent investigation demonstrating that internet addiction seems to atrophy certain critical brain areas should raise alarms.[18] The take-home point is not that this research definitively proves that digital media consumption rots our neural circuits, but rather that it raises serious and profound questions about a technology that was virtually unknown ten years ago but without which we can now hardly imagine our lives.

All of this is to say that the attention we pay to the internet is not just a question of distraction. If it were, the answer would be simple: put away my phone. What all of the above indicates, however, is that cell phones and the digital revolution they represent don't just distract us; they also warp our brains. Even when the phone is absent, long-term and consistent use of pervasive digital media make us long-lastingly less capable of sustained concentration. They don't just rob us of time but actually change our brains and dull our ability to think deeply.[19]

This matters, not because it is bad to be able to skim large amounts of information quickly; indeed, in the new information economy this may become a vital skill. Rather, it is a problem because those raised on this kind of learning may not fully develop the intellectual resources necessary for deeper dives. In a chapter outlining the advent of the written word and the widespread coming of literacy in the world, Neil Postman described the requirements of deep reading like this: "The reader must come armed, in a serious state of intellectual readiness. This is not easy because he comes to the text alone. In reading, one's responses are isolated, one's intellect thrown back on its own resources. To be confronted by the cold abstractions of printed sentences is to look upon language bare, without the assistance of either beauty or community. Thus, reading is by its nature a serious business. It is also, of course, an essentially rational activity."[20] This serious intellectual engagement cannot come from tracing large Fs across the surface of online screens filled with text.

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18. Kai Yuan and others, "Microstructure Abnormalities in Adolescents with Internet Addiction Disorder," *PLOS One,* June 3, 2011, http://journals.plos.org/plosone/article?id=10.1371/journal.pone.0020708.

19. Carr, *Shallows,* 115–48.

20. Postman, *Amusing Ourselves to Death,* ch. 4.

Something is slipping away—and that something matters profoundly to us. We proclaim, after all, that "the glory of God is intelligence," and we believe that the things we learn—and, one would assume, the way we learn—is one of the few precious things we will carry with us into the eternities.

What worries me even more than how the internet is changing our brains is the way it is hardening our hearts. Just as Carr's book left me unnerved, Sherry Turkle's *Reclaiming Conversation* left me deeply saddened.[21] In addition to describing other ways the internet impairs our ability to think, Turkle tackles the ways in which it handicaps our ability to feel. The book arose out of hundreds of hours of interviews with students who came of age during the millennial era and years spent researching the intersection between humans and our technology. The picture that emerges startles me. I might have thought that the compulsion to text, for instance, arose from (or perhaps caused) a sort of face-to-face social forgetfulness; texting is so easy, after all, that not placing a call or visiting a friend may simply be a matter of convenience. What Turkle found, however, was more than simply a drive for efficiency. Instead, apparently because of the rise of interpersonal technology, college students over the last ten years are both less willing and *less able* to have face-to-face conversations (especially difficult ones). One student, for instance, looks at Dr. Turkle incredulously when the author suggests discussing a thorny relationship question face-to-face with a friend. Doing so would require being party to the other person's broken heart and wounded feelings, after all, and who would want to be present for that?[22]

But of course, that's just the point. A parallel finding Turkle outlines in detail is that current college students are not simply communicating differently. Instead, those generational communication changes are profoundly warping the way college students relate to others in general. Most noticeably, students now are statistically (and clinically) less able to empathize with their peers. Who can be surprised at this? If you shy away from another's suffering by hiding behind a text—how can it be any wonder you're less able to relate to other people's pain?

These effects are not peripheral or incidental to our Christian discipleship.

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21. Sherry Turkle, *Reclaiming Conversation: The Power of Talk in a Digital Age* (New York: Penguin, 2015), Kindle.

22. Turkle, *Reclaiming Conversation,* 34.

Chaim Potok's *The Chosen* tells the story of two young Jews coming of age and coming to terms with their faith, their culture, and their intellects. One of the young men, Danny, is the son of a Hasidic rabbi. The rabbi, Reb Saunders, raises Danny in almost complete silence. Except for short phrases they exchange while studying the Talmud, he never speaks to his son. This practice baffles and frustrates nearly everyone around them and, near the book's conclusion, the rabbi seeks out his son's best friend, Reuven, to explain and implicitly apologize. Because the rabbi still refuses to speak directly with Danny, he instead engages Reuven and explains his reasoning within earshot of Danny to allow his son to hear without formally breaking the code of silence.

The rabbi explains how he recognized very early that Danny was frighteningly smart, but knew the intelligence came at the cost of caring for others. Danny had a mind like a "jewel," a "pearl," and a "sun" but initially seemed to his father to have no soul.

Reluctantly, after praying, the rabbi decided to raise his son as he himself was raised: in silence. Reuven does not understand how this could possibly help, and so the rabbi explains:

> My father himself never talked to me. . . . He taught me with silence. He taught me to look into myself, . . . to walk around inside myself in company with my soul. When his people would ask him why he was so silent with his son, he would say to them that he did not like to talk, words are cruel, words play tricks, they distort what is in the heart, . . . the heart speaks through silence. One learns of the pain of others by suffering one's own pain, he would say, by turning inside oneself, by finding one's own soul. And it is important to know of pain, he said. It destroys our self-pride, our arrogance, our indifference toward others. It makes us aware of how frail and tiny we are and of how much we must depend upon the Master of the Universe.[23]

The rabbi's extremism notwithstanding, there is a jewel of truth in his words. The heart needs purposeful silence—the cessation of input to the brain with an intention to reflect—to process pain and learn empathy. Smart phones in particular, and our hyperconnected world in general, relentlessly fill the spaces that might otherwise allow silence to flourish. This brings to the fore one of the internet's many paradoxes: on the one hand, our digital world—especially as embodied in our smart devices—pulls us away from the people around us, whereas, on the other hand, our phones also make us progressively less capable of finding meaning

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23. Chaim Potok, *The Chosen* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967), 278.

in silence. The point in both cases, however, is that our phones pull us away from what matters most and trap us instead within the hypnotic glow of those tiny screens.

This matters for us as we seek to become like Jesus.

Mormonism—like most branches of Christianity—derives its power from being both a meditative and a communitarian religion. We must attend to the life of the soul but also remember that humankind, as Marley's ghost reminded Ebeneezer Scrooge, really is our business.[24] We therefore derive our own spiritual succor from quiet moments spent drawing inspiration from holy texts, the best books, silence, and music, and then turn around and share that spiritual nourishment by serving others. Mormonism's deepest meaning comes when we carry out our collective covenant to lift up the hands that hang down and strengthen the feeble knees. One of my defining covenants as a Mormon, after all, is to sorrow with those who are sad.

That is why Turkle's observations about the upcoming generation so unnerve me. While our phones may keep us silent, it is most often a spiritually empty silence, bereft of meaningful solitude. At the same time, I fear that the rise of a ubiquitously "connected" world is paradoxically tearing us apart from those around us as well. On the one hand, the hopelessly idealized façades pervading social media foster jealousy and a deep sense of inadequacy, resentment, and spite. On the other hand, that very connectedness breeds a deep sense of atomization, such that an important and recent social commentary (also written by Sherry Turkle) was titled *Alone Together.* It is unsurprising, in this context, that Elder Bednar warned of the "stifling, suffocating, suppressing, and constraining impact of some kinds of cyberspace interactions and experiences upon our souls." He raised a warning cry: "Be careful of becoming so immersed and engrossed in pixels, texting, earbuds, twittering, online social networking, and potentially addictive uses of media and the Internet that you fail to recognize the importance of your physical body and miss the richness of person-to-person communication."[25] The more I read his address, the more it motivates me to keep the things that matter most at the center of my life.

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24. Charles Dickens, *A Christmas Carol* (Cambridge, Mass.: Candlewick Press: 2006), 35.

25. Bednar, "Things as They Really Are," 20–21.

Perhaps no anecdote has brought home this point quite as chillingly as a story Dr. Turkle shares in her book.[26] She was called to consult at a middle school where the teachers were concerned about the effect technology was having on their students. One of the students there was a young boy whose father had recently committed suicide. One day at school the boy got into a spat with one of his classmates; in response to her frustration over the tiff, the classmate posted a picture of the young boy on her Facebook page with a caption saying, "I hope he ends up just like his father." Horrified, the principal called the young girl into his office. What he discovered in the conversation that ensued was that it was not so much that the young girl was callous to the boy's feelings as it was that she was oblivious to the fact that her words might harm someone else—the façade of the internet had allowed her to operate under the belief that posting words like those online was an action in a void, without consequences. The technology placed her at a remove from the object of her taunt. Had she flung something like that at the boy on the playground, she would have immediately found herself, literally, face-to-face with the consequences of her action, but because she leveled the blow over the internet, it was as if she genuinely did not understand the words' potential consequences. What was once inescapable had been rendered by mobile technology all but invisible. And that invisibility prevents the possibility of real empathy.

As Christian disciples, we are called to tend to each other. Our ministry is to care for the people around us: the actual, physical, imperfect, frustrating, beaming, suffering, crying, laughing, joyful people. If we are not careful, however, our phones can lure us into a world filled with our virtual avatars while diverting us away us from the place where our actual fellow travelers live.

The tragedy is not that virtual connections cannot be real or that they cannot provide our lives with additional meaning and depth—anyone who has seen a geographically distant grandfather interact with his grandchild by video chat knows they can do just that. Rather, the vital truth is remembering that virtual connections can never fully replace real ones, even though such a consuming technology may tempt us to think they can. While an encouraging text or a happy Facebook message can do good, they will never replace the meaning of a warm hug or an actual shoulder to cry on. Virtual missives of any kind can constitute

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26. In Turkle, *Reclaiming Conversation,* "Two Chairs: Friendship."

part, but not all, of our reaching out to those who need us. I cannot be meaningfully present in another's suffering—even from afar—if I have forgotten how to be meaningfully present in the first place. The Mormon gospel is one of real and imperfect but striving Saints—no virtual representation can ever replace them.

Abandoning Truth

Just as troubling, the internet affects not only our relationship with other people but also our relationship with truth itself.

The rise of the internet was supposed to herald the arrival of better and more accurate reporting. In the 1950s, twenty-nine million Americans tuned in their televisions to get their news from figures like Edward Murrow and Walter Cronkite. In many circles, these anchors were considered the voice of authority.[27] It was assumed they would report real stories with as little bias as possible. The 1960s and 1970s, however, saw a cultural rebellion against such centralized authority, and a desire for independent reporting ascended. The passion of this inclination perhaps sagged toward the end of the last century but came roaring back with the emergence of the internet in the early 2000s. People assumed that this democratization of access to information and the ability to report it would usher in an era of reportage that had greater fidelity to the facts on the ground.

What has happened instead is much more complex. In politics, the hyperconnected world has sown chaos. While the proliferation of blogs has democratized the publication of opinion, the internet has also given rise to an array of communication channels that report stories with no attribution, filled with apparent facts that may not be true at all. The monochromatic voice of authority of the 1950s may have lent itself to myopia and unacknowledged bias, but the rise of "every person a reporter" has so blurred the line between fact and fiction that one of the main weapons for hostile foreign states is now the seeding of misinformation. With the rising sea of disinformation, we are seeing a worldwide retrenchment by the forces of autocracy, demagoguery, extremism, and spite. When culture comes unmoored from its ties to the truth, we reap the whirlwind in the vacuum left in truth's place.

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27. Karlyn Bowman, "The Decline of the Major Networks," Forbes, July 27, 2009, https://www.forbes.com/2009/07/25/media-network-news-audience -opinions-columnists-walter-cronkite.html#12e7afc47a5f.

Reality, we must remember, is not a political issue; and while the LDS Church remains steadfastly nonpartisan, on this point our doctrine is unavoidably clear. We believe in truth. We encourage debate and acknowledge the complexity inherent in the interpretation of messy realities, but appeals to a factless world run counter to our theology and the best elements of our culture.

In the Doctrine and Covenants, section 88, comes some of our most stirring religious language: "Intelligence cleaveth unto intelligence; wisdom receiveth wisdom; truth embraceth truth; virtue loveth virtue; light cleaveth unto light; mercy hath compassion on mercy and claimeth her own" (v. 40). In other words, by using our limited, flawed, mortal means to gather what truth, wisdom, and light is within our power to collect, we invite God to grace us with the light, truth, and wisdom that are his alone to give. President Uchtdorf has likewise reminded us that while our imperfect understanding unavoidably limits our ability to grasp all truth, nonetheless, "our Father in Heaven is pleased with His children when they use their talents and mental faculties to earnestly discover truth," and "Latter-day Saints are not asked to blindly accept everything they hear. We are encouraged to think and discover truth for ourselves."[28]

All of this is to say, a dogged pursuit of truth should be one of Mormonism's defining virtues. Appeals to "alternative facts" should deeply concern us, regardless of the political preferences of their proponents.

By the same token, it strikes me as troubling that the internet has (virtually certainly) exacerbated—or at least facilitated—our inclinations toward tribalism, incivility, and the rhetorical savaging of our opponents. Perhaps it is the anonymity of internet chat forums, perhaps it is the internet's propagation of confirmation bias, or perhaps it is the internet's ability to allow us to remain ignorant of the effects our verbal barbs have on their targets that has so degraded our discourse. More precisely, the internet does not act as the agent here but is nonetheless the medium by which—out of cupidity or at least apathy—individuals and corporations have created digital conditions that have facilitated and hastened this cultural decline. Regardless of the exact origin of the effect, however, the last two decades have seen a serious defining down of what were once considered elemental components of civic and political discourse.

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28. Dieter F. Uchtdorf, "What Is Truth?" CES Devotional, January 13, 2013, https://www.lds.org/broadcasts/article/ces-devotionals/2013/01/what-is-truth?lang=eng.

It troubles me deeply that so many view the vitriol passing between politicians—and even neighbors—as normal.

Beyond even these effects, however, the internet's most worrisome consequences on our search for truth may be all the more dangerous because they are less obvious. Perhaps the wired world's most potent effects come because our online lives rob us of collective presence.

The Absence of Presence

Presence is the gift of being where you are. On the face of it, this seems tautological—how, after all, could you be anywhere else? But in the internet age, almost no one is really where they are. It strikes me, in the hospital where I work, for instance, that I can roam the halls during the day, with people passing in all directions and sun streaming through the windows, and find that so many of those I pass have their eyes fixed on their screens. We are still walking, but in a haunting foreshadowing we are devolving toward the immobile subhumans on the spaceship in Pixar's prophetic *Wall-E*. G. K. Chesterton once theorized about a madman who believed the entire world revolved around him (in the form of a conspiracy). Chesterton imagined that if we were trying to dissuade such a man from his madness, we might plead: "How much larger your life would be . . . if you could really look at other men with common curiosity and pleasure . . . ! You would begin to be interested in them. . . . You would break out of this tiny and tawdry theatre in which your own little plot is always being played, and you would find yourself under a freer sky, in a street full of splendid strangers."[29]

When I pass so many people whose minds are clearly tethered to their phones (and sometimes I am one of them), I can't help but find that description—of a "tiny and tawdry theater"—especially apt. This tethering troubles me in part because so much of what I consume on my phone places me at the center of my tiny virtual universe. I am like the madman not only because I am trapped within such a small space but because so much of what occupies that cosmos is myself.

Beyond this, even when I venture outside the universe of self, phones endlessly draw me to what doesn't matter. Engineers designed smartphones to facilitate "multitasking." While I used to admire this ability before I had an iPhone, what I now see as I use my phone is that what I thought of as multitasking turns out in large measure to be an endless stream of disruption, distraction, and discontinuity. Indeed, recent

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29. Gilbert K. Chesterton, *Orthodoxy*, ch. 2.

neuroscience demonstrates that even if we could multitask without extraneous interruptions, just trying to do two things at once makes us less efficient and less accurate.[30] Smartphones excel at many things, but they are engineered to preclude presence.

This worries me in part because presence fundamentally undergirds all religious experience. Our common daily practices as Mormons make this apparent. Who has not spent his prescribed minutes of scripture study running over strings of words, only to find that intruding ideas rendered the sentences meaningless? Who among us has not attended the temple only to find her mind was elsewhere and that the session had no impact? And who has not listened to general conference while other demands distracted him, only to find that he hardly knows what was said, let alone what it really meant or what he should do with the counsel? Immediately apparent to the religious seeker is the fact that religion practiced pro forma is not religion. Only my presence—my active, hopeful, imperfect, but striving engagement—allows the Divine to expand my vision, deepen my knowledge, make real my empathy, and change who I am.

The importance of presence in understanding the divine saturates our doctrine as well as our daily experience. Alma's allegory in Alma 32 reminds me of this. Alma goes to pains, as he talks of nurturing the word, to illustrate that the process requires careful and sustained cultivation. He says, "And behold, as the tree beginneth to grow, ye will say: Let us nourish it with great care, that it may get root, that it may grow up, and bring forth fruit unto us. And now behold, if ye nourish it with much care it will get root, and grow up, and bring forth fruit" (v. 37). Through repetition that echoes the allegory's overall arc, Alma insists that this process requires presence, persistence, and care over a great expanse of time; indeed, he summarizes at the end of the chapter: "Ye shall reap the rewards of your faith, and your diligence, and patience, and long-suffering, waiting for the tree to bring forth fruit unto you" (v. 43).

Diligence.

Patience.

Long-suffering.

Waiting.

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30. Saraswathi Bellur, Kristine L. Nowak, and Kyle S. Hull, "Make It Our Time: In Class Multitaskers Have Lower Academic Performance," *Computers in Human Behavior* 53 (December 2015): 63–70, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2015.06.027.

A lightning-strike revelation, in his mind, is quite rare and insufficient anyway. I am particularly struck that such gentle revelatory language comes from the recipient of one of our canon's most dramatic spiritual epiphanies, a man who then grew to become the Lord's prophet. Alma's language here matters a great deal to us as we contemplate what revelation—to prophets and to each of us—usually looks like.

By the same token, one of our canon's most telling verses concerning the receipt of personal revelation reads, "Let thy bowels also be full of charity towards all men, and to the household of faith, and let virtue garnish thy thoughts unceasingly; then shall thy confidence wax strong in the presence of God; and the doctrine of the priesthood shall distil upon thy soul as the dews from heaven" (D&C 121:45). The two foci of that verse are the verb "distil" and the analogy "dews from heaven"—both connote stillness, the kind of process and product that requires an inner quiet to observe. In parallel fashion, a telling verse in Doctrine and Covenants 6 finds the Lord gently reminding Oliver Cowdery: "Behold, thou knowest that thou hast inquired of me and I did enlighten thy mind; and now I tell thee these things *that thou mayest know that thou hast been enlightened by the Spirit of truth*" (v. 15; italics added). In other words, beyond the inspiration itself Oliver apparently needed to have the illumination pointed out to him; it had come so subtly he apparently did not recognize its provenance.

And he didn't even own a smartphone.

For most of us, then, most of the time, revelation distills like dewdrops—quietly, subtly, even imperceptibly. As one poet penned, God reveals himself most often in a manner that is "unasked, unforced, unearned."[31]

Thus, the flight of our collective presence matters. Its importance can be highlighted, perhaps, by recognizing what we lose when presence flees. In a beautiful passage in James Agee's *A Death in the Family,* Agee writes of a father and son walking home from a movie:

> Rufus had come recently to feel a quiet . . . contentment [here at the corner], unlike any other that he knew. He did not know what this was, in words or ideas, or what the reason was; it was simply all that he saw and felt. It was, mainly, knowing that his father, too, felt a particular kind of contentment, here, unlike any other, and that their kinds of contentment were much alike, and depended on each other.[32]

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31. Jaroslav J. Vajda, "Where Shepherds Lately Knelt," included in *Glory to God* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 2014), no. 120.

32. James Agee, *A Death in the Family* (New York: Penguin, 1938), 18.

Then, a page later:

> He knew these things very distinctly, but not, of course, in any such way as we have of suggesting them in words. There were no words, or even ideas, or formed emotions, of the kind that have been suggested here, no more in the man than in the boy child. These realizations moved clearly through the senses, the memory, the feelings, the mere feeling of the place they paused at . . . , and above them, the trembling lanterns of the universe, seeming so near, so intimate, that when air stirred the leaves and their hair, it seemed to be the breathing, the whispering of the stars.[33]

So much of what occurs in that scene—the irony being that nothing much "happens" at all—relies on the presence of the father and the son. The father is present with his boy, walking home from a Charlie Chaplin picture, and the son is present with his dad, his own skin, his five senses, and the canopy of stars. If the father were engrossed in the dim blue glow of his smartphone, the scene would immediately evaporate. Similarly, if the son were wound up in his Facebook feed, he wouldn't even be cognizant of the outside world, let alone fully present to the miracle of the breathing stars. Presence necessarily precedes an appreciation of beauty and, similarly, all catalyzing religious experience. In a corollary vein, smartphones battle every microsecond against the contentment in which Agee revels above; a smartphone, by design, must never allow you to be content—it is ever at the horizon, beckoning through to infinity.

Part 2: Veiling Reality

Reaching—or Not—for a Reality beyond Our Grasp

All of the foregoing worries me deeply. The internet has changed the way I practice medicine—making me "smarter," yet pulling me away from my patients and corroding my ability to determinedly approach intellectual problems. Likewise, our hyperconnected world has rendered us less present, while social media has paradoxically atomized modern culture. And, finally, truth has become a secondary concern in much of the virtual world, with our collective thinking becoming shallower and more focused on clicks than on meaning. Even beyond this grim tally, however, there are further, and perhaps subtler—but consequently all the more dangerous—ways in which the digital world marshals an assault on our spiritual well-being.

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33. Agee, *Death in the Family,* 19.

Part of the danger here is that social media entices us to prioritize appearance over substance and thus inverts the Christian paradigm of selflessly diving into the work of becoming more like Jesus. As Elder Oaks taught, the aim of the gospel is to facilitate our *becoming* who God wants us to be, but the internet is motivating us to *appear* to be whatever the cultural moment demands.³⁴ This might be trivial (and morally neutral), except that sometimes that endless hunger to *seem* to measure up to some worldly standard directly detracts from our Christian quest to *become* new beings in Christ. These two aims do not always work at cross-purposes, but a generation weaned on preening for the internet may have trouble discerning our priorities when the time comes to choose between the two.

Beyond even this, however, the internet also keeps us from seeking to understand "things as they really are" (Jacob 4:13). To articulate fully why this so deeply concerns me, I need to take a bit of a detour here to talk about the way we conceptualize language and reality and about just what it is words can and cannot do. At the end of the detour, I will weave this explanation back into my concerns about our digital age.

To understand part of what the internet threatens to take away, we need to first recognize that some tremendously important ideas are, inherently, ineffable; these ideas defy words, not because a great poet has never tried to articulate them, but because, categorically, they cannot be contained by our limited vocabulary. Words, after all, no matter how beautiful, are but symbols, which, when arranged this way or that, attempt to communicate an idea's essence. Yet, in spite of Shakespeare, Cervantes, Frost, and Fitzgerald, words will forever fail to fully capture truth, beauty, and the universe's other elemental essences. Holy writ affirms this; of Jesus's ministry to the Nephite children we read, "And no tongue *can* speak, neither *can* there be written by any man, neither *can* the hearts of men conceive so great and marvelous things as we both saw and heard Jesus speak; and no one *can* conceive of the joy which filled our souls at the time we heard him pray for us unto the Father" (3 Ne. 17:17; italics added).

That qualitative inadequacy notwithstanding, however, what strikes me about the best literature is that it *tries*. You can feel the strain as the words stretch themselves—hoping desperately to fully convey the divine

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34. Dallin Oaks, "The Challenge to Become," *Ensign* 30 (November 2000): 32–34; see also David Brooks, "The Shame Culture," *New York Times,* March 15, 2016, https://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/15/opinion/the-shame-culture.html.

idea. Yet in today's world, we find this equation flipped. In the universe of Twitter, Facebook, and countless forms of social networking, often the words published or posted seem hardly to try to convey something ultimate or real. Instead, much of what is written is rhetorical flotsam—ephemeral bubbles that hardly hang together on their own, let alone represent some deep, unspeakable truth. Twitter, particularly, seems an almost nihilistic, Kafkaesque parody of probing language.

As a Mormon, this particularly concerns me because we believe a profoundly beautiful world shimmers just beneath the often drab visible reality surrounding us. Part of the reason we seek things that are "virtuous, lovely, or of good report" (A of F 1:13) is because they provide glimpses into that hidden world. Eliza R. Snow captured this succinctly: "Ofttimes a secret something whispered, 'You're a stranger here,' and I felt that I had wandered from a more exalted sphere."[35]

By the same token, one of Joseph Smith's most meaningful doctrines is that a "veil" hides from us a heavenly host and a celestial world—and that that veil can be parted. Many Mormons thus speak easily of the veil being "thin" as a way of describing particularly visceral holy experiences, and our culture likewise boasts an unusually easy sense that there are supportive ancestors pulling for us "on the other side."

Which brings me to another observation by Joseph Smith. In November of 1832, he wrote in a letter to W. W. Phelps, "Oh Lord when will the time come when . . . [we may] gase upon Eternal wisdom engraven upon the hevens. . . . Oh Lord God deliver us in thy due time from the little narrow prison almost as it were totel darkness of paper pen and ink and a crooked broken scattered and imperfect language."[36]

That Joseph, whose revelatory rhetoric fills the pages of the Doctrine and Covenants, would complain in such vivid terms about the inadequacy of language—crooked, broken, scattered, and imperfect—to convey the full meaning of the Divine strikes me as telling. One of his most pressing messages seems to be just that: there is a fundamental difference between the thing and his description of the thing. In my mind's ear, I can almost imagine him pleading with me: *I can tell you about God, but my description is not God. Within the constraints of this broken thing*

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35. Eliza R. Snow, "O My Father," *Hymns* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1985), no. 292.

36. "Letter to William W. Phelps, 27 November 1832," in *Documents, Volume 2: July 1831–January 1833,* ed. Matthew C. Godfrey and others, The Joseph Smith Papers (Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, 2013), 320.

called language, I will try to convey to you the majesty and empathy, the wisdom and unending love, the grandeur and filial compassion of God our Father and Heavenly Mother—and yet I will fail. My writings and sermons are more invitation than explanation. You must come and see for yourself—but please, please, please come!

While the preceding words are mine, they strike me as reflecting a theme that underlies much of Joseph Smith's religious world-building. As Richard Bushman observed in the closing paragraphs of *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling,* Joseph's followers "were happy to grant him the authority of a prophet if he would connect them with heaven, and that was the key to his success."[37] He connected them, but he also recognized the limitations of the bonds he could forge for others and so insisted they use the religion restored through him as a jumping-off point for developing a more personal feel for and understanding of revelation and the character of divinity. He reminded the world that no true religion is possible without a correct understanding of God's character and then taught the world an enormous amount about that character. Beyond those explicit teachings, however, what he emphasized even more was our personal responsibility for coming to know God ourselves. A similar strain runs consistently through Joseph's successors as prophets and presidents of the LDS Church; indeed, in this implicit plea, Joseph is joined and bookended by President Russell M. Nelson, who, in his first sermon to the entire Church as prophet, pled, "I urge you to stretch beyond your current spiritual ability to receive personal revelation, . . . [because] there is so much more that your Father in Heaven wants you to know."[38]

There are parallels between Joseph Smith, born in 1805, and John Muir, born in 1838. Joseph opened to his people the mysteries of the heavens; Muir opened to the world the marvels of Yosemite and the American West. Joseph was the founder of one of American's great homegrown religions; Muir, one of history's great naturalists and authors. Both men fairly quivered with an urgent sense of having glimpsed a great beyond, and both wore out their lives trying to bring others to see it too. Regarding a trip to Glacier Bay, Muir wrote:

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37. Richard Lyman Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), 560.

38. Russel M. Nelson, "Revelation for the Church, Revelation for Our Lives," *Ensign* 48 (May 2018): 95.

We were startled by the sudden appearance of a red light burning with a strange, unearthly splendor on the topmost peak of the Fairweather Mountains. . . . It spread and spread until the whole range . . . was filled with the celestial fire. In color it was at first a vivid crimson, with a thick, furred appearance, . . . every mountain apparently glowing from the heart like molten metal fresh from a furnace. Beneath the frosty shadows of the fiord we stood hushed and awe-stricken, gazing at the holy vision; and had we seen the heavens open and God made manifest, our attention could not have been more tremendously strained. . . . Then the supernal fire slowly descending, . . . the cold, shaded region beneath, peak after peak, . . . caught the heavenly glow, until all the mighty host stood transfigured, hushed, and thoughtful, as if awaiting the coming of the Lord.[39]

In the immediacy and urgency of Muir's language here, I hear echoes of Joseph Smith describing one of his many encounters with the Divine. What strikes me most about this passage, however—in spite of the stirring prose—is the gap between reading it and being there. Having seen Yosemite Valley, I'm acutely aware of the distance; and that awareness of language's inadequacy in a realm I know well whets my appetite to experience just what divine reality will be like when we no longer need words.

I know that over many years I have tried to narrate my own most profound spiritual experiences, and yet sufficient words forever elude me. Even the words of renowned poet Emma Lou Thayne fail to fully capture the incandescence of those moments, but a description from her autobiographical *The Place of Knowing* is as close as I've ever found. When asked by a Jewish friend why she continued believing in Mormonism, Emma Lou wrote of going to the Salt Lake Tabernacle as a little girl to hear Helen Keller speak. After Ms. Keller finished her remarks, she asked if the "Mormon Prophet" (Heber J. Grant) would introduce her to the tabernacle organ so she could hear "your famous pioneer song." Emma Lou watched, riveted, as President Grant led Ms. Keller to the base of the consoles and placed her hands such that she could feel the organ throb as Alexander Schreiner played "Come, Come, Ye Saints."

So then—that tabernacle, that singing, my ancestors welling in me, my father beside me, that magnificent woman, all combined with the organ and the man who played it and the man who had led her to it— whatever passed between the organ and her passed on to me. I believed.

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39. John Muir, "The Discovery of Glacier Bay by Its Discoverer," in *Wilderness Essays* (Layton, Utah: Gibbs Smith, 1980), 18.

> I believed it all—the seeing without seeing, the hearing without hearing, the going by feel toward something holy, . . . something that could move me, alter me, . . . something entering the pulse of a little girl, something that no matter what would never go away. . . .
>
> I believe in it. I get impatient with people's interpretations of it . . . , but somewhere deep inside me and far beyond impatience or indifference there is that insistent, confounding, so help me, sacred singing—"All is well! / All is well!" My own church, inhabited by my own people. With my own feel for its doctrines, it is my lamp, my song. . . . I would be cosmically orphaned without it.[40]

Taken together, these theological observations paint a foundational scene from Mormon theology and remind us of one of the internet's most insidious dangers. We are trapped, as it were, in a world where we can see the true beauty of the universe only "through a glass, darkly" (1 Cor. 13:12). Joseph—by dint of a life saturated with visions, revelations, and divine whispers—parted the curtain veiling this deeper reality and returned to try to explain what he had seen. His words paint sometimes powerful, even visceral, pictures, but the *words* are not God, or celestial glory, or the whole of truth, or the love of Jesus Christ—they are symbols. This is not to say they are unimportant—far from it. Those words are necessary and can be phenomenally powerful catalysts, yet they must ultimately be the portal, not the destination.

An argument can be made that the aim of a Mormon life is to dig past layer upon layer of appearance, striving to come to the core that represents things as they really are. Our Christian discipleship is a journey beyond current understanding to a place where we will truly understand God, the universe, and our place in it. Thus, King Benjamin pleads with us to understand that a beggar is not a beggar, but an eternal soul, with divine potential, transiently dressed in rags; the Savior invited the people of his time to look beyond the social nothingness of children to see instead the ways in which young people innately embody some of the most vital Christian virtues; Nephi understood that nature was not just the wilderness but in its beauty could also become a temple; and the entire Christian canon rests on the belief that a Judean carpenter was not just a carpenter but the literal Son of God who bore the world's every sin and then took up his own life again after suffering death by torture.

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40. Emma Lou Warner Thayne, *The Place of Knowing* (Bloomington, Ind.: iUniverse, 2011), 45–46.

Whereas the gospel invites us to understand that things are not as they seem—that what we see on the surface is not all there is—the internet and the digital world obstruct our discipleship by placing filters between us and the Divine. Instead of uncovering truth, the internet can further obscure it; instead of bringing us to each other in vulnerability and sorrow, social media invites us to chronicle our lives as a kind of vaguely artificial performance art; instead of inviting us to a life of quiet virtue, if we are not careful, the internet may call us to live lives of puffed-up righteousness; and instead of helping us see things as they really are, the internet may convince us that seeming is more important than being.

It is as if, instead of working to part the veil, the internet hangs layer upon layer of curtains, each further obscuring our view of reality. If Joseph Smith is like a prophetic John Muir, pleading with his people to trek to a spiritual Yosemite Valley with its divine waterfalls and towering granite peaks, the virtual world stands in a place opposite, forever beckoning us away, alluring us with shiny convenience, trying to convince us that the valley is not really that beautiful anyway.

Thus, instead of talking face to worry-lined face with embodied friends, we "chat" with their disembodied avatars. Instead of embracing those we love in the midst of the messy glory of their cluttered homes, we interact with the Photoshopped nearly perfect version of a life that is posted online—feeling at once further away and hopelessly inferior. And instead of being swallowed up in the meaning of a religious experience that first demands our attentive presence, our minds flit about from this to that, never in one place long enough for any scene to make a lasting impression. We seek likes more than revelation and exposure more than friendship, followers more than friends and the next link before meaningful insight.

Reclaiming Reality

Thus, our mobile devices and the technological revolution they represent tap into some of our deepest, most instinctual desires—for connection, stimulus, and the new—and they do so too well. Their very success—and our susceptibility to their coaxing—can leave us at their mercy. We must devise techniques not to eliminate them from our lives, but to ensure they serve us in the ways that reflect their true value while leaving us free to attend to the things that matter most.

How do we do this?

First, we can recognize that the efficiency of a hyperconnected life is a mirage. While it may strike me initially as helpful to be available 24/7 to every social network, communication tool, and sports score in which I have interest, such unending availability limits not only my capability to do any one of those things well but also my ability to think linearly at all. Part of standing up to the tide of hyperconnection involves resisting the ephemeral efficiency of "available everywhere and always to everyone" for the paradoxically more efficient single-minded commitment to first doing *this* and then finishing *this* before moving on to *that*.

By the same token, I can recognize the primacy of the person in front of me. As an oncologist, when I see patients I am often accosted by a litany of competing thoughts: What does this new symptom mean? Is the patient's loved one influencing her decisions? Should I be offering new chemotherapy? Am I worried about this change in the patient's lab values? Is it time to order the next CT scan? The list goes on and on, and often these questions flit and dart about in my brain as I speak with the patient in the room. Every once in a while, however, I face a full-stop moment that should halt me in my tracks and demand my full attention. When such moments arise, I ought to put down my pen or stop typing entirely, square my shoulders to the patient, lock eyes, and listen.

While day-to-day life is not usually so dramatic as a visit to the oncologist, I find I am surprised by the number of moments asking that I put away everything else to attend to them. These moments may be subtle: my three-year-old son approaching me with a newfound treasure; a sunset lighting the western sky ablaze; the silence of a moonlit house with the children asleep; our youngest son's first knowing smile. These are my moments to channel James Agee and hear the breathing of the stars; I will miss them if I am mesmerized instead by the neon monotony of a smartphone.

Third, we must remember and honor the Sabbath. The Sabbath may initially strike us—terribly busy as we are—as paradoxical, inconvenient, and even frustratingly inefficient. How vital, though, this day apart has become in a world hurrying heedlessly on to the next thing. One element of our lack of modern presence is our inability to dwell in the now. We forget that the most meaningful spiritual and life experiences happen in the holy present. Perhaps that is one meaning of our Sabbath: it is day for focusing on its own labors. It is a time to appreciate the family surrounding me now, and to savor the strains arising from this moment's song. It is a pause, a space, a solace. By the same token, our brave new technological world may also demand from us a new

kind of Sabbath observance—times to completely unplug. Whether this means Sundays free from digital distractions, weeks spent in the mountains without technology, or a sacred space at the dinner table, we must find times to escape those tiny, tawdry theaters so that we can reconnect with those around us.

Likewise, we can embrace the haven afforded by the temple. Where else on earth can you go and see a large group of people sit for two hours without glancing at a smartphone? In our age of unending availability, the temple offers an oasis where we can disconnect from the demands of the pressing outside world.

Fourth, we can recapture the magic of thinking locally. One of the internet's most powerful effects is making the global local. Yet, even as I learn about—and come to vicariously care for—sufferers in far-flung places, I must take care not to ignore the beggars I pass on my own streets and the sufferers with whom I rub shoulders every day. As we recently learned in general conference, part of the great work Latter-day Saints are about is ministering to those who immediately surround us. I can sit all day concerned about the tragedies I face virtually in the *New York Times* and yet might do more to assuage the world's suffering by a single ministering visit.

Fifth, as a Mormon, I cannot dwell in echo chambers, and I cannot accept willful falsehood or even a seeming apathy toward truth from public officials. No matter how strongly I may feel about a cause or a political figure, I cannot allow my allegiance to persuade me to accept anything less than the facts. While it may sometimes be both harder and more discomfiting, I must search out news sources that make accuracy their bedrock priority, even—perhaps especially—if that accuracy challenges me.

Sixth, we can simply admit that we are vulnerable. Vulnerable is a word Dr. Turkle uses throughout the last part of her book, and it is carefully chosen. Many of the people she interviews cop to being "addicted" to the internet and their mobile devices in particular. While some elements of our relationship with online technology mirror addictive behaviors, her experience shows her that claiming an addiction to technology can often serve as an all-or-nothing excuse instead of a positive entryway into improving behavior. Since most of us cannot function in modern jobs and family life without any technology at all, if we give ourselves up to addiction we may claim, "Well, there's not much I can do." If, instead, we say, "I will need to access email/social media/my mobile phone/whatever, but I am vulnerable to spending too much time

there," this thinking can spur us to become innovative in modifying our behavior within the constraints of reality to allow for positive change.

All of this is to say, even as we embrace the marvels of technology, we can insist on the importance of the real and the now. We can seek meaningful, genuine encounters with the Divine by being present enough to receive revelation. We can assure music does not become a droning backdrop to whatever we are really doing but can instead: Stop. Wait. Listen—lingering on the mastery of a virtuosic violinist or the dexterity and soul of a marvelous pianist. We can turn off our phones and engage meaningfully and wholeheartedly with family—dwelling silently with loved ones as they sorrow and cheering lustily as they succeed. We can leave our screens and venture off into the mountains, not even content with the rousing prose of John Muir but insistent instead on feeling that winter wind running through our own hair and seeing sunbeams dancing on snow drifts with our own eyes. We can read Joseph Smith's thrilling descriptions of the Divine and then wear out our lives endeavoring to come to know God ourselves. In all things, we can seek truth—and we can search ceaselessly to unveil the stunning reality that lies beneath the world as it seems to be.

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Understanding the Abrahamic Covenant through the Book of Mormon

Noel B. Reynolds

Latter-day Saint discourse concerning Abraham and the blessings and covenants given to him by the Lord is distinguished by its reliance on the restoration of ancient scriptures and other revelations given to Joseph Smith. The revival of scholarly interest in Abraham in recent decades provides a timely opportunity to explore the contemporary findings of biblical scholars from a Latter-day Saint perspective—which, in turn, invites an in-depth exploration of how the Lord's covenants with Abraham were understood by the Nephite prophets in the Book of Mormon, how their perspectives compare with contemporary biblical scholarship, and how the Nephite perspective may modify or expand standard Latter-day Saint approaches to understanding the Abrahamic covenant. This essay identifies three interrelated streams of covenant discourse in the Book of Mormon—each defined by its respective focus on the (1) Lehite covenant, (2) Abrahamic covenant, or (3) gospel covenant. Though these three streams of covenant discourse are closely related, each is distinct in purpose. Nephite prophets integrated these three in unique ways to develop one larger understanding of God's use of covenants to bring salvation to the world.

While most scholars since Eichrodt[1] recognize God's covenant given to Abraham as the central theme of the Hebrew Bible, their views on the meaning of that covenant and its long-term implications for the

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1. Walther Eichrodt's 1933 two-volume study of Old Testament theology was widely influential. After it evolved through six German editions, it was published in an English translation. See especially the opening chapters of

descendants of Jacob and the nations of the world continue to vary widely. Not only do Jewish and Christian interpretations of the covenant differ dramatically, but interpretations within each of those major frameworks also display wide ranges of both agreement and disagreement.

Interpretive Approaches of Bible Scholars

A major development in the methodologies used by Old Testament scholars in the last half century has inspired several fresh and helpful approaches to the ancient theme of the Abrahamic covenant. For example, Jon D. Levenson of Harvard University has published a monograph challenging the widely assumed characterizations of Jewish understandings of the Abrahamic covenant as commonly compared to those of Christian traditions.[2] Heidelberg University's Rolf Rendtorff published an interpretation of God's covenant with Israel—an interpretation based on a holistic analysis of the entire Pentateuch.[3] Yale's Joel Baden has produced the most recent study, published in 2013, which acknowledges the preceding two centuries of historical criticism while recognizing the contributions of the more recent approaches.[4] However, my own approach in this essay is influenced more by the work of Australian evangelical scholar Paul R. Williamson and the University of Durham's R. W. L. Moberly, who is one of the most widely respected interpreters of this Genesis material today, though I do not discuss them directly here.[5]

Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament*, vol. 1, trans. J. A. Baker (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1961).

2. In his book *Inheriting Abraham,* Levenson demonstrates effectively that Jewish interpretations have long seen Abraham's having universal influence for good in the world as a fulfillment of part of the promise to Abraham. Jon D. Levenson, *Inheriting Abraham: The Legacy of the Patriarch in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012).

3. Rendtorff's original *Die "Bundesformel": Eine exegetisch-theologische Untersuchung* was published in Stuttgart in 1995 by Verlag Katholisches. It was translated into English and published three years later as Rolf Rendtorff, *The Covenant Formula: An Exegetical and Theological Investigation,* trans. Margaret Kohl (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998).

4. Joel Baden, *The Promise to the Patriarchs* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

5. Paul R. Williamson, *Abraham, Israel and the Nations: The Patriarchal Promise and Its Covenantal Development in Genesis,* Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 315 (Sheffield, Eng.: Sheffield Academic

In the twentieth century, most scholarly effort to understand the Abrahamic covenant accepted the late-nineteenth-century documentary hypothesis and interpreted the variations in the wording of biblical passages related to the covenant of Abraham as a natural outcome of the presumed process through which our current Genesis was formed—namely, through the merger of several earlier documents containing their own versions of related materials.[6] This approach, however, tends to minimize the possible significance of differences in wording and to assume that ancient Israel understood all these passages as saying compatible things. Though most Latter-day Saint commentators have maintained some distance from the documentary hypothesis, they too have tended to gloss over differences in wording in these Genesis passages. But a growing number of scholars are looking ever more carefully for meaningful explanations of those differences that would enable a more precise understanding of God's covenant(s) with Abraham.[7] As a result, the documentary approach has lost much of its earlier influence.[8]

In contrast, Williamson, after a detailed analysis of the biblical texts and the leading scholarly attempts to interpret and reconcile these texts, proposes that the Abraham narrative

> is bound together by two major promissory themes: Abraham as the physical progenitor of a "great nation," and Abraham as the spiritual benefactor of "all the nations of the earth." The establishment of the "great nation" is the primary focus up to and including the covenant established in Genesis 15. From this point on, however, attention is chiefly paid to the "seed" through whom Abraham will mediate blessing to "many nations." This emphasis culminates in the establishment of an eternal covenant (in

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Press, 2000); R. W. L. Moberly, *The Theology of the Book of Genesis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

6. A well-informed explanation of this complex history of biblical interpretation can be found in Thomas Römer, "The Narrative Books of the Hebrew Bible," in *The Hebrew Bible: A Critical Companion,* ed. John Barton (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 121–24.

7. I have discussed these various approaches and the points of scholarly disagreement in much greater detail in a working paper titled "All Kindreds Shall Be Blessed: Nephite, Jewish, and Christian Interpretations of the Abrahamic Covenant," All Faculty Publications, BYU ScholarsArchive, June 26, 2017, http://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/facpub/1915/.

8. An excellent review of the best scholarly work on biblical covenant can now be found in Scott W. Hahn, *Kinship by Covenant: A Canonical Approach to the Fulfillment of God's Saving Promises* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2009).

Gen. 22) that will be perpetuated exclusively through the special "seed" who will descend from Abraham through Isaac.[9]

While the Old Testament writers mostly interpreted the blessings of the Abrahamic covenant in terms of a promised land and God's repeated deliverance or future glorious restoration of remnants of his chosen people (who lived in the highly problematic geopolitical crossroads of Palestine), Christian writers followed the lead of the New Testament by seeing Jesus Christ as the fulfillment of these promises to Abraham. The Christianization of the world provided these writers an attractive way to explain how Israel blesses all the families of the earth. As one proponent of this view concluded, "It is apparent that all the references to Abraham in the NT epistles reflect a common, and distinctively Christian, interpretation of the Genesis narrative. . . . Although the Genesis narrative does not identify this future king, the NT writers share the belief that he is Jesus Christ, the son of David. Clearly, these basic ideas influenced significantly the soteriology of the early church and its view of the nature of Jesus Christ's mission to the world. . . . The NT understanding of the Abraham narrative is derived from a careful exegesis of the Genesis text."[10] In another example, a Christian scholar produced a detailed study of the remnant prophecies (that is, prophecies related to the restoration or gathering of Israelite peoples who have been lost or scattered) of the Old Testament and argued that these prophecies would be fulfilled through the Christian Church.[11]

In comparison to traditional Christian interpretations, the Book of Mormon perspective on the Abrahamic covenant is both clear and

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9. Williamson, *Abraham, Israel and the Nations,* 258–59.

10. T. Desmond Alexander, "The Abraham Narrative and the New Testament Understanding of Justification by Faith," in *He Swore an Oath: Biblical Themes from Genesis 12–50,* ed. Richard S. Hess, Gordon J. Wenham, and Philip E. Satterthwaite, 2d ed. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Tyndale House, 1994), 28. The linguistic evidence for interpreting *seed* in Genesis as a unique male descendant is presented in T. Desmond Alexander, "Further Observations on the Term 'Seed' in Genesis," *Tyndale Bulletin* 48, no. 2 (1997): 364–68. In contrast, Joel N. Lohr has argued that the Christian habit of reading Paul's interpretation of these Genesis promises into scholarly treatments of Genesis is not grounded in the accepted best practices for Old Testament scholarship. Lohr, "Abraham the Missionary? The Call of Abraham in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam," *Journal of Interreligious Studies* 13 (Winter 2014): 67–71.

11. J. C. Campbell, "God's People and the Remnant," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 3 (March 1950): 78–85.

unique. The Book of Mormon repeatedly anticipates the fulfillment of the Abrahamic covenant in the last days, but traditional Christianity, rather than serving as the means for that fulfillment, becomes a significant part of the problem because it harbored influences through which many of the most "plain and precious parts" of Christ's gospel were lost. The Nephite prophets in the Book of Mormon describe the last days as a time when all the branches of Jacob's descendants will be scattered and lost from the true Abrahamic religion and, similarly, all the branches of original Christianity will be confused and divided in competition with one another. The "remnant prophecy" proclaimed throughout the Book of Mormon foretells a divine restoration of Christ's gospel, which will come to the Gentiles first, and that will signal the onset of the last days. A new Gentile church will emerge that will enable the remnants of Joseph, Judah, and the lost tribes of Israel to recognize Jesus Christ as their promised Messiah and believe in him and his gospel. The lost prophetic writings from the branches of Jacob's descendants will be rediscovered and convince both Gentiles and Jews that Jesus Christ was and is the Messiah. In other words, these prophetic writings from these branches of ancient Israel—especially the Book of Mormon, from the lineage of Joseph—will be the primary instruments through which Abraham's seed will bless the nations, leading in turn to the restoration of the house of Israel to their god and to their promised lands.

Covenant Discourse in the Book of Mormon

The notion of binding covenants or promises permeates prophetic discourse in the Book of Mormon and surfaces in a variety of contexts.[12] Instances range from the covenants men make with each other in pursuit of different ends (good or evil) to the promises offered by God to his people for their security and prosperity on this earth and for their eternal blessings hereafter. Prominent among these covenants is the promise given to all who come to dwell in the promised land—if they keep the commandments of God, they will prosper in the land. Conversely, the prophets consistently warn the wicked that if they will not repent, they will be destroyed. The call

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12. In his contribution to the 2003 Sidney B. Sperry Symposium, Victor Ludlow surveyed the concept of covenant in the Book of Mormon generally and provided several helpful insights. See Victor L. Ludlow, "Covenant Teachings in the Book of Mormon," in *The Fulness of the Gospel: Foundational Teachings from the Book of Mormon* (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2003), 225–45.

to repentance is simply an invitation to return and recommit to the original covenant of obedience. All Book of Mormon writers recognized that the full manifestation of the covenants God offered to his children on earth was only articulated in the gospel of Jesus Christ, by which all men and women are invited to come unto him and receive eternal life. While the Book of Mormon understanding of God's covenant with Abraham has been well and accurately summarized in various reference works, I have undertaken this essay in the belief that there is even more to be learned from a detailed examination of the Book of Mormon references to the Abrahamic covenant in their various contexts.[13]

The Book of Mormon—from the writings of its first prophets to the very end—maintains three related but distinct streams of covenant discourse—each grounded in its own specific covenant. All three are embedded in prophecies that feature an *if/then* and *if not/then* structure. All three are intimately connected to the Book of Mormon itself and its long-term mission (as will be explained in detail below). Furthermore, all three are featured in the teachings of multiple Nephite prophets and in the teachings of Jesus Christ himself to the Nephites. The first of these streams of covenant discourse derives from the Lord's promise to Lehi and his successors that if they are obedient, the Lord will give them a chosen land of liberty in which they will prosper as a people. The second stream of covenant discourse features a version of the Abrahamic covenant, focused on Jacob's son Joseph as the ancestor of Lehi, that emphasizes (1) the promise to the house of Israel that it will ultimately be gathered in peace and righteousness to its promised homeland, and (2) the promise received originally by Abraham (which does not reappear much in the Bible) that all the kindreds of the earth would be blessed through his seed. The third stream of covenant discourse is grounded in the universal covenant the Father offers to all his children, regardless of Abrahamic descent, that if they accept his gospel and come unto him, they will receive eternal life.[14]

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13. Two of the best summaries are in Ellis T. Rasmussen, "Abrahamic Covenant," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism,* ed. Daniel H. Ludlow, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 1:9–10; and Stephen David Ricks, "Abrahamic Covenant," in *Book of Mormon Reference Companion,* ed. Dennis L. Largey (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2003), 25–26.

14. This paper will not examine the ancient idea of covenant itself, which has been developed in a sequel effort by the author. See Noel B. Reynolds, "The Covenant Concept in the Book of Mormon," All Faculty Publications,

The Book of Mormon, produced by Lehi and his prophet successors, was destined to become the primary means in the last days by which the fullness of Christ's gospel would come first to the Gentiles and then to the lost and scattered tribes of Israel and would help gather them in— becoming in that process a blessing to all nations.[15] The three covenants are thus interrelated and unified: the Lord's covenant to Lehi resulted in the remnant of Joseph, Lehi's descendants, who created the record that contains a complete account of gospel, the new covenant of Jesus Christ, which will in turn become the means of fulfilling the Abrahamic covenant, which promises that through Abraham all nations will be blessed. That unifying vision of the three covenants was given to Lehi and Nephi, was rearticulated by Jesus in his visit to the Nephites, and provided the overarching structure for the final teachings and prophecies of Mormon and Moroni at the end of the record.

Covenant Discourse 1: The Lehite and Jaredite Covenants

The most obvious covenant discourse in the Book of Mormon centers on the promise God made first to Lehi, then to Nephi, and subsequently to their successors. This covenant is cited frequently throughout the writings of Nephite prophets, covering a period of a thousand years, and is alluded to even more often. It is the promise to Lehi and his descendants that if they will keep the commandments of God, they will be led to and prosper in the promised land—a land of liberty. This promise is cited repeatedly to (1) call the wicked to repentance and (2) explain the blessings of peace that are given to the righteous at various points in Nephite/Lamanite history.

One first encounters the Lehite covenant, not as it was given to the prophet Lehi, but as it was given to his young son Nephi. Though Nephi tells the reader he will "not make a full account" of the "many things which he [Lehi] prophesied and spake unto his children" (1 Ne. 1:16), Nephi does soon after present the covenant in the form the Lord gave

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BYU ScholarsArchive, August 20, 2018, https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/facpub/2176/.

15. It is worth noting that the revelations of the Restoration do not contain any detailed exposition of the gospel of Jesus Christ. Instead they state five times that the Book of Mormon contains the fullness of the everlasting gospel or "all those parts of my gospel" that the Nephite prophets had prayed would be preserved and given to the Gentile nation. See Doctrine and Covenants 20:9; 27:5; 42:12; 135:3; and 10:46.

it to him: "And inasmuch as ye shall keep my commandments, ye shall prosper and shall be led to a land of promise, yea, even a land which I have prepared for you, a land which is choice above all other lands" (1 Ne. 2:20).[16] Only two chapters later, Nephi remembers this as a promise to his own descendants: "inasmuch as thy seed shall keep my commandments, they shall prosper in the land of promise" (1 Ne. 4:14). Nephi also quotes a later version of this covenant that was expanded by the Lord to focus on its role in establishing the faith of Lehi's family in the Lord:

> For he saith: I will make that thy food shall become sweet, that ye cook it not. And I will also be your light in the wilderness. And I will prepare the way before you if it so be that ye shall keep my commandments. Wherefore inasmuch as ye shall keep my commandments, ye shall be led towards the promised land. *And ye shall know that it is by me that ye are led.* Yea, and the Lord said also that after ye have arriven to the promised land, *ye shall know* that I the Lord am God and that I the Lord did deliver you from destruction, yea, that I did bring you out of the land of Jerusalem. (1 Ne. 17:12–14, emphasis added)

Later, Nephi incorporates a much longer version of this covenant into his text as part of his father's final instructions and blessings to his family (see 2 Ne. 1:3–12).[17] Lehi presents it both as a promise given to him personally and as a universal promise that applies to anyone "which the Lord God shall bring" (2 Ne. 1:9): "We have obtained a land of promise, a land which is choice above all other lands, a land which the Lord God *hath covenanted with me* should be a land for the inheritance of my seed. Yea, the Lord hath consecrated this land unto me and to my children forever, and also all they which should be led out of other countries by the hand of the Lord" (2 Ne. 1:5, emphasis added).

In appending a brief account of the Jaredites (which was discovered and translated much later in Nephite history) to his father's abridgment of the Nephite records, Moroni learned that the brother of Jared had received a similar promise from the Lord before he brought his people from the Tower of Babel to the New World. Moroni used that understanding to interpret and explain the ups and downs of the Jaredite experience. He quoted Jared himself anticipating the blessing of a

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16. All quotations from the Book of Mormon are taken from Royal Skousen's 2009 critical text—*The Book of Mormon: The Earliest Text* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University), which provides the most accurate version of Joseph Smith's original translation.

17. Verse 9 reads, "I Lehi have obtained a promise."

promised land when he sent his brother to "inquire of the Lord" where to take their group: "And who knoweth but the Lord will carry us forth into a land which is choice above all the earth. And if it so be, let us be faithful unto the Lord, that we may receive it for our inheritance" (Ether 1:38). The Lord heard their prayers and said: "I will go before thee into a land which is choice above all the land of the earth. And there will I bless thee and thy seed and raise up unto me of thy seed, and the seed of thy brother . . . a great nation. And there shall be none greater . . . upon all the face of the earth" (Ether 1:42–43). While the requirement of faithfulness to the commandments is recognized in Jared's proposed prayer to the Lord, it is not explicitly included in this version of the Lord's response. It does, however, become the focus in Moroni's second version of the Lord's answer: "And he [the Lord] had sworn in his wrath unto the brother of Jared that whoso should possess this land of promise, from that time henceforth and forever, should serve him, the true and only God, or they should be swept off when the fullness of his wrath should come upon them" (Ether 2:8).

By my count, the Nephite/Jaredite covenant formula of (1) keeping the commandments, (2) receiving a promised land, and (3) prospering in that land is repeated eighty times in the Book of Mormon in either a positive (thirty-eight times) or a negative (forty-two times) construction.[18] Many of these statements invoke the simplest version of this formula, while others expand to elaborate or make the meaning more specific. Lehi, for example, attached a promise of liberty to the explicit covenant language of blessing and cursing. The universal implication of this covenant was also clear to Lehi since it included no requirement of Abrahamic descent: "Wherefore this land is consecrated unto him whom he shall bring. And if it so be that they shall serve him according to the commandments which he hath given, it shall be a land of liberty unto them; wherefore they shall never be brought down into captivity. If so, it shall be because of iniquity; for if iniquity shall abound, cursed shall be the land for their sakes. But unto the righteous it shall be blessed forever" (2 Ne. 1:7).

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18. Positive versions include 1 Nephi 2:20; 4:14; 14:1–2; 17:13; 2 Nephi 1:7–8, 9, 20, 32; 3:2; 4:4; Jarom 1:9; Mosiah 1:7; 2:22, 31; Alma 9:13; 36:1, 30; 37:13; 38:1; 48:15, 25; 50:20; 62:51; Helaman 3:20; 4:15; 7:24; 12:1; 3 Nephi 5:22; 10:6; Ether 1:38, 42–43; 2:7, 9, 10, 12; 7:26; 9:16, 20; and 13:2. Negative versions occur in 2 Nephi 1:10, 20; 4:4; 5:20; Jacob 3:3; Jarom 1:10; Omni 1:6; Alma 9:13, 14, 18, 24; 36:30; 37:13, 22, 25, 26, 31; 38:1; 45:16; 50:20; Helaman 7:28; 13:7, 23; Mormon 1:17; 3:15; Ether 2:9, 10, 15; 7:23; 9:20, 28; 11:1, 6, 12; and 14:1.

Before moving on to a discussion of the second stream of covenant discourse, there are a few nuances regarding the Lehite/Jaredite covenants that deserve attention: (1) the recurring penalty for covenant breakers of being "cut off from the presence of the Lord," (2) the use of term *promise* to refer to covenants, and (3) the concentration of references to these covenants in prophetic appeals to repentance.

Covenant Breakers Are "Cut Off from the Presence of the Lord." Almost half of the negative formulations of this covenant in the Book of Mormon indicate that the wicked will be cursed or punished by being "cut off from the presence of the Lord." When this phrase occurs in Leviticus, "the presence of the Lord" is usually understood to refer to "the tabernacle presence of the Lord" (Lev. 22:3).[19] But in his teachings on the Atonement, Jacob of the Book of Mormon uses this phrase to describe the general consequence of the Fall or "the first judgment" of all humankind: "because man became fallen, they were cut off from the presence of the Lord," which is to suffer spiritual death (2 Ne. 9:6–7; see also Alma 42:9; Hel. 14:15–18). Alma later explains that the Lamanites were "cut off from the presence of the Lord" because they had "not kept the commandments of God . . . from the beginning of their transgressions in the land" (Alma 9:14). Later, Mormon saw the verification of "these promises" in the "wars and . . . destructions" that were "brought upon" the Nephites by "their quarrelings and their contentions, . . . their murderings and their plunderings, their idolatry and their whoredoms and their abominations" (Alma 50:21). When the Lord uses the phrase "cut off from the presence of the Lord" with Jared's brother, it may have referred to the Spirit of the Lord: "For ye shall remember that my Spirit will not always strive with man. Wherefore if ye will sin until ye are fully ripe, ye shall be cut off from the presence of the Lord" (Ether 2:15). Moroni later explains that the otherwise good Jaredite king Morianton was "cut off from the presence of the Lord" "because of his many whoredoms" (Ether 10:11).

Covenants and Promises. What I have been calling the Lehite or Jaredite "covenant" is usually referred to as a "promise" in the text, but there is a difference between the two terms: while promises are often thought of in unilateral terms, covenants are usually understood to have a reciprocal structure, with obligations held by both parties. In Lehi's

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19. R. E. Averbeck, "Tabernacle," in *Dictionary of the Old Testament: Pentateuch*, ed. T. Desmond Alexander and David W. Baker (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 2013), 820.

final instructions to his family, he specifically refers to a promise as a covenant: "We have obtained a land of promise, a land which is choice above all other lands, a land which the Lord God *hath covenanted with me* should be a land for the inheritance of my seed" (2 Ne. 1:5, emphasis added). While this covenant bears obvious similarities to God's covenant with Abraham and features a clearly reciprocal character, Lehi does call it a promise at times. However, as illustrated in the following quote, this promise is equivalent to a covenant: "I Lehi have obtained a promise that inasmuch as they which the Lord God shall bring out of the land of Jerusalem shall keep his commandments, they shall prosper upon the face of this land. . . . And if it so be that they shall keep his commandments, they shall be blessed upon the face of this land . . . and they shall dwell safely forever," but "when the time cometh that they shall dwindle in unbelief," the judgments of God "shall rest upon them" (2 Ne. 1:9–10). The covenant language of blessing and cursing is frequently used in connection with this promise; that, plus its reciprocal structure (both parties have obligations to uphold), indicates this promise is acting in essence as a covenant. Lehi goes on to appeal to his older sons and urge them to repent "that ye may not come down into captivity" or "be cursed with a sore cursing," incurring "the displeasure of a just God"— even "eternal destruction" (2 Ne. 1:16–22).

In blessing his sons, Lehi ends with Joseph, the youngest, and explicitly connects the promises he, Lehi, received when being led out of Jerusalem to "*the covenants of the Lord* which he made unto Joseph," who "truly saw our day" (2 Ne. 3:4–5, emphasis added). After declaring to his son that he is a descendant of their biblical ancestor Joseph, Lehi rehearses the covenants the Lord had made with Joseph; he had also "obtained a *promise* of the Lord that out of the fruit of his loins the Lord God would raise up a righteous branch unto the house of Israel" that would "be remembered in the *covenants* of the Lord" and be brought out of "darkness and out of captivity unto freedom"—"for great was the *covenants* of the Lord which he made unto Joseph" (2 Ne. 3:4–5, emphasis added).[20] In this passage, Lehi clearly equates the promises of the Lord to Joseph to the covenants the Lord made with Lehi. And just as clearly, Lehi understands that the promises he has received are a part of the fulfillment of the same promises or covenants received generations earlier

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20. While the grammar of this quotation can offend the ear of a modern reader, it has been helpfully analyzed by Stanford Carmack in his essay, "The Case of Plural *Was* in the Earliest Text," *Interpreter* 18 (2016): 109–37.

by Joseph. Like covenants, all these promises are connected to blessings or cursings, which will be received depending on whether the people are obedient or disobedient to the commandments.

Equivalence between *promise* and *covenant* is also reflected in the references to the lands promised to Lehi, Jared, and Abraham in the covenants God made with them. Nephi quotes the reference to Abraham's promised lands in Isaiah 14:1–2: "For the Lord will have mercy on Jacob and will yet choose Israel and set them in their own land. . . . And they shall return to their *lands of promise*, and the house of Israel shall possess them" (2 Ne. 24:1–2, emphasis added). Lehi, Nephi, and Jacob refer twenty-eight times to their own "lands of promise" or "promised land," which they also refer to as the "land of their inheritance," which replaced the land of Lehi's inheritance in Jerusalem.[21]

In the closing chapters of the Book of Mormon, it is clear that both Mormon and Moroni understand these long-standing promises as covenants. Mormon will tell his readers that the Jews, "or all the house of Israel," will be eventually restored to the "land of their inheritance, which the Lord their God hath given them, unto the fulfilling of his *covenant*"—at that time the Lord will "remember the *covenant* which he made unto Abraham and unto all the house of Israel" (Morm. 5:14, 20, emphasis added). Here, at the end of the Nephite record, Mormon echoes the same understanding stated at the beginning by Jacob: "And now my beloved brethren, I [Jacob] have read these things that ye might know concerning the covenants of the Lord, that he hath covenanted with all the house of Israel, that he hath spoken unto the Jews by the mouth of his holy prophets, even from the beginning down from generation to generation until the time cometh that they shall be restored to the true church and fold of God, when they shall be gathered home to the lands of their inheritance and shall be established in all their lands of promise" (2 Ne. 9:1–2). In his own late prophecies, Moroni calls the future descendants of Lehi a "remnant of the seed of Joseph," who are thereby also "of the house of Israel" and "partakers of the fulfilling of the *covenant* which God made with their father Abraham" (Ether 13:6–11, emphasis added).

Calls to Repentance and the Covenant. God's covenants with Lehi and Jared provide standard reference points for prophets who are sent to

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21. Compare 1 Nephi 2:4, 11; 3:16, 22; and 5:2 with 1 Nephi 13:30: "the land which the Lord God hath covenanted with thy father that his seed should have for the land of their inheritance."

call a wicked people to repentance. A full quarter of the references to that covenant explicitly call the wicked to repent, to turn or return to the Lord, and to obey his commandments to avoid or get relief from the cursing that comes upon the wicked. The rest of the negative formulations of the covenant implicitly say the same thing.

Absent from these passages is any outline of a special repentance process or required penance. The wicked are simply required to give up their wicked practices and begin keeping the commandments. Turning from their "strange" or "forbidden" paths to the way of the righteous seems to fully define the concept of repentance the Lord and his prophets had in mind.[22] Moroni tells how the Jaredite king Shule's initiative to protect the prophets from persecution and reviling by the wicked successfully enabled the prophets to bring "the people . . . unto repentance. And because the people did repent of their iniquities and idolatries, the Lord did spare them; and they began to prosper again in the land" (Ether 7:25–26). Similarly, a trio of Nephite prophets were able to convince a wicked generation of Nephites who were losing their territory to their enemies to repent: "But behold, Moronihah did preach many things unto the people because of their iniquity. And also Nephi and Lehi, which were the sons of Helaman, did preach many things unto the people, yea, and did prophesy many things unto them concerning their iniquities and what should come unto them if they did not repent of their sins. And it came to pass that they did repent; and inasmuch as they did repent, they did begin to prosper" (Hel. 4:14–15).

Perhaps the most dramatic and authoritative of these calls to repentance occurred when the great destructions came upon the wicked Nephites at the time of the crucifixion of Christ. The "lamenting and howling" of the survivors was reduced to silence when a voice from heaven was heard declaring himself to be Jesus Christ, announcing his gospel, and inviting all to repent and come unto him: "Repent and come unto me, ye ends of the earth, and be saved" (3 Ne. 9:22). Then after "the space of many hours" (3 Ne. 10:1), the voice came again, repeating and expanding the call to repentance in terms of the covenants the Lord had given to their forebears: "O ye house of Israel whom I have spared, how oft will I gather you as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings if ye will repent and return unto me with full purpose of heart! But if not,

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22. For a comprehensive examination of the Book of Mormon emphasis on this doctrine, see Noel B. Reynolds, "The Ancient Doctrine of the Two Ways and the Book of Mormon," *BYU Studies Quarterly* 56, no. 3 (2017): 49–78.

O house of Israel, the places of your dwellings shall become desolate until the time of the fulfilling of the *covenant* to your fathers" (3 Ne. 10:6–7, emphasis added).

As many times as "the covenant to [their] fathers" is stated and restated to the Nephites, it is always cast in the same reciprocal formula: "for the promises of the Lord were, if they should keep his commandments they should prosper in the land" (Alma 48:25). The formulation is not always negative and focused on repentance. Editorializing on a time of Nephite prosperity, for example, Mormon cites the Nephites' blessings as a confirmation of the words which the Lord had spoken originally to their ancestor Lehi: "Blessed art thou and thy children. And they shall be blessed! And inasmuch as they shall keep my commandments, they shall prosper in the land. But remember, inasmuch as they will not keep my commandments, they shall be cut off from the presence of the Lord" (Alma 50:2).

It is not accidental that the frequent citations or allusions to the Lehite covenant throughout the Book of Mormon seem to raise memories of the other two covenants—the Abrahamic covenant and the gospel of Jesus Christ. The promise of lands and posterity appears to be a particularization of the broader promise to Abraham. And the Book of Mormon repeatedly frames the latter-day restoration of the gospel as a fulfillment of the promise to Abraham that "in his seed all the kindreds of the earth shall be blessed."[23]

Covenant Discourse 2: The Abrahamic Covenant

The second stream of covenant discourse in the Book of Mormon reaches back explicitly to God's covenant with Abraham. And the focus shifts beyond the prophets' immediate concerns of the blessing and cursing of Nephites or Jaredites to the covenant's long-term implications not only for the house of Israel but also for all humankind. The Nephite prophets understood the Abrahamic covenant to be related to all their prophecies and to such basic doctrinal concepts as the plan of salvation, the gospel

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23. In another study, I have shown that the rhetorical form of many of the references to the Lehite covenant imitate the hundreds of abbreviated references to the gospel in the Book of Mormon, suggesting that there may be a deeper connection between these three streams of covenant discourse. See Noel B. Reynolds, "Biblical *Merismus* in Book of Mormon Gospel References," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 26 (2017): 131–32.

of Jesus Christ, and the salvation history of all mankind (discussed later in this section).

This second stream of covenant discourse grows out of the visions of Lehi and Nephi and the teachings of Christ to the Nephites, and it includes repeated references to the last part of God's promise given individually to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob that "in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed" (Gen. 22:18; 12:3; 26:4; 28:14). While biblical scholars have tended to ignore that last part of the Abrahamic covenant, and some Christian scholars, following Peter and Paul, have tended to see Christ and the worldwide expansion of traditional Christianity as the fulfillment of this promise,[24] Book of Mormon discourse consistently presents an interpretation that pushes the fulfillment of the promise forward to the end of times. The future expectations presented in the visions of Book of Mormon prophets and in the teachings of Jesus to the Nephites are inseparable from the Abrahamic covenant, which is used to connect the beginning of God's people with the end.

The twenty-nine mentions of Abraham in the Book of Mormon serve a variety of functions. Two occur incidentally in material quoted from Isaiah (2 Ne. 8:2; 27:33). Two more occur in an account of how Abraham paid tithes to Melchizedek (Alma 13:15). Three appear in an account of Abraham with Isaac and Jacob, seated in the kingdom of heaven, with their garments "cleansed" and "spotless, pure and white," to inspire the people to repent so that they might qualify to be seated in the kingdom with their ancient forebears (Alma 5:24; 7:25; Hel. 3:30). In eight passages, Nephite prophets remind the people that their god is the same god who was claimed by Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob and who delivered Israel from Egyptian bondage and performed other great miracles to preserve their ancestors (1 Ne. 6:4; 17:40; Mosiah 7:19; 23:23; Alma 29:11; 36:2; 3 Ne. 4:30; Morm. 9:11). In these and other passages, the god of Abraham is identified six times with the prophesied Messiah that Abraham and other prophets saw in vision and prophesied of concerning his

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24. For example, Williamson, in *Abraham, Israel, and the Nations,* concludes his exhaustive analysis of the Old Testament covenant passages with the statement that Jesus Christ "was the royal 'seed' of Abraham in whom all nations would be blessed" (267). Another example of detailed scriptural analysis being used to identify Christ and his people as the "true Israel" through whom the promise to Abraham will be fulfilled is found in Peter J. Gentry and Stephen J. Wellum, *Kingdom through Covenant: A Biblical Theological Understanding of the Covenants* (Wheaton, Ill.: Crossway, 2012), 608. Such conclusions are typical in the biblical studies of Christian scholars.

coming and his Atonement, as recorded in scriptures not found in our modern Bible (1 Ne. 19:10; Jacob 4:5; Hel. 8:16–19; Ether 13:11).[25] Another four passages refer explicitly to the covenant God made to remember Abraham's seed forever (1 Ne. 15:13–18; 22:9; 2 Ne. 29:14; 3 Ne. 20:25, 27).

Distinguishing the Plan of Salvation, the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and Salvation History. It will be helpful to the following discussion to distinguish three key elements of salvation discourse so that readers can observe their interactions and roles in the Book of Mormon teachings and prophecies.

1. The *plan of salvation* is a name for God's grand scheme to make salvation possible for all humankind. It includes the creation of the world, the fall of man, the Atonement of Jesus Christ, the preaching of the gospel, the establishment of the kingdom of God, the final gathering of Israel, and the final judgment. These are the events the Father and the Son have brought or will bring about for humankind, creating the opportunity for God's spirit children to become like them. The Nephite prophets employ a dozen variations of this phrase, which is unique to the Book of Mormon.

2. The *gospel* or *doctrine of Jesus Christ* teaches men and women individually the way they must go, what they must do, to be prepared at the judgment and to enter into the presence of the Lord.[26] This doctrine is clearly taught in the Book of Mormon as a six-part formula requiring (1) faith in Jesus Christ, (2) repentance, (3) baptism in water, (4) baptism of fire and the Holy Ghost, and (5) endurance in faith to the end (6) for all who would receive eternal life.

3. S*alvation history* is the overarching story told in the historical scriptures—namely, the prophecies of how God and his prophets have taught and will teach the gospel to men and women in different dispensations. Salvation history is also the story of how the

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25. Jennifer C. Lane has shown why these passages describe the "heavenly enthronement" of the righteous. See "Sitting Enthroned: A Scriptural Perspective," *Religious Educator* 19, no. 1 (2018): 103–17.

26. In a previous essay, I offered a brief clarification of the meanings and relationships of these and other connected scriptural terms. See Noel B. Reynolds, "This Is the Way," *Religious Educator* 14, no. 3 (2013): 79–91. A more complete explication is provided in a working paper: Noel B. Reynolds, "The Great Plans of the Eternal God," All Faculty Publications, BYU ScholarsArchive, August 20, 2018, https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/facpub/2175/.

Lord's people will be brought together in righteousness in a final dispensation through successive cycles of apostasy and repentance, destruction and restoration.

The Abrahamic covenant is the key thread of the salvation history presented in the Book of Mormon. The Abrahamic covenant reassures both the wicked and the righteous that the Father is in control, that he loves his children on the earth, that he makes covenants with them to help them become a holy nation, and that he will reward them at the last day according to the choices they have made, even giving eternal life to all who accept his gospel and endure to the end. Like the gospel, the Abrahamic covenant is a key part of salvation history. It would be a mistake, however, to think of the *Abrahamic covenant* as another name for the *gospel*. Each of these terms plays an important and clearly distinct role. The Abrahamic covenant entails prophecies describing the future working out of salvation of groups such as the Gentiles, the remnant of Joseph, the Jews, and all the tribes of Israel. At the same time, it also serves as a surrogate for the gospel of Jesus Christ, which conveys eternal promises to all men and women. The historical accounts of the ups and downs of covenant Israel in its relationship with the Lord are instructive for all individuals who consider the gospel invitation to come unto him. The gospel, on the other hand, entails the greatest prophecy, describing how the eternal salvation of every individual—no matter which of these groups he or she belongs to—will be determined at the judgment by his or her response to the Father's commandment to repent and be baptized and endure in faith to the end. So the covenant given to Abraham and the gospel of Jesus Christ turn out to be different, but both are very important ways of talking about the Lord's relationship to his people. The former refers to Israel corporately, as a people with a history and a prophesied future. The latter is directed to individuals. Because they both come from God and deal with his offers to help them qualify for salvation in this world and in the next, it is easy to conflate the two terms, but each is prominent in its own important and distinct contexts.[27]

The Abrahamic Covenant and the Remnant and Messianic Prophecies. This salvation history, the story of God's past and future dealings

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27. Michael A. Goodman, "The Abrahamic Covenant: A Foundational Theme for the Old Testament," *Religious Educator* 4, no. 3 (2003): 43–53, provides a good representative of the Latter-day Saint attempts to articulate the relationship between the Abrahamic covenant and the gospel of Jesus Christ and produces a somewhat different conclusion than what is offered here.

with his children on this earth, is the constant theme of the great prophecies in the Book of Mormon and the principal framework used by its writers. In the opening page of his record, Nephi tells how his father, Lehi, prayed fervently to the Lord on behalf of disobedient Israel, was given great visions, and came out of that experience (1) knowing that his generation would be destroyed and carried captive into Babylon and (2) unexpectedly praising God and rejoicing with his "whole heart" because he had been shown the "power and goodness and mercy" of the Lord, who is merciful to "all the inhabitants of the earth" and will "not suffer that those who come" unto him should perish (1 Ne. 1:5–15).

If an explication of the past and future fulfillment of the covenant God made with Lehi and his descendants was not part of Lehi's first visions, it is clear that it was a part of the great vision received separately by both Lehi and Nephi at the first camp in the wilderness. Book of Mormon discourse regarding the Abrahamic covenant tends to focus on (1) the prophesied scattering and gathering of Israel (the remnant prophecy) and (2) on the ways in which the kindreds of the earth will be blessed through Abraham's seed. A key element in this story is an account of the role the Gentile nations will play. In the last days, the fullness of the gospel will be established among the Gentiles, who will then take the gospel to scattered Israel, bringing them "to the knowledge of the true Messiah"—the means by which they will finally be "grafted in" or "gathered together" in the last days (1 Ne. 10:14).

Nephi's own visions provided him with the same perspective on the long-term salvation history of all peoples. In the vision Nephi received at the first camp in the wilderness, for instance, he was shown the future coming of Christ, the apostasy and destruction of the descendants of Lehi, and the eventual restoration of the gospel to the Gentiles, who in the last days would, in turn, bring the gospel to the scattered remnants of the house of Israel, who would then finally believe in Jesus Christ, repent, and be gathered in—fulfilling the promises of the Abrahamic covenant (see 1 Ne. 11–15). The first prophets in the Book of Mormon also understood that the Lord's promise to their branch of Israel was an extension of the part of the Abrahamic covenant that indicates Abraham's descendants will bless all people: "Wherefore our father hath not spoken of our seed alone but also of all the house of Israel, pointing to the covenant which should be fulfilled in the latter days, which covenant the Lord made to our father Abraham, saying: *In thy seed shall all the kindreds of the earth be blessed*" (1 Ne. 15:18, emphasis added).

Nephi's quick summary of Lehi's teachings taken from that vision states simply that Lehi "spake unto my brethren concerning the gospel" and "concerning the Gentiles and also concerning the house of Israel," that they "should be scattered" and "gathered together again" (1 Ne. 10:11–14). The more detailed version of these teachings is reserved for Nephi's own account of the great vision in the following four chapters and again in the concluding chapters of his second book. An angel tells Nephi that if the latter-day Gentiles accept the Messiah and his gospel, they will "be numbered among the house of Israel" and "be a blessed people upon the promised land forever" (1 Ne. 14:2). The angel goes on to remind Nephi twice of "the covenants of the Lord unto the house of Israel" (1 Ne. 14:5, 8). And when Nephi saw the forces of the devil mobilize to destroy the "church of the Lamb of God" in the last days, he also saw the power of the Lamb descending "upon the saints of the church of the Lamb and upon the covenant people of the Lord, which were scattered upon all the face of the earth. And they were armed with righteousness and with the power of God in great glory" (1 Ne. 14:10–14). This is far more detail than can be found in any of the biblical versions of the remnant prophecy.

Later, when preaching to his brothers, Nephi draws even more deeply on what he learned in this vision to support an expanded explanation of this part of God's covenant with Abraham:

> And after that our seed is scattered, the Lord God will proceed to do a marvelous work among the Gentiles which shall be of great worth unto our seed. Wherefore it is likened unto the being nursed by the Gentiles and being carried in their arms and upon their shoulders. And it shall also be of worth unto the Gentiles—and not only unto the Gentiles but unto all the house of Israel—unto the making known of the covenants of the Father of heaven unto Abraham, saying: In thy seed shall all the kindreds of the earth be blessed.
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> And I would, my brethren that ye should know that all the kindreds of the earth cannot be blessed unless he shall make bare his arm in the eyes of the nations. Wherefore the Lord God will proceed to make bare his arm in the eyes of all the nations, in bringing about his covenants and his gospel unto they which are of the house of Israel. Wherefore he will bring them again out of captivity, and they shall be gathered together to the lands of their first inheritance. And they shall be brought out of obscurity and out of darkness, and they shall know that the Lord is their Savior and their Redeemer, the Mighty One of Israel. (1 Ne. 22:8–12)

The other major prophecies featured in the Book of Mormon also feature this remnant prophecy and salvation history, in combination with prophecies of Christ's future coming and explanations of his gospel. The remnant prophecy provides a corporate view of salvation history for all nations and the house of Israel. The messianic prophecy, on the other hand, explains how Christ will provide both the Atonement and the gospel teaching through which individuals can qualify for eternal life, whether they be Gentiles or of the house of Israel. The gospel provides the key mechanism through which individuals are saved, thereby making fulfillment of the Abrahamic covenant at the corporate level possible.

Nephi begins his second book with Lehi's last blessings to his children. In the blessings, Lehi emphasizes again the Abrahamic covenant in the version that had come down to him through Joseph (2 Ne. 1–4). Nephi's second book then features the words of his younger brother Jacob, who reads two chapters of Isaiah that focus on these same covenants, followed by Jacob's own commentary on that same salvation history—a commentary that introduces the most developed account so far in the Book of Mormon of the prophesied Christ and his plan of salvation (2 Ne. 6–10). Following a brief central chapter that identifies the accumulating witnesses of the coming Christ (2 Ne. 11), Nephi inserts thirteen more chapters of Isaiah that were selected to serve as a second witness to support these remnant and messianic prophecies (2 Ne. 12–24). Nephi concludes his second book with his own prophecies (the requisite third witness) of Christ and of the future gathering of the remnants of Israel (2 Ne. 25–30),[28] followed by his own foundational account of the gospel of Christ as it had been taught to him by the Father and the Son in his first great vision (2 Ne. 31–32).[29] In his own book,

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28. Commentators commonly characterize these chapters as Nephi's interpretation of the Isaiah chapters that precede them. But the text is clear. Nephi labels this first section of his final sermon "mine own prophecy" or "a prophecy according to the Spirit which is in me" (2 Ne. 25:4, 7). The content derives principally from his earlier vision, as recorded in 1 Nephi 11–14.

29. In a forthcoming paper, I invoke the canons of Hebrew rhetoric of the seventh century BCE to show that 2 Nephi is organized as one large-scale chiasm based on thirteen inclusios that center on 2 Nephi 11:2–8, which is itself a chiasm that emphasizes the importance of the multiple witnesses of Christ. See "Chiastic Structuring of Large Texts: Second Nephi as a Case Study," *Proceedings of the Chiasmus Jubilee Conference,* forthcoming. The prepublished version is accessible online at All Faculty Publications, BYU ScholarsArchive, July 19, 2016, http://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/facpub/1679.

Jacob shares the allegory of the olive tree from the prophet Zenos (who is not mentioned in our modern Bible but who was possibly a predecessor of Isaiah); the allegory offers a distinct but fully compatible account of the same salvation history that had been presented by Lehi and Nephi. Jacob had read Nephi's record, likely noticed the brief reference to this allegory in the report of Lehi's vision (1 Ne. 10:14), and may have recognized that Nephi's readers would benefit from having the full allegory available to them.

During Christ's post-Resurrection visit to the Nephites, he prophesied, expounding and reinforcing (more than is usually recognized) that same salvation history, with a focus on God's covenant with Abraham. In the final chapters of their record, Mormon and his son Moroni repeatedly return to that same salvation history presented by Lehi, Nephi, Isaiah, and Jesus in preaching and prophesying to the future Gentiles and the remnants of Israel who Mormon and Moroni expect will receive the record. Though they have failed to bring their own people to repentance, they are powerfully motivated by the knowledge that the Nephite record, which they have labored under seemingly impossible circumstances to abridge, compile, and preserve, will in the last days be the key instrument through which the Lord will restore the fullness of his gospel to the Gentiles and to all Israel, thereby fulfilling his ancient covenant with Abraham—that in his seed all the nations of the earth would be blessed.

Over the course of his life, Nephi had clearly come to see in Isaiah a fellow traveler who had been shown the same remnant prophecy and whose writings confirmed his own revelations. In at least thirty-eight passages in the Book of Mormon, a prophet/writer restates or alludes directly to the remnant prophecy as a way of invoking the Abrahamic covenant.[30] In addition, Nephi, Jacob, Abinadi, and Jesus Christ, collectively, quote twenty-three complete chapters of Isaiah and Malachi to support their own remnant and messianic prophecies. In addition, there are another thirty-six shorter passages from these and other prophets. Nephi set this pattern of quoting previous prophets early in

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30. These include 1 Nephi 10:12–14; 13:30–42; 15:12–20; 19:13–17; 22:3–28; 2 Nephi 6:11–17; 9:1–2, 53; 10:8–19; 25:12–29; 26:12, 24–28, 33; 27:1–35; 28:3–32; 29:10–30:18; Jacob 4:2–14; 5:1–77; 6:4; Mosiah 15:28–31; Alma 37:4–7, 16–18; Helaman 15:11–13; 3 Nephi 5:21–26; 10:4–7; 16:4–20; 20:10–21:29; 29:1–9; 30:1–2; Mormon 3:17–22; 5:9–24; 7:1–10; 8:21–23; 9:37–39; Ether 12:22; 13:4–12; Moroni 7:31–32; and 10:31.

both his first and second books; he inserted lengthy excerpts from Isaiah to validate his own visions and prophecies of the future mission and ministry of Jesus Christ and of the fulfillment of God's promises to the remnants of the biblical Joseph and Jacob—beginning with the descendants of his own father, Lehi.

The remnant and messianic prophecies were tightly linked and impressed upon Nephi when as a youth he was shown the same great vision that his father Lehi had reported to the family. In four long chapters, Nephi summarizes what he saw of the life of Christ and how the movement he launched was corrupted not long after his crucifixion (see 1 Ne. 11–14). Later, at the end of his writings, Nephi finally shares with his readers the gospel of Jesus Christ—the "plain and precious truths" that would be lost from the Bible and the Gentile churches—as it was taught to him by the Father and the Son in that same early vision.[31] The last half of Nephi's account of his vision describes the decline of his own Christian descendants and of the Gentile Christians who eventually spread to Lehi's promised land in the Americas and destroy and scatter Lehi's descendants. Nephi goes on to report how he saw the Lord's work unfold as his gospel was restored—not to the Israelites but to the Gentiles—and how the Gentile believers would successfully take the gospel to the descendants of Lehi, to all the nations of the world, and finally to scattered Israel before the great and dreadful day of the Lord (1 Ne. 13:34, 37–39).

In his final sermon (2 Ne. 25–30), Nephi rehearses and elaborates his own earlier account. Starting once more with a powerful witness of the crucified and resurrected Messiah, Nephi prophesies that though Christ's teachings would be accepted initially, apostasy and decline would eventually follow, necessitating the restoration of his gospel and Church to the Gentiles in the future, through the record already initiated by Nephi and yet to be completed by his successors. The outcome described by God in this revelation is explicitly described as the fulfillment of his ancient promise to Abraham:

> And it shall come to pass that the Jews shall have the words of the Nephites; and the Nephites shall have the words of the Jews; and the Nephites and the Jews shall have the words of the lost tribes of Israel; and the lost tribes

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31. See 2 Nephi 31:2–21, and for an interpretation of that chapter, see Noel B. Reynolds, "The Gospel According to Nephi," *Religious Educator* 16, no. 2 (2015): 51–75.

of Israel shall have the words of the Nephites and the Jews. And it shall come to pass that my people which are of the house of Israel shall be gathered home unto the lands of their possessions. And my word also shall be gathered in one, and I will show unto them that fight against my word and against my people which are of the house of Israel that I am God and that I covenanted with Abraham that I would remember his seed forever. (2 Ne. 29:13–14)

A Blessing to All Nations. But how will Abraham's seed, scattered and smitten and lost for centuries, be instrumental in delivering this last great blessing to all nations? The solution to this puzzle comes from the same prophecies discussed thus far. Nephi's focus on the remnant prophecy, as laid out for him in his vision in far greater detail than in any other prophetic writing, is understandable because he had been told in his visions that the very record he was writing would emerge as a principal instrument in restoring the gospel in the last dispensation and convincing the remnant of his own people and (eventually) all the scattered remnants of Israel to believe in Jesus Christ, repent and come unto him, and accept him as the god of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Because of the things Nephi saw in his first great vision, which he further expounded in his prophecies to his brethren, he and his successors understood that the record of the Nephites, containing the fullness of the gospel of Jesus Christ as it was revealed to them, together with the lost records of other branches of scattered Israel, including the lost tribes, would be brought forth in the last days to convince Gentiles and Jews, Nephites and the lost tribes of Israel, that Jesus Christ is the god of the Old Testament and that, as individuals, they must accept and follow his gospel in order to be saved.

The teaching of Christ to the assembled Nephite survivors, with its focus on the remnant prophecy part of the Abrahamic covenant, provides by far the most complete explanation of that covenant and goes far beyond what most scholars have found in the Bible as it clearly foretells the key role the Nephite record will play in the future gathering of Israel.

I give unto you a sign that ye may know the time when these things shall be about to take place, that I shall gather in from their long dispersion my people, O house of Israel, and shall establish again among them my Zion. And behold, this is the thing which I will give unto you for a sign. For verily I say unto you that when these things which I declare unto you—and which I shall declare unto you hereafter of myself and by the power of the Holy Ghost, which shall be given unto you of the Father—shall be made known unto the Gentiles, that they may know concerning this

people which are a remnant of the house of Jacob and concerning this my people which shall be scattered by them—verily verily I say unto you: When these things shall be made known unto them of the Father and shall come forth of the Father from them unto you . . . it shall be a sign unto them that they may know that the work of the Father hath already commenced unto the fulfilling of the covenant which he hath made unto the people which are of the house of Israel.[32] (3 Ne. 21:1–3, 7)

In this passage, we see that Jesus Christ clearly taught the Nephites that the Book of Mormon would in the last days be the means by which the gospel would be restored first to the Gentiles and subsequently to the descendants of Lehi and then to the house of Israel generally, as a means of gathering them back to the Father, as promised to Abraham anciently.

The Prophecies of Jesus Christ to the Nephites. Mirroring Nephi's long exposition of the remnant prophecy at the beginning of the Nephite dispensation, Jesus Christ, almost six centuries later, devoted his second day of teaching the Nephites to the same topic. Having taught his gospel to the surviving righteous remnant of Nephites during his first day with them, he proceeded on the second day to unfold a lengthy account of how he would fulfill the Father's covenant with Abraham in the last days. Clarifying emphatically what none of the ancient prophets may have understood fully, Jesus refers to "the Father" as a being separate from himself thirty-eight times, making it clear that he was talking about "the covenant which the Father made with your fathers," "with your father Jacob," or "with Abraham" (see, for example, 3 Ne. 20:22, 25, 27). While the distinction between Jesus and his Father may have no clear precedent in our Hebrew Bible, other terminology of the Hebrew prophets is in evidence.

Historically, readers and scholars of the Old Testament have tended to ignore or de-emphasize the significance of the remnant prophecies associated with the Abrahamic covenant. In contrast, Jesus begins his second-day sermon by reminding the Nephites that they were "a remnant of the house of Israel"; he then repeats that connection eight more times in his discourse. Over the last few decades, Bible scholars have been influenced by the classic study of the remnant prophecy by Gerhard F. Hasel, who has shown that the idea that the Abrahamic covenant would be fulfilled through the restoration of a distant remnant of the house of Israel first shows up clearly in the writings of the eighth-century

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32. See the discussion of this passage in Ludlow, "Covenant Teachings," 240–41.

prophets, particularly Amos and then Isaiah.[33] Amos's unique reference to "the remnant of Joseph" (Amos 5:15) is now generally believed by scholars to refer to an eschatological event.[34] It is the prophecies of Isaiah, though, that most clearly parallel the remnant prophecies of Nephi and Jesus, each of whom quote long sections from Isaiah and comment on the great value of his writings.

While some Nephite prophets repeatedly emphasize the Deuteronomic interpretation of the covenant (which focused on righteous descendants receiving promised lands) when they taught the people and called them to repentance, Jesus focuses almost exclusively on the oft-forgotten promise that in Abraham's seed would "all the kindreds of the earth be blessed" (3 Ne. 20:25). He even cites the Abrahamic covenant an astonishing twelve times, including one quotation from Isaiah that alludes to the covenant.[35] Nowhere else in scripture can be found such an intensive and extensive treatment of the Abrahamic covenant. As Christ continues to prophesy in his second-day sermon to the assembled Nephites, he uses the word *covenant* sixteen times, invoking the promise to Abraham—sometimes in paraphrase but usually with the same wording used in one or more of its Old Testament references.

The most developed of these references by Jesus Christ to the Abrahamic covenant follows the same two-part pattern used six centuries earlier by Nephi in reporting his great vision (1 Ne. 11–14) and in Nephi's own final prophecies (2 Ne. 25–30)—that is, Christ begins with a reference to the prophecies of his own coming and then transitions to an expanded version of the remnant prophecy:

> And behold, ye are the children of the prophets, and ye are of the house of Israel, and ye are of the covenant which the Father made with your fathers, saying unto Abraham: And in thy seed shall all the kindreds of the earth be blessed. The Father having raised me up unto you first and sent me to bless you in turning away every one of you from his

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33. Gerhard F. Hasel, *The Remnant: The History and Theology of the Remnant Idea from Genesis to Isaiah,* Andrews University Monographs, vol. 5 (Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1974).

34. Hasel writes, "In Amos we encounter for the first time a connection of the remnant motif with eschatology." Hasel, *Remnant,* 205. See also Hasel's treatment of the Amos reference in *Remnant,* 199–205. In calling the Nephites to an urgent battle in defense of their liberty, Captain Moroni quoted the prophecy given to Lehi and Nephi that identified Lehi's descendants as the "remnant of Joseph" that would be preserved. See Alma 46:23–24 and 1 Nephi 13:34.

35. 3 Nephi 20:10, 12–13, 22, 25, 27, 29, 34–35, 46; 21:4, 7, 22; 22:10.

> iniquities—and this because ye are the children of the covenant. And
> after that ye were blessed, then fulfilleth the Father the covenant which
> he made with Abraham, saying: In thy seed shall all the kindreds of the
> earth be blessed—unto the pouring out of the Holy Ghost through me
> upon the Gentiles, which blessing upon the Gentiles shall make them
> mighty above all, unto the scattering of my people, O house of Israel.
> (3 Ne. 20:25–27)

This passage demonstrates clearly (1) that Christ himself is the primary
promoter of the salvation history and prophecies featuring the Abraha-
mic covenant and (2) that, contrary to standard Christian interpreta-
tions, he does not point to himself as the instrument by which the seed
of Abraham will become a blessing to the nations of the earth. Rather,
he teaches the Book of Mormon prophets that the record they are com-
piling, featuring "the fullness of the gospel," will be what brings about
the prophesied blessings in the latter days.

The Book of Mormon as the Prophesied Blessing to All Nations.
This second-day sermon of Jesus Christ to the Nephites, with its detailed
and scripturally documented salvation history, is the theological cli-
max of the Book of Mormon. Jesus does return later to the assembled
twelve disciples to ensure they clearly grasp the six-part definition of
his gospel that he spelled out in his first visit and that he and the Father
together had taught to Nephi in his earlier vision (see 3 Ne. 27:13–22).[36]
From this point on, Mormon and then Moroni wind down the story of
the last three centuries of Nephite civilization. But the salvation his-
tory, taught to the Nephites by Jesus Christ and grounded in God's
covenant given to Abraham, retains center stage. The sacred record they
are bringing to a close will be in fact the Lord's principal instrument for
fulfilling that covenant. As the Lord works his "marvelous work and a
wonder," the book will be brought first to the Gentiles and then through
them to the remnants of Israel.

Mormon understood that the record he had prepared would be a key
in God fulfilling his covenant to Israel.

> Now these things are written unto the remnant of the house of Jacob.
> And they are written after this manner because it is known of God that
> wickedness will not bring them forth unto them. And they are to be
> hid up unto the Lord, that they may come forth in his own due time. . . .

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36. For a detailed analysis of these three presentations of the gospel in the
Book of Mormon, see Noel B. Reynolds, "The Gospel according to Mormon,"
Scottish Journal of Theology 68, no. 2 (2015): 218–34.

> And behold, they shall go unto the unbelieving of the Jews. And for this intent shall they go, that they may be persuaded that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of the Living God, that the Father may bring about through his Most Beloved his great and eternal purpose in the restoring the Jews or all the house of Israel to the land of their inheritance, which the Lord their God hath given them, unto the fulfilling of his covenant. (Morm. 5:12–14)

Mormon then states that this same purpose explains why the seed of Lehi would be scattered by the Gentiles—they had lost "the Spirit of the Lord" that strove with their fathers and were "without Christ and God in the world" (Morm. 5:15–19). But, Mormon continues, "After that they have been driven and scattered by the Gentiles, behold, then will the Lord remember the covenant which he made unto Abraham and unto all the house of Israel" (Morm. 5:20).

Mormon and Moroni interrupt their own closing narratives repeatedly to restate this particular salvation history—to call on the Gentiles of the future to repent, come to Christ, and believe this record.[37] Moroni, for example, concludes his original ending with a prayer, a prayer that he adds "to the prayers of all the saints which have dwelt in the land. And may the Lord Jesus Christ grant that their prayers may be answered according to their faith; and may God the Father remember the covenant which he hath made with the house of Israel; and may he bless them forever through faith on the name of Jesus Christ. Amen" (Morm. 9:36–37).

Moroni did not expect to live another thirty-six years before the Lord would direct him to conceal the record where it could be found at the time of the Gentile restoration. At some point, Moroni apparently overcame whatever obstacles might have prevented him from adding more to the record, and he produced a brief account of the Jaredite record and a collection of additional information and teachings he felt would be helpful to the Gentile believers in the future. In his writings, including in his account of the Jaredites, he also interspersed additional commentary on the salvation history and prophecies. He even finds room in his tightly compressed account of the Jaredites for a lengthy report of the revelation given to the last prophet of this pre-Abrahamic civilization—a revelation that contained a version of the same salvation history and remnant prophecy based on the Abrahamic covenant that was taught repeatedly to the Nephites (see Ether 13:4–11). Approaching

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37. Compare 3 Nephi 29:1–4; 30:1–2; Mormon 3:17–22; 5:9–24; 7:1–10; and 9:37.

his conclusion, Moroni explains to the future Gentiles "the office of their ministry" as he and other prophets declare "the word of Christ" and "bear testimony of him." For "by so doing the Lord God prepareth the way that the residue of men may have faith in Christ, that the Holy Ghost may have place in their hearts according to the power thereof. And after this manner bringeth to pass the Father the covenants which he hath made unto the children of men" (Moro. 7:31–32). Moroni's conclusion begins with one final appeal to Israel in the last days to respond and participate in the fulfillment of the covenant of Abraham: "Awake and arise from the dust, O Jerusalem! . . . that the covenants of the Eternal Father which he hath made unto thee, O house of Israel, may be fulfilled" (Moro. 10:31).

Covenant Discourse 3: The Gospel Covenant

The third stream of covenant discourse in the Book of Mormon identifies the covenant of the gospel of Jesus Christ as the true way of the repentant; this gospel will unite the apostate Gentiles and remnants of Israel with God at the level of the individual.[38] The Book of Mormon uniquely merges Old and New Testament perspectives and language, as demonstrated in 3 Nephi when Jesus Christ incorporates his gospel into his account of how the Abrahamic covenant will be fulfilled. Immediately following his account of the Gentiles scourging Lehi's descendants ("the remnant of the seed of Joseph"),[39] Christ confirms that this people will eventually receive "the fullness of my gospel" (3 Ne. 20:28), which will lead to their restoration as his people. He then moves on immediately to a long description of the restoration of Israel to its promised Jerusalem, "the land of their inheritance" (3 Ne. 20:29, 33), which will occur as his covenant people accept his gospel: "And it shall come to pass that the time cometh when the fullness of my gospel shall be preached unto them. And they shall believe in me, that I am Jesus Christ the Son of God, and shall pray unto the Father in my name. . . . Then will the Father gather them together again and give unto them Jerusalem for the land of their inheritance" (3 Ne. 20:30–33).

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38. In a previous paper I have shown that the Nephite prophets understood repentance to include making a covenant to obey and remember Christ always and that baptism of water must follow as a witness of that covenant. Noel B. Reynolds, "Understanding Christian Baptism through the Book of Mormon," *BYU Studies Quarterly* 51, no. 2 (2012): 9.

39. Compare Alma 46:24, 25; 3 Nephi 5:23; 10:17; and Ether 13:6, 7, 10.

Jesus then incorporates several Old Testament descriptions into his prophecy.[40] As Jesus reviews and expands what he has already prophesied, he returns to the last-days restoration of the gospel to the Gentiles: "For thus it behooveth the Father that it should come forth from the Gentiles, that he may shew forth his power unto the Gentiles, for this cause that the Gentiles—if they will not harden their hearts—that they may repent and come unto me and be baptized in my name and know of the true points of my doctrine, that they may be numbered among my people, O house of Israel"[41] (3 Ne. 21:6).

Again, using basic gospel terminology, as emphasized with added italics in the following quotation, Jesus quotes the Father, reiterating that the conversion of the Gentiles will provide the base for the conversion of the remnant of Lehi, which will then lead to the even larger conversion of all the house of Israel:

> For it shall come to pass, saith the Father, that at that day whosoever will not *repent and come unto my Beloved Son*, them will I cut off from among my people, O house of Israel. . . . But if they will *repent* and *hearken unto my words* and harden not their hearts, I will establish my church among them. And they shall *come in unto the covenant* and be numbered among this the remnant of Jacob, unto whom I have given this land for their inheritance. And they shall assist my people, the remnant of Jacob, and also as many of the house of Israel as shall come, that they may build a city which shall be called the New Jerusalem. . . . And then shall the work of the Father commence at that day, even when *this gospel* shall be preached among the remnant of this people. (3 Ne. 21:20–26)

Based on these few excerpts, Jesus is clearly teaching the Nephites the same perspective that was taught to their ancestors six centuries earlier. The fulfillment of God's covenants with Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Lehi will be accomplished in the last days through the restoration of the gospel. This gospel outlines the way all men and women must follow to be saved (see 2 Ne. 31:21). God's covenant with Abraham is the promise and prophecy that through his seed, this blessing of restoration will come to all the families of the earth.

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40. See Deuteronomy 11:11; Leviticus 1:5; Isaiah 52:1–3, 7–9, 11–15; 18:7; 54:1; Ezekiel 36:25; Joel 2:18; and Nahum 1:15.

41. For a detailed analysis of this passage and the five other Book of Mormon quotations of Jesus Christ that share its message and its precise rhetorical form, see Noel B. Reynolds, "How 'Come unto Me' Fits into the Nephite Gospel," *Religious Educator* 18, no. 2 (2017): 15–29.

A Chosen People. The Book of Mormon provides a unique understanding of the Abrahamic covenant in that it reframes what it means to be "the covenant people," or the chosen people of the Lord. The issue of being a chosen people has obviously and most visibly been an issue historically for the Jewish people, but the Book of Mormon treats it as something that any prospective beneficiary could misinterpret. On the one hand, being the chosen people of the Lord could cause one to feel superior toward other peoples and as if he or she had an entitlement to salvation.[42] But the far greater danger is that the covenant people, as the lineage designated by God to preach his teachings to the world, will neglect the covenant and the responsibilities it imposes on them. The salvation history described in the Book of Mormon provides seemingly endless examples of a covenant people rising to great heights of righteousness, with its attendant peace and prosperity, and then somehow, almost inevitably, disintegrating into apostasy, wickedness, war, and destruction. This cycle appears in the Nephite explanations of the Assyrian and Babylonian captivities of Israel, of the rise and demise of early Christianity, of the Jaredites' vacillation between righteousness and wickedness, and of numerous other periods in Nephite and Lamanite history, ending in the final struggle of the wicked against the wicked that brought their civilization to its dismal ending.

From the beginning of the record, it was clear to the Nephite prophets that God's salvation was intended for all humankind, not just for the chosen lineage. The Abrahamic covenant brings responsibilities for embracing and sharing the gospel of Jesus Christ, but it has no salvific force that can substitute for the gospel itself, which provides the only way "whereby man can be saved in the kingdom of God" (2 Ne. 31:21). The Lord's covenant with Lehi, like the covenant with Abraham, focuses on a relationship between God and a chosen lineage, on a role they will play while in this earthly life, but the blessings of eternal life are available to all humankind—and on exactly the same terms for each individual—terms that are spelled out in Christ's gospel. The covenant people are offered no shortcuts to eternal life, and no people is restricted from access to it. As Nephi taught his own brothers, "all

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42. A peculiarly Latter-day Saint version of this belief of entitlement, based on an interpretation of the Abrahamic covenant, is sometimes promoted in an unofficial doctrine of "believing blood," which will not be discussed here because it does not figure in the Book of Mormon. A detailed explanation is provided in Bruce R. McConkie, *A New Witness for the Articles of Faith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1985), 33–42.

nations, kindreds, tongues, and people shall dwell safely in the Holy One of Israel if it so be that they will repent" (1 Ne. 22:28). Nephi concludes his own prophecies with another succinct and clear formulation of the universal gospel covenant: "As many of the Gentiles as will repent are the covenant people of the Lord; and as many of the Jews as will not repent shall be cast off. For the Lord covenanteth with none save it be with them that repent and believe in his Son, which is the Holy One of Israel" (2 Ne. 30:2). Mormon makes the same point in even fuller detail at the other end of Nephite history, as he addresses the future descendants of Lehi using a recognizably Hebrew rhetorical formulation:

> Know ye that ye are of the house of Israel.
> Know ye that ye must come unto repentance or ye cannot be saved. . . .
> Know ye that ye must come to the knowledge of your fathers
> > and repent of all your sins and iniquities
> > and believe in Jesus Christ,
> > > that he is the Son of God . . .
> > > And he hath brought to pass the redemption of the world, . . .
> Therefore repent and be baptized in the name of Jesus
> > and lay hold upon the gospel of Christ. (Morm. 7:2–8)

Being "Gathered" by Knowledge of the True Messiah and His Gospel. The classic proof of God's love for his covenant people in the Old Testament is the power by which he delivered Israel from their long Egyptian bondage and restored them to their promised lands. The return of the Jews from Babylonian exile provides the widely heralded second example. Nephi invokes the same type of example—that of deliverance—to show how the Lord brought Lehi and his people to their promised land in spite of impossible obstacles: "I Nephi will shew unto you that the tender mercies of the Lord is over all them whom he hath chosen because of their faith to make them mighty, even unto the power of deliverance" (1 Ne. 1:20). But even in Nephi's first book, which focuses on God's powerful deliverances of his covenant people, the visions and revelations received along the way tell of a final deliverance, through the fulfillment of the promise given to Abraham that "in thy seed shall all the kindreds of the earth be blessed" (1 Ne. 15:18). Nephi quotes Lehi's summary of the vision he received, concluding with the distinctively Nephite emphasis on a knowledge of the Messiah being a key to the prophesied gathering of Israel: "And after that the house of Israel should be scattered, they should be gathered together again, or in fine, that after the Gentiles had received the fullness of the gospel, the natural branches of the olive tree or the remnants of the house of Israel should be grafted

in or *come to the knowledge of the true Messiah,* their Lord and their Redeemer" (1 Ne. 10:14, emphasis added).

Throughout the Book of Mormon, this final deliverance—or restoration or gathering or grafting in—of the remnants of Israel is described as a result of coming to a true knowledge of Christ and his gospel. Summarizing his own version of the same vision, Nephi explains: "And at that day shall the remnant of our seed *know* that they are of the house of Israel and that they are the covenant people of the Lord. And then shall they *know* and come to the *knowledge* of their forefathers and also to the *knowledge* of the gospel of their Redeemer, which was ministered unto their fathers by him. Wherefore they shall come to the *knowledge* of their Redeemer and the very points of his doctrine, that they may *know* how to come unto him and be saved" (1 Ne. 15:14, emphasis added). In these three sentences, Nephi features the words *know* and *knowledge* six times, while referring first to the Lehite covenant, then to the Abrahamic covenant, and finally to their ultimate fulfillment through the gospel covenant. The gathering of Israel "in the latter times" will be accomplished by providing individuals with saving knowledge—"knowledge of the gospel" or "the very points of his doctrine" that will teach men "how to come unto him and be saved." Interpreting Isaiah 49:22–23, Jacob tells his people that the Jews will reject Christ and subsequently be "scattered and smitten and hated" but that "the Lord will be merciful unto them, that when they shall come to the *knowledge* of their Redeemer, they shall be gathered together again to the lands of their inheritance" (2 Ne. 6:11, emphasis added). Linking the final gathering of Israel with their reception of knowledge of the gospel of Jesus Christ occurs in twenty-four passages of the Book of Mormon. This promised knowledge is variously described as true knowledge "of their Redeemer," "of Jesus Christ," "of God," "of a Savior," "of the Lord their God," "of the truth," "of their great and true shepherd," "of the covenant," or "of the fullness of my gospel."[43] In this way, the Nephite prophets explain the integration of the three streams of covenant discourse in their writings.

These Book of Mormon prophets clearly saw that this future knowledge would come from the restored writings of Nephite and other prophets. As Lehi quotes from an ancient revelation to Joseph, son of Jacob, "Wherefore the fruit of thy loins shall write, and the fruit of the loins of Judah shall

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43. Examples include 2 Nephi 30:5; Words of Mormon 1:8; Mosiah 3:20; Alma 23:15; 37:9, 19; Helaman 15:11, 13; 3 Nephi 5:23, 25, 26; 16:4, 12; Mormon 5:9; and 9:36.

write. And that which shall be written by the fruit of thy loins, and also that which shall be written by the fruit of the loins of Judah, shall grow together unto the confounding of false doctrines and laying down of contentions and establishing peace among the fruit of thy loins and bringing them to the knowledge of their fathers in the latter days and also to the knowledge of my covenants, saith the Lord" (2 Ne. 3:12).

The ability to receive this knowledge and to be gathered in as God's people is available to all. This universal application of God's plan of salvation is phrased—most frequently by Jesus Christ and sometimes by Book of Mormon prophets, who quote him—in this way: "the Gentiles shall be blessed and numbered among the house of Israel" (2 Ne. 10:18).[44] This principle is laid down clearly and emphatically in Nephi's final prophecies of Christ:

> [The Lord] doeth not any thing save it be for the benefit of the world, for he loveth the world, even that he layeth down his own life that he may draw all men unto him; wherefore he commandeth none that they shall not partake of his salvation. Behold, doth he cry unto any, saying: Depart from me! Behold, I say unto you: Nay. But he saith: Come unto me, all ye ends of the earth; buy milk and honey without money and without price. . . . Hath he commanded any that they should not partake of his salvation? Behold, I say unto you: Nay. But he hath given it free for all men. And he hath commanded his people that they should persuade all men unto repentance. (2 Ne. 26:24–27)

After teaching his people of the Atonement and Resurrection of Christ, King Benjamin explains that "the Lord God hath sent his holy prophets among all the children of men to declare these things to every kindred, nation, and tongue, that thereby whosoever should believe that Christ should come, the same might receive remission of their sins and rejoice with exceeding great joy" (Mosiah 3:13). Alma similarly describes the universal nature of the plan of salvation when describing his conversion vision; the Lord had said to him: "Marvel not that all mankind, yea, men and women—all nations, kindreds, tongues, and people—must be born again, yea, born of God, changed from their carnal and fallen state to a state of righteousness, being redeemed of God, becoming his sons and daughters. And thus they become new creatures; and unless they do this, they can in no wise inherit the kingdom of God" (Mosiah 27:25–26).

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44. Compare 1 Nephi 14:2; Helaman 15:12–14; 3 Nephi 16:13; 21:6, 22; 30:2; Mormon 7:10; Ether 13:10; and Moroni 6:4.

Why Israel? In spite of differences in content and emphasis, the Old Testament and the Book of Mormon share a basic approach to the Abrahamic covenant. Each contains a history of Abraham's descendants dominated by accounts of their blessings and cursings in accordance with the people's compliance with the commandments they received from the Lord through Abraham and later prophets. Each also features prophecies and reminders of prophecies that the Lord will make of Abraham's seed a great nation. These prophecies and historical sagas regarding Abraham's seed constitute sacred histories and take on much greater theological significance in the New Testament and the Book of Mormon, each of which incorporates Christ and his gospel into the sacred history—though each in its own way.

What none of these ancient scriptures offers is an explanation of why the Lord wanted to have a chosen people in the first place, especially one that would repeatedly become such an embarrassment and disappointment to him. While the answer to that question will inevitably involve speculation, both the history and the consequences of God's choosing a people are observable as matters of fact. From the account of Jacob's original family, who wound up in Egyptian servitude after selling Joseph into slavery, to the apostasies that led to the captivity of Israel, and finally to the Roman dispersion of the Jews, the blessings and cursings of Israel—God's chosen people—have been on full display for all nations to observe. The biblical story of the rise and fall of God's people is only amplified by the Book of Mormon account of Lehi's descendants, who were spared the Babylonian captivity but went repeatedly through cycles of apostasy and repentance, accordingly receiving God's punishments or deliverances.

While each of these three scriptural traditions—the Hebrew Bible, the New Testament, and the Book of Mormon—has had some Israelite followers who wanted to see their election as an inside track to eventual salvation, each tradition also contains teachings that universalize God's promises and require all individuals of all nations to be righteous and embrace his gospel. It was clear to the Book of Mormon prophets from the beginning that God's covenants would bear fruit for Gentiles who would repent, but would be of no benefit to Jews who would not repent. The scriptural and other histories of Israel, Lehi's descendants, and the Jaredites provide evidence to all peoples, from whatever nation, that Israel's god offers divine deliverance to all his covenant people and demands righteous obedience from all who would be blessed by him. This example of God's chosen people has been visible across all

dispensations and, according to the Book of Mormon, in all parts of the world. To that extent, God's promises and expectations have been advertised to all peoples—constituting an invitation to all nations to come unto him and be blessed.

The promised blessings are not limited to land and posterity, as commonly thought by many interpreters of the Abrahamic covenant. In his exhaustive study of the covenant as renewed by God with Israel at Sinai, John Davies has shown convincingly that the Lord's true goal, even then, was to help the Israelites become "a royal priesthood and a holy nation." As Davies demonstrates through exhaustive analysis of Exodus 19–24 and related passages throughout the Bible and other literatures, the Lord means for all those who will covenant with him to be prepared to come into his presence as kings and priests, to dwell there eternally.[45]

Conclusion

This essay identifies three distinct but fully integrated streams of covenant discourse in the Book of Mormon. The first stream of covenant discourse revolves around the Lord's covenant with Lehi that he would be given a land of promise in which he and his descendants would prosper and be blessed to the extent that they obeyed the Lord's commandments. Lehi's covenant is revealed to be a particularization of the Abrahamic covenant, which made comparable conditional promises to the Israelites and which is the central feature of the second stream of covenant discourse. The numerous discussions of the Abrahamic covenant by Book of Mormon prophets and by Jesus himself focus on the prophecy that through Abraham's seed all nations would be blessed. But when the precise character of that blessing is revealed, we discover that the Book of Mormon, as compiled by prophets from the remnant of Joseph, will be the key element in that blessing. That book of sacred scripture fills that role because it contains the fullness of the gospel of Jesus Christ—the doctrine that teaches each man and woman the only way to eternal life. The repeated teaching of the gospel by Book of Mormon prophets and by Jesus Christ constitutes the third stream of covenant discourse. The gospel teaches all men and women how to begin their journey toward

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45. See John A. Davies, *A Royal Priesthood: Literary and Intertextual Perspectives on an Image of Israel in Exodus 19:6,* Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 395 (London: T&T Clark, 2004), especially 238–42.

eternal life, with a covenant to repent and keep the commandments in all things.

The story of the Abrahamic covenant begins as a story of one man receiving promises of seemingly endless blessings from God through his posterity. The story grows throughout the Book of Mormon to include a promise that all these blessings and even eternal life with God will be given to every man and woman ever born in God's creation if they individually accept and embrace his gospel, which is an invitation to follow the path he has designed to prepare them for that eventual reward. The original promise given to Abraham, that "through his seed all the nations of the earth would be blessed," will be fulfilled when the Book of Mormon and other prophetic writings of Abraham's descendants are restored and provide all peoples with the knowledge of their redeemer and his gospel—the way by which they may attain eternal life with God.

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Wandering On to Glory

Patrick Moran

In my suburban town, commuting is a fact of life, every bit as much as sowing and reaping and harvesting probably were for my agrarian forebears. It's simply a given that work is far away and that a good portion of every day is spent getting there in the morning and then getting back again later on.

Like my fellow suburbanites, I start my day gearing up for the trek to work, preparing for the daily battle—with the highway and traffic and fatigue and rude drivers—that makes up part of modern life. Turning on my audiobook, downloaded thanks to the mercies of the county public library, I lose myself in the sonorous intonations of some talented reader who transports me into the world of a great book, and I'm aware that, for the first twenty minutes or so of the trip, I'll be transfixed by the magic of the spoken word.

Even the power of the audiobook, though, can only take me so far, and I'm painfully aware that at some point in my traveling, especially during the winter months when the earth and sun conspire against me to ensure that I'm driving in darkness, I'll start getting sleepy and have to struggle with eyelids that want to droop and a head wishing to still be blissfully nestled into my pillow.

From the moment the sleepiness begins—the distance from home to the onset of fatigue being one of the indicators of a good or bad travel day—it's a struggle to keep my head in the game and overcome the morning tiredness. I've got a variety of weapons at my disposal: scanning through the radio stations, singing aloud, and even, on the worst of days, commentating to myself on road conditions.

The endless stream of taillights ahead, the familiar office build-ings and freeway exits zooming by (have I really only made it as far as that one!), the slow, slow brightening of the eastern sky as the day, too, begins its commute—all give clear evidence that I'm moving ahead, albeit slowly, and making progress mile by mile.

The middle of the trip is the worst. It's at this point that I've traveled a good distance but am still a long way from my destination. This is where I've got to mentally prepare myself for the rest of the commute, to focus more on the audiobook or on the radio, to battle the dreary sameness of a road I traverse twice a day, five days a week, four weeks a month, twelve months a year.

The sameness, I sometimes think, is the hardest part of the commute. It's the fact that I've been here before (just twelve hours ago, in fact) and that I'll be here again soon (just this evening, as it happens). Other than the occasional heavier-than-normal congestion or the odd traffic acci-dent, it's the same old road, same old intersections, same old backups. Some days I'm sure I'm seeing the same cars I saw the day before.

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I sometimes contrast the monotony of the commute with what I imag-ine to be the constant discovery involved in another kind of travel—the journey. The journey, in my mind, involves no sameness or boredom. It's movement from point A to point B without repetition and with-out tedium or boredom. I know intellectually that the great one-way journeys probably involve plenty of colorless moments, even perhaps more than the other kind. But my mental image of the process of jour-neying involves a more or less continuous encounter with the new and unexplored. It involves Huckleberry Finn and Jim growing and finding as they move down the river to freedom, Frodo Baggins as he carries the ring to Mordor, the Joads struggling toward an elusive Californian promised land.

The journey is encountering and assimilating the unconsidered and heretofore unimagined. It is the Little Prince departing asteroid B 612 for parts unknown; it is Columbus discovering a new world; it is Captain Kirk going boldly where no man has gone before. It is Abraham and Lehi and Joseph Smith forsaking all at the command of God to seek freedom and peace.

The journey is forward movement. It is pressing ahead and saying, "I shall not pass this way again." It is "blazing trails along the way" as a matter of course and creating "stepping stones for generations" as your

"deed of ev'ry day." Brigham Young trekked across the plains, achieving greatness in the midst of sacrifice, leading a people to victory. Brigham may have crossed and recrossed the wide expanse, but his glory consisted in striking ahead unhesitatingly into the unknown. Brother Brigham, at least in my mind's eye, spent his days conquering the wilderness and the vastness of the prairie. Brother Brigham did not commute.

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As I creep along the freeway and anticipate the coming day, I see the long stream of taillights and headlights stretch out ahead of me like red and gold streamers on a cityscape Christmas tree, and I think of the metaphors used since time immemorial to describe movement: the road, the sea, the river. I think mostly of the river. With its constant progress, its flow, its power-in-action, it is the ideal stand-in for the journey. It's hard to imagine Lehi naming a toll road or a subway line after his son to keep him "continually flowing" to God.

The beauty of the river as metaphor, I imagine, is its linearity. Every river begins someplace or other, and every river ends. As challenging as a river's source may have been to locate for determined explorers, it always existed somewhere, in some mountain spring or in the confluence of a thousand minute creeks. And even the Amazon and the Mississippi and the Nile eventually discharge into the sea. The river is the very image of forward movement and onward travel, of beginning and end. There's no going backward on a river for very long, and there's no repetition as it presses ever onward.

Much of my life, though, is neither river nor any other kind of journey—just commute. And the commute is the opposite of linearity; it's back and forth, covering the same ground over and over as I try to get things right. There is comfort in linearity and its promise of progress; finding it in the repetition and circularity of the commute can be more of a challenge.

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I like to read a book in the same way I'd like to make a journey: straight through, from beginning to end. No bouncing around, back-and-forthing, or skipping straight to the end. I've heard of daring souls who approach books in such a manner, but the pull of linearity has always been too great for me to imitate them. Reading, after all, is always a kind of travel, and I want to be crossing the ocean to the promised land, not just plying the freeways.

I've always been fascinated by places that also impose linearity: places that, like books, more or less demand entrance and exit through two separate points. There's something enticing about the idea of going in one way and perforce coming out another. The built-in idea of progress in these places is almost mystifying. A Mormon temple is the prototype of such a schema, as, in a more prosaic fashion, was the old BYU Testing Center: enter the Grant Building, ascend the grand staircase, pass through your frightful ordeal, and be unceremoniously disgorged via the back stairs and greeted by a screen informing you of your victory or defeat in the academic struggle ("92%—Great Job!"). Guided tours of just about any place are similar experiences: begin here, follow my lead, and we'll end up someplace else. Discipleship, of course, is the ultimate don't-walk-in-your-own-tracks journey. We may be treading, after all, "where the saints have trod," but we're doing it for ourselves, one hesitating step at a time.

<center>∽</center>

In the end, of course, my commute always ends with arrival at work or at home. I emerge from my car as from a rocket or a submarine, a little dazed by the passage of time but reinvigorated by my new location and by having once again conquered time and space. There is a tiny moment of satisfaction when I step out of my Toyota time machine and move on to the next phase of the day.

And that moment makes me think there must be something of the journey in my commute after all. It's a journey that I take over and over and in a thousand only slightly varying ways, but some kind of a journey nevertheless. It's a journey, I suppose, in which I derive satisfaction not from the new but from reimagined and reconceived encounters with the familiar.

In the repetitive rhythms of the daily commute, then, there is hope after all, just a different hope than that of the linearity of other journeys. The uncertainty of circularity and recurrence proffers not the breaking of the cycle but the discovery of its secret inner perfections. For the adherents of some eastern religions, even time itself is not a linear progression from beginning to end, but a circular wheel in which all ends are beginnings and vice versa. I wonder what that idea means in practice, as people work and learn and love, as they study and reflect, even as they commute.

When I was younger, the journeys of life were sufficiently discreet, sufficiently defined, as to give the impression that things had clear

beginnings and endings and that life would always provide signposted doors allowing passage from one phase to another. Graduation, a mission, even the ends of semesters were all fairly recognizable journeys resulting in anticipated ends.

In middle age, the journey is less clear because it looks so much more like a commute. Like Bill Murray's character in *Groundhog Day,* I find myself passing through moments (even, in my case, through days, months, and years) that seem eerily familiar. They pile up, one on top of another. But if I make a conscientious effort, I can perceive in dim outline the resulting cumulative stack. It is a figure, vague and hazy but nonetheless real for its near indefinability, of hills or even mountains that I'm traversing, over which I'm journeying with progress that is barely perceptible in the moment but distinct in hindsight.

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So perhaps my daily back-and-forthing, my there-and-backing, my daily grind, is a journey after all, just not the kind I've envisioned. A journey? Yes. With an end in sight? Yes. But clearly defined, easy-to-articulate movement from A to B? Not so much. Perhaps I've had my metaphors wrong. Perhaps I need less pioneer, less Frodo, less Huckleberry Finn, and more children of Israel, more Odysseus. Forty and twenty years, respectively, spent wandering in search of home can't have felt very much like a straightforward trip at the time, but these wanderers set the standard for pressing forward to the goal.

And I guess that's what I'm seeking too, after all. I know where I want to be; I just struggle to remember that my wanderings (focused, but wanderings nevertheless) are getting me imperceptibly closer to that point. They're tedious at times, but the tedium is interrupted at unexpected moments by shimmers of sublimity, when the ineffable shines through the sameness. The commute can be torturously back-and-forth, but I'm coming to see that the extraction of meaning from mundanity, of beauty from banality, and the thousand humdrum moments that make up a life, is a journey worth the effort.

Anaranjado

To eat an orange is not
to prophesy, but years
before my guelita sucked
an orange section as her last
meal on earth—sweet
sacrament—my wife ate
three, four, five
oranges daily, slicing
the skin from pole to pole
and pulling back the peel
as if unfolding
a love letter. She would
sometimes say, *there should
be so much more.*

*Of how terrible orange
is, and life,* I want
to say, because I am
remembering when my guelita
was young and ate the oranges
her mother offered to the Virgin,
and how Spanish has two
words for orange, so that
to say the setting sun
looks anaranjado is to say
someone has oranged the sky,
dressing it with fire to meet
the night, like my sisters
and mother and tía
bathed and dressed Guelita
each day, combed her white
hair, rubbed lotion in each
wrinkled joint,
to make the end burn
cleanly, sweetly.

—John Alba Cutler

The Language of the Original Text of the Book of Mormon

Royal Skousen

When I began the Book of Mormon Critical Text Project in 1988, my initial goal was to determine the reading of the manuscripts of the Book of Mormon. There are two manuscripts: (1) the original manuscript (referred to as O), the manuscript the scribes wrote down as Joseph Smith dictated the text (the majority of the dictation was done in 1829); and (2) the printer's manuscript (referred to as P), the copy of O that the scribes produced from August 1829 through January 1830 and took into the Grandin print shop in Palmyra, New York, for typesetting the first edition of the Book of Mormon (published in March of 1830). Oliver Cowdery was the chief scribe for both manuscripts. Today, only 28 percent of O is extant. Most of that 28 percent is owned by the LDS Church; the remaining fragments are owned by private individuals, except for half a leaf that the University of Utah owns. On the other hand, P is extant except for three manuscript lines. From 1903 to 2017, this second manuscript was owned by the RLDS Church (later renamed the Community of Christ); in 2017, P was sold to the LDS Church.

The first important publications of the Critical Text Project were three books issued in 2001, books that fulfilled my original goal of publishing typographical facsimiles of the two manuscripts. These three books form volumes 1 and 2 of the critical text. In 2015, the Joseph Smith Papers published photographs of P, along with a revised transcript of P based on my 2001 publication. It is projected that in 2021 the Joseph Smith Papers will publish photographs of the remaining 28 percent of O, again with a revision of my transcript.

Simultaneous to working on the transcripts for O and P, I produced electronic versions of all the textually significant editions of the Book of Mormon. There are twenty of these, from the original 1830 edition to the most recent LDS and RLDS editions. Then, from 1995 through 1998, using my own computer program, I constructed the computerized collation of the Critical Text Project, which lines up the two manuscripts against the twenty significant editions of the Book of Mormon. The computerized collation has served as the workhorse for volumes 3 and 4 of the Critical Text Project. When those two volumes are completely published, the collation itself will be made publicly available as volume 5 of the critical text.

From 2004 to 2009, I published in six parts volume 4 of the critical text, the central work of this project. This work is entitled *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon* (referred to as ATV). In ATV, I consider every significant textual variant in the Book of Mormon (or in the case of conjectural emendations, every potential textual variant), from the beginning of the text (1 Nephi) to its end (Moroni), as well as the title page and the witness statements. My goal has always been to determine the original text of the Book of Mormon—to the extent that it can be determined by scholarly means. Of course, this goal is never fully achievable since one cannot be sure that the proposed original text is the actual original text, especially since we are missing 72 percent of O. So we end up with what I have termed the earliest text. Simultaneous with my completing the publication of ATV in 2009, I published that text with Yale University Press as *The Book of Mormon: The Earliest Text.*

As I worked through ATV, I occasionally made adjustments to my analyses, and sometimes I revised my proposed reading of the original text. These corrections appeared in 98 pages of addenda at the end of the last part of ATV. In 2017, I was able to publish a second edition of ATV, where all the analyses appear in their proper order along with a few more analyses. Currently, the first edition of ATV is available online with the Mormon Interpreter and Book of Mormon Central.

In doing ATV, I did not provide a complete list of all the grammatical changes to the text. As an example, in his editing for the second edition of the Book of Mormon (published in 1837 in Kirtland, Ohio), Joseph Smith replaced the relative pronoun *which* with *who* or *whom* 952 times. The first instance of this change in the text is explicitly discussed in ATV, but thereafter I discussed this grammatical change only here and there, sometimes in cases where Joseph made the change but should not have.

In general, the vast majority of grammatical variation involving *which* was ignored in ATV. Thus, in 2016, I published *Grammatical Varia-tion* (referred to as GV), the first two parts of volume 3 of the critical text. In GV, I list all the grammatical editing that the Book of Mormon has undergone, including a whole section devoted to the editing of the relative pronoun *which*. But GV forms only the beginning of volume 3, which is entitled *The History of the Text of the Book of Mormon*. Ulti-mately, there will be seven parts to volume 3:

Parts 1–2	Grammatical Variation (GV)
Parts 3–4	The Nature of the Original Language (NOL)
Part 5	The King James Bible in the Book of Mormon; Spelling in the Manuscripts and Editions
Part 6	The Transmission of the Text: From the Manuscripts through the Editions
Part 7	Book of Mormon Textual Criticism

It turns out that *Grammatical Variation* is more than simply a listing of the grammatical editing in the history of the Book of Mormon. This editing, as we all know, removed what many have considered an embarrassment, namely, the nonstandard English that is found throughout the original text. Over the years, from its initial publication in 1830 to the present day, the Book of Mormon's original nonstandard language has been interpreted as representing Joseph Smith's own American dialect and taken as a clear sign that Joseph was indeed the author of the words of the text. But the important finding of GV is that this conclusion is not necessarily so. The so-called bad grammar of the original text of the Book of Mormon turns out to be acceptable usage during the 1500s and 1600s, in the period that we call Early Modern English.

On 13 March 2013, in a public lecture at BYU, I discussed the dia-lectal phrase "in them days" (which occurs twice in the original text of the Book of Mormon) and showed that this so-called ungrammati-cal form had appeared in scholarly works dating from around 1600. This finding immediately suggested that our intuitive reaction against the nonstandard English in the original text may have been misguided. And this hypothesis was greatly enhanced the following year in one of the most important papers ever written on the Book of Mormon, namely, Stanford Carmack's 2014 "A Look at Some 'Nonstandard' Book of Mormon Grammar", published in *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon*

Scripture (volume 11, pages 209–262). In this paper, Carmack showed that basically the nonstandard grammar of the original text occurred in Early Modern English. And when I published GV in 2016, I not only listed all the grammatical editing of the text, I also provided—with the assistance of Carmack—examples of that supposedly incorrect usage in Early Modern English, showing that we should be cautious and less judgmental and recognize that the nonstandard English of the original Book of Mormon text could be Early Modern English rather than simply Joseph Smith's dialectal usage. As an overview in GV, I republished Carmack's 2014 paper (with some minor adjustments). In his paper, Carmack started out with some of the more egregious grammatical errors, as it was supposed, in the original text of the Book of Mormon. I list four of them here, each with one citation from Early Modern English showing its occurrence (and acceptability) in older English:

them days (emended to *those days*)

"and this shall be your language in **them days**" (Helaman 13:37)

"the wars and weapons are now altered from **them days**"
(1598, Robert Barret)

had smote (emended to *had smitten*)

"and after that I **had smote** off his head with his own sword"
(1 Nephi 4:19)

"and his cousin whose ear Peter **had smote** off"
(1617, Bartholomew Robertson)

they was (emended to *they were*)

"**they was** yet wroth" (1 Nephi 4:4)

"which veins and mines, if **they was** sought for"
(1694, Thomas Houghton)

ye was (emended to *ye were*)

"**ye was** not in the state of dilemma like your brethren"
(Alma 7:18)

"**ye was** able by his grace to bear the loss"
(Samuel Rutherford, died 1661)

Here are some other examples of nonstandard or unexpected Book of Mormon grammar that Carmack discussed in his 2014 paper (and are reprinted in GV):

nonstandard or unexpected *be*-verb usage:

> "and if **there was miracles** wrought" (Mormon 9:19)

> "**there were no part** of their frame that it did not cause to quake" (3 Nephi 11:3)

> "the **judgments** of God **was** upon them" (1 Nephi 18:15)

> "in the **borders** which **was** nearer the Red Sea" (1 Nephi 2:5)

> "I **were** about to write the names of those who were never to taste of death" (3 Nephi 28:25)

nonstandard or unexpected inflectional endings:

> "from the time which **thou received** thy first message from him" (Alma 8:15)

> "Nephi's **brethren rebelleth** against him" (1 Nephi preface)

> "if **thou repent** of all thy sins and **will bow** down before God" (Alma 22:16)

dative impersonals:

> "**it sorroweth me** because of the fourth generation" (3 Nephi 27:32)

nonstandard pronoun usage:

> "the Lord remembereth all **they** which have been broken off" (2 Nephi 10:22)

multiple negatives:

> "that they should **not** do **none** of these things" (2 Nephi 26:32)

contrasting syntax:

> "**I Nephi having been born** of goodly parents, **therefore I was taught** somewhat in all the learning of my father" (1 Nephi 1:1)

> "and notwithstanding **I being** young **was** large in stature" (Mormon 2:1)

unexpected word forms and phrases:

> "they did **fall** the tree to the earth" (3 Nephi 4:28)

"after ye have **arriven to** the promised land" (1 Nephi 17:14)

"by laboring with our **mights**" (Jacob 1:19)

"they were exceeding **fraid**" (Alma 47:2)

"I beseech **of** you" (Jacob 6:5)

"even **to that** they did forget by what power they had been brought thither" (1 Nephi 18:9)

"there were **much contentions**" (Helaman 3:3)

"save it were repentance and **faith on** the Lord" (Mosiah 18:20)

"the **more part of** them would not" (Alma 47:2)

"**by the way of** Gentile" (title page)

"**in the which alliance** he hath agreed to maintain the city of Zarahemla" (Alma 61:8)

"if ye should serve him with **all your whole soul**" (Mosiah 2:21)

"**if it so be** that they rebel against me" (1 Nephi 2:24)

It turns out that this discovery—that the nonstandard grammar of the Book of Mormon was in earlier English—is supported by a very important lexical finding about the vocabulary of the Book of Mormon, which was first brought up in Renee Bangerter's 1998 BYU master's thesis, written under my direction, *Since Joseph Smith's Time: Lexical Semantic Shifts in the Book of Mormon.* Bangerter found three particular archaic word uses in the Book of Mormon. The first two, *break* and *mar,* are verbs that occur together in the same passage, and the context requires the rejection of the normal, current meanings for *break* and *mar.* Here only earlier definitions in the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) allow the passage to read correctly:

Break 'to stop' or 'to interrupt'; *Mar* 'to hinder' or 'to stop'

"no monster of the sea could **break** them, neither whale that could **mar** them" (Ether 6:10)

In both cases the pronoun *them* refers to the people of Jared, not to their vessels.

Bangerter's third archaic example is the word *sermon,* conjectured in place of the standard text's *ceremony,* which occurs only once in the text:

Sermon 'conversation, discussion'

"after they had ended the **sermon** . . . they returned to the land of Nephi" (Mosiah 19:24)

Here there is no ceremony except by semantic speculation. The printer's manuscript reads *cerimony,* which I have argued is a misreading of *cermon* (a conjectured misspelling of *sermon* in the original manuscript, no longer extant here). The word *sermon* works, but only if we accept the possibility that the vocabulary of the Book of Mormon derives from the 1500s and 1600s.

By 1998, in my own analysis of changes in the Book of Mormon text, I had found several other examples of archaic usage, which Bangerter included in her thesis:

Belove 'to love'

> "among those who had so dearly **beloved** them" (Alma 27:4)

Counsel 'to consult'

> "**counsel** the Lord in all thy doings" (Alma 37:37)

Desirous 'desirable'

> "for I knew that it was **desirous** above all other fruit" (1 Nephi 8:12)

Devour 'to eat up'

> "they did take with them all that they had not **devoured** of
> all their grain" (3 Nephi 6:2)

Molten 'to melt ore'

> "I did make tools of the ore which I did **molten** out of the rock"
> (1 Nephi 17:16)

But I sat on this hypothesis—that the Book of Mormon lexicon was archaic (especially the conjectured word *sermon* for *ceremony*)—until September 2003 when Christian Gellinek proposed to me that the two instances in the text of *pleasing bar* are errors for *pleading bar.* Within the next few weeks, I was able to find a variety of examples of *pleading bar* on the internet, all dating back to the 1600s or referring to courtrooms in the 1600s and describing the defendant in court cases as standing before the pleading bar when pleading his case (that is, when making his plea or pleading). Even after the 1600s, when the dock replaced the pleading bar, evidence for the term *pleading bar* continued in the language, although only minimally. There is, for instance, a citation from an 1887 religious book by Julia Wood: "its ventilation . . . was apparently easily operated by an occasional pull of a cord hanging against the wall, adjacent to **the pleading bar**". And there were museum descriptions in

Fordwich, England, dating from the late 1990s and the early 2000s. On the other hand, I have found no evidence for "the pleasing bar of God" or any "pleasing bar of justice", except for references to the standard text of the Book of Mormon. To be sure, there are plenty of references on the internet to "pleasing bars", say in San Francisco or Las Vegas.

Gellinek's conjectural emendation set me to looking for more examples of archaic vocabulary and phraseology in the Book of Mormon, ones that appear from all the evidence to have ceased to be productive in English, with their last recorded citations dating from the mid-1500s through the mid-1700s. In *The Nature of the Original Language* (NOL), I list 39 words with archaic meanings and 25 archaic phrases, for a total of 64 language items, that disappeared from English before the mid-1700s and do not occur in the King James Bible. Besides the ones already mentioned, here are some of the other striking ones discussed in NOL:

Archaic Word Uses

But 'unless'

"I greatly fear lest my case shall be awful **but** I confess unto God" (Jacob 7:19)

Call 'need'

"thus we see the great **call** of the diligence of men to labor in the vineyards of the Lord" (Alma 28:14)

Consigned 'assigned'

"I am **consigned** that these are my days" (Helaman 7:9)

Course 'direction'

"in the **course** of the land of Nephi, we saw a numerous host of the Lamanites" (Alma 2:24)

Cross 'to contradict'

"that thereby they might make him **cross** his words" (Alma 10:16)

Depart 'to divide'

"the waters of the Red Sea . . . **departed** hither and thither" (Helaman 8:11)

Depressed 'rendered weaker'

"and they were **depressed** in body as well as in spirit" (Alma 56:16)

Extinct 'physically dead'

> "and inflict the wounds of death in your bodies, that ye may become **extinct**" (Alma 44:7)

Flatter 'to coax' or 'to entice'

> "or that they might by some means **flatter** them out of their strong holds" (Alma 52:19)

Give 'to describe or portray'

> "he **gave** all the land which was south . . . a chosen land and the land of liberty" (Alma 46:17)

Great 'supreme'

> "I thus did send an embassy to the **great** governor of our land" (Alma 58:4)

Hail 'to challenge by hailing'

> "they saw him a coming and they **hailed** him, but he saith unto them: fear not" (Alma 55:8)

Idleness 'meaningless words or actions'

> "see that ye refrain from **idleness**; do not pray as the Zoramites do" (Alma 38:12–13)

Opinion 'considered judgment'

> "I give it as my **opinion** that the souls and the bodies are reunited . . ." (Alma 40:20)

Raigned 'arraigned'

> "and all shall be brought and be **raigned** before the bar of Christ" (Alma 11:44)

Rebellion 'opposition'

> "and he began to stir his people up in **rebellion** against my people" (Mosiah 10:6)

Rent 'rent part'

> "waving the **rent** of his garment in the air" (Alma 46:19)

Reserve 'to preserve'

> "and thus we will **reserve** the flocks unto the king" (Alma 17:31)

Tell 'to foretell'

> "that I should come and **tell** this thing unto you" (Helaman 14:9)

Views 'visions'

> "rebel no more against your brother, whose **views** have been glorious" (2 Nephi 1:24)

Welfare 'success'

> "he was exceedingly rejoiced because of the **welfare** . . . which Helaman had had" (Alma 59:1)

Whereby 'why'

> "**whereby** hath my father so much sorrow?" (Ether 8:9)

Archaic Phrases

About to 'engaged in preparations to'

> "he was **about to** flatter away those people to rise up in rebellion" (Helaman 1:7)

Arrive to 'to arrive in' or 'to arrive at'

> "they **arrived to** the land of Zarahemla" (Mosiah 24:25)

Be aware 'to beware'

> "let him **be aware** lest he shall be in danger of hell fire" (Mormon 8:17)

Begin to 'to begin at' or 'to begin with'

> "he **began to** the creation of the world, and also **to** the creation of Adam" (Alma 18:36)

Belief on 'belief in'

> "and this because of their **belief on** the words of Alma" (Mosiah 25:18)

But if 'unless'

> "**but if** he yieldeth to the enticings of the Holy Spirit" (Mosiah 3:19)

Do away 'to dismiss'

> "and woe unto them which shall **do** these things **away** and die" (Moroni 10:26)

For the cause of 'because of'

"while your iniquity is **for the cause of** your love of glory"
(Alma 60:32)

Hurl away 'to drag away'

"who art seeking to **hurl away** your souls down to everlasting
misery" (Helaman 7:16)

In the favor of 'in favor of'

"the voice of the people came **in the favor of** the freemen"
(Alma 51:7)

In the fourth day 'on the fourth day'

"in the first month, **in the fourth day** of the month" (3 Nephi 8:5)

Into an effect 'into effect'

"we were desirous to bring a stratagem **into an effect** upon them"
(Alma 56:30)

On the seventh month 'in the seventh month'

"in the morning of the third day **on the seventh month**"
(Alma 56:42)

Search knowledge 'to search for knowledge'

"for they will not **search knowledge**" (2 Nephi 32:7)

Somewhat contentions 'somewhat of contentions'

"he had **somewhat contentions** among his own people"
(The Words of Mormon 1:12)

Strong hold 'a hold that is strong'

"he had obtained the possession of the **strongest hold**
in all the land" (Helaman 1:22)

To that 'until'

"even **to that** they did forget by what power they had been
brought thither" (1 Nephi 18:9)

Where unto 'with respect to which'

"**where unto** thou hast not made us mighty in writing"
(Ether 12:23)

Scattered throughout the first part of NOL are more than a dozen additional examples of archaic expressions and grammatical forms. Thus far I would estimate that there are at least 80 examples of archaic usage in the original text of the Book of Mormon.

Occasionally this finding about the language of the Book of Mormon is denigrated by saying that only a few examples have been found, as if that solves the problem. This is how Grant Hardy puts it in his 2018 review of the Critical Text Project in *BYU Studies*: "there are a few words that make more sense if they are read with obsolete meanings".[1] Although even a few examples should cause us to pause (and should not be left unexplained), the truth is that there are considerably more than "a few words" (there are at least 39 specific words with archaic meanings).

On the other hand, there is hardly any evidence in the Book of Mormon for words and phrases that entered the English language in the second half of the 1700s or in the first decades of the 1800s. It is true that there are a number of words (mostly from the Romance languages, especially French) that the OED originally claimed entered English in the second half of the 1700s, but now the online, third edition of the OED and other databases show that these words entered English in the late 1600s or early 1700s:

Attitude 'posture, position'

    "in the **attitude** of singing and praising their God" (1 Nephi 1:8)

Civilization 'civil behavior'

    "and subjecting them to peace and **civilization**" (Alma 51:22)

Derangement 'disturbance'

    "and this **derangement** of your minds comes because of the tradition of your fathers" (Alma 30:16)

Embarrassments 'difficulties'

    "now the cause of these our **embarrassments** . . . we knew not" (Alma 58:9)

Frenzied 'crazy'

    "but behold, it is the effects of a **frenzied** mind" (Alma 30:16)

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1. Grant Hardy, "Approaching Completion: The Book of Mormon Critical Text Project", *BYU Studies Quarterly* 57, no. 1 (2018): 176.

Machinery 'mechanical devices designed to perform specific tasks'

> "and we . . . became exceeding rich . . . in **machinery**"
> (Jarom 1:8)

Pickets 'pointed stakes for fences and stockades'

> "that there should be a frame of **pickets** built upon the timbers
> round about" (Alma 50:3)

Plan 'organized proposal'

> "and thus the **plan** of redemption would have been frustrated"
> (Alma 12:26)

Rations 'an allowance of provisions made on a regular basis'

> "and by and by we shall receive wine for our **rations**"
> (Alma 55:11)

Risk 'to take a risk'

> "upon those points of doctrine which ye hath hitherto **risked** to
> commit sin" (Alma 41:9)

Station 'a place or position to which a person is assigned'

> "after having blessed them according to their several **stations**"
> (Alma 17:18)

Stimulate 'to incite'

> "I did **stimulate** them to go to battle with their might"
> (Mosiah 10:19)

Now the challenge for those opposed to the Early Modern English hypothesis is to get rid of all, not just a few, of these archaic language uses. Here are some of the possible ways, ones that Carmack and I have been employing in our own research:

(1) try to find evidence that the archaic reading is a manuscript error that occurred in the early transmission of the Book of Mormon;

(2) try to find the archaic reading as an example of relic usage in Joseph Smith's own language or in the dialectal language spoken in upstate New York;

(3) try to find examples of the reading as a hard-to-find, rare reading in the English of the late 1700s or early 1800s;

(4) simply reject the archaic reading in favor of a non-archaic reading.

So the question is: Have we found any words in the Book of Mormon that date from nearer to Joseph Smith's time? There is one clear example, *heft.* This word occurs only once in the text, and, in fact, it occurs in the extracanonical eight-witness statement, which was probably authored by Joseph Smith himself in 1829 (see section 14, Witness Statements, in NOL):

> *Heft* (1789 first citation, in the OED)
>
> > "for we have seen and **hefted** and know of a surety"
> > (eight-witness statement)

In addition, there are two other Book of Mormon words that could have been created in earlier English itself but which are attested in the databases only after 1800; each one occurs only once within the Book of Mormon text:

> *Hinderment* (1807 first citation, in Google Books)
>
> > "and he became a great **hinderment** to the prosperity of the church of God" (Mosiah 27:9)
> >
> > > The noun *hinderment* could have been created from the verb *hinder,* just as *government* is derivable from the verb *govern.*

> *Ites* (1852 first citation, in the OED)
>
> > "neither were there Lamanites nor no manner of **ites**" (4 Nephi 1:17)
> >
> > > The morpheme *ite* can become lexicalized from *Israelites* and similar biblical names ending in *-ite.* Compare this with the earlier lexical *ism,* derived from words like *capitalism* and *socialism* ("and all those other *isms*").

Thus far we have found a few word uses, phrases, and expressions that seem, from the evidence gathered thus far, to have been used only in later English:

> *A descendant of* (with a plural subject)
>
> > "they are **a descendant of** the Jews" (2 Nephi 30:4)

> *An eye singled to* (*singled* rather than the expected *single*)
>
> > "for God will that it shall be done with **an eye singled to** his glory" (Mormon 8:15)

> *Morrow month*
>
> > "on the **morrow month** I will command that my armies shall come down against you" (3 Nephi 3:8)

Murmur with (non-participatory *with*)

> "the people began to **murmur with** the king because of their afflictions" (Mosiah 21:6)

Visit your destruction

> "and those of the fourth generation shall **visit your destruction**" (Helaman 13:10)

Wax strong in years

> "they had many children which did grow up and began to **wax strong in years**" (3 Nephi 1:29)

And to this list we can add a few expressions and word uses that seem to have never occurred in the history of the English language (except, of course, in the Book of Mormon):

Cite your minds forward to 'to urge you to consider'

> "I would **cite your minds forward to** the time which the Lord gave these commandments" (Alma 13:1)

Pollutions 'people who are polluted or who pollute'

> "O ye **pollutions**, ye hypocrites . . . why have ye polluted the holy church?" (Mormon 8:38)

Retain 'to take back'

> "even until they had **retained** the one half of their property" (Helaman 4:16)

Subsequent to man 'consequent to man'

> "to remove the cause of diseases which was **subsequent to man**" (Alma 46:40)

Wax 'to cause to become' (causative usage, in the passive)

> "and they **having been waxed** strong in battle" (Alma 9:22)

This is the entire list of examples that have not yet been found in Early Modern English nor in the early 1700s. Even so, these 14 examples do not permit us to ignore the 80 or more examples of archaic language usage (words, phrases, expressions, and grammatical forms) that have been found in the original text of the Book of Mormon.

In the second part of NOL, I list 133 examples of Book of Mormon archaic language usage that also occur in the King James Bible. One could claim from these examples that Joseph Smith must have known

his Bible extremely well. It should be kept in mind that many of these examples occur rarely in the Bible and are typically found only in obscure passages, yet ones that Joseph Smith must have known if Joseph is the one responsible for the text of the Book of Mormon:

Require 'to request'

"thy fathers have also **required** of me this thing" (Enos 1:18)

"for I was ashamed to **require** of the king a band of soldiers and horsemen to help us against the enemy in the way" (Ezra 8:22)

For the multitude 'given the crowd'

"and as many as could come **for the multitude** did kiss his feet" (3 Nephi 17:10)

"and when they could not come nigh unto him **for the press**" (Mark 2:4)

Here in the New Testament the word *press* means 'multitude' or 'crowd' (see definition 1a for the noun *press* in the OED).

Cast arrows 'to shoot arrows'

"the Lamanites could not **cast** their stones and their **arrows** at them" (Alma 49:4)

"as a mad *man* who **casteth** firebrands, **arrows**, and death" (Proverbs 26:18)

One wonders if Joseph Smith or any other reader of the text would have known King James examples like these. But since they are in the Bible, Joseph must have somehow absorbed them from his Bible reading if he is the author of the Book of Mormon text.

Given the bad grammar in the 1830 edition of the Book of Mormon, Alexander Campbell (in his 1831 critique of the book) assumed that Joseph Smith authored the Book of Mormon, and he further claimed that Joseph Smith wrote about the political and religious issues that had been discussed in New York State in the 1820s. Campbell's list of the issues has too often been accepted at face value by both Mormon and non-Mormon scholars alike:

infant baptism, ordination, the trinity, regeneration, repentance, justification, the fall of man, the atonement, **transubstantiation**, fasting, **penance**, church government, religious experience, the call to the ministry, the general resurrection, eternal punishment, who may baptize, and even the question of **freemasonry**, republican government, and the rights of man

But Campbell got carried away when he constructed this list: he included issues that do not appear in the Book of Mormon (such as transubstantiation, penance, and freemasonry). More importantly, if one looks at the text from the perspective of Early Modern English and Reformed Protestantism (including what has been called Radical Protestantism, that is, a Protestantism that attempts to restore an original Christianity based solely upon New Testament practice), there are numerous issues which show that the Book of Mormon is concerned with what the Protestants dealt with and argued over during the 1500s and 1600s:

(1) People are burnt at the stake for heresy (especially in the 1530s and the 1550s in England).

> There is also evidence for burning their scriptures (especially in the 1520s in England).

(2) Judgment day will occur at the bar of God (each person will stand at the bar when their case is tried before the Lord).

> There is no bar of justice in the New Testament. Rather, the judicial bar dates from medieval times. Moreover, we have the term *pleading bar* dating from the 1600s (the bar at which a person makes their pleading or plea). On the other hand, there is no independent evidence for "the pleasing bar of God".

(3) The term *secret combinations* is used to refer to secret conspiracies against the government and the state church throughout the 1600s and the 1700s.

> The earliest citation for *secret combination*(*s*) dates from 1602. Shortly thereafter, the phrase was commonly used in reference to the 1605 attempt by Guy Faux and other Catholics to blow up Parliament. The first reference of *secret combination*(*s*) to masons dates from 1796, but this refers to a union of brick layers attempting to control the price of labor.

(4) There are four pairs of ecclesiastical words that William Tyndale and Thomas More debated in the late 1520s (*congregation* versus *church*; *elder* versus *priest*; *love* versus *charity*; and *repent* versus *do penance*); translators of the English Bible from 1526 to 1611 were forced to deal with these terms in their biblical translations.

> The Book of Mormon text is informed by this debate: *church* is used with its dual meaning (the word *congregation* is ignored except in biblical phraseology); the church has both elders and priests; the word *charity* means 'love'; and the

word *penance* is completely ignored since the practice does not occur in the Book of Mormon.

(5) The true church does not permit child and infant baptism, thus accepting the position of the Anabaptists (who were considered radical and were murdered by both Catholics and Reformed Protestants).

The prophet Mormon provides a very strong discourse against child baptism. Note his severe condemnation of those who advocated or even believed in child baptism (Moroni 8:14–16).

(6) There is a strong preference for piety in living and worship (the Puritan lifestyle).

(7) The Lord's sacrament is "a symbolic memorial" (Zwingli, 1484–1531) but includes a spiritual renewal (Bullinger, 1504–1575).

These two concepts characterize the essence of the sacrament prayers, first given by Jesus in 3 Nephi 18:11 and 20:8–9 and then later by Moroni in Moroni 4–5. Any question of transubstantiation or any variant of it, such as consubstantiation, is ignored.

There is also a secondary issue relating to the sacrament, the reference in Moroni 4:2 to the congregation kneeling down with the elder or priest when he blesses the sacrament. In 1552, during the reprinting of the Book of Common Prayer under King Edward VI, the issue of the church kneeling with the priest was resolved in favor of the traditional kneeling. This practice had been criticized by the Presbyterian John Knox as an unnecessary Catholic practice that the Church of England had continued using.

(8) The Catholic practice of secret confession to church leaders and required works of penance never shows up in the text.

Only once does the Book of Mormon refer to people going to an ecclesiastical authority (in Helaman 16:1, when Nephites converted by the preaching of Samuel the Lamanite go to Nephi for confession of sins and then baptism). In every case, repentance before God is required, and repentant souls must always be willing to publicly declare their repentance.

(9) The Trinitarianism of the Book of Mormon is most clearly expressed by Abinadi in Mosiah 15 and best matches the Trinitarianism found in the Gospel of John.

> God will come down among the children of men and take upon himself a body of flesh and be sacrificed for mankind. This was the heresy that led to the death of Abinadi (or at least it was the official accusation against him, described in Mosiah 17:7–8). This characterization of the Trinity is not the current LDS view of the Godhead.

(10) The church is separated from the state and will act independently in dealing with questions of church discipline and excommunication.

> In Mosiah 26, King Mosiah refuses, as the secular leader of the state, to intervene in the disciplining of church members and leaves that to Alma, the leader of the church. The Lord then instructs Alma that he is limited in his disciplining of church members to excommunicating them rather than physically punishing them. The separation of the church from governmental control is more significant than replacing hereditary kings with elected judges since in the Book of Mormon those judges end up acting much like kings. Ultimately, Campbell is wrong to assume that Mosiah's change in governance was a good example of republican government. It should also be noted that the issue of separation of church and state is an important one in the development of American constitutional law, but it also played a significant role in debates between Reformed and Radical Protestants in Europe in the mid-1500s.

Given all of these similarities with Reformed Protestant issues of the 1500s and 1600s, it is not surprising then that the Book of Mormon resonates so well with a number of Protestants coming from the Radical Protestant tradition.

Numerous scholars, in attempting to disprove the Early Modern English influence in the Book of Mormon, have been trying to find religious expressions in the book that date solely from Joseph Smith's time rather than from the 1500s and 1600s. They mistakenly think that finding such expressions will disprove the Early Modern English hypothesis. (At the same time, most of them are not trying to find examples of the proposed archaic usage in Joseph Smith's time, which is what

really needs to be done if the Early Modern English hypothesis is to be disproven.) In all of these studies, these critics generally fail to find a particular expression in Early Modern English for one of several reasons: (1) they depend on Google and *Literature Online* (LION), which do not have enough religious-oriented books from the 1500s and 1600s; (2) they do not take spelling variants into account (the Early Modern English citations usually take nonstandard spellings); or (3) their expression is too long and complex and ends up being rare or nonexistent, yet shorter or equivalent expressions do exist. (One may not be able to find "swift to do iniquity" in the databases, but there is evidence for the alternative "swift to do evil" and the shorter expression "to do iniquity".)

In order to show the general futility in hunting for religious expressions that are restricted to Joseph Smith's time, I provide in section 7 of NOL, Archaic Expressions, a list of 34 Book of Mormon expressions that Carmack and I have analyzed during our research of the text during the past few years. In this section of NOL, we are not trying to prove that these expressions never existed during Joseph Smith's time. To the contrary, they did. Instead, our goal here is to find them being used from the mid-1500s up through the mid-1700s. Here are some examples that at first we thought we would not find in that earlier time period; we were wrong:

1557, Roger Edgeworth	they **made a mock of** the prophet's words
1560, John Knox	by the cruel and **ignominious death** of his own Son
1580, Calvin's *Commentaries*	we are **spiritually begotten** into the similitude of Christ
1595, Johannes Lansperger	**with a determined resolution** to do all those things
1599, King James VI	**drinking in with** their very nourish-milk
1603, Richard Knolles	and **upwards of** twenty thousand horsemen
1607, John Harington	and sure **he had bled out his life** and all
1608, William Bishop	to pardon whatsoever he **saw fit** to be pardoned

1614, Robert Horne	while we **dwell in flesh**
1620, Thomas Shelton	he caused all the highways to be **laid and watched**
1643, Richard Baker	if yourself will refuse to **take it upon you**
1649, *Trial of John Lilburne*	I and mine **must unavoidably perish** for want of my money
1653, Christopher Love	thy **heart** will **be drawn out** towards him **in prayer**
1660, William Seckep	he who was **guarded to** the cross **with a** band of soldiers
1669, Thomas Manley	when **the capital parts** of the city are rebuilt
1673, Nathaniel Wanley	which is **strange to relate**
1676, *China and France*	this persuasion is so **fixed in their minds**
1681, Edward Bury	**the memory** then will be **enlarged**
1681, Robert Knox	where all his militia **stand in their arms**

In 2014, Grant Hardy sent me a list of 29 Book of Mormon expressions that he proposed were contemporary to Joseph Smith's time and did not occur earlier. Some of Hardy's expressions were first noted by Alexander Campbell and other nineteenth-century anti-Mormons. Hardy could not find them in earlier English on Google Books or *Literature Online* (LION). But using *Early English Books Online* (EEBO) and *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (ECCO), along with Google Search, I readily found 27 of them in Early Modern English (and Carmack found the other two); all of these expressions have citation dates between 1531 and 1733, as in this sampling:

1533, Thomas More	of them that have felt the taste of **the good word of God**
1612, Richard Greenham	guided and **nourished by the word of God**
1612, Charles Richardson	we are only **instruments in the hands of God**
1654, Anthony Burgess	and an **infinite atonement** made

1663, Richard Hubberthorn	or **save his people in their sins** and not from them
1695, Dudley Loftus	so was Adam loosed from the **chains of hell**
1696, Thomas Gregory	if we misspend these **days of probation**
1721, Joseph Perry	the Saints do **sing** this **song of redeeming love**
1733, Thomas Ridgley	the **eternal plan** that was laid

There seems to be no end to these kind of challenges to our earlier English hypothesis. People continue to send them to us or to publish them on the internet, and sometimes we find some intrinsic interest in a given expression, as in these striking examples:

1612, William Jewel	but would choose rather to **endure the crosses of the world**
1632, William Bloys	as his messenger bringing **glad tidings of great joy**
1681, Henry Harrison	the **peaceable** . . . **follower of Christ** enjoys his rest
1697, Lancelot Blackburne	he laid the **plan of** our **redemption**

In general, these lists of proposed counter-examples continue to fail. And that is because the language of religious expression in English originated in the 1500s and 1600s and continued up through the 1700s and into the 1800s. So it will not be surprising that we are able to find these expressions in Early Modern English since they represent the language of the Protestant Reformation and Christian religion in general; and despite their prevalence in the 1800s, they did not originate in the early 1800s.

Nonetheless, Carmack and I have found some expressions that appear to date from the last part of the 1700s or from the early 1800s (or even ones that seem to date after the Book of Mormon was published in 1830). Two sections in NOL are devoted to what we have not found in Early Modern English (namely, sections 10, Non-Archaic Language, and 11, Unique Language). In fact, earlier in this paper I reproduced the complete, current lists from these two sections, although it is worth noting that over the past two years these lists have grown shorter and shorter.

In summary, the real task for those wishing to claim that the non-biblical language of the Book of Mormon is Joseph Smith's English

will be to concentrate on the 80 or so examples of archaic language that have thus far been identified in the original text of the Book of Mormon, that is, the word uses, phrases, expressions, and grammatical forms that appear from all the evidence to have died out sometime between the mid-1500s and the mid-1700s. This kind of research requires more sophisticated databases than Google Books, along with a knowledge of spelling variants in Early Modern English.

Another fruitful area of research has been studying the syntax of the Book of Mormon. In particular, Stanford Carmack has found that the Book of Mormon syntax matches best what we find in English from the second half of the 1500s, but it does not match the syntax of the 1611 King James Bible nor the pseudo-biblical texts that were popular during the late 1700s and early 1800s, such as Richard Snowden's 1793 *The American Revolution* and Gilbert Hunt's 1816 *The Late War*. Thus, the occasional similarity of the Book of Mormon with King James English cannot be dismissed by simply stating that "it may share some syntactic patterns" (as in Hardy's review of the Critical Text Project[2]). In section 12 of NOL, Carmack examines in detail the following cases where the syntax of the Book of Mormon matches the syntax of the second half of the 1500s, but not the syntax of William Tyndale's late 1520s and early 1530s biblical translations, nor the 1611 King James syntax (which heavily borrows from Tyndale's syntax):

the plural -*th* ending

"Nephi's **brethren rebelleth** against him" (1 Nephi preface)

"all **those** who **hath** hearkened unto their words" (Mosiah 15:11)

the periphrastic past-tense *did*

"the voice of the Lord came and **did speak** many words unto them" (1 Nephi 16:39)

"they **did quake** and had fallen to the earth" (Helaman 9:5)

complex finite clausal complements (for five different verbs)

"he can **cause** the earth **that** it shall pass away" (1 Nephi 17:46)

"ye will not **suffer** your children **that** they shall go hungry" (Mosiah 4:14)

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2. Hardy, "Approaching Completion: The Book of Mormon Critical Text Project", 176.

> "and I would **desire** him **that** he come in unto me"
>   (Alma 18:11)

> "and he **commanded** them **that** they should arise"
>   (3 Nephi 20:2)

> "thou hast **made** all this people **that** they could speak much"
>   (Ether 12:23)

Carmack is quite correct to characterize the syntax of the Book of Mormon as "excellent and even sophisticated". Yet this syntax does not show up in Joseph Smith's own writing, including his 1832 History written only three years after he finished translating the Book of Mormon. There are, for instance, no examples of the periphrastic past-tense *did* or the *-th* plural in his 1832 History—nor in the letters he wrote while he was translating the Book of Mormon. In addition, Joseph never used the relative pronoun *which* for persons in his 1832 History or in his contemporary letters, yet that biblical usage is found throughout the original Book of Mormon text:

> personal *which* in the original text

> "a man **which** was large and was noted for his much strength"
>   (Alma 1:2)

> "there were none **which** were Amlicites or Amulonites"
>   (Alma 24:29)

> "our first parents **which** came out of the land of Jerusalem"
>   (Helaman 5:6)

Instead, Joseph used *who* and *that* in his 1832 History and in his contemporary letters, the same relative pronouns that are used in current English.

One incredible aspect of the Book of Mormon is the complex blending into the text of phraseology from all over the King James Bible. Other scholars have been working on this issue and generally refer to it as "intertextuality". (Nicholas Frederick has referred to it as "allusivity", a word that has not yet made it into the Oxford English Dictionary.) Here I am not referring to the language of the long biblical quotations in the Book of Mormon (from Isaiah and Matthew, for instance) but within the Book of Mormon text proper. Under this subject, I also ignore the few cases of commentary in the Book of Mormon based on specific biblical passages (for instance, from Isaiah 29 and 1 Corinthians 13). Instead, in section 19 of NOL, King James Blending, I discuss four different biblical phrases and show how they are blended in varying

ways into the text of the Book of Mormon proper: "hearts knit together", "lay hold upon every good gift", "sit down in the kingdom of God", and "sting of death". Consider, for instance, the following astonishing case of linguistic gymnastics found in the book of Mosiah, where every phrase shifts to a different King James passage:

Mosiah 18:21	KING JAMES PHRASEOLOGY	
one faith and one baptism	one faith / one baptism	*Ephesians 4:5*
their hearts knit together	their hearts being knit together	*Colossians 2:2*
together in unity	together in unity	*Psalm 133:1*
in love one towards another	in love one toward another	*1 Thessalonians 3:12*

Another biblical blending that I discovered quite a few years ago involves the borrowing of the phraseology of Hebrews 10:27, yet used in a rather different way:

Alma 40:14	Hebrews 10:26–27
now this is the state	for if we sin willfully
of the souls of the wicked	after that we have received
	the knowledge of the truth
yea in darkness and a state	there remaineth no more sacrifice for sins
of awful **fearful looking for**	but a certain **fearful looking for**
of the **fiery indignation**	**of** judgment and **fiery indignation**
of the wrath of God upon them	which shall devour the adversaries

In conclusion, we end up with these general results with respect to the archaic nature of the Book of Mormon: (1) the words, phrases, and expressions mainly date from the 1530s through the 1730s; (2) the syntax best matches that of the second half of the 1500s; and (3) there is an astounding blending in of King James phraseology (from both the Old Testament and the New) throughout the Book of Mormon.

NOL is much more than an encyclopedia of Book of Mormon usage. It is a whole new way of looking at the Book of Mormon text. And the main point is that the original language of the text is complex, and it is going to take work if you want to consider the text seriously. The day of casual claims about the language of the Book of Mormon is over, especially those general statements that the language is a crude imitation of the King James style, intermixed with Joseph Smith's dialectal usage.

Several important questions derive from this work on the nature of the original language of the Book of Mormon. I discuss them here at the end of this summary article on NOL:

(1) *Is the original Book of Mormon text an Early Modern English text?*

The answer is no. Here are four findings that must be considered:

(a) The word *retain* often takes the meaning 'to take back' rather than the expected meaning 'to keep'; this etymological meaning for *retain* has never occurred, as far as I know, in the history of English.

(b) In the original text, we have the nearly consistent use of the extra conjunctive *and* after a complex subordinate clause and before its following main clause (as originally in Moroni 10:4: "and if ye shall ask with a sincere heart, with real intent, having faith in Christ, **and** he will manifest the truth of it unto you"). As far as I know, this syntactic structure (which is Hebrew-like, but is strictly speaking not a Hebraism) has never occurred in English.

(c) In the Book of Mormon, the use of the perfective auxiliary *have* is considerably more frequent than the archaic perfective auxiliary *be* for verbs of motion and change; this syntax appears to date from the late 1700s, nearer to Joseph Smith's time, than from the Early Modern English period, which definitely favored the perfective *be* (as in "he is risen").

(d) The vocabulary of the text has been filtered so that no truly obsolete words from Early Modern English get through (except in the long quotations from the King James Bible, with its archaic examples like *besom, carbuncle, tabret,* and *crisping pin*). Nonetheless, the words that occur in the Book of Mormon proper are recognizable as current words in English, but they often take on archaic meanings that neither Joseph Smith nor his scribes understood.

Thus we end up with a very complex and interesting mixture of specific language usage, but definitely not an ignorant mishmash of language imitative of the biblical style.

(2) *What happens to the Early Modern English hypothesis if we find clear evidence of words, phrases, and expressions dating from the second half of the 1700s?*

This could well happen. The short lists in sections 10, Non-Archaic Language, and 11, Unique Language, could expand instead of diminish, and we may end up having to say that the language of the text dates from

the 1530s up to the late 1700s—or even up to the 1820s (although this latter case seems highly unlikely). But even if the upper bound on the dating of the text approaches Joseph Smith's time, we will still have to deal with the lower bound, the clear examples of archaic language usage dating from the 1500s and 1600s. Particular examples in the original text like *but if* 'unless' (in Mosiah 3:19), *do away* 'to dismiss' (in Moroni 10:26), and *idleness* 'meaningless words or actions' (in Alma 38:12) are not going to disappear, although some scholars will either continue to ignore these examples or simply declare that they must be instances of relic upstate New York English, despite the lack of evidence.

(3) *Is the Book of Mormon English translation a literal translation of what was on the plates?*

It appears once more that the answer is no. The blending in of specific King James phraseology, from the New Testament as well as the Old Testament, tells us otherwise. The Book of Mormon is a creative translation that involves considerable intervention by the translator (or shall we say translators, since we're in a speculative mood). There is also evidence that the Book of Mormon is a cultural translation. Consider, for instance, the interesting case of the anachronistic use in the Book of Mormon of the noun *bar,* which consistently refers to the bar of judgment that we will stand in front of (and hold on to) on the day of judgment. The judgment bar is not a biblical or ancient term, but instead dates from medieval times. The Bible refers to standing before the judgment seat of a judge or the throne of the king, as does the Book of Mormon when it refers to secular judgment. The Book of Mormon goes further and refers to the "bar of God" and to the future day of judgment. However, the question arises concerning how this would have been expressed on the plates. I suppose the authors of the words on the plates could have been told, by inspiration, to write a word equivalent to *bar,* the word that would be used in the future to refer to God's final judgment. Note that *bar* is never used anachronistically within the Book of Mormon text itself to refer to a secular judgment, but is consistently used to refer to the final day of judgment. So rather than the equivalent for the word *bar* occurring on the plates, it is possible that the translator(s) decided to use the word *bar* (and even the more specific *pleading bar,* which clearly dates from the 1600s) to refer to the final judgment, a scene then that would have been fully understood by Early Modern English readers but not by modern readers nor by ancient readers. All of this cultural translation linking the text to

Early Modern English argues that Joseph Smith was not the author of the English translation.

(4) *Did the Lord himself do the translation, or did he have others do it?*

The answer is: We have no idea, and it's basically a waste of time trying to figure out how the translation was produced. Early on in my work on the text, I speculated about there being a translation committee. This was a mistake. Soon thereafter, there were claims on the internet that I thought William Tyndale had been on the committee! I may have referred to the actual translator of the Book of Mormon as "the Lord himself or his translation committee", but I have never speculated on who could have been on a translation committee. Nor have Carmack and I ever found any writer from the second half of the 1500s, say, whose language style sounds like the Book of Mormon's. I know that others have claimed that the translator was some Nephite prophet (such as Moroni) who learned English imperfectly and did the translation, and that's why we get the Hebrew-like constructions in the text (and perhaps even the bad grammar). Well, there is no end to this, nor is there any benefit in this kind of speculation. I find this whole exercise unfruitful and do not recommend it. I'm afraid we're just going to have to wait for the answer from the Lord. More importantly, we need to continue to study the nature of the original language of the Book of Mormon.

(5) *Why didn't the Lord reveal the text to Joseph Smith in his English or in our current English (or in B. H. Roberts' or James E. Talmage's "correct" English)? Why would the Lord give us a text that we don't fully understand, so that we have to study it all out?*

It's worth pointing out that the same holds for reading the King James Bible. We need help in understanding passages, which can be indecipherable, misleading, or scandalous to modern American readers, as in these examples where I also provide a modern, literal translation from the English Standard Version (ESV), which pays respect to the King James text and to the Greek and Hebrew originals:

Acts 3:17   I **wot** that through ignorance ye did *it*

'I **know** that you acted in ignorance' (ESV)

Luke 8:46   someone hath touched me, for I perceive that **virtue** is gone out of me

'someone touched me, for I perceive that **power** has gone out from me' (ESV)

| Joshua 15:18 | and she lighted off *her* **ass** |
| | 'and she got off her **donkey**' (ESV) |

In fact, even reading the scriptures in their original Greek (the New Testament) or in their original Hebrew or occasional Aramaic (the Old Testament) will not solve this problem. We don't precisely know what all the words mean even in the original languages. All of scripture reading is difficult and requires study.

(6) *Is there a need for a modernized text of the Book of Mormon?*

As far as the nonstandard grammar goes, we already have that kind of a text (for the most part). Of course, we could go further and make a thoroughly modern English version without any archaic syntax, thus avoiding verbs with the inflectional endings -(*e*)*st* and -(*e*)*th* and the archaic pronouns *thou, thee, thy,* and *thine* as well as eliminating archaic words like *yea* and *nay*. Going in the opposite direction, the Yale text of the Book of Mormon restores the original nonstandard grammar and all the original archaic syntax; yet in reading that version, modern readers may stumble over expressions like "in them days" and "they was yet wroth". And what about all the changes in meaning discussed in this new work, *The Nature of the Original Language*? Should we have footnotes for all of these changed words in the Book of Mormon? And the English language continues to change, so a few centuries down the road, we may very well be forced to have an English text with notes explaining an increasing number of changes in the language (this is what we have already begun to do with our LDS King James Bible). Or we will need a conservative, modern translation of the Book of Mormon, but one that pays respect to the textual tradition. For scholarly work, of course, there is no substitute for the earliest text, along with its conjectural emendations. In that case, not only do we accept the nonstandard language of the original text, we embrace it! And we take the text seriously, as words revealed to the Prophet Joseph Smith from the Lord. Ultimately, then, we may need three kinds of text: (1) an annotated and grammatically correct Book of Mormon for more literate and educated readers, one that basically retains the King James style of language; (2) a modernized text for English readers of all economic, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds, one that basically eliminates all the Early Modern English language; and (3) a scholarly edition that restores all the original readings, including the nonstandard grammar as well as conjectural emendations that have sufficient support and remedy actual deficiencies in the text. Of course, some of us will simply skip the first two alternatives.

Fortunately, the third alternative already exists, in the Yale edition of the Book of Mormon. Ultimately, we may want a scholarly text that provides the original text along with annotations explaining the archaic usage, whether lexical, semantic, or grammatical, as well as notes specifying significant changes in the history of the text.

Royal Skousen, professor of linguistics at Brigham Young University, has been editor of the Book of Mormon Critical Text Project since 1988. In 2009, he published with Yale University Press the culmination of his critical text work, *The Book of Mormon: The Earliest Text.* He is also known for his work on exemplar-based theories of language and quantum computing of analogical modeling.

Joseph Smith's Iowa Quest for Legal Assistance

His Letters to Edward Johnstone and Others on Sunday, June 23, 1844

John W. Welch

When Joseph and Hyrum Smith were threatened with arrest on June 22, 1844, they left Nauvoo, Illinois, and went across the Mississippi River in the very early morning hours of Sunday, June 23. As evidenced by the letters and records of that crucial day, Joseph and Hyrum were considering several options that pointed in divergent directions. Recently found sources give new information about a little-known and underestimated purpose for their midnight rowing across the Mississippi River to Montrose, Iowa—namely, to seek and retain the legal assistance of experienced lawyers necessary before submitting to a warrant requiring them to go to Carthage, Illinois.

From William Jordan's hilltop cabin outside of Montrose or in a makeshift camp nearby, Joseph made contact with Iowa lawyers that Sunday, including the prominent Edward Johnstone in Fort Madison, Iowa, and Joseph promptly received helpful replies from most of them. The history of this brief trip across the river has not been told from the perspective of his correspondence with Johnstone and other lawyers that watershed Sunday. These letters in search of legal counsel introduce the strong possibility that two of the main reasons why Joseph crossed the river were (1) to have a quiet place where he could contemplate and discuss his options without Church responsibilities and interruptions from a pressing stream of anxious friends and Illinois state officers in Nauvoo that Sunday, and (2) to have a convenient place in Iowa Territory from which he could request and be available to meet with Iowa lawyers living just upstream from Montrose in Fort Madison and Burlington, in order to secure their legal assistance in defending himself, his brother Hyrum, and

the members of the Nauvoo City Council against the state of Illinois; their appearance in court was required the very next day in Carthage. While Illinois lawyers were unlikely to be available on such short notice or to be willing to represent Joseph and his codefendants against the state of Illinois in this highly charged situation, Joseph had reason to believe he could find legal help in Iowa. He had won a court case in Iowa two years earlier against George Hinkle and was represented in that action by two highly regarded lawyers in Fort Madison.[1]

From Montrose, Joseph dictated his letter addressed to Judge Edward Johnstone of Fort Madison on Sunday, June 23, 1844. The original letter, written down by Willard Richards on a half-sheet of foolscap paper and delivered promptly to Johnstone, was located by Gordon A. Madsen, who made contact with a descendant of Johnstone and arranged to have this document donated to the LDS Church Archives in 2002.[2] The text of this original manuscript (fig. 1), published here for the first time,[3] reads:

Letter of Joseph Smith to Edward Johnstone, June 23, 1844

Sunday June 23 1844

Col — Johnson Esqu

Sir — I have to attend a case at Carthage

<State of Ill. Vs Joseph Smith Jr.>

tomorrow — at 12 noon = and especially request your attendance professionally, — without fail.

Yours Respectfully

Joseph Smith

Per W. Richards clerk —

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1. District Court record for Lee County, Iowa, vol. 3, p. 173, docket entry approved by Judge Charles Mason on April 29, 1842, regarding *Joseph Smith v. George M. Hinkle,* in assumpsit, said plaintiff being represented by Alfred Rich and Lewis R. Reeves, attorneys, Microfilm reel Lee #396, item 1955799, in the State Archives of Iowa, State Historical Society of Iowa, Des Moines, Iowa.

2. The letter is now catalogued as MS 17391, folder 1, images 1–2, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, and is available online at https://dcms.lds.org/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE11926378. I thank Gordon Madsen for sharing this information with me, and also the Church Historical Department for facilitating access and granting permission to publish this document.

3. Joseph Smith's letter to Johnstone was used and cited by Joseph I. Bentley in his article "Road to Martyrdom: Joseph Smith's Last Legal Cases," *BYU Studies Quarterly* 55, no. 2 (2016): 50, n. 153.
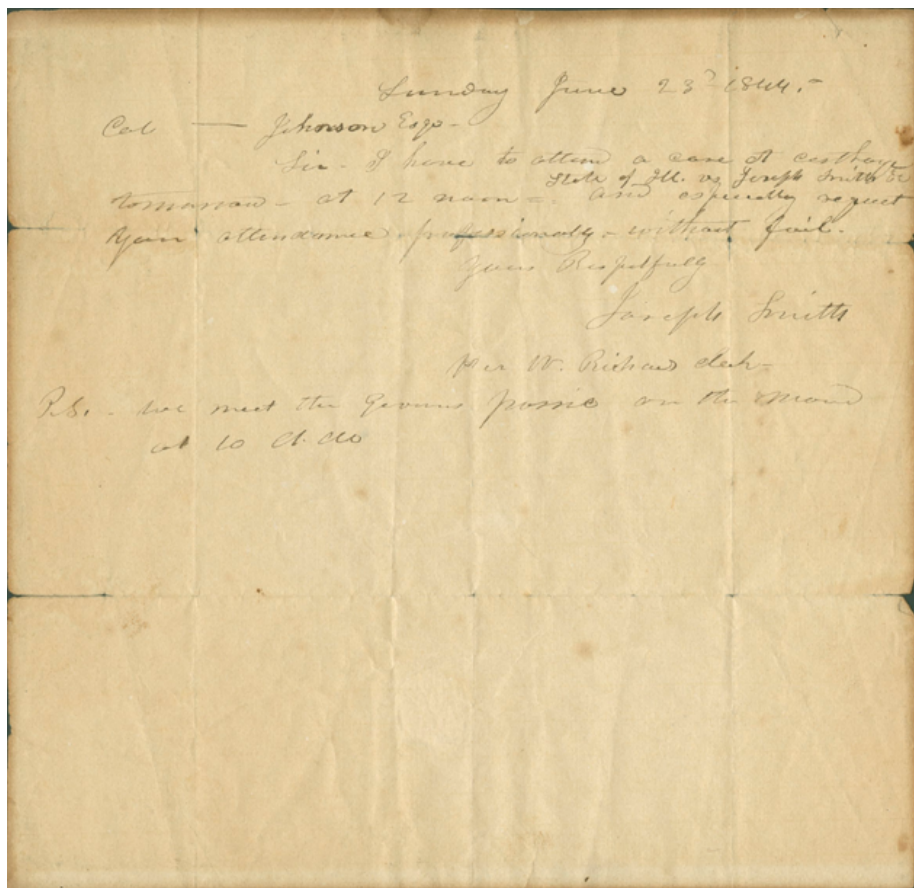
FIGURE 1. Letter of Joseph Smith to Edward Johnstone, June 23, 1844. Courtesy Church History Library, Intellectual Reserve, Inc.

PS. We meet the Governor's posse on the mound at 10 A.M.

[On reverse, written in different handwriting]
Letter of Joseph Smith Jr. the Mormon prophet to Edward Johnstone then residing at Fort Madison, Iowa

From Jos Smith the prophet

In addition, in 2016, while working in the library of the State Historical Society of Iowa in Iowa City, I spotted a clipping of an article in which this letter from Joseph Smith to Johnstone was published in a newspaper in southeastern Iowa. It was placed among a cluster of newspaper clippings from around 1886. The clipping is undated and the name of the newspaper is unknown, but it appears to have been

published either in Fort Madison or, perhaps more likely, in Keokuk, Iowa, where Johnstone died in 1891. That newspaper article was written about forty years after the death of Joseph Smith by a reporter who had conversed at that time with Edward Johnstone, who had retained this letter, complete with its original red sealing wax, during all of those intervening forty years. Johnstone (or this reporter) believed the letter to be the last letter written by Joseph Smith before he was murdered four days afterward, on June 27, 1844, in Carthage, Illinois. This newly found newspaper clipping is published in full below (fig. 2). It is located in volume 8, pages 318–19, of the ten-volume unpublished scrapbook-history entitled "History of Keokuk," recently deposited in the Caleb Davis Papers at the State Historical Society of Iowa library in Iowa City.

Although this letter was not the Prophet's last written word (as the newspaper headline proclaimed), its discovery adds a few crucial details relevant to the motivations and timing of Joseph Smith's activities and whereabouts on Sunday, June 23, four days before the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum on Thursday, June 27. The purpose of the following documentary study is to compile and reexamine all that is known from the contemporaneous manuscripts about the events on that decisive Sunday.[4] In order to position this Johnstone letter historically, the information found in six key documents must be carefully examined, collated, and sometimes reconciled: (1) William Clayton's 1844 record in the Council of Fifty minutes; (2) the history of Joseph Smith written in 1856 based on information given by Reynolds Cahoon, Orrin Porter Rockwell, and others who were with Joseph and Hyrum that day; (3) James Woods's legal report published in *Times and Seasons* on July 1, 1844; (4) a second account given by James Woods in 1882; (5) Willard Richards's journal entry for June 23, 1844; and (6) Vilate Kimball's letter to her husband written June 11 and 24, 1844. As a result of this documentary research, it becomes clear that Joseph's quest in Iowa on Sunday, June 23, 1844, to secure lawyers willing to represent him in court in

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Carthage needs to be factored prominently into any complete historical account of that day.[5]

Events Leading Up to the Writing of the Johnstone Letter

In order to understand and evaluate the significance of this letter to Edward Johnstone, the complicated events and situations leading up to June 23 need to be kept in mind. On Monday, June 10, Joseph, as mayor of Nauvoo, signed an order of the city council to destroy the press of the *Nauvoo Expositor,* which the city council felt was within the legal powers it had been granted under the Nauvoo Charter to abate public nuisances. That order was immediately carried out by Nauvoo officials that evening.

Anti-Mormons such as Thomas Sharp in Warsaw, Illinois, seized the opportunity to rouse the population around Nauvoo and threatened the Saints' lives and property. On June 14, Sharp publicized in his newspaper, the *Warsaw Signal,* his plans to confront the Smiths.[6] Then a public meeting was held in Keokuk, Iowa, on June 18, scathingly condemning Joseph Smith and resolving to support the citizens of Hancock County, pledging to "give them any assistance they may require, or the law allows, to aid in the execution of the Laws of the land."[7] The Keokuk resolution was published in the *Warsaw Signal* on June 19, the same day on which Joseph ordered a defensive picket guard to be posted on all the roads leading in and out of Nauvoo.[8]

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5. This purpose is never mentioned in the historical treatments of this day in the life of Joseph Smith. For example, although the very detailed account given by Robert S. Wicks and Fred R. Foster, *Junius and Joseph: Presidential Politics and the Assassination of the First Mormon Prophet* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2005), mentions James W. Woods several times as Joseph's non-Mormon lawyer, Hugh T. Reid and Henry T. Hugins remain unnoticed, and nothing is ever said about all three of them being Iowa lawyers.

6. "At a Mass Meeting of the Citizens of Hancock County," *Warsaw Signal,* June 14, 1844, copy in Church History Library, and in *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* ed. B. H. Roberts, 2d ed., rev., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1971), 6:462–66.

7. The next day, this full resolution was published in "At a Large and Respectable Meeting," *Warsaw Signal,* June 19, 1844. I thank Brooke LeFevre for locating this significant, but otherwise overlooked, news item.

8. "History, 1838–1856, Volume F-1 [1 May 1844–8 August 1844]," 122, Church History Library, http://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/history-1838 -1856-volume-f-1-1-may-1844-8-august-1844/128; *History of the Church,* 6:505.

On June 20, Joseph wrote letters preparing for the defense of Nauvoo against the growing mob,[9] and on the night of Friday, June 21, Governor Thomas Ford sent a letter to Joseph Smith saying that Ford had come to Carthage to "preserve the peace" and that he wanted "to hear the allegations and defenses of all parties" related to the *Expositor* excitement.[10] In response, on Saturday, Joseph sent John Bernhisel, John Taylor, and Edward Bonney to meet with Ford and fifteen or twenty men in Carthage. Joseph's delegates, however, were interrupted and contradicted constantly in their attempt to present the affidavits they had collected.[11]

They waited five or six hours that Saturday afternoon while the governor drafted yet another letter. It demanded the demobilization of the Nauvoo Legion and the arrest and trial[12] of Joseph Smith and many others regarding martial law and *Nauvoo Expositor* matters, with the trial to begin in Carthage on Monday.[13] If they refused, the governor declared that "it will be considered by me as an equivalent to a refusal to be arrested and the Militia will be ordered accordingly."[14] The governor's letter was filled with legal arguments, many of them new and novel.

Joseph received the second letter from Governor Ford on Saturday night and quickly wrote back at midnight[15] that he dared not come to

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9. "History, 1838–1856, Volume F-1," 123–30; *History of the Church,* 509–20.

10. Thomas Ford to Joseph Smith, June 21, 1844, MS 155, box 3, folder 8, images 81–82, Church History Library, https://dcms.lds.org/delivery/Delivery ManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE10507264 (scroll down in this collection to find images 81 and 82).

11. "History, 1838–1856, Volume F-1," 133, 137, 145–46; *History of the Church,* 6:542–45.

12. Joseph Smith and others had already appeared before Aaron Johnson (June 12) and Daniel H. Wells (June 17) on charges related to the destruction of the *Expositor* and had been discharged. *History of the Church,* 6:453–58, 487–91.

13. See Bentley, "Road to Martyrdom: Joseph Smith's Last Legal Cases," 48–50.

14. Thomas Ford to Joseph Smith, June 22, 1844, MS 155, box 3, folder 8, images 106–15, Church History Library, https://dcms.lds.org/delivery/Delivery ManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE10507264; "History, 1838–1856, Volume F-1," 140–43; *History of the Church,* 6:533–37. This letter was one of several pieces of correspondence between Ford and Joseph Smith during these days.

15. Joseph's letter to Ford written at 2:00 p.m. Sunday begins, "I wrote you a long communication at 12 last night." Joseph Smith to Thomas Ford, June 23, 1844, MS 155, box 2, folder 8, image 74, Church History Library, https://dcms .lds.org/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE429909.

Carthage because of threats against his life by armed men who were gathered at Carthage with the governor. Joseph stated again his legal explanations for the Nauvoo City Council's action against the *Nauvoo Expositor* and the reasons for mobilizing the Nauvoo militia, which was done in an organized manner and to protect the peace, in accordance with the Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.[16]

According to William Clayton's record, "The officers who [on Saturday night] brought the letter (thirty in number) told Joseph they should wait till tomorrow morning and if they [Joseph, Hyrum, and other accused men] were not then ready they [the officers] should wait no longer but return & tell the governor they were resisted &c."[17] According to a different source, the posse (likely referring to the same posse) from the governor arrived early Sunday morning: "Early in the morning a posse arrived in Nauvoo to arrest Joseph; but as they did not find him they started back to Carthage immediately, leaving one man of the name of [Christopher] Yates behind them, who said to one of the brethren, that Governor Ford designed that if Joseph and Hyrum were not given up he would send his troops and guard the City until they were found, if it took three years to do it."[18]

James W. Woods,[19] an attorney at law of Burlington, Iowa, representing Joseph, Hyrum, and the Nauvoo City Council, had arrived in Nauvoo on Friday, June 21, most likely at Joseph's personal request. Woods met with Joseph, Hyrum, and others on Saturday. On July 1, right after the martyrdom, Woods's detailed account of the preceding week was published, confirming and adding more information about the foregoing history:

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16. Joseph Smith to Thomas Ford, June 22, 1844, copy, Church History Library, MS 155, box 2, folder 8, images 63–68, Church History Library, https://dcms.lds.org/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE429909; "History, 1838–1856, Volume F-1," 143–45; *History of the Church,* 6:538–41.

17. Matthew J. Grow and others, eds., *Administrative Records: Council of Fifty, Minutes, March 1844–January 1846,* Joseph Smith Papers (Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, 2016), 197. James Woods's account, herein, confirms that the posse arrived Saturday night.

18. "History, 1838–1856, Volume F-1," 148.

19. James Woods (c. 1810–1886) practiced law in Virginia, Illinois, and Iowa Territory and had acted as legal counsel for Joseph Smith in May 1843. "Woods, James," Joseph Smith Papers, http://www.josephsmithpapers.org/person/james-woods. See also Susan Easton Black, "Esquire James Weston Woods: Legal Counsel to Joseph Smith," *Mormon Historical Studies* 4 (Fall 2003): 113–21.

At the request of the friends of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, I have consented to give a statement of such matters as I had a knowledge of in relation to their murder at Carthage, and what occurred under my observation.

I arrived in Nauvoo from Burlington, Iowa, on Friday, June 21, about 9 o'clock, P. M., found all things quiet, had an interview on Saturday morning the 22d, with Joseph and Hyrum Smith, who was in consultation with some of their friends in relation to a communication from Gov. Ford: during the interview *heard Gen. Joseph Smith give orders to disband the Legion and withdraw the guards and sentinels,* who were co-operating with the police to preserve the peace of the city, as he said by order of Gov. Ford; that I went from Nauvoo to Carthage on the evening of [that Saturday] the 22d, when I had an interview with Gov. Ford, assuring him as to the quiet of Nauvoo, and that Smith and his friends were ready to obey the laws. I was told [by Ford or state officials] that the constable with a posse had that evening gone to Nauvoo *with a writ for Smith and others,* and that nothing short of an unconditional surrender to the laws could allay the excitement.

I was then informed by Gov. Ford he was pledged to protect all such persons as might be arrested, and that they should have an impartial examination, and that if the Smiths and the rest against whom *warrants had been issued, would come to Carthage by Monday the 24th inst., (June,)* it would be a compliance on their part, and on Sunday morning the 23d, Gov. Ford pledged his word that if Gen. Smith would come to Carthage, he should by him be protected, with such of his friends as might accompany him, and that I as his counsel should have protection, in defending Smith;

that I returned to Nauvoo [from Carthage, apparently by way of Montrose] on Sunday evening the 23d, and I found Gen. Joseph and Hyrum Smith making preparations to go to Carthage on Monday;

and on Monday morning the 24th, I left the city of Nauvoo in company with the two Smiths, and some fifteen other persons, parties and witnesses, for Carthage. We were met by a company of about 60 men under Capt. Dunn; that at the request of Gen. Joseph Smith, I advanced and communicated with the commander of the company, and was informed he was on his way to Nauvoo, with an order from Gov. Ford for the State Arms [government-issued weapons] at that place, that it was agreed by myself on behalf of Gen. Smith, that the order for the arms should be endorsed by Gen. Smith; and that he should place himself under the protection of Capt. Dunn, to return to Nauvoo and see the Governor's order promptly obeyed and return with Capt. Dunn to Carthage; Capt. Dunn pledging his word as a military man, that Smith and his friends should be protected, that the order was endorsed by Gen. Smith, which was communicated by Capt. Dunn, to Gov. Ford,

with a letter from Gen. Smith, informing the Governor that he would accompany Capt. Dunn to Carthage.

I left the company and proceeded to Carthage; that about 12 o'clock at night [midnight] of [Monday] the 24th, Captain Dunn returned with the State Arms from Nauvoo; accompanied by Joseph and Hyrum, and some 13 others, who were charged with a riot in destroying the printing press of the Nauvoo Expositor.[20]

A second account by Woods, given in 1882, thirty-eight years later, may have conflated a detail or two but gives more information about what happened on Sunday and Monday, June 23–24. In particular, Woods adds that he went to the camp of Joseph and Hyrum outside of Montrose, Iowa, and what transpired there:

In June, 1844, while I was standing at the wharf at Burlington, a note was handed to me from Joe Smith requesting me to come to Nauvoo.[21]

I jumped aboard and went down. Joe and his brother Hyrum were concealed in a pawpaw thicket across the river in Lee County [Iowa]. I was piloted over [from Nauvoo to Montrose] in a boat by three men. When we reached the other side we found a couple of horses saddled and bridled all ready to go. We mounted and rode down the river for about three miles and then turned up a ravine, which we traversed for about three-quarters of a mile through a thicket and came to the camp of Joe and Hyrum Smith.

There were *about twenty other men with them*. We held a consultation and concluded that Smith should return to Nauvoo, and that I should go [back] to Governor Ford, of Illinois [carrying a letter Joseph had just signed at 2:00 p.m.], and obtain a [written?] pledge from him that the Smiths should have a fair and impartial trial and that they should be protected from all bodily harm. . . . I advised him to return to Nauvoo, as already stated, and disband his legion, and I went to Carthage [that afternoon], where I met the Governor and obtained from him the pledge of safety before referred to.

I returned with it [the pledge] to where I had left Smith [at the Mansion House on Saturday night] and we started on the following morning [Monday] for Carthage.

About nine miles out we met Captain Denin (or Dunn) with a company of cavalry and an order from Governor Ford for the surrender

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20. James W. Woods, "At the Request of the Friends of Joseph and Hyrum Smith," *Times and Seasons* 5 (July 1, 1844): 563–64; paragraphing, parentheticals, and italics added.

21. It is more likely that Woods returned from Carthage directly to Nauvoo, not going by way of Burlington. Perhaps he is remembering here a request he received on Friday, June 21, to go that evening from Burlington to Nauvoo.

of the state arms [government-issued weapons] which the legion had drawn under the state laws.

Then I thought it unsafe for Smith to go on. I also thought it would be unsafe for the Captain and his men to go to Nauvoo without the Smiths and the other leaders with him, as there were about twenty thousand Mormons at Nauvoo.

Under these conditions it was agreed that Smith *should go back to Nauvoo* and assist in gathering the government arms that were to be given up or back to the State. On this being done, I was to report the fact to Governor Ford, and then the Smiths and the other prisoners were to surrender themselves under the pledge of safety and protection.[22]

Obviously, Woods felt the urgency of the occasion. It is unclear why his July 1, 1844, account right after the martyrdom did not include any comment about his having gone to the hidden camp three miles downstream from Montrose, Iowa.[23]

Importantly, Woods's 1844 account reports that the governor's posse arrived in Nauvoo on Saturday night with a writ demanding the appearance of Smith and others in Carthage. In Carthage, Ford informed Woods that warrants had been issued, requiring his clients to come "to Carthage by Monday the 24th."[24]

Thus, a few hours before Joseph and Hyrum crossed the Mississippi early Sunday morning, they knew that they had been summoned to appear in Carthage on Monday. But they were not under arrest; they could still come and go as they pleased. Presumably, the writ had precisely demanded that the accuseds surrender themselves on Monday "on the mound[25] at 10 A.M." in order to be in Carthage "at 12 noon," for the case of *State of Illinois v. Joseph Smith Jr.* These details were included by Joseph in his letter to Johnstone on Sunday, June 23.

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22. Edward H. Stiles, *Recollections and Sketches of Notable Lawyers and Public Men of Early Iowa: Belonging to the First and Second Generations, with Anecdotes and Incidents Illustrative of the Times* (Des Moines, Iowa: Homestead Publishing, 1916), 268–69; paragraphing, parentheticals, and italics added.

23. Perhaps on July 1, he was focused only on giving the requested statement about what happened under Woods's observation in Carthage; perhaps it was not his prerogative to talk at that time about the secret meeting near Montrose.

24. Woods, "At the Request of Friends."

25. Johnstone's recollection identifies the mound as a place about six miles east of Nauvoo. "The Prophet's Last Written Word," newspaper clipping collected in "History of Keokuk," 10 vols., 8:318–19, Caleb Davis Papers, State Historical Society of Iowa library, Iowa City, Iowa.

The Joseph Smith history, written in Joseph's voice, records another idea that was being considered that day—to get horses and head west to the Rocky Mountains:

> At sundown [on Saturday], I asked O. P. Rockwell if he would go with me a short journey, and he replied he would. Abraham C. Hodge says that soon after dark Joseph called A. C. Hodge, Jno. L. Butler, A. Cutler, Wm. Marks, and some others into his upper room and said, "brethren, here is a letter from the Governor which I wish to have read". After it was read through Joseph remarked "there is no mercy—no mercy here". Hyrum said "No; just as sure as we fall into their hands we are dead men". Joseph replied "yes; what shall we do brother Hyrum?" He replied, "I don't know".
>
> All at once Joseph's countenance brightened up and he said, "the way is open—it is clear to my mind what to do; all they want is Hyrum and myself—then tell everybody to go about their business, and not to collect in groups but scatter about; there is no doubt they will come here and search for us—let them search; they will not harm you in person or property, & not even a hair of your head. We will cross the river tonight and go away <to the West>.[26]
>
> He made a move to go out of the house to cross the river; when out of doors he told Butler and Hodge to take the Maid of Iowa[27] (in charge of Repsher) get it to the Upper [Nauvoo] landing, and put his and Hyrum's families and effects upon her; then to go down the Mississippi, and up the Ohio river to Portsmouth where they should hear from them. He then took Hodge by the hand and said, "now, bror Hodge, let what will come, don't deny the faith, and all will be well".>
>
> I told Stephen Markham that if I and Hyrum were ever taken again, we should be massacred, or I was not a prophet of God; "I want Hyrum to live to avenge my blood, b<ut> he is determined not to leave me." . . .
>
> About 9 P.M, Hyrum came out of the Mansion and gave his hand to Reynolds Cahoon, at the same time saying, "a company of men are seeking to kill my brother Joseph, and the Lord has warned him to flee to the Rocky Mountains to save his life; good bye brother Cahoon, we shall see you again." In a few minutes afterwards, Joseph came from his family; his tears were flowing fast; he held a handkerchief to his face, and followed after brother Hyrum without uttering a word.[28]

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26. It is unclear when this addition was inserted or how far into or beyond Iowa he intended to go at that immediate time.

27. The *Maid of Iowa* was a small steamboat owned by members of the Church.

28. "History, 1838–1856, Volume F-1," 147. The proposal that he planned to go west may have been recorded more prominently than it actually was

Meanwhile, apparently after discussing the governor's letter that had just arrived Saturday evening and while still mulling over what course to take in response to it, Joseph was unexpectedly visited by John C. Calhoun Jr. and Patrick Calhoun, sons of John C. Calhoun, a senator from South Carolina whom Joseph had met in Washington, D.C., in February 1840 and who was now—as was Joseph—a candidate for U.S. president. Joseph was meeting in the Mansion House with Hyrum, Willard Richards, John Taylor, and John M. Bernhisel (a Church member and Joseph's main advisor regarding Washington affairs) at the time when the two Calhouns arrived at the heavily guarded door of the Mansion House. They convinced the main guards (likely Reynolds Cahoon and Alpheus Cutler) that they were not spies of Governor Ford. Joseph received the two young men and gave them "a full description of his difficulties, and also an exposition of his faith, frequently calling himself the Prophet."[29] In turn, the two Calhouns advised Joseph and the Mormons "to lay [their] grievances before the federal government."[30] After this unexpected meeting, Joseph consulted further with Hyrum, Richards, Taylor, and Bernhisel and determined to go to Washington "and lay the matter before Prest. Tyler."[31]

At that point, at midnight, Joseph wrote a letter to Ford responding to his latest letter. Shortly afterwards, with Hyrum, Richards, and Rockwell, Joseph crossed the Mississippi River from Nauvoo, sometime after midnight and before 2 a.m., Sunday, June 23. They bailed out their leaky boat as they rowed.[32]

What was Joseph thinking of doing next? Joseph was apparently seeking spiritual guidance and discussing his options with those he trusted. If he had actually decided to go west or to Washington, he was at that time unprepared for either journey, not having the means nor the time to collect necessary supplies.

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considered at the time, since the histories quoted here were written by those who followed Brigham Young to the west; this plan could be seen as a prophecy.

29. John C. Calhoun Jr. to [James Edward Calhoun], July 19, 1844, quoted in full in Brian Q. Cannon, "John C. Calhoun, Jr., Meets the Prophet Joseph Smith Shortly before the Departure for Carthage," *BYU Studies* 33, no. 4 (1993): 777.

30. "We have been advised by legal and high-minded gentlemen from abroad, <who came on the boat this eve> to lay our grievances before the federal government." Smith to Ford, June 22, 1844.

31. "History, 1838–1856, Volume F-1," 147.

32. "History, 1838–1856, Volume F-1," 147. The boat was owned by Aaron Johnson. See Alan P. Johnson, *Aaron Johnson: Faithful Steward* (Salt Lake City: Publishers Press, 1991), 64.

Joseph knew that staying in Montrose or crossing farther west into Iowa would not improve his chances for avoiding attack. Iowa was not entirely a safe haven for him. Joseph undoubtedly knew of the June 18 public meeting that had been held in Keokuk, Iowa, just ten miles downriver from Montrose and Nauvoo, banning Joseph from entering Keokuk and offering to assist groups that were preparing to rise up against him.[33] In fact, it is very likely that Joseph and others in his large gathering were spotted or heard about that day by people in Montrose, especially by anti-Mormons such as the Kilbournes,[34] who lived there. If so, the news would have traveled quickly from Iowa to Thomas Sharp in Warsaw and to his close friends in Keokuk, who would have passed the word to mobilize forces to plan a way to capture or deal with Joseph.

Anyone in Joseph's situation would need a little time and distance in which to process these stark developments. Having doubts about the viability of going east to Washington or west to the Rockies, Joseph likely felt that his most pressing need was to seek additional, outside legal counsel in deciding what to do next and to organize his legal team to represent himself and the others who were facing the charges listed in the governor's letter.

What happened that Sunday morning remains somewhat vague. A cryptic, truncated entry in Willard Richards's journal for June 23, 1844, published in the *Joseph Smith Papers,* states: "23 Sunday—2. A.M.—arrivd on the bank—abo[u]t day-break—walked up to B [blank] about sun rise wrot[e]— [blank] & sent express ab[o]ut noon Dr Bernshiel [Bernhisel] came. &—cahoon and explid govern[or's] Letter."[35] According to these notations, Joseph and his small group left Nauvoo about 2 a.m. at the latest.[36] They arrived on the bank on the Iowa side of the Mississippi River perhaps an hour later.

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33. "The Preparation," *Warsaw Signal,* June 19, 1844: "We have assurances that our neighbors in Missouri and Iowa will aid us. . . . From Keokuk and the river towns we learn that all are arming." The events of June 18 and 19, namely, the meetings of civilian coalitions and the mobilization of armed men in Lee County and the Keokuk area, have yet to be dealt with in a thorough review.

34. For information about the Kilbournes as anti-Mormon agitators, see Warren A. Jennings, ed., "Two Iowa Postmasters View Nauvoo: Anti-Mormon Letters to the Governor of Missouri," *BYU Studies* 11, no. 3 (1971): 275–92.

35. Andrew H. Hedges, Alex D. Smith, and Brent M. Rogers, eds., *Journals, Volume 3: May 1843–June 1844,* Joseph Smith Papers (Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, 2015), 305.

36. The Council of Fifty Minutes says they left "about 1 o clock in the night." Grow and others, *Council of Fifty, Minutes,* 197.

Evidently they walked to John Killian's house about daybreak. June 23 being one of the longest days of the year, daylight or sunrise was about 4:30 in the morning. Killian was not home, so the group went to William Jordan's house.[37] A. W. Harlan, in another 1880s newspaper clipping in the unpublished scrapbook "History of Keokuk," reports that Joseph and his companions stayed at the home of William Jordan all that day.[38] Harlan's story adds that William Jordan was a "true friend" of Joseph and that his "cabin stood rather over the top of the hill, south of Montrose." Harlan says that Jordan "managed [Joseph's] correspondence" while Joseph was concealed at, or near, his cabin.[39] Thus Jordan may have been the one to arrange for the delivery of the letter to Johnstone that morning.

Next, according to Willard Richards—and this also would have been right around sunrise—Joseph dictated and Willard wrote something that was delivered "express." It is thought that this letter was "probably the 23 June letter Joseph Smith wrote to Emma Smith in which he told her of several people who had money of his and gave her permission to sell 'the Quincy Property' and other property to support herself, their children, and his mother,"[40] and it may well have been, but the words "about sunrise wrot[e]" could include the writing of other letters as well.

At that time, Joseph still had several options on his mind. In his letter to Emma, he told her that "if possible," he was thinking about going to Washington. He expressed concern about the safety of his family. And,

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37. "History, 1838–1856, Volume F-1," 147.

38. A. W. Harlan, "Recollection," February 17, 1888, newspaper clipping in "History of Keokuk," 8:323; see also "History, 1838–1856, Volume F-1," 147; and Hedges, Smith, and Rogers, *Journals, Volume 3,* 305 n. 2.

39. Harlan's 1888 "Recollection" overstates the length of time Joseph spent there as "two days and two nights," but Joseph spent no nights at Jordan's. "Recollection," in "History of Keokuk," 8:323; see also John Henry Evans, *Joseph Smith: An American Prophet* (New York: MacMillan, 1933), chap. 44, "In the Home of One William Jordan."

40. Hedges, Smith, and Rogers, *Journals, Volume 3,* 305 n. 3. The letter is online: Joseph Smith to Emma Smith, June 23, 1844, MS 155, box 2, folder 8, images 71, 72, Church History Library, https://dcms.lds.org/delivery/Delivery ManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE429909; and published in Dean C. Jessee, *Personal Writings of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2002), 616. It would be understandable for Joseph to have wanted to let Emma know that he had managed not to sink in his leaky rowboat while crossing the swollen Mississippi River in the dark. His written authority gave Emma legal power to enter into land sales in his name.

at that time, Joseph sent Rockwell "back to Nauvoo with instructions to return the next night with Horses for Joseph and Hyrum, pass them over the river in the night secretly, and to be ready to start for the Great Basin in the Rocky Mountains."[41] Rockwell likely delivered the letter promptly to Emma.

Meantime, back in Nauvoo, Alpheus Cutler and Henry Sherwood met with "the Officer in command" of the governor's posse, who promised that Joseph and Hyrum would be protected in safety if they would come to Carthage. They took this pledge of safety to Emma, who asked them to persuade Joseph to return and tell him that unless he returned, "Nauvoo would be burnt up and the people massacred." Sometime that morning, Emma received Joseph's letter and in response asked others to reply to Joseph that he should return to Nauvoo. Accordingly, about 11 a.m. on Sunday, "Emma sent over Lorenzo D. Wasson and Hirum Kimball" to persuade Joseph and Hyrum to give themselves up. Meanwhile, Nauvoo resident Lyman O. Littlefield said to Reynolds Cahoon, "Something must be done—we must get those men back or we shall all be destroyed."[42] Cahoon took these messages along with a letter from Emma across the river, rowing across the current with Rockwell.

About 12 noon on Sunday, W. W. Phelps went to the Iowa side of the river and told Joseph that Emma refused to leave Nauvoo as he had asked but that Hyrum's wife would. At this time Joseph and Hyrum had gathered some "flour and other provisions,"[43] perhaps evidence that they were still thinking about going farther away to the west. The three men coming from meeting with Emma (Reynolds Cahoon, Lorenzo D. Wasson, and Hiram Kimball) also crossed the river and arrived at Joseph's camp about noon. They accused Joseph of being a coward. These accusations certainly had an effect on Joseph and Hyrum.

Soon these deliberations were joined by other men, including James Woods, who reported that about twenty men were there.[44] The history summarizes these intense discussions, which would have commenced about 1:00 p.m. Sunday:

> Reynolds Cahoon informed Joseph what the troops intended to do, and urged upon him to give himself up, inasmuch as the Governor had pledged his faith and the faith of the State to protect him while he

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41. "History, 1838–1856, Volume F-1," 147.
42. "History, 1838–1856, Volume F-1," 148.
43. "History, 1838–1856, Volume F-1," 148.
44. Stiles, *Recollections and Sketches,* 268–69.

underwent a legal and fair trial. R. Cahoon, L. D. Wasson, and Hiram Kimball accused Joseph of cowardice for wishing to leave the people, adding that their property would be destroyed and they left without house or home; like the fable when the wolves came, the shepherd ran from the flock, and left the sheep to be devoured. To which Joseph replied, "if my life is of no value to my friends it is of none to myself."

Joseph said to Rockwell "what shall I do?" Porter replied, "you are the oldest and ought to know best; and as you make your bed I will lay with you". Joseph then turned to Hyrum who was talking with Cahoon, and said, "brother Hyrum, you are the oldest, what shall we do?" Hyrum said, "let us go back and give ourselves up, and see the thing out." After studying a few moments Joseph said, "if you go back I shall go with you, but we shall be butchered". Hyrum said, "no, no; let us go back, and put our trust in God, and we shall not be harmed; the Lord is in it; if we live or have to die we will be reconciled to our fate". (Rockwell.)

After a short pause Joseph told Cahoon to request Captain Daniel C. Davis to have his boat ready by half past five o'clock, to cross them over the river. (Cahoon.)[45]

John Bernhisel also had arrived about noon at William Jordan's cabin. During these Sunday midday conversations with Bernhisel, Joseph may have discussed and weighed further the idea of going to Washington, as he had mentioned in his letter to Emma. The purpose of this trip would have been to seek federal intervention against the course of action that Governor Ford was taking. Joseph was aware of the risks of his being away from Nauvoo for long, and one disadvantage of going to Washington or westward was that the people of Nauvoo might be assailed if he were gone. It well may have been the accusations of cowardice that weighed heaviest in Joseph's mind. Although to some it could well appear that he was fleeing and abandoning his people, Joseph was processing rapidly changing situations in trying to ascertain what was best in light of the conflicting needs of all parties involved.

At 2:00 p.m. on Sunday, while still on the Iowa side, Joseph appears to have made a final decision: he wrote another letter to Governor Ford, stating that, while he had thought the governor's previous letter was "rather severe," he had received "an explanation from the captain of your possie which softened the subject matter of your communication, and gives us greater assurance of protection." This letter continued:

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45. "History, 1838–1856, Volume F-1," 148. The names in parentheses apparently indicate the source of the information.

> The only objection I ever had or ever made to trial by my country at any time was what I have made in my last letter—on account of assassins, and the reason I have to fear deathly consequences from their hands. But from the explanation, I now offer to come to you at Carthage on the morrow, as early as shall be convenient for your possie to escort us in to Head Quarters . . . . We will meet your possie, if this letter is satisfactory, (if not, inform me) at or near the mound at or about *two o'clock* tomorrow [Monday] afternoon. . . . We shall expect to take our witnesses with us and not have to wait a subpoena . . . , so as not to detain the proceedings, although we may want time for *counsel.*[46]

No doubt Joseph proposed meeting at 2 p.m., instead of the earlier requirement of 12 noon, in order to give them a few hours to get there on Monday. From Woods's report, the governor apparently acquiesced to this proposed change in the gathering time, which would give them time to confer with other lawyers who were just coming on board.

Back in Nauvoo, Vilate Kimball was writing to her husband, Heber, who was on a preaching and electioneering mission in the eastern states. Vilate's letter, begun on June 9 and finished on Monday, June 24, 1844, confirms the fears in Nauvoo caused by the threats of the mob and the anxiety of the Saints because Joseph had inexplicably abandoned them. She reports that hundreds of people had left Nauvoo. She also relates her understanding that Joseph had crossed the river to compose his mind and learn the will of the Lord and that the will of the Lord was that Joseph should return and answer the legal charges in court in Carthage. She saw that this act of self-sacrifice would preserve the people of Nauvoo from destruction:

> June 11th . . . Nauvoo was a scene of confusion last night, some hundred of the Brethren turned out and burned the printing press [the *Nauvoo Expositor*], and all the aparatus pertaining to the office of the opposite party. This was done by order of the City Councel. They had only published one Paper, which is concidered a public nucence. But I do not know whether it will be considered so in the eyes of the Law or not. They have sworn revenge, and no doubt they will have it.

> June 24th My *Dear Dear* Husband, various have ben the scenes in Nauvoo since I commenced this letter, I should have sent it before now, but I have ben thrown into such confusion I knew not what to write. This is not all. The mails have not come regular, eather on account of bad roads and high water or less they are stoped by mobs. I have not

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46. Smith to Ford, June 23, 1844; *History of the Church,* 6:550; Jessee, *Personal Writings,* 618, emphasis added.

had a letter from you since the one you wrote back by the Ospry. I know your anxiety to hear from us must be very great, as you will no doubt hear of our trouble by report. Nothing is to be heard of but mobs collecting on every side. The Laws and Fosters, and most of the decenting [dissenting] party with their Families left here a day or two after their press was destroyed. They are sworn to have Joseph and the city councel, or exterminate us all. Between three and four thousand brethren have ben under arms here the past week. Expecting every day they would come, the brethren were calld in from all the branches round to help defend the city. Joseph sent word to the Governor if he and his staff would come here, he would abide their desision. But insted of his comeing here, he went to carthage, and there walked arm and arm with Law and Foster, untill we have reason to feer he has cought their spirit. He sent thirty men in here dabefore yesterday to take Joseph and sent him a saucy letter, saying if these could not take him thousands could. He ordered the troops here to deliver up their arms, and dispers.

Yesterday morning (although it was sunday) was a scene of confusion. Joseph had fled and left word for the brethren to hang on to their arms and take care of themselves the best way they could. Some were tryed almost to death to think Joseph should leve them in the hour of danger. Hundreds have left the city since the fuss commenced. Most of the merchants on the hill have left. I have not felt frightened amid [it all] neither has my heart sunk within me, untill yesterday, when I heard Joseph [wrote] and sent word back for his family to follow him, and Br Whitneys family were packing up, not knowing but they would have to go, as he is one of the city councel. For a little while I felt bad enough, but did not let any body know it, neither did I shed any tears. I felt a confidence in the Lord, that he would presurve us from the ravages of our enemies. We expected them here to day by thousands but before night yesterday things put on a different aspect.

Joseph went over the river out of the United States, and there stoped and composed his mind, and got the will of the Lord concerning him, and that was, that he should return and give himself up for trial. He sent a messenger imediately to Carthage to tell the Governor he would meet his staff at the big mound at eight oclock this morning in company with all that the ritt demanded. They have just passed by here, on their way thare. My heart said Lord bless those Dear men, and presurve them from those that thirst for their blood. Their giveing themselves up, is all that will save our city from destruction. The Governor wrote if they did not do so, our city was suspended upon so many caggs of powder, and it needed only one spark to tulch them off, so you can see how he feels. What will be the fate of our dear Brethren the Lord only knows but I trust he will presurve them. If you were here,

you would be sure to be in their midst. Thiss would increase my anxiety of cors.[47]

On June 29, another record was made by David Kilbourne, a prominent anti-Mormon Iowa settler. Writing to an Episcopal minister in England, Kilbourne gladly reported that militia and mobs of people had been determined to wreak vengeance on the Saints, that in order to save their city the Saints did not allow Joseph and others to leave, and that Joseph and Hyrum were now dead:

> The work of death has commenced. The Mormon Prophet Joe Smith & his brother Hyrum are no more. . . .
> As soon as the Gov. arrived at C[arthage] he found that the people [there] were determined to march to Nauvoo for the purpose of arresting Joe & all the members of the City Council for destroying the press & for other crimes—The Gov on the 21st sent messengers to Joe ordering him & the council to appear at C[arthage] & answer to the numerous charges which had been preferred vs him.
> This created excitement at Nauvoo—Joe called a meeting of the Council—He & some of the Council would at this crisis have fled from the town & made their escape from justice; but most of the leaders & his people in general would not suffer him to do so. They knew by this time that if he did not go to Carthage—that the military forces & the people would march to the City—& if Joe could not be found that under the excitement vengence would fall upon the heads of the innocent as well as the guilty—in the destruction of their City. . . .
> The troops are [now] rallying at Carthage & the people at Warsaw, Quincy & other towns—that there are 12 men yet in Nauvoo who must be brought to Justice.[48]

All of these records show the extremely difficult legal position that Joseph, Hyrum, and the members of the Nauvoo City Council were in and why time and space was needed to ponder and seek the Lord's guidance about their available options. Because the meetings and correspondence outside of Montrose were conducted in protective secrecy, people generally were unaware of Joseph's efforts to engage with attorneys to represent him and his brethren in court.

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47. Vilate Kimball to Heber C. Kimball, June 9–24, 1844, quoted in full in Ronald K. Esplin, "Life in Nauvoo, June 1844: Vilate Kimball's Martyrdom Letters," *BYU Studies* 19, no. 2 (1979): 234–35; emphasis in original.

48. Warren A. Jennings, "The Lynching of an American Prophet," *BYU Studies* 40, no. 1 (2001): 207–8.

Joseph's Quest in Iowa for Legal Help

In the midst of the flurry of discussions and letter writing on Sunday, June 23, as has now become apparent, Joseph was also occupied much of that day with the need to retain lawyers to accompany him to Carthage. He already had the assistance of James Woods, who had been dispatched to meet with the governor Saturday night and had successfully returned. At some point on Saturday night, seeing the magnitude of this brewing legal storm, Woods may have recommended that Joseph request the services of other Iowa lawyers.

For many reasons, it made sense for Joseph to seek out assistance from Iowa lawyers. Most Illinois lawyers may well have felt some difficulty appearing in opposition to their state governor as well as facing the brewing mobs and standing up against the popular sentiments in Hancock County. Iowa lawyers were legally permitted to practice in Illinois, and since Iowa was a federal territory, such attorneys had qualifications to speak persuasively about federal constitutional law.[49]

Contacting Edward Johnstone. James Woods, as a lawyer from Burlington, Iowa, the next city upstream (about twenty miles) from Fort Madison, knew Edward Johnstone and his partner Hugh T. Reid professionally. Sometime on Sunday morning before midday, Joseph had dispatched a runner carrying his letter (fig. 1 above) to Judge Edward Johnstone urgently requesting his prompt professional legal representation. This letter was carried to Fort Madison by George Washington Joshua Adams.[50] Joseph Smith sought out Johnstone because he unquestionably had a high public reputation.[51] In order to answer

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49. "An Act concerning Attorneys and Counselors at Law," in *The Public and General Statute Laws of the State of Illinois: Containing All the Laws Published in the "Revised Statutes" of 1833,* ed. Jonathan Young Scammon (Chicago: S. F. Gale, 1839), 83, sections 8 and 11.

50. See "Adams, George Washington Joshua," Joseph Smith Papers, http://www.josephsmithpapers.org/person/george-washington-joshua-adams. Nothing more is known about Adams's dispatch and return.

51. Edward Johnstone (b. 1815 in Pennsylvania, d. 1891 at Keokuk, Iowa) was a law clerk, lawyer, judge, legislator, and businessman. He studied law in Pennsylvania and moved to Burlington, Wisconsin Territory, in 1837. He was elected as a transcribing clerk of the Wisconsin Territory, recording land claims, and he moved to Montrose in connection with that duty. In 1839, he formed a law partnership with Hugh T. Reid and served as Lee County's representative to the Territory of Iowa legislature. President James K. Polk appointed Johnstone

Ford's legal summons with any degree of confidence, Joseph absolutely needed lawyers to go with him. Although the timing of the writing and delivery of the Johnstone letter is debatable, I favor the idea that the Johnstone letter was written fairly early Sunday morning.[52] At that time, Joseph would still have been weighing all of his options and considering what his next steps might or should be. Until Joseph wrote his 2:00 p.m. letter to Ford agreeing to surrender, submitting to Ford's arrest was only one of his options. It makes the most sense that Joseph wrote his letter to Johnstone before Joseph wrote his letter to Governor Ford at 2:00 p.m. that Sunday afternoon. This is because Joseph's letter to Johnstone stated Joseph's intention to "meet the governor's posse on the mound *at 10 a.m.,*" which was the original Monday time demanded in Ford's Saturday night summons. That meeting time was pushed back by Joseph's 2:00 p.m. Sunday letter to Ford, offering instead to meet Ford's posse, not at 10 a.m. *but at 2:00 p.m. Monday.*[53] So it appears that the Johnstone letter must have already gone out before the 2:00 p.m. letter to Ford was discussed and written. Moreover, in writing to Johnstone, Joseph would have wanted to give Johnstone enough time to travel and meet him in Illinois the next morning at the mound east of Nauvoo. It would take several hours of daylight time for Johnstone to travel from Fort Madison to the proposed meeting place on Monday morning, and so Joseph would have wanted to reach Johnstone as early on Sunday as possible. Furthermore, the Johnstone letter also included the time of the commencement of the court proceeding in Carthage, slated for

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in 1845 a U.S. attorney for Iowa Territory. He was mayor of Fort Madison in 1849. He was a Democrat who was close with prominent men of both parties in Iowa but chose not to pursue high office himself; he was sought out for legislative counsel and served in the Iowa Constitutional Convention of 1857 on seven committees. He was an active participant in the Episcopal Church. He read Latin and French and occasionally enjoyed writing poems and essays on nature. He was remembered as being courteous, well-bred, and noble. His brother William Johnstone served as governor of Pennsylvania (1848–1852). J. M. Shaffer, "Sketch of Judge Edward Johnstone," *Annals of Iowa* 13, no. 8 (1923): 563–69, http://ir.uiowa.edu/annals-of-iowa/vol13/iss8/2; "Edward Johnstone's Character and History," *Annals of Iowa* 13, no. 8 (1923): 622–25, http://dx.doi.org/10.17077/0003-4827.4706.

52. The earlier the Johnstone letter was written, the more prominent the search for lawyers that day would have been in Joseph's mind.

53. "History, 1838–1856, Volume F-1," 149; *History of the Church,* 6:550; Jessee, *Personal Writings,* 618.

"12 noon" on Monday. That would not have been written after 2:00 p.m. on Sunday, when the meeting time at the mound was pushed back to 2:00 p.m. Monday. In actuality, the case would not come up on the court's calendar until Tuesday, a normal enough one-day delay under the circumstances. Johnstone replied to Joseph Smith later that Sunday, saying that Joseph's letter had gotten to him that evening.[54]

In the statement published in the Iowa newspaper, Johnstone recalled that Joseph's letter had been delivered to him by a "peripatetic p[r]eacher and play actor among the Mormons," named Adams, whom Johnstone knew and recognized on sight. Adams may have traveled between Montrose and Fort Madison by river (nine miles upriver) or by land (ten to twelve miles). In the message to Johnstone, Joseph had stated his need "to attend a case at Carthage to-morrow, State of Illinois vs. Joseph Smith, &c." and had requested the judge's "attendance professionally, without fail." Johnstone's newspaper recollection states that this letter was delivered to him while he "was sitting in the door of [his] office, in Fort Madison, anxiously awaiting the arrival of a down river steamer, which came semi-occasionally, and on which [he] intended to embark for a trip to [his] native land—western Pennsylvania—which [he] had not visited for several years" (fig. 2).

Because of this trip, Johnstone declined to go to Carthage himself, "not being fully aware of the emergency of the case,"[55] and so he handed the letter off to his law partner, Hugh T. Reid, who in fact did attend the hearings in Carthage.[56] Reid arrived in Carthage on Monday before Joseph and the others arrived. Reid states: "On Monday the 24th inst., at the request of Gen Joseph Smith I left Fort Madison in the Territory of Iowa, and arrived at Carthage where I expected to meet the General, his brother Hyrum and the other persons implicated with them; they arrived at Carthage late at night and next morning [Tuesday] voluntarily surrendered themselves to the constable."[57]

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54. Discussed below. See also "History, 1838–1856, Volume F-1," 150; *History of the Church,* 6:553.

55. "The Prophet's Last Written Word."

56. Hedges, Smith, and Rogers, *Journals, Volume 3,* 307 n. 12, 311–12, 320 nn. 89–90, 438. Reid stayed at Hamilton's Hotel, as did Joseph's group on Monday night; see Hedges, Smith, and Rogers, *Journals, Volume 3,* 323.

57. H. T. Reid, "Statement of Facts," *Times and Seasons* 5 (July 1, 1844): 561–62.

James Woods, the main lawyer who was with Joseph and Hyrum in Carthage, left further information about his legal representation of the brothers. Of their work in Carthage on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, Woods recalls, "We were three days justifying bail. The justice of the peace was really one of the leaders of the mob and he refused to accept bail as long as he could. Colonel Singleton was the attorney for the prosecution. I [had] sent for Edward Johnstone to assist me and he sent his law partner, Hugh T. Reid."[58]

Contacting Henry T. Hugins. In addition, on that Sunday, Joseph wrote to another Iowa attorney, Henry T. Hugins,[59] also of Burlington, requesting his legal counsel, and to John R. Wakefield, requesting him to be available to testify in court as a witness. Because both of these letters also say that the party would meet at the mound *at 10:00 a.m.* and that the court would convene on Monday *at 12 noon,* Joseph may have written these letters also on Sunday morning (at least before writing to Ford at 2:00 p.m.). An early writing of these letters would have given Hugins and Wakefield more time to travel to the meeting place.

Alternatively, Joseph could have written these two letters closer to 6:00 p.m., after returning from Montrose to Nauvoo, after he had received news (perhaps upon Adams's return) of the expected negative reply from Johnstone. Indeed, Joseph wrote "Nauvoo" at the top of these letters to Hugins and Wakefield. And yet, Joseph may not have been back in Nauvoo when that was written, just intending to return there soon. Nauvoo was his home, and that might be all that was indicated by that notation of a return address. It may be worthy of note that Joseph's letter to Johnstone does not disclose Joseph's location or return address at all, perhaps indicating that the Johnstone letter and the other two letters all took some care not to reveal the undisclosed place of Joseph's camp in Iowa.

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58. Stiles, *Recollections and Sketches,* 268–69. Woods's statement at the end of this recollection, to the effect that he sent for Johnstone, might best be understood as a recollection by Woods that he had previously recommended Johnstone, not referring to an unknown request that Woods made from Carthage after he and others ("we") were at work trying to justify bail.

59. Henry Theodosius Hugins (1814–1861) practiced law in Iowa from 1842 to 1846. His legal interactions with Joseph Smith are listed at Joseph Smith Papers, "Hugins, Henry Theolosius," http://www.josephsmithpapers.org/person/henry-theodosius-hugins.

In any event, in the letter to Hugins, Joseph stated:

> Sunday—
> Nauvoo June 23/ 44
>
> H. T. Hugins Esq
> Sir I have agreed to meet Gov Ford at Carthage tomorrow to attend an examination before Justice [Thomas] Morrison, and request your attendance, professionally with the best attorney you can bring.
> I meet the Gov's Possie on the Mound at 10 A.M.; in Carthage at 12 noon.—Do not fail me and oblige, Yours respectfully,
> Joseph Smith
> per W. Richards Clerk.
> PS Dr J R Wakefield I wish as witness [?][60]

Likewise, in the letter to Wakefield, Joseph wrote:

> Nauvoo,
> Sunday, June 23rd, 1844
>
> Dr. J. R. Wakefield
> Sir, I would respectfully solicit your attendance at court in Carthage tomorrow at 12 noon as witness in case State of Illinois—on complaint of F. M. Higbee vs Joseph Smith and others. Dear Sir do not fail me and oblige your old friend
> Joseph Smith
> W. Richards clerk
> P.S. Esqu Hugins & Co-partner is expected, we meet the Gov's Possie on the mound at 10 A.M. at Carthage at 12 noon. [Illegible] will give [justices?].[61]

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60. Joseph Smith to H. T. Hugins, June 23, 1844, MS 155, box 2, folder 8, image 80, Church History Library, https://dcms.lds.org/delivery/Delivery ManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE429909.

61. Joseph Smith to J. R. Wakefield, June 23, 1844, MS 155, box 2, folder, 8, image 83, Church History Library, https://dcms.lds.org/delivery/Delivery ManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE429909. John R. Wakefield (c. 1810–after 1869) was a dental surgeon traveling through Nauvoo in June 1844. He testified to witnessing the destruction of the *Nauvoo Expositor* on June 12 and 24, 1844, and wrote a letter to Governor Ford repeating his statement. A letter he wrote to Joseph Smith with no date may have been in reply to Joseph's June 23 request: "Dear Sir, I am truly sorry that I cannot come to give testimony in this case but wife is too sick to leave. She is on a visit to her sister in Mount Pleasant which was the reason your messenger will not meet with me in Burlington. If you need my evidence at court at a future day give me do notice by legal subpoena and I will come without fail." MS 155, box 3, folder 8, image 1, Church History Library, https://dcms.lds.org/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE10507264.

The postscript at the end of this letter to Wakefield may indicate that Joseph had already heard back from Hugins that he had accepted the request to come, but the wording "Esqu Hugins & Co-partner *is expected*" may simply mean that Joseph had requested them and was hopeful that they would come. In addition, the identity of the "Co-partner" is uncertain but may have been James Woods. Such details remain unknowable.

The Reply from Johnstone. Whatever options Joseph may have been considering on Sunday morning, by Sunday afternoon he was settled enough in his decision and confident in the letters he had sent that he and the other men left Montrose[62] and returned to Nauvoo about 5 p.m. At some point, Joseph received the written reply from Johnstone saying that he would not be coming to Carthage. Reid carried this letter and delivered it to Joseph apparently when they met at midnight on Monday in Carthage. The letter reads:

<div style="text-align:center">

Sunday Evening
June 23ʳᵈ 1844

</div>

Gen. Joseph Smith,

    Sir: — I have this moment rec [received] your favor of this day per the hands of Mr. Adams. I regret to say in reply that I am now awaiting every moment a boat for St. Louis, whither my business requires me to go, and which of course will deter me from acceding to your request. I have introduced Mr. Adams to a friend, who is entirely competent to do full justice to your cause.

    In great haste,
    Yours respectfully
    Ed. Johnston
    Fort Madison, Iowa[63]

His June 24 affidavit was sworn in Henry County, Iowa Territory: http://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/affidavit-from-john-r-wakefield-24-june-1844/1.

62. According to one later family record, that day Joseph visited his old friend Joseph Hancock, and they talked about going to the Rockies, and his wife gave Joseph a biscuit to eat. Amy Rawson Hancock Judkins May and Laurine Judkins Meuller, "Hancock and Adams Families," *Amy Hancock Judkins May [genealogical records]: and Related Families Rawson, Moore, Tyler, Adams* (1997), found at the Family History Library, Salt Lake City, film #2055415, item 4, p. 119.

63. Edward Johnstone to Joseph Smith, MS 155 box 3 folder 8, image 118, Church History Library, https://dcms.lds.org/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE10507264.

On the reverse side of this page, Johnstone had addressed this letter to "Genl. Joseph Smith, Nauvoo, Ill." and indicated that it was to be delivered "Per J.[?] Adams." But those words were crossed out, and above them the name of "H. T. Reid, Eq." was written as the deliverer. Thus, this letter probably never made it to Nauvoo. It was written by Johnstone in Fort Madison, thinking to send it back with Adams, but instead it was handed to Reid and carried by him to Carthage on Monday.

Aftermath and Conclusion

Whatever the timing of these letters may have been, the quest for needed legal assistance quite certainly played a significant role in Joseph's intentions as he crossed the river Sunday morning and as he worked his way through his options that June 23, as these documents evince. Woods's legal counsel to Joseph on Saturday may have started Joseph considering, among his options, the most pressing factor, the demand that he submit to arrest and the need for lawyers in that case. Thus, Joseph may have gone to the Iowa side, in the first instance, in order to have essential time and space to think and to write letters to Emma and to Governor Ford and to secure legal representation.

These letters sent to lawyers and a witness expressed urgency and were sent with haste. Messengers traveled by land or river as fast as possible. Every messenger certainly knew how dire the situation was for Joseph and Hyrum, for the other accused men, and for all the Saints in Illinois at this moment, and they acted decisively and without delay. Forty years later in his newspaper statement (fig. 2), Johnstone still regretted that he had not fully recognized the emergency.

As he made his decision outside of Montrose at 2:00 p.m. on Sunday to go to Carthage the next day—although he still could not have been very optimistic that he would receive a fair trial and be released—Joseph was likely somewhat reassured knowing that he would have James Woods with him there as his lawyer and also that there was a possibility that at least two other lawyers might come. James Woods had told Reid and Joseph that Reid's presence was necessary,[64] and soon Hugins was expected to come as well. Having secured legal representation, Joseph

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64. Woods said that he sent for Edward Johnstone to assist him "and he sent his law partner, Hugh T. Reid." Stiles, *Recollections and Sketches,* 269. Perhaps Woods was unaware that Johnstone was planning to go to Pittsburgh, or he thought that Johnstone could still change his mind about taking that trip.

spent that night back in Nauvoo and then left at 6:30 a.m. Monday morning for Carthage to voluntarily submit himself to the summons to appear in state court there.[65]

Riding alongside Woods,[66] Joseph and Hyrum and their party traveled to Carthage early Monday morning, bypassing the meeting at the mound,[67] and met the governor's posse halfway between the mound and the city of Carthage. The parties then rode partway to Carthage, only for Joseph to return to Nauvoo to assure the peaceful return of state-owned weapons to government officials. Joseph and Hyrum then remounted and rode their last time to Carthage, arriving there at midnight.[68]

Greeting this party in Carthage was Hugh Reid. He had arrived earlier and had written a letter to Joseph, which stated:

> In accordance with previous arrangement with Elder Adams I am here at your service; and it will be necessary for us to have on the examination here before the justice a certified copy of the City Ordinance for the destruction of the Expositor Press, or a Copy which has been published by authority—We also wish the original order issued by you to the Marshall for the destruction of said press; and such witnesses as may be necessary to show by whom the press was destroyed, and that the act was not done in a Riotous or tumultuous manner.[69]

It appears that Reid's letter was handed to James Woods when Joseph and his party arrived in Carthage, for Woods appended at the bottom

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65. Willard Richards, Journal 10, June 24, 1844, MS 1490, Church History Library, cited in Hedges, Smith, and Rogers, *Journals, Volume 3,* 305–6.

66. James Woods later wrote about his anxiety in accompanying Joseph and Hyrum: "There were about fifteen hundred men there. . . . There were at least a hundred men loaded to shoot Joe Smith, but I was on his right . . . between Smith and the militia. I knew almost every man in the crowd. . . . They told me afterwards that but for me Joe would have never passed through the lines alive; they did not want to hurt me." Stiles, *Recollections and Sketches,* 269.

67. Jedediah M. Grant and Theodore Turley returned to Nauvoo from Carthage Sunday night or very early Monday morning "bringing a message, from the Governor demanding the Generals Smith to be in Carthage by 10 next morning," presumably also bringing the news that there would be no escort and no meeting at the mound. "History, 1838–1856, Volume F-1," 150.

68. Hedges, Smith, and Rogers, *Journals, Volume 3,* 305–6 nn. 6–9.

69. H. T. Reid and James Woods to Joseph Smith, June 24, 1844, MS 155, box 3, folder 8, image 120, Church History Library, https://dcms.lds.org/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE10507264; copy of letter in "History, 1838–1856, Volume F-1," 153; underlining in original.

and back of Reid's letter his legal concurrence of Reid's request and proposed strategy:

> I concur fully as to the above and will add, from an interview with Governor Ford, you can with the utmost safety rely on his protection and that you will have as impartial an investigation as could be expected from those opposed to you. The excitement is much allayed and your opponents <those who wish to make capital out of you> do not want you to come to Carthage. Mr. Johnson [Edward Johnstone] had gonne [*sic*] East and that will account for Mr. Read [*sic*] being here. Respectfully, your obt svt [obedient servant], James M. Woods ["Carthage 24th June 1844," added in different ink][70]

In the end, Joseph was represented in Carthage by Woods, Reid, and Hugins.[71]

Thus Joseph's trip across the river had allowed him time to weigh options and come to a decision. While this article has detailed only the events up to the end of Monday, June 24, the continuing story of the legal events that ensued in Carthage is told by Joseph A. Bentley's "Road to Martyrdom,"[72] which provides a careful analysis of the specious postponement at 4:00 p.m. on Tuesday, June 25, of the misdemeanor and damage charges that were raised against Joseph and the Nauvoo City Council, for which a jury eventually awarded a judgment of $600 in damages.[73] Bentley also provides a thorough discussion of the bogus charge of treason that was oddly issued against Joseph and Hyrum alone by a single judge on June 25.[74] Bentley analyzes the legal issues in each of these court actions, concluding that these legal maneuvers and other efforts were ill founded and intentionally designed by the organizers of the *Nauvoo Expositor* mainly to place Joseph and Hyrum Smith's lives in mortal danger in Carthage.

As a last-ditch effort, Joseph made two final efforts to add to his legal team after his Iowa lawyers had gone home and the new matter of treason had been concocted. Almon W. Babbitt was asked, but he had been

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70. Reid and Woods to Smith, June 24, 1844, images 120–21. The back of the folded letter (image 123) had been addressed to "Gen'l Joseph Smith, Nauvoo, Ill., per Elder Cahoon," but was apparently delivered to Joseph after he arrived in Carthage.

71. Hugins probably traveled from Burlington down the river ten or fifteen miles and then overland to Carthage, a total of about thirty-two miles.

72. See note 3 herein.

73. Bentley, "Road to Martyrdom," 51–52, 59.

74. Bentley, "Road to Martyrdom," 62.

hired already by the state of Illinois. The last letter of Joseph's life was an attempt to reach O. H. Browning, another Illinois lawyer.[75]

In light of this analysis of newfound legal documents, one can see all the more clearly that one of Joseph's purposes for going across the river early Sunday morning, June 23, was to have time and proximity to contact Iowa lawyers who could go with him the next day to oppose the state of Illinois. All of this shows how the events surrounding the murder of Joseph and Hyrum in Carthage were thoroughly entangled with the law. While many have understandably wondered and speculated about Joseph's motives in crossing the Mississippi early Sunday morning, June 23, the fuller picture shows that Joseph's quest for legal representation was a larger factor among Joseph's legitimate intentions on that pivotal day than has been previously realized.

Newspaper Article Containing the Interview with Johnstone and the Text of Joseph Smith's June 23 Letter

The newspaper version of the Prophet's letter differs from the original document[76] in a few respects. The newspaper version spells out "Colonel," changes the spelling of "Johnson" to "Johnston," deletes the "Esq" after "Johnson," and deletes "at 12 noon" as the time of the hearing. These textual variations indicate that the reporter either took down transcription while the letter was being read out loud by Johnstone or was not careful in looking at the original.

THE PROPHET'S LAST WRITTEN WORD

Judge Edward Johnstone, of this city, showed us the other day a timeworn half sheet of foolscap paper, sealed with a red wafer in the old way without an envelop and upon which was written a brief letter. Judge Johnstone said:

I believe this is the last letter written, or rather dictated, by the Mormon prophet, Joseph Smith. In looking over some old papers, a few days ago, I found it. The following is an exact copy:

"SUNDAY, June 23rd, 1844.—Colonel Johnston—Sir: I have to attend a case at Carthage to-morrow, State of Illinois vs. Joseph Smith, &c., and especially request your attendance professionally, without fail. Yours, respectfully,

<div align="right">

JOSEPH SMITH.
Per W. RICHARDS, Clerk.

</div>

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75. Bentley, "Road to Martyrdom," 65–66.
76. See figure 1.

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JOSEPH SMITH.
Per W. RICHARDS, Clerk.
P. S. Will meet the governor's posse (sic) on the mound at 10 a. m."

Dr. Richards was Smith's private secretary, an Englishman I think, and is still living at Salt Lake. The "mound" referred to was an eminence, well known in those days, about six miles east of Nauvoo.

The military title of "colonel" prefixed to my name was according to the custom of the country in those early times, when the name of nearly every man was so ornamented. It may have arisen from the fact, according to Talryrand's mot, that all who were not civil, were military.

On a day in June, 1844, I was sitting in the door of my office, in Fort Madison, anxiously awaiting the arrival of a down river steamer, which came semi-occasionally, and on which I intended to embark for a trip to my native land—western Pennsylvania—which I had not visited for several years. In those non-railroad times, it required a voyage of nine or ten days from this region to Pittsburg, via the Mississippi and Ohio rivers, a longer time than is now consumed in going to Liverpool.

Whilst thus waiting, I observed a pedestrian hurrying in hot haste up the street, and on his approach, recognized him as one Adams, a peripatetic peacher and play actor among the Mormons. He was the head of a strolling theatrical company who administered to his-

tronic tastes during week days and to the spiritual wants of his hearers on Sundays. He brought with him the above letter from Smith, and urged my compliance with its request. Not being fully aware of the emergency of the case, and being very desirous to take advantage of the 'first boat,' for which I had waited several days, I handed the letter to my partner, General Reid, whom I felt assured could afford more aid and comfort than I could to the defense of the prophet. All who remember his energy and force will well understand this. General Reid attended professionally, for several days, the examination of Smith at Carthage, where there had gathered together a great crowd of excited people. The result is well known. During the trial Smith and his brother were placed for security in the Carthage jail, under the protection of the Carthage Guards. On the 27th of June the door of the jail was broken down by parties then, and now, unknown and Smith and his brother Hiram killed. Hiram was shot in the room, and Smith in the window as he was striving to escape his pursuers. He fell out into the jail yard, dead.

FIGURE 2. "The Prophet's Last Written Word," newspaper clipping collected in "History of Keokuk," 10 vols., 8:318–19, Caleb Davis Papers, State Historical Society of Iowa library, Iowa City, Iowa. Here is published Joseph Smith's letter to Judge Edward Johnstone on Sunday, June 23, 1844, and Johnstone's reminiscence. Courtesy State Historical Society of Iowa library.

P. S. Will meet the governor's posse (sic) on the mound at 10 a. m."

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77. A "mot" is a word, comment, opinion, or a witty saying. Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord was a military advisor to Napoleon. "During Napoleon's reign the military were at their most arrogant, referring contemptuously to civilians as *pequins* (weaklings). Talleyrand asked a certain general for an explanation of the derogatory term. '*Nous appelons pequin tout ce qui n'est pas militaire* [We call weakling anybody who is not military],' he replied. '*Ah, oui*,' said Talleyrand, '*comme nous autres appelons militaires tous ceux qui ne sont pas civiles*' (Ah, yes, we call military all those who are not civil)." *Bartlett's Book of Anecdotes,* ed. Clifton Fadiman and André Bernard (Boston: Little, Brown, 2000), 523.

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Martin Harris Comes to Utah, 1870

Susan Easton Black and Larry C. Porter

[The following is an excerpt from chapter 14 of the new biography Martin Harris: Uncompromising Witness of the Book of Mormon *by Susan Easton Black and Larry C. Porter. This biography, published by BYU Studies, will be available in October 2018. For further information, see the advertisement on page 208 of this issue.]*

While returning from a mission in the Eastern States to his Salt Lake City home, fifty-year-old Elder Edward Stevenson[1] arrived by stagecoach in Buffalo, New York, on February 10, 1870. Here he

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1. Edward Stevenson (May 1, 1820–January 27, 1897) was born at Gibraltar, British Territory, where his father was employed by the British government. He was the son of Joseph and Elizabeth Stevens Stevenson. He migrated to America in 1827 and first heard the gospel preached by Elders Jared Carter and Joseph Woods. He was baptized into the Church by Japheth Fosdick on December 20, 1833, in Silver Lake, Michigan. He was sustained as one of the First Seven Presidents of the Council of Seventy on October 7, 1894, and set apart by Brigham Young Jr. on October 9, 1894. He passed away at his Salt Lake City home on January 27, 1897. See Edward Stevenson, Journals, MS 4806, Edward Stevenson Collection, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City; Joseph Grant Stevenson, "The Life of Edward Stevenson, Member of the First Council of Seventy, Friend of the Prophet Joseph Smith and the Three Witnesses" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1955); Leonard J. Arrington, "Edward Stevenson," Leonard J. Arrington Papers, box 94, fd. 8, Merrill-Cazier Library Special Collections and Archives, Utah State University, Logan, Utah; Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah,* 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon and Sons, 1904), 4:115–16.

purchased a ticket for "Chicago via Crestline & Gallian" [Crestline and Galion, Ohio]. As he journeyed west, he stopped over not far from Kirtland, Ohio, with the view of visiting the first Mormon temple and the hope of finding Martin Harris. On February 11, while making his way to Willoughby, Ohio, he walked the two and a half miles to Kirtland.[2] Stevenson, like Elders David Dille and Thomas Colburn before him, had previously been acquainted with the Book of Mormon witness. Stevenson recalled, "While I was living in Michigan, then a Territory, in 1833, near the town of Pontiac, Oakland Co., Martin Harris came there and in a meeting where I was present bore testimony of the appearance of an angel exhibiting the golden plates and commanding him to bear a testimony of these things to all people whenever opportunity was afforded him to do so."[3] Now, thirty-six years later, Stevenson met with Martin once again on February 11, 1870. He saw him coming out of the Kirtland Temple and observed, "He took from under his arm a copy of the Book of Mormon, the first edition, I believe, and bore a faithful testimony." He

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2. Edward Stevenson, Journals, 8:8 (February 11, 1870). The original entry reads, "Fri 5 AM arrived at Willoby 2½ Miles from Kirtland & Walked Thare & fond [Ira] Bond Temple Keeper & Martin harris Who Bore testimony of the angle [angel] Records & the Truth &c took through the Temple." Edward Stevenson, letter, in *Deseret News,* August 10, 1870, 3. At the time of Stevenson's visit, a Kirtland Temple Registry Book was being kept for visitors to sign. It doesn't appear that Stevenson signed the book at that time. However, while at the temple again on August 7, 1870, he wrote, "August 7 1870 Edward Stevenson visited the Temple Feb 11-1870 & also on the 7th of August 1870." See Kirtland Temple Registry, book 1, p. 51, Community of Christ Library-Archives, Independence, Missouri. M. Wilford Poulson explained that this register was kept from June 25, 1866, to April 8, 1884, containing 318 pages. See "M. Wilford Poulson interviewed George Levi Booth about the Kirtland Temple and Other Matters, August 20, 1932," M. Wilford Poulson Collection, ms. 823, box 6, fd. 4, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

3. Edward Stevenson to the editor of the *Deseret News,* November 30, 1881, published as "One of the Three Witnesses," *Deseret News,* December 28, 1881, 762. A year later, in October 1834, Edward Stevenson had the opportunity of meeting Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith, Oliver Cowdery, and David Whitmer at Pontiac, Michigan, and hearing the testimony of those witnesses. See Joseph Smith Jr., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* ed. B. H. Roberts, 2d ed., rev., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1971), 2:168–69 (hereafter cited as *History of the Church*); Edward Stevenson, *Reminiscences of Joseph, the Prophet, and the Coming Forth of the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: By the author, 1893), 4–5; Bertha S. Stevenson, "The Third Witness," *Improvement Era* 37 (August 1934): 458.
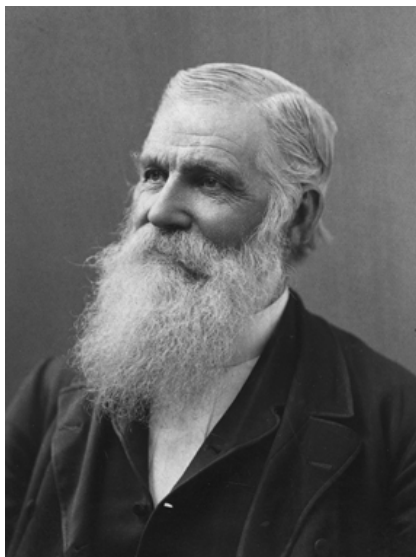
heard Martin say "it was his duty to continue to lift up his voice as he had been commanded to do in defence of the Book that he held in his hand, and offered to prove from the Bible that just such a book was to come forth out of the ground." Martin confessed to Stevenson that "he was daily bearing testimony to many who visited the Temple."[4]

"A Great Desire to See Utah, and His Children"

Although Elder Stevenson recognized the power of Martin's testimony, the meager circumstances in which he found the elderly man left him with a sense of pity

Edward Stevenson. Courtesy Church History Library.

for the once prosperous farmer. Edward Stevenson was moved to bear witness to Martin of the truthfulness of the Latter-day work—a witness he had gained "through obedience to the Gospel."[5] Stevenson further stated, "I felt to admonish him to the renewal of his duties and more advanced privileges of gathering to Zion and receiving his endowments and blessings." Martin was impressed by the power that attended the elder's testimony and boldly declared that "whatever befell him he knew that Joseph was a Prophet, for he had not only proved it from the Bible but that he had stood with him in the presence of an angel, and he also knew that the Twelve Apostles were chosen of God."[6]

Upon Stevenson's return to Utah, thoughts of Martin Harris continued to surface. Rather than ignore what he believed to be inspired impressions to act, he wrote to Martin recalling the circumstances of their meeting in Kirtland. Martin soon responded with a letter of his own,

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4. Stevenson, "One of the Three Witnesses," *Deseret News,* December 28, 1881, 762–63.

5. Stevenson, "One of the Three Witnesses," *Deseret News,* December 28, 1881, 763.

6. Stevenson, Journals, February 11, 1870; Edward Stevenson, "The Three Witnesses to the Book of Mormon. No. II," *Millennial Star* 48 (June 7, 1886): 366.

stating: "When I read your letter I had a witness for the first time that I must gather with the Saints to Utah."[7] A series of letters passed between the two men,[8] "and in every letter that he afterwards received from Martin the aged brother communicated a still stronger desire to come."[9]

On June 12, 1870, Stevenson wrote to Martin assuring him that "you need not fear about your Being Delivered from the coutry where you now are for I have Raised the money to fetch you here to your Eldest Sons home Who is anxious to See you & So are meny others." At the end of the letter, Stevenson writes, "There is A Probability that I may come Down after you myself Bro Brigham told me Just before he Went North to Bear Lake that if I Went Down after you he would help 25 Dollers."[10] Stevenson shared with Brigham Young Martin's letter(s) expressing a wish to gather. After reading the correspondence, President Young, through his counselor George A. Smith, suggested that Stevenson set up a subscription fund to financially assist Martin Harris on his journey to the Salt Lake Valley. Stevenson liked the proposition and went to work soliciting the necessary monies. President Young was among the immediate contributors and gave twenty-five dollars toward the cause. Others also contributed, and soon a collection of nearly two hundred dollars was raised.[11] Martin's previous dialogue with Elder William H. Homer in 1869, that "I should like to visit Utah, my family and children,"[12] was about to be realized.

With the necessary funds at his disposal, Edward Stevenson boarded a railroad car in Salt Lake City bound for Kirtland on July 19, 1870. When he reached Des Moines, Iowa, he forwarded a letter to Martin alerting him of his progress:

> Mr. Martin Harris, Dear friend & Brother your letter of 25 [June?] came to hand this morning[.] Pleased to hear you are well & anxious to be on

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7. Journal History of the Church, May 27, 1884, 7 (chronology of typed entries and newspaper clippings, 1830–present), Church History Library; https://dcms.lds.org/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE342443, image 120.

8. Andrew Jenson, "The Three Witnesses," *Historical Record,* 9 vols. (Salt Lake City: By the author, 1886–90), 6:215.

9. "One of the Three Witnesses," *Deseret News,* December 28, 1881, 763.

10. Edward Stevenson to Brother Harris, June 12, 1870, in posession of Trace Mayer, Henderson, Nevada.

11. Stevenson, "One of the Three Witnesses," *Deseret News,* December 28, 1881, 763; Bertha S. Stevenson, "The Third Witness," *Improvement Era* 37 (August 1934): 458–59.

12. Homer [Sr.], "Passing of Martin Harris," 470.

the Westward Track & I Expect soon to be in the same moad [mode]. I am well & arrived from Ogdon to this place [Des Moines] 3 days time[.] Saw your Nephewe Who Lives in Ogdon [probably Martin Henderson Harris] all was well also I Saw your Son & Daughter [in] Salt Lake City[.] Read your letter to them they are so Pleased that you are coming to see them they were well [and] send their Love to you.[13]

Stevenson first elected to make a hurried trip through Ohio to Palmyra in western New York and visited the Hill Cumorah at Manchester before calling "for [his] charge at Kirtland."[14] By August 7, Stevenson finally reached the agrarian community of Kirtland and there found Martin "anxiously waiting" for him.[15]

Martin, age eighty-eight, having no real wealth to speak of, was then living on the goodwill and charity found in the household of Joseph C. Hollister, age eighty-four, and his wife, Electa Ann Stratton Hollister, age sixty-six.[16] Hollister owned lot no. 1, directly west of the Kirtland Temple on the south side of Whitney [now Maple] Street. He had purchased the property from Lyman Cowdery, then of Elkhorn, Walworth County, Wisconsin, on March 14, 1859.[17] The temple was thus readily

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13. Edward Stevenson to Martin Harris, July 28, 1870, copy in Stevenson, Journals. The son and daughter are not named in the Stevenson letter; however, a son and daughter were living with their mother, Caroline Young Harris Davis, right there in the Salt Lake Seventeenth Ward. John Wheeler Harris, age twenty-four, and Ida May Harris, age fourteen, are in all probability the children referred to. See United States Federal Census for 1870, Salt Lake City, Utah 17th Ward, taken July 2, 1870, enumeration of the Catley Davis household. Martin's daughter Julia Lacothia (Lacotha) Harris Davis had just died the previous year on February 6, 1869, in Salt Lake City.

14. Stevenson, "Three Witnesses to the Book of Mormon. No. II," 366.

15. Stevenson, "Three Witnesses to the Book of Mormon. No. II," 366. The day after his arrival, Stevenson learned that the Kirtland Temple was available for religious meetings. He secured the temple and preached on that Sunday morning at eleven o'clock. At the conclusion of his sermon, those in attendance voted to return for a second meeting that afternoon at 5:00 p.m. According to Stevenson, the second one was "well attended." See Stevenson, "Three Witnesses to the Book of Mormon. No II," 366; penned note on meeting times by Edward Stevenson, Kirtland Temple Registry, book 1, p. 51, August 7, 1870.

16. Joseph Hollister, United States Federal Census, 1870, Kirtland Township, Lake County, Ohio; Joseph C. Hollister and Electa Stratton Hollister had married the previous year, March 3, 1869. See Marriage Record, 1869, p. 34, Lake County Ohio Probate Court, West Annex, Painesville, Ohio.

17. Lyman Cowdery and Eliza, his wife, to Joseph C. Hollister, March 14, 1859, and recorded April 5, 1859, lot no. 1, block no. 113 in the city Plat, Kirtland,

accessible to Martin within a matter of a few rods. Paradoxically, Joseph Hollister's wife, Electa Ann, and her former husband, Hiram Stratton, had once owned lot no. 2, next door, which they had previously sold to Martin Harris in 1857.[18] Both Electa Ann and her husband, Hiram Stratton, had been early members of the Mormon congregation in Kirtland.[19] We do not know what association Joseph C. Hollister may have experienced with the Church, but his father, Asahel Hollister, "died in full faith of that doctrine" at Kirtland in 1839. Joseph's brother Lehasa Hollister had at one time served as second counselor in the Kirtland elders quorum presidency, and John Hollister was ordained a priest in 1836.[20] It is likely, given these circumstances, that Joseph Hollister too had once been closely associated with the faith. In any instance, there were obviously some extended ties affecting the charitable care proffered to Martin in the Hollister home at this time.

Martin was "elated with his prospective journey" and expressed confidence that neither age nor health could deter its success. To prove the matter, he boasted of having recently worked "in the garden, and dug

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Ohio, being in range 9, township 9, tract 1, containing one half acre of land, Lake County Deed Record Book P, 89–90, Lake County Recorder's Office, Administration Building, Painesville, Ohio.

18. Hiram and Electa Stratton to Martin Harris, lot 2, October 20, 1857, Lake County Deed Record Book N, 589–90. Martin was well acquainted with the Strattons.

19. Hiram Stratton had marched with Martin Harris in Zion's Camp in 1834. See James L. Bradley, *Eternal Perspective of Zion's Camp* (Logan, Utah: By the author, 2004), 136, 181. He was called and ordained a Seventy. "Minute Book 1," 165, 179, Church History Library, http://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper -summary/minute-book-1/169. Stratton joined with the Strangites in 1846. See Frank J. Young, comp., *Strangite Mormons: A Finding Aid* (Vancouver, Wash.: By the author, 1996), 192. Electa Ann Willard Stratton Hollister joined the LDS Church as early as 1833 and moved to Kirtland. In April 1866, she affiliated with the RLDS faith in Kirtland. She died in the home of her daughter, Mrs. Mary L. Judd at Kirtland on May 28, 1891. See Electa Ann Stratton obituary, *Saints' Herald* (Lamoni, Iowa), June 27, 1891, 419–20; Susan Easton Black, comp., *Early Members of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints,* 6 vols. (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1993), 5:659; Janet Lisonbee, *Mormon Graves in Kirtland: A Biographical Dictionary of Early Saints Buried in the Kirtland Area* (Independence, Mo.: John Whitmer Books, 2009), 40–41.

20. "Asahel Hollister," in Lisonbee, *Mormon Graves in Kirtland,* 74; "Lahasa Hollister," in *Kirtland Elders' Quorum Record 1836–1841,* ed. Lyndon W. Cook and Milton V. Backman Jr. (Provo, Utah: Grandin Book, 1985), 46–47, 52, 57–58, 88; "John Hollister," in "Minute Book 1," 210.

potatoes by the day for some of his neighbors."²¹ He later confided to Edward Stevenson that in preparation for his forthcoming departure for the west he experienced a most taxing incident. In the process of going from house to house to bid longtime friends farewell, he became "bewildered, dizzy, faint and staggering through the blackberry vines that [were] so abundant in that vicinity, his clothes torn, bloody and faint, he lay down under a tree to die. After a time he revived, called on the Lord, and finally at twelve midnight, found his friend, and in his fearful condition was cared for and soon regained his strength." Martin believed that the incident was a "snare of the adversary to hinder him from going to Salt Lake City."²²

Martin recited another incident to Edward Stevenson. From the recorded description, it is difficult to distinguish whether this event was in any way associated with his departure or if it happened "on one occasion." It may have been an earlier snare designed to entrap him. During their journey west, he confided in Edward Stevenson:

> On one occasion several of his old acquaintances made an effort to get him tipsy by treating him to some wine. When they thought he was in a good mood for talk, they put the question very carefully to him: "Well, now, Martin, we want you to be frank and candid with us in regard to this story of your seeing an angel and the golden plates of the Book of Mormon that are so much talked about. We have always taken you to be an honest, good farmer and neighbor of ours, but could not believe that you ever did see an angel. Now Martin, do you really believe that you did see an angel when you were awake?" No, said Martin, I do not believe it. The anticipation of the delighted crowd at this exclamation may be imagined. But soon a different feeling prevailed when Martin Harris, true to his trust, said, "Gentlemen, what I have said is true, from the fact that my belief is swallowed up in knowledge; for I want to say to

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21. Stevenson, "One of the Three Witnesses," *Deseret News,* December 28, 1881, 763.

22. Stevenson, "One of the Three Witnesses," *Deseret News,* December 28, 1881, 763. A slightly different account appears in Stevenson, "Three Witnesses to the Book of Mormon. No. II," 366. In this latter account, Martin Harris related that "he went to bid adieu to some old friends previous to his departure. His way led him through a woodland field, in which he lost his way. Wandering about, he became bewildered, and came in contact with briars and blackberry vines, his clothes were torn into tatters, and his skin lacerated and bleeding. He laid down under a tree in despair, with little hope of recovery. It was about midnight, when he was aroused, and called upon the Lord and received strength; and about one o'clock, a. m., he found his friends. When he related this circumstance he said the devil desired to prevent him from going to Zion."

you that as the Lord lives I do know that I stood with the Prophet Joseph Smith in the presence of the angel, and it was in the brightness of day."[23]

With that same determination, he claimed that nothing could prevent him from going west—not bewilderment or designing friends. No matter the difficulty, he would board a train bound for Zion in the Rocky Mountains. Believing his stubborn tenacity, Stevenson sent a letter to the *Deseret News* on August 10, 1870, informing the editor of their travel plans:

> Martin Harris, who still lives here, is tolerably well, and has a great desire to see Utah, and his children that live there; and although the old gentleman is in the 88th year of his age, he still bears a faithful testimony to the authenticity of the Book of Mormon, being one of the three original witnesses. He says he saw the plates, handled them and saw the angel that visited Joseph Smith, more than 40 years ago. I have made arrangements to immigrate him to Utah, according to his desire, and will start in about two weeks.[24]

Before their departure, Stevenson fulfilled an earlier promise to Ira Bond, who held the keys to the House of the Lord, to preach in the Kirtland Temple.[25] Stevenson gave two sermons to assemblies while in the community. He took occasion to sign the Kirtland Temple Registry book with an interesting inscription in which he listed the current date, but also confirmed the date of his first visit back in February 1870. He wrote: "Aug 7, 1870 Elder Edward Stevenson visited the Temple Feb 11-1870 & also on the 7th of Aug 1870 & Preached at 11. O clock & at 5 P.M Sunday the Doctrines of Joseph Smith as Revealed to him By the Angle [Angel]."[26] Stevenson described the condition of the temple at the time of his two discourses:

> The building is in a fair state of preservation, having been repaired, new roof and re painted, and the windows replaced. The walls, upon which were inscribed the names of many travelers who passed this way

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23. Stevenson, "Three Witnesses to the Book of Mormon. No. II," 367. Martin then went on to explain that "although he drank wine with them as friends, he always believed in temperance and sobriety."

24. Stevenson, letter, in *Deseret News,* August 10, 1870, 3; see "Kirtland, Ohio," *Deseret News,* August 24, 1870, 341.

25. Stevenson, "Three Witnesses to the Book of Mormon, No. II," 366.

26. Kirtland Temple Registry, book 1, p. 51. Edward Stevenson would again sign the Kirtland Temple Visitors Register along with his two companions, Andrew Jenson and Joseph Smith Black, on October 2, 1888. Kirtland Temple Registry, book 2, p. 142, Community of Christ Library-Archives; Stevenson, Journal, 33:59, October 2, 1888.

to see the Kirtland Temple, have been whitewashed, so that the building has quite a respectable appearance. The plastering on the outside, penciled in squares to imitate stone, of which the walls are built, stands just as it did thirty-six years ago, and scarcely any of it marred. Many travelers who pass within three miles of this place, on the Lake Shore and Michigan R. R., step off at Willoughby and visit the Temple to satisfy curiosity.[27]

It is most probable that Martin attended Stevenson's sermons in the temple and at some moment paid his farewell respects to the House of the Lord where he had been renewed so many times before.

Historians Barbara Walden and Lachlan Mackay observed that during his tenure in Kirtland, "Harris took an active leadership role in a variety of local Latter Day Saint groups. A number of accounts record Harris's involvement in worship services and leading tours of the temple."[28] Martin had had an insatiable desire to exhibit the Kirtland Temple to all inquirers and preserve the inspirational symbol which that structure represented to the world. For this task, he felt a personal proprietorship and dedicated himself to that work. Walden and Rastle commented that "Martin Harris continued to give tours of the temple until departing for Utah in 1870."[29]

Miles of Railroad Track to Travel

Twelve days after Elder Stevenson arrived in Kirtland, he and Martin Harris boarded a westbound train for Chicago on August 19, 1870. With more than seventeen hundred miles of railroad track to travel, there were many occasions for conversation. None were more significant to Stevenson than Martin's memories of Joseph Smith. He recalled Martin reminiscing that "Joseph Smith, the Prophet, was very poor, and had to work by the day for his support, and he (Harris) often gave him

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27. Edward Stevenson, letter, in *Deseret News,* August 10, 1870, 3; see "Kirtland, Ohio," *Deseret Evening News,* August 19, 1870, p. 3, col. 1.

28. Barbara Walden and Lachlan Mackay, *House of the Lord: The Story of Kirtland Temple* (Independence, Mo.: John Whitmer Books, 2008), 27. For an excellent survey of the groups and individuals using and occupying the Kirtland Temple in a specified time from 1838 to 1888, see Christin Craft Mackay and Lachlan Mackay, "A Time of Transition: The Kirtland Temple, 1838–1888," *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 18 (1998): 133–48.

29. Barbara B. Walden and Margaret Rastle, "Restoring, Preserving, and Maintaining the Kirtland Temple: 1880–1920," *Journal of Mormon History* 34 (Winter 2008): 3.

work on his farm, and that they had hoed corn together many a day." Martin said that "[Joseph] was good to work and jovial and they often wrestled together in sport, but the Prophet was devoted and attentive to his prayers."[30]

When the train arrived at the depot in Chicago on Sunday, August 21, 1870, an unexpected delay caused Stevenson and Harris to check in at the popular American Hotel for the evening.[31] Stevenson reported, "Several crowds gathered around to see 'the man who had seen an angel.' All seemed astonished to hear him relate the vision with a force and will hard to gainsay."[32] After being comfortably situated in their room, Stevenson wrote to Elder George A. Smith in Salt Lake: "I am well, as also Martin Harris, who is with me, although he is now in the 88th year of his age and rather feeble. But he walks along remarkably well. . . . He stands his journey, thus far, quite well, and feels filled with new life at the idea of going to the valleys of Utah, to see his children and friends." Stevenson also confided, "[Martin] is coming to the conclusion, after trying everything else—although he has always borne a faithful testimony to the truth of the Book of Mormon—that the work of the Lord is progressing in the tops of the mountains and that the people are gathering in fulfillment of prophecy."[33]

The next day, Monday, August 22, the two men boarded a westbound train. They arrived in Des Moines, Iowa, that same day.[34] There Stevenson again made contact with President James McClure Ballinger of the Des Moines Branch, who graciously welcomed Martin. President Ballinger invited Martin to speak at a "special meeting" of his congregation. Martin responded by bearing "testimony as to viewing the plates, the angel's visit, and visiting professor Anthony [Anthon]." His brief mention of his visiting Professor Charles Anthon with a copy of the characters

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30. Edward Stevenson to the Editor, "The Three Witnesses to the Book of Mormon, No. III," *Millennial Star* 48 (June 21, 1886): 389.

31. Edward Stevenson, "The Three Witnesses to the Book of Mormon," *Deseret News,* December 28, 1881, p. 263, col. 1.

32. Stevenson, "Three Witnesses to the Book of Mormon, No. II," 366.

33. Edward Stevenson to George A. Smith, August 21, 1870, in *Deseret Evening News,* August 27, 1870, p. 3, col. 1. Verifying the 21st as the day of his coming to Chicago, Stevenson wrote, "I arrived here a few hours ago, direct from Kirtland, Ohio."

34. Edward Stevenson to Elizabeth Stevenson, August 24, 1870, Stevenson Collection, MS 4806, box 8, fd. 8. Stevenson informed his wife on the 24th that he had just arrived in Des Moines the "day before yesterday," which would be August 22.

taken from the Book of Mormon plates captured the attention of branch members. He recounted that after Anthon had issued him "a certificate, etc., as to the correctness of the characters, [he] asked him to fetch the plates for him to see. Martin said that they were sealed, and that an angel had forbidden them to be exhibited. Mr. Anthony [Anthon] then called for the certificate, tore it up and consigned it to the waste basket, saying, angels did not visit in our days, etc."[35]

The next day Stevenson baptized Sally (Sarah) Ann Ballinger Fifield,[36] the forty-one-year-old sister of President Ballinger, in the Des Moines River. Seeing an opportunity to discuss the doctrine of baptism, Stevenson tried to teach Martin "the necessity of being rebaptized," but "at first he did not seem to agree with the idea."[37] Troubled by his friend's inference, Martin claimed that "he had not been cut off from the Church, but said if that was required of him [rebaptism] it would be manifested to him by the Spirit." The sought-for confirmation would soon be clearly manifested to him in Salt Lake City.[38] Members of the Des Moines Branch contributed "a new suit of clothes" to him to replace his "threadbare" garment. Concerning the act of generosity, Stevenson penned, "[This] very much helped the feelings and appearance of the old gentleman."[39] To Martin, this was more than a singular gift. He was overcome by their kindness and "felt to bless them."[40] To his wife, Elizabeth Ann DuFresne, Stevenson wrote from Des Moines on August 24: "Martin Harris feels first Rate & Says he finds Sutch good Saints[,] so Cheerful[.] I simply Reminded him that he would find Equally good People in Utah[.] [T]hen Says he I shall live [with] them."[41]

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35. Edward Stevenson to the Editor, "One of the Three Witnesses," *Deseret Evening News,* December 13, 1881, 4; reprinted in "One of the Three Witnesses," *Deseret News,* December 28, 1881, 762–63; *Millennial Star* 44 (January 30, 1882): 78–79; (February 6, 1882): 86–87.

36. Sally (Sarah) Ann Ballinger was born to Thomas Ballinger and Mary Ann Hartley on October 10, 1828, in Kentucky. She married Mark Gaylord Fifield on February 11, 1854 (probably in Iowa). Sally died on September 24, 1896, at Springville, Utah County, Utah.

37. Stevenson, "Three Witnesses to the Book of Mormon. No. II," 367.

38. Edward Stevenson, "One of the Three Witnesses—Incidents in the Life of Martin Harris," *Millennial Star* 44, no. 6 (February 6, 1882): 87.

39. Stevenson, "Three Witnesses to the Book of Mormon, No. II," 366.

40. Stevenson, "One of the Three Witnesses," *Deseret News,* December 28, 1881, 763.

41. Edward Stevenson to Elizabeth Stevenson, August 24, 1870, Stevenson Collection, MS 4806, box 8, fd. 8.

Stevenson escorted Martin to the office of the *Daily Iowa State Register,* where the editor listened to and then questioned Martin about his testimony of the coming forth of the Book of Mormon. This interview apparently took place on Thursday, August 25, 1870. The newsman, intrigued by his words, gave notice the next day, on August 26, that "Martin Harris, one of the *three witnesses* of the Mormon Bible, called at our sanctum yesterday. Mr. Harris is now in his 88th year, hale and hearty, with many interesting things to relate in reference to the finding of the tablets of the testament. We shall have occasion to mention some of these in another issue."[42] As promised, in the Sunday morning edition of the *Register,* August 28, 1870, an extended account of his conversation with Martin was printed. Therein Martin spoke of the Book of Mormon and reported a valuable insight concerning Joseph Smith and the record itself. The *Register* account stated:

> In September, 1828 [1827], as the story goes, Joseph Smith, directed by an angel, proceeded to a spot about 4 miles from Palmyra, New York, and upon the point of a hill extending northward, dug up a very solid stone chest within which were the tablets of gold, inscribed with the characters which no man could read. . . . Mr. Harris describes the plates as being of thin leaves of gold, measuring 7 by 8 inches, and weighing altogether, from 40 to 60 lbs. There was also found in the chest the Urim and Thummi[m], by means of which the writing upon the plates was translated, but not until after the most learned had exhausted their knowledge of letters in the vain effort to decipher the characters.[43]

Stevenson outlined for his wife Elizabeth his anticipated itinerary for the next several days and voiced not only his feelings of responsibility for the transport of Martin to Utah but also a response to an additional request: "I expect to be home or in Ogdon on the 29th inst[.] if all is well & Will have the Pleasure of Delivering one old father to his Children & 2 fine Women to Intended Husbands[.] So in all Probability I may do Some good to those Who are desireing good to be Done to them & as it is Written as ye do unto others So Shall it be done unto you."[44] The George

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42. "A Newspaper Interview with Martin Harris," *Daily Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), August 26, 1870, 4.

43. *Daily Iowa State Register,* August 28, 1870, 4, as quoted in letter of Claude R. Cook, curator of the Iowa State Department of History and Archives, to J. Grant Stevenson, September 28, 1954. See Stevenson, "Life of Edward Stevenson, Member of the First Council of the Seventy," 156–57.

44. Edward Stevenson to Elizabeth Stevenson, August 24, 1870.

Beebe and Stewart families from the Des Moines Branch had asked that Edward Stevenson escort Sisters Caroline Beebe and Maggie Stewart to Salt Lake City, which he agreed to do. Because of the rush of affairs before leaving at an early morning hour, Stevenson had not finished the letter to his wife and asked President Ballinger to add a postscript to his correspondence and mail the same. Ballinger added his own note to the letter and identified the two sisters that were coming by name, stating, "They are fine girls and good Saints our little Branch has Suffered a Severe loss but we all rejoice in their deliverance." President Ballinger also added an important word of explanation: "Tell Bro. Edward that I found the lost Hat at Atkinson Bros also that they have finished 13 of his Photographs that I kept one Sending mine instead I also will Send two of Bro. Martin Harris inclosed in this letter one for Bro Edward & one for Bro Martin."[45] This opens the prospect of early photographs of Martin having been taken in Iowa during the course of his journey to Utah Territory in 1870.[46]

The Stevenson party departed Des Moines at 2:00 a.m. on Wednesday, August 24, and headed for Ogden. There were necessarily other stops along the way for fuel and water and people to meet en route, but it was not until August 29, when the train stopped at Ogden, Weber County, Utah, that another reporter took an interest in Martin. Stevenson stated, "On the 29th of August we landed in Ogden." He then quoted the reporter's brief announcement in the *Ogden Junction:* "Martin Harris arrived (with Elder Edward Stevenson) whose name is known almost throughout the world as one of the witnesses of the Book of Mormon. They left Kirtland on the 19th of August."[47] Martin Henderson Harris, son of Martin's brother Emer, made a connection with his Uncle Martin from his nearby home in Harrisville. From his reminiscences, we learn:

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45. Pres. James M. Ballinger's postscript added to the letter of Edward Stevenson to Elizabeth Stevenson, August 24, 1870, Des Moines, Iowa. Ballinger explained that Stevenson had been "too busy to finish" his letter of the 24th as expected and asked him to do so and forward their joint correspondence.

46. Larry C. Porter asked J. Grant Stevenson, family genealogist, if he was familiar with that exact photograph of Martin Harris being in the Stevenson family. He said that he was unaware of its existence as such, although he showed Larry a variety of images he had collected over the years. Some of these likenesses had been obtained by him from within the family. J. Grant Stevenson, interviewed by Larry C. Porter, Provo, Utah, December 7, 2012.

47. *Ogden Junction,* as cited in Edward Stevenson, "One of the Three Witnesses—Incidents in the Life of Martin Harris," *Millennial Star* 44, no. 6 (February 6, 1882): 86.

"Uncle Martin arrived at Ogden on his way from Kirtland at his former residence to Salt Lake City and staid over night and bore his testimony to the neighbors. . . . Leander [Leander Sargent Harris, son of Martin Henderson Harris] was one that remembers his testimony which was related on that occasion."[48]

"Arrival in This City, of Martin Harris, One of the Three Witnesses"

On August 30, the *Deseret Evening News* announced, "By a telegram, per Deseret Telegraph Line, received at half-past three o'clock this afternoon [August 29], we learn that Martin Harris, accompanied by Elder E. Stevenson, of this city, arrived at Ogden, by the 3 o'clock train, he comes to this city to-morrow morning [August 30]."[49] Newspaper reporters were understandably anxious to announce the arrival of the only witness of the Book of Mormon to enter the Salt Lake Valley. The *Salt Lake Herald* responded the morning of the 31st: "Martin Harris, one of the three witnesses of the book of Mormon, arrived in Salt Lake City last night, accompanied by Elder Edward Stevenson."[50]

George Q. Cannon, editor of the *Deseret Evening News,* devoted a lengthy column of newsprint to his arrival. He related, "Considerable interest has been felt by our people in the arrival in this city, of Martin Harris, one of the three witnesses of the Book of Mormon. He arrived here at 7,30, p. m. yesterday, in the company of Elder Edward Stevenson." In explanation of his lengthy stay in Kirtland after the Saints had left, the correspondent reflected Martin's personal sentiment that "he himself has thought for years that his mission was in Kirkland, he feeling that the Lord required him to stay there and bear testimony to the

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48. Martin Henderson Harris, "Reminiscences and Journal, 1856–1876," MS 1781, August 30, 1870, p. 48, Church History Library.

49. "Local and Other Matters," *Deseret Evening News,* August 30, 1870, 3.

50. From an interview that took place at the *Salt Lake Daily Herald* office on September 2, 1870. An article highlighting the interview appeared the following day and also included, "Mr. Harris is now 88 years of age, and is remarkably lively and energetic for his years. He holds firmly to the testimony he has borne for over forty years, that an angel appeared before him and the other witnesses, and showed them the plates upon which the characters of the Book of Mormon were inscribed. After being many years separated from the body of the Church, he has come to spend the evening of life among the believers in that Book to which he is so prominent a witness." "We had a call yesterday morning from Edward Stevenson . . . ," *Salt Lake Daily Herald,* September 3, 1870, 3.

Book of Mormon and the first principles, which he has been earnest in doing, and he has felt reluctant to leave." The article further states that Martin "has never failed to bear testimony to the divine authenticity of the Book of Mormon. He says it is not a matter of belief on his part, but of knowledge."[51]

After an arduous journey from Ohio, Martin's physical condition was noted by the *Deseret News* correspondent: "Martin Harris is in his 88th year. He is remarkably vigorous for one of his years, and still retains the use of his faculties, his memory being very good, and his sight though his eyes appear to have failed, being so acute that he can see to pick a pin off the ground."[52] Whether reading the telegrapher's message or the newsprint of the day, residents in the Salt Lake area were abuzz with the news of Martin's arrival. Taking care to assure that his arrival was officially reported, Stevenson led him to the Church Historian's office where an authoritative note was made.[53]

An anticipated opportunity to meet with President Brigham Young on his arrival was momentarily delayed because President Young and his party had left Salt Lake on August 27, 1870, to visit the Saints in southern Utah, and he did not return to the city until September 24.[54] Edward Stevenson and Martin Harris were soon invited to address the congregation gathered in the Salt Lake Tabernacle at their regular Sunday morning services, on September 4, 1870. Wilford Woodruff journalized:

> I attended Meeting in the Tabernacle, Edward Stephenson had been to Kirtland & Brought up old Father Martin Harris one of the 3 witnesses of the Book of Mormon. Brother Stephenson spoke to the people 35 Minutes. Then Martin Harris arose & bore testimony to the truth of the Book of Mormon. He is 88 years old & has finally Come up to Zion to lay his Body down with the Saints. He has been from the Church 33 years in a state of Apostasy & he is far behind the times yet he bears a

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51. "Martin Harris, One of the Witnesses of the Book of Mormon," *Deseret Evening News,* August 31, 1870, 2.

52. "Martin Harris—One of the Witnesses of the Book of Mormon," *Deseret News,* September 7, 1870, 6.

53. "Martin Harris Called at the Historians Office Accompanied by Edward Stevenson," Journal History of the Church, August 31, 1870, 1.

54. "Historian's Office Journal," August 27, 1870, and September 24, 1870, 31:119, 131, Church History Library; Andrew Jenson, *Church Chronology: A Record of Important Events pertaining to the History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1914), August 27, 1870, 83.

strong testimony to the truth of the Book of Mormon. He was followed
By G[eorge] A Smith 15 Minutes.[55]

Only very small segments of Martin's actual testimony seem to have been
recorded by various individuals on the occasion of that 10:00 a.m. meet-
ing. His remarks were apparently brief and centered almost exclusively
on a strong testimony of the Book of Mormon. However, in the proxim-
ity of that same morning delivery there is tangible evidence of an earlier
and more comprehensive conversation, aside from the later address to
the congregation, dictated directly to Edward Stevenson. The words in
that recorded interview do not seem consistent with the content of his
public address at the 10:00 a.m. session. In what would strongly suggest
a separate meeting, Stevenson wrote down some important statements
uttered by Martin wherein he recalled his personal experiences with sec-
tarian religion in Palmyra, New York; his initial association with Joseph
Smith; the Book of Mormon; and the emergence of Mormonism. This
entire document is in the recognizable pen and ink longhand of Edward
Stevenson, save for a single date at the very top of the first page in the
upper right-hand corner, which has been penciled in by an unknown
hand, "4 Sept 1870." Stevenson gave the same date immediately below
this notation in his own handwriting.

"These Could Not Be My People, There Are So Many"

Following his Tabernacle address, there were many new opportunities
for Martin to speak—types and varieties of opportunities that were
never enjoyed by other witnesses of the Book of Mormon because of
the particular setting. Martin was beset with numerous invitations to
express his experiences from the earliest days of the Restoration. It was
his grandniece, Irinda Crandall McEwan, who opened her home to
accommodate Martin in his moment of immediate need. She and her
husband of three years, Joseph T. McEwan, a pressman for the *Salt Lake
Herald,* had moved to Salt Lake City in 1870.[56] The McEwans provided

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55. Wilford Woodruff, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833–1898, Typescript,*
ed. Scott G. Kenney, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983–84), 6:569.
Martin Harris's remarks appear to have been brief, since no amount of time was
ascribed to them as was the case with Stevenson and George A. Smith. See also
"Sabbath Meetings," *Deseret Evening News,* September 5, 1870, 2.

56. Irinda Naomi Crandall McEwan (August 18, 1851–January 12, 1935) was
the daughter of Spicer Wells Crandall and Sophia Kellogg. Her grandmother,
Naomi Harris, was the sister of Martin Harris. See Theria McEwan Selman,

Martin with shelter, food, kind-
ness, and a place to accommodate
a host of visitors. "While he was
there, hundreds of people came
to see him, including President
Brigham Young, to talk over with
him the details regarding his
contact with the Book of Mor-
mon story and of the appear-
ance of the Angel to him." Irinda
McEwan recalled, "Anyone who
heard Martin Harris describe the
scenes and bear his testimony to
the truthfulness of the Book of
Mormon could not help but be
deeply impressed with his sin-
cerity and his absolute convic-
tion of the truth of what he was
saying."[57] Of those who called
at the McEwan home, none was
of greater significance to Martin
than his estranged wife, Caroline,
who then resided in the Salt Lake

Brigham Young at approximately age
seventy-five. Photograph by Charles R.
Savage. Courtesy Church History
Library.

"History of Irinda McEwan, 1928," in authors' possession; Nell Sumsion, "Notes
on Genealogy of Martin Harris One of the Witnesses of the Book of Mormon,"
Genealogical Society of Utah, March 21, 1930, in Gunnell, "Martin Harris—
Witness and Benefactor to the Book of Mormon," 122.

57. Franklin S. Harris, "Minutes of Harris Family Reunion," August 3,
1928, Geneva Resort, Utah County, Utah. Franklin S. Harris, then president
of Brigham Young University, recorded Irinda McEwan's words in his sum-
mary of her speech at a Harris family reunion. See Selman, "History of Irinda
McEwan." On that same occasion, Mrs. Sariah Steele of Goshen, Utah, told
of her experiences with her grandfather Martin, "whom she knew when she
was a little girl. She had sat on his lap many times and heard him bear fervent
testimony to the truthfulness of the Book of Mormon record and of the part he
played in connection with the testimony of the three witnesses. She said that
anyone who had ever come in contact with him and had heard him bear his
testimony was thoroughly impressed with his sincerity and with the truthful-
ness of the story which he told." See also "Minutes of Harris Family Reunion,"
Franklin S. Harris Papers, ms. 340, box 2, fd. 4, Perry Special Collections.

City 17th Ward, not far from the McEwan home.[58] It had been over eleven years since she had seen the father of her children and tendered the companionship of her husband. Although their association would be amicable in Utah, the long-term marital separation between the two remained unchanged, and they lived apart.

Just one week after Martin's entry into the city, Anson Call asked his friend William Waddoups if he would like to meet Harris. Waddoups went to Salt Lake and was taken to the home where Harris was staying. There he had a one-on-one conversation as Martin instructed him:

> "Young man, I had the privilege of being with the Prophet Joseph Smith, and with these eyes of mine," pointing to his eyes, "I saw the angel of the Lord, and saw the plates and the Urim and Thummim and the sword of Laban, and with these ears," pointing to his ears, "I heard the voice of the angel, and with these hands," holding out his hands, "I handled the plates containing the record of the Book of Mormon, and I assisted the Prophet in the translation thereof. I bear witness that this testimony is true." Martin was at this time but a combination of bones and skin. He was extremely thin. Holding out his hands he said: "When I was faithful to the Church I was a fleshy, healthy, robust man, and what you see left of me is the fruits of apostasy. Young Man, always be faithful and obedient to the presiding priesthood, and you will always be safe."[59]

The careful record of Martin's days in Salt Lake City as found in the writings of Edward Stevenson is a valuable historical source. He often visited Martin in the McEwan home and frequently brought him to his own residence. There, much like on their journey to Salt Lake City, the two men spoke candidly of gospel matters. In one conversation, Stevenson reported Martin as saying that "the Spirit of the Lord had made it manifest to him, not only for himself personally, but also that he should be baptized for his dead, for he had seen his father [Nathan Harris] seeking his aid. He described his father at the foot of a ladder, striving to get

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58. Sumsion, "Notes of the Genealogy of Martin Harris," as cited in Gunnell, "Martin Harris—Witness and Benefactor to the Book of Mormon," 122. Caroline Davis was listed as the wife of Catley Davis (John Catley Davis was using his middle name), in U.S. Federal Census 1870, Salt Lake City, Utah 17th Ward, filed July 2, 1870.

59. William Waddoups, "Martin Harris and the Book of Mormon," *Improvement Era* 26 (September 1823): 980, a signed statement of William Waddoups from his comments at the "April conference of the Benson Stake at Lewiston, Utah, and also at the grave of Martin Harris, Clarkston, Utah, Saturday, April 20, 1918."

Baptismal certificate for the rebaptism of Martin Harris. Courtesy Trace Mayer.

up to him, and he went down to him taking him by the hand and helped him up."⁶⁰ He reminded Stevenson of having been taught "a principle that was new to him—baptism for the dead, as taught and practiced by the ancient Saints, and especially taught by Paul the Apostle in the 15th chapter of 1st Corinthians: 'Else what shall they do which are baptized for the dead, if the dead rise not at all? why are they then baptized for the dead?'"⁶¹ Martin then expressed a desire to be baptized for the remission of his own sins and of being baptized as proxy for his father.

A joyous Edward Stevenson hurried to inform Latter-day Saint leaders and other interested persons of Martin's desire to be baptized. Participants in the baptismal ceremony gathered at the Endowment House font on the evening of Saturday, September 17, 1870.⁶² An official transcript of the proceedings, including the proxy baptisms performed for certain deceased Harris family members immediately after Martin's baptism, was made a matter of record at the Church Historian's Office. The content of the document appears under the later date of

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60. Stevenson, "Three Witnesses to the Book of Mormon. No. II," 367.

61. Stevenson, "One of the Three Witnesses—Incidents in the Life of Martin Harris," *Millennial Star* 44, no. 6 (February 6, 1882): 87; 1 Corinthians 15:29; "The Three Witnesses to the Book of Mormon," *Millennial Star* 48 (June 7, 1886): 367–68.

62. Baptismal certificate for the rebaptism of Martin Harris by Edward Stevenson. In possession of Trace Mayer, Henderson, Nevada.

Wednesday, September 28, 1870, with a penned-in explanation "From Saturday Sept. 17th," and reads:

> On the 17th day of Sept. 1870, Martin Harris who is one of the <u>Three</u> witnesses of the Book of Mormon, was rebaptized in the font at the Endowment House, by Elder Edward Stevenson, and confirmed by Elders Orson Pratt (mouth), John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff and Joseph F. Smith. Prest. George A. Smith, and Elders John D. T. McAllister [clerk], John Lyon, (<u>blank space</u>) Davis[63] and Martin's Sister, Mrs. Naomi H. Bent also being present. Martin and his Sister were also baptized, by Bro. Stevenson for a number of their dead and were confirmed by the same brethren, Jos. F. Smith being mouth. All the brethren above mentioned being present. Martin Harris was born May 18, 1783, at East-Town[,] Saratoga Co. [Saratoga District] New York, U.S.A. He still firmly declares that his Testimony in the Book of Mormon is true. And has ever been unwavering in his faith in that book and his testimony thereto.- J. F. Smith. He was baptized by Oliver Cowdrey in 1830.[64]

It was highly appropriate for Orson Pratt to act as mouth in the confirmation ordinance. Martin, as one of the Three Witnesses, had been instrumental in selecting Orson Pratt to be a member of the original Twelve Apostles called at Kirtland on February 14, 1835.[65] Stevenson later observed, "The occasion was one which interested all present, and reminded us of Christ's parable of the lost sheep (Luke xv), 'Rejoice with me; for I have found my sheep which was lost, I say unto you, that

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63. Claudia Harris Allan, a Harris family genealogist, feels strongly that the person identified only as "_____ Davis" is her great-great-grandmother Caroline Harris Davis, wife of Martin Harris. The recorder appears to have left a space, meaning to go back later and complete the entry but failed to do so. Claudia states: "I know that Caroline was indeed there at Martin's baptism. The prayers she had offered for so many years had finally been answered." See Claudia Harris Allan, *The Life of Caroline Young Harris Davis Harris 1816–1888* ([Orem, Utah]: By the author for the Daughters of Utah Pioneers National Archives, 2012), 16.

64. The reference to Saturday, September 17, 1870, actually appears under the date of Wednesday, September 28, 1870, with the inserted notation "From Saturday Sept. 17th." See Historical Department Journal, September 28, 1870, 132–33, Church History Library; also recorded in Journal History of the Church, September 17, 1870, 1; Salt Lake Temple and Endowment Records, Baptisms, Records for the Dead, Book B 1870–71, September 12, 1870, p. 184, microfilm, Church History Library.

65. Kirtland High Council Minutes 1832–37, February 14, 1835, Church History Library.

likewise joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons, which need no repentance.'"⁶⁶

Following his own baptism and confirmation, Martin directly reentered the font as indicated above and was baptized by proxy for his deceased father, Nathan Harris, and his brother Solomon Harris.⁶⁷ His sister Naomi Harris Bent⁶⁸ was also baptized on behalf of their two sisters, Sophia and Lydia Harris, and also for her "Friend," Harriet Fox Kellogg, who was the first wife of Naomi's former husband, Ezekiel Kellogg.⁶⁹ She and Martin were then confirmed by the same brethren, with Joseph F. Smith being voice. This was a time of rejoicing for many to see a witness of the Book of Mormon participate in these sacred covenants.

In a cause-and-effect fashion, Martin leagued the transformation of Mormonism that he saw unfolding about him with the wide dissemination of the Book of Mormon and its principles among the people. While attending the celebration at another baptism, Martin, "with joyful feelings," exclaimed, "Just see how the Book of Mormon is spreading."⁷⁰ In this same period, he also made a similar comment in the company of Edward Stevenson, George A. Smith, and John Henry Smith while on their way to take a soothing bath in the warm mineral springs just north of Salt Lake City. As the carriage in which they were riding reached a summit, curtains were raised so that the passengers would have a

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66. Stevenson, "Three Witnesses to the Book of Mormon, No. II," 367; Luke 15:3–7.

67. Salt Lake Temple and Endowment Records, Baptisms, Records for the Dead, Book B 1870–71, September 12, 1870, p. 184; Stevenson, "Three Witnesses to the Book of Mormon, No. II," 368.

68. "Naomi Harris Duel Kellogg Bent," in *Pioneer Women of Faith and Fortitude,* 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: International Society Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1998), 1:237.

69. Salt Lake Temple and Endowment House Records, Baptisms, Records of the Dead, Book B 1870–71, September 12, 1870, p. 184; "Martin Harris, one of the three witnesses of the Book of Mormon, was rebaptized today . . . ," Journal History of the Church, September 17, 1870. Elder Stevenson wrote of Martin's initial failure to understand the doctrine of vicarious work for the dead: "I wish to add that Brother Harris having been away from the Church so many years did not understand more than the first principles taught in the infantile days of the Church, which accounts for his not being posted in the doctrine of the Gospel being preached to the spirits who are departed, which was afterwards taught by Joseph Smith the Prophet." Stevenson, "Three Witnesses to the Book of Mormon, No. II," 367.

70. Stevenson, "Three Witnesses to the Book of Mormon, No. III," 390.

panoramic view of the city below. To Martin, who could see the new Tabernacle, the rising Salt Lake Temple under construction, and the expanse of the city, the scene was "wonderful." He exclaimed, "Who would have thought that the Book of Mormon would have done all this?"[71] Martin was now back. Brigham Young's prophecy "Rest assured, he will be here in time"[72] had been fulfilled. Martin had become the only one of the Three Witnesses or any of the Eight Witnesses to personally observe the growth of the Church in the West. For him, this was a day of great celebration.

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71. Stevenson, "Three Witnesses to the Book of Mormon, No. III," 390.
72. Homer [Sr.], "Passing of Martin Harris," 471.

"Why are your kids late to school today?"

That question throws me into existential crisis.
Was it because Oscar tipped over his milk,
Emma needed that thing signed,
the extra minute I took in the shower?
Or maybe it's deeper
I should have woken up earlier
or gone to bed earlier
or gotten married at 25 instead of 19
certainly meaning that I would have at least one less kid
and a higher earning potential
allowing me to hire a maid.
I usually answer: "Poor life choices."

<div align="right">

—Lisa Martin

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Laura Allred Hurtado and Bryon C. Andreasen.
Saints at Devil's Gate: Landscapes along the Mormon Trail.
Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, 2016.

Reviewed by Herman du Toit

This sumptuously produced exhibition catalog was published by the Church Historian's Press, an imprint of the Church History Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The book reproduces and interprets paintings that appeared in an exhibition of the same title, *Saints at Devil's Gate,* at the Church History Museum in Salt Lake City in November 2016. The exhibition showcased landscape paintings of sites along the Mormon Trail, the 1,300-mile route that was used from 1846 to 1868 by thousands of Mormons, many of whom were fleeing religious persecution. The artworks were created by John Burton, Josh Clare, and Bryan Mark Taylor—three talented landscape painters who themselves traversed the Mormon Trail from east to west, scouting specific locations along the trail to document in their paintings. Josh Clare successfully presented the idea for the ambitious project to the Church History Museum in September 2013. Approval was granted, and the undertaking culminated in the exhibition of fifty-two oil paintings on canvas at the Church History Museum.

Previously the Church Historian's Press has focused on more scholarly publications. However, according to Eric Smith, editorial manager of the press, this latest publication is intended for a more general audience. He noted that this book "is an opportunity to provide art with bits of history."[1]

The catalog features the paintings in sequential geographical order, following the trail from east to west, starting with an icy depiction of the

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1. R. Scott Lloyd, "Saints at Devil's Gate: New Exhibit Showcases Landscapes along Mormon Trail," *Church News*, November 29, 2016, https://www.lds.org/church/news/saints-at-devils-gate-new-exhibit-showcases-landscapes-along-mormon-trail?lang=eng.

Mississippi River at Nauvoo, Illinois, and ending with a soulful portrayal of a moonlit Salt Lake Valley—both by John Burton. Excerpts from journals that were recorded by pioneers on the Mormon Trail accompany each of the artworks. These poignant writings refer to the locations depicted in the paintings and give a human touch to the landscapes the Mormon pioneers passed through. These passages are a valuable contribution to the catalog and came from research headed by Church History Museum historian Bryon C. Andreasen after the list of the paintings was finalized. According to Burton, "Linking each painting with journal entries and reminiscences helped ground the paintings in the stories of the trail" (128).

Laura Allred Hurtado, curator of the exhibition and global acquisitions art curator for the Church History Museum, provided additional insights and commentary, which appear in "Curator's Response" sidebars scattered throughout the pages of the catalog. These observations contextualize the locations depicted and give welcome additional historical information. The catalog also features the transcript of an insightful interview with the three painters, conducted by Hurtado.

All three painters were eminently qualified for the plein air paintings that this project demanded. According to Jean Stern, executive director of the Irvine Museum and author of the foreword to the catalog, "These artists are noted for their remarkable ability to paint beautiful and elegant works, filled with natural light and brilliant color" (xiii).

Artist John Burton graduated from the Academy of Art University in San Francisco and has traveled and painted around the world. He is noted for the reverent tone of his award-winning landscapes and his love of the American West (142). For Burton this project was a rite of passage: as a recent convert to the Church, he wished his paintings to bear testimony to his Mormon forebears who traveled this trail and stand as a witness to his faith. He said that his original idea for the project was "born out of a sense of a spiritual calling" (2). Burton's conversion was prompted specifically by his reading of the experiences of his pioneer ancestor Robert Taylor Burton, which in turn prompted him to read the Book of Mormon.

Josh Clare graduated with a BFA in illustration from BYU–Idaho, and he too has earned numerous awards for his landscape paintings. Bryan Mark Taylor received a BA degree from Brigham Young University and an MFA degree from the Academy of Art University. He has won numerous awards, and his work can be found in private, corporate, and museum collections around the world (142). Both Clare and Taylor have

Mormon ancestors who were in the Martin handcart company and experienced the privations and suffering of pioneer travel (4). Hurtado, the curator of the exhibition, also has a deeply rooted Mormon connection to the project, with an ancestor who participated in the rescue of the Willie handcart company (136 n. 18). As noted by Hurtado, "For the artists, such sites transcended neutral locations of geographical interest or simply beautiful landscapes and were endowed with the memory of those who traversed there, made personal through the blood of ancestry" (4).

While many of these pioneers left homes in the eastern United States to travel west, others had never ventured beyond the confines of their smoggy, industrialized hometowns in England before they were cast upon the expansive plains and breathtaking vistas of the American West—often after a harrowing ocean passage. Not all their experiences, however, were difficult and tragic. Many converts who ventured along this trail found the experience exhilarating and were filled with wonder at the mythical landscapes they encountered. Bryon C. Andreasen notes in his essay, "Through hardship and beauty, suffering and wonderment, the trail landscape tested character, stretched minds, and expanded understandings" (13). This perspective explains the apparent paradox inherent in the title *Saints at Devil's Gate.* Andreasen goes on to explain that "the religious nature of their enterprise distinctively shaped and tempered their frontier pioneering experience and set them apart from most other American pioneers" (104).

Hurtado goes to some length to relate these artists' contemporary plein air landscapes, which were completed in their studios, to the tradition of landscape painting and the historical treatment of landscape as subject matter. Commenting on the three artists' relationship to the project, she notes, "The project is a tribute to their ancestors and a bearing witness to the physical locations through eyes of modern-day Mormons" (52). Referencing Edmund Burke's classic eighteenth-century work *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful and Other Pre-revolutionary Writings,* she notes that "landscape paintings have a long history of being linked to the sublime in the way that they capture the power, danger, and even terror of nature while also evoking a sense of God's grandeur" (7).

Earlier European painters such as Caspar David Friedrich (1774–1840) and Johan Christian Dahl (1788–1857) had already established landscape as a vehicle for conveying Romantic notions of the sublime. This nineteenth-century concept of awe and wonder found in nature informed the experience of the early Mormon pioneers in their

appreciation of the picturesque. They were deeply moved by the sheer mythological proportions and beauty of the vistas they encountered that bore witness to the hand of God in what they saw. Many journal entries reflected this Romantic perspective of the land. One entry by Sarah Maria Mousley, a twenty-nine-year-old member of the Jacob Hofheins company, declared, "The wild flowers beautiful to behold, the air redolent with their odor, the calm still waters of the beautiful lakes all serving alike to awake an adoration to that God at whose word we have left the happy scenes of childhood years to repair to the mountains with the Saints of light" (50). Such observations attest to the empathic engagement with which these pioneers viewed their surroundings and to the transformative power such experiences had for many.

This catalog is well designed and well written. It is rich in providing context and background to the locations depicted in the fine landscape paintings. The only item of concern about the production of the publication is that it fails to provide the dimensions of the paintings that are central to the project and which have been so carefully reproduced. There is no listing of the works with their respective sizes, and the reader is left to guess at the scale of the works. Nevertheless, the publication is a fitting culmination for such an ambitious project, bringing together the refined skills and expertise of historical research, curatorship, and artistic talent that complements and interprets this suite of paintings admirably.

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Max Perry Mueller. *Race and the Making of the Mormon People.*
Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017.

Reviewed by Matthew L. Harris

In recent years, the topic of Mormonism and race has attracted the attention of many Mormon scholars. In 2015, W. Paul Reeve's *Religion of a Different Color: Race and the Mormon Struggle for Whiteness* was published, in which he argues that the development of Mormon racial theology is best understood as a reaction to larger trends in nineteenth-century America. The Protestant majority privileged "whiteness," Reeve argues, and Mormons sought to appease them by embracing a whiteness theology.[1] The year 2015 also saw the publication of a special edition of the *Journal of Mormon History* featuring race and Mormonism.[2] Advocating a "new history of race and Mormonism,"[3] the essayists examined "the constitution of a white colonial hegemony in Mormonism," moving beyond the typical medium of the priesthood and temple ban to explore Mormon racial teachings.[4] Clearly, scholars are paying close attention to the Mormon racial experience and trying to understand how race affected Mormon doctrine and practice.

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1. W. Paul Reeve, *Religion of a Different Color: Race and the Mormon Struggle for Whiteness* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015). See also Hokulani K. Aikau, *A Chosen People, a Promised Land: Mormonism and Race in Hawai'i* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012); and Matthew Garret, *Making Lamanites: Mormons, Native Americans, and the Indian Student Placement Program, 1947–2000* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2016).

2. See *Journal of Mormon History* 41 (July 2015).

3. Max Perry Mueller, "Introduction: Beyond 'Race and the Priesthood' toward a New History of Race and Mormonism," *Journal of Mormon History* 41 (July 2015): 1.

4. Gina Colvin, "Theorizing Mormon Race Scholarship," *Journal of Mormon History* 41 (July 2015): 15.

New in the mix of this scholarship is Max Mueller's *Race and the Making of the Mormon People,* which is a provocative account of the construction of race in Mormon history. Mueller's study, produced initially as his PhD dissertation at Harvard, demonstrates how "whiteness" was built into the foundation of Mormonism. Drawing from, but not limiting his evidence to, the Book of Mormon, he asserts that the Mormon founder, Joseph Smith Jr., promoted a "restoration of all things" that would return the "human family" to its "original, white form" (62). He discusses the fracture of the human family, focusing on Gentiles in Europe, Semitic peoples in Asia and the Holy Land, and the Hamitic peoples of Africa (62).

Part of this fracture resulted from God's placing a curse of dark skin on some members of the human family. In the Bible, Cain and his descendants were cursed for their grievous sins. The curse was carried on through Ham—Noah's son—and his descendants. Likewise, in the Book of Mormon, God cursed the Lamanites (considered in the past to be Native Americans), signifying his displeasure with their "iniquities" (2 Ne. 5:21–22). Mueller argues that Mormonism's fixation on curses of people of color was not unique to Mormons. Indeed, various Christian denominations and even so-called enlightened peoples believed that dark skin made blacks and Native Americans spiritually inferior to white people.

What was unique about Mormonism, Mueller claims, is that Joseph Smith offered a new "restorative" theology that sought to solve the "race problem" in the United States (127). In his universalist vision to restore humanity to its original skin color—what Mueller calls "a metaphorical and literal whitening of nonwhites"—the Mormon prophet embraced a progressive view of race distinct from Protestant Christians (20). Neither an abolitionist nor a promoter of slavery, Smith's vision of racial inclusion sought to solve "racial schisms" that plagued nineteenth-century America (3). Eschewing science and the Enlightenment, Smith appealed to Mormon scripture to justify his vision of restoring the human family to its pre-cursed state. Mueller argues that the Book of Mormon offered a blueprint for this racial regeneration. In the Book of Mormon, Nephite prophets taught that the sinful Lamanites could experience a profound transfiguration that would cleanse their souls and lighten their skins, signifying that they could become coequals with whites in the body of Christ. Through righteous living, moral probity, and conversion to Mormonism, these cursed peoples could literally and figuratively shed their curse and become white again. Although Mueller notes that the Book of Mormon does not

discuss black people, he argues that the promise of racial regeneration also applied to them. Mormonism would set these cursed individuals onto a path of discovery and enlightenment, cleansing them from their sinful past. Thus, this theological transformation would allow black- and brown-skinned Latter-day Saints to not only overcome their cursed lineage but also "be adopted into the Israelite covenant," becoming full participants of the "Abrahamic lineage" (107, 118).

Mueller uses two case studies to advance his point. The first deals with a dynamic and energetic Mormon convert named Jane Manning (later Jane Manning James). Manning, a freed black woman from Connecticut, joined the Church in 1842 and migrated to Nauvoo, Illinois, where the Mormon prophet befriended her and took her in as a servant. There, within the intimate confines of the prophet's home, she saw the new Mormon religion unfold. She witnessed Joseph Smith embrace the doctrine of plural marriage; she hefted the Urim and Thummim, used by Joseph to translate sacred scripture; and she developed a close relationship with the prophet's wife Emma. In 1844, Manning received her patriarchal blessing from Hyrum Smith, the prophet's older brother, who was the Church Patriarch at the time. Hyrum proclaimed that her lineage derived through "Cainaan the Son of Ham." Most remarkable, he averred that if Manning lived worthy, God would lift the curse and "stamp . . . his own linage [*sic*]" upon her (146–48). For Mueller, this suggests that in the blessing, God pledged to make her "whole" again—to restore her to purity and whiteness.

The second case study derives from another black convert, named Elijah Abel. Available evidence suggests that Abel was the first black Latter-day Saint to receive a patriarchal blessing and most likely the first to be ordained to the Melchizedek Priesthood, serving in the Third Quorum of the Seventy. Abel, like Jane Manning, was a devoted and faithful Latter-day Saint. Mueller notes that in Abel's patriarchal blessing, Joseph Smith Sr., the first Church Patriarch, promised him that he would be "made equal to [his] brethren, and [his] soul [would] be white in eternity and [his] robes glittering." This racial trope, Mueller argues, had echoes of racial sanctification as foretold in the Book of Mormon. More instructive, Smith's blessing promised that Abel could overcome "his blackness in the hereafter" (108).

Mueller notes, however, that the prophet had "ambivalent views" on race (116). While he allowed priesthood ordinations for black Latter-day Saints during his tenure as Mormon prophet, Joseph Smith did not permit Abel and Manning to experience the full blessings of Mormon

liturgical rites. Smith forbade them from worshipping in temples, and he did not permit them to marry white Latter-day Saints. The prophet, moreover, asserted that black people derived from the "seed of Cain." He produced scripture—the book of Moses and the book of Abraham— that contained unfavorable views of black people and their cursed progeny. Still, the prophet allowed a handful of blacks to be ordained to the priesthood, and he welcomed a black woman—Jane Manning—into his home, where he nurtured her love of Mormonism.

If Joseph Smith envisioned a "*raceless . . .* Mormon people," his successors in the Mormon hierarchy obfuscated that vision (20, emphasis in original). In 1852, Brigham Young, as Church President, implemented a priesthood and temple ban that denied black people sacred priestly rites. Other Church Presidents added flesh and muscle to the ban when they denied both Elijah Abel and Jane Manning James their temple blessings. Joseph F. Smith, the nephew of the Prophet Joseph Smith, for example, denied James the right to be sealed to the prophet's family as an "adopted daughter"—a rite, she claimed, the prophet had offered to help her escape "her cursed ancestral lineage" (136). Joseph F. Smith also questioned the priesthood ordination of Abel.

Native Americans, by contrast, had a much different experience in Mormonism after Joseph Smith died in 1844. Unlike black people, whom missionaries largely ignored, Church leaders aggressively sought to convert Lamanites, offering them the opportunity to shed their curse. This proselytizing occurred well into the twentieth century under the energetic leadership of Church President Spencer W. Kimball, who supported the creation of an Indian Student Placement Program, in which white LDS families would take in young Native Americans and facilitate the process of racial regeneration by introducing them to Mormonism.

Mueller's account is both arresting and insightful. His understanding of Mormon scripture—particularly the Book of Mormon—is thorough and comprehensive. And his contextualization of Mormon racial teachings vis-à-vis broader currents in nineteenth-century America helps readers discern what was unique about Mormon racial teachings. His argument requires fuller elaboration, though. Without question, Mueller is at his best when he locates the Lamanite experience within Mormonism's restorationist theology. Indeed, Mueller tells this story well. With black Latter-day Saints, however, the evidence is not as compelling. Elijah Abel's experience in the Church was not the experience of other black Latter-day Saint men; Jane Manning James's experience in Mormonism was also unique compared to other black Latter-day Saint

women. Thus, we need to know more about the lived experiences of early black Latter-day Saints in general before making determined judgments about where they fit into Joseph Smith's universalist vision of redemption and salvation.

This criticism notwithstanding, Mueller is to be praised for producing a richly argued and nuanced account of Mormon racial history. This provocative book deserves a careful reading from students and scholars of the Mormon past.

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Mauro Properzi. *Mormonism and the Emotions:*
An Analysis of LDS Scriptural Texts.
Vancouver, B.C.: Farleigh Dickenson University Press, 2015.

Reviewed by Richard N. Williams

Any reader familiar with the scholarly endeavors of the relatively new academic fields of Mormon theology or Mormon studies will recognize Professor Mauro Properzi's volume *Mormonism and the Emotions* as a contribution to the knowledge base of these fields. Though Properzi's study focuses on LDS doctrines and global theology, its central new contribution is its particular subject matter, the emotions—a topic of interest to social science and religion scholars generally—as dealt with in the LDS scriptural canon. The volume is informed by the researcher's understanding of general LDS theology, but it also takes a quasi-phenomenological approach to its textual analysis of emotion words in the text of LDS modern scriptures. As such, *Mormonism and the Emotions* is an original first step.

Most readers, particularly those not already engaged in the dialogue surrounding LDS theology, will benefit from spending some time with the introduction to the work. Professor Properzi does a very nice job of summarizing what is at stake in the question of whether or not there is a formal theology or a theological tradition within Mormonism. In providing readers with an accessible account of the viewpoints of proponents on both sides of the question, he brings in such issues as whether the conceptual and philosophical categories of traditional theological approaches really have purchase in Latter-day Saint doctrines and understandings, and the nature and role of theology in a tradition that places much importance on authoritative voices and continuing divine revelation. In the introduction, Properzi clarifies his own view of LDS theology—and the doing of LDS theology—which is quite appealing (10). His view is reasoned, careful, and provides a balanced approach that might serve as a model for other scholars in the field,

particularly young scholars who are still formulating their own principles and approaches.

When Properzi describes the methodology of his study of emotions, he enters the realm where science and religion meet. Most in Mormon studies will brush by this issue, but some will be immersed in the controversies between these overlapping domains of explanation. Even though the topic of emotions does not require a full plunge into the intricacies or the controversies, Properzi rightly acknowledges that his study takes us to the space where science and religion offer different and sometimes competing claims. Again, he locates himself and his work somewhere between the "integration" and "interdependence" of the two fields, while acknowledging that his own study is more theological than scientific (12–13). This position seems reasonable for what the author wants to do in the study of emotions in the LDS scriptures. His intent is not to deal with the emotions as the social, cognitive, or neuro sciences would, but there is in his work, under the surface, a definition and classification scheme greatly influenced by the scientific study of emotion. This provides a scaffold for his categorization and an implicit set of assumptions about the nature of emotion itself that—perhaps for better or for worse—put his work in the mainstream of current thinking about emotion.

This very helpful introduction ends with the author's summary of the content and purpose of the succeeding chapters of the book. Part 1, composed of chapters 1–4, has two purposes. First, Properzi summarizes the present state of the intellectual discourse on emotions from what might be termed a philosophical perspective, and then he organizes emotions into three categories based on essential characteristics of any or all emotions: cognitive necessity, personal responsibility, and developmental instrumentality. This classificatory scheme might indeed help distinguish among emotions, but nothing in the text makes this particular categorization compelling. For Properzi's purposes, however, it seems useful enough.

Utilizing a philosophical perspective, chapter 3 concentrates more intensely on Mormonism, focusing on dimensions of metaphysics and cosmology. In this chapter, I paid particular attention to the section dealing with the question of agency. The explanation of human agency Properzi offers in this chapter is certainly consistent with what one might encounter within Mormon orthodoxy and establishes the centrality of agency in understanding human nature, the nature and purposes of God, and the purpose of life from within the Mormon tradition.

Properzi suggests that the LDS position on agency is essentially consistent with the classical libertarian notion of freedom of choice (74).

This characterization of an LDS understanding of agency seems sound, if only because there is an absence of a large body of work on agency arguing otherwise. If we grant, however, that Mormonism subscribes to the libertarian notion of free will, we are faced with a number of issues related to the origin, nature, and function of emotions, which have been discussed for centuries. From Plato's metaphor of the charioteer onward, emotions and agency have been intertwined, variously at odds or in harmony with each other. For libertarian agents, emotions serve at once as motivators, sources of interference, and justifications for morally relevant agentic actions. Properzi, however, elects not to explore these interconnections in his discussion of emotions and Mormonism. In chapter 3 there is only one sentence that points to a relationship between human agency, as important to Mormonism, and emotion: "This recognition [of the importance of interpersonal relations] is significant for an LDS theology of emotion because to make room for the 'principles-relations link' is to open the door to complex interconnections between emotional and rational elements in decision making" (78). This observation, undeveloped in the text, seems to be one of the relatively few places where the author clearly brings the principles of Mormonism, laid out in the first four chapters, into contact with what seems to be the central focus of the book—that is, emotions—explicated in the later chapters.

This general pattern of exposition and organization seems to hold throughout the book and may be considered a weakness of the work. It seems very much to be a book of two parts, and many readers will be disappointed that the two projects at the heart of the purpose of the book are not carefully reconciled or harmonized. Having said this, we can grant that such a harmonizing narrative was not one of Properzi's purposes; however, were there more integration of Mormon doctrines, or understandings, with the analysis on emotion, the book would appear much more cohesive and might make a greater impact on the body of scholarship toward which it is aimed.

The last chapter of part 1, chapter 4, focuses on some of the more distinctive doctrines of Mormonism related to the cosmology of the afterlife and the continuation of life and sociality after death (see D&C 130:2) and on how those topics relate to one's comportment in this life and to the nature and importance of family life. This summary avoids laying traditional theological categories and language over top of LDS doctrines and teachings and will thus be welcomed by readers with a

philosophically informed interest in Mormonism but who are not theologically trained. This summary, however, is not obviously or tightly tied to the topic of the emotions.

Part 2 of the book consists of the analysis or, perhaps more precisely, the categorizing of emotion terms in LDS scripture. Judging the contribution of Properzi's study depends to a great extent on two factors: (1) the manner in which the author carried out the study and reached his conclusions, and (2) the validity, adequacy, and conceptual plausibility of the classification scheme of the emotions. In regard to methodology, Properzi's book is not intended to be a research report of the kind expected in an experimental research journal, and therefore, the details and justifications of the methods used, as well as the results of the study in chapters 6 through 11, are not explicit. The reader has to do some work to grasp the method and thus evaluate the product of the study. It would have been helpful for me, as a reader, if the author had located this study within the panoply of recognized and catalogued qualitative approaches to textual research—at least I could not find a statement that offered that context. In chapter 5 of part 2, Properzi does explain that his method and analysis are modeled after a 2005 study by Matthew Elliott, published as *Faithful Feelings: Emotion in the New Testament.*[1] This connection helps to link the earlier chapters on theology to the analysis in the second part, and as such, it would have been helpful to acknowledge the debt to Elliott's study earlier in the book and in more formal terms.

Because I am familiar with qualitative methods as applied in the social sciences, Properzi's textual analysis of emotion language in LDS scripture is recognizable and makes some sense. For me, because the author exclusively engages with the text and its doctrinally guided interpretation, there is a bit of a phenomenological flavor to the textual analysis. I must admit that it took a while, engaged in the book, for me to recognize and understand part 2 of the book as a qualitative study.

Alongside the methodology, much of the success of this study depends on the adequacy of the conceptual classification of emotions—and the general dimensions of emotion represented in that classification. This is, in the mind of this reviewer, more important than how the classification is presented and employed in the text. Once the book has been contextualized as a qualitative study, there are at least two issues

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1. See Matthew Elliott, *Faithful Feelings: Emotion in the New Testament* (Leicester: InterVarsity Press, 2005).

that are not satisfactorily dealt with or could be considered "soft spots" in the study: the lack of discussion about cultural, historical, and translational issues; and the oppositional dimensions of emotions that form the basis of Properzi's analysis. These two issues affect the meaning that can be derived from the study and the extent to which that meaning can point to something generally true about emotion and Mormon theology; thus, they affect the overall value of the study and its contribution.

The first issue may seem somewhat trivial, but it bears on what understandings can be drawn about emotions and the humans—and perhaps particularly Mormons—who experience them. Properzi articulates one important difference between his study and that of Elliott (122). Since Elliott dealt with the New Testament, he had to deal with the problem of understanding emotion words that, throughout history, have been translated from Greek into other languages, including archaic forms of English. Properzi seeks to avoid the problems of "cultural-historical analysis" that Elliott had to deal with by confining his study to contemporary English scriptural texts, freeing himself to pursue what he refers to as a "formalist hermeneutics," which presumably allows him to go directly to meaning without having to consider cultural, historical, and translation problems (120). This is problematic, of course, because of the intimate cocreating relationship between emotions and the words that express them and between emotions and the cultures that help form and enable them. To my mind, this problem is the problem of translation, and it cannot be avoided. The Book of Mormon provides the best examples. Some emotion words in the Book of Mormon come from the language (some sort of Hebrew-Aramaic) of Lehi's earliest colony and are expressed in a sort of modified hieroglyphic script. Emotion words from later parts of the book will reflect understandings and choices from a different culture. However, even if the entire Book of Mormon text had been directly rendered, without an intermediary translation by Nephite or Lamanite authors, by Joseph Smith, through the influence of the Spirit, into early-nineteenth-century American English, cultural issues would still remain. From the book of Mosiah onward, the words in the Book of Mormon come from texts several hundred years older than Mormon and were influenced no doubt by the language and culture of Zarahemla, perhaps the Jaredites, and any number of unmentioned and unknown cultures.

And then we have the problem of the Spirit's conveying those meanings to Joseph in ways he could articulate in a cultural milieu nearly two hundred years removed from the present day. This problem, to my mind, deserves a bit more treatment than is given in Properzi's

text. Properzi's method seems to assume that there is a central core of emotion—or emotions—that are trans-situational and atemporal. This assumption is by no means obviously true. It might very well be the case that Nephites and Lamanites experienced emotions that we do not, and could never, understand. Likewise, we very likely experience emotions that would make no sense to Nephites or Lamanites during any number of periods of their thousand-year history. Furthermore, Properzi seems to imply that emotions are intimately linked to the meaning and processes involved in salvation and sanctification. Therefore, the question becomes whether certain emotions central to salvation constitute solid and transhistorical categories of experience that we must all feel—or something close to them—as we are saved. The other possibility is that salvation is available across a wide range of emotions and emotional understandings. To me, the work Properzi outlines seems to imply the former of these two possibilities. I tend to strongly favor the latter. This latter position takes more seriously the variability, historicity, and linguistic nature of emotion. This issue in and of itself might be a topic deserving of further study.

Finally, it is worth turning a careful evaluative eye toward the structural oppositional dimension of emotions that form the basis for Properzi's analysis. As the literature on and experience with bipolar scales in questionnaires make clear, bipolar opposites that seem obvious to some people are not obvious, or even salient, to others. To apply this notion to Properzi's analysis, I can refer only to my own experience. The opposing emotions of hope and fear, for example, are fundamental to the analysis of Properzi's textual study. However, my immediate response to the word *hope,* in the context of my emotive life, is that the opposite emotion to hope is not fear, but despair. And for me there is an important, discernible, and articulable difference between fear and despair. As a second example, Properzi's analysis contrasts joy with sorrow. For me, again, the clearest and most poignant contrast to joy is not sorrow, but remorse (I think Alma got that one right—see Alma 29:5). And finally, for me, the most relevant contrast to love is not hate but something more like *acedia*—cool indifference. I point these alternatives out here not to argue that I am right and that Properzi is wrong but to suggest that the grounding categories of any qualitative analysis of the sort that we have in *Mormonism and the Emotions* are extremely important. They establish or diminish the validity, generalizability, and value of the study. The book could profit from a broader and finer analysis and

justification of the dimensions used to make sense of emotions within Mormon scripture.

Mormonism and the Emotions is a worthy contribution. It seeks to break new ground, and I hope to see more attention given to the merits of phenomenologically informed textual analysis of our LDS scriptures, building on what Mauro Properzi has done here. I also recommend his reasoned and LDS-centered approach as a contribution to the emerging field of Mormon theology. I hope to see more from this promising scholar.

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Brent M. Rogers. *Unpopular Sovereignty:
Mormons and the Federal Management
of Early Utah Territory.*
Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2017.

Reviewed by Jay H. Buckley

During the 1850s, ideological and actual battles raged in Kansas and Utah territories over the notion of popular sovereignty, a principle wherein the voice of the people determined the territories' domestic and political institutions, outside of congressional or presidential influence. In Kansas, for example, politicians sought to remove the slavery question from national political discourse by making it a local decision. Contesting views over instituting slavery in Kansas resulted in the people drafting two competing constitutions in two different towns— one (Topeka) favoring freedom, the other (Lecompton) advocating slavery. This fundamental disagreement culminated in a series of violent clashes and guerrilla raids between the opposing forces in what was called "Bleeding Kansas." Instead of resolving the slavery question, however, the violence in Kansas revealed the flaws in the philosophy of local self-determination and brought the territorial issue of slavery's expansion into the center of national debate. While Kansas's role in the coming of the Civil War is quite well known, historians have generally not examined Utah's territorial experimentation through the lens of popular sovereignty.

Brent M. Rogers's excellent book *Unpopular Sovereignty: Mormons and the Federal Management of Early Utah Territory* corrects this oversight, placing Utah Territory firmly at the center of the national debate over the extension of slavery into the territories. Rogers is a historian and documentary editor for the *Joseph Smith Papers* and an instructor of history and religious education at the Brigham Young University–Salt Lake Center. This book stemmed from his revised dissertation, which he completed at the University of Nebraska. Rogers's great strength in this thoroughly researched and balanced account is teasing out and analyzing the multifaceted opinions from the original documents to

persuasively argue that Utah Territory emerged as a key battleground and hotbed of antebellum debate over popular sovereignty.

Unpopular Sovereignty is organized into successive chapters discussing the American territorial system, plural marriage, and Mormon and federal Indian policies. He concludes with two chapters analyzing the 1856 election and how it set the stage for the Republican Party's rejection of polygamy and slavery and for the Democratic Party's decision to send federal troops west, precipitating the Utah War, to replace Brigham Young as territorial governor and as superintendent of Indian affairs. The book concludes with the consolidation of federal power under Republican ascendency during the Civil War in 1862 and a discussion of how and why Lincoln helped to end popular sovereignty in the territories.

Following the martyrdom of Joseph Smith, the majority of Mormons united under the leadership of Brigham Young and traveled west to form a Mormon colony in Mexico. Shortly after establishing Great Salt Lake City and other towns in the Intermountain West, Mormons found themselves back in the United States after the signing of the Treaty of Guadeloupe Hidalgo, which ended the Mexican-American War. They petitioned for an autonomous state of Deseret, but those petitions failed. In 1850, the federal government formed Utah Territory, and the president named Young as territorial governor and ex-officio superintendent of Indian affairs. Utah's republican form of government resembled a theocracy with Young simultaneously serving as Church president, territorial governor, Indian superintendent, and ecclesiastical judge—Young had the final say in all matters.

This did not sit well with non-Mormon federal judges and Indian agents in Utah Territory appointed by U.S. President Millard Fillmore. These disgruntled federal employees criticized Young and the Mormons for functioning as a theocracy and not as a republican form of government. They disapproved of Mormon missionaries proselyting among indigenous peoples, claiming the practice violated trade and intercourse laws. Most importantly, in 1852 the LDS Church publicly announced the practice of plural marriage, claiming it was a religious rite, not a civil one, and thereby protected under the First Amendment and considered constitutional.

Rogers asserts that in comparison to other territories, Utah posed an entirely different national problem with regard to popular sovereignty. He cogently argues that three interrelated themes highlight Utah's experience of contested sovereignty: "the implementation of a republican form of government; the administration of Indian policy that managed

interactions between Native peoples and non-Natives; and the performance of gender and familial relations pertaining to marriage" (5). Rogers argues that Mormons employed the concept *imperium in imperio* (sovereignty within sovereignty) to protect and govern themselves. Local governance in general and the domestic institution of plural marriage, however, just like the extension of slavery into Kansas, drew Utah into the national political discourse. Moreover, when repeated attempts for statehood (and the sovereignty that would bring through the Tenth Amendment) failed, Mormons took matters into their own hands. They subsumed indigenous Great Basin peoples' sovereignty and ignored or contested federal sovereignty in order to carve out their own version of self-determination in Utah Territory and build the kingdom of God, while still adhering to the U.S. Constitution.

In 1856, these interrelated themes culminated in both national political parties agreeing to force Utah's Mormon population into submission by changing their government, taking over Indian affairs, eradicating polygamy, and diminishing the size of the territory. The political platform of the newly formed Republican Party equated slavery and polygamy as the twin pillars of barbarism. And the Democratic Party, which had initially championed popular sovereignty, found it necessary to subordinate Utah Territory to national sovereignty by force of arms.

President James Buchanan sent twenty-five hundred troops to Utah to reassert federal control by ending Young's theocracy. This would be done by replacing Young and all Mormon political officials with non-Mormon personnel supported by the military, preventing Mormon missionaries from sowing supposed anti-American sentiment among the Indian nations and, finally, using federal force to curtail the practice of polygamy. The U.S. Army also established military reservations at Fort Bridger and Camp Floyd to control the overland trails through the territory.

Utah, as much as Kansas, served as a test case for popular sovereignty. The Democrats' use of federal force to attempt to stop polygamy in 1857 with the Utah Expedition mirrored Republican measures in 1862 to use federal force to end slavery in the South. Republicans used those same arguments of federal sovereignty to distribute western lands as homesteads while simultaneously dispossessing and removing Native peoples to reservations. They criminalized polygamy by passing the Morrill Anti-Bigamy Act of 1862. Republicans sought to unite the nation by authorizing the construction of a transcontinental railroad, but they needed the support of the Mormons, since the proposed route went

through Promontory Summit in Utah Territory. President Lincoln and Brigham Young entered into a détente wherein Lincoln would not press the polygamy issue and the Mormons would support the construction of the rails. Eastern lawmakers hoped the influx of many non-Mormons to Utah Territory via the railroad would weaken and eventually overwhelm Mormon hegemony in the territory. Finally, Lincoln sought to end slavery with the Emancipation Proclamation.

The Utah War represents perhaps the most important antebellum example of the ascension and extension of federal control over territorial governments, Indian affairs, and infrastructural development in the West. Western expansion tested whether the United States would endure or not. Rogers's *Unpopular Sovereignty* aptly demonstrates that the Mormon question, the Indian question, and the slavery question were each answered by the extension of national sovereignty over Utah Territory and the entire nation.

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Dennis B. Horne. *The Life of Orson F. Whitney:*
Historian, Poet, Apostle, As Recorded in His Daily Journals.
Springville, Utah: Cedar Fort, 2014.

Reviewed by Neal W. Kramer

Dennis B. Horne, a technical writer in the Materials Management Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, is no stranger to writing about the Church's Apostles. His books include *Bruce R. McConkie: Highlights from His Life and Teachings,*[1] *An Apostle's Record: The Journals of Abraham H. Cannon,*[2] and *Latter Leaves in the Life of Lorenzo Snow.*[3] This latest biography from Horne arose out of his discovery of a biographical sketch of Lorenzo Snow authored by Orson F. Whitney and his subsequent reading of Elder Whitney's daily diary. It was a fortuitous discovery. Whitney's life and work have for the most part faded from LDS cultural memory. Except for a few references periodically in general conference, his considerable contributions to the building up of Zion from 1880 to 1930 are not as known as they should be. Horne's book, therefore, makes a much-needed contribution to our awareness of this Apostle's commitment to the Church in a period of great upheaval and change. The book is filled with fascinating information about Elder Whitney, and I have found its presentation—that of a man of considerable talent, intelligence, and promise who submitted to God's will to better serve the kingdom—quite inspiring. I shall focus my review on some of the key decisions and events in Orson F. Whitney's life, as presented in Horne's biography, that made him an influential and faithfully devoted leader in the Church.

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1. Dennis B. Horne, *Bruce R. McConkie: Highlights from His Life and Teachings* (Salt Lake City: Eborn Books, 2000).

2. Abraham H. Cannon, *An Apostle's Record: The Journals of Abraham H. Cannon,* ed. Dennis B. Horne (Clearfield, Utah: Gnolaum Books, 2004).

3. Dennis B. Horne, *Latter Leaves in the Life of Lorenzo Snow* (Springville, Utah: Cedar Fort, 2012).

With access to so many of Whitney's autobiographical writings and diaries, Horne seems to have made the decision to write a life of Orson Whitney in the mode of Whitney's own biography of his grandfather Heber C. Kimball[4]—that is, Horne's book gives us a firsthand view of what Whitney himself thought important to his life, as he both lived it and then later reflected on it. Much of the book consists of extended quotations in Whitney's own voice. The choice to let Whitney speak for himself gives the reader a unique view into the heart and mind of a man of considerable ambition on the one hand and impressive ability to submit his will to God and to LDS Church leaders on the other. These characteristics manifested themselves early in his life and continued through his call to the Quorum of the Twelve and his subsequent ministry.

Whitney had some reason to believe he was a child of promise. His grandfathers were Heber C. Kimball, First Counselor in the First Presidency, and Newel K. Whitney, Presiding Bishop of the Church. His father, Horace, was a writer and musician of some talent, and his mother, Emma Mar Kimball Whitney, was also an eloquent writer and advocate for the restored gospel. Since he was part of the first generation of Latter-day Saints born in Utah, young Orson had no memory of Kirtland or Nauvoo, the Church's first settlements. His call to serve a mission in these areas awakened his historical awareness and poetic imagination to his relatives, ancestors, and the sites of the Restoration.

Whitney notes, however, that the beginning of his mission was more devoted to writing newspaper articles about Pennsylvania and Ohio for the *Salt Lake Tribune* than it was to seeking new converts. He had decided he wanted to be a newspaperman and was using his mission for professional training. All this changed over the course of one night when he received a vision. This experience remained alive in Whitney's mind throughout his life thereafter and found its way into important sermons and biographical materials.[5] Whitney titled the written account of his spiritual manifestation "In Gethsemane." In the dream, Orson found himself strategically placed in the Garden of Gethsemane on the night of the Savior's suffering and arrest. He observed all the Lord's dealings with

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4. Orson F. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball, an Apostle; the Father and Founder of the British Mission* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1888).

5. See, for example, Orson F. Whitney, "The Divinity of Jesus Christ," *Improvement Era* 29 (January 1926): 219–27, which features excerpts from an address Whitney delivered at the Sunday evening session of the MIA jubilee conference, held on June 7, 1925; later published as "Gospel Classics: The Divinity of Jesus Christ," *Ensign* 33 (December 2003): 6–11.

his Apostles and his sacred appeal to the Father. As Whitney described, "As he [Christ] prayed the tears streamed down his face, which was toward me. I was so moved at the sight that I wept also, out of pure sympathy with his great sorrow. My whole heart went out to him. I loved him with all my soul and longed to be with him as I longed for nothing else."

The well-known events played out, including the Savior's admonitions to the Apostles asleep in the garden. Whitney describes his empathy increasing and feeling a profound desire to support the Christ. He longed to be with him. Suddenly the scene changed. Having given the ancient Apostles their charge, the crucified and risen Lord prepared to ascend to heaven. Whitney, still hidden from the others, could no longer hold back: "I ran out from behind the tree, fell at his feet, clasped him around the knees, and begged him to take me with him." The Savior's response redefined Whitney's life, setting a new course of discipleship and service for the young man. He told Orson, "No, my son; these have finished their work, and they may go with me, but you must stay and finish yours." Whitney then solicits a promise that he will be with the Lord "at the last." The Savior makes no such promise. He speaks the following life-changing words: "That will depend entirely upon yourself."[6] The turnaround in Whitney's life was immediate, and he began preaching the gospel, strengthening Church members, and baptizing converts.

Upon his return to the West, Orson F. Whitney followed the advice of Brigham Young Jr., left the *Salt Lake Tribune,* and went to work for the *Deseret Evening News.* A few months later, he was called as bishop of the Eighteenth Ward in the Salt Lake Stake, a position he held until 1906 and his call to the Twelve. Opportunities followed. He married Zina Beal Smoot, daughter of Abraham O. Smoot and sister of Reed Smoot. He tried to settle down but was soon sent to England to work on the periodical the *Millennial Star.* When he returned from England, he found Salt Lake City in considerable chaos. The United States was bent on crushing the Church into submission and stamping out plural marriage. Church leaders went underground, and Whitney was asked to step forward. By that point, he had become a powerful and popular orator. He was a regular speaker at Sunday afternoon meetings in the Salt Lake Tabernacle. He was visible, active, and becoming better known to Church leaders.

Horne uncovers some aspects of Whitney's life during this period that remain somewhat murky. For example, Whitney developed friendships with multiple women who were not married to him. The details of

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6. Whitney, "Divinity of Jesus Christ," 224–25.

the relationships are never explored, though Horne suggests that Whitney may have considered one or more of these women as possible plural wives. There is almost no specific evidence from the diaries that Whitney was actively courting plural wives, though Horne's inference is not unreasonable. However, it is also likely that Whitney pursued platonic friendships with intelligent, artistically inclined women because of the commonalities in their lives. Though Whitney did take a plural wife, Mary Minerva Wells (before the 1890 Manifesto), plural marriage was an incredible burden for him; he even kept his second marriage a secret from his children by his first wife, Zina, until after her death, when he combined both families (113–15, 206–8). Further, Whitney's close association with the Manifesto (he presented and read it to the Saints assembled at the October 1890 general conference) and his efforts to stop plural marriage as a member of the Twelve strongly suggest that Whitney supported the Manifesto's call for plural marriage to cease.[7]

Another troubling aspect of Whitney's experience during this period is his interest in theosophy and support for the idea of reincarnation. Belief in reincarnation had a long tradition in his family; it was taught by his grandfather Heber C. Kimball. Eliza R. Snow, Lorenzo Snow's sister and Whitney's poet mentor, also believed that Joseph Smith had taught the doctrine to her. More significantly, during his mission in England, Whitney had fallen sway to his mission companion, Charles W. Stayner, a charismatic advocate of the belief that reincarnation was a crucial part of the restoration of all things promised by the gospel. Stayner made such an impression that Whitney gave him money, met with him quite regularly over many years, and even seemed to have believed Stayner was foreordained to become the president of the Church (64, 94). Though Horne is inclined to believe that Whitney fell seriously under Stayner's influence, what remains unclear is the degree to which reincarnation became a central doctrine for Whitney. He certainly believed it was consistent with the Restoration and did not easily part with it.

Word of his infatuation with reincarnation eventually found its way to Church leaders at the highest level. At the time, George Q. Cannon of the First Presidency was preaching openly against reincarnation and denouncing it from the pulpit at general conference. It was well known that Whitney was close to Church President Lorenzo Snow and that his name was being mentioned as a possible member of the Twelve.

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7. The crisis experienced by B. H. Roberts because of the Manifesto and his outspoken disappointment with it never makes an appearance in the writings of Whitney.

President Cannon would certainly have chased down any rumors and put a stop to the teaching of reincarnation as restored truth, but Charles Stayner was the only member of the group preaching reincarnation who was ultimately excommunicated. (His brother, Arthur Stayner, on the other hand, remained an active and important local Church leader.) Whitney was never openly disciplined.

There is, however, an important footnote to the relationship between Cannon and Whitney. In writing and preparing volume 4 of his *History of Utah,* Whitney fell behind and did not meet the deadlines for submitting the manuscript. George Q. Cannon and Sons was the publisher of the work, and Cannon needed the money the sale of the books would bring. When Whitney fell behind, Cannon developed an unfavorable opinion of him, considering him someone who did not meet his obligations. This caused a rift between the two men,[8] and the issue of reincarnation could only have made their relationship worse. This rift was a genuine burden for Orson. Later, when he heard that Cannon was ill and near death in California, he traveled there to reconcile with the Church leader before his death. It was a happy meeting, and Cannon asked Whitney to bless him. Cannon died a few days later. Sometime after Cannon's death, Whitney was called before Joseph F. Smith and three members of the Twelve. They questioned him vigorously about reincarnation. After the meeting, he asked permission to write a document on reincarnation for them to consider. He submitted it a couple of weeks later, but it proved unconvincing. He was asked to stop advocating the doctrine, and he agreed (187–89). These reconciliations were a critical step in Whitney learning to submit to his Church leaders and bringing himself into line as a disciple of the Lord rather than pursuing an independently rebellious course.[9]

The Second Manifesto, which reiterated the message of the 1890 Manifesto, was issued in 1904 in response to concerns raised by some

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8. The complicated process of completing the *History* is described in detail in chapter 9 of Horne's book.

9. The most complete account of reincarnation in Mormonism I have found is a Sunstone podcast featuring Kirk Watson and Robert Beckstead. Watson deals extensively with Whitney's case, but he also places it within the larger context of early Mormon esoteric teachings that seem very close to reincarnation. It is of some interest to note that the word *reincarnation* was coined in English only following the death of Joseph Smith. Thus, there can be no direct reference to the word in Joseph's revelations, but there are multiple words and phrases that suggest one or another version of similar concepts. Kirk Watson and Robert Beckstead, "Reincarnation in Mormonism," talk given at Sunstone symposium, 2006, https://www.sunstonemagazine.com/reincarnation-in-mormonism/.

in the U.S. Congress about the seating of Whitney's brother-in-law Reed Smoot in the U.S. Senate. After the manifesto, there was trouble in the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. The quorum had been under tremendous duress during the long process of moving away from plural marriage and communitarian economics. There were financial conflicts of interest. The demise of Mormon political independence and the rise of the state of Utah created ideological rifts. And there were questions about keys and doctrines associated with plural marriage that had not been resolved to everyone's satisfaction by either manifesto. Moses Thatcher resigned from the Quorum because of his opposition to the "Political Manifesto," which he believed compromised the Church's position of neutrality in politics. John W. Taylor and Matthias F. Cowley were dropped from the Twelve in 1906 because of their continued practice of plural marriage. To help resolve the disunity, Orson F. Whitney was called to fill one of three vacancies in the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. He was joined by George F. Richards and David O. McKay. Whitney came to the Twelve neither as a theologian nor as a person with an independent agenda. His preparation of faithful submission to the Lord and the Church served him well as a trusted brother capable of communicating accurately and efficiently. These traits allowed him to build unity and write in the spirit of consensus on matters of concern to Church leaders. He served as a staunch defender of Joseph Smith, the Restoration, and fundamental Church doctrine in sermons, official Church statements, tracts, poems, and magazine articles.[10]

One of the great strengths of Horne's biography is its detailed account of Whitney's service as a member of the Quorum of the Twelve. Whitney devoted himself with great vigor to the defense of the faith. Horne characterizes these years as being filled with "strong and persuasive teachings of worthy personal behavior, his exercising of the gifts of the Spirit and powerful Apostolic ministry" (308). Whitney's special skills were often put to good use in the service of the kingdom. While Horne does not look at any of these projects in detail, he gives us enough information to see that Whitney was actively engaged as both writer and thinker in building and strengthening Zion. For example, Horne gives just a brief glimpse into Whitney's work with the committee preparing the 1920 edition of

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10. In 1911, Joseph F. Smith wrote approvingly of Whitney's first stages of ministry: "Ever since he was a little boy, and I a young man, I have had a more than an ordinary appreciation for Orson F. Whitney. He possesses talent, and has seen fit to use it for the building up of Zion, and in making her name good and pleasant throughout the world" (316).

the Book of Mormon. Whitney's primary task seems to have been writing "headlines," as he called them, for each chapter; the headnotes were concise and informative. Another big project was the forty-page missionary pamphlet *The Strength of the "Mormon" Position.*[11] The tract, which was in use for fifty years or more, is an extended argument supporting the truthfulness and superiority of the restored gospel in relation to the doctrines and practices of Protestants and Catholics. It served as a compendium of the central beliefs and practices of the Saints and presents key places where the Restoration and traditional Christianity diverge. Whitney also ghostwrote regularly for the First Presidency. Among his contributions is the statement that outlined the Church's stance on Creation and evolution, titled "The Origin of Man."[12] Another very important project turned into the book *Saturday Night Thoughts,* which comprised a collection of Whitney's sermons given during the influenza outbreak of 1918–19.[13] During this time all meetinghouses were closed as a necessary part of the government-mandated quarantine. To inspire and uplift the Saints, Whitney was tasked with providing weekly radio sermons on Saturday nights. Whitney was, of course, involved in many more such endeavors. He seldom refused a request and became extremely popular as a speaker throughout the Church. He thoroughly enjoyed his service and was also proud of his popularity and reputation. At the time of his death in 1931, he may well have been the most beloved leader in Utah.[14]

With so much to praise, a little must be said about the weaknesses of the biography. While the decision to use the diaries as the primary source for the book is inspired and justified, it gives us a skewed view of Whitney's life. For example, Whitney's home life with his wives and children gets very limited attention. Did he have different relationships with his wives Zina and Mary? Was the amount of time he spent in Provo connected to its place as Zina's hometown and not just the home of good friends like the Hickmans? Speculation in the book about his possible lingering support for plural marriage calls for some real-life examination of the plural marriage he was already in. His lengthy service as bishop of the Eighteenth Ward is also missing, even though Whitney's

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11. Independence, Mo.: Zion's Printing and Publishing, 1918.

12. *Improvement Era* 13 (November 1909): 75–81.

13. Orson F. Whitney, *Saturday Night Thoughts: A Series of Dissertations on Spiritual, Historical and Philosophic Themes* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1921).

14. I may be biased. My grandfather Harry Hurst noted in his journal with great excitement that he was set apart for his mission to Hawaii by his "favorite apostle," Orson F. Whitney. Samuel Harris Hurst Jr., "Memoirs of Samuel Harris Hurst," n.d., 14; copy in possession of author.

preferred title throughout his life was "Bishop Whitney." What besides the obvious reference to Newel K. Whitney, his ancestor and Presiding Bishop of the Church, brought him such joy during those twenty-six years of service? And then there is the question of his oft-stated love for Zion. Why did he love Utah so much? What drove him to fight so hard to defend and protect it? Why did he always get sick when he was away from Zion? And why did the story of the Restoration excite him so much? Why was he drawn to it over and over? Of course, asking Horne to answer such questions would be to ask him to write a different book, which would be unfair.

Perhaps one of the biggest gaps in the biography that could use more elaboration is Whitney's lifelong connection with the arts, especially literature, poetry, drama, and music. There is precious little on this topic in the book, even though Whitney is often seen as the father of Mormon arts and letters. Since style and presentation were such a crucial part of his oratorical ministry, how did the arts inspire his often-soaring prose? Did his arts advocacy influence the culture of Salt Lake City? Within the larger project of telling Whitney's life story, Horne does do a nice job of integrating information about Whitney composing and reading aloud much of his poetry. Horne says little, however, about the poems themselves, how they were received, and what they tell us about why Whitney devoted so much thought and energy (and sought so much inspiration) to his art. Over his adult life, he published four impressive volumes of poetry and many essays devoted to literary criticism. For him, the unveiling of Mormonism was among the great events in world history. Its truths were sublime and its power to exalt unmatched. Poetry was the only language that could elevate the narrative and the theology to the levels necessary to communicate their beauty, power, and godliness. Limited space allows brief discussion of only a few poems here.

Whitney's mission to Ohio and Pennsylvania inspired his poem "The Land of Shinehah," which recounts a vision in which the Kirtland of the 1870s is contrasted with the same city almost fifty years earlier. Shinehah, or Kirtland, is addressed by the narrator: "The cradle of a nation thou hast been; / The rise of Zion's glory thou hast seen; / A Pentecost, a Prophet to thee sent, / And later still, a people's banishment."[15] The poet's major themes of revelation, gathering, banishment, and exile all appear in this poem. Whitney revisits them with great power in "The Jubilee of Zion," composed for the fiftieth anniversary of the Restoration and

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15. Orson F. Whitney, *The Poetical Writings of Orson F. Whitney* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1889), 20.

read aloud before an audience on Pioneer Day in 1880. In that poem, he emphasizes what had become a Mormon commonplace—that is, that the Restoration of the gospel must be attended by the revival of liberty: "When Israel's fold refound the narrow way, / And planted firm the gospel's glorious tree, / On Joseph's land, the land of liberty."[16] Exile cries out for redemption, and redemption leads to liberty.

The poet became an Apostle in the Church, dedicated to witnessing of Jesus Christ. Unsurprisingly, his mightiest poetic achievement details the cosmic life and ministry of Jesus Christ. *Elias: An Epic of the Ages* remains Mormonism's true epic poem. It aspires to reach the heights of Milton, Spenser, and Homer. The hero, Jesus himself, transcends the verse. Whitney tinkered with it for many years and was never satisfied. With such subject matter, how could he be? However, there are moments when the verse, the narrative, and the doctrine combine to make supernal Mormon poetry. These few lines from "Elect of Elohim" reveal the majestic grace of the premortal Christ in council with his Father and those he would redeem.

> He spake;—attention grew more grave,
>   The stillness e'en more still.
>
> "Father!"—The voice like music fell,
>   Clear as the murmuring flow
> Of mountain streamlet trickling down
>   From heights of virgin snow.
> "Father," it said, "since one must die,
>   Thy children to redeem,
> Whilst earth, as yet unformed and void,
>   With pulsing life shall teem;
>
> "And thou, great Michael, foremost fall,
>   That mortal man may be,
> And chosen Saviour yet must send,
>   Lo, here am I—send me!
> I ask, I seek no recompense,
>   Save that which then were mine;
> Mine be the willing sacrifice,
>   The endless glory, Thine!"[17]

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16. Whitney, *Poetical Writings,* 72.

17. Orson F. Whitney, *Elias: An Epic of the Ages* (New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1904), 31.

Ultimately, for Whitney, both poesy and prophecy came from the Holy Ghost. The writer, in concert with the Spirit and under the limitations of his own talent, sought the highest form of expression to celebrate God's greatest truths. Whitney's work was a noble effort, worthy of our respect and remembrance.

The Life of Orson F. Whitney is a welcome addition to the growing number of biographies of LDS Apostles. It also helps fill the gap in LDS scholarship of the Mormon "lost years," the time between the two world wars. We need to know more about this era and about Mormons like Whitney. Much good can be gleaned from witnessing the actual lives of great individuals whose reputations tend to relieve them of any human weaknesses or challenges. One hopes that Dennis Horne will be led in the future to other interesting finds that will inspire him to write again about such individuals and that Cedar Fort will continue to publish his work.

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Stephen M. Barr. *The Believing Scientist:*
Essays on Science and Religion.
Grand Rapids, Mich: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2016.

Reviewed by Hyrum Lewis

Since the rise of the New Atheist movement two decades ago, a number of religious apologists have come forward to defend belief in God. Many of them have been journalists (e.g., Lee Strobel), clergymen (e.g., Timothy Keller), philosophers (e.g., David Bentley Hart), theologians (e.g., William Lane Craig), mathematicians (e.g., David Berlinski), and even historians (I suppose my own book *There Is a God* would qualify as a historian's contribution to the genre). But since atheists claim the mantle and authority of science when dismissing religion, perhaps the best defenders of belief are scientists themselves.

The great value of Stephen M. Barr's book *The Believing Scientist* is that Barr has all the key scientific credentials—PhD in physics from Princeton, professor at the University of Delaware, member of the American Physical Society, author of numerous peer-reviewed articles on cosmology—and is also a practicing Catholic. Unlike those in other fields, he has the authority and expertise to make a case for religion that engages science at the highest level.

The book has a broad scope and will delight any reader interested in the science-religion question. It comprises twenty-six essays, divided into eight sections. Most of the essays are book reviews the author has previously published, covering topics such as the mind-body question, the virtues and vices of the intelligent design movement, the implications of quantum theory for religious belief, the religious conversion of Francis Collins (the head of the Human Genome Project), the problems with Stephen Hawking's cosmology, the errors in materialist "reductionism," and the tendency of many scientists to turn their discipline into a substitute faith. Perhaps the book's greatest virtue is the sheer number of theoretical and practical issues it engages.

Although such a collection of essays tends to be uneven and repetitive and lack a sustained thesis, a number of arguments pop up repeatedly in *The Believing Scientist* and constitute Barr's main contributions to apologetics. Among them is the idea that the "war" between science and religion is unnecessary and largely contrived by ignorant atheists with a scant understanding of religion or by ignorant believers with a scant understanding of science. Barr's tone is generally evenhanded, but he does not hide his irritation when discussing those responsible for playing up this imaginary "conflict." The New Atheists try to destroy religion, but many fundamentalists (perhaps unwittingly) try to destroy science, and both sides mistakenly believe that religious truths are contingent upon the validity of a biological theory. For Barr, a victory by either side in this unholy war would be a tragedy.

Barr is well positioned to both defend science and recognize its limits. He has no problem calling out scientists who claim something is a scientific fact when it is not scientific at all. He correctly notes, for instance, that materialism (the doctrine that nothing exists except matter) is not a scientific point of view but a philosophical one (and an easily refuted one at that). Much of the contention between religion and science arises because too many people confuse science and materialism.

He also reminds us that science cannot yield morality. Science can tell us what *is* but not what *ought to be,* and atheists who say otherwise are falling prey to the "naturalistic fallacy." This was hammered home to me recently when I watched two prominent atheists in a panel discussion angrily insist that we don't need "gods, fairies, or spirits" to tell us what's morally right; we only need reason. Yet the irony was that one of these atheists was an objectivist whose reason led him to an ethic of selfishness while the other was a utilitarian whose reason led him to an ethic of altruism. Their shared claim refuted itself since reason had led them to opposite moral conclusions.

Not only does Barr make an excellent case for the harmony of religion and science, but he does so in a way that doesn't lose the average reader. Many physicists can communicate effectively with equations and scientific jargon, but only a few, such as Barr, can communicate effectively with plain words and metaphors—and it's in metaphor that Barr is perhaps most profound. He uses, for instance, the relationship between an author and character in fiction to illustrate the relationship between the divine and the natural in creation. Can human life be caused by both God and evolution? Yes, it can in the same way that

Polonius's death was caused by both Shakespeare and Hamlet. *Random,* he reminds us, is a statistical term, not a metaphysical one, and we should avoid the temptation, to which both Darwinists and anti-Darwinists succumb, to use *random* as synonymous with *unplanned.*

So why aren't there more scientists like Barr out there defending religion? The pat answer most atheists give is that there are so few religious scientists left. Because religion retreats a little further with each step forward for science, atheists say, most people who study science will naturally lose their faith. This explanation, although comforting to an atheist, has little basis in reality. Barr notes that the number of scientists who believe in a personal God is (depending on how one phrases the question) around 50 percent, and that number has not changed significantly since the late nineteenth century (25). Given the major scientific advances of the last hundred years, this is hardly what we would expect to find if the "religion retreats" thesis were true.

In fact, one of the most interesting claims Barr makes is that the scientific discoveries of the last century have made religious belief *more* plausible rather than less plausible. The discovery of the Heisenberg uncertainty principle has dealt a serious blow to materialist determinism, the discovery of the big bang has given greater credence to the idea of Creation, and the discovery of the numerous precise physical constants necessary for the universe to generate life has given new reasons to believe in cosmic design. Darwin, according to Richard Dawkins, made it possible to be an "intellectually fulfilled" atheist by throwing out the idea that nature has a designer,[1] yet the cosmological discoveries that reveal a fine-tuning of the universe bring that designer right back. If there is no creator, then why is our universe so perfectly tailored to bring forth life?

In the face of this evidence, most materialists turn to the multiverse hypothesis, which says that there is an infinite number of universes; because there are so many, it makes sense that at least one would have the life-friendly properties of our universe. Barr gives this idea the respect it deserves but rightly points out that it's not a scientific explanation, but a conjectural, metaphysical one (136). After all, something only falls within the realm of science if it is observable and falsifiable—the multiverse hypothesis is neither.

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1. Richard Dawkins, *The Blind Watchmaker: Why the Evidence of Evolution Reveals a Universe without Design* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1996), as cited in Barr, *Believing Scientist,* 6.

Yet the question remains: why aren't more scientists like Barr writing apologetics? If the answer doesn't lie in the findings of science itself, I believe it may lie in the sociology of the scientific community. Conformity and groupthink can afflict even the smartest among us, and just as social scientists who disagree with the political dogmas of their peers generally remain quiet about their "heretical" conservative beliefs, natural scientists who disagree with the materialist dogmas of their peers may remain quiet about their "heretical" spiritual beliefs. This is unfortunate since religious scientists like Barr add greatly to our understanding of these important issues and refute the common misperception that science and religion are incompatible.

Hyrum Lewis is Professor of History at BYU–Idaho and has held visiting positions at Stanford University and Skidmore College. His most recent book, *There Is a God: How to Respond to Atheism in the Last Days,* was published by Cedar Fort in 2017.

BOOK NOTICES

Reid L. Nielson and Wayne D. Crosby, eds., *Lengthening Our Stride: Globalization of the Church* (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2018)

The globalization of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has received a great deal of attention recently by news outlets, scholars, and the Church itself. The collection of essays in *Lengthening Our Stride* manages to survey this broad topic in a way that both familiarizes readers with the impact globalization has had on the Church and gives readers glimpses into exciting new areas of exploration within this burgeoning field of study. The book is edited by Reid L. Neilson, Assistant Church Historian, and Wayne D. Crosby, Director of Global Support and Acquisitions in the Church History Department, and features twenty-one addresses delivered between 2006 and 2015 as part of the annual conferences of the LDS International Society—a collaboration of several organizations at Brigham Young University that was founded in 1989. This book will appeal broadly to Church members who are eager to situate themselves within the global Church.

The book is organized into five thematic sections. The essays in "Poverty and Humanitarian Work" focus on the Church's responses to poverty and its associated challenges for those around the world. "Public Perceptions and Relations" examines the Church's efforts to position itself in the public eye and how the Church is understood by others in different countries. The essays in "Peacemaking and Diplomacy" detail ways in which the Church has promoted peace while establishing itself globally. The section "Religious Freedom and Oppression" documents challenges to religious freedom from both within and without the United States. The final section of essays, "Growth and Globalization," takes a more personal tone, as the authors draw from their own experiences in a variety of countries and tell stories of Church members from around the world.

While a good part of the section on "Religious Freedom and Oppression" focuses on issues within the United States, the essays contained in the other sections are almost entirely oriented toward the Church in other countries. The final section, "Growth and Globalization," will be of particular interest to those who would like an honest appraisal from Church leaders of the challenges the Church faces in other countries and cultures. As a whole, this book provides a fascinating insider's view of a truly global Church.

—Jacob Rennaker

Roy A. Prete and Carma T. Prete, eds., *Canadian Mormons: History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Canada* (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2017)

The late Canadian sociologist Brigham Card once mentioned that Canadian Latter-day Saints orient themselves more north-south than they do east-west, which was his way of saying that Canadian Saints may pay more attention to Salt Lake than they do to each other. Were this still true, it would be difficult to assess any notion of nationalism among Canadian Saints, but Roy and Carma Prete have made a significant contribution to galvanizing a Canadian national LDS identity, even among so disparate a people.

First, this book is beautiful; the photographs and charts on clay-coated

paper make this a work of art in addition to a work of history—it may legitimately claim space on any coffee table. And because of such high production values, it is heavy, making this a tome to remember.

The book's 684 pages compose twenty chapters written by Canadian authors, who collectively have a wide breadth of academic and professional credentials. After a few chapters that introduce and give context to the rise of the LDS Church in Canada, the book then moves from west to east, explaining the rise of the Church in each Canadian province, starting with British Columbia and ending with the Atlantic Canadian provinces. While most of the chapters are focused on telling the history of the Church in a single province, Alberta gets three chapters, a de facto acknowledgement that the nucleus of the Church in Canada and Canadian Church history is parked on the southern Alberta prairies.

The history of the Church in each province is lovingly crafted, occasionally by the history-makers themselves, reflecting the expansion from inception to maturity. Humble beginnings, irrespective of geography, is the universal starting point, and each chapter traces the trajectory of the Church to its present status. The timelines presented as charts contextualize the growth, while simultaneously making the history seem not so long ago.

There are three intertwined but unacknowledged drivers of post-Manifesto expansion of the Church in Canada, which the Pretes could have analyzed in greater depth. The first is economic—Saints from the Alberta heartland left in search of jobs and greater economic security than rural southern Alberta could provide, seeding the growth of the Church in, first, western cities and then, later, in other urban centers in the east. The second driver of the Church's expansion is fundamentally tied to the first, and that is the desire to pursue economic success through postsecondary education, which led intrepid souls to large, urban, Canadian universities. Thirdly, a socialized healthcare system, with various provincial augmentations and other safety-net options, made national or regional relocation more appealing for some Mormons—with their larger than average Canadian families—than a move to Utah. How do other markers of Canadian national identity insulate the Church from a Utahan or American influence? For instance, how do LDS Canadians celebrate Canada Day? How many young LDS Canadians play hockey? The ways in which Canada affected Mormons is as important a story as the ways in which Mormons affected Canada—perhaps in the next book.

For any Latter-day Saints who live or have lived in Canada, this will be a book of remembrance and of reacquaintance with familiar things. The chapter authors, the illustrators and the photographers, and the Pretes are to be commended on a stirring story so well and beautifully told.

—Brian Champion

Reid L. Neilson and Matthew J. Grow, eds., *From the Outside Looking In: Essays on Mormon History, Theology, and Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016)

The Tanner Lecture series was established by the Mormon History Association in 1980 with the goal of elevating Mormon scholarship. Over the years, eminent scholars whose work "paralleled the Mormon history but . . . never addressed it directly" have been invited to speak and "expand a facet of their

ongoing research to include a Mormon dimension" (xv–xvi). Their lectures have provided valuable outside perspectives. Although all the lectures have been published in the *Journal of Mormon History*, lectures from the first two decades were compiled in *The Mormon History Association's Tanner Lectures: The First Twenty Years* to increase accessibility. Another fifteen Tanner lectures were given before the name of the series was changed to the Smith-Pettit Lecture in 2015. *From the Outside Looking In* presents the last fifteen Tanner lectures and "represents the end of an era and the beginning of a future promise of excellent scholarship" (xviii).

The volume begins with a general introduction by Richard Lyman Bushman, in which he presents different themes discussed within the book, including "the formation of identity, the place of women, and globalization" (3). The volume is divided into four parts. Part 1 is titled "The American Religious Landscape" and includes lectures from Alan Taylor, Richard H. Brodhead, Stephen J. Stein, Catherine A. Brekus, and Leigh Eric Schmidt. These essays suggest that "we can learn a great deal about various religious figures and movements in the history of the United States through creative contrasts with their Latter-day Saint counterparts" (7). The essays in this section make such comparative references to people and concepts, like Ralph Waldo Emerson, Nat Turner, apocalypticism, the historical agency of women, and post–Civil War freethinkers. The comparisons made in these essays shed light on Mormonism's place in the American religious landscape of the past and where that place will be in the future.

The volume continues with part 2, "The Creation of Mormon Identities," which includes essays from Charles L. Cohen, Elliott West, and Randall Balmer. Each of these essays deals with different aspects of identity formation, including "demonstrating how the experiences of children and teenagers in the Church's early decades contributed to a unique identity . . . , how elite Latter-day Saints have worked to pass on the faith . . . , and how Latter-day Saints' theology and their historical experience combined to create a powerful and persistent identity as a people who are . . . separate from the rest of the world" (129). The perspectives of these authors offer intriguing insight into the relationship between LDS faith and identity.

Part 3 is titled "The Study of Western Histories," and it addresses LDS history within the context of the American West. Though the relationship of LDS history to the history of the American West has not been taken as seriously as it should have been in the past, the lectures in this part "[enrich] both our understanding of the religion and of the broader dynamics in the West" (207). The section includes lectures from Dell Upton, William Deverell, Walter Nugent, and George A. Miles that discuss the cultural landscape of nineteenth-century Utah, connections between religion and the Civil War, and Mormon history within the context of American imperialism.

Part 4, "The Study of Global Religions," concludes the volume. Within this section, David B. Marshall, Philip Jenkins, and Jehu J. Hanciles discuss the challenges that Christianity in general and The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in specific face in a global world. This part addresses the history of the Church in Canada, the religious landscape of Africa, and the global transformation of Christianity. This topic will only become increasingly important as the Church continues to grow throughout the world.

From the Outside Looking In is a fascinating collection of lectures that captures both the complexity of Mormonism, with its many facets, and the legacy of the Tanner Lecture series. Anyone interested in Mormon identity, Church history, and the Church's role moving forward will enjoy reading this volume of scholarship.

—Emily Cook

Kate Holbrook and Matthew Bowman, eds., *Women and Mormonism: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2016)

This offering from the University of Utah Press showcases current scholarship on women and Mormonism and was edited and compiled by Kate Holbrook and Matthew Bowman, seasoned scholars in the field of religious (and specifically Mormon) studies. The book comprises a tapestry of essays, mostly drawn from an August 2012 conference about women and the LDS Church. The theme of the conference and subsequently this book is, appropriately, agency—both a common central theme in the field of women's studies and an essential component of Mormon doctrine since Joseph Smith.

In the growing corpus of academic publications about Mormon women (*At the Pulpit* and *A House Full of Females* being a couple of the most recent), *Women and Mormonism* is unique in its breadth and scope. As stated by the editors, this collection is the first work in over twenty years to offer "a combined thematic, cultural, and historical approach to the study of Mormon women" (3). In addition, one of the book's primary purposes is to inspire and promote additional scholarship, and in that regard, the book moves beyond the stated theme of agency and paints a picture of not only the present state of studies on women and Mormonism but also what these studies could and should look like in the future.

Those interested in seeing a more inclusive approach to women's and Mormon studies—one that both honors traditional historical work and embraces new disciplines and new voices—will take great interest in this volume. The editors included perspectives from a diverse group of scholars and "gathered essays from outside the historical and theological disciplines to address myriad aspects of the Mormon experience" (3). These other disciplines include the social sciences and personal narratives. In this book, readers will find contributions from scholars who are well published in the field of Mormon studies and/or women's studies (for example, Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, Claudia Bushman, and Melissa Wei-Tsing Inouye). They will also find non-LDS perspectives (for instance, that of Mary Farrel Bednarowski, a Roman Catholic). In addition to essays by several other scholars, the collection includes personal accounts from nonscholar laypersons (including narratives collected by Neylan McBaine and others as part of the Mormon Women Project). And several of the essays feature the perspectives of women of color and of women from outside of the United States (for example, P. Jane Hafen, a Taos Pueblo Mormon scholar, and Mariama Kallon, an asylee from Sierra Leone).

The twenty-one essays in this collection are organized into four parts: "Historical Methodology Perspectives," "Historical Narrative Perspectives," "Contemporary Social Science Perspectives," and "Contemporary Personal Perspectives." Given the multidisciplinary nature of the collection, the essays draw from a breadth of sources, including primary documents, surveys, interviews, and oral

histories. A short sampling of the topics discussed include women's agency in the context of priesthood authority and polygamy, women's material culture and ritual objects, Heavenly Mother, LDS women in the Pacific in the nineteenth century, the issue of reformation within the Church, and Mormon women and gender norms in Europe.

The essays in this collection reveal Mormon women's studies to be a rich and broad field with room for many applications. This book is an excellent overview of the many facets of this field that is continuing to grow and garner interest and offers a glimpse of where studies of women and Mormonism may move in the future.

—Alison Palmer

J. Spencer Fluhman, Kathleen Flake, and Jed Woodworth, eds., *To Be Learned Is Good: Essays on Faith and Scholarship in Honor of Richard Lyman Bushman* (Provo, Utah: Neal A. Maxwell Institute for Religious Scholarship, Brigham Young University, 2017)

To Be Learned Is Good is a collection of essays given at a scholars' colloquium in June 2016 that explores the tensions between faith and scholarship. This colloquium was held in honor of Richard Lyman Bushman, Gouverneur Morris Professor of History emeritus at Columbia University, who has made significant contributions to Mormon history and scholarship. Among his many publications is the groundbreaking biography *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling*. According to the editors of *To Be Learned Is Good*, the essays in this volume feature "twin commitments to academic and religious worlds" and "reflect our vibrant and productive moment in LDS intellectual life that

Richard himself helped to create and shape" (x).

The book is split into six main sections, each of which comprises an introduction and three essays. The first section is titled "Historians Are Never Innocents." In this section, David D. Hall, Philip L. Barlow, Terryl L. Givens, and Mauro Properzi discuss what to do when faith and scholarship seem to clash and how religious prejudices affect scholarship, including how to confront the fear that religious prejudices will damage one's scholarship and how religious prejudices can actually aid scholarship. In the second section, "Anxiety and Obligation in Scholarship," Laurie F. Maffly-Kipp, David Holland, Melissa Wei-Tsing Inouye, and Kate Holbrook focus on how religion relates to the obligations scholars have in certain relationships, such as those between teachers and students, the living and the dead, and universality and particularity.

In the third section, "Reenvisioning Mormonism," Ann Taves, Adam S. Miller, Deidre Nicole Green, and Jared Hickman talk about discussing and studying Mormonism from the perspective of various disciplines; they highlight specifically history, theology, feminism, philosophy, and literary criticism. The fourth section is titled "Can Historians Quest after Religious Truth?" In this section, Robert A. Goldberg, Jana Riess, Matthew J. Grow, and Matthew Bowman discuss the tension between history and religion, the issues scholarship can create in a religious setting, the dangers of using history as a basis for faith, and the importance of being objective and nonjudgmental when teaching and performing scholarly work.

The fifth section is titled "Scholarship in Its Purest and Best Form?" Richard D.

Brown, Brian D. Birch, Grant Under-wood, and Patrick Q. Mason focus on the problems Latter-day Saint scholars have when facing other scholars not of their faith, especially in the field of religious studies, and the relationship between religious studies and the study of Mormonism in general.

In the sixth section, "It Is Much Better to Err on the Side of Generosity," Grant Wacker, Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, Armand L. Mauss, and Claudia L. Bushman discuss neutrality in scholarship and teaching, the challenges women face in academia, and the line between being a professional and nonprofessional scholar.

The book ends with "Benedictions," a section that includes an essay from Tona Hangen and an essay from Bushman himself. Hangen's essay discusses the challenges of being a Latter-day Saint scholar in today's world and describes how she incorporates her beliefs into her scholarship and teaching. Bushman's essay explores the importance, when speaking of matters of faith in an academic or secular setting, of using language that will be understood by non–Latter-day Saint scholars and the importance of engaging in and practicing such discussions. He argues that the more scholars learn about both their faith and their academic disciplines, the easier it will be for them to confront other scholars and members of their faith and to reconcile their faith with reason.

To Be Learned Is Good encourages Latter-day Saint scholars to not ignore the tensions between scholarship and faith but rather to engage with these tensions and make them a part of who they are and the type of scholars they wish to be. This book will appeal to those who are interested in the intersection of faith and academia, as well as to Latter-day

Saints who wish to better understand their own faith in a secular world.

—Hannah Charlesworth

Laurie J. Bryant, *A Modest Homestead: Life in Small Adobe Homes in Salt Lake City, 1850–1897* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2017)

When most of us hear the word *adobe,* the pueblos of the southwestern United States usually come to mind. In *A Modest Homestead*, Laurie J. Bryant sheds some light on the history of adobe houses in a place one might not expect— Salt Lake City, where nineteenth-century pioneers constructed crude adobe homes. Bryant, who has degrees in the earth sciences, including a PhD in paleontology, moved from California to Salt Lake City and found herself fascinated by the adobe buildings there and the stories of the ordinary people who built them. The result of that passion is this book, a culmination of six years of meticulous research.

The book begins with a helpful map of historic Salt Lake City and a list of historic street names for the reader's reference. After that, Bryant gives an introduction with some helpful background and history, explaining the usefulness of adobe to the early pioneers, how it was made, how Salt Lake City (then known as "Great Salt Lake City") was planned, and how it developed despite that planning. The chapters that follow chronicle the stories of the existing adobe structures in the historic First through Twenty-First Wards of Salt Lake City. The pages are dotted with pictures of the buildings she writes about, as well as helpful maps of Salt Lake City and diagrams.

Not being a professional architect, Bryant offers insight into these adobe

structures in language that anyone can understand. She presents a history of not only the structures mentioned but also the people who built, owned, and lived in these buildings. The history she includes in this book tells the stories not just of prominent Church and city officials but also of the average pioneers who came and settled the valley. In that same spirit, this book offers information that will be interesting and valuable not just to professional architects and historians but also to laypersons who wish to learn more about their pioneer heritage, Salt Lake City's history, or the history of the Church.

—Veronica Anderson
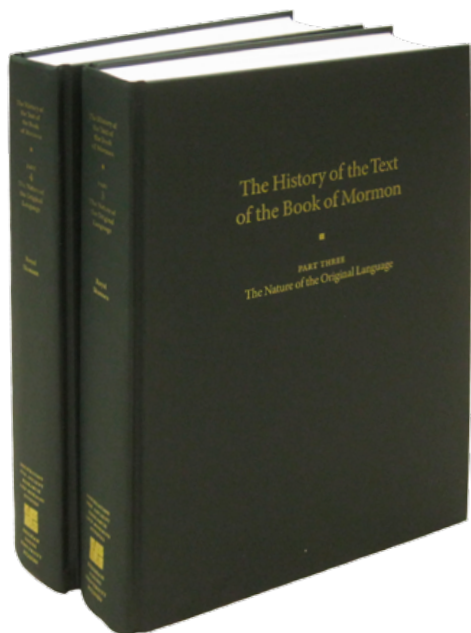
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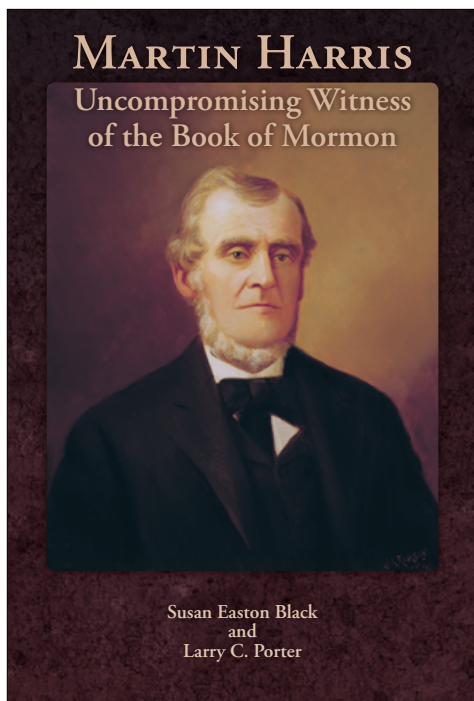
two parts,
1,408 pages total, 9" x 12"

$99.90 hardcover

ISBN 978-1-942161-62-2

In 2016, Royal Skousen (with the collaboration of Stanford Carmack) published *Grammatical Variation,* a two-volume work in which they argue that the original nonstandard grammar in the Book of Mormon derives from Early Modern English rather than from Joseph Smith's dialect. Now in another two-volume work, *The Nature of the Original Language,* Skousen argues (again with the assistance of Carmack) that nearly all of the vocabulary, phrases, expressions, and syntactic constructions in the text derive from Early Modern English. In fact, at least 80 of these language forms disappeared from English one to three centuries before Joseph Smith's time. Carmack further shows that the Book of Mormon's particular syntax is not found in the King James Bible, nor in Joseph Smith's writings or in the pseudobiblical writings common to his time, but it was prevalent in the English of the second half of the 1500s. Finally, Skousen provides evidence that the themes of the Book of Mormon—religious, social, and political—were the prominent issues of the Protestant Reformation and do not date from Joseph Smith's time—examples like burning people at the stake for heresy, standing before the bar of justice, secret combinations, and the rejection of child baptism. For more on the project, see http://criticaltext.byustudies.byu.edu.

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$29.95 hardcover

ISBN 978-1-942161-55-4

Martin Harris: Uncompromising Witness of the Book of Mormon reveals the compelling story of a man who struggled to keep his faith in the prophetic calling of Joseph Smith and the restoration of the gospel of Jesus Christ. His is a story of fascination with worldly honors, flirtations with apostasy, and pride that nearly cost him the joy of his later years in the West. It is the biography of a witness who clung tenaciously to his testimony of the Book of Mormon.

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Reid L. Neilson
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