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Kevin J Worthen, shown here with his wife, Peggy, became the thirteenth president of Brigham Young University on May 1, 2014. Photo courtesy of Brigham Young University.

Two Challenges Facing Brigham Young University as a Religiously Affiliated University

Kevin J Worthen

The following message is adapted from remarks given by BYU President Kevin J Worthen at the annual BYU Studies Academy Meeting on March 28, 2015.

I am grateful to be here with BYU Studies editors and affiliated scholars. The first thing I want to do is thank you for what you're doing, and for the energy and spirit, thought and prayers that you put not only into BYU Studies but many other things as well. I commend you for your work at BYU Studies and for its impact on this organization, on the university, on the Church, and on the world at large. I appreciate the many scholars who make BYU Studies a success. You have many things to do in your professional lives, and this is a very impressive group that lends its time to furthering the mission of BYU Studies, which really furthers the mission of BYU, which furthers the mission of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. I was struck when I read the latest unit review of BYU Studies that even the outside reviewer picked up on how well BYU Studies is aligned with the mission of the university.

I thought about where that alignment comes from, and it probably starts at the very first sentence of the mission statement of Brigham Young University: "The mission of Brigham Young University—founded, supported, and guided by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints—is to assist individuals in their quest for perfection and eternal life." That's what BYU Studies is doing. In the most recent issue of *BYU Studies Quarterly,* which arrived on my desk yesterday, Jack talks in his editor's note about involving readers in the Latter-day Saint academic

experience.[1] What you're doing is taking what we hope happens here on campus and sharing it with others.

As just one illustration, BYU's mission statement talks about its four major educational goals. The first is that all students at Brigham Young University "should be taught the truths of the gospel of Jesus Christ." That's the foundation at which things begin. The second educational objective talks about a broad general education. But the way it is phrased makes it clear that students at BYU should receive "a broad university education" because "the gospel encourages the pursuit of all truth." I note the diversity of topics covered by articles published in *BYU Studies Quarterly.* I recognize that such breadth presents challenges for a publication, but at the same time it presents a wonderful opportunity to demonstrate that our theology encourages the pursuit of all truth, wherever it is found, and we believe that all truth can be brought together and harmonized in some ways that we may not have figured out yet, but that we're sure will happen. And having articles dealing with physics and folklore and linguistics reinforces the idea that the gospel really does encourage the pursuit of all truth. That, by itself, is a pretty stunning alignment with the mission of the university. So I thank you for that. And BYU Studies, given the scholarly depth of its articles, clearly supports the third and fourth educational goals of instruction in specific fields, and scholarly research, and creative endeavor.

Now, what I thought I would do today is try to place your work and the mission of the university in both a broader context and also a narrower one by addressing the challenges Brigham Young University faces in pursuing its mission. I will start with a broad overview that places BYU in a wider American university setting.

Religiously Affiliated Universities

To begin, think with me about religiously affiliated universities, where they are today, and where they've been. Among law schools, there is an organization of religiously affiliated law schools that I was actively involved in for a number of years. I once gave a presentation on that topic[2] and asked, "How many religiously affiliated law schools are there in the country?" That was a really hard question to answer, and it's not

1. John W. Welch, "From the Editor," *BYU Studies Quarterly* 54, no. 1 (2015): 4.

2. Kevin J Worthen, "Religiously Affiliated Law Schools: An Added Dimension," *Clark Memorandum* (Fall 2007): 10–21. Most of this portion of the remarks comes from that presentation.

just because I'm not very good at math. Two things made the question hard to answer, and I think this difficulty is also true of universities. First is the question, What does it mean to be religiously affiliated as a university? Even among faculty members at some of these schools, they will disagree about whether they are still religiously affiliated. Almost everyone will acknowledge that many of these schools certainly started off that way. Whether they are still religiously affiliated now or not is a different question.

By the way, funding of universities by churches in the United States has decreased considerably, with three main exceptions—the three BYU schools. There are very few schools that have the kind of financial support we have and can expect to continue to have. That kind of institutional support has changed for most universities over time as the characteristics of previously religious schools have changed over time.

Steve Barkan, who is the former dean of the Marquette Law School, said, "With the exception of occasional elective courses and extracurricular activities, Jesuit law schools show relatively little objective evidence of their religious affiliation. For the most part, Jesuit law schools are virtually indistinguishable from their secular counterparts." Now, I'm not sure that's true of all Jesuit law schools, but for a number of them it is true. And Steve pointed out, "Depending on one's perspective, those comments might either be compliments or criticisms."[3]

Second is the question of where this trend will go in the future. The point is that there is a clear trend over the last 150 years of universities that started off as religiously affiliated becoming more and more secularized, to where we don't consider them religiously affiliated anymore. I was surprised to find that as recently as 1937, in his inaugural address, Yale University president Charles Seymour urged that the maintenance and building up of the Christian religion be implemented as a vital part of university life. He called upon "all members of the faculty freely to recognize the tremendous validity and power of the teachings of Christ in our life and death struggle against the focus of selfish materialism."[4] Now, at some places, merely mentioning Christ would be enough for people to say, "That's a religiously affiliated university." I'm not sure

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3. Steven M. Barkan, "Jesuit Legal Education: Focusing the Vision," *Marquette Law Review* 74 (1990): 102–3.

4. George M. Marsden, *The Soul of the American University: From Protestant Establishment to Established Nonbelief* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 11.

that's true. But what I am certain of is that no one today thinks of Yale University as a religiously affiliated university. Something pretty dramatic has happened since that time.

So we don't know how many universities are religiously affiliated. And of those that are, some are headed out the door. And the trend is so strong that Mark Tushnet, who is quite well known in legal education, said that any religiously affiliated university "'will find it extremely difficult' to maintain its religious affiliation if it also seeks to attain and preserve a national reputation."[5] In other words, there are those who say, "You have a choice—you can either be secular or second-rate. Make your choice." Now, this is not a lost cause by any stretch of the imagination, but that's the trend, and we are sort of a countertrend for many reasons.

Challenges Facing Brigham Young University

So in that environment, you ask, what are the challenges Brigham Young University faces in maintaining its unique focus and its unique mission? When people ask what I stay awake at night worrying about, it's these two things:

Outside Regulation. Number one is the sheer volume of outside regulation. I brought with me a list, eleven pages long, single spaced, containing 225 statutes. These are the laws all universities are dealing with at the moment: they include the Consumer Debt Protection Act, the Fair Labor Standards Act, the Genetic Nondiscrimination Act—I'm just picking some at random—the Ethics in Government Act, Regulation E: Electronic Fund Transfers, OSHA, the Energy Policy Act—they just sort of go on and on and on and on. While I do not object to these laws in principle, they are overwhelming in the aggregate. There have been efforts published by some schools in the *Chronicle of Higher Education* to determine how many millions of dollars a year they spend on compliance with federal regulation. I can tell you it's probably in the millions for us as well. Just diverting resources and spending the time and energy to respond to those regulations is by itself somewhat a challenge.

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5. Robert John Araujo, "'The Harvest Is Plentiful, but the Laborers Are Few': Hiring Practices and Religiously Affiliated Universities," *University of Richmond Law Review* 30 (1996): 713, 718, quoting Mark Tushnet, "Catholic Legal Education at a National Law School: Reflections on the Georgetown Experience," in *Georgetown at Two Hundred: Faculty Reflections on the University's Future,* ed. William C. McFadden (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1990), 322.

But there are some regulations that concern me the most. These are the kinds of regulations that might cause some to suggest that we need to fundamentally change the nature of the university in order to comply. In many instances, the concept of religious liberty will be the key to what happens. And right now, I'm quite optimistic about religious liberty. It's a contested proposition, to say the least, but there are some provisions in the law that recognize this liberty. For example, the Higher Education Opportunity Act requires that accrediting bodies acting on behalf of the federal government "must apply and enforce standards that respect the stated missions of institutions, including religious missions."[6]

There are other religiously affiliated schools in a similar situation. They are very interested in these topics as well. They are also very influential, and so it's not as if we're out there all by ourselves doing this.

You've seen from the Church a lot of effort to highlight the issue of religious liberty, to get people thinking about this issue. In addition, in higher education, we have some colleagues who are not religious believers who are nevertheless advocates for our position, based on the idea that true diversity in the United States is best promoted by having different kinds of institutions with different viewpoints, and religiously affiliated universities contribute to diversity in a significant way.

Those are the kinds of external issues that I worry about diverting us from our mission.

The Internal Challenge. The second thing I worry about—and this is where this BYU Studies group helps more—is what I call the challenge of Doctrine and Covenants 121:35. You'll all recognize that D&C 121:34 and 35 go together. Verse 34 says, "Behold many are called but few are chosen, and why are they not chosen?" The first part of verse 35 answers that question: "Because their hearts are set so much on the things of this world, and aspire to the honors of men." In the academy in particular, there will always be a pull for us to become like others. The prestige lies in doing research that may not be exactly the way we would do it if there were not outside peer pressure. There is pressure to emphasize research more than teaching, to ignore undergraduates. One of the things we need to be constantly concerned about is that our hearts don't get set so much on the things of this world and aspire to the honors of men that we start to drift internally. And that is a real challenge. I don't have in mind any particular concerns, but we are all probably familiar with individual cases where that has happened. What we need to do is convince

6. Higher Education Opportunity Act of 2008, P.L. 110 315, 495.

people, and provide examples, that we can do the things that need to be done in an academic setting as well as anyone else and do it in our own unique way. But that convincing is hard to do, and there are some skeptics out there who say reason and religion cannot mix, that they simply won't work together. We're committed to the idea that it does work, and we have to not only articulate that view but provide examples of it.

And this is where BYU Studies comes in. You can help extend the LDS academic experience only if, first, the scholarship is unfailingly faithful to the principles of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and, second, that it meets the highest standards of rigor for academic study. Though certainly there are those who say, "You cannot do both of those things," we can. It's not easy work. But that's the challenge facing us, and that's where I see BYU Studies providing a wonderful example.

One service BYU Studies offers is as a publishing outlet. There will be some scholarship that is rigorous and meets all the normal academic standards, but because of some biases in the academic world it simply won't have an outlet for publication elsewhere. The work has to be really good because some people are going to be skeptical of it to begin with. If we can get to the point where we can have fair-minded discussions with people, and it's clear that the scholarship is accepted not merely because we agree with the author's viewpoint but because it is quality scholarship, then we're in pretty good shape. If they can read it and say, "It's really not very good" in terms of pure academics, it makes it much easier for them to discount or dismiss it.

And so you have the opportunity to provide this outlet and then at the same time to strengthen the faith of those who are not part of the academic experience here. Those outside the university, who are not faculty members or students, can have their faith reaffirmed by your work. As a result of your efforts, they are better able to explain their beliefs and hopes and rationally defend their arguments. Elder Maxwell quoted Austin Farrer on this: "Rational argument does not create belief, but it maintains a climate in which belief may flourish."[7] That is an excellent example of what BYU Studies does, but it is really hard work. And I say that not in the way of making it sound daunting to you but to say thank you because you are doing that hard work.

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7. Neal A. Maxwell, "Discipleship and Scholarship," *BYU Studies* 32, no. 3 (1992): 5, citing Austin Farrer, "Grete Clerk," in *Light on C. S. Lewis,* comp. Jocelyn Gibb (New York: Harcourt and Brace, 1965), 26.

I have been very impressed over the years with *BYU Studies* and have had mind-expanding experiences reading some of the articles there.[8] I didn't read *BYU Studies* when it started back in 1959, but it was probably only fifteen years later that I did. And I've noted that as a result of changes over the years, *BYU Studies* has become more rigorous, and I am very impressed with the academic quality of what is produced. It really is first rate. But, if you're not constant about quality, it's easy to let it drift. It's easy to get the praise of members of the Church; they're sort of already on the same wavelength, but it takes a little extra to say, "Well, let's make sure that the work also meets the highest standards so that others, even those who may be our critics, will at least acknowledge it meets a high standard." That is the kind of scholarship that will best serve those both within and without the Church.

So thank you for what you're doing. We'll deal with the external challenges we face. Hopefully, you won't have to worry about legal concerns; that's one of the things that the central administration can do. But your work is equally important. You can continue to provide examples of scholarship that is faithful and rigorous so that both our internal and external audiences say, "The Church really does believe in a gospel that pursues all truth, wherever it may be found, and we needn't shy away from it." I really do have a firm conviction that all truth comes from our Heavenly Father. Our task is to find it, to harmonize it, to make it work as best we can, knowing we're imperfect. That is a labor worth pursuing.

Questions and Answers

With that, I see that we've got a little bit of time for a question or two.

Q: In your inaugural address you talked about climbing mountains; you used a metaphor of the mountains here behind us. Today you talked about how in some things we're very similar to other universities and in some ways we're also very different. What are the metaphorical mountains you see that BYU specifically should climb in your tenure?

A: You know, I don't have a really precise answer to that yet. It's a very good question. Part of my lack of precision is because I think some of the answers will come from the bottom up. That's why I've emphasized

8. I think of many examples. For a general discussion of this in connection with the goals and ideals of BYU Studies, see John W. Welch, "'Thy Mind, O Man, Must Stretch,'" *BYU Studies Quarterly* 50, no. 3 (2011): 63–81.

the mission statement and asked faculty, and everybody else, to read it, re-read it, and think about what you're doing in your area that can better fulfill this mission. I am confident that ideas will come up from the local departmental level that we will adopt as a university. Overall, our main goal will be to enhance the learning experience for undergraduate students. That is going to be the main emphasis, providing learning that is intellectually enlarging, spiritually strengthening, character building, leading to lifelong learning and service, as set forth in the Aims of a BYU Education.[9] Our challenge is to figure out what that really means in today's world, and how we can make sure that those students are better prepared in all of those areas going forward.

One example I use of both things bubbling up from the bottom and things that enhance the learning experience is the emphasis on student mentoring that we now have and that will continue. That emphasis did not develop in a single moment in the ASB; it wasn't that one day somebody in the central administration said, "Aha, no one else has thought of this, but we ought to do mentoring; now go implement this." There were departments that were doing some mentoring already, and in at least some instances we found ourselves in a unique position, in that while we are not a graduate research institution, we get really, really, really good undergraduate students. And we have faculty who increasingly have the ability and the interest in doing research. So the faculty turned to these very bright undergraduate students and said, "I think that maybe you can help me with this, even though you're only a junior or senior." That has now been emphasized enough that it happens over and over again. We've funded it internally and funded it externally so that many of our students have that mentoring experience, and this prepares them for all kinds of opportunities.

It's a different kind of academic experience when students are publishing in some of the top journals while they're undergraduates. This opens up all kinds of opportunities for them to go to graduate school. They're at conferences, and people ask them, "So where are you doing your postdoctoral work?" and they say, "Well, I'm an undergrad at BYU." People reply, "You're an undergrad? Why don't you come and work with me, because it's clear you can already do the things that I want you to do." As a result of this and other factors, in the ten-year period of 2003–2012, if you look at where people who received their PhDs in the United States

9. The Mission of the University and the Aims of a BYU Education can be found at http://aims.byu.edu/.

earned their undergraduate degrees, there are only four U.S. universities that had more students go on to receive PhDs in that period than BYU—namely, U.C. Berkeley, Cornell, Michigan, and Texas.[10] That's it. Now, in fairness, there are some really good colleges that are a lot smaller than we are, but there are some really good colleges that are larger than we are, and yet we had more students graduate and go on to receive PhDs than they had. And it's in part because of the mentoring experience students receive at BYU. We do a survey of our students three years out from graduation to find out what they are doing. In 2013, 41 percent of our graduates three years out were either in graduate school or had completed graduate school. Another 31 percent indicated that in the future they intended to go to graduate school. That market is where we have emerged in ways I don't think anyone quite anticipated.

Of course, not all students will go on to graduate school, and so we're also turning to online education. For many, online education is a way to raise money. Once you get courses in place, you can scale it out in a way that may generate a lot of money. I'm not interested in doing online education for that reason, even though I wouldn't turn away resources if they come. I'm also concerned that we not just do outreach at the expense of the experience of our students who are here on campus. But with online courses, we may be able to enhance the educational experience of students who are here and also reach a whole lot more people, and that's a good thing.

Over the last six semesters, we have piloted parallel classes and have taught them online and also in the classroom. We are evaluating what we can learn from this about how students learn online. How do they best learn? Not surprisingly, the data from the pilot classes suggest there are some people who learn better online than others. We need to learn how to help students recognize if that is a better learning method for them. It also appears that there are some subjects that lend themselves better to online education. More importantly, there are ways of using online education for courses that are not solely online. We are learning how to use technology in a blended format. We have some data now that says, this is what works best, this is what doesn't work, here's why it works, here's why it doesn't.

In the long run, students need to understand learning in all of its facets, and online learning is one of those facets. They are going to enter

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10. NORC at the University of Chicago, *Survey of Earned Doctorates, Baccalaureate-origins of U.S. Research Doctorate Recipients: 2003–2012* (2012).

a world in which a lot of online learning is required, and if they can have an experience with online learning, it will be good for them. So, we may require a certain amount of online learning—not just to say we've done it, but to say we're going to enhance the experience of these students. Once we do that, I think we'll be in a position where we can do some outreach and provide it to others, but I don't want to videotape a class, put it online, and say that anybody who has signed up for this has had the BYU experience—because they haven't. But if we focus on how online learning can enhance the experience of our students here, I think we'll come up with some ideas that may have an impact for us and for other people about how online education is done, and that will result in even better learning for our students than we can now offer them.

Q: As you have mentioned funding, what do you see in the future in terms of the Church continuing to fund BYU as it has in the past?

A: I think I can state this with as much certainty as we can about anything that's uncertain: BYU can anticipate that it will continue to get its piece of the Church budget pie, but we shouldn't expect a bigger piece of the pie. Elder Nelson said as much when he addressed the deans and directors last fall. Education has always been a priority for the Church, and the Church has continually demonstrated that, as expensive as it is, it is worth the expenditure. And it is an enormous blessing that we have. If you look at state schools and the decline in state funding, that's been a real challenge for them; and that's true of private universities overall as well. We are really blessed to have consistent solid support for most of what we do, and by all present indications, that's going to continue. We need to be grateful for that. We also need to remember that with that blessing comes a great responsibility to keep focused on the central mission the board of trustees has given us.

Mormons and Midrash

On the Composition of Expansive Interpretation in *Genesis Rabbah* and the Book of Moses

Avram R. Shannon

One of the intriguing things about religious texts is how long of a life and how long of an afterlife they have. Once a text becomes a part of a "canon," once it becomes in a way fixed, it becomes open to further discussion and elaboration.[1] Different groups and religious traditions create different genres of interpretation to work with and understand their scriptures according to the needs of their traditions. One form of interpretation involves reopening the Bible and expanding on the narrative of the already canonized text, such as is found in the rabbinic genre of midrash and in Joseph Smith's New Translation (JST) of the Bible.

In fact, some scholars have compared Joseph Smith's revisions and expansions of the biblical text to rabbinic midrash and targum.[2] This may be a helpful comparison, but it derives in many ways from a value system where the original intent of the authors equals good, while

1. James Kugel and Rowan A. Greer, *Early Biblical Interpretation* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1986), 29–30.

2. Anthony A. Hutchinson, "A Mormon Midrash? LDS Creation Narratives Reconsidered," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 21, no. 4 (1988): 11–72; Hutchinson, "LDS Approaches to the Holy Bible," *Dialogue* 15, no. 1 (1982): 99–124. See also Kevin L. Barney, "The Joseph Smith Translation and Ancient Texts of the Bible," *Dialogue* 19, no. 3 (1987): 85–102; and Kevin L. Barney, "Isaiah Interwoven," *The FARMS Review* 15, no. 1 (2003): 353–402. Krister Stendahl calls parts of a similar expansion in the Book of Mormon "targumic." Krister Stendahl, "The Sermon on the Mount and Third Nephi," in *Reflections on Mormonism: Judeo-Christian Parallels*, ed. Truman G. Madsen (Provo: Religious Studies Center, 1978): 139–54.

Avram R. Shannon

This project has its roots in my long-standing interest in the Joseph Smith Translation and its singular contributions to the scriptures. As I grew up and learned about the biblical culture that Joseph Smith and the earliest members of the Church lived in, I was amazed in some ways by the acceptance of the JST by early Church members steeped in the Bible and in Protestant tradition. I often asked myself, "How did the early Saints accept this? What made bringing forth not just new scripture but modifying the Bible acceptable?"

It was not until my graduate work in Jewish Studies that a possible solution appeared. The ancient Jewish midrashic literature was produced by the early rabbis who were part of a biblically literate culture. I had even heard and seen the JST compared to midrash on the Internet and by various individuals over the years. I filed that away as something to look at in the future. The call for papers for the Latter-day Saints and the Bible section at the 2014 Annual Meeting of the Society for Biblical Literature provided the impetus for finally comparing midrash with the JST in greater depth.

As I researched my presentation for the SBL, I discovered both differences and similarities. Researching for this paper increased my appreciation of Joseph Smith's prophetic calling. The answer to my questions about how the early Saints accepted the JST was found in their (and my own) notions of prophetic authority. Joseph Smith's New Translation of the Bible was a work that naturally flowed out of his authority as a prophet of God. The Bible was the work of prophets, and the JST was also the work of a prophet. It was his continuity with ancient modes of prophecy that provided the authority for the JST.

interpretation, of whatever stripe, equals bad. The use of this comparison seems often to be a sort of soft pejorative against both the JST and Jewish interpretation, prioritizing historical-critical readings of the Bible over these kinds of interpretation.[3] These scholars have also misunderstood midrash in the context of rabbinic literature.[4] It should be noted that the trend of comparing everything to midrash is a fairly common one, even outside the world of Mormon studies. There is a tendency in scholarship to label any kind of interpretive work "midrash."[5] Doing so without attention to the rabbinic character of this genre of literature tends to create more problems than it solves.[6] Part of the difficulty that arises in this endeavor comes from a certain laxness of usage in applying the term midrash to any kind of expansion or retelling of the biblical narrative, which does not fully express how midrash actually works.[7]

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3. For the use of Judaism as a kind of backhanded code in polemics, see J. Z. Smith, *Drudgery Divine* (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1990), 81–83. A more rounding condemnation of this tendency in Western scholarship is laid out in Elliot Horowitz, "The Use and Abuse of Anti-Judaism," *The Journal of Religion* 95, no. 1 (2015): 94–106.

4. Anthony Hutchinson suggests that "[midrash's] fullest examples are found in the . . . targumin." Hutchinson, "Mormon Midrash," 14. This statement elides together midrash, which is the topic of this article, and targum, which are Aramaic translations of the books of the Hebrew Bible. The two literatures are related, but they are by no means identical. See the discussion in Zeev Safrai, "The Targums as Part of Rabbinic Literature," in *The Literature of the Sages*, vol. 3b, ed. Shmuel Safrai, Zeev Safrai, Joshua Shwartz, and Peter J. Tomson (Assen, Netherlands: Royal Van Gorcum and Fortress Press, 2006): 243–78; Robert P. Gordon, "Targum as Midrash: Contemporizing in the Targum to the Prophets," *Proceedings of the Ninth World Congress of Jewish Studies* (1988): 61–73; Arnon Atzmon, "The Targum on the Esther Scroll: A Midrashic *Targum* or a Targumic Midrash?" [in Hebrew], *Hebrew Union College Annual* 80 (2009): 1–19.

5. Herman L. Strack and Günter Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash,* trans. Markus Bockmuehl (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 237.

6. Strack and Stemberger, *Introduction,* 258.

7. Thus, the 1998 animated children's film *Prince of Egypt* has been called a *midrash*. Ismar Schorsch, "Midrash in the Prince of Egypt," *Learn: Inspired Jewish Learning,* http://learn.jtsa.edu/content/commentary/shemot/5759/midrash-prince-egypt. With such loose criteria, any kind of narrative exegesis is subject to being referred to as *midrash*. Such is the case in an article on *midrash* in the Book of Mormon by Angela Crowley, "Midrash: Ancient Jewish Interpretation and Commentary in the Book of Mormon," *The Zarahemla Record* 57 (1991): 2–4. Crowley at least attempts to show how the midrashic method is applied in the Book of Mormon, although she appears to be basing her approach on New Testament examples rather than rabbinic ones, which makes her work doubly theoretical.

Related to this difficulty is that, in general, the JST has been compared *to* midrash but not really *with* midrash. That is to say, these comparisons have involved a superficial contrasting of broad genres, rather than actually comparing the two literatures. Evaluating the content of these literatures shows that there are places where comparison can be productive but also places where key formal differences can be found.

It is, therefore, insufficient to simply say that the JST is like midrash without understanding both what midrash and the JST are and what they do. In this article, I will first briefly discuss the broad characteristics of midrash and the JST to provide a groundwork for understanding these two literatures. This process of comparing the JST with midrash will lay bare similarities and differences in the impetus behind their production, as well as how they were received by their respective communities. Both midrash and the JST interpret the text from within the world of the text, bringing forth new biblical narratives that live within that world. For the communities that read these literatures, these new narratives stand alongside the previous narratives and have as much normative power as the scripture from which they derive. In both of these literatures, it is the claim to Mosaic authority that makes this type of interpretation possible. This article, then, examines a few examples expanding upon the account of creation and Garden of Eden narrative in Genesis 1–3, showing how the interpretation plays out in the JST and in an early midrash, both in terms of similarities and differences. This portion of Genesis affords rich material in both the JST and in the midrashic literature in about equal measure.[8]

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8. I considered using Enoch and Abraham, but they were not equally represented in the two sources. The JST had much more material on Enoch than the Midrash did, while the Midrash had more material on Abraham than the JST did. Enoch is an important figure in both Latter-day Saint thinking and early Jewish apocalyptic literature, but he is not as important in rabbinic Judaism, perhaps as a response to the apocalyptic literature. Hugh Nibley has treated both of these figures at length, including some discussion of the midrashic literature in *Enoch the Prophet*, vol. 2 of *The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley,* ed. Stephen D. Ricks (Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies [FARMS]; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1986); and *Abraham in Egypt,* vol. 14 in *The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley,* ed. Gary P. Gillum (Provo, Utah: FARMS; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2000). For a more recent discussion on Enoch in LDS scripture that contains less midrashic material, see Jeffrey M. Bradshaw and David J. Larsen, *In God's Image and Likeness 2: Enoch, Noah and the Tower of Babel* (Salt Lake City: The Interpreter Foundation and Eborn Books: 2014), 1–188. The book of Abraham provides more material in

Midrash

Midrash involves a very close reading of the biblical text but does so in ways and following a logic that can sometimes be different from traditional post-Enlightenment modes of thinking.[9] Therefore, rabbinic readings of scripture sometimes fly in the face of scholarly readings of the scriptures. In order to be midrash, a story or legal interpretation must be connected to the biblical text, which provides, then, the parameters for rabbinic interpretations.[10] Generally speaking, midrash does not take on the form of the biblical narrative, and so the narrative units that comprise it are fairly small and discrete. This is a key difference between midrash and the Joseph Smith Translation. Even as the Midrash provides expanded narratives, it never loses the appearance of being commentary.

The rabbinic midrashic method produced commentary on both legal materials and stories because the rabbinic Sages were concerned with both kinds of exegesis. This highlights a difficulty that those who have previously compared the Joseph Smith Translation to midrash have not addressed. Making such a comparison without attention to the different kinds of midrash opens one to the possibility of misrepresenting both the Joseph Smith Translation and midrash. Scholars of midrash make a distinction between halakhic midrashim, which are midrashim on the legal books of the Torah, and aggadic midrashim, which are on the other books in scripture.[11] The different categories of interpretation (legal and narrative) are not absolute in the midrashic corpus, but these internal divisions and complexities serve as warnings against too facile comparisons.[12]

Latter-day Saint scripture for comparison, but its production was different than that of Joseph Smith's New Translation, and it seemed best to keep the initial question as constrained as possible.

9. Howard Eilberg-Schwartz, "Myth, Inference, and the Relativism of Reason: An Argument from the History of Judaism," in *Myth and Philosophy,* ed. Frank Reynolds and David Tracy (Albany: State University of New York, 1990): 247–85; Naomi Janowitz and Andrew J. Lazarus, "Rabbinic Methods of Inference and the Rationality Debate," *The Journal of Religion* 72, no. 4 (1992): 491–511.

10. According to Irving Jacobs, the rabbinic Sages "acknowledged plain meaning—*as they perceived it*—to be the boundary within which the midrashic process was obliged to function." Irving Jacobs, *The Midrashic Process* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 3; emphasis in original.

11. This division is much more complicated than explained above, but it will do for the present discussion. Strack and Stemberger, *Introduction,* 239–40.

12. *Halakhah* is a term for a Jewish legal ruling. It is these rulings that rabbinic literature is most concerned with. *Aggada* is a term that comes from an

Often when people suggest that a nonrabbinic text, such as parts of the New Testament Gospels or the JST, is midrashic, it is not because they follow the midrashic method, but because they produce a product that Old Testament scholars have tended to view as subservient to the biblical text.

In addition to the halakhic and aggadic division, midrash is also further divided by how the commentary is arranged: exegetical midrashim present the biblical interpretation as a running commentary of the Bible, verse by verse, while homiletical midrashim record a series of sermons on scripture.[13] This article derives its examples from *Genesis Rabbah,* which is among the oldest of the aggadic exegetical midrashim.[14] This text presents a running commentary on the Hebrew text of the biblical book of Genesis and is mostly composed in Aramaic. It is generally dated to the first half of the fifth century CE.[15]

The Sages themselves spoke about various hermeneutical principles that guided the formation of midrash.[16] It seems that in many cases these principles were after-the-fact rationalizations of already extant midrashic exegesis.[17] A few broad principles stand out. The first is the omnisignificance of the biblical text—every portion of the text has meaning for every other part.[18] The next is that every word has meaning,

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Aramaic word "telling" and represents essentially all those parts of rabbinic literature that are not *halakhah*.

13. Strack and Stemberger, *Introduction,* 240.

14. Text for *Genesis Rabbah* is taken from J. Theodor and Ch. Albeck, *Midrash Bereshit Rabbah with Critical Apparatus and Commentary* [in Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Wahrmann Books, 1965). Readers interested in an English translation may find one in Jacob Neusner, *Genesis Rabbah: The Judaic Commentary to the Book of Genesis, a New American Translation,* 3 vols. (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985).

15. Strack and Stemberger, *Introduction,* 304. Compare this to the Mishnah, dated to around 200 CE and to its two companion Talmuds, dated to about 600 CE for the Palestinian Talmud and about 700 CE for the Babylonian Talmud.

16. Menahem I. Kahana, "The Halakhic Midrashim," in *The Literature of the Sages,* vol. 2, ed. Shmuel Safrai, Zeev Safrai, Joshua Schwartz, and Peter J. Tomson (Assen, Netherlands: Royal Van Gorcum, 2006): 3–107, especially 13–15.

17. The most complete discussion on midrash and method is Isaak Heinemann, *Darkhe ha-Aggada* [in Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1949). There is a very accessible English discussion of Midrash and its workings in Barry W. Holtz, "Midrash," in *Back to the Sources: Reading the Classic Jewish Texts,* ed. Barry W. Holtz (New York: Touchstone, 1984), 177–211. This article includes a section pointing the reader to further resources on Midrash.

18. James Kugel, "Two Introductions to Midrash," *Prooftexts* 3 (1983): 131–55, especially 144.

and even when words are repeated by the biblical text, the rabbis will derive meaning out of the repetition.[19] Thus, in Genesis 22:11, when the angel says "Abraham, Abraham," the rabbinic Sages must address why the name is said twice. Both of these principles illustrate the notion that midrash is literature that is dedicated to divining meanings out of material that is already present in the text.

Joseph Smith Translation

From the Midrash, we move to the Joseph Smith Translation, which is the most common name for what Joseph Smith termed the New Translation.[20] It was a revision and expansion of the Bible as Joseph Smith had it, and, therefore, worked from the King James Version of the Bible. It represents, in many ways, a specific response to that translation, since it sometimes addresses problems that do not exist in other translations or versions of the scriptures.[21] Thomas Wayment has observed, "The JST restores, edits and changes. It restores original text that has been lost and restores what was once said but never became part of the Bible. . . . It changes the original text of the Bible from what was written by the original authors."[22] An individual unit in the JST may represent any one of these responses. Like most of latter-day scripture, the JST has only relatively recently come under scholarly review, and there is still work to be done in the process of understanding how it was produced and how it was conceived as part of Smith's prophetic mission, although great strides have already been made.[23]

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19. James Kugel, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry: Parallelism and Its History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 96–134.

20. "Joseph Smith Translation" was coined by the committee who put together the 1979 edition of the Bible, who needed an abbreviation for their footnotes, which had to be differentiated from the New Testament. Robert J. Matthews, "The JST: Retrospect and Prospect—a Panel," in *The Joseph Smith Translation: The Restoration of Plain and Precious Truths,* ed. Monte S. Nyman and Robert L. Millet (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1985), 291–305.

21. Joshua M. Sears, "Santa Biblia: The Latter-day Saint Bible in Spanish," *BYU Studies* 54, no. 1 (2015): 43–75.

22. Thomas A. Wayment and Tyson J. Yost, "The Joseph Smith Translation and Italicized Words in the King James Version," *Religious Educator* 6, no. 1 (2005): 51.

23. A good discussion of this point, including the centrality of the JST in the development of LDS doctrine, may be seen in Robert J. Matthews, "The Role of the Joseph Smith Translation of the Bible in the Restoration of Doctrine," in *The Disciple as Witness: Essays in Latter-day Saint History and Doctrine in*

The changes to the biblical record that form the JST differ from Joseph Smith's other major translation projects. The Book of Mormon and the book of Abraham are both, in spite of clear continuities with the biblical text, new scriptural accounts. We should thus be careful about grouping all of Joseph Smith's translation outputs. The JST is, in its very formulation, a revision and expansion of the Bible—in other words, it never stops claiming to be the Bible, although it is clearly a Bible with a difference. The fact that the interpretations of the JST are placed within the text of the Bible is one place where it differs from the Midrash, which never stops presenting itself as commentary.[24]

This article uses the edition of the JST prepared by Kent P. Jackson in *The Book of Moses and the Joseph Smith Translation Manuscripts*.[25] This book contains a critical edition from Old Testament Manuscript 2 and represents a useful resource for examining the textual history of the present-day book of Moses.[26]

Honor of Richard Lloyd Anderson, ed. Stephen D. Ricks, Donald W. Parry, and Andrew H. Hedges (Provo, Utah: FARMS, 2000), available online at http://publications.maxwellinstitute.byu.edu/fullscreen/?pub=1092&index=14. Matthews was reacting to a conception on the part of some Latter-day Saints that the JST was not complete or desirable to use, a conception which derived in part from the cool relations between the LDS and RLDS (now Community of Christ). Philip L. Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible: The Place of the Latter-day Saints in American Religion,* Religion in America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 153–54.

24. Here a close examination of how a rewritten Bible and targum work in relationship to the Joseph Smith Translation would be helpful and is a *desideratum* in the study of Latter-day Saint scripture.

25. Kent P. Jackson, *The Book of Moses and the Joseph Smith Translation Manuscripts* (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 2005).

26. The textual variants between manuscripts are, in general, not very significant. A fuller treatment of this material, encompassing all of the material in Joseph Smith's New Translation is found in Scott H. Faulring, Kent P. Jackson, and Robert J. Matthews's monumental edition of all of the manuscripts of the Joseph Smith Translation. Scott H. Faulring, Kent P. Jackson, and Robert J. Matthews, eds., *Joseph Smith's New Translation of the Bible: Original Manuscripts* (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 2004). A copy of "Old Testament Revision 1" is also available on the Internet at http://josephsmithpapers.org/paperSummary/old-testament-revision-1.

Authoritative Space

The JST and early rabbinic Midrash both come from a concept of scripture that, to paraphrase the epistle to the Philippians, does not think it robbery to expand upon the Hebrew Bible (Philip. 2:6).[27] In this model of scriptural interpretation, the Bible itself is expanded. The resultant literature, instead of being set alongside the text, becomes text itself. These parallel readings can then be seen by Mormon and Jewish readers, respectively, as providing material that expands on the Bible. The narratives presented come from and within the world of the text. In fact, both of these traditions conceive of the interpretation as simply providing material that is as normatively important as the Bible and that is, in some sense, already in the Bible. Even though their specific authority claims differ in many ways, Jewish and Mormon notions of Mosaic authority create space for allowing interpretation to live within the text itself.[28] In both communities, the authority of the interpretation enhances the Bible rather than supersedes it.

The relationship between the biblical text and its interpretation may, therefore, be described as symbiotic. By providing "correct" readings of the biblical text, these expansive units actually encourage the reading of the original text and enhance its prestige in the community while at the same time addressing the present needs of the community. Both midrash and the Joseph Smith Translation, in spite of making changes and expansions to the Bible, actually increase the profile of the Bible in their respective communities.

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27. They both bear similarity to another ancient genre, that of rewritten Bible, although they are, in certain ways, more similar to each other than they are to that genre. Rewritten Bible presents biblical texts (usually new ones) that rework the Bible in longer narratives. The classic example of this is the Book of Jubilees, which represents the material found in the book of Genesis. Emmanuel Tov, "Rewritten Bible Compositions and Biblical Manuscripts, with Special Attention to the Samaritan Pentateuch," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 5 (1998): 334–54. For a discussion of the connection between rabbinic Midrash and rewritten Bible, see Steven Fraade, "Rewritten Bible and Rabbinic Midrash as Commentary," in *Current Trends in the Study of Midrash,* ed. Carol Bakhos (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

28. This is in contradistinction to modes of interpretation that exist parallel to the text and that do not live within the world of the text. Most of the work of the Church Fathers, and therefore Christian tradition in general, falls into this category.

The very biblicality of the Midrash and the JST points to notions of rabbinic and prophetic authority but also to how the midrashic and translation enterprises were framed by their separate communities. In the case of both of these exegetical traditions, the producers of these materials were viewed by their religious communities not as adding extra interpretations to the biblical narrative but as explicating material that was already there. Both of these literatures were then able to be seen as restoring material to the biblical text that had been removed, or material that could be understood as simply not explicit.

To illustrate this notion, it is necessary to look at statements on authority and scripture in rabbinic literature and similar statements from Joseph Smith and the early LDS Church. The very beginning of the mishnaic tractate *Avot*[29] establishes the chain of tradition for the rabbinic Sages:[30] "Moses received Torah on Mount Sinai, and transmitted it to Joshua. Joshua transmitted it to the elders and the elders to the Prophets. The Prophets transmitted it to the men of the Great Assembly" (*m. Avot* 1:1).[31] The chain of transmission then continues through various Second Temple figures understood to be the ancestors of the Sages, including the famous Hillel and Shammai (*m. Avot* 1:12–15), through to rabbinic Sages such as Akiva (*m. Avot* 3:14–17) and Judah ha-Nasi, the traditional compiler of the Mishnah (*m. Avot* 2:1).

Thus, according to this very famous passage in the Mishnah, rabbinic tradition is Torah passed down from Mount Sinai, and the authority of

29. Meaning "Fathers," implying teachers in this context.

30. All translations from rabbinic texts are my own. The text for the Mishnah is taken from Chanoch Albeck, *Six Orders of Mishnah* [in Hebrew], 6 vols. (repr. 2006; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1958). A convenient and useful single-volume English translation of the Mishnah may be found in Herbert Danby, *The Mishnah* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933), reprinted many times. The Mishnah is divided into six major divisions, known as Seders or Orders, which are then subdivided into tractates. These tractates are then divided into chapters and units called mishnah, which correspond roughly to verses of scripture. Thus a mishnaic passage is cited *m.* (for Mishnah) tractate, chapter, and Mishnah (section).

31. The legendary prerabbinic legislative body. Kugel and Greer, *Early Biblical Interpretation,* 64–66. The connection of the Sages' chain of transmission to Hellenistic chains of transmission is discussed in Beth Berkowitz, *Defining Jewish Difference: From Antiquity to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 81–83.

the Sages is essentially Mosaic in character.[32] It is "Torah in the Mouth,"[33] which the rabbis did not view by any means as inferior to "Torah That is Written."[34] There were not, in fact, two Torahs, but instead two expressions of the same divine Torah. There is a famous story in the Babylonian Talmud about Moses and Rabbi Akiva, a Sage from the mishnaic period that illustrates this notion well:

> When Moses ascended into the Heights, he found the Holy One, Blessed Be He, sitting and affixing crowns to the letters [of Torah]. He said to Him, "Master of the Universe, who waits at your hand [i.e. for whom are you doing this]?" He said to him, "There is a certain man who will be in the future, after many generations, and his name will be Akiva ben Joseph. He will interpret (Heb. *lidrosh*) from every penstroke mounds and mounds of halakhah." [Moses] said to Him, "Master of the Universe, show him to me." He said to him, "Turn around." He went and sat at the end of the eighth row, and he did not understand what they were saying. His strength weakened until they reached a certain matter and [Akiva's] students said to him, "Whence do you derive this [halakhah]? He said to them, "[This] halakhah was to Moses from Sinai," [and Moses's] thought was eased. (*b. Menahot* 29b[35])

Although Moses did not recognize what Akiva was teaching his students, he was comforted when Akiva indicated that what he was teaching was the Torah that Moses had received. There is a lot going on in this particular rabbinic story, but at the very least it shows that although the Sages were aware of differences between their laws and biblical laws, they saw themselves in continuity with Moses and his laws.[36] For rabbinic

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32. Howard Schwartz, *Reimagining the Bible: The Storytelling of the Rabbis* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), x.

33. Hebrew *torah shebaal peh.*

34. Hebrew *torah shebiktuv.*

35. Citations from the Babylonian Talmud are based on folios from the earliest printed editions. Thus, this passage comes from folio 29 of the tractate *Menahot,* side b. Text for quotations from the Babylonian Talmud comes from the *Soncino Hebrew/English Babylonian Talmud,* ed. Isidore Epstein, 3 vols. (New York: Bloch, 1990).

36. Note also, however, that the Mishnah itself acknowledges that not all of their legal rulings had a strong basis in written scripture: "[The rules about] release from vows hang in the air and have nothing to support them [from scripture]. The rules about the Sabbath, Festival offerings and blasphemy are as mountains hanging from a thread, for [there is] is little Scripture and many rules. [The rules about property] cases and Temple Ritual, and the rules about clean versus unclean and prohibited relations have much to support them, and

Judaism then, the traditions of the Sages represent material that had been handed down simultaneously with the written law of Moses and so was equal in authority to it.[37] Thus, for the rabbinic Sages, the midrashic exercise is not to introduce and invent notions that are not there but to clarify ideas that are already present in the text.

So also is the project of the Joseph Smith Translation. We have very little discussion of how Smith translated, although it is clear from places like Doctrine and Covenants 21:1 that translation, however it is to be understood, was an important part of Smith's work as a prophet.[38] As with the rabbinic midrash, Joseph Smith does not seem to view his New Translation as "adding to or taking away" from the scriptures, to use the famous words from Deuteronomy 4:2. The idea instead is that he is simply restoring or clarifying material that should have been there all along. As part of his prophetic claims, Joseph Smith claimed authority equal to the apostles and Old Testament prophets. In fact, in Doctrine and Covenants 28:2, he is explicitly compared with Moses: "But, behold, verily, verily, I say unto thee, no one shall be appointed to receive commandments and revelations in this church excepting my servant Joseph Smith, Jun., for he receiveth them even as Moses."[39] For Smith and his followers, prophetic authority involves the constant process of receiving, making, and revising scripture. The narrative expansions in the JST are

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they are the fundamentals of *Torah*" (*m. Hagigah* 1:8). Michal Bar-Asher Sigal has recently visited this passage again: "Mountains Hanging by a Strand? Rereading Mishnah Ḥagigah 1:8," *Journal of Ancient Judaism* 4 (2013): 235–56. See also the discussion in Shaye J. D. Cohen, "Judean Legal Tradition and the *Halakah* of the Mishnah," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Talmud and Rabbinic Literature,* ed. Charlotte Elisheva Fonrobert and Martin S. Jaffee (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 121–43, especially 123–25; Jacob Neusner, *The Mishnah: Religious Perspectives* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 1–156; Strack and Stemberger, *Introduction,* 237–39.

37. Kugel and Greer, *Early Biblical Interpretation,* 68–69.

38. Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible,* 57–61; Samuel Morris Brown, "The Language of Heaven: Prolegomenon to the Study of Smithian Translation," *Journal of Mormon History* 38, no. 3 (2012): 51–71, especially 53–54.

39. Doctrine and Covenants 28:2. Doctrine and Covenants 107:91 gives this Mosaic authority and charisma not just to Joseph Smith, but to the office of the President of the Church. This accords with the observations of Richard L. Bushman that part of Joseph Smith's administrative genius was the investiture of charisma into offices rather than individuals. In "Joseph Smith and Power," in *A Firm Foundation: Church Organization and Administration*, ed. David J. Whittaker and Arnold K. Garr (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 2011), 1–13.

therefore part of the process of establishing and confirming Smith's prophetic role. As with the rabbinic Sages, Joseph Smith's work of exegesis by adding to the biblical text flows naturally out of his understanding of his prophetic mission.

This is, perhaps, part of the reason why neither *Genesis Rabbah* nor the Joseph Smith Translation pay any attention to the seams in the biblical text that appear so obvious to source critics.[40] Both of these interpretive strands treat the biblical narrative as though it were a single whole, and both largely assume Mosaic authorship.[41] The assumption of Mosaic authorship is part and parcel with how the two literatures create space for interpretation by the claim of Mosaic authority. In their respective expansions on Genesis, Moses actually plays a much larger role. He is inserted directly into narratives about the nature and coming of the text of Genesis. In particular, Moses's interactions with God are brought to the fore.

As part of *Genesis Rabbah*'s interpretation on Genesis 1:26, it records a story similar in outline to Moses 1. For *Genesis Rabbah,* Moses served as a scribe for the preexistent Torah written by God, and when he comes to problematic verses, he dialogues with God:[42] "When Moses was writing the Torah, he wrote the doings of each day. When he reached the verse that said, 'Let us make man in our own image according to our likeness,' he said to Him, 'Master of the Universe, why do you give an excuse to the heretics?'[43] He said to him, 'Write, and those who wish to

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40. For a recent Latter-day Saint attempt to reconcile source critical methodology with Latter-day Saint scripture, see David Bokovoy, *Authoring the Old Testament: Genesis–Deuteronomy* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2014). This same dichotomy between modern critical methodologies and Joseph Smith's scriptural output is also evident in Hutchinson, "Mormon Midrash."

41. This is underscored by the title in the Pearl of Great Price, which is "Selections from the Book of Moses." Previously, and in popular Latter-day Saint parlance, it was called simply the book of Moses, which suggests parallels with biblical books such as Jeremiah or Isaiah as well as the named Book of Mormon books.

42. Fraade, "Language Mix and Multilingualism in Ancient Palestine: Literary and Inscriptional Evidence," *Jewish Studies* 48 (2012): 1–40.

43. The word I have translated as "heretics" is Hebrew *minim,* which is a word with a wide variety of possible signification. It is often associated with Jewish Christians, although there are some difficulties with this position. On this topic, see Christine Hayes, "The 'Other' in Rabbinic Literature," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Talmud*, ed. Charlotte Elisheva Fonrobert and Martin S. Jafee (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007): 243–69; Stephen Miller, "The Minim of Sepphoris Reconsidered," *Harvard Theological Review* 86 (1993):

err, may err'" (*Gen. Rab.* 8:8). Thus, in *Genesis Rabbah,* Torah comes from God, and was in fact written by him, and then transmitted to Moses, who transmitted it in writing and orally to the Sages. It is the very work of Moses that the rabbinic Sages are placing themselves in continuity with when they interpret scripture.

This same kind of activity can be seen in the JST, in the first chapter of the book of Moses. This passage, which has no direct parallel in the biblical record, is a theophany to Moses and a dialogue between him and God. As part of this, he asks God to explain the creation of the world: "And it came to pass that Moses called upon God, saying: Tell me, I pray thee, why these things are so, and by what thou madest them?" (Moses 1:30). God then promises to give him an account of the world on which Moses lived (Moses 1:31–36).

The account of the creation of the world, the creation of humanity, and the fall of man that follows in the book of Moses and its parallels in Genesis 1–4 are thus presented as a first-person account of God speaking to Moses. Because of this, Genesis 1:3, "And God said, Let there be light" becomes "And *I*, God, said, Let there be light" (Moses 2:3). This has the effect of bringing the divine personality of God to the fore and making his interactions, whether with Moses or with Adam and Eve, even more immediate. This also increases the authoritative nature of the narrative. The narration that happens in Genesis is no longer simply the words of the Bible's anonymous narrator but represents instead the very words of God. God himself is telling this story to Moses. This is one case where a very subtle change has far-reaching effects on how the entire biblical passage is read.

Use of Authoritative Space

Both of these literatures use the assumption of Mosaic authority to solve problems that arise from the nature of biblical narrative. The Hebrew Bible is written in a spare, laconic style that leaves many gaps and openings.[44] It rarely includes either physical descriptions of personalities or their inner thoughts and motivations. As expansive interpretive

377–402; David Instone Brewer, "The Eighteen Benedictions and the Minim before 70 ce," *The Journal of Theological Studies* 54, no. 1 (2003): 25–44.

44. The great literary critic Auerbach famously compared biblical narrative to that of Homer, highlighting this aspect of biblical narrative. Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), 3–24.

literatures, both midrash and the JST solve apparent problems in the Hebrew Bible through the filling in of gaps present in the text. One place where this may be seen is through the JST and the Midrash's understanding of the purpose and motivations of the serpent introduced in Genesis 3:1.

The conception and the motivations of the serpent highlight one of the key differences between the midrashic approach and the Latter-day Saint one. Both the JST and the Midrash reflect the theological notions of their respective communities. The fall of humanity is not a central issue in Judaism in the way it is in Christian, including Latter-day Saint, thinking. Because of this, although the serpent is a villain in *Genesis Rabbah,* he is not openly satanic, like he is in the JST. *Genesis Rabbah* 19:3 simply reads, "Rabbi Hoshia the elder says, 'It [the serpent] stood upright like a reed and had feet.' Rabbi Jeremiah ben Elazer said, 'He was a skeptic.'"[45]

Where *Genesis Rabbah* presents the serpent as a skeptical figure, the book of Moses introduces the figure of Satan into the story: "And now the serpent was more subtle than any beast of the field, which *I*, the Lord God had made. *And Satan put it into the heart of the serpent, (for he had drawn away many after him,) and he sought also to beguile Eve, for he knew not the mind of God, wherefore he sought to destroy the world*" (Moses 4:5–6).[46] As noted, the narrative preserved in Genesis does not give any motivation for why the serpent seeks to have Eve eat of the fruit of the tree. It simply introduces the serpent, introduces its subtle nature, and proceeds with the dialogue. The JST here introduces a motivation for the serpent or for the supernatural being who is represented by the serpent in the JST. As subtle or clever as the serpent is, it (or Satan, since the text is a little ambiguous here) does not know the mind of God and is therefore trying to destroy the world. The motivation derives from a lack of proper knowledge.

The rabbis in *Genesis Rabbah* provide a more prosaic motivation for the actions on the part of the serpent: "Rabbi Joshua ben Qorha said,

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45. Hebrew *apiqoros,* which probably derives from the Greek philosopher Epicurus and signifies someone who is irreverent or heretical. Marcus Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim, Talmud Bavli, Talmud Yerushalmi and Midrashic Literature* (New York: Judaica Treasury, 1974), 104.

46. Wherever there is a difference between the JST and the KJV, I will indicate it by putting the added or changed section in italics in the quote from the JST.

[referencing Genesis 2:25 and Genesis 3:1] 'It is to inform you what sin that wicked [serpent] encouraged them to do. When he saw them occupying themselves with the custom of the earth,[47] he desired her [and tried to kill Adam by encouraging him to sin].'" The motivation of the serpent is therefore very personal and, in some sense, more mundane than that attributed to it in the JST.

The desires of the serpent are further examined in a midrash to Genesis 3:14, describing God's cursing of the serpent. This verse reads: "And the Lord God said to the serpent, Because you have done this, cursed you will be more than any beast and above any wild animal. Upon your belly you will go, and you will eat dust all the days of your life. And I will set enmity between you and the woman, and between your seed and her seed."[48] The passage in *Genesis Rabbah,* takes each of the aspects of the curse and attributes it to an action or desire on the part of the serpent:

> Rabbi Isi and Rabbi Hoshiah said in the name of Rabbi Hiyya the Elder, "[God said to the serpent] four [things]: The Holy One, Blessed Be He, said to him 'I made you that you should be king, but you did not want it: "Cursed are you above all cattle and above all wild animals."
>
> "'I made you to walk upright like a man, but you did not want it: "Upon your belly, you will go."
>
> "'I made you to eat the sort of food that humans eat, but you did not want it: "And you shall eat dirt."
>
> "'You wanted to kill Adam and marry his wife: "I will put enmity between you and the woman, and between your seed and her seed."'
>
> "Thus, what he wanted was not given to him, and what he had was taken away from him." (*Gen. Rab.* 20:5)

Note the close association in this passage between the actions of the serpent and the curses sent against the serpent. For the Sages, the crimes of the serpent may be found and extracted from its curses. Thus, the information about the serpent and its crimes are already found within the biblical text. This close attention to the biblical text as a source of answers for the difficulties that it raises is characteristic of midrashic literature. In this midrash, the motives of the serpent are found within the text itself. It is not an extra interpretation but merely a clarification of what the text was doing all along.

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47. This phrase is a euphemism for sexual relations.
48. My own translation.

Smoothing Out Difficulties

In the same way that the authoritative space allows the JST and the Midrash to provide information about motivations, it can also smooth out difficulties.[49] One such difficulty may be seen when God speaks: to whom is he addressing these statements, and especially for whom is he speaking when he uses plural, first-person pronouns?[50] The JST expands the Genesis account by introducing a dialogue between the Father and the Son.[51] Thus, Moses 2:26, which parallels Genesis 1:26, reads: "And I, God, said *unto mine Only Begotten, which was with me from the beginning*: Let us make man in our image, after our likeness." Reading this as the Father taking council with the Son is in continuity with the Latter-day Saint position on the premortal existence of Jesus and the planned nature of the history of the earth, although as Robert J. Matthews points out, many distinctive Latter-day Saint beliefs are actually first found in the JST.[52] In fact, one of the major features of change to Genesis found in the JST is an increase in references to Jesus Christ

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49. Holtz calls these "gaps" in the text. Holtz, "Midrashic Literature," 179–81; Kugel, "Two Introductions," 144–45.

50. Some Hebrew grammarians suggest a plural of majesty for examples such as this. There is some use of honorific plurals in Hebrew nouns, but it does not exist in Hebrew verbs. Bruce Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 122–23; Paul Joüon and T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew,* vol. 3 (Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2005), 376, 500–501.

51. This is, of course, a position that is not unique to Mormon thought but that has a wide variety of parallels in various Christian sources, both ancient and modern. In fact, this verse was part of a Jewish discussion on binatarianism, a discussion that was certainly part of the Jewish-Christian discourse but that was also part of an internal Jewish discussion. Daniel Boyarin, "Beyond Judaisms: Metatron and the Divine Polymorphy of Ancient Judaism," *Journal for the Study of Ancient Judaism* 41 (2010): 323–65; A. F. Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven: Early Rabbinic Reports about Christianity and Gnosticism* (Leiden: Brill, 1977). Hutchinson's insistence that this does not refer to preexistent Christ, combined with his suggestion that this is a snippet of a Mesopotamian myth with God conferring with his consort seems to be begging the question. Hutchinson, "Mormon Midrash," 23, especially no. 8. The idea of God conferring with a divine council is, of course, one with resonances in Latter-day Saint thinking, including the book of Abraham, something Hutchinson does not pick up on in his discussion of the LDS versions of the creation stories.

52. Robert J. Matthews, "Role of the Joseph Smith Translation," accessed online.

and the notion of the establishment of the plan of salvation from the very beginning.[53]

The difficulty of God's conversation partner in this part of Genesis was felt by the rabbinic Sages, and provided space for expanding the narrative of the creation of the world, as in the JST. The Midrash presents, in the names of various rabbinic authorities, a number of different possibilities of who it is that God is conversing with about the creation of humanity: the already finished heaven and earth (*Gen. Rab.* 8:3); the ministering angels (*Gen. Rab.* 8:3); specifically named angels representing Love, Truth, Peace, and Righteousness (*Gen. Rab.* 8:5, drawing on Ps. 85:11); and the preexistent souls of the righteous (*Gen. Rab.* 8:7). In several of these narratives, God must trick the angels who are opposed to the creation of humanity in order to bring it to pass. The number of these examples illustrates a key difference between midrash and the Joseph Smith Translation. One of the characteristics of rabbinic literature is its polysemy—there is not one authorized interpretation of the Bible.[54] All of these options are present within the text, and, characteristically, the Midrash records them all. Where the JST brings forth one authorized interpretation, the Midrash records a conversation.

The interactions between Moses and God and between God and other heavenly beings show how these narrative expansions are an important part of the religious and theological identity of these groups. Just as the JST provides (and perhaps helped create) a very Latter-day Saint picture of the Father conversing with the Son and explaining notions of salvation to Moses, so also does *Genesis Rabbah* provide a rabbinic picture of a God who interacts with his angels, although he is also willing to go behind their back and create humanity over their objections, and who has Moses, as a faithful scribe, write down the Torah, which God himself authored. These narrative expansions show the nature and character of God, as understood in each of the respective interpretive communities.

Harmonization

Another place where the JST and *Genesis Rabbah* share similarities is in the idea that scripture represents a complete whole and that parts

53. Moses 2:1; 2:27; 5:7; and especially 6:52, where Adam is baptized in the name of Jesus.

54. The polysemy in Mormonism is there but is in tension with Latter-day Saint notions of authority and hierarchy. See the historiographical concerns in Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible,* xiii–xvi.

of scripture from one place can be helpfully used to understand other places. This derives from the notions of authority present in the individual communities. In Judaism, Torah (and therefore Moses) is at the base of the rest of scripture, and so all of scripture works together. Thus, in *Genesis Rabbah,* after Eve has eaten of the fruit and is attempting to get Adam to eat it, she quotes from Ecclesiastes 1:9 and Isaiah 45:18, noting that there will not be another wife created for Adam because "there is nothing new under the sun," and that God "formed the earth to be inhabited." The omnisignificance of scripture means that, like a rabbinic Sage, Eve is able to quote from scripture not yet written in order to prove her points. Much like the God of *Genesis Rabbah* is a rabbinic God, so also is its Eve a rabbinic Eve. As part of this, it should be emphasized once again that the answers that the JST and the Midrash provide to their respective communities are different, because the questions they are asking are different.

Thus, Eve in the Midrash is a rabbinic Eve, with knowledge of scripture not yet written, while Eve in the JST is a Latter-day Saint Eve with knowledge of the plan of salvation. In Moses 5:11, after Adam and Eve are taught about what the redemption the Son of God will bring to them and their descendants, Eve says, "Were it not for our transgression we never should have had seed, and never should have known good and evil, and the joy of our redemption, and the eternal life which God giveth unto all the obedient." Here, as in *Genesis Rabbah,* Eve speaks after eating the fruit, and speaks in terms of a Christian salvation, including the importance of having children and eternal life, ideas with a very Latter-day Saint resonance. The very same notions of authority at play in the presentation of the relationship between God and Moses in the JST and *Genesis Rabbah* are also working in the expansion of the character of Eve.

Conclusion

In spite of the previous pejorative usage of midrash to describe the Joseph Smith Translation, it turns out to be a comparison that has some usefulness, despite their differences in structure and content. The two literatures are by no means identical. The JST is not midrash. To argue otherwise would rob the term midrash of its explanatory power in regard to Jewish literature. The social situations and religious questions that drove the creation of these interpretive literatures were varied and different. Nineteenth-century America is not fifth-century Roman Palestine. Some of the similarities that caused earlier commentators to

draw connections do exist, however, and the chief of these is in notions of scriptural authority and the relationship between the interpreter and the scriptural text. Thus, it might be correct to call the JST, as some have, "midrashic," but the inverse would be true as well, and it would be appropriate to call the ancient midrash "Smithian."

Joseph Smith and the rabbinic Sages had different notions about the basis of their authority, but there is a certain similarity in their concepts of authority, which comes out in the JST and the Midrash. Both literatures are able to comment directly on the biblical text because they are produced in environments and by groups and individuals who claim Mosaic authority. Because these literatures are commenting on a text that they, and the communities they led, viewed as essentially Mosaic, a claim to Mosaic authority was an authorization to expand upon and explore the text. These explorations allow both the JST and the Midrash to highlight things that are left unclear in the biblical narrative, such as the motivations of characters like the serpent in the Garden of Eden story.

Thus, within their communities, the ideas and narratives that the interpreters are able to bring forth are not seen as new ideas but instead represent notions that were already present in the biblical text and that only needed to be discovered. The difficulties and gaps in the text, therefore, yield narratives that further explore and establish the character and narrative within the community. The process of discovery in rabbinic Judaism is framed as an intellectual exercise, while the process in the making of the Joseph Smith Translation is described in terms of revelation, but these interpretative strategies thrive because of the view that the changes are not changes to the essential meaning intended by the original biblical authors. Instead, interpreters possessing Mosaic authority are able to bring out to their communities the meanings already living within the text.

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A Narrative Approach to the Joseph Smith Translation of the Synoptic Gospels

Jared W. Ludlow

One of the first projects Joseph Smith undertook after the organization of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in April 1830 was a translation of the Bible. Although it was not a typical translation from original Greek or Hebrew manuscripts, the project was often called a "translation" nonetheless. The Joseph Smith Translation, or JST as it is often called, was referred to by the Lord in the Doctrine and Covenants as "the new translation of my holy word" (D&C 124:89). At the top of the manuscript of the revision of Matthew, it reads, "A translation of the New Testament translated by the power of God."

It is one thing for a group or individual to undertake a modern language rendering of the Bible, but Joseph's project was quite different. He sought to *clarify* the text more than create a new language text. He altered the biblical text as he felt led by the Spirit. The resulting text, although usually very similar to the King James Version, includes some sections and changes that greatly modify the original narrative. Some ways that the biblical story was often altered was through changes and additions in the narrator's descriptions of characters, settings, and plot events. This paper will examine the JST narratorial changes in the synoptic Gospels to appreciate some of the modifications the JST brought to the stories as found in these Gospels. Since the Gospels are religious texts, these changes have not only narrative implications but often theological ones as well.

Joseph Smith did not leave a record for why he made the changes he did in the JST, so we are left with the story as discoursed through the JST narrators of each synoptic Gospel. We can examine how the narrator

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This project started while I was working on another one related to the characterization of Peter in the Gospels. In that project, I began noticing how some JST additions related to Peter augmented the sometimes sharp dialogues between Jesus and Peter and changed some features within episodes. I wondered how the JST affected narrative features in other biblical stories. At first I was not sure how much I would find, but I submitted a proposal on this idea to the "Latter-day Saints and the Bible" section at the National Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature anyway, and it was accepted. As I began working on the project, I quickly saw that there was too much material so I had to limit it both on the narrative side—to changes made by the JST *narrators* in the stories—and in content—only focusing on the synoptic Gospels. It became fascinating to me to see how much the narrative within the Gospels changed through the JST, which I had only casually observed before in its excerpted fashion in the footnotes or appendix. The JST is a bold retelling of the Gospel stories that incorporates new characters and dialogues, leading me to wonder what Joseph Smith saw or experienced that led him to such changes. It is one thing to modernize or theologize a passage, where the purpose is primarily for modern understanding, but it is quite another to suddenly introduce new narrative elements into an ancient story. Where did these people come from? Why were new questions or challenges posed? Is it possible that Joseph Smith had all things before him in a revelatory state and amplified these texts because of what was before him? Since Joseph did not leave a detailed account of how he produced the Joseph Smith Translation, we can only speculate.

guides the readers to perceive characters and events from each Gospel, thereby revealing the characteristics of each JST narrator. This is different from how most LDS readers interact with the JST, since the JST usually is not read in narrative form but in small extracts in the footnotes or appendix. As we look at these examples of changes to the Gospel narratives, we can see some patterns in how the story is discoursed through each JST narrator. These tendencies help us understand some of the changes and also appreciate that although there are certainly many examples of harmonizations made across the Gospels, especially in the characterization of Jesus, Joseph Smith was not out primarily to create one harmonized Gospel. His changes appropriately reflect the unique characteristics of each synoptic Gospel writer, thus preserving the individuality of each Gospel narrator.

To understand some of the patterns of changes in the JST Gospel narratives, I will apply methodology from narrative criticism. Narrative criticism has been a significant part of biblical studies since the early 1980s. Influenced by literary criticism in literature studies, biblical scholars applied similar approaches to the biblical text. Narrative approaches differed from what were then common biblical criticisms because the focus was on the final form of the whole text rather than isolating individual pericopes while attempting to find original sources or understand the editorial history of the texts. In discussing the common biblical approaches before narrative criticism, Hans Frei noted, "The historical critic does something other than narrative interpretation with a narrative because he looks for what the narrative refers to or what reconstructed historical context outside itself explains it. He is not wrong when he does this, but unfortunately he is also not apt to see the logical difference between what he does and what a narrative interpretation might be and what it might yield."[1]

In some ways, narrative criticism reclaimed the religious nature of the text as it focused on the author's intent to create a religiously compelling account by determining the rhetorical function of the text. By examining how the parts related to the whole, biblical authors were seen as more sophisticated, creative, and purposeful than hitherto viewed. (Grant Hardy has uncovered similar advantages in applying narrative approaches to the Book of Mormon, leading to greater appreciation of

1. Hans W. Frei, *The Eclipse of Biblical Narrative: A Study in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Hermeneutics* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1974), 135.

the literary coherence of the text and the perspectives and communicative strategies of its narrators.)[2] To arrive at these types of observations, narrative critics examine different aspects of how the story is discoursed, such as its form or genre, its setting, its plot, and its characterization, including the various points of view of each character.[3] One aspect of the text narrative critics usually focus on is how the narrator presents and is presented in the story.

The narrator is a key figure in the disclosure of a story to a reader. Acting as a guide, the narrator leads a reader through depictions of settings and plot events that help make the story intelligible to a reader. The narrator also provides descriptions and insights on the characters in the story and, depending on how omniscient the narrator is, can even reveal characters' thoughts and feelings. Omniscience in narration refers to the level of knowledge of the narrator in relating information about characters and events. For example, an omniscient narrator would know everything about what a character is thinking or feeling, even though he or she is outside or separate from that character. Mark Powell has noted that the narrators in the Gospels are "very knowledgeable," meaning they are able to report on both public and private events.

> They even know the inner thoughts and motivations of the characters they describe (e.g., Matt. 2:3). Still, their knowledge may have limits. In the synoptic Gospels at least, the narrators' perceptions are limited spatially and temporally to the earthly realm. Descriptions of heaven and hell are offered only by characters in the stories, never by the narrators themselves. We do not find statements like those in the Old Testament that simply declare outright whether God is pleased or displeased with someone. Rather, if God is pleased with somebody in these narratives,

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2. Grant Hardy, *Understanding the Book of Mormon: A Reader's Guide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), see especially xiv–xix.

3. For some examples of narrative theoretical models and methods, see Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative* (New York: Basic Books, 1981); Seymour Chatman, *Story and Discourse: Narrative Structure in Fiction and Film* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1978); Gerard Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1980); Thomas G. Pavel, *The Poetics of Plot: The Case of English Renaissance Drama*, Theory and History of Literature, vol. 18 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985); Mark Allan Powell, *What Is Narrative Criticism?* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990); Meir Sternberg, *Poetics of Biblical Narrative: Ideological Literature and the Drama of Reading* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985).

> God enters the story and says so (Matt. 3:17; 17:5; Mark 1:11; Luke 3:22). The narrators may know the inner thoughts of Jesus, but, unlike Jesus, they do not presume to speak directly for God.[4]

The narrators in the synoptic Gospels are usually viewed as presenting the perspective of the implied author of each Gospel: Mark, Matthew, and Luke. Only in Luke is the audience to whom the narrator is speaking explicitly identified as Theophilus—either a specific individual or an implied reader who fears God. The synoptic Gospel narrators are not very intrusive and rarely address the reader explicitly (unlike Book of Mormon narrators who frequently address their future readers).[5]

Let us now turn to significant examples of how the JST narrators make changes to the synoptic Gospel stories. I will examine first the altered characterization of several individuals (including Jesus, John the Baptist, and the Apostles) and then look at other common changes throughout the Gospels (namely, clarifications, harmonizations, and transitions). I will catalogue these changes.[6]

Characterization

Jesus

Many of the changes the JST narrators make to the story involve characterization of major figures in the Gospels. Jesus, as the primary character, has additional information presented about him.

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4. Powell, *What Is Narrative Criticism?* 26.

5. Richard Bushman noted, "Mormon moves in and out of the narrative, pointing up a crucial conclusion or addressing readers with a sermon of his own." *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 119. Grant Hardy claimed, "We might imagine a history of the Nephites written by an impersonal, omniscient narrator whose point of view was similar to Joseph Smith's, but that is not what we have." Hardy, *Understanding the Book of Mormon*, xv.

6. This study's focus on the narrator will leave out information and changes we learn from the *dialogues* of other characters (which make many changes), unless the dialogue is modified by the JST narrator.

A significant early addition to the Matthean story is a description of Jesus growing up as a youth and preparing for his ministry (italics show the significant changes by the JST narrator).[7]

Matthew 2:23

King James Version	*Joseph Smith Translation*
And he came and dwelt in a city called Nazareth: that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets, He shall be called a Nazarene.	And he came and dwelt in a city called Nazareth: that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets, He shall be called a Nazarene. *And it came to pass, that Jesus grew up with his brethren, and waxed strong, and waited upon the Lord for the time of his ministry to come. And he served under his father, and he spake not as other men, neither could he be taught; for he needed not that any man should teach him. And after many years, the hour of his ministry drew nigh.*

The additional characterization of Jesus as a youth is somewhat reminiscent of Luke's statement of Jesus growing, becoming strong, and being filled with wisdom and having the favor of God upon him (2:40). The JST Matthew addition may be influenced from the Lucan passage and somewhat harmonizes with it, but its primary purpose is as a narrative bridge in JST Matthew between Jesus's birth and the beginning of his ministry, explaining how Jesus differed from others as he prepared for his ministry. (Mark has no such maturation passage, likely because there is no birth narrative.)

Many examples in the synoptic Gospels emphasize Jesus as the fulfillment of *written* prophecy.[8] For example, the narrator in JST Luke adds an entire dialogue emphasizing Jesus as the fulfillment of written prophecy. "*Then certain of them came to him, saying, Good master, we have Moses and the prophets, and whosoever shall live by them, shall he*

7. The text for the JST quotations comes from *The Complete Joseph Smith Translation of the New Testament: A Side-by-Side Comparison with the King James Version*, ed. Thomas A. Wayment (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2005).

8. Some dialogues by Jesus himself in the JST also stress this point. In the presence of Pilate, rather than Jesus's ambiguous response, "thou sayest," to Pilate's question, "Art thou the King of the Jews?" the narrator adds to Jesus's speech "thou sayest *truly, for thus it is written of me*" (JST Matt. 27:11). Also in JST Luke 22:16, the narrator adds to Jesus's dialogue about not eating anymore thereof until it be fulfilled "*which is written in the prophets concerning me. Then I will partake with you*." This insertion again emphasizes Jesus's fulfillment of what has been written by the prophets.

not have life? And Jesus answered, saying, Ye know not Moses, neither the prophets, for if ye had known them ye would have believed on me; for to this intent they were written. For I am sent that ye might have life" (14:33).

Sometimes the JST will change the purpose behind the actions in the story. In the temptation account (Matt. 4:1–2), the KJV implies that Jesus went out to the wilderness to be tempted and was carried from place to place by the devil. The JST Matthew narrator, however, explains the true purpose of Jesus's wilderness excursion—to commune with God—and how he went from place to place: the Spirit, not the devil, took him to the pinnacle of the temple and the high mountain. These examples of clarification to the story lessen the power and autonomy of the devil in this account yet still maintain the fact that Jesus was tempted by him. JST Luke also includes these clarifications so there is harmonization as well (see JST Luke 4:2, 5, 9). Although Mark's account of the temptations is considerably briefer than similar accounts in the other synoptics, there is still some harmonization, for the JST Mark narrator does make a slight mention of Satan *seeking to tempt* Jesus rather than Jesus being tempted of him for forty days (see Mark 1:13).

Repeatedly, the JST narrators make additions that heighten the roles of Jesus and stress the need for us to accept him as our Savior.[9] An example of a JST narrator highlighting Jesus's loftier role and the need

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9. The role of Jesus is heightened in the JST Matthew narrator's recitation of Jesus's words (in the form of dialogue) at the beginning of the Sermon on the Mount. Rather than simply beginning the traditional beatitudes, the JST Matthew narrator highlights Jesus's statement of the need to accept him and come unto him for salvation as part of the message the Apostles must share. In this case, there is no harmonization with the other synoptic Gospels, but there is a close parallel in the account of Jesus's sermon to the Nephites in 3 Nephi 12:2. "And he opened his mouth, and taught them, saying, *Blessed are they who shall believe on me; and again, more blessed are they who shall believe on your words when ye shall testify that ye have seen me and that I am. Yea, blessed are they who shall believe on your words and come down into the depth of humility and be baptized in my name; for they shall be visited with fire and the Holy Ghost, and shall receive a remission of their sins*" (JST Matt. 5:2). Later in the Sermon, Jesus's words are amplified as he states that "*the day soon cometh, that men shall come before me to judgment, to be judged according to their works*. And many will say unto me in that day, Lord, Lord . . ." (JST Matt. 7:22). Again the status of Jesus is raised even higher than the KJV text implies. Jesus's role as future judge seems to be implied also by the narrator in JST Luke 13:35, when Jesus states: "Ye shall not *know* me, *until ye have received from the hand of the Lord a just recompense for all your sins*."

to come unto him for forgiveness is found in JST Mark 3:28, where an entirely new setting is presented with certain men coming and accusing Jesus of claiming to be the Son of God.

Mark 3:28

King James Version	*Joseph Smith Translation*
Verily I say unto you, All sins shall be forgiven unto the sons of men, and blasphemies wherewith soever they shall blaspheme:	*And then came certain men unto him, accusing him, saying, Why do ye receive sinners, seeing thou makest thyself the Son of God? But he answered them, and said,* verily I say unto you, All sins *which men have committed, when they repent,* shall be forgiven *them; for I came to preach repentance* unto the sons of men, and blasphemies wherewith soever they shall blaspheme, *shall be forgiven them that come unto me and do the works which they see me do.*

This passage changes the setting with new characters and a new question, which challenges Jesus's designation as Son of God, for how can a pure being associate with impure sinners? This narratorial addition emphasizes the need for repentance and coming unto Christ and doing the works he does, while breaking up the original KJV passage, which has no clear notion of repentance and even less of Christ's role in that process. The changes in this passage are noteworthy because it is more common for the JST narrators to add segments of narrative to the beginning or ending of verses rather than rework inside a passage as was done here (the major exception to this tendency is modernizing word choices, which the JST does throughout). JST Matthew adds a similar sentiment of Christ's role in repentance and forgiveness, but without the narrative reworking of the episode, when it states, "All manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men *who receive me and repent*" (JST Matt. 12:31; JST Luke 12:10 simply adds "*and repenteth*" without mentioning Christ's role).

Another future prophecy raising Jesus's status, along with the Apostles, is given by the JST narrator in Matthew 25:34, where as part of the Son of man's return and separation of the wicked and righteous, "he shall sit upon his throne, and the twelve apostles with him." Thus Jesus, alongside the Apostles, will play a role in the final judgment.

Jesus's status was also elevated through additional dialogue:

> And when the chief priests and Pharisees had heard his parables, they perceived that he spake of them. *And they said among themselves, Shall this man think that he alone can spoil this great kingdom? And they were angry with him.* But when they sought to lay hands on him, they feared the multitude, because *that* they *learned that the multitude* took him for

> a prophet. *And now his disciples came to him, and Jesus said unto them, Marvel ye at the words or the parable which I spake unto them? Verily, I say unto you, I am the stone, and those wicked ones reject me. I am the head of the corner. These Jews shall fall upon me, and shall be broken; and the kingdom of God shall be taken from them, and shall be given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof (meaning the Gentiles). Wherefore, on whomsoever this stone shall fall, it shall grind him to powder. And when the Lord therefore of the vineyard cometh, he will destroy those miserable, wicked men, and will let again his vineyard unto other husbandmen; even in the last days, which shall render him the fruits in their seasons. And then understood they the parable which he spake unto them, that the Gentiles should be destroyed also, when the Lord should descend out of heaven to reign in his vineyard, which is the earth and the inhabitants thereof.* (JST Matt. 21:47–56)

This additional passage in Matthew adds plenty to the narrative. First, it identifies a question the Jewish leaders ask among themselves denigrating the possible role of Jesus. It also reveals their feelings of anger toward him. (JST Mark 12:12 also adds the insight that the Jewish leaders "were angry when they heard these words." JST Luke does not include major additions in this episode.) The second part adds a dialogue between Jesus and the Apostles where more explanation is given of the parable Jesus had just shared. Jesus identifies himself as the stone and head of the corner upon which the Jews will be broken (a fulfillment of Psalm 118:22). It also gives a future prophecy of the kingdom being given specifically to the Gentiles. The narrator's statement ends with the insight that the Apostles now understood the meaning of the parable: that the Gentiles (presumably the wicked ones) would also be destroyed when Jesus returns to his vineyard, specifically identified as the earth and the inhabitants thereof.

The JST Luke narrator makes several changes in the interaction between Jesus and some Jewish opponents in Luke 16. Rather than Jesus simply making claims like in the KJV, a dialogue between Jesus and some Pharisees is moderated by the JST narrator, giving more context to the encounter. Within these additions, the Jewish opponents reject Jesus and cling to their law and prophets. They do not want Jesus to be their ruler or judge. They also grow angrier when Jesus calls them adulterers. For his part, Jesus proclaims that the law and prophets testify of him—another emphasis on Jesus as fulfillment of prophecy.[10] He also

10. In the parallel passage in Matthew, the JST narrator does not make the extensive changes as in Luke, but does include the notion of those oppressing

condemns their teachings and accuses them of persecution, oppression, and sin.

Luke 16:16–18

King James Version	*Joseph Smith Translation*
16 The law and the prophets were until John: since that time the kingdom of God is preached, and every man presseth into it.	16 *And they said unto him, We have the law and the prophets, but as for this man we will not receive him to be our ruler; for he maketh himself to be a judge over us. Then said Jesus unto them,* The law and the prophets *testify of me; yea, and all the prophets who have written, even* until John, *have foretold of these days.* Since that time the kingdom of God is preached, and every man *who seeketh truth,* presseth into it.
17 And it is easier for heaven and earth to pass, than one tittle of the law to fail.	17 And it is easier for heaven and earth to pass, than *for* one tittle of the law to fail. *And why teach ye the law, and deny that which is written; and condemn him who the Father hath sent to fulfill the law, that you might be redeemed? O fools! For you have said in your hearts, There is no God. And you pervert the right way; and the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence of you; and you persecute the meek; and in your violence you seek to destroy the kingdom; and ye take the children of the kingdom by force.*
18 Whosoever putteth away his wife, and marrieth another, committeth adultery: and whosoever marrieth her that is put away from her husband committeth adultery.	18 *Wo unto you, ye adulterers! And they reviled him again, being angry for the saying, that they were adulterers. But he continued, saying,* Whosoever putteth away his wife, and marrieth another, committeth adultery: and whosoever marrieth her *who* is put away from her husband committeth adultery.

The institution of the sacrament at the Last Supper provided the JST Matthew narrator more opportunity to magnify Jesus's salvific role, yet there are differences between the JST Matthew manuscripts (the only Gospel in the JST to have more than one version).[11] "Both

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others losing their power and the fulfillment of prophecy in "these days" (JST Matt. 11:13).

11. Kent Jackson gave a brief description of how we now have two JST Matthew manuscripts: "The original dictation of Matthew is on a manuscript we call New Testament Manuscript 1. The Prophet interrupted the work at Matthew 26 when he went to Missouri for much of the summer of 1831. While he was gone, John Whitmer made a backup copy, which we call New Testament [Manuscript] 2. When the Prophet returned and resumed the New Testament translation, he did it on New Testament 2, with the backup copy

NT1 and NT2.2 add words to show that the bread was not Jesus' body but 'in remembrance' of it, something otherwise absent in the Matthew account. The words 'which I gave a ransom for you' in NT2.2 provide the doctrinal foundation for the passage. In the NT1 narrative, Jesus commands his Apostles to do as they had seen him do—to bless and pass the sacramental emblems to others."[12] Similar changes emphasizing partaking of the wine *in remembrance* of Jesus's blood are also found in the subsequent verses. JST Mark also includes the emphasis on partaking of the bread and wine *in remembrance* of Jesus and adds the promise that as they do so, they will remember this hour they were with him, "*even the last time in my ministry*" (Mark 14:24, see also 14:22), thus personalizing the experience more for the Apostles. The additional emphasis on "remembrance" in JST Matthew and JST Mark somewhat harmonizes with Luke's account as well as the earliest Christian account of the sacrament in Paul's writings (see Luke 22:19 and 1 Cor. 11:24–25).[13]

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again becoming the copy for the ongoing translation through the end of the New Testament. On that manuscript, he made further refinements to text already recorded until he was confident that the translation was as the Lord wanted it to be." From "Joseph Smith's New Translation of the Bible," in *Joseph Smith, the Prophet and Seer*, ed. Richard Neitzel Holzapfel and Kent P. Jackson (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2010), 66–67.

12. Kent P. Jackson and Peter M. Jasinski, "The Process of Inspired Translation: Two Passages Translated Twice in the Joseph Smith Translation of the Bible," *BYU Studies* 42, no. 2 (2003): 46–47.

13. JST Matthew also emphasizes that Jesus's blood will be "shed for as many as shall believe on my name," heightening the role of faith in Jesus in the process of our salvation. The small insertion in JST Matthew 26:29 that Jesus "shall come" to drink the fruit of the vine again one day with them in "my Father's kingdom" shows that that event will take place "on the earth," not in heaven (see D&C 27:5). JST Luke does not include these changes, but does have one additional line when Jesus stated that he would not eat any "thereof" (the Passover meal) "until it be fulfilled, *which is written in the prophets concerning me. Then I will partake with you*, in the kingdom of God" (22:16). Thus the JST Luke narrator emphasizes the fulfillment of Old Testament prophecies concerning Jesus Christ.

The episode of Jesus's arrest in the Garden of Gethsemane contains some significant changes made by the JST narrators.

Matthew 26:50

King James Version	*Joseph Smith Translation*
And Jesus said unto him, Friend, wherefore art thou come? Then came they, and laid hands on Jesus, and took him.	And Jesus said unto him, *Judas,* wherefore art thou come *to betray me with a kiss*? Then came they, and laid hands on Jesus, and took him. (NT1 And Jesus said unto him, *Judas, betrayest thou the Son of man with a kiss? And Jesus also said unto the captain,* Friend, wherefore art thou come? *And* then they came, and laid hands on Jesus, and took him.)

Instead of calling Judas a friend, in JST Matthew Jesus calls him by name and asks if he has come to betray him with a kiss. The question about the betrayal kiss harmonizes with Luke's account (see 22:48; JST Mark does not add the change). As for the endearing term, "friend," in NT1 Jesus actually calls the captain of the guard "friend," a surprising change in the scene raising the question why Jesus would call him friend. In either case, this change distances Jesus from Judas, who at that moment has come to betray him.

The next action in Gethsemane was Peter's defense of Jesus by cutting off the ear of the high priest's servant. Only in KJV Luke does Jesus then heal the ear. Through the JST changes in Matthew and Mark, all the Gospels include the healing of the ear and Jesus's restraint against using the sword for defense.

Matthew 26:52, 54

King James Version	*JST Matt. 26:54*	*JST Mark 14:47*
52 Then said Jesus unto him, Put up again thy sword into his place: for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword. 54 But how then shall the scriptures be fulfilled, that thus it must be?	(NT1 But how then shall the scriptures be fulfilled, that thus it must be? *And he put forth his hand and touched the servant's ear and it was healed.*)	And one of them *who* stood by drew *his* sword, and smote a servant of the high priest, and cut off his ear. *But Jesus commanded him to return his sword, saying, He who taketh the sword shall perish with the sword. And he put forth his finger, and healed the servant of the high priest.*

In the KJV, Matthew records the clear command to put the sword back in the sheath, while KJV Luke implies allowing the arrest with the directive

"suffer ye thus far" (22:51).[14] The JST Mark narrator adds the command to return the sword, along with the counsel that whoever fights by the sword shall perish with it, which parallels the KJV Matthew passage. The JST narrators in Matthew and Mark add the healing of the servant's ear to correspond with Luke's account. Thus, a harmonization of this episode's two key actions is made among all the three synoptic Gospels.

There are thus several major tendencies noted among the JST narratorial changes to Jesus's characterization:

- emphasis on Jesus as the fulfillment of *written* prophecy
- descriptions of needing to come to Jesus for salvation
- some harmonization of actions so they are consistent across the Gospels
- additions of new characters asking Jesus questions, thereby fleshing out the contexts for some of Jesus's statements (these are not usually harmonized among all the Gospels)
- creation of bridges where there are gaps in the narrative, such as between Jesus's birth and ministry
- changes in certain relationships, such as between Jesus and Judas

While some of these changes to Jesus's characterization show some harmonization among the Gospels, more so in relation to Jesus's actions than his teachings, there is certainly no systematic effort to harmonize across all of them. Some introductions of new characters or settings are unique to a particular Gospel, even when the same episode is found in another Gospel. Thus, each Gospel story remains a unique testimony of Jesus's ministry.

John the Baptist

John the Baptist is another major figure whose descriptions and actions are sometimes altered by the JST narrators, most notably in JST Matthew and Mark.

One aspect that often comes out in the narratorial modifications is the reinforcement of John the Baptist's subservient role to Jesus. For

14. Other modern versions of Luke are more forceful: "No more of this!" The Gospel of John also includes this episode and follows Matthew closely in Jesus's command to sheath the sword (see John 18:11).

example, John's deferential function of bearing record of Jesus as one coming after him with power to baptize with the Holy Ghost and fire was highlighted in JST Matthew 3:12 after John's acknowledgment that he was unworthy to even bear Jesus's shoes.[15]

Matthew 3:12

King James Version	*Joseph Smith Translation*
Whose fan is in his hand, and he will throughly purge his floor, and gather his wheat into the garner; but he will burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire.	*And it is he of whom I shall bear record,* whose fan *shall be* in his hand, and he will thoroughly purge his floor, and gather his wheat into the garner; but *in the fullness of his own time* will burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire. *Thus came John, preaching and baptizing in the river of Jordan; bearing record, that he who was coming after him, had power to baptize with the Holy Ghost and fire.*

A few verses later, at the relating of Jesus's baptism, the JST Matthew narrator makes a significant alteration to the story where it is John the Baptist who both sees the Spirit of God descending like a dove and hears the voice from heaven commanding him to listen to Christ.[16]

15. The JST in John also amplifies this subservient relationship between Jesus and John the Baptist: "He it is *of whom I bear record. He is that prophet, even Elias*, who coming after me is preferred before me, whose shoe's latchet I am not worthy to unloose, *or whose place I am not able to fill: for he shall baptize, not only with water, but with fire, and with the Holy Ghost*" (JST John 1:27).

16. This clarification is somewhat confirmed in JST Mark when the narrator adds to the end of the episode: "*And John bare record of it*" (1:11). These changes may be a harmonization with John the Baptist's testimony in the Gospel of John where it is related: "And John bare record, saying, *When he was baptized of me*, I saw the Spirit descending from heaven like a dove, and it abode upon him. And I knew him: *for* he *who* sent me to baptize with water, the same said unto me, Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending, and remaining on him, the same is he *who* baptizeth with the Holy Ghost. And I saw, and bare record that this is the Son of God" (JST John 1:32–34). Luke makes no change, perhaps because in Luke the opening of the heavens seems to be in response to Jesus's prayer, not the baptism. Plus both Luke and Mark have God's words directed at Jesus, "thou art," rather than as in Matthew to others, "this is."

Matthew 3:16–17

King James Version	*Joseph Smith Translation*
16. And Jesus, when he was baptized, went up straightway out of the water: and, lo, the heavens were opened unto him, and he saw the Spirit of God descending like a dove, and lighting upon him: 17. And lo a voice from heaven, saying, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.	16. And Jesus, when he was baptized, went up straightway out of the water: *and John saw,* and, *lo!* the heavens were opened unto him, and he saw the Spirit of God descending like a dove, and lighting upon *Jesus*: 17. And lo! *he heard* a voice from heaven, saying, this is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; *hear ye him.* (NT1 16. And Jesus, when he was baptized, went up straightway out of the water: *and John saw,* and *lo!* the heavens were opened unto him *(John),* and he saw the Spirit of God descending like a dove, and lighting upon *Jesus*:)

As another indication of the close relationship between Jesus and John the Baptist, the JST Matthew narrator makes a significant change regarding *who* received angels to strengthen him after Jesus's fasting and temptations. Instead of angels coming to strengthen Jesus, Jesus sent them to John because he had heard that John was cast into prison. So the angels "*came and ministered unto him*" (JST Matt. 4:12; JST Mark does not make the change, and the Gospel of Luke does not include any visitation of angels after Jesus's temptations).

At the transfiguration experience, the JST narrators in Matthew and Mark add to the story considerably to explain how John the Baptist is part of this episode. According to the JST Matthew narrator, the identification of "Elias" is explained as actually two people: one who had already come to prepare the way before Jesus and who was taken by others and killed (John the Baptist), and another who would come to restore all things (Elijah).[17]

17. The JST in John also identifies an Elias who would restore all things but in another setting: the episode where people ask John the Baptist if he was that Elias: "And they asked him, *saying, How* then art thou Elias? And he *said*, I am not *that Elias who was to restore all things*" (JST John 1:21). Also a little later: "Why baptizest thou then, if thou be not *the* Christ, nor Elias *who was to restore all things*, neither that prophet?" (JST John 1:25).

Matthew 17:12–13

King James Version	*Joseph Smith Translation*
12. But I say unto you, That Elias is come already, and they knew him not, but have done unto him whatsoever they listed. Likewise shall also the Son of man suffer of them. 13 Then the disciples understood that he spake unto them of John the Baptist.	12. *And again* I say unto you, That Elias *has* come already, *concerning whom it is written, Behold I will send my messenger and he shall prepare the way before me;* and they knew him not, *and* have done unto him whatsoever they listed. Likewise shall also the Son of man suffer of them. 13 *But I say unto you, Who is Elias? Behold, this is Elias whom I send to prepare the way before me.* Then the disciples understood that he spake unto them of John the Baptist *and also of another which should come and restore all things, as it is written by the prophets.*

In JST Mark, the narrator states that "there appeared unto them Elias with Moses, *or in other words, John the Baptist and Moses*" (JST Mark 9:4).[18] It is unclear what happened to Elijah in the discussion of JST Mark. (Luke does not have a discussion about Elias.)

Thus, in the case of changes related to the characterization of John the Baptist, there does not seem to be the same harmonizing tendency among the JST narrators as found in their characterization of Jesus. The JST Luke narrator does not make significant changes related to John the Baptist's characterization, and while JST Matthew and JST Mark both make noteworthy changes, there is not a focus on harmonization.

A close reading of the narrative changes in the JST in relation to John the Baptist reveals subtle ways the narrator changes how the implied reader will perceive John the Baptist. The JST narrator strengthens John's subservient status while also making him the primary participant in more heavenly manifestations. Thus, his spiritual status is elevated by his participation in additional experiences, but his words reveal his secondary status to Jesus.

18. Jesus's dialogue in the JST continues to emphasize the preparatory role of this Elias in subsequent verses as one who "cometh first, and *prepareth* all things; and *teacheth you of the prophets . . . and even* as it is written of him; *and he bore record of me, and they received him not. Verily this was Elias*" (JST Mark 9:12–13).

Apostles

The characterization of the Apostles in the synoptic Gospels shows some changes by the JST narrators especially in relation to Jesus.[19]

Within the Sermon on the Mount in the JST, the Apostles ask Jesus a question that elicits further counsel from him. This JST narratorial addition is interesting for two reasons: first, it interrupts Jesus's free-flowing sermon with a question from the Apostles, and, second, it includes a saying of Jesus about receiving justly from one's father, but in the context of challenges the Apostles might face from unbelievers or at least those who lack faith that God could respond to them:

> *And then said his disciples unto him, They will say unto us, We ourselves are righteous and need not that any man should teach us. God, we know, heard Moses and some [of] the prophets; but us he will not hear.*
>
> *And they will say, We have the law for our salvation, and that is sufficient for us.*
>
> *Then Jesus answered, and said unto his disciples, Thus shall ye say unto them,*
>
> *What man among you, having a son, and he shall be standing out, and shall say, Father, open thy house that I may come in and sup with thee, will not say, Come in, my son; for mine is thine, and thine is mine?* Or what man is there *among* you, *who* if his son ask bread, will he give him a stone? (JST Matt. 7:14–18)

The woman anointing Jesus was an episode among several where the Apostles lacked understanding.[20] The NT1 JST version of Matthew shows changes in 26:10 that are sharper toward the Apostles. Here not only did they not understand Jesus's sayings but had evil thoughts toward the woman. In addition, the JST Matthew narrator has underscored Jesus's ability to know their hearts and to criticize their evil thoughts: "And when *they had thus reasoned among themselves, and understood*

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19. In Jesus's first calling of some of the Apostles in Matthew, before he invites them to follow him, he identifies himself by stating, "*I am he of whom it is written by the prophets*" (JST Matt. 4:19). This small clause removes the ambiguity of whether the Apostles knew who Jesus was before he invited them to follow him. However, the JST of Mark does not make such an addition in its parallel version of this account. (Luke does not have a parallel.)

20. As another example of the Apostles not understanding what Jesus was teaching, the JST Mark narrator adds the fact that Peter, James, and John "asked him many questions concerning his saying" as a prelude to the Mount of Transfiguration experience (JST Mark 9:2).

not, Jesus knowing their hearts, he said unto them, Why trouble you the woman *and from whence is this evil in your hearts*? for verily I say unto you, she hath wrought a good work upon me."

The JST Luke narrator adds a new application of Jesus's statement "But he that denieth me before men shall be denied before the angels of God" (12:9) by turning the focus on his own disciples who somehow have spoken evil of Jesus. "*Now his disciples knew that he said this, because they had spoken evil against him before the people; for they were afraid to confess him before men. And they reasoned among themselves, saying, He knoweth our hearts, and he speaketh to our condemnation, and we shall not be forgiven. But he answered them*, and *said unto them*, Whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of man, *and repenteth*, it shall be forgiven him: but unto him *who* blasphemeth against the Holy Ghost it shall not be forgiven *him*" (JST Luke 12:10–12). This narratorial addition is unexpected because we have no account in the text of Jesus's disciples, including the Apostles, speaking evil against him because they were afraid to confess him before men. It also changes the rationale for Jesus's next statement—that the sin of speaking against the Son of man can be forgiven through repentance—because his disciples had begun thinking they could not be forgiven for their past actions. It is an additional example of the Apostles' and other followers' early weakness. Other JST examples show that the Apostles were often afraid or filled with fear (see JST Mark 9:34 and JST Luke 8:23). They also frequently lacked understanding, yet, the JST Matthew narrator states, through experience they gained greater understanding of Jesus's exalted nature:

Matthew 23:39

King James Version	*Joseph Smith Translation*
For I say unto you, Ye shall not see me henceforth, till ye shall say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.	For I say unto you, *that you* shall not see me henceforth, *and know that I am he of whom it is written by the prophets, until you* shall say, Blessed is he *who* cometh in the name of the Lord, *in the clouds of heaven, and all the holy angels with him. Then understood his disciples that he should come again on the earth, after that he was glorified and crowned on the right hand of God.*

Within this JST emendation, the narrator has amplified Jesus's status as the object of the prophets' writing, and one who would return in the clouds with angels after his glorification on the right hand of God. It

also specifically states that the Apostles grew to understand these facts about Jesus,[21] especially Jesus's second coming, which is not explicit in the KJV.[22]

The accounts of Jesus and the Apostles in Gethsemane receive some significant changes to their narrative in the JST, thereby affecting the Apostles' characterization. In Gethsemane, JST Mark states that it was actually the disciples who began to be sore amazed, not Jesus, and the narrator gives some of the rationale for their strong feelings: wondering whether Jesus was in fact the Messiah. "*And the disciples began to be sore amazed, and to be very heavy, and to complain in their hearts, wondering if this be the Messiah.* And *Jesus, knowing their hearts,* he *said* to his disciples, Sit *you* here, while I shall pray. And he taketh with him Peter and James and John, and *rebuked them*" (14:32–33). It is unclear why these three Apostles were rebuked. Was it because they themselves were doubtful or because they were the leaders of the others and had not taught them sufficiently?

There is another change in the Gethsemane episode where the narrator breaks up Jesus's free-flowing speech: "Watch ye and pray, lest ye enter into temptation. The spirit truly is ready, but the flesh is weak" (Mark 14:38). The JST Mark narrator splits the two clauses between two speakers. "Watch ye and pray, lest ye enter into temptation. *And they said unto him,* the spirit truly is ready, but the flesh is weak" (JST Mark 14:38). In this case, Jesus makes the first statement, and, presumably Peter, James, and John make the second statement attesting to the difficulty they have staying awake.[23]

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21. In the next Matthean episode in the JST, Jesus questions the understanding of the Apostles: "Do you not understand them?" (JST Matt. 24:2). This is also found in JST Mark: "See you not all these things and do you not understand them?" (13:2). JST Luke does not include Jesus's statement but does clarify that "they" refers to "the disciples" who asked Jesus about the timing of the events he prophesied (see 21:7).

22. In the parallel passage in Luke, the JST changes are different: "Behold, your house is left unto you desolate: and verily I say unto you, Ye shall not *know* me, *until ye have received from the hand of the Lord a just recompense for all your sins*; until the time come when ye shall say, Blessed is he *who* cometh in the name of the Lord" (JST Luke 13:35). Instead of the Apostles being the audience and coming to better understand Jesus's role, the audience seems to be the Jews who will receive punishment from the Lord for their sins.

23. But note that JST Matthew NT1 26:41 specifically adds "he said unto them" between the two clauses, thus keeping Jesus as the speaker of both but

Regarding the events in Gethsemane, the JST Matthew narrator inserts a clause that slightly adds to the plot related to the Apostles. When Jesus stated, "Sleep on now," the JST narrator in Matthew 26:45 "supplies the missing continuity. In NT1 we read, 'and they did so. And when they awoke, Jesus saith unto them.' NT2.2 expresses it differently: 'And after they had slept he said unto them, Arise' [JST Matt. 26:46]. Again, it is interesting to see that the Prophet inserted the same thought into each account, although not in identical words and not in the same location."[24]

One last event in Gethsemane was the fleeing of the disciples from the arresting party (and consequently from Jesus). The JST Mark narrator adds a brief clause that may give the rationale for why they fled: they heard Jesus's statement that "the scripture must be fulfilled" as related in the previous verse. JST Mark 14:50 begins, "And *the disciples, when* they *heard this saying,* all forsook him, and fled." The addition of "when they heard this saying" [that "the scripture must be fulfilled"] may suggest that it was at that moment they remembered the scripture passage Jesus had prophetically recited for them at the Last Supper: "I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered" (Mark 14:27 referring to Zech. 13:7).

As the chief Apostle, Peter is sometimes singled out for additional descriptions by the JST narrators. Interestingly, it is often not in a positive light, since he is rebuked additional times in the JST beyond the rebukes recorded in the KJV. In the episode about whether Jesus should pay tribute, instead of Jesus "preventing" (or preceding) Peter from entering the house, Jesus "rebukes" him (JST Matt. 17:25). In JST Mark 10:31–32, following Jesus's statement that "*there are* many *who make themselves* first *that* shall be last; and the last first," the JST Mark narrator adds, "*This he said, rebuking Peter*." These JST additions are consistent with how Jesus repeatedly rebukes Peter and sometimes the other Apostles because he knows their hearts.[25]

The JST Mark narrator gives insight into the characterization of Judas in the encounter between him and Jesus at the Last Supper. Jesus

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splitting them with a narrative interjection.

24. Jackson and Jasinski, "Process of Inspired Translation," 50–51.

25. A probable harmonization related to Peter's denial is when the JST Mark narrator adds that he "*went out, and fell upon his face, and* wept *bitterly*" (14:72), similar to the use of the adjective "bitterly" in Matthew and Luke.

stated, "But after that I am risen, I will go before you into Galilee. *And he said unto Judas Iscariot, what thou doest, do quickly; but beware of innocent blood. Nevertheless, Judas Iscariot, even one of the twelve, went unto the chief priests to betray Jesus unto them; for he turned away from him, and was offended because of his words. And when the chief priests heard of him, they were glad, and promised to give him money; and he sought how he might conveniently betray Jesus*" (JST Mark 14:28). The narrator adds some significant words and phrases that guide how the text is to be read. Jesus warns Judas of "*innocent blood. Nevertheless, Judas . . . , even one of the twelve, went to betray Jesus*." The word *nevertheless* highlights Judas disregarding his Master's warning, and the word *even* emphasizes how far Judas is falling: from being one of the Twelve to betraying his Master. The narrator also gives the rationale for why Judas was doing this: he turned away from Jesus and was offended because of his words. The JST Mark narrator has also moved the account of Judas's meeting with the chief priests to during the Last Supper rather than before as in the KJV (see Mark 14:10–11), JST Matthew, and JST Luke.[26]

These examples of narratorial changes to the characterization of the Apostles, while showing some similar tendencies, like Jesus rebuking Peter multiple times or the Apostles frequently lacking understanding, show little harmonization among the Gospels. Each Gospel introduces new settings and characterizations regardless of the other Gospels, thereby preserving the individuality of each JST narrator.

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26. There are some other examples of changing the narrative order in the JST. In telling the parable of the unmerciful servant and the debt, *when* the servant fell down and worshipped his lord is placed later by the JST Matthew narrator, thus changing the servant's act from one of petition to one of gratitude (see JST Matt. 18:26–27). Two other examples of changing the narrative order are found in the two manuscripts of JST Matthew 26, showing how these changes can develop even between the two JST Matthew versions. In Matthew 26:5, NT1 states, "Lest there be an uproar among the people, let us not do it on the feast day," while NT2.2 keeps it in the same order as the KJV: "Not on the feast day, lest there be an uproar among the people" (this is also the same order in JST Mark 14:2). The episode of the woman anointing Jesus provides another example: the phrase in which Jesus promises that the woman would be blessed through this act is at the end of the verse in NT1 but at the beginning in NT2.2.

Other Characters

Other characters in the synoptic Gospels besides the Apostles sometimes have their characterization changed or revealed through statements and descriptions by the JST narrators, sometimes divulging a more omniscient narrator who knows the emotions and thoughts of the characters. Herod the Great asked his chief priests and scribes: "Where *is the place that is written of by the prophets in which* Christ should be born?" thereby reemphasizing Jesus being the fulfillment of written scripture. Then, the JST Matthew narrator gives insight into Herod's emotions at this moment: "*For he greatly feared, yet he believed not the prophets*" (JST Matt. 2:4). At the end of Jesus's life when Pilate was washing hands, the KJV narrator gives an ambiguous statement: "I am innocent of the blood of this just person: see ye to it" (Matt. 27:24). The JST Matthew narrator absolves Pilate of some of his responsibility by changing the last phrase to a command for them to leave Jesus alone: "I am innocent of the blood of this just person: see *that* ye *do nothing unto him*" (JST Matt. 27:24).

Other Narratorial Changes

Definitions or Clarifications

Besides characterization changes, there are several other examples of how the JST narrators change the story in each synoptic Gospel. One type of common change is when the JST narrator provides definitions or clarifying statements about terms or imagery for the reader. Examples of these definition statements are found throughout JST Matthew 24, the Olivet Discourse. Near the beginning, when using the phrase "end of the world," the JST Matthew narrator adds the parenthetical statement "(*or the destruction of the wicked, which is the end of the world*)" (JST Matt. 24:3; JST Mark 13:4 makes the same change). When talking about the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the prophet, the JST Matthew narrator adds the clarifying clause: "*concerning the destruction of Jerusalem*" (JST Matt 24:15; JST Mark 13:14 makes the same change). In somewhat parallel fashion, JST Luke later makes the narratorial statement: "*Now these things he spake unto them concerning the destruction of Jerusalem*" (21:25); however, Luke does not mention Daniel's abomination of desolation.[27]

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27. The dialogue in the JST also clarifies the time period Jesus is talking about in Matthew 24:23: "*Behold those things I have spoken unto you concerning*

One of the most personalized explanations was given to Theophilus by the JST narrator in Luke 3:13. This is the strongest example of a JST narrator being intrusive because he is speaking directly to Theophilus to give an explanation of a Jewish custom to a Gentile: "And he [John the Baptist] said unto them, Exact no more than that which is appointed *unto* you. *For it is well known unto you, Theophilus, that after the manner of the Jews, and according to the custom of their law, in receiving money in the treasury, that out of the abundance which was received was appointed unto the poor, every man his portion; and after this manner did the publicans also, wherefore John said unto them, Exact no more than that which is appointed you*."

In other places in JST Luke, the narrator defines many things using the word "signifying," perhaps as additional evidence of being more intrusive in Luke because it is to a gentile, less-experienced audience. "This man began to build, and was not able to finish. *And this he said, signifying there should not any man follow him, unless he was able to continue*" (JST Luke 14:30). "*These things he said, signifying; That which was written verily must all be fulfilled*" (JST Luke 14:35). The narrator also has Jesus explain the meaning of the imagery of the green and dry trees: "*This he spake, signifying the scattering of Israel, and the desolation of the heathen, or in other words, the Gentiles*" (JST Luke 23:31).[28] A longer clarification is expounded in Luke and Matthew to explain the obscure image of eagles gathering around the carcass:

> Wheresoever the body is *gathered; or, in other words, whithersoever the saints are gathered,* thither will the eagles be gathered together, *or thither will the remainder be gathered together. This he spake signifying the gathering of his saints; and of angels descending and gathering the remainder unto them; the one from the bed, the other from the field, whithersoever he listeth. For verily there shall be new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness. And there shall be no unclean*

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the Jews, and again, after the tribulation of those days which shall come upon Jerusalem, if any man shall say unto you, Lo! here is Christ, or there; believe *him* not" (JST Mark 13:20–21 basically has the same addition). Finally in this chapter, the JST narrator adds an allusion to a prophecy of Moses not even mentioned in the KJV related to the weeping and gnashing of teeth: "*And thus cometh the end of the wicked according to the prophecy of Moses, saying, They should be cut off from among the people; but the end of the earth is not yet, but by and by*" (JST Matt. 24:51).

28. JST Luke adds at least four cases when the Gentiles are highlighted, consistent with the Gospel at large (see JST Luke 3:4; 21:25, 32; 23:31).

> *thing; for the earth becoming old, even as a garment, having waxed in corruption, wherefore it vanisheth away, and the footstool remaineth sanctified, cleansed from all sin.* (JST Luke 17:37)

Where Matthew also uses this metaphor, another long narratorial explanation by the JST narrator about this imagery is given, but it is not equal to Luke's:

> *So likewise shall mine elect be gathered from the four quarters of the earth. And they shall hear of wars, and rumours of wars. Behold, I speak unto you for mine elect's sake. For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom; there shall be famine and pestilences and earthquakes in diverse places. And again, because iniquity shall abound, the love of men shall wax cold; but he that shall not be overcome, the same shall be saved. And again, this gospel of the Kingdom shall be preached in all the world, for a witness unto all nations, and then shall the end come, or the destruction of the wicked. And again shall the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, be fulfilled.* (JST Matt. 24:28)

So both these additions highlight the future gathering of the elect, but JST Luke emphasizes the cleansing of the earth and the establishment of a new earth and heaven, while JST Matthew focuses on the wars and calamities of the last days. Also, JST Matthew has moved some of the earlier verses of the chapter to this later location (for example, 24:6–7, 14).

Some additional examples of the JST narrator providing brief definitions or clarifications include "Rabbi *(which is master)*" (JST Matt. 23:7) and "dumb spirit *that is a devil*" (JST Mark 9:17). The narrator in JST Mark 12:27 explains how God is the God of the living, "*for he raiseth them up out of their graves*." When Jesus asked the Father to forgive "them," the JST Luke narrator identifies the direct object "them" as the soldiers who crucified him (see 23:34). JST Mark 9 has several passages where the JST narrator gives expanded explanations of imagery in Jesus's words about things like cutting off one's hand or foot if it becomes offensive (see 9:43, 45–48, 50). JST Matthew 16:25 explains the meaning of taking up one's cross. When the disciples in Emmaus are described as having their eyes "holden," the JST Luke narrator adds that the word means "*covered*, that they *could* not know him" (JST Luke 24:16).

Harmonization across the Gospels

Another category of JST narratorial changes is harmonizations across the Gospels (some examples have already been noted above in the discussion on characterization changes). For example, KJV Matthew 16:4

mentions the sign of Jonah, but Mark's parallel passage omits it. (Luke 11:29 also mentions the sign of Jonah, but in a different setting.) However, JST Mark adds it to the narrative: "There shall no sign be given unto this generation, *save the sign of the prophet Jonah; for as Jonah was three days and three nights in the whale's belly, so likewise shall the Son of man be buried in the bowels of the earth*" (JST Mark 8:12). The specific revelation of the meaning of the sign of Jonah was in the second part of this addition, and it harmonizes with another Matthean passage, 12:40; thus the JST Mark narrator has harmonized with two passages of Matthew in one addition.

When relating the words that were placed above Jesus on the cross, the JST narrators in Matthew and Mark add the fact that the high priests ask Pilate to "*write that he said, I am king of the Jews. But Pilate said unto them, What I have written, I have written*" (JST Mark 15:26; compare JST Matt. 27:37). This addition harmonizes with the account in John 19:21–22. The JST narrator in Matthew further harmonizes with John by adding that the inscription was written in "*Greek, and Latin, and Hebrew*" and that it said "*Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews*" (JST Matt. 27:37; compare John 19:19–20).

Another example of harmonization is in the scene at the tomb after Jesus's resurrection. Matthew and Mark both mention one angel or young man, but Luke mentions two young men. The JST narrators in all three Gospels identify two angels. The location where the two angels meet the women is also harmonized: outside the sepulcher by the rolled-away stone (incidentally, the JST narrator in the Gospel of John also describes two angels sitting on the stone, see JST John 20:1). In order to make this harmonization, the narrator in JST Mark shifted the women's entering the sepulcher until after the angels spoke to them. The JST Luke narrator moved the initial description of the two angels to earlier before the women went into the sepulcher (Matthew does not have the women enter the sepulcher to see where his body had been laid, but instead they encounter the risen Lord on their way to tell others; see 28:9).

In a smaller example of harmonization, the narrators in JST Mark and Luke add to Peter's confession of Christ to match more closely Matthew's account and thereby emphasize Jesus as the Son of God.

Matthew 16:16	*JST Mark 8:29*	*JST Luke 9:20*
"Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God."	"Thou art the Christ, *the son of the living God.*"	"The Christ, *the Son* of God."

When Jesus was on the cross, the JST Mark narrator harmonized one passage to match that of Matthew.

Matthew 27:34	*JST Matthew 27:34*	*Mark 15:23*	*JST Mark 15:23*
They gave him vinegar to drink mingled with gall: and when he had tasted thereof, he would not drink.	They gave him vinegar to drink mingled with gall: and when he had tasted *the vinegar,* he would not drink.	And they gave him to drink wine mingled with myrrh: but he received it not.	And they gave him to drink *vinegar* mingled with *gall*: *and when he had tasted the vinegar, he would* not *drink.*

Narrative Transitions

Another common feature of the JST narrators, especially in the Gospel of Mark, is to add small transitions to bridge the narrative action from one segment to the next. These transitions also function as clarifications of what is going on in the story. Examples include: "*Now Jesus knew this*" (JST Mark 3:23); "*And this he said unto them*" (JST Mark 3:30); "*While he was yet with them, and while he was yet speaking*" (JST Mark 3:31); "*And they, entering into the sepulchre, saw the place where they laid Jesus*" (JST Mark 16:8); "*Then began he to upbraid the people in every city wherein his mighty works were done, who received him not, saying*" (JST Luke 10:13). There was also one time where Jesus's response to his own question was added: "*I say unto you, Nay*" (JST Mark 4:21).

Conclusion

Since Joseph Smith did not leave a record for why he made the changes he did, we are left with seeing the differences between the KJV and the JST and interpreting from there. One facet of the JST is its narrative; thus, we can examine the narrative features to appreciate what changes were made and perhaps arrive at a closer understanding of *why*. The narrator, as guide and information-giver, holds a good deal of power in a story; therefore, the narrator in each JST Gospel can reveal much about the characters, settings, and plot. We know that Joseph Smith had all the Gospels in front of him as part of this project, thus likely influencing him to harmonize certain parts, but he also proceeded sequentially through the KJV, which could potentially lower the amount of harmonization. At first I was inclined to believe there would be one consistent narratorial voice throughout the JST Gospels, since Joseph Smith mediated them all, but upon closer examination it becomes clear that Joseph Smith did not have the intention of creating one harmonized

Gospel. Not only did he continue to allow for separate Gospel narratives, but the narrator in each of them maintains some distinctiveness. The JST Luke narrator is particularly intrusive and gives the most explanations for things where the implied audience is a less-experienced gentile member of the church. The JST Luke narrator also more often introduces teachings about the Gentiles, consistent with the Gospel at large. Narrative transitions between segments of the story to aid its flow and understanding are most common in JST Mark where the narrative is fast-paced and rapidly progressing from episode to episode. Where the Gospel of John shares similar episodes with the synoptics, some harmonization is evident, particularly in JST Matthew, perhaps because the authors were both Apostles.

Besides these unique characteristics, we see other tendencies of the JST narrators within the synoptic Gospels. With characterization, two aspects of Jesus's mission are frequently highlighted by the narrators: his salvific role for those who come unto him and his fulfillment of written prophecy. Consistent with the KJV synoptic narrators, Jesus's heavenly roles and future return are expounded in Jesus's own dialogues, not through statements by the narrator. A difference, however, is that John the Baptist is shown by the JST narrators to understand Jesus's higher Christological roles, such as sitting on a heavenly throne and judging the world. As such, John the Baptist's deferential role to Jesus Christ as the forerunner, and his witness of one who is greater coming after him, is amplified in the JST. The Apostles' and other disciples' lack of understanding and their fear continue in the JST and are sometimes even more harshly noted ("*evil in their hearts*," "*spoke evil against Jesus*," "*didn't confess Jesus before others*," and "*wondering if this be the Messiah*"), but there are also more explanations of Jesus's disciples growing to a greater understanding. The negative view in the JST toward the Jewish leaders matches the synoptic Gospels and is illustrated by additional confrontations between them and Jesus.

Other narrative tendencies of the JST narrators include changing the order of some narrative segments and harmonizing among the Gospels (but not always among all of them). The JST narrators sometimes bring to the foreground the rationale, motivations, and emotions of characters, primarily through Jesus's ability to discern others' thoughts and hearts. The JST narrators will frequently give definitions or explanations in order to reveal the meaning or sense of what is being talked about and will include narrative transitions between segments of the story to aid its flow and understanding. So, although no single one of these

tendencies is able to answer the question of why Joseph Smith changed what he did in the JST, together they show the boldness and originality of the JST in introducing new characters and settings, particularly into dialogue with Jesus (perhaps meant to restore original settings). As such, the JST goes far beyond modernization, although these new contexts can help explicate why Jesus said what he did. Through these changes, we see subtle theological refinements and explanations as the JST tries to provide a clearer understanding of the gospel in the Gospels.

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"Taking a Different View of the Translation"

The Illumination of Alternate Meanings in the Translation of Bible Passages by Joseph Smith and Meister Eckhart

Tod R Harris

The opening act of Goethe's epochal drama *Faust* is well known—the eponymous main character laments the effort he has spent seeking to uncover universal truth through science, philosophy, and even occult methods and their apparent failure. Less well known is a follow-up scene where Faust, declaring his "longing for revelation,"[1] turns to another source for the transcendent knowledge he seeks, which, he declares, "nowhere . . . brighter burns than in the New Testament."[2] He also makes it clear that simply reading the book will not provide him the satisfaction he seeks, but instead he will exercise that most mystical method of conjuring meaning—translation. "I will take the holy original and render it in my beloved German"[3] (presumably from the original Greek). He flips open his Bible and, whether by chance or design, lands at that most mystical of passages, John 1:1. Faust reads out the opening incantation: "In the beginning was the *Word*"—and halts, uneasy with the word "word"

1. For this and all subsequent lines from *Faust* in this paragraph, I am quoting (and translating) from the German version published by Reclam: Johann Wolfgang Goethe, *Faust: Der Tragödie erster Teil* (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam Jun., 1971). This first quote is from page 37, line 1217, and reads in the original: "Wir sehnen uns nach Offenbarung."

2. Goethe, *Faust,* lines 1218–19: "Die nirgends . . . schöner brennt / Als in dem Neuen Testament."

3. Goethe, *Faust,* lines 1222–23: "Das heilige Original / In mein geliebtes Deutsch zu übertragen."

Tod R Harris

There has been controversy for a number of years in the German-speaking Church about the proper German term for "to repent." The common translation for many years was *Buße tun* (literally "do penance"), taken from the Luther Bible, but this was changed in the early 1980s to *umkehren* (literally "to turn about") to match the word used in a new ecumenical translation of the Bible (the so-called *Einheitsübersetzung*) that had appeared about that same time. In the late 1990s, the Church began a revision of the German translation of the Book of Mormon, Doctrine and Covenants, and Pearl of Great Price, and in considering terminology, questions about "repentance" arose again. In my role overseeing scripture translation support, I began looking into the origins and historical use of the word in German. Somewhere during that research I came across a reference to Meister Eckhart as originator of much of the theological and philosophical vocabulary of German, so naturally looked for materials by Eckhart to see if he addressed "repentance." I quickly found that the literature both by and about Eckhart is vast and varied and for me, fascinating, so have spent much of the last fifteen years reading and researching Meister Eckhart. Because of the initial reason I turned to Eckhart, I have been particularly interested in his interpretation of and use of the Bible and what can be learned from and applied to my own scripture translation work. I presented some of my research along those lines at the annual Society of Biblical Literature meeting in San Diego, California, in November 2014, and have now formalized that presentation as the accompanying article. I'm still working on "repentance."

as a translation choice for the Greek *logos.*[4] Seeking a more evocative possibility perhaps, he tries two more alternatives; first, "In the beginning was the *Mind,*"[5] and then "In the beginning was the *Power.*"[6] Still not satisfied, he ponders further and finally feels inspired to settle on "In the beginning was the *Act.*"[7] This passage from *Faust* provides much of the metaphorical structure of the rest of Goethe's great drama as he weaves between microcosm and macrocosm, developing the thematics of both chaos and creation.

A translator's aside here: Just as the word *logos* in the original Greek has multiple meanings of which Goethe takes advantage in the scene above, the words he chooses in German have, in turn, multiple meanings. Notable is the word in the second alternative above, *Sinn*. While typically translated *Mind* in this passage,[8] it can also mean "perception," "feeling," or "sense" in both the meaning of "perceiving by means of a sense organ" as well as "one of a set of meanings a word or phrase may bear." It is this second meaning I will emphasize in this paper.

This episode offers a vivid example of the way the different meanings of words can affect the understanding of the texts they compose, and it provides a glimpse into the difficulties faced by translators, particularly when working with such multivalent texts as scripture, represented in *Faust* by the Bible. By demonstrating how translators can exploit the interpretive possibilities afforded by that range of meanings, this episode also provides a useful pattern for looking at other creative and "revelatory" translations of the Bible. In the spirit of the scene set by Goethe, I would like to look briefly at the work of two such translators: Joseph Smith and Meister Eckhart.

Though his work on the Book of Mormon is better known, particularly outside Latter-day Saint circles, Joseph Smith spent significant time and effort on another unique translation project—a revision of the King

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4. Goethe, *Faust,* line 1224: "'Im Anfang war das Wort!'" It should be noted that this is the standard translation of the Greek "*en archē ēn ho logos*" in all major German Bible translations.

5. Goethe, *Faust,* line 1229: "Im Anfang war der *Sinn.*"

6. Goethe, *Faust,* line 1233: "Im Anfang war die *Kraft*!"

7. Goethe, *Faust,* line 1237: "Im Anfang war die *Tat*!"

8. I checked two other English translations: Johann Wolfgang Goethe, *Faust,* trans. Walter Kaufman (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor, 1963), and Johann Wolfgang Goethe, *Faust,* trans. Carl R. Mueller (Hanover, N.J.: Smith and Kraus, 2004). Both have *Mind* for the German *Sinn* (pages 153 and 49, respectively; the line number is the same as the German version I cite above).

James Version of the Bible. Historical evidence shows that Joseph began work on this revision in June 1830, while his translation of the Book of Mormon was being typeset, and finished the work in July 1833.[9] Faithful members of the Church consider this work to be part of Joseph's divine calling as a prophet and to have been done according to divine decree—texts of Joseph's revelations call him a translator (see D&C 21:1 and 107:92), refer to the work as a translation (see D&C 73:4 and 76:15), and declare his authority to translate (see D&C 45:61). Yet when he began the Bible revision in earnest in 1830, Joseph Smith did not have a knowledge of biblical languages, and he did not work from original Greek or Hebrew texts. His method has been described as "a revelatory experience using only an English text," one in which "it appears that he would read from the KJV and dictate revisions to a scribe."[10] While some may not consider this a translation in the truest sense, Joseph's alterations of more than three thousand Bible verses constitute a major component of his theological work as he sought both to restore what he felt were omissions in the Bible text as it has come down to us as well as to expand and amplify the understanding of that text. Although not the official Bible of the Church, Joseph Smith's revision work is regarded as authoritative and in 1978 was integrated into the LDS version of the KJV and officially labeled the "Joseph Smith Translation" (JST).[11]

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9. It has long been assumed in the Church that Joseph continued to make adjustments to the translation until his death in 1844, and authoritative sources continue to make this claim. For example, the entry on the Joseph Smith Translation in the Bible Dictionary of the 2013 LDS Edition of the KJV states that "Joseph continued to make modifications [in the translation] until his death in 1844" (Bible Dictionary, 673). Other scholarship disputes this and concludes that Joseph made no changes to his translation after the summer of 1833. For complete treatment of this issue, see Kent P. Jackson, "New Discoveries in the Joseph Smith Translation of the Bible," in *Religious Educator* 6, no. 3 (2005): 149–60. I am indebted to my colleague Joshua Sears for bringing this article and its contents to my attention.

10. Robert J. Matthews, "Joseph Smith Translation of the Bible (JST)," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism,* ed. Daniel H. Ludlow, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 2:765.

11. Extensive and authoritative studies of the JST, its history, compilation, and differences from and effect on the KJV text exist. Two of the most notable are Robert J. Matthews, *"A Plainer Translation": Joseph Smith's Translation of the Bible, a History and Commentary* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1975); and Thomas A. Wayment, ed., *The Complete Joseph Smith Translation of the New Testament* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2005). See also

Far less formalized and systematic than his work on the KJV are the significant number of Bible translations that occur in other sources. These occur in Joseph's revelations, collected chiefly in the Doctrine and Covenants, as well as his sermons and other writings compiled in the documentary and manuscript history of the Church.[12] In many of these cases, Joseph departs consciously from the bounds of the text of the KJV and freely rearranges words, editorializes, squeezes new meaning from source languages, and adds his own exegetical commentary. He partly explains such strategies in a phrase in Doctrine and Covenants 128:8, where, after quoting a famous verse from Matthew 16, he introduces a radical reinterpretation of the verse by explaining that he is, "in other words, taking a different view of the translation." It is in these and other such "different views of the translation" that Joseph Smith's highly original, speculative, and creative interpretations of the Bible text is revealed.

There is a fascinating historical precedent for the Bible translations of Joseph Smith in the work of the fourteenth-century scholastic and Dominican preacher Meister Eckhart. The evidence shows that Eckhart produced his major works between 1302, when he earned his Master of Theology at Paris (and thus the title "Meister"), and 1314, before he went to Strasbourg to serve the Dominican convents there. These exegetical and expository works, including a series of sermons, were written in Latin, and a large number of these remain extant today. It is clear that when he introduces biblical citations in his Latin works he quotes the Vulgate and does so carefully and precisely, using "the letter of the

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Robert J. Matthews, "The JST: Retrospect and Prospect—a Panel," in *The Joseph Smith Translation: The Restoration of Plain and Precious Truths,* ed. Monte S. Nyman and Robert L. Millet (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1985), 291–305.

12. For many years, the standard source for Joseph's sermons and other writings has been *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith,* compiled by Joseph Fielding Smith. However, as research continues on the Joseph Smith Papers Project (JSP), the Church's massive effort to gather and edit all available documents produced either by Joseph Smith himself or by others who served as his scribes, the reliability of the material in *Teachings* has been called into question because it draws heavily upon *History of the Church,* which was written largely by Joseph's clerks and secretaries and was modified and augmented editorially long after Joseph's death. Most entities involved with Church publishing now use either sources cited in JSP publications, if available, or Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook, comps. and eds., *The Words of Joseph Smith: The Contemporary Accounts of the Nauvoo Discourses of the Prophet Joseph* (Orem, Utah: Grandin Book, 1991) for the later sermons that JSP has not yet published.

Vulgate or its liturgical equivalents."[13] But what Eckhart is best known for is the group of sermons he produced in his native language, Middle High German (MHG), sometime between 1310 and 1324.[14]

Though as many as two hundred such sermons are attributed to Eckhart, only eighty-six are accepted as authentic.[15] In all of these sermons but two, Eckhart recites at least one verse or part of a verse from the Bible, quoting the passages in MHG. Over against his careful use of the Vulgate in his Latin works, he was under no such constraints in his vernacular sermons and was "free to make his own versions."[16] Several factors argue for Eckhart producing his own translations. First, although there are rumors of and obtuse references to Middle High German translations of the Bible from the fourteenth century done by unknown scholars, no known translation exists. Next, there are a number of verses that Eckhart quotes a number of times in different sermons,

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13. Bernard McGinn, "Introduction," in *Meister Eckhart: Teacher and Preacher,* trans. Frank Tobin and Elvira Borgstadt (New York: Paulist Press, 1986), 8.

14. Noted Eckhart scholar Oliver Davies describes one factor in the significance of these sermons: "Prior to Clement IV's injunction to the Dominicans in 1267 to take over the pastoral care of religious women's communities, which directly led to the use of German for the purposes of preaching, all intellectual thought was written down in the Latin language. Whatever the achievements of the first generation of Dominicans may have been (these are lost to us today), we have in the sermons of Meister Eckhart, who belonged to the second generation, the first substantial body of sophisticated philosophical and theological discussion in a European vernacular language." Oliver Davies, "Introduction," in *Meister Eckhart: Selected Writings* (London: Penguin, 1994), xxxvi.

15. The standard edition of Eckhart's authentic sermons is published by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft under the general editorship of Josef Quint. This is *Meister Eckhart. Die deutschen und lateinischen Werke: Die deutschen Werke,* 9 vols. (Stuttgart and Berlin: W. Kohlhammer, 1936–). Note that like the Joseph Smith Papers Project, this work is ongoing. Though this edition is enormous and difficult to obtain, the same text of the sermons is available in a much more accessible version: Niklaus Largier, ed., *Meister Eckhart: Predigte (Deutsche Werke I)*. Texte und Übersetzungen von Josef Quint (Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 2008), Band 24.

A concise explanation of the criteria for judging the authenticity of Eckhart's sermons is given by Bernard McGinn in "A Note on Eckhart's Works and the Present Selections," in *Meister Eckhart: The Essential Sermons, Commentaries, Treatises, and Defense,* trans. and ed. Edmund Colledge and Bernard McGinn (New York: Paulist Press: 1981), 67.

16. McGinn, "Introduction," 8.

each time with significant variation.[17] Last, and perhaps most compelling, is the fact that in many of the vernacular sermons, Eckhart himself indicates that he is translating.

For example, he begins Sermon 2 with a quote of Luke 10:38 from the Vulgate and then states, "I have spoken some words, first in the Latin, that are written in the gospel and go like this in German."[18] He then follows this statement with a translation of the Latin passage into MHG. He subsequently weaves a number of Bible passages throughout the rest of the sermon, all in MHG. Many of his sermons follow this same pattern: he begins with a recitation in Latin from the Vulgate, states that the passage can be translated into German, gives a vernacular translation, and then proceeds with the rest of the sermon, peppering the body with three or four more Bible quotes that he seems to translate ad hoc.[19] It is these seemingly spontaneous translations that afford a glimpse of an overlooked aspect of Eckhart's work, as he employs unexpected word choices and surprising semantic structures to illuminate new facets of the texts he teaches.

Despite their remove in time and space, there are some striking parallels between the Bible translations of the American prophet and the German preacher. First, neither worked from original language source texts, yet both turn to creative and memorable translation strategies for revealing alternate meanings of scripture text. Next, the medium each used was similar. The best examples of these creative translations come from the body of sermons preached by both. The open, oral nature of

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17. Factors one and two are addressed by Nadia Bray. After listing a series of verses demonstrating factor two, Bray states, "From this compilation it is very clear that Eckhart relies on no authoritative and canonical Bible translation" (Aus dieser Zusammenstellung geht es ganz klar hervor, dass Eckhart über keine verbindliche und kanonische Bibelübersetzung verfügte). Nadia Bray, "Deutsche Bibelzitate in den Predigten Meister Eckharts," in *Meister Eckhart in Erfurt,* ed. Andreas Speer and Lydia Wegener (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2005), 412.

18. The original MHG reads, "Ich hân ein wörtelîn gesprochen des êrsten in dem latîne, daz stât geschriben in dem êwangeliô und sprichet alsô ze tiutsche." Citations in this essay from Eckhart's sermons all come from Largier's edition cited in footnote 15 above and will be noted using page and line numbers from that edition. Thus the citation for the passage quoted here from sermon 2 is Largier, *Meister Eckhart: Predigten,* 24, 4–6 (Largier, page 24, lines 4–6). All translations from MHG, in the text and in the tables, are my own.

19. See sermons 10, 12, 15, and 22, for example.

such a presentation allowed each to "play with the text," to editorialize and expound to an extent and in a way not possible in Joseph's more systematic work in the JST or in Eckhart's formal Latin treatises. Finally, there is the insight provided by statements from both Smith and Eckhart relative to their respective perspectives on the Bible text.

Joseph seemed to have viewed his translation work, appropriately, as one chiefly of restoration of lost truth: "From sundry revelations which have been received, it was apparent that many important points, touching the Salvation of man, had been taken from the Bible, or lost before it was compiled."[20] Similarly, he said, "I believe the bible, as it ought to be, as it came from the pen of the original writers."[21]

Meister Eckhart, on the other hand, takes a completely different tack as outlined in one of his Latin commentaries, "The Book of the Parables of Genesis." In the prologue, Eckhart writes that his approach to scripture interpretation is to "bring to light the more hidden sense of some things contained in them in parabolical fashion 'under the shell of the letter.' I do this to arouse the more skilled readers to seek better and richer explanations . . . hidden beneath the form and surface of the literal sense."[22]

Despite the seeming difference in their stated philosophies, Smith's and Eckhart's translations are remarkably similar in the way each attempts to "correct error" and "seek better and richer explanations" by using powerful recombinations of scriptural image and language and by leveraging the availability of alternate senses in their efforts to fully manifest the Word. It is in the Bible translations in Joseph's revelations and sermons and the scripture citations in Eckhart's vernacular sermons that the most compelling instances of these translations occur. The purpose of this study is to compare a few examples of translations from each, noting similarities as well as differences; to highlight particularly some of the strategies each uses to illuminate alternate meaning in the Bible text; and to draw some conclusions about the significance

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20. Joseph Smith, History, 1838–1856, Volume A-1 [December 1805–30 August 1834], January 25–February 16, 1832, Joseph Smith Papers, http://josephsmithpapers.org/paperSummary/history-1838-1856-volume-a-1-23-december-1805-30-august-1834&p=189.

21. Ehat and Cook, *Words of Joseph Smith*, 256, taken from Joseph Smith Diary, by Willard Richards, October 15, 1843.

22. "The Book of the Parables of Genesis," in Colledge and McGinn, *Meister Eckhart,* 92.

of these efforts. Though a complete survey is of course far beyond the scope of this paper, it is possible to observe these strategies at work in a few notable examples.

"In the Beginning Was the Act"

The efforts of both Joseph Smith and Meister Eckhart to illuminate the Bible through translation place them in a chain of others engaged in similar work, who also, through the act of translation, sought to bring to light the meaning of the holy word hidden within an inaccessible language. In an echo of Eckhart's explanation above, the original KJV translators proclaimed that "translation it is that openeth the window, to let in the light; that breaketh the shell, that we may eat the kernel; that putteth aside the curtain, that we may look into the most holy place."[23] Though neither produced a complete or completely new translation of the Bible, both Smith and Eckhart generated a significant corpus of translated scripture. To provide context for the rest of the discussion, a general overview of where each takes translations from the Bible is instructive.

As noted above, Joseph's work consists of two major efforts: his revision of the KJV, now officially known in the Church as the "Joseph Smith Translation" or JST, and the substantial number of translations occurring throughout the Doctrine and Covenants and in his other sermons and writings. In the JST, he made "extensive corrections and additions to the books of Genesis, Exodus, Psalms, Isaiah, Matthew, Luke, Romans, 1 Corinthians, Galatians, Hebrews, James, 2 Peter, and Revelation." He also made many alterations in the writings of the Old Testament prophets and in Mark, John, Acts, and several of the epistles. "He made no changes in Ruth, Ezra, Esther, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, Obadiah, Micah, Habbakuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Malachi, Philemon, 2 John, and 3 John. He made some corrections in all other books of the Bible and rejected the idea that the Song of Solomon was inspired scripture."[24]

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23. Preface to the 1611 KJV, "The Translators to the Reader." Though the preface is available in a number of difference sources, a convenient online one is "The Translators to the Reader: Preface to the King James Version," *Detroit Baptist Seminary Journal* 1 (Fall 1996): 274, available at https://www.dbts.edu/journals/1996_2/kjvpref.pdf.

24. Matthews, "Joseph Smith Translation of the Bible (JST)," 766.

A thorough inventory of Bible passages occurring in Joseph's revelations and other writings has not been undertaken. A future path of research must certainly be a compilation of such occurrences and a comparison against his work on the JST. As part of the research for this study, I have started such a compilation, beginning with instances of Bible translation in Joseph's sermons both because these have not been scrutinized in the same light as the JST and because these are a better analogue of Eckhart's translations. Though that compilation is far from complete, it has still yielded enough interesting samples for the comparison at hand.

The perspective gained through a survey of the extent to which Eckhart provides translations of Bible passages in his vernacular sermons is also enlightening. As part of my ongoing research into Eckhart as translator, I have scanned the eighty-six sermons in the standard edition taken as authentic and have extracted and totaled all occurrences of Bible quotations, the first time of which I am aware that a comprehensive catalog has been compiled. This count includes all the verses or verse fragments that Eckhart states specifically he is quoting, or that from context are clearly quotes. The count does not include exact repetitions of the same verse or verse fragment, or variant translations, in the same or in subsequent sermons. Based on these criteria, Eckhart quotes all or part of 414 verses from the Bible (when variant and repeated verses are counted, the total goes up to 899 verses), citing books from both Old and New Testaments, as well as the Apocrypha. He quotes most often from Psalms, the Song of Solomon, Exodus, and Isaiah in the Old Testament; from the Gospels of John, Luke, and Matthew, and from Romans and Revelation in the New; and from Sirach and the Wisdom of Solomon in the Apocrypha. He never quotes from Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, or most of the historical books, and excludes most of the non-Pauline epistles. These 414 unique citations represent a substantial amount of work and taken together form a significant, albeit fragmentary, Bible translation that should take its place in the chain of historical German Bible translations. And again, though "the research lacks . . . a systematic study of those passages wherein Eckhart translates the Bible text into German,"[25] the catalog above includes sufficiently representative samples of Eckhart's translations for the current study.

25. Bray, "Deutsche Bibelzitate in den Predigten Meister Eckharts," 409.

"In the Beginning Was the Power"

By his own account, reading Bible verses left an impression on Joseph's young mind, some more forceful than others, including the passage from James 1:5 that caused him to famously exult, "Never did any passage of scripture come with more power to the heart of man than this did at this time to mine" (JS–H 1:12). It follows, then, that in his efforts to share his own scriptural insights with others, he would seek to imbue the texts he preached with some of this same power.

Eckhart is also renowned for the impact of his preaching, abundantly evident in his surviving sermons as indicated by Kenneth Northcott: "Although previous claims about Eckhart's role as the originator of MHG philosophical and theological vocabulary have been exaggerated, the power of Eckhart's daring formulations and the subtlety of his use of language make him one of the great—if difficult—masters of German prose style."[26]

Both Joseph Smith and Meister Eckhart suffuse their Bible translations with power in a number of memorable ways, including (1) quoting text in other languages, (2) employing striking imagery, and even (3) by invoking certain sounds. In a sermon preached on May 12, 1844, for example, Joseph states:

> I shall read the 24th. c of Matthew, and give it a litteral rendering and reading, and when it is rightly understood it will be edifying (he then read & translated it from the German) I thought the very oddity of its rendering would be edifying any how—"And it will preached be; the Gospel of the Kingdom, in the whole world, to a witness over all people, and then will the end come." I will now read it in German—(which he did, and many Germans who were present said he translated it correct).[27]

The literal rendering of the German into English does not afford any new or different doctrinal information; the whole purpose simply seems to be to afford "a different view of the translation." Perhaps he then read the original German to impart a flavor of authenticity for his non-German speaking listeners (as well as to have the ratification of the German speakers in the audience). For comparison purposes, the following

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26. Kenneth Northcott, "Preface," in McGinn, *Meister Eckhart: Teacher and Preacher,* 7.

27. Ehat and Cook, *Words of Joseph Smith,* 366, Thomas Bullock Report.

table lists the quoted text as it appears in the KJV, the way Joseph quotes it, an older version of the Luther translation (which, though it is not certain which translation Joseph actually cites, matches his quoted text quite closely), and a recent version of the Luther translation:

KJV	Joseph Smith	1545 Luther	1984 Luther
And this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations; and then shall the end come. (Matt 24:14)	And it will preached be; the Gospel of the Kingdom in the whole world, to a witness over all people, and then will the end come. (*WJS,* 366)	Und es wird geprediget werden das Evangelium vom Reich / in der ganzen Welt / Zu einem Zeugnis über alle Völcker / Und dann wird das Ende kommen.	Und es wird gepredigt werden dies Evangelium vom Reich in der ganzen Welt zum Zeugnis für alle Völker, und dann wird das Ende kommen.

As described earlier, Eckhart almost always starts his sermons with a passage from the Vulgate, which he then always translates, but interestingly, there are several instances where Eckhart also quotes the source text in the body of a sermon without any translation. For example, in sermon 22, he repeats the Latin of the opening phrase of John, *in principio* ("In the beginning"), four different times. It is as if he uses the phrase as an incantation, and by its repetition (with no translation) builds suspense in his audience until with the last pronouncement he is finally ready to provide the meaning he wants his listeners to remember: "'In principio.' This could mean in German a beginning of all Being."[28] It is interesting to note that in preserving certain citations in the original and then providing a translation, both Smith and Eckhart follow an established textual tradition in both the Old and New Testament of doing the same thing.[29]

In other instances, it is the arresting imagery that catches the attention of the listener or reader. Though the Song of Solomon is held by the Church to be the only book of the Bible that is "not inspired"[30] and is

28. The original MHG reads "'In principio.' Daz sprichet als vil ze tiutsche als ein anegenge alles wesens." See Largier, *Meister Eckhart: Predigten,* 264, 14–15.

29. See, for example, evidences of Egyptian in Genesis 41:43 (where some modern Bible translations maintain an untranslated phrase for the passage in the KJV that reads "bow the knee") and Aramaic in Mark 5:41 and 15:34.

30. Bible Dictionary, "Song of Solomon," 730. For a more frank assessment ("The Song of Solomon is biblical trash . . ."), see Bruce R. McConkie, "The

one of the few to which Joseph made no alterations in the JST, he turned to it in his revelations for a memorable image to describe the emergent Church as being "clear as the moon, and fair as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners" (D&C 5:14), a phrase from Song of Solomon 6:10. He reuses the phrase two more times in subsequent sections as well, subtly altering word order perhaps to heighten rhythm and effect (I have added line breaks to make this clearer):

Song of Sol. 6:10	**D&C 5:14**	**D&C 105:31**	**D&C 109:73**
Who *is* she *that* looketh forth as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, *and* terrible as *an army* with banners?	. . . in this the beginning of the rising up and the coming forth of my church out of the wilderness—clear as the moon, and fair as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners.	But first let my army become very great, and let it be sanctified before me, that it may become fair as the sun, and clear as the moon, and that her banners may be terrible unto all nations . . .	That thy church may come forth out of the wilderness of darkness, and shine forth fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners . . .

Eckhart's sermons are replete with a range of images taken from a number of sources, including patristic commentaries, the secular vocabulary of the High Middle German court poets, and of course the scriptures themselves. A notable example comes from sermon 2, where after the Latin citation of Luke 10:38, "as they went, . . . he entered into a certain village: and a certain woman named Martha received him into her house," Eckhart offers this translation: "Our lord Jesus Christ went up to a little fort and was received [conceived] by a virgin who was a wife."[31] Again for comparison, the following table shows the original Vulgate, Eckhart's MHG translation, the 1545 Luther translation, and the ESV (English Standard Version, a conservative modern translation):

Bible, a Sealed Book," in *Teaching Seminary: Preservice Readings* (Church Educational System manual, 2004), 127. Over against these perspectives is Bernard McGinn's: "The mystical book par excellence was the Song of Songs—a surprising choice to those who feel some discomfort with the frankly erotic language of these love songs. Christian mystics, as well as Jewish mystics, found in the Song, properly read, the supreme expression of the love of God for his community and for each person within it." McGinn, *The Essential Writings of Christian Mysticism* (New York: Modern Library, 2006), 4.

31. Largier, *Meister Eckhart: Predigten,* 24, 6–8.

Vulgate	Eckhart	1545 Luther	ESV
. . . et ipse intravit in quoddam castellum, et mulier quaedam Martha nomine excepit illum. (Luke 10:38)	. . . unser herre Jêsus Kristus der gienc ûf in ein bürgelîn und wart enpfangen von einer juncvrouwen, diu ein wîp was. (Sermon 2, ll. 6–8)	. . . ging er in einen Markt / da war ein Weib / mit Namen Martha / die nahm ihn auf in ihr Haus /	Now as they went on their way, Jesus entered a village. And a woman named Martha welcomed him into her house.

Note that Eckhart adds Jesus's name, perhaps to make explicit the antecedent of the pronoun; indicates Jesus entered a *bürgelîn* (representative of the small fortified cities common for the era); chooses the word *enpfangen,* which in MHG carries the double meaning of "receive" as well as "conceive," for the Latin *excepit*; and adds the entire idea that the woman who "received" Jesus was a *juncvrouwen,* which in context carries the connotation "virgin." These words and associated images, though not immediately apparent in the source text, allow Eckhart in his translation to make the text immediate to his audience with a familiar civic setting, to leverage the ambiguity of a MHG word so that he can later make a point about his listeners both receiving and conceiving the Word in their soul (a favorite doctrinal topic of his), and to employ another of his common teaching tactics—contradiction (the virgin wife)—as a way to jolt his students out of standard ways of thinking. All these factors work together in a powerful way, for as Nadia Bray points out, "when Eckhart introduces innovations, even in simple translations of Bible quotes, . . . he always has a good reason."[32]

As a final and fascinating illustration of their powerful translational tools, consider an example of the way both Joseph Smith and Meister Eckhart engage their audiences with sound, perhaps to augment the aural/oral nature of the sermon as medium.

Section 95 of the Doctrine and Covenants contains the commandment to "call your solemn assembly, that your fastings and your mourning might come up into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth, which is by interpretation, the creator of the first day" (v. 7). In this phrase there is an intersection of a term from Hebrew—Sabaoth (צְבָאוֹת, *tzevaovt,* first

32. "Wenn Eckhart Neuheiten einführt, auch bei der schlichten Übersetzungen biblischer Zitate, so hat er immer, wie ich zu zeigen versucht habe, einen guten Grund." Bray, "Deutsche Bibelzitate in den Predigten Meister Eckharts," 426.

occurring in 1 Samuel 1:3 and typically translated as "hosts" in the KJV as part of the common epithet "Lord of hosts"), a phrase from the New Testament—"entered into the ears of the Lord of sabaoth" (James 5:4), as well as what could be taken for Joseph's exegesis of the Hebrew term ("which is by interpretation, the creator of the first day"). It seems here that Joseph plays off the similarity of the sound of the word "Sabaoth" to the word "sabbath" in order to give meaning to a word (that was perhaps not familiar to his audience) by relating it, through sound, to the meaning of the more common word "sabbath," understood in the 1830s as the first day of the week. In this way, he can maintain the sound of Hebrew while providing a new but now memorable doctrinal meaning. See the table below for comparison (and note where other instances of this phrase, though without the exegetical extra, also occur in the Doctrine and Covenants):

D&C 95:7	1 Sam 1:3	James 5:4	Parallel Verses
. . . I gave unto you a commandment that you should call your solemn assembly, that your fastings and your mourning might come up into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth, which is by interpretation, the creator of the first day, the beginning and the end.	And this man went up out of his city yearly to worship and to sacrifice unto the lord of hosts . . .	…and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of sabaoth.	DC 87:7, 88:2, 98:2

Eckhart turns to this tactic as well where, like Joseph, he uses the same citation in several of his sermons and employs an aural element in its translation. He opens sermon 22 with a quote from the Annunciation in Luke 1:28 and then provides a translation:

"'*Ave, gratia plena*.'

"This word that I have spoken in Latin stands written in the holy gospel and says something in German like: 'Greetings to you, full of grace, the lord is with you!'"[33]

33. "Diz wort, daz ich gesprochen hân in latîne, daz stât geschriben in dem heiligen êwangeliô und sprichet als vil ze tiutsche: 'gegrüezet sîst dû, vol gnâde, der herre ist mit dir!'" See Largier, *Meister Eckhart: Predigten,* 254, 2–5.

This is a very straightforward translation of the original, as can be seen in the table below.

Vulgate	Eckhart	1545 Luther	ESV
have gratia plena Dominus tecum benedicta tu in mulieribus (Luke 1:28)	gegrüezet sîst dû, vol gnâde, der herre ist mit dir! (Sermon 22, ll. 5)	Gegrüßet seist du, Holdselige!/ der HERR ist mit dir	"Greetings, O favored one, the Lord is with you!"

In the body of the sermon, Meister Eckhart uses the citation from Luke to draw an analogy between Gabriel's pronouncement to Mary and the way God speaks to us. He returns to this theme and repeats the same passage again in sermon 38, but to a much different effect. He again quotes the opening greeting in Latin, *ave* (pronounced ah-vay), but in his MHG translation he gives the greeting as "Âne we . . ." (pronounced roughly "onna vay").[34] Literally translated, this is something like "no pain" or "without struggle" but could, colloquially, mean "Don't worry." It is not a normal greeting, and it does require a bit of a stretch to arrive at this translation, but this seems to be what Eckhart is up to. He has concocted a greeting in the MHG that both sounds similar to the Latin word and imbues the passage with an emotional impact by making Gabriel's words more calming and comforting.

"In the Beginning Was the Meaning"

A key feature of the sacred word is the existence of figurative meanings beyond the purely literal, a feature accepted by both Joseph Smith and Meister Eckhart across the arc of their varied experiences. After a particularly important visitation of heavenly messengers, Joseph reported, "Our minds being now enlightened, we began to have the scriptures laid open to our understandings, and the true meaning and intention of their more mysterious passages revealed unto us in a manner which we never could attain to previously, nor ever before had thought of" (JS–H 1:74). Though the circumstances are different, Eckhart reports a similar realization: "There was a question yesterday in the school among important clerics. 'I am amazed,' I said, 'that the scriptures are so full that no one can decide the meaning of the least important word.'"[35] And just as

34. "'Âvê,' daz ist 'âne wê.'" See Largier, *Meister Eckhart: Predigten,* 414, 18.

35. "Ein vrâge was gester in der schuole under grôzen pfaffen. 'Mich wundert' sprach ich, 'daz diu geschrift alsô vol ist, daz nieman daz allerminste wort ergründen enkan.'" Largier, *Meister Eckhart: Predigten*, 258, 12–14.

each acknowledges this multivalence in similar manner, both Smith and Eckhart leverage comparable methods for extending the interpretive possibilities in their efforts to illuminate alternate meanings.

One of the most common methods used by both Joseph Smith and Meister Eckhart is the weaving together of disparate passages, in many cases not even related by context, in order either to build the expositional case their respective arguments are making or to multiply meanings by allowing these texts to play off each other.[36] We have already seen this method employed by Joseph Smith in the example from Doctrine and Covenants 95 noted above. Eckhart, too, often turns to such tactics as described by Bernard McGinn: "Eckhart shows little interest in the biblical story line. Rather, he dehistoricizes and decontextualizes the text into sentences, fragments, or even individual words that he then recombines with other biblical passages in a dense web of intertextuality through a system of cross-referencing that is one of the main characteristics of his hermeneutics."[37]

A prime example comes again from sermon 22. Continuing Eckhart's account of the interaction between Mary and Gabriel at the Annunciation, after he informs her that she will conceive a son, she asks, "How will this happen?" The angel then replies, "The Holy Ghost shall come upon you from above / from the highest throne / and shall be in you / from the light of the eternal father."[38] I have added line breaks to show where passages from different scriptures are taken. The following table indicates

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36. This tactic has been noted in other Bible translations as well, for example in the Septuagint, and is called "anaphoric translation." A noted Septuagint specialist, Theo van der Louw, defines anaphoric translation as "a transformation whereby a TL [target language] element seems to be a rendering of an SL [source language] element elsewhere or is influenced by a related passage in the same book or from a different text." Mirjam Van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah: An Analysis of Its Pluses and Minuses,* vol. 61 of Society of Biblical Literature: Septuagint and Cognate Studies, ed. Wolfgang Kraus (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014), 299. I am grateful to my colleague Dan McClellan for making me aware of this idea and providing the citation.

37. Bernard McGinn, *The Mystical Thought of Meister Eckhart: The Man from Whom God Hid Nothing* (New York: Crossroad Publishing, 2001), 27. For an expanded treatment of this idea with updated references to current scholarship on Eckhart as exegete, see also Bernard McGinn, *The Harvest of Mysticism in Medieval Germany* (New York: Crossroad Publishing, 2014), 110–14.

38. "Der heilige geist sol von oben her nider komen / von dem obersten trône / und sol in dich komen / von dem leihte des êwigen vaters." Largier, *Meister Eckhart: Predigten,* 254, 6–8.

from where in other books each respective phrase comes. Notice, too, that although most of the lines match the source text quite closely, Eckhart has also varied the translation in some cases, as for example the line from James, where instead of the expected "Father of lights" he has "from the light of the eternal father." This seems to be a favorite image of his, and he repeats this passage from James in several other sermons.

Verse	Eckhart	Vulgate	ESV
Luke 1:35 Wisdom 18:15 Luke 1:35 James 1:17	Der heilige geist sol von oben her nider komen / von dem obersten trône / und sol in dich komen / von dem leihte des êwigen vaters. (Sermon 22, ll. 6–8)	Spiritus Sanctus superveniet in te / a regalibus sedibus durus / obumbrabit tibi ideoque / descendens a Patre luminum	The Holy Spirit will come upon you, / from the royal throne / and will overshadow you / from the Father of lights

In other instances, both Joseph Smith and Meister Eckhart enhance existing translations with their own editorial improvements. In a sermon he gave on February 2, 1843, Joseph refers to Romans 8:26 and then adds his own clarification: "The Spirit maketh. intercession &c better &c, 'The Spirit maketh intercession for us with striving which cannot be exp[r]essed.['']"[39] As can be seen in the table below, there is no lexical basis for translating the Greek *stenagmos* (groaning) as "striving," but this definition seems to fit Joseph's revelatory perspective better, and as a result, provides a different and interesting meaning of the verse.

KJV	Joseph Smith	ESV	Greek Lexicon
. . . but the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered. (Romans 8:26)	The Spirit maketh intercession for us with striving which cannot be expressed. (JSP, Journal, February 2, 1843)	. . . but the Spirit himself intercedes for us with groanings too deep for words.	στεναγμός (stenagmos) Part of Speech: Noun, Masculine Definition: a groaning, sighing.

39. Joseph Smith, Journal, December 1842–June 1844; Book 1, 21 December 1842–10 March 1843, entry for February 2, 1843, in Andrew H. Hedges, Alex D. Smith, and Richard Lloyd Anderson, eds., *Journals, Volume 2: December 1841–April 1843,* vol. 2 of the Journals series of *The Joseph Smith Papers,* ed. Dean C. Jessee, Ronald K. Esplin, and Richard Lyman Bushman (Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, 2011), 254. This journal was kept by Willard Richards, a private secretary to Joseph Smith.

A strikingly parallel example exists in Eckhart's sermon 30: "I was sitting someplace yesterday and spoke a phrase which is in the pater noster and says 'Your will be done!' But it would be better thus: 'May [the] will become yours!'"[40] (note the similarity of the authoritative editorial insertion with the one Joseph makes above).[41] Here Eckhart adjusts the grammatical sense rather than the lexical by exchanging subject and object. This then allows him to clarify the application he wishes to make by introducing the exchange: "That my will becomes his will, that I become he. This is the meaning of the pater noster."[42] Again, parallel verses are given in the following table to allow comparison:

Vulgate	**MHG**	**1545 Luther**	**ESV**
veniat regnum tuum fiat voluntas tua (Matt 6:10)	dîn wille der werde (Sermon 30, l. 30)	Dein Wille geschehe	your will be done

Finally, perhaps the most interesting of the methods used by both preacher and prophet to amplify meaning, and most parallel to the example from Goethe, is what could be called "exegetical" translation, or the use of variations and expansions teased from the words of the source texts themselves. Another Eckhart scholar, Freimut Löser, succinctly defines this approach: "The translation of Bible passages is already exegesis."[43]

I made the point earlier about Joseph not having studied source languages when he began work on the JST in 1830, but historical

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40. "Ich saz gester an einer stat, dô sprach ich ein wörtelîn, daz stât in dem pater noster und sprichet:'dîn wille der werde!' Mêr: ez wære bezzer: 'werde wille dîn!'" Largier, *Meister Eckhart: Predigten,* 340, 29–31.

41. During my original research, it was charming to note that in *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith,* page 278, Joseph's comment (or, more likely, an editor's) on his change to Romans 8:26 was given as "It would be better thus," a striking echo of Eckhart's sentiment.

42. "Daz mîn wille sîn wille werde, daz ich er werde: daz meinet daz pater noster." Largier, *Meister Eckhart: Predigten,* 340, 31–32.

43. "Übersetzen von Bibelstellen ist bereits Exegese." Freimut Löser, "Lateinische Bibel und volkssprachliche Predigt: Meister Eckhart als Übersetzer von Bibelstellen," in *Metamorphosen der Bibel: Beiträge zur Tagung "Wirkungsgeschichte der Bibel in Deutschsprachigen Mittelalter,"* ed. Michael Embach, Ralf Plate, Michael Trauth, and Andrea Rapp, *Vestigia Bibliae: Jarhbuch des Deutschen Bibel-Archivs Hamburg,* Band 24/25, Herausgegeben von Heimo Reinitzer (Bern: Peter Lang Verlag, 2002/2003), 227.

records show that he eventually remedied this situation with both formal instruction and private study.[44] In his later sermons particularly, then, he often cites source languages to justify lexical as well as semantic choices he makes in his translations and, yes, his exegesis. A notable example comes from the famous King Follett Discourse of 1844: "Learned Doctors tell us God created the heavens & earth out of nothing. They account it blasphemy to contradict the idea—they will call you a fool—you ask them why they say dont the bible say he created the world & they infer that it must be out of nothing. The word create came from the word Barau—dont mean so—it means to organize—same as man would use to build a ship—hence we infer that God had materials to organize from—chaos—chaotic matter—element had an existence from the time he had."[45] Here he cites a Hebrew word, *baurau* (בָּרָא),

44. "Mr Joseph Smith Junr has attended a full course of Hebrew lessons under my tuition; & has been indefatigable in acquiring the principles of the sacred language of the Old Testament Scriptures in their original tongue. He has so far accomplished a knowledge of it, that he is able to translate to my entire satisfaction; & by prosecuting the study he will be able to become a proficient in Hebrew." Certificate from Joshua Seixas, March 30, 1836, available at Church Historian's Press, *The Joseph Smith Papers,* http://josephsmithpapers.org/paperSummary/certificate-from-joshua-seixas-30-march-1836?p=1.

45. The text here is choppy and sometimes ungrammatical because it comes from a record of the speech taken in longhand by William Clayton, the most complete account we have of the King Follett Discourse. Joseph Smith, Discourse, April 7, 1844, as reported by William Clayton, available at Church Historian's Press, *The Joseph Smith Papers,* http://josephsmithpapers.org/paperSummary/discourse-7-april-1844-as-reported-by-william-clayton&p=5, pp. 15–16. The Joseph Smith Papers website gives reports from three others who recorded this same portion of Joseph's sermon with significant variations, which is to be expected from records written in longhand. Willard Richards recorded in Joseph's journal: "Doctors say.—created the earth out of nothing. Barau.—create,—it means to organized [*sic*].—God had mat[er]ials to organize the world. Elements—nothing can destroy. no beginning no end." Joseph Smith, Discourse, April 7, 1844, as reported by Willard Richards, available at Church Historian's Press, *The Joseph Smith Papers,* http://josephsmithpapers.org/paperSummary/discourse-7-april-1844-as-reported-by-willard-richards&p=2, p. 68. Wilford Woodruff recorded in his own journal: "An other thing the Learned Dr says the Lord made the world out of nothing, you tell them that God made the world out of something, & they think you are a fool. But I am learned & know more than the whole world, the Holy Ghost does any how, & I will associate myself with it. Beaureau, to organize the world out of Chaotic matter, element they are principles that cannot be dissolved they may

from Genesis 1:1, and then provides a definition for the word that supports the context of his ideas. Joseph uses this same method frequently in this same sermon as well as in others. The table below gives the cited text from the KJV and two separate quotations from Joseph's sermons, showing two separate exegeses:

KJV	Joseph Smith
1 In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. 2 And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness [was] upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters. (Genesis 1)	In the translation; "without form and void" it should read "empty and desolate" The word "created" should be formed, or organized.[a] The word create came from the word Barau—don't mean so—it means to organize.[b]

a. Joseph Smith, Sermon, January 5, 1841, William Clayton Report, available at Church Historian's Press, *The Joseph Smith Papers,* http://josephsmithpapers.org/paperSummary/discourse-5-january-1841-as-reported-by-william-clayton&p=3.

b. Ehat and Cook, *Words of Joseph Smith,* 359, William Clayton Report.

In addition to Hebrew, Joseph also employs quotes from the original Greek, Latin, and as noted earlier, German, in support of his interpretations.[46]

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be reorganized." Joseph Smith, Discourse, April 7, 1844, in Wilford Woodruff, Diary, available at Church Historian's Press, *The Joseph Smith Papers,* http://josephsmithpapers.org/paperSummary/discourse-7-april-1844-as-reported-by-wilford-woodruff&p=4, p. 136. Thomas Bullock reported: "The learned men who are preach$^{g.}$ Sal$^{n.}$ [salvation] say that God created the Heavens & the Earth out of nothing & the reason is that they are unlearned & I know more than all the world put tog$^{r.}$ & if the H. G. in me com: more than all the world I will associate with it—What does Bara mean it means to organize same as you wo$^{d.}$ organize a Ship.—God himself had materials to org the world out of chaos which is Element & in which dwells all the glory—that nothing can destroy they never can have an ending they exist eternally." Joseph Smith, Discourse, April 7, 1844, as reported by Thomas Bullock, available at Church Historian's Press, *The Joseph Smith Papers,* http://josephsmithpapers.org/paperSummary/discourse-7-april-1844-as-reported-by-thomas-bullock&p=5, p. 18.

46. "I have preached Latin Hebrew Greek German & I have fulfilled all I am not so big a fool as many have taken me for—the Germans know that I read the German correct." Joseph Smith, Discourse, April 7, 1844, as reported by Thomas Bullock, p. 21.

Eckhart does not employ the range of languages Joseph does,[47] but he frequently cites Latin words and then links them with a novel exegesis. He combines this method with anaphoric translation as described above in an example from sermon 44. As is common, he begins with a Bible quote, this time from Luke 2, which combines parts of two different verses: "When these days were completed, they brought Jesus to the temple" (Luke 2:22) and "And behold, there was a man in Jerusalem" (Luke 2:25).[48] As is also common, Eckhart then provides a translation, in this case very literal to the source text: "As the days were fulfilled, so Christ was taken to the temple. And behold, there was a man, named Simeon, in Jerusalem, who was just and God fearing; he was waiting for the comfort of the people of Israel, and the Holy Ghost was in him."[49]

Eckhart could pick any word for an engaging exegetical expansion but makes a surprising choice: the word "and," and provides this explanation: "'And behold': this little word 'and' means in Latin a unifying and a tying up and a locking in."[50] Here Eckhart does not provide amplification based on the actual meaning of the word but rather on its grammatical function as a conjunction. He uses the particular points of this definition, though, to build a compelling case as the sermon progresses for why a unification of our souls with God's is necessary.

"In the Beginning Was the Word"

These last examples of exegetical translation bring us to a final point of consideration. Much of Joseph's work on the JST and in his sermons and writings, and Eckhart's in his considerable collection of sermons, identifies both as translators. Ultimately, the goal of the translator is to assist in spreading the word of God, and this can be seen as a chief factor driving

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47. A prominent and as yet unanswered question in Eckhart scholarship is whether and to what extent he was engaged with biblical source texts. As far as I have been able to determine, Eckhart never turns to Hebrew or Greek in either his Latin expositions or his vernacular sermons.

48. "Postquam completi erant dies, puer Iesus portabatur in templum. Et ecce, homo erat in Ierusalem." Largier, *Meister Eckhart: Predigten*, 468, 2–3.

49. "Dô die tage volbrâht wurden, dô wart Kristus getragen in den tempel. Und nemet war, dô was ein mensche, hiez Simeôn, in Jêrusalem, der was gereht und gotvorhtic; der beite des trôstes des volkes von Isrâêl, und der heilige geist was in im." Largier, *Meister Eckhart: Predigten,* 468, 4–8.

50. "'Und nemet war': diz wörtelîn 'et' bediutet in latîne eine einunge und ein zuobinden und ein însliezen." Largier, *Meister Eckhart: Predigten,* 468, 9–10.

both Joseph Smith and Meister Eckhart and underlying much of their use of alternative translations of Bible passages in their sermons and writings. Translation is in many ways the deepest form of scripture study, with both prophet and preacher demonstrating their mastery of this. As Eckhart himself attested, "We ought also to add that there is no doubt that anyone who wishes to search the scriptures in the way we have described will surely find that Christ is hidden in them. . . . No one can be thought to understand the scriptures who does not know how to find its hidden marrow—Christ, the Truth."[51]

Perhaps no verse better embodies the anagogic potential of the Bible text than John 1:1, the prototypical scripture that both reveals truth and represents the challenges of accurately transmitting that truth. Because we began with a sample of the way Goethe experimented with variant translations of that verse, it is fitting to close with examples of the similar efforts from both Joseph Smith and Meister Eckhart.

Joseph produced translations of John's prologue at least twice—once in the JST and again in a later revelation:

KJV	JST	D&C 93:8
In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. John 1:1	In the beginning was the gospel preached through the Son. And the gospel was the word, and the word was with the Son, and the Son was with God, and the Son was of God.	Therefore, in the beginning the Word was, for he was the Word, even the messenger of salvation.

Though both these translations were produced quite close together in time (the verse in the JST sometime in February 1832 and the verse in D&C 93 in May 1833), it is possible to see a maturity and depth in the second that must have developed through practice and a familiarity with the text that is generated only through the kind of careful consideration required by translation. Of particular interest is the way Joseph "plays" with the concepts of word, message, messenger, and Word.

51. Meister Eckhart, "Prologue to the Book of the Parables of Genesis," in Colledge and McGinn, *Meister Eckhart,* 94.

Eckhart translates the passage (all or part) in at least five places (and in fact, John 1:1 is one of the most quoted verses across his sermons):

Sermon 6	Sermon 9	Sermon 39	Sermon 42	Sermon 61	1545 Luther
Daz wort was bî gote, und got was daz wort. (l. 22)	in dem anvange was daz wort, (l. 29)	daz wort was bî gote. (l. 15)	in dem anbeginne was daz wort, und daz wort daz was bî gote, und got was daz wort. (ll. 8–9)	daz wort ist in dem beginne, und daz wort ist bî gote, und got ist daz wort. (ll. 22–23)	Im Anfang war das Wort / Und das Wort war bei Gott / und Gott war das Wort.
The word was with God, and God was the word.	in the beginning was the word,	the word was with God.	in the beginning as the word, and the word was with God, and God was the word.	the word is in the beginning, and the word is with God, and God is the word	

Note first of all how consistent the translations are: the critical vocabulary, "wort," "bî," and "got" are all the same; word order is proper; and the critical relationships like prepositional phrases and verb tenses are preserved correctly for the most part. The two most critical differences are the alternation of vocabulary, notably the word for "beginning" in sermons 9, 42, and 61; and the change of tense from past to present in sermon 61. In the texts of the sermons themselves, Eckhart subsequently builds on these interpretive choices to make his various rhetorical and theological cases.

By using the Bible text in the language of those listeners and readers, Smith and Eckhart, as translators, performed one the most significant services that they could, by assisting these readers of the Bible to both conceive of and receive the Word.

"Longing for Revelation"

Though this has been a necessarily swift and cursory overview of the kinds of creative and original "translation" exercised by two original and creative students of scripture, the survey has still revealed some fascinating and useful insights into their efforts to illuminate alternate meanings for both their original and contemporary audiences. In

addition, this quick skim also opens alternate avenues for looking anew at the work of Joseph Smith and Meister Eckhart.

Most scholarly attention both inside and outside the Church has been trained on the JST, so bringing the same kind of scrutiny to Joseph Smith's alterations and expansions of Bible verses in his revelations, sermons, and other writings (particularly as work on the Joseph Smith Papers progresses) will provide a new and nearly untapped source of additional information and insight into his engagement with the Bible.

Though there is still considerable debate about whether to classify Eckhart as a philosopher, theologian, or mystic,[52] there is general agreement about his central ideas: oneness, detachment, the birth of the word in the soul, and the ground of the soul (explained by Eckhart as the hidden source from which all things proceed and to which they return).[53] By looking at the Bible verses he quotes in aggregate, particularly those scriptures he quotes most, some important additional themes come to light, including light and darkness and the love of God. Pursuing a truly systematic study of his Bible translations will not rewrite the prevailing thinking about Eckhart and his systematics but will provide an alternative lens through which to see Eckhart's message.

As inquiry along these lines continues, future vectors for research must also certainly include evaluation of Smith's and Eckhart's translations using the tools and ideas from a range of current Bible translation theories, including functionalism, text-linguistic approaches, and relevance theory. Because of the provenance of many of these translations in sermons, of particular value would be pointed analysis of what prominent Bible translation consultant Ernst Wendland refers to as "the oral-aural dimension of the biblical message."[54]

In conclusion, no matter the perspective taken or theory applied, whether the aim is Joseph Smith's "taking a different view of the translation" or Meister Eckhart's efforts to get "under the shell of the letter,"

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52. Bernard McGinn summarizes this well with the statement that begins his summary of the history of efforts to understand Eckhart: "Few, if any, mystics have been as challenging to modern readers and as resistant to agreed-upon interpretation." McGinn, *The Mystical Thought of Meister Eckhart,* 1.

53. Eckhart himself provides an outline of these four themes in the opening paragraph of sermon 53.

54. Ernst Wendland, "A Literary Approach to Bible Translation," in *Bible Translation: Frames of Reference,* ed. Timothy Wilt (Manchester, UK: St. Jerome Publishing, 2003), 230.

it is impossible to deny at least a partial satisfaction of what Goethe described as the "longing for revelation" that Smith and Eckhart have provided as we have considered the ways both open the eyes of understanding of their readers through the act of translation, the power of the insight gained when reading texts rendered in such memorable ways, and the illumination of alternate meanings of even common words—all for the glory of the Word.

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Saying Goodbye

Josh Weed

My mom was a beautiful, intelligent woman.

Soft-spoken and tender, she spent the years before my birth as an elementary school teacher. She taught proficiently, and she nurtured and loved her students well. The other day I was reading her journals from those years. I was brought to tears when she told a story of seeing one of her students—a little girl—with a large bleeding gash on her forehead. She said that she ran to the girl and "swooped her into [her] arms," and that as she walked to the office she never knew if in the next step her legs would buckle, and I *knew* that feeling. The feeling of hurting, and having her as a young woman run to me, her little boy, and "swoop" me into her arms. It felt so familiar. So familiar, and so distant.

She was the perfect mother for me.

She had the sweetest faith I've ever known. So often I would walk in on her praying at her bedside that in my youthful egocentrism, I would get annoyed that I couldn't ask her what I needed to ask. (Often, it was if I had permission to play Nintendo.) It wasn't until years later that I contemplated the possibility that in those moments of outpouring she might have been—and probably often was—praying for *me*. And that those prayers had kept me safe at times in my life when I was headstrong and reckless.

I attribute much of what I am today as a human being to that woman, and to her prayers.

My mom is dying.

In her late forties, my mom started having trouble when she went to the grocery store. She would hold two items of similar price and be completely unable to determine which was the better deal. Paralyzed, she would stand there as the minutes passed, silently weeping. Eventually she would either leave without buying anything or call home and seek guidance.

We all thought this was a symptom of her longstanding anxiety. We thought she was getting too panicked at the cost, and hyperfocusing on making the "right" choice. My dad took her to the doctor, and they got her on some new antianxiety meds.

These didn't help much.

A few years later, when she was fifty-one, my wife, Lolly, and I got pregnant with our first daughter, Anna. My mom was *overjoyed.* "How wonderful! I'm so, so excited!" she said. Anna was to be her first grandchild. She began right away to buy outfits and books and toys. When she found out it was a girl, she would send cards addressed to the "Queen of All Our Hearts." It's so strange to look at those cards now—written in her handwriting. Handwriting that is as familiar to me as my own name. Handwriting that will never write another word again.

When Anna was born, she was a tiny little thing. Five pounds. My mom came down to help, and she laughed and cooed as we put tiny little Anna into her miniature clothes, only slightly bigger than doll clothes. My mom was so helpful and cheerful, cleaning for us, giving us breaks, watching as Lolly and I took our first steps into the world of parenting. She was perfect. She stepped in often to let us sleep, and stayed up with our precious daughter in the night.

It was during this visit that we had the first glimpse into what was happening.

Lolly was the one who first noticed it—who first uttered the dreaded word. She and my mom were in one of the bedrooms folding clothes, and my mom saw some fuzzy pink bunny slippers that someone had given Anna at a baby shower. "Oh!" she giggled. "These are the cutest booties I've ever seen! I love them! Where did you get these?" Lolly told her. The person who gave them to us was someone my mom knew well—a mutual friend we had all known for many years. My mom smiled and commented on what a nice gift it was, and how thoughtful it was of those friends to send such a cute gift.

Later that day, in the same room, my mom caught sight of the bunny slippers. "Oh! Well aren't these the cutest shoes I've ever seen?" She was giggling again, in delight. "They're so cute! Where did you get these?"

Lolly kindly explained it to her again.

Who hasn't had a moment where they forget a detail or a conversation? Who hasn't had a lapse in memory? These were the things Lolly said to herself, but deep down she knew something was wrong because of that conversation, and because of other small things she'd noticed over the course of the week. She pulled me aside that evening. "Something's wrong with your mom," she whispered. "She's reminding me of my grandma before she died. I know it sounds weird, but it's almost like she has Alzheimer's."

There it was. That word.

I had just done a presentation on Alzheimer's for a prerequisite class for grad school. I'd just read all the statistics and looked at all the symptoms. Even so, it was too hard to believe. I tried to dismiss it. "That's *impossible,*" I said. "She's too young. Your grandma was in her eighties. My mom barely turned fifty. It would have to be early onset, and that's genetic—there's no history of it in my family."

As I look back, that moment reminds me of the times Lolly and I are driving in the car and she senses something wrong—some mechanical malfunction—and says, "Uh oh, something's wrong with the car." Then I insist that there's nothing wrong with the car and that she's just paranoid. I am *adamant* about how wrong she is—adamant to the point of anger—only to then have the car break down sixty seconds later.

Denial.

My mom's symptoms were mild. She functioned nearly perfectly the rest of her time there. It was easy to just push that incident aside and assume it was nothing. To assume we were just being paranoid. To sink back into the status quo and let things be—pretend nothing was wrong so that for a few more moments at least we could enjoy things while we didn't know the truth. At least we could enjoy my mom before we knew, for sure, that something *was* wrong and that she, though so young, was already dying, already being taken from us, piece by piece.

It was not long before our sixty seconds of denial elapsed and the car began to chug to a stop.

The symptoms worsened. Lost items. Missed words. Repeated stories. It all happened more often and with more intensity, and as the next couple of years passed, the problem began to be undeniable. Something was wrong. Something was very, very wrong.

I think Lolly and I accepted the truth before everyone else. There was one terrible night—I remember it clearly because it was the night before I began my clinical practicum for my master's degree—that Lolly and I stayed up for three or four hours weeping into the night, mourning what this meant. "She has it," I said. "She has Alzheimer's. My mom is dying of Alzheimer's." We watched the hours pass as we talked. Because Lolly and I had grown up together, we had both known this great woman our whole lives. We cried. We cried for the fact that our children wouldn't know her for who she was. We cried for the pieces of her that were already gone, that had already been taken, as well as for the pieces that were sure to go. As the reality of it all continued to set in, we wept at the memories—my mom as Lolly's Mia Maid adviser; how excited she had been for Anna, her very first grandbaby; what a wonderful mother she was to me growing up; what a wonderful person she was. At four in the morning, we finally fell asleep in each other's arms.

My dad was still hoping, still banking on what the doctors had told him—that my mom was too young to have Alzheimer's, that the anti-anxiety medication they had put her on was causing the symptoms of dementia, and that once off them, my mom would slowly return to normal. They stopped the medication and then waited. Weeks and weeks passed. Nothing changed.

Finally, during a trip down to see them for Thanksgiving, I had a sobering talk with my dad. Since that heartbreaking night with Lolly, I was coming to terms, as much as one can, with the fact that this was happening. And now that I had broken past the denial, I craved to not be alone there in that place. I craved for the rest of my family to be there, too. There was a part of me that wanted to be abrupt. I wanted say, "She has it, Dad. Just face it." But you can't just say that kind of thing to a man who is losing his soul mate. You can't say that to a man who has woken up next to the afflicted every day for the last thirty years and loved and adored her through raising children and moves and jobs and church callings. Instead the conversation was much more subtle.

"How has mom been doing?" I asked as we stood ringing up some last-minute Thanksgiving groceries at a grocery store.

"Not very good."

"Still having the memory trouble just as bad?"

"Yeah. Probably worse, actually. The other day she couldn't even work the remote control."

"So . . . how long ago did she stop taking the meds?" I said the words softly, like an afterthought.

He paused as his brain did the math. "She stopped them at the beginning of August . . . which means it's been about four months now." We stood there in silence, holding our grocery bags filled with pumpkin filling and ice cream. We both teared up. "I think it's time to start acting on the idea that this is Alzheimer's," he said, his voice choking.

"Yeah. Probably so," I said. There was dread in our words. A dread of watching this actually happen. A dread of knowing for sure, of hearing a neurologist say the word.

By the time the call from my dad came, months later, I was more adjusted in my grief. It was still jarring to hear the word. It had been confirmed: early-onset Alzheimer's. I took the phone call, the revelations of the diagnosis, well, however.

But soon after, I discovered that grieving someone who is dying of early-onset Alzheimer's is a strange thing. They haven't died, you see. But they are also no longer themselves. As several more years have passed, it has become clear to me that watching a young person die of Alzheimer's is one of the most excruciating types of loss.

The disease goes breathtakingly fast. The grief is vicious. You are grieving the loss of someone you know. That person is gone—dead, disappeared never to return—but then you go home and *there that person is in the flesh.* I can hug my mom. I can hear her voice. I can tell her I love her. I can hear her laughter. And she will never ever be herself again. She is . . . *absent*.

It's loss and possession at once. It's being able to say goodbye and never being able to say goodbye at once. It's needing to grieve and having no death to grieve at once.

It's torturous.

There are so many strange, horrible things.

I will describe only a few of them—some of the least degrading.

There is an embarrassing impulse—the impulse to avoid. I would never have expected this, but it's real. I've talked about it with some of my siblings. I make myself stay in contact, but a part of me doesn't *want* to see her. Doesn't *want* talk to her. Because every repeated story, every mangled sentence is further proof of her demise. Each visit is filled with signals that say, "The woman you love is gone, and her body is dying. You can't pretend this isn't happening." Knowing she's so vulnerable and then having my brain not want to see her is horrible.

The changes are so different than I expected. In my mind, there was a strict order to things: she would start to repeat things more and more frequently, and then she would forget who we all were, and then she would forget who she was and where she was, and *then* she would lose motor function. How much more excruciating to watch her lose her motor function—the ability to use the bathroom, the ability to put on a seat belt, the ability to write—while she still remembers who we all are and who she is and what is happening to her. She is there, but she is so far gone, like a person fallen down a deep well. A kernel of her real self remains, watching her own deterioration. I didn't think it was supposed to happen this way.

My father's suffering is heart wrenching. I hate watching my dad suffer through all of this. He is doing an amazing job, and his pain is more than I can even imagine. So many shattered dreams: no twilight years serving missions; no celebrations; no fiftieth anniversary bash; no golden years together. Just illness and loss and cleaning and helping the dying body of the woman he loves.

These are just a few of the hard things.

Laced in the pain and trauma are sweet moments. I treasure those.

Occasionally, there are conversations where the real her comes through, if but for a moment.

I'll close with one of these treasured moments.

At one point, I wrote a friend of mine who had lost her father to the same disease. I asked if she had any advice for me. After an email filled with good advice, she warned, "You never technically get to say goodbye. Its not like you can do it when they're lucid one day over a cup of coffee."

Not long after this, she wrote again in a panic: "After I wrote that email I was like . . . I SHOULD'VE SAID GOODBYE WHILE HE WAS

LUCID OVER A CUP OF COFFEE!! Of course you can do that! . . . So to amend my previous email, in the immortal words of John Stamos, only not John Stamos, the other John who's a singer who I can't think of right now because I'm so tired, 'say what you need to say.'"

One evening when I was visiting my parents, my mom and I were chatting. She was repeating the same stories and the same phrases and forgetting basic words, and the sun was setting, and it was getting dark, and we were alone, and I realized *now* was the time.

I started crying, and I got down on my knees in front of her and held her hands, and I said, "Mom, I need to tell you something. I need to tell you how much I love you, and how much you have meant to me. I want you to know that you were the best mom I could have ever asked for, and you were so perfect for me, and that you saved me with your prayers—*you saved my life*. Thank you, Mommy. Thank you for all you have done for me, and for being the perfect mom for me. I'm so sorry this is happening to you. I want you to know how much I will miss you, and how much I already miss you." I was bawling, and speaking quickly, and she was crying too, and then she had a flash of lucidity. Her mind focused, and she hugged me, and through her tears she called me by name and said, "I know. I know. I love you! It's okay. You don't need to be sad. It's okay. I'll be *fine.* You're such a good boy, and you've done such good things with your life. Don't *worry* about me. I'm so proud of you! I know. I know . . ."

In a perfect display of motherly altruism, she, the one riddled with disease, hugged and comforted *me* as I said goodbye. She will never remember we had that conversation. And I will remember it until the day I die.

And now it is I—following her pattern—who finds himself kneeling at the foot of my own bed, pouring out my soul in prayer for her. It's my turn. It's my turn to ask God to take care of her while she suffers, and to take care of my dad. To ask him to bless them and be with them as they are in agony, and to thank him. To thank him for the sweet memories of my youth, and to thank him for sending me to that wonderful, wonderful woman.

The time to speak is now, I've learned. And that is the lesson. Perhaps you and your loved one have struggled. Perhaps you live far, far away and don't get to see him or her often. Perhaps your parent is still young, and the thought of death seems distant and vague—nearly *impossible*. Don't wait. Don't hesitate. Take the chance to look your mom—or any other loved one—lovingly in the eyes and *speak.* Ask for forgiveness and grant

forgiveness. Share love and share your memories. Tell him or her the things you've always meant to say but haven't. Lay it bare. Take the chance while you have it, and if you have it again next week or next month or next year, do it again. You won't regret it. Not for one minute.

Don't miss your chance to say goodbye.

Just say what you need to say.

Joseph B. Keeler, Print Culture, and the Modernization of Mormonism, 1885–1918

David J. Whittaker

The years flanking the start of the twentieth century represented a time of transition for The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Seventy years old in 1900, the Church and the larger Mormon society in which it resided still displayed much of their traditional character. Although some members congregated in urban densities that edged out along the Wasatch Front from Salt Lake City (Utah's capital and the Church's headquarters), most still lived in small, relatively self-contained agricultural communities in the Great Basin's interior. Wherever they lived, however, they expected charismatic leaders to continue organizing the Church, directing devotional life, and keeping the federal government at arms length. That formula had held sway during the Saints' half-century-long occupation of the Intermountain West, allowing a unique intermixing of civil and ecclesiastical institutions to develop. Change was in the wind, however, and indeed had been for decades.

Increasing contacts with the gentile (non-Mormon) world had resulted in Utah's increasing implication in national economic and political networks. Brigham Young, who directed the migration to Utah in 1846–47 and led the Church until his death thirty years later, had steered the economy in the direction of Mormons' self-sufficiency, preferring short-haul exchange to national trade; stressing local, cooperative manufacturing over mining (which in California and Nevada had quickly attracted outside interests); and accepting commercial banking only grudgingly. Completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869 had, however, begun Utah's integration into American capitalism,

David J. Whittaker

In 1996, the L. Tom Perry Special Collections in the Harold B. Lee Library at Brigham Young University acquired the Joseph B. Keeler (1855–1935) papers [MSS 2016]. Keeler was an important leader in the early years of BYU, and he also contributed to his community and his church. As the curator of Mormon manuscripts at BYU at the time, and as a student of Mormon print culture, I was familiar with his contributions to the Church and to the school, but I was particularly interested in better understanding his publications and their influence on Church history. Once the collection was organized and related items were added to it, I was invited to present a paper at the conference "Religion and the Culture of Print in Modern America" at the University of Wisconsin–Madison in September 2004. In 2008, a volume containing many of the papers given at the conference were published in *Religion and the Culture of Print in Modern America,* edited by Charles L. Cohen and Paul S. Boyer (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2008). My essay appeared on pages 105–27 and is here reprinted with permission.

Keeler's work grew out of his involvement in leadership positions at BYU. He was one the first twenty-five students to enroll in the newly organized Brigham Young Academy in Provo in 1875, and he received his diploma two years later. Following his LDS mission, he was hired to teach at BYA and served on its faculty for thirty-six years. He served as head of the Commercial and the Theological Departments while also serving as a counselor to Karl G. Maeser and as an administrative vice president under Benjamin Cluff and George Brimhall. He helped keep the struggling school financially solvent during these years and served as the chairman of the building committee for the Maeser Building.

While I was interested in BYU history, my main interest was in Keeler's important contributions to Mormon print culture and specifically his work with the Aaronic Priesthood. Keeler had served as the bishop of the Provo Fourth Ward (and later as president of the Utah Stake) at a time when there were a larger number of young men who he felt needed better mentoring in the Church. These concerns led him to prepare the first manuals for this age group, as well as textbooks for the religion classes he was teaching at BYU. Because the Aaronic Priesthood was not generally given to boys in the nineteenth century, Keeler's innovations in his own ward were to help in the preparation of young men for missionary service and later leadership in the Church. His work was followed closely by President Joseph F. Smith, who encouraged this more formalizing of Aaronic Priesthood ordinations and mentoring throughout the Church. I argue that Keeler was instrumental in the "managerial revolution" in the Church and thus helped lay the foundations for the Church's growth in the twentieth century.

My essay presents an overview of Joseph Keeler's contributions to the Church through his published works. He prepared a guide for the bishops' courts, works on Church government, and, as a stake president, his was one of the first stakes in the Church to hold regular family home evenings, several years before they were encouraged churchwide. His wife, Martha, prepared the first Relief Society lesson manuals in the Church as well. As a second-level Church leader, Keeler deserves more attention than he has received. I hope reprinting this essay in *BYU Studies Quarterly* will allow others to see Keeler's contributions.

a process well along by the 1880s.[1] The long struggle to obtain Utah's statehood had culminated successfully in 1896, but only after LDS leaders agreed to abandon their unique marriage system and extricate the Church from its long-standing embrace of the civil state. Latter-day Saints were once again full-fledged citizens of the United States, but any lingering sense that old gentile enmities had died and that they could continue to live without overmuch federal surveillance were dashed by the uproar over seating Reed Smoot, a Mormon Apostle, to the United States Senate. As Kathleen Flake has suggested, the public hearings that exercised the Upper House between 1903 and 1907 gave the American people a fuller understanding of Mormonism and left no doubt among the faithful that the federal government would regulate and, if necessary, defang any religious group it deemed un-American.[2] All of these changes worked their influence on Temple Square. As Utah's gentile population increased, free markets took hold, and the government in Washington struck down Mormon legal and matrimonial arrangements, the Church moved to bring its internal workings in line with the new circumstances, developing a more rationalized bureaucracy, systematizing its internal workings (including its theology), and altering its relationship to the civil state. Joseph Keeler played an important role in these changes. Although virtually unknown to non-Mormon scholars, Keeler, whose life spanned the transitional era, helped transform the Church from a body bent on building the Kingdom of Zion in relative isolation to a dynamic, corporate religious institution that, by the end of the twentieth century, had established itself internationally. His writings, emblematic of a shift in Mormon print culture noteworthy in itself, helped facilitate the rationalization of the LDS Church.

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1. See Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830–1900* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958). A useful, one-volume chronological history of the Mormons is James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints,* rev. and enl. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992). A good topical history is Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979).

2. Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890–1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986). For the coming of Utah statehood, see Edward Leo Lyman, *Political Deliverance: The Mormon Quest for Utah Statehood* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986). Kathleen Flake's study is *The Politics of American Religious Identity: The Seating of Senator Reed Smoot, Mormon Apostle* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

Joseph B. Keeler (1855–1935): An Overview of His Life

Keeler's roots thrust deep into the soil of Mormon historical experience. His father, Daniel, a first-generation convert born in New Jersey, apprenticed as a stonemason in Philadelphia and worked in various places along the East Coast, including New York City, where he joined the Church in March 1840. That summer, he journeyed to western Illinois, joining those Saints who were building the city of Nauvoo. Daniel laid stone for a number of Mormon buildings, including the Nauvoo Temple, prior to the Mormon Exodus. Keeler's mother, Ann, joined the Church in New Jersey following her migration from Lancashire, England. Both of Keeler's parents had married, raised children, and been widowed before finding each other.[3] Joseph, their first child, was born in Salt Lake City on September 8, 1855. His given names, Joseph Brigham, paid tribute to the Church's past and present prophets, Joseph Smith and Brigham Young. During the Utah War of 1857–58, when U. S. troops threatened Salt Lake City, the Keelers, along with virtually the entire population of the city, abandoned the capital and relocated forty-five miles south to Provo. When the emergency was over, most of the refugees returned to their homes in Salt Lake City, but the Keelers elected to remain in Utah Valley. There, Joseph Keeler and his wife, Martha Alice Fairbanks (June 29, 1860–October 2, 1938), whom he married in 1883 and with whom he raised ten children, spent most of their lives.

Keeler learned about hard physical labor at home, assisting his father in the construction business. During the 1860s, he helped build Provo's first tabernacle, and from October 1874 to March 1875, he served a building mission in southern Utah, helping to lay the stone foundation of the St. George Temple, the first such structure that the Latter-day Saints completed in the Great Basin. But his family also encouraged reading, and, like so many nineteenth-century Americans, his introduction to

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3. The main sources for Keeler's life are in the Joseph Brigham Keeler Collection [MSS 2016], L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter BYU Library), with additional material in the University Archives. Especially valuable biographical works in the Keeler Collection include Beulah McAllister, "A Treasured Heritage," an unpublished biography of Keeler by his daughter (266 pages, 1958); and Daniel M. Keeler, with Ellen Keeler Thompson and Daniel A. Keeler, *"Build Thee More Stately . . .": A History of Joseph Brigham Keeler and Martha Fairbanks Keeler and Their Children* (Murray, Utah: Roylance Publishing, 1989). See also Clinton David Christensen, "Joseph Brigham Keeler: The Master's Builder" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1997).

print culture began with scripture. His mother regularly read to her children from the family Bible that she had brought from England; young Keeler first learned his capital letters from its pages. In an early journal he recorded, "I was impressed with the thought that I was sent to earth to perform a mission—I began, therefore, to improve my mind by reading and studying good books."[4] These volumes were both secular and religious. In addition to Keeler's own efforts, Karl G. Maeser, the first principal of the Brigham Young Academy (BYA), which was established as a kind of high school in Provo in 1875, exercised a great influence over him.[5] Keeler enrolled in 1876 as one of BYA's initial students and the next year began as a reporter for the Provo *Territorial Enquirer*, gaining a good introduction to the printing business. After graduating in 1877, he served as the first president of the BYA Polysophical Society, a student group devoted to discussing books and ideas.[6]

Keeler's calling as a writer had manifested itself by the time he reached adulthood. He first gained a measure of literary notice and public visibility when the *Territorial Enquirer* published letters that he penned from Georgia during his service as a full-time proselytizer in the LDS Church's Southern States Mission between April 1880 and March 1882.[7] He also kept a personal journal of his mission and published his first pamphlet, *How to Get Salvation: The Faith and Teachings of the Latter-day Saints* (1880), a brief overview of Christian history from a Mormon perspective.[8] Following the organizational lead of forerunners like Orson Pratt and Orson Spencer, Keeler took his readers from the Church's beginnings through what Mormons considered the apostasy that spewed out the "great and abominable church" (1 Ne. 13:6), whose continued sway necessitated the Restoration of lost authority and gospel

4. Joseph B. Keeler, Journal, 8, Keeler Collection.

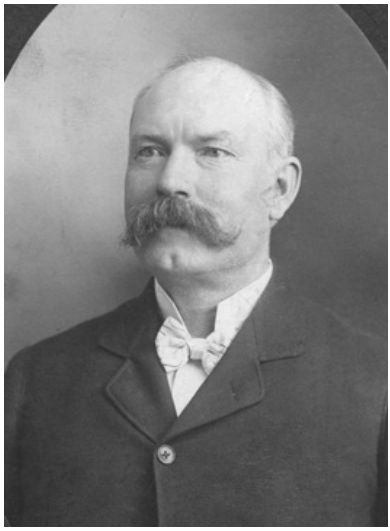
5. On Karl Maeser, see A. LeGrand Richards, *Called to Teach: The Legacy of Karl G. Maeser* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2014); Reinhard Maeser, *Karl G. Maeser: A Biography by His Son* (1928); Alma P. Burton, *Karl G. Maeser: Mormon Educator* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1953); and Douglas F. Tobler, "Karl G. Maeser's German Background, 1828–1856: The Making of Zion's Teacher," *BYU Studies* 17, no. 2 (1977): 155–75.

6. The minutes of the first meetings of the Society are in Keeler's papers in the BYU Library.

7. Photocopies of the published letters, as well as typescripts are in the Keeler papers: box 1, folder 14. The collection also contains his mission journal.

8. Published [dated December 20, 1880, at end] in White County, Georgia. The only known copy of the twenty-page work is in the BYU Library.

truth that Joseph Smith, guided by heavenly visitations, made possible by revealing lost scripture.[9] Keeler published his ambitious pamphlet at a time when it was becoming less usual for missionaries to develop such aids for evangelization, since treatises written by Church leaders that explained Mormon history and doctrine were becoming more available and were widely considered throughout the community of Latter-day Saints to be more appropriate guides for spreading the faith than those penned by missionaries themselves.[10]



Joseph B. Keeler. Courtesy L. Tom Perry Special Collections.

Keeler well exemplified the pattern, common among nineteenth-century Mormons, of combining civic and educational work with Church callings. Following his mission, he began his long career as a faculty member and administrator at Brigham Young Academy (later, University). He joined BYA in 1884, the same year in which he was called as the first counselor to the

9. Keeler cited Orson Pratt's earlier series, *The Kingdom of God* (1848–49), available to him in a volume entitled *Orson Pratt's Works,* first published in 1851 and reprinted several times thereafter. His mission journal suggests that he took with him copies of Orson Pratt's *Works,* Orson Spencer's *Letters* (published in various editions beginning in 1848), Parley P. Pratt's *Key to the Science of Theology* (first published in 1855), and John Taylor's *The Government of God* (1852). See also the discussion of Keeler's missionary pamphlet in Christensen, "Joseph Brigham Keeler," 47, 62–65.

10. See David J. Whittaker, "Early Mormon Pamphleteering" (PhD diss., Brigham Young University, 1982), especially chapter 2, which traces the gradual centralization of official Mormon publishing into the hands of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles and First Presidency. Such control was based on revelation and direction from Joseph Smith by 1842, and it was tightened after Smith's death in 1844 as Brigham Young and the Apostles consolidated their positions as leaders of the Mormon community. But pioneering in the American West, financial issues, growing conflicts with the federal government, and a lack of strong bureaucratic control meant that freelance publishing would continue sporadically until the twentieth century.

president of the Utah Stake Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association (YMMIA), an organization for improving the religious knowledge, values, and morals of young Mormon men.[11] His ecclesiastical, educational, and civic prominence increased in concert. He was called as president of the Utah Stake YMMIA in 1893 and bishop of the Provo Fourth Ward two years later. He became in 1898 the first Church official to authorize single women to undertake full-time missions for the Church.[12] In 1892, having the previous year taken a Master of Accounts degree from Eastman Business College in Poughkeepsie, New York, he became a counselor (that is, a vice president) to President Benjamin Cluff at BYA. He served as Provo city treasurer, and, in 1897, gained election to the Provo city council. Meanwhile, he continued to write for the *Territorial Enquirer* and publish on both secular and religious topics. In 1891, he gathered his previously published essays on science and religion into a small book, *Foundation Stones of the Earth, and Other Essays,* a typical rejection of Charles Darwin's theory of evolution on grounds that it transgressed a literal reading of Genesis. Keeler could not accept any account of life's origin that excluded either divine design or the Deity's active participation.[13] His rejection of evolution had an impact later at BYU. The next year he shared the technical knowledge gained at Eastman in his first textbook, *A Student's Guide for Book Keeping.*[14]

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11. The Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association was organized in 1875 as an auxiliary organization to assist in the educational and cultural improvement of young men. For its early history, see Leon M. Young, "A History of the YMMIA, 1875–1938" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1939).

12. While wives occasionally accompanied their missionary husbands before 1898, Keeler was the first to issue formal calls to women missionaries. He called two more single women on missions in 1901. All these calls were approved by Church leaders in Salt Lake City. For background, see Calvin S. Kunz, "A History of Female Missionary Activity in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830–1898" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1976).

13. Joseph B. Keeler, *Foundation Stones of the Earth, and Other Essays* (Provo, Utah: Enquirer Steam Print, 1891). This work gathered essays in the following order that he had published earlier in *The Contributor*: "Foundation Stones of the Earth," 11 (February 1890): 121–29; "Near [Nigh] the Throne of God," 10 (February 1889): 156–59; and "The Fallacy of Evolutionism," 9 (July 1888): 340–43.

14. *A Student's Guide to Book Keeping, double and single entry, for use in . . .* (n.p. [Provo]: n.p., 1892). Keeler's extensive and important roles in the early financial history of BYA and BYU or his community business involvement are ignored in this paper.

As part of a larger movement to decentralize local Church government, Church leaders in January 1901 met in Provo to divide the large Utah Stake into three smaller stakes: Utah, Nebo, and Alpine. David John, the new president of the Utah Stake, called Keeler as his first counselor. It was in this capacity and then as stake president in his own right (he was called in 1908) that Keeler made his most important contributions to Mormon print culture. Understanding his impact requires a brief sketch of how that culture had developed.

Early Mormon Print Culture

Nineteenth-century Saints were people of not just one book, but of books in general, and periodicals too. The Church emerged at the same time that the young republic experienced a proliferation of printing presses, technology that Church leaders seized upon to announce and spread the latter-day truth. The paramount Mormon publication was, of course, the Book of Mormon (1830), whose appearance antedated the Church itself, but although most people then (and now) associated Mormons most strongly with that single text, Saints in fact immersed themselves in a wide variety of printed matter from the outset. Almost immediately following the Church's organization, leaders began newspapers to communicate with dispersed believers and inform the public. A compilation of Joseph Smith's revelations appeared first in 1833 and in revised format two years later; periodic editions inserted additional revelations regarding doctrine and practice that Smith, who insisted that prophecy did not end with the biblical age and that God still reveals his will in the present, continued to disclose. Pamphlets and books defending and explaining Church doctrine appeared as well.[15] From the pens of its most articulate converts, many of them Church leaders, came missionary pamphlets and books. Two brothers, Parley P. and Orson Pratt, proved especially productive and influential during the first generation. Parley's death in 1857 helped bring the initial era of Mormon pamphleteering to an end, though other factors played a role too. Mormon publishers overestimated their markets, leaving large quantities of books unsold, and Brigham Young wanted to husband the Church's precious resources, sorely depleted by the

15. An excellent guide to the first century of Mormon publications is Chad J. Flake and Larry W. Draper, comps., *A Mormon Bibliography, 1830–1930: Books, Pamphlets, Periodicals and Broadsides Relating to the First Century of Mormonism*, 2d ed., rev. and enl., 2 vols. (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2004).

move into a virtually uninhabited desert, for such projects as aiding even the poorest Latter-day Saints to gather in Zion and building the temple. He also thought that too much analysis of Mormon doctrine would kill the spirit of its central belief in continuing revelation and an open canon.[16]

The second phase of Mormon print culture, in which Keeler would so prominently figure, opened about a decade later in response to wholesale demographic, social, and economic changes that challenged Mormons' painfully constructed group cohesion and moral sensibilities. The transcontinental railroad made the Intermountain West more accessible to gentile influence, ending Mormons' self-imposed isolation and threatening their self-sufficiency. Non-Mormons crowded into the territory, bringing with them such examples of gentile culture as the popular dime novel, whose consumption Church leaders considered a waste of time and money, not to mention inimical to Mormon industry and morals. To combat such influences, the Church, led by Brigham Young, took some institutional steps to improve religious education, creating mutual improvement associations for both adolescent women (the Young Women's Mutual Improvement Association, or YWMIA [1869])[17] and young men (YMMIA [1875]). Sunday schools, imported by English converts from Methodism, first appeared in the Salt Lake Valley as early in 1849, but not until 1872 did the Deseret Sunday School Union organize fully.[18] The Church's campaign to protect the next generation included creating periodicals such as the *Juvenile Instructor* (January 1866), *The Contributor* (October 1879), and *Improvement Era* (November 1897), all efforts to reach younger readers by providing them literature supporting LDS values and perspectives.

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16. See David J. Whittaker, "Early Mormon Pamphleteering," *Journal of Mormon History* 4 (1977): 35–49.

17. According to Elaine Cannon, "The Young Women organization began as the Cooperative Retrenchment Association in November 1869." Elaine Anderson Cannon, "Young Women," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism,* ed. Daniel H. Ludlow, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 4:1616. The organization underwent several name changes, eventually becoming the Young Women's Mutual Improvement Association in 1934. The name was shortened to Young Women in 1974. Janet Peterson, "Young Women of Zion: An Organizational History," in *A Firm Foundation: Church Organization and Administration,* ed. David J. Whittaker and Arnold K. Garr (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2011), 277, available at http://rsc.byu.edu/archived/firm-foundation/12-young-women-zion-organizational-history.

18. See Deseret Sunday School Union, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, *Jubilee History of the LDS Sunday Schools, 1849–1899* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Sunday Schools, 1900).

Although directing most of these efforts toward young adults, the Church also made sure to provide more systematic instruction for children. The Primary Association, an analog to the YMMIA and YWMIA, was founded in 1878 to instruct children aged three to twelve.[19] Some of Smith's early revelations had called for creating books to instruct juveniles, but the pressures of building Zion in an arid wilderness with minimal resources necessarily delayed these directives' implementation. Indeed, the first major breakthrough issued from a press overseas. In 1854, the Church released John Jaques's *Catechism for Children, Exhibiting the Prominent Doctrines of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* in Liverpool, following its serialization in the *LDS Millennial Star*, an English Mormon newspaper, the previous year. Jaques's *Catechism* proved very popular among the Latter-day Saints, appearing in ever-larger English-language printings up to its Salt Lake City edition of 1888, which brought the total to 35,000, not counting the printings in other languages. The need for Mormons to have such a basic instructional work is reflected in the fact that, notwithstanding its title, parents read it for themselves as avidly as to their offspring.[20]

The Church's primary printing operation outside the Liverpool mission publishing concern was the Church-owned press that began issuing the *Deseret News* in Salt Lake City in 1850 and also published books, booklets, handbills, and other printed material under the name Deseret News Press. George Q. Cannon, Brigham Young's counselor, provided another outlet for Mormon publications when he established his own business in the 1860s; it was soon printing periodicals, books, and other items.[21] He also operated a bookstore. The Church acquired Cannon's

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19. See Carol Cornwall Madsen and Susan Staker Oman, *Sisters and Little Saints: One Hundred Years of Primary* (Salt Lake City: Desert Book, 1979).

20. For the larger story, see Davis Bitton, "Mormon Catechisms," in *Revelation, Reason, and Faith: Essays in Honor of Truman G. Madsen*, ed. Donald W. Parry, Daniel C. Peterson, and Stephen D. Ricks (Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, Brigham Young University, 2002), 407–32.

21. There is no full study of the history of George Q. Cannon as a writer and publisher. The best overall study is Davis Bitton, *George Q. Cannon: A Biography* (Salt Lake City: Desert Book, 1999). A limited but important study is Lawrence R. Flake, "The Development of the *Juvenile Instructor* under George Q. Cannon and Its Functions in Latter-day Saint Religious Education" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1969). A celebratory history of Deseret Book, with some information on the earlier Cannon publishing business, is Eleanor Knowles, *Deseret Book Company: 125 Years of Inspiration, Information, and Ideas* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1991).

business enterprises before his death in 1901, combined them with other publishing and bookselling ventures, and in 1920 renamed the operation Deseret Book Company, the flagship of LDS publishing and distribution to the present day. Deseret News Press constituted the Church's main publishing operation throughout the period under discussion, and it printed nearly all of Keeler's works.

Most of the Church's fundamental doctrines and practices had appeared in print by the 1870s, if not earlier, but regularly printed and systematically prepared guides for administration, handbooks for Church government, and lesson manuals for Latter-day Saints of all ages were still lacking. Keeler's greatest accomplishments in using print to help the Church accommodate to Utah's increasing integration into American life came in these areas. Three particular projects warrant attention here: his rationalization of the bishop's court, his calls to standardize the Church bureaucracy, and his innovative program for organizing the Aaronic Priesthood.

The Bishop's Court: Its History and Proceedings

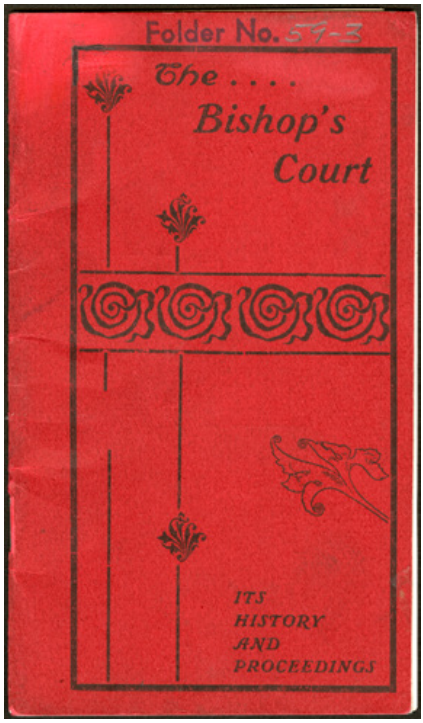
In February 1901, Keeler delivered a lecture about the institution of the bishop's court to the Utah Stake high council, a group of twelve men called to assist the stake presidency in administrating the unit's affairs.[22] Prior to the talk, Keeler sent Anthon H. Lund, a member of the Church's First Presidency, an outline. Reviewing what he himself knew about LDS history, Lund complimented Keeler on his thorough study of the courts, noting that the variations in their judicial proceedings from ward to ward called for a more standardized approach to their operation.[23] If Lund read the lecture published the next year, as he undoubtedly did, he must have been quite pleased.

Keeler's twenty-two-page pamphlet addressed an important and complex issue, for, during the course of the nineteenth century, Mormon bishops had accumulated civil powers far exceeding those of

22. Bishops in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints are male lay-persons who serve voluntarily for a number of years while also gainfully employed in their chosen occupation. Stake presidents, who usually serve a few years longer than bishops, are also male lay-leaders. Unlike today, in the nineteenth century both bishops and stake presidents received financial allowances for their services.

23. McAllister, "Treasured Heritage," 176–78, reprints Lund's letter, dated February 15, 1901.

ecclesiastical officials in any other American religious body. Their authority had to be delimited both to clarify their role within the LDS hierarchy and to dispel any objections that their courts transgressed popular American notions about separating church and state.[24] From the office's inception, Mormon bishops had exercised control over temporal as well as religious affairs. During the Nauvoo, Illinois, period (1839–46), the Church assigned them responsibility for geographical areas called wards, so-called because of their concurrent use as voting districts. Once ensconced in the Great Basin, the Church formalized the ward system, assigning bishops and ordering the construction of chapels in every one.[25] Considered by the LDS hierarchy as "judges in Israel" (D&C 58:17), bishops held authority to settle family arguments, adjudicate disputes among neighbors over property and water rights, receive tithes and freewill offerings on behalf of the Church, and care for widows and orphans. They also dealt with members' conduct and standing in the Church. As spelled out in Joseph Smith's early revelations, a bishop was technically the highest office in the Aaronic Priesthood—the lower of the two Mormon priestly orders that holds authority



Cover of *The Bishop's Court: Its History and Proceedings.* Courtesy L. Tom Perry Special Collections.

24. For a brief overview, see Dale Beecher, "The Office of Bishop," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 15 (Winter 1982): 103–15; see also D. Gene Pace, "Community Leadership on the Mormon Frontier: Mormon Bishops and the Political, Economic and Social Development of Utah before Statehood" (PhD diss., Ohio State University, 1983).

25. A Mormon ward is essentially a parish; a stake is similar to a diocese. A stake is usually composed of about ten wards, although in the nineteenth century both wards and stakes were much larger units than is the case today.

to, for instance, baptize individuals—but as ward structures evolved, two officers came to lead local congregations: the bishop, responsible for temporal affairs, and the presiding high priest, responsible for spiritual ones. During the 1850s, Brigham Young merged these two positions into a single post that, despite retaining the title "bishop," dealt with more than just mundane matters. The task of counseling the ward bishops and overseeing their work fell to the Church's Presiding Bishop, who reported to the First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, the Church's highest governing authorities.

The judicial system of the early LDS Church took shape in the interaction between scripture, Smith's revelations, and the Saints' experience. One of Smith's earliest revelations held that transgressors were to be "dealt with as the scriptures direct" (D&C 20:80), which left a great deal of latitude about how to proceed. Absent clear instructions and precedents, Church courts initially employed at least three practices for treating ecclesiastical malfeasances: (1) a mild form of exclusion that limited the wrongdoer's participation in the religious community for a short period; (2) a more formal ban, which deprived the person of all religious privileges for a longer or indefinite period; and (3) a complete excommunication from the religious community. Soon a more formal judicial system superseded these decentralized practices. By 1835, the Church had constituted three main courts: the bishop's court (D&C 42; 107:68, 72), the stake high council court (D&C 102), and the council of the First Presidency (D&C 102:78–81), although use of these courts was inconsistent until much later. Essentially, bishops' courts served as units of judicial origin, with the other two acting as courts of appeal or, in more serious cases, courts of origination. Until the 1840s, bishops had regional as well as local responsibility, but by 1842 the Church had identified the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles with the quorum of twelve high priests identified in Doctrine and Covenants 107:78–84, thereafter granting it the highest judicial authority.

The priesthood's judicial functions increased as the Church moved West.[26] In 1852, after two of the three judges federally appointed to the Utah Territorial Court "ran away" from their posts (for a variety of

26. For a brief summary, see David J. Whittaker, "The LDS Church Judicial System: A Selected Bibliography," *Mormon History Association Newsletter* 59 (October 1985): 8–10.

reasons),[27] the Utah legislature transferred original jurisdiction for criminal matters from federal to local probate courts. Mormon bishops presided over most probate courts, which consequently took on far-ranging civil functions as well as ecclesiastical ones. Until 1874, when Congress passed the Poland Act, stripping the courts of their criminal jurisdiction, Mormon bishops heard both civil and criminal matters that, outside Utah, belonged to exclusively "secular" jurisdictions. The probate courts' extended authority was one of many problems facing Mormon leaders as they attempted to achieve Utah's statehood.[28] Bishops' extraordinary competence suggested to non-Mormons that little if any separation existed in Utah between church and state, a parlous constitutional situation. Aware of these public perceptions, Keeler in 1902 drew upon his own episcopal experience and his research into LDS history to author

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27. For the story of the "runaway" territorial officials, see Norman F. Furniss, *The Mormon Conflict, 1850–1859* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960), 21–29; Thomas G. Alexander, *Utah, the Right Place: The Official Centennial History* (Layton, Utah: Gibbs Smith, 1995), 117–18; Ronald W. Walker, "The Affairs of the 'Runaways': Utah's First Encounter with Federal Officers, Part 1," *Journal of Mormon History* 39, no. 4 (2013): 1–43; and Ronald W. Walker and Matthew J. Grow, "The People Are 'Hogaffed or Humbugged': The 1851–52 National Reaction to Utah's 'Runaway' Officers, Part 2," *Journal of Mormon History* 40, no. 1 (2014): 1–52.

28. On the history and function of early Mormon courts, with particular emphasis on the role of bishops, see Stephen J. Sorenson, "Civil and Criminal Jurisdiction of LDS Bishop's and High Council Courts, 1847–1852," *Task Papers in LDS History,* no. 17 (Salt Lake City: Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1977); James B. Allen, "The Unusual Jurisdiction of County Probate Courts in the Territory of Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 36 (Spring 1968): 132–42; Jay E. Powell, "Fairness in the Salt Lake County Probate Court," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 38 (Summer 1970): 256–62; Elizabeth D. Gee, "Justice for All or for the 'Elect': The Utah County Probate Court, 1855–1872," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 48 (Spring 1980): 129–47; Raymond T. Swenson, "Resolution of Civil Disputes by Mormon Ecclesiastical Courts," *Utah Law Review* 3 (1978): 573–95; C. Paul Dredge, "Dispute Settlement in the Mormon Community: The Operation of Ecclesiastical Courts in Utah," *Access to Justice, Volume IV: The Anthropological Perspective* (Milan, Italy, 1979), 191–215; R. Collin Mangrum, "Furthering the Cause of Zion: An Overview of the Mormon Ecclesiastical Court System in Early Utah," *Journal of Mormon History* 10 (1983): 79–90; and Edwin Brown Firmage and Richard Collin Mangrum, *Zion in the Courts: A Legal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830–1900* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988).

The Bishop's Court: Its History and Proceedings,[29] which established more clearly than had any previous work the institution's proper organization and function under both LDS and federal law.

Following a short introduction, the pamphlet discussed the court's history and development. Keeler underlined the absence of systematic recordkeeping in the courts, the lack of procedural uniformity, and the need to establish a single method for governing wards.[30] The essay's remainder provided just such standard procedures, including the forms to be used for complaints and summonses. He also described the proper process for a trial and drew up sample forms for taking down testimony, reporting the court's decision, issuing a notice of appeal, and excommunicating the worst offenders. The two last pages summarized and reviewed the steps to be observed in such disciplinary matters.

This brief work, a first in Mormon print culture, provided the basis for regularizing the courts.[31] As late as 1939, a handbook of Church government compiled by a leading member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles recommended using several of Keeler's forms.[32] *The Bishop's Court* settled the jurisdiction of the courts, removing gentile doubts about their possibly usurping civil functions, and systematized the judicial process of Mormon ecclesiastical courts, a reform that helped preserve their popular legitimacy even as the locus of much LDS disciplinary activity moved away from rural villages, whose courts were

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29. Digital scan can be viewed at http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=njp.32101074889740;view=1up;seq=3.

30. The 1877 circular had also suggested that such records be kept. See "Circular of the First Presidency of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to the Presidency of the Various Stakes of Zion, to the Bishops of the Different Wards and to All the Officers and Members of the Church," in *Messages of the First Presidency,* comp. James R. Clark, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965–75), 2:287.

31. There are letters and discussions of Keeler's suggestions in the Letterbooks of the First Presidency, indicating how influential his works were. Manuscripts in Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City. See also the talk of President Joseph F. Smith, September 13, 1917, to the Parowan Stake as published as "Principles of Government in the Church," *Improvement Era* 21 (November 1917): 3–11; and the discussion on Church courts in James E. Talmage, "Judiciary System of the Church," *Improvement Era* 23 (April 1919): 498–500.

32. See John A. Widtsoe, comp., *Priesthood and Church Government* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1939), 214–18.

adequately served by informal procedures, into urban areas, where the volume of business, if nothing else, necessitated formal ones.

Theology Department Courses

Keeler's careful and systematic approach toward legal and organizational matters also manifested itself in his work as a teacher and director of the Theological Department at the Brigham Young Academy. In 1902–3, he prepared materials for four theology courses. Their subject matter addressed several of his ongoing interests in standardizing the Church's operations, such as systematizing the teaching of LDS administrative history to young Mormons and encouraging the Church bureaucracy's standardization.

The first two courses covered the Lesser (Aaronic) Priesthood in thirteen lessons; the second expatiated on Church government in nineteen.[33] In October 1903, BYA became Brigham Young University, and the next August, Deseret News Press published the course materials as *The Lesser Priesthood and Notes on Church Government.*[34] It quickly sold out, requiring a second edition in 1906. Issued with the strong approval of the First Presidency, the work won lauds from the *Deseret News,* which published both a detailed article surveying the volume's content and a short editorial praising it.[35] Proud of its favorable reception, Keeler had a small broadside printed that quoted the coverage, publicizing the newspaper's recommendation that every Latter-day Saint library ought

33. Copies of these printed course materials are in the BYU Library.

34. Joseph B. Keeler, *The Lesser Priesthood and Notes on Church Government* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1903). The print run was five thousand copies, suggesting an audience far larger than just students at BYU. Preface to the second edition of 1906, p. iv.

35. "New Book for Church Workers," *Deseret Evening News,* July 16, 1904, 10; and editorial "A Valuable New Work," *Deseret Evening News,* 4. Keeler's *The Lesser Priesthood* was recommended for use as a textbook for Church classes in *Annual Instructions,* no. 6, December 1, 1904 (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1904), 19. The Church's First Presidency recommended in 1905, 1906, and 1908 in their *Annual Instructions* that Keeler's work "be used in all the Quorums of the Aaronic Priesthood throughout the Stakes of Zion." See, for instance, *Annual Instructions to Presidents of Stakes and Counselors, Bishops and Counselors, Stakes Clerks and General Authorities in Zion, 1 December 1906,* no. 8 (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1906), 19.

to have a copy.[36] He also called attention to part 4, "A Brief Concordance of the Doctrine and Covenants," highlighted in another issue of the *Deseret News.*[37]

Such publicity clearly boosted sales, and Keeler's own leaflets spread the word further. A letter from J. W. Paxman, president of the Juab, Utah, Stake, suggests the enthusiasm with which this volume was greeted:

> I have read your leflets—every one of them—and enjoyed them very much. I placed the Leaflets, at my personal expense, in the Lesser Priesthood Quorums in this stake. . . .
>
> I have recommended the work lately in the wards, as far as I have visited them and will speak of it in all the wards in the stake during the winter.
>
> [I] would like to see a copy of it in every home among the saints. It fills a long-felt need, and the Saints will have a much better understanding of the excellency of our church and its government by reading its pages.[38]

Joseph F. Smith, President of the Church, was hardly less complimentary: "You deserve great credit for your book and I commend your work. If there is an error in fact or doctrine in it I have not discovered it. It will be an excellent help to students of Church Organizations and Systems of Government and Discipline."[39]

In 1929, a third edition appeared, and it, too, was advertised by the publisher in specially printed bookmarks as a work that had "inestimable value for every member of the Church." *The Lesser Priesthood*'s influence extended well beyond Keeler's death. The work that succeeded it, John A. Widtsoe's *Priesthood and Church Government* (1939), owed much of its structure and contents to Keeler's work, as evidenced by Widtsoe's incorporating sixty-one excerpts into his own book.

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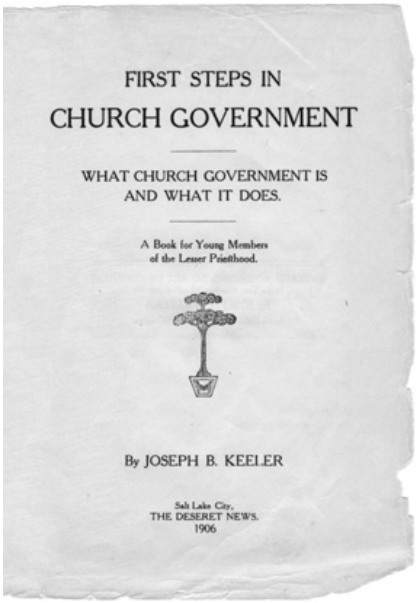
36. A copy of the broadside *Lesser Priesthood, Church Government, and Concordance of the Doctrine and Covenants* is in Perry Special Collections.

37. "Every diligent reader of the Doctrine and Covenants . . ." *Deseret Evening News,* September 17, 1904, 4. See also *Lesser Priesthood, Church Government, and Concordance,* September 17, 1904, 6.

38. J. W. Paxman to Joseph B. Keeler, October 27, 1904, as cited in Keeler, *"Build Thee More Stately . . . ,"* 387.

39. Letter of January 7, 1907, as cited in Keeler, *"Build Thee More Stately . . . ,"* 387.

First Steps in Church Government


FIRST STEPS IN
CHURCH GOVERNMENT

WHAT CHURCH GOVERNMENT IS
AND WHAT IT DOES.

A Book for Young Members
of the Lesser Priesthood.

By JOSEPH B. KEELER

Salt Lake City,
THE DESERET NEWS.
1906

Title page of *First Steps in Church Government.* Courtesy L. Tom Perry Special Collections.

During the winter of 1906, Keeler published *First Steps in Church Government: What Church Government Is and What It Does.*[40] Recommended and then adopted as the lesson manual for the Lesser, or Aaronic, Priesthood, it was reprinted in 1912 and 1924. To fully appreciate what Keeler was doing with these works, a brief overview of the nineteenth-century Mormon concept of priesthood, especially the Aaronic Priesthood, is necessary. Today, young Mormon males enter the Aaronic Priesthood at age twelve and advance through three offices: deacon (ages 12–13), teacher (14–15), and priest (16–18). The ward bishop takes a major role in guiding these young men, reflected in the fact that his office is technically the highest in the Lesser Priesthood. At age eighteen, all faithful, worthy young men are given the Higher, or Melchizedek, Priesthood and are then ordained to the office of an elder. The Aaronic Priesthood offices provide a series of mentoring experiences for young boys as they mature. These callings school them in the basic duties and responsibilities of Church service and leadership. In addition to helping keep them active in the Church,

40. Joseph B. Keeler, *First Steps in Church Government: What Church Government Is and What It Does* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1906). The Church's *Annual Instructions, 1909, Circular No. 9,* 31, recommended that both *Lesser Priesthood* and *First Steps* be used as textbooks for the Aaronic Priesthood classes throughout the Church. By 1909, there were 60 stakes in the Church, up from 22 in 1879. By 1930, the years of the Church's centennial, stakes numbered 104. Today (2015), there are 29,621 wards and branches organized into 3,114 stakes.

this training better prepares them to undertake full-time missions and to serve both the Church and society at large.

Until the end of the nineteenth century, however, men, not boys, generally held the Aaronic Priesthood.[41] Those called to serve in its offices were usually designated "acting deacons" or "acting teachers." Few boys were considered mature enough to enter the priesthood, and those deemed acceptable were given the Melchizedek Priesthood. Keeler himself never received the Aaronic Priesthood in his youth, but while working in the YMMIA, teaching at BYA, and serving as bishop, he came to see the great value such callings could have for young men.

As a newly called bishop, Keeler found himself presiding over 150 young boys living in his ward. Church leaders since Brigham Young had struggled with how to rein in such fellows, who did not always adhere to Mormon values and teachings.[42] The YMMIA was established to be one of the solutions, and some of the larger wards formed literary societies[43] for reading and debate, but these efforts attracted mostly those who were already self-motivated, and even the most active ones failed to provide their members with regular instruction. Passing the faith of the pioneering parents to the next generation proved harder than anyone had supposed, especially since by the late nineteenth century young men were moving out of the hamlets and villages that had constituted the bedrock of Mormon Utah society. They still met weekly with other ward members and took on various obligations to their neighborhood or ward, but these tasks involved mainly manual labor like cutting wood or cleaning the chapel and did little to improve their spirituality or dedication to Mormon values. When adolescent

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41. See William G. Hartley, "Ordained and Acting Teachers in the Lesser Priesthood, 1851–1883," *BYU Studies* 16, no. 3 (1976): 375–98. Brigham Young, just before his death, had moved to reorganize the priesthood quorums churchwide, and, in the important July 11, 1877, "Circular of the First Presidency," suggested that "it would be excellent training for the young men if they had the opportunity of acting in the offices of the lesser priesthood. They would thereby obtain very valuable experience, and when they obtain the Melchisedec priesthood they would be likely to place a higher value upon it." See "Circular of the First Presidency," in Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency*, 2:287.

42. See Davis Bitton, "Zion's Rowdies: Growing Up on the Mormon Frontier," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 50 (Spring 1982): 182–95.

43. Ronald W. Walker, "Growing Up in Early Utah: The Wasatch Literary Association, 1874–1878," *Sunstone* 6 (November/December 1981): 44–51.

males did meet to study, they might read adventure novels as readily as they did scriptures.[44]

Keeler's experience in both academic and ecclesiastical settings prepared him, as a new bishop, to organize and structure lessons for the young men in the Aaronic Priesthood.[45] Eventually, he expanded his handwritten notes and printed them, first as his theology lectures at the BYA, then as *The Lesser Priesthood and Church Government* in 1904. In 1906, his *First Steps in Church Government* systematized these lessons for the Aaronic Priesthood quorums.

The founding generation of Utah's Mormon leaders worried that young boys were not yet spiritually mature enough to handle official responsibilities. There is no evidence, for instance, that even Brigham Young's sons had been given the Aaronic Priesthood. Keeler, on the other hand, trusted them and established workable training regiments for them,[46] beginning with his own son, whom he ordained a deacon at age twelve. Soon, he was instructing other boys in his ward in their callings as well. His published works played so important a role in spiritually developing the Church's young men that they drew further notice to him. In 1908, Keeler was called to serve on the Church's General Priesthood Committee on Outlines, the same year he was called to the presidency of the Utah Stake.

Other contributions followed. He was invited to write articles for *The Improvement Era*, the main English-language Church periodical. In July 1913, he published "Organization and Government of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," then, in June 1914, he surveyed the contents of "A Typical Ward Service."[47] He addressed general conferences of the Church in 1902, 1911, and 1918, testimony to his stature as a stake president. His publication *A Concordance of the Doctrine and*

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44. See the comments of William G. Hartley, "The Priesthood Reform Movement, 1908–1922," *BYU Studies* 13, no. 2 (1973): 138.

45. Keeler's handwritten lessons for the Provo Utah Fourth Ward were really the first manuals for the Aaronic Priesthood in the Church.

46. For the larger picture, see William G. Hartley, "From Men to Boys: LDS Aaronic Priesthood Offices, 1829–1996," *Journal of Mormon History* 22, no. 1 (1996): 80–136. As Hartley notes, other Church leaders at the same time were suggesting specific age rankings for the Aaronic Priesthood offices.

47. Joseph B. Keeler, "Organization and Government of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," *Improvement Era* 16 (July 1913): 918–27; Joseph B. Keeler, "A Typical Ward Service," *Improvement Era* 17 (June 1914): 738–50.

Covenants was officially sanctioned by its inclusion in the 1918 edition of those revelations issued by the Church.[48]

Summary and Conclusion

Joseph B. Keeler witnessed the passing of Mormonism's founding generation. With it went plural marriage, millennial expectations, and an emphasis on the immediate establishment of a political and economic Kingdom of God. Keeler's own generation experienced the shift from a rural, village community to an urban world in which the Church needed to help foster piety in the ward and nuclear family. His work proved central in several ways to standardizing and bureaucratizing the Church hierarchy, processes that themselves were part of a larger modernizing trend shaping not only the LDS Church but much of American life in the early twentieth century.[49]

Nineteenth-century Mormonism generally sought to maintain a stable society, often forced through circumstance into self-contained and isolated communities. Communication among members remained primarily oral but was supplemented by their printed newspapers. Face-to-face communication, centered in extended family and kin networks, was the norm. Such a traditional society was also reflected in its social structure and political organization, controlled as it was by an elite leadership class that seldom distinguished between the secular and the sacred. Plural marriage

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48. *A Concordance of the Doctrine and Covenants,* which had been printed earlier in his work on the Lesser Priesthood. A committee had to choose between Keeler's and another prepared by John A. Widtsoe. Widtsoe's had been prepared earlier, and he gave a manuscript copy of it to the Church in April 1898. Widtsoe's work would be incorporated into the 1921 edition, but the committee chose Keeler's for the 1918 edition, perhaps because it was already in type from its earlier printings. See the discussion in the Letterbooks of the First Presidency, under the dates of June 19 and July 11, 1917. Here I benefit from notes from these volumes (which are now closed to research in the LDS Church Archives) in the Scott Kenney Papers, BYU Library. Keeler's *Concordance* appeared in *The Doctrine and Covenants* . . . (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1918), 504–49.

49. I am using the word *modernizing* in the sense suggested by Richard D. Brown, although I have applied it to the Latter-day Saints a few years after those on which Brown's arguments focused. See Brown, *Modernization: The Transformation of American Life, 1600–1865* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1976), especially chapter 1, pp. 3–22. See also Douglas D. Alder's discussion of the changing nature of Mormon wards from the nineteenth to the twentieth century: "The Mormon Ward: Congregation or Community?" *Journal of Mormon History* 5, no. 1 (1978): 61–78.

extended and reinforced this reality. The failure to separate church and state only added to the growing conflict with the larger society.

But by the end of the nineteenth century, modernization was making inroads and forcing a more dynamic challenge to Mormon group cohesion. Market forces and job patterns, the gradual movement from rural to urban settings, and the increasing melding of Utah politics with national power structures and national financial networks provided strong centrifugal forces on the Mormon Church and its members. These same forces, strongly at work in American society as reflected in the rise of the modern manufacturing system, the growth of transportation and communication networks, specialization in the job market, and a growing international outlook that was reflected in the Spanish-American War, were all part of the larger context of Joseph Keeler's life. While Mormons like Keeler did not produce novels that raised serious questions about what all these changes meant for Americans, their response certainly provides another window into the way churches and religious people adjusted to the challenges that Theodore Dreiser, William Dean Howells, and Mark Twain raised in their novels. Mormons were not as innocent or as ignorant as the main character in *Sister Carrie,* but they could relate to Silas Lapham's need to keep the old values while confronting the amoral modern urban world. And Mormons could only partially identify with Twain's Connecticut Yankee Hank Morgan, who admired ingenuity and inventiveness but failed to see the costs of industrialization and its challenges to the core values of a traditional society. Mormonism came to feel at home in the modern world but has never lost the central core of the family-oriented values that had its roots in an earlier traditional society. Institutional shifts and adjustments encouraged by individuals like Keeler helped the Church step into a new century while keeping a solid foot in the old one.

For one thing, Keeler played a significant role in what might, following Alfred Chandler, be denominated Mormonism's "managerial revolution," the rationalization of its ecclesiastical structure into corporate-like forms staffed by "professional executives" (Church authorities) thoroughly prepped for their tasks. In the American economy, the managerial revolution realigned business organizations, enabling them to compete against national (and international) rivals, and created a steady supply of trained labor.[50] Out of deeply held religious conviction, Keeler

50. Alfred D. Chandler Jr., *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977). More recently,

saw that inducting the Church's young men into the Aaronic Priesthood earlier than had been conventional and educating them in their wards and schools developed a similar pool of leaders necessary to run a corporate religious headquarters or compete with missionaries from other faiths throughout the United States and abroad. This standardization of training would prove instrumental to the tremendous growth of the Mormon Church in the twentieth century. Keeler's printed works suggest that Mormon writing was moving away from its more polemical and freelance origins in the nineteenth century to a more standardized discourse that was carefully crafted and focused on institutional consumption. As the LDS Church entered the new century as a recognized church in the newly created state of Utah, its partisans' rhetoric became less defensive and more geared toward working out the Church's place in a larger world.

Keeler encouraged the Church's fiscal modernization as well. In 1897, he published a pamphlet on tithing.[51] At a time when the Church, intent on shoring up finances depleted by fending off the antipolygamy crusade, was coming to rely solely on cash contributions to fund its operations rather than accepting commodity donations-in-kind more typical of a frontier-exchange economy, securing a regular flow of an instantly negotiable medium was crucial for maintaining the stability of an increasingly large-scale bureaucracy. That LDS leaders recognized this situation can be seen in the *Instructions to Presidents of Stakes*, which the Church began to issue in 1898 and which contained significant pronouncements on fiduciary as well as spiritual matters.[52] Keeler also worked hard to place BYU on a stronger financial footing.

Keeler's life reveals other dimensions of Mormon modernity. Church leaders had encouraged Mormons to abstain from tea, coffee, tobacco, and alcohol ever since Joseph Smith had revealed the Word of Wisdom (D&C 89) in 1833, but nineteenth-century Saints, including Smith himself, sometimes honored it more in the breach than in the observance. Active in the national temperance movement that would lead to Prohibition, Keeler encouraged Mormons to obey Smith's injunctions to

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see Jo Anne Yates, *Control through Communication: The Rise of System in American Management* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989).

51. *The Law of Tithing: As Set Forth in the Old Scriptures and in the Modern Revelation . . . Compiled by Bishop Jos. B. Keeler* (Provo, Utah: n.p., [1897]).

52. Copies of these *Annual Instructions* issued by the Church are in the BYU Library.

the letter. Church leaders, influenced by their own experiences, came to a similar conclusion, making abstinence not just a voluntary act but prescribing it as a requirement for full Church worthiness. Keeler's work with boys in the Aaronic Priesthood was a natural outgrowth of his concern for those most vulnerable to the temptations of demon rum and stimulants of all kinds.[53]

Finally, Keeler early caught the vision of promoting Mormon family life and family history, the latter a most characteristically Mormon engagement with print culture that inscribes not just a Saint's love for and interest in immediate, living kin, but that also situates the individual among people who, Mormons believe, will remain one's family for eternity. Pressured to end plural marriage and the sealing of nonbloodline relatives, the Church replaced these practices, which non-Mormons found particularly repellent, by facilitating individuals' research into their lineages and then doing temple work to seal direct family lines. In 1894, the year President Wilford Woodruff ended nonbloodline sealings, the Church organized the Utah Genealogical Society, forerunner of its Family History Library, the largest archives of genealogical records in the world.[54] Keeler wrote a manuscript genealogy of his family in 1891 and a larger, printed one in 1924.[55] Emphasis on such family ties

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53. On Keeler's fight for Prohibition (local option), see Christensen, "Joseph Brigham Keeler," 174–76. On the larger story, see Brent G. Thompson, "Utah's Struggle for Prohibition, 1908–1917" (master's thesis, University of Utah, 1979). For the larger context, see Paul H. Peterson, "An Historical Analysis of the Word of Wisdom" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1972).

54. The best introduction to the early practices is Gordon Irving, "The Law of Adoption: One Phase of the Development of the Mormon Concept of Salvation, 1830–1900," *BYU Studies* 14, no. 3 (1974): 291–314. See also Rex E. Cooper, *Promises Made to the Fathers: Mormon Covenant Organization* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1990). For a summary of the changes made under the direction of Wilford Woodruff, see Thomas G. Alexander, *Things in Heaven and Earth: The Life and Times of Wilford Woodruff, a Mormon Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1991), 321–22. For more on the Genealogical Society, see James B. Allen, Jessie L. Embry and Kahlile Mehr, *Hearts Turned to the Fathers: A History of the Genealogical Society of Utah, 1894–1994* (Provo, Utah: BYU Studies, 1994).

55. See *Genealogical Record of the Keeler Family* [14 pp.] (Provo, Utah: Enquirer Steam Print, 1891); and *Genealogical Record of the Keeler Family, 1726–1924. By Joseph B. Keeler, Life Member of the Historical and Genealogical Society of Utah* [79 pp.] (Provo, Utah: Printed for the Author by the Post Publishing Company, 1924).

evolved into the Church's regular family home evening, which encouraged members to set aside one evening per week for developing family relationships and teaching the gospel. Following the implementation of the program by President Frank Y. Taylor in the Granite Stake in 1909,[56] Keeler introduced the practice into the Utah Stake in January 1910. The Church as a whole adopted the program in 1915. The family home evening remains a central Mormon domestic devotion, although the day itself has changed from Wednesday to Monday.

The manuals and handbooks that Keeler and his generation produced had a lasting impact on the Church. His printed works made foundational contributions to the institutional coherence of the LDS Church and the growth of a major American religion, even though most Latter-day Saints, let alone Gentiles, have forgotten them.

David J. Whittaker retired in 2013 as Curator of the Nineteenth-Century Western and Mormon Manuscripts, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library; and as Associate Professor of History, Brigham Young University. An early version of this paper was presented at the Conference on Religion and the Culture of Print in Modern America, University of Wisconsin–Madison, September 10–11, 2004.

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56. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition,* 108. See also "Editor's Table," *Improvement Era* 13 (January 1910): 276.

The Inception of Brigham Young University's Archival Program, 1956–1962

J. Gordon Daines III

Brigham Young University today houses thousands of documents and photographs about the history of the university as well as millions of other documents and photographs on Mormonism, Utah history, and Western history. These materials are housed in the L. Tom Perry Special Collections in the Harold B. Lee Library. The Perry Special Collections is well known as a place to study historic documents, read rare books, find photographs, and much more. Among the treasures found in the Perry Special Collections are the Brigham Young University Archives. This paper examines the establishment of the BYU Archives, with Ralph W. Hansen as the first archivist, through 1962, when Hansen left to become the founding university archivist at Stanford University. It also examines the pivotal role that the University Archives played in laying the groundwork for the development of BYU's exceptionally strong manuscript collections documenting the history of Mormonism and the West.[1]

Background

Members of the LDS Church in general have been from the beginning a record-keeping people, and thus the histories of the Church and of BYU

1. David J. Whittaker has written on the Mormon collections in the L. Tom Perry Special Collections in two articles, "The Archives of the Mormon Experience" and "Printed Mormon Americana Collection at Brigham Young University," in *Mormon Americana: A Guide to Sources and Collections in the United States,* ed. David J. Whittaker (Provo, Utah: BYU Studies, 1995), 101–2, 122–24. This article focuses on the history of the University Archives.

are informed by a rich variety of manuscripts and archival materials. Brigham Young Academy was founded in 1875 by Brigham Young with the intention that secular knowledge be tempered by the sacred. Young told Karl G. Maeser, the new institution's first full-time principal, that "neither the alphabet nor the multiplication table were to be taught without the Spirit of God."[2] Maeser's emphasis on the sacred is a touchstone that continues to guide BYU in the twenty-first century.

Maeser's successor, Benjamin Cluff Jr., felt strongly that the academy needed to have high caliber academics along with its emphasis on the sacred. He wrote a colleague that "we want, therefore, the most modern methods and the best trained teachers we can get."[3] Cluff successfully lobbied the academy's board of trustees in 1903 to change the institution's name to Brigham Young University.[4]

In May 1921, newly appointed university president Franklin S. Harris articulated his vision for BYU. He told students and faculty, "The President of the Church Commission of Education and all who have anything to do with Church schools are determined to make this 'the great Church University.'"[5] Harris was interested in seeing the university continue to build on the spiritual foundation laid by Karl G. Maeser and the educational excellence added by Benjamin Cluff Jr. Harris intended that BYU become a university in deed as well as name.[6] His efforts led to the successful accreditation of the university in the mid-1920s and laid the groundwork for the university's expansion in the 1950s and 1960s under Ernest L. Wilkinson.

The university administrations following those of Maeser and Cluff have worked diligently to augment and solidify the unique blend of the sacred and the secular established by these men. Given the institution's

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2. Dedicatory exercises of the Brigham Young Academy Building, 1892, UA SC 33, p. 2, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

3. Benjamin Cluff Jr. to George H. Brimhall, November 12, 1893, UA 1093, Benjamin Cluff Jr. Presidential Records, 1892–1904, Perry Special Collections.

4. Ernest L. Wilkinson, ed., *Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years*, 4 vols. (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1975), 1:375–381.

5. "Dr. Harris, Pres.-Elect Visits School," *White and Blue*, May 4, 1921, 1, Perry Special Collections.

6. For more information about Harris's vision for the university, see J. Gordon Daines III, "'The Vision That You Have . . . Augurs Well for the Development of Still Better Things': The Role of Accreditation in Securing the Future of Brigham Young University, 1921–1928," *BYU Studies* 49, no. 2 (2010): 63–92.

rich history, it is surprising that meaningful efforts to collect and write a rigorously documented history of BYU were not begun until the 1950s, the decade in which the University Archives developed.

That time period saw tremendous growth for college and university archives nationally. While a few institutions of higher education had established college and university archives prior to the 1950s, the vast majority had not.[7] The growth of enrollment at colleges and universities post–World War II led many institutions to look for ways to preserve the history of their institutions. The establishment of an archival program was seen as an important way to do so. Important early archival repositories in the West include the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley (founded in 1905),[8] the Huntington Library (founded in 1919),[9] and the American Heritage Center at the University of Wyoming (founded in 1945).[10] The development of these institutions shaped what was collected at the BYU Archives but had little direct impact on the development of the Archives itself.

While the BYU Archives, founded in 1956, cannot claim the distinction of being the first archival program in Utah—that distinction belongs to the Utah State Archives and Records Service, which was founded in 1954[11]—it was the first college or university archival program

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7. Patrick M. Quinn notes, "The emergence of large numbers of archival repositories at colleges and universities in the United States is a relatively new phenomenon dating only from the 1950s." William J. Maher, *The Management of College and University Archives* (Lanham, Md.: Society of American Archivists and the Scarecrow Press, 1992), ix. For more information on the growth of college and university archives in the 1950s and 1960s, see Bessie Schina and Garron Wells, "University Archives and Records Programs in the United States and Canada," *Archival Issues* 27, no. 1 (2002): 35–52; Robert M. Warner, "The Status of College and University Archives," *American Archivist* 31 (July 1968): 235–37; and Nicholas C. Burckel and J. Frank Cook, "A Profile of College and University Archives in the United States," *American Archivist* 45 (Fall 1982): 410–28.

8. "Brief History," The Bancroft Library, http://bancroft.berkeley.edu/info/history.html (accessed September 24, 2014).

9. "About the Huntington," The Huntington, http://www.huntington.org/WebAssets/Templates/content.aspx?id=56 (accessed September 24, 2014).

10. "About the AHC [American Heritage Center]," University of Wyoming, http://www.uwyo.edu/ahc/about/ (accessed September 24, 2014).

11. Cory L. Nimer and J. Gordon Daines III, "The Development and Professionalization of the Utah State Archives, 1897–1968," *Journal of Western Archives* 3, no. 1 (2012): 13, available at http://digitalcommons.usu.edu/westernarchives/vol3/iss1/5.

in the state. The Southern Utah University archives was established in 1962,[12] the Utah State University archives was established in 1965,[13] and the University of Utah archives was established in the late 1960s.[14]

Documenting the "Great Church University"

In 1954, S. Lyman Tyler was appointed director of the BYU library, and he desired to see it become a first-rate university library. From the beginning, he was concerned about the historical records of the university. His interest in caring for the archival materials created by BYU is evidenced by his decision to join the Society of American Archivists (SAA) in late 1954. Tyler looked to that society for guidance in how to establish a university archive, what records to preserve, and how to preserve them.[15] Among the books that informed the library policy that he developed was *The University Library,* by Louis Round Wilson and Maurice F. Tauber. The book's chapter "Book Collections: Special Materials" emphasized the importance of an archives and manuscripts program to a university library,[16] which clearly fit into Tyler's conception of a first-rate library.

S. Lyman Tyler, who served as director of the university library at BYU from 1954 until 1966. Courtesy L. Tom Perry Special Collections.

Tyler's desire to appropriately care for the university's archival materials led him to have informal conversations with several university administrators about

12. Anne Okerlund Leavitt, *Southern Utah University—the First Hundred Years: A Heritage History* (Cedar City: Southern Utah University Press, 1997), 192.

13. Ann Buttars, interviewed by J. Gordon Daines III and Cory L. Nimer, November 16, 2012, 1; copy in the possession of the author.

14. Nimer and Daines, "Development and Professionalization," 25.

15. William D. Overman to S. Lyman Tyler, December 6, 1954, UA 549, box 28, folder 4, Perry Special Collections.

16. Louis Round Wilson and Maurice F. Tauber, *The University Library* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945), 353–81.

BYU President Ernest L. Wilkinson, who understood the importance of documenting the past and supported S. Lyman Tyler's efforts to better document BYU's history. Courtesy L. Tom Perry Special Collections.

the need for a university archive. He expressed his concern about the "physical facilities to care for the archival materials of the Brigham Young University and the Church School System" in a memo to them in early January 1956. In the memo, he posed a series of questions that needed to be answered before an archive could be established. What should be housed in the archives? When should files be transferred from campus entities to the archives? What type of storage facility is necessary for these types of materials? How available should the archival materials be? Where would patrons use the archival materials?[17] Tyler relied on discussions with archival colleagues in Utah and the resources provided by SAA to outline a policy, especially regarding what materials should be archived. These discussions were on Tyler's mind when he approached President Ernest L. Wilkinson about putting together a library policy for the university.

In March 1956, he appealed to Wilkinson, saying that it "is an established practice for the governing body of the university to make a statement of policy concerning the library to enable the Director of Libraries to carry on efficiently the functions of the university." Tyler indicated that such a statement emanating from Wilkinson's office would "greatly facilitate the functions of the Director of Libraries."[18] Tyler's memo initiated a discussion with Wilkinson that lasted three weeks and resulted in a policy governing the library of BYU.

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17. S. Lyman Tyler to Bliss Crandall, Clyde Sandgren, Lucille Spencer, and Kiefer Sauls, March 5, 1956, UA 549n, box 1, folder 1, Perry Special Collections.

18. S. Lyman Tyler to Ernest L. Wilkinson, March 6, 1956, UA 614, box 38, folder 2, S. Lyman Tyler Papers, Perry Special Collections.

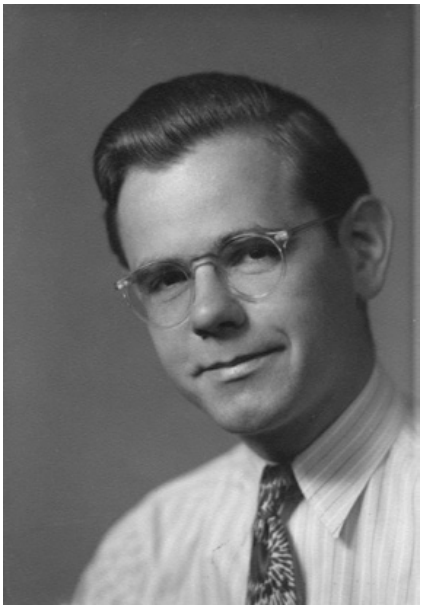
S. Lyman Tyler, in his office. He crafted a library policy statement that allowed for the creation of the University Archives. Courtesy L. Tom Perry Special Collections.

A directive under President Wilkinson's signature went out to the whole university on March 26, 1956, including an important statement about archiving university records. Point 15 of this library policy stated, "The Director of Libraries is also designated historian and archivist for the Unified Church School System. As such he is authorized to take the necessary steps to insure the maintenance of proper systems for caring for the official records of the Brigham Young University and of the various other units of the Church School System."[19] The new policy's appointment of BYU's library director as the "designated historian and archivist for the Unified Church School System" underscored Wilkinson's firm belief that BYU was central to the Church's educational program. The Unified Church School System had been created at the urging of Wilkinson in 1953 when the LDS First Presidency "decided to consolidate all Church schools under one administrator."[20] That administrator was President Wilkinson. The new policy put Tyler in a position to establish an archive at BYU.

19. Ernest L. Wilkinson to S. Lyman Tyler, March 26, 1956, UA 614, box 38, folder 2, Perry Special Collections.

20. Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 2:572–74.

Establishing the BYU Archives



Ralph W. Hansen, who served as BYU's first archivist. Courtesy L. Tom Perry Special Collections.

After receiving President Wilkinson's signature on the library policy, Tyler wasted little time in establishing the University Archives. He asked Ralph W. Hansen if he would be interested in the challenge of establishing an archive for the university, and Hansen accepted. Hansen had been working as an assistant reference librarian in the library since 1953. He had also recently completed a master's degree in history and seemed to have the historical understanding that Tyler was looking for.[21]

Since Hansen had no archival experience, Tyler arranged for him to receive training at the Harvard-Radcliffe Institute for Historical and Archival Management during the summer of 1956. The six-week program attended by Hansen was taught by Lester Cappon.[22] The focus of the program was how to prepare collections for research use and how to provide adequate reference service. Participants also "took field trips to the Records Center in Boston, to historic houses, to a large microfilming company; we had a number of visitors come in and speak—they came and spoke the whole day about their particular specialty, and there were university archivists, historical society directors, people from the National

21. Ralph Hansen, oral history, August 21–24, 1979, p. 1, MSS 295, box 5, folder 12, Ralph W. Hansen Papers, Special Collections and Archives, Albertsons Library, Boise State University.

22. Ralph W. Hansen to George P. Hammond (Librarian, Bancroft Library, UC–Berkeley), October 30, 1961, MSS 295, box 4, folder 2, Special Collections and Archives, Albertsons Library, Boise State University. The Harvard-Radcliffe Institute for Historical and Archival Management was held annually from 1954 to 1960. Cappon was director of the Institute of Early American History and Culture at the College of William and Mary. He was also a prominent member of the Society of American Archivists.

The Karl G. Maeser Memorial Building, ca. 1950. The fourth floor of the building served as the first home of the University Archives. Courtesy L. Tom Perry Special Collections.

Archives and others." The culminating event was preparing an archival project for research use. Hansen processed the papers of a former president of Radcliffe College.[23] Hansen's experience at the Harvard-Radcliffe Institute reinforced to him that "the purpose of the Archives Department is to collect, process, and preserve all university archival material both old and current."[24]

Hansen started on the archival program in September 1956, and work was "carried out on a part-time basis throughout the school year 1956–57." The newly established archive was housed on the fourth floor of the Karl G. Maeser Memorial Building.[25] The first step in establishing the archives was the creation of a disposal program so that the archivist

23. Hansen, oral history, p. 2.

24. Staff Manual, Library, Brigham Young University, June 1958, UA 614, box 55, folder 7, Perry Special Collections.

25. First Annual Report—University Archives, May 24, 1957, 1, UA 1068, box 15, folder 5, Perry Special Collections.

could weed out and dispose of nonessential records. Hansen and Tyler determined that nonessential records are those created to facilitate certain activities that no longer have value once those activities are completed, such as routine administrative correspondence, transactional financial records, equipment requests, and other like records. Hansen worked with the library director, university counsel, and the university president to create a form regarding "all disposable items."[26] The next step taken was processing[27] of materials deemed to have long-term value. These materials were placed in acid-free folders and Fiberdex cases. Hansen worked diligently to follow accepted archival practice and noted in the Archives' 1957 annual report, "As far as possible the manuscripts were left in the same order in which they were found. When no order was apparent the system obviously used in similar groups of papers was followed."[28]

Hansen described his archival activities in a letter to his archival mentor, Lester J. Cappon, noting that most of what he had accomplished in the fifteen months since the program's establishment had been done on a part-time basis. He wrote,

> Immediately upon my return to Provo I was instructed to establish an archives for the university. This involved putting on overalls for a period of six months. After the cleaning was over, the archives had a home and I could begin to sort and collect the university archives. Since my appointment was on a half-time basis, progress the first year was slow. [Hansen had continued serving as a reference librarian when he was appointed university archivist.] This year the position of archivist is a full time responsibility and progress is being made in acquainting the faculty and staff with the services available from the archives.

He also explained that he had visited several archives and attended the annual convention of the Society of American Archivists in Columbus, Ohio, during the summer.[29]

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26. First Annual Report—University Archives, 3.

27. *Processing* is the term used by archivists to describe the actions they take to prepare archival and manuscript collections for research use. Typical activities include reboxing materials, labeling boxes, and creating access points (catalog records, finding aids, and so on).

28. First Annual Report—University Archives, 5.

29. Ralph W. Hansen to Lester J. Cappon, November 14, 1957, UA 549n, box 1, folder 1, Perry Special Collections.

Preserving Presidential Papers

Among the records that Hansen and Tyler worked first to protect were the papers of BYU presidents. Unfortunately, Hansen found no documents from Karl G. Maeser's term among the records he inherited.[30] In the library's 1961 ten-year report, Tyler wrote,

> Early in the present decade it was discovered that archival materials essential to document the history of the university were not being adequately cared for. As an example most of the correspondence from the Maeser period had either been destroyed or had otherwise been lost to the University. To remedy this situation the library was charged with the responsibility of developing a program of records management and of providing facilities essential to the care and preservation of archival materials created by the Brigham Young University and the Unified Church School System.[31]

Records from the terms of later presidents were more plentiful and show the development of the university. It is worth listing a few highlights from those records here. The records of Benjamin Cluff Jr. show that he was constantly recruiting new faculty members and looking for ways to help existing faculty improve their teaching credentials. He wrote to a colleague explaining "that every encouragement should be given the professors to work up in their branches and it shall be my policy as principal so long as I may be honored with that title, to encourage teachers to study, and furnish means for study, and I might say that positions in the Academy should depend on merit."[32] Cluff's records include documents about his educational experiences at the University of Michigan and his South American expedition.

The records of George H. Brimhall document financial difficulties in paying faculty and Brimhall's efforts to guide "an institution still struggling to find a balance between its two identities,"[33] secular and spiritual. The records include information on one of the most trying episodes of

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30. First Annual Report—University Archives, 4. Some Maeser records were preserved at the Church Archives in Salt Lake City. Alma P. Burton to Ralph Hansen, February 28, 1957, UA 549n, box 1, folder 1, Perry Special Collections.

31. Ten Year Report of the University Library, 1951–1961, UA 614, box 29, folder 2, Perry Special Collections.

32. Benjamin Cluff Jr. to George H. Brimhall, November 12, 1893, UA 1093, Perry Special Collections.

33. Mary Jane Woodger and Joseph H. Groberg, *From the Muddy River to the Ivory Tower: The Journey of George H. Brimhall* (Provo, Utah: BYU Studies, 2010), xx.

the early university, the Modernism Crisis of 1911.[34] Brimhall wrote to Reed Smoot following this incident, "I am ready to say that if the life of the college depends upon any number of men out of harmony with the brethren who preside over the Church, then it is time for the college to die. . . . The school follows the Church, or it ought to stop."[35] Records also document the expansion of university buildings to upper campus[36] as well as the increasing student body.

Franklin S. Harris's records are evidence of his efforts to see BYU accredited as a college and then a university by the Association of American Universities. Under Harris's leadership, the university became the Church teachers' college and played a central role in providing teachers for the seminary and institute program.[37] Harris's vision of the university that "all Mormondom cannot be educated here but I hope to see the time when two of a city and two of a county will come here to become leaders" still resonates today and plays an important part in the current mission of the university.[38] Key to Harris's vision was developing a

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34. The Modernism Crisis arose when three university faculty members were dismissed for their outspoken teaching of evolutionary Darwinism and higher biblical criticism. More information on the crisis can be found in Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years,* 1:412–32; and Gary James Bergera, "The 1911 Evolution Controversy at Brigham Young University," in *The Search for Harmony: Essays on Science and Mormonism,* ed. Gene A. Sessions and Craig J. Oberg (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994), available at http://signaturebookslibrary.org/the-1911-evolution-controversy-at-brigham-young-university/ (accessed December 1, 2014).

35. George H. Brimhall to Reed Smoot, March 8, 1911, UA 1092, Perry Special Collections.

36. The original campus was located where the current Provo City Library is and is often referred to as lower campus. Upper campus refers to the site of the current campus of Brigham Young University. Lower campus was three to five buildings located on University Avenue between 500 North and 600 North. The first building on upper campus was the Maeser Building completed in 1911. At the time Hansen became university archivist, the modern campus was beginning to take shape.

37. For more information on the developing seminary and institute program and its ties to BYU, see Casey Paul Griffiths, "Joseph F. Merrill and the Transformation of Church Education," in *A Firm Foundation: Church Organization and Administration,* ed. David J. Whittaker and Arnold K. Garr (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, 2011), 377–402, and Casey P. Griffiths, "Joseph F. Merrill and the 1930–1931 LDS Church Education Crisis," *BYU Studies* 49, no. 1 (2010): 92–134.

38. "Dr. Harris, Pres.-Elect Visits School," *White and Blue*, May 4, 1921, 1, Perry Special Collections.

strong library at the university. Upon learning that his efforts to secure Church funding for a new library building were successful, Harris wrote to a colleague, "We were all very much elated yesterday because Wednesday the Church Board of Education decided to build us a fine library building on the hill."[39] The Heber J. Grant Library was the first building dedicated to house the university's library collections. It served as the university library from 1925 to 1961.[40]

Records of Howard S. McDonald's term show that the GI Bill resulted in many more students, straining the existing capacity of the campus and the ability of the faculty to offer appropriate courses, because many returning veterans were interested in vocational education. McDonald wrote to a faculty member, "As you know, the University is facing a real challenge this coming fall. Our manpower, equipment, housing, and all of our facilities will be taxed to the limit if we accomplish what we have in mind for the students who will enroll with us."[41] McDonald's papers also underscore the commitment of the LDS Church to provide educational opportunities enriched by the gospel of Jesus Christ to its members. In a letter to the Church commissioner of education, Franklin L. West, McDonald explained why they were requiring a character recommendation form for new students. He wrote, "We want people to know that this is a Church Institution, and that the young people here have the highest of ideals. We do not want people here who have no desire to conform to the standards of the Church."[42]

Without the thoughtful and careful efforts of Tyler and Hansen, these records might not have been preserved and made accessible.

The Struggle to Preserve Contemporaneous Documents

In addition to valuing presidential papers, Hansen also worked to preserve important records that were then being created. His efforts to acquaint the faculty and staff with the services available from the

39. Franklin S. Harris to Fred Buss, August 8, 1924, UA 1089, Perry Special Collections.

40. For more information on the Heber J. Grant Library, see J. Gordon Daines III, "Charting the Future of Brigham Young University: Franklin S. Harris and the Changing Landscape of the Church's Educational Network, 1921–1926," *BYU Studies* 45, no. 4 (2006): 68–98.

41. Howard S. McDonald to Miss Carma Ballif, July 31, 1946, UA 1087 Perry Special Collections.

42. Howard S. McDonald to Franklin L. West, September 6, 1946, UA 1087, Perry Special Collections.

archives relied on the backing of the administration. Hansen planned to educate university personnel about the importance of archives in an effort to make them archives conscious.[43] Hansen was also looking ahead; he asked permission to present a statement at the faculty conference that would be held before fall classes began: "In just eighteen years this institution will be celebrating its centennial, which will undoubtedly involve considerable historical research. If the faculty makes a university, faculty records should certainly make its history. You can perform your duty now by making provisions to deposit your papers with the archives."[44]

In 1958, Hansen noted that the University Archives was "in a more secure position than in the previous year. The archival program was included in the faculty handbook (p. 61) and support from the administration and various departments of the University was encouraging."[45] Hansen noted that he had begun receiving records from various faculty members and several departments including women's physical education, music, and chemistry. These records included meeting minutes, departmental correspondence, and course syllabi. Hansen also noted that he had been given an assistant "trained archivist who worked twenty hours per week" and who created indexes "to the papers of presidents Cluff and Brimhall."[46]

Hansen continued working actively with faculty and staff to encourage them to donate materials to the archives. He asked Christen Jensen, who had served as acting president of the university twice,[47] to "consider depositing with the archives, such manuscript items that you still have in your possession."[48] He also approached Clyde Sandgren, a university administrator, about updating the section in the faculty handbook concerning the University Archives. He added an introductory section defining archives and included a separate section on the records

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43. First Annual Report—University Archives, 6.

44. Ralph Hansen to Lyman Tyler, September 1957, UA 549n, box 1, folder 1, Perry Special Collections.

45. Second Annual Report—University Archives, June 10, 1958, 1, UA 1068, box 15, folder 5, Perry Special Collections.

46. Second Annual Report—University Archives, 1.

47. Christen Jensen served as acting university president from 1939 to 1940 while President Franklin S. Harris was doing work in Iran and from 1949 to 1951 while the university searched for a replacement for Howard S. McDonald.

48. Ralph W. Hansen to Christen Jensen, May 21, 1958, UA 549n, box 1, folder 1, Perry Special Collections.

management services that the archives was beginning to develop. Hansen defined the University Archives as "the depository for those *records* which are adjudged worthy of permanent preservation for reference and research purposes" and defined records as "all books, papers, maps, photographs, or other documentary materials, regardless of physical form or characteristics, made or received by the University in pursuance of its legal obligations or in connection with the transaction of its proper business and preserved or appropriate for preservation by that institution or its legitimate successor as evidence of its functions, policies, decisions, procedures, operations, or other activities or because of the informational value of the data contained therein."[49] His definition was based on that of prominent archival thinker Theodore R. Schellenberg of the National Archives.[50] The policy indicated that two copies of every item printed by BYU should be deposited in the archives, invited the faculty to submit teaching materials to the Archives, indicated that all correspondence was "University property and shall be delivered to the archivist as soon as not currently useful to the writer," and pointed out that no records could be destroyed without the express authorization of the archivist. It also included a section describing the records management services offered by the University Archives.[51] Hansen felt that the changes made to the policy allowed him to be more effective in working with departments to acquire their materials.

Two years later, Hansen continued to struggle with getting departments and faculty to submit materials to the University Archives. He wrote Earl C. Crockett, BYU academic vice president, asking him to remind the faculty of their responsibilities in this regard, writing, "We have also encountered some difficulty in obtaining copies of the minutes of the various college and department meetings. These form a vital

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49. Ralph W. Hansen to Clyde Sandgren, December 19, 1958, UA 549n, box 1, folder 2, Perry Special Collections.

50. Schellenberg defined records as "all books, papers, maps, photographs, or other documentary materials, regardless of physical form or characteristics, made or received by any public or private institution in pursuance of its legal obligations or in connection with the transaction of its proper business and preserved or appropriate for preservation by that institution or its legitimate successor as evidence of its functions, policies, decisions, procedures, operations, or other activities or because of the informational value of the data contained therein." T. R. Schellenberg, *Modern Archives* (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 1956), 16.

51. Hansen to Sandgren, December 19, 1958.

part of the history of the university; it is essential that they be preserved in the archives."[52]

Hansen had only limited success in acquiring the records of faculty members. The papers of scientist Carl F. Eyring (UA 509) include correspondence concerning his research projects as well as records from his many years as dean of the College of Arts and Sciences. The papers of Wesley P. Lloyd (UA 183) document his activities as dean of students. The papers of geologist George H. Hansen (UA 509) contain photographs and documents concerning the College of Arts and Sciences.

Hansen had more success acquiring material from the administrative officials of campus departments. The University Speakers Bureau (UA 516) transferred correspondence related to speeches given by faculty members in the community. The University Program Bureau (UA 518) transferred scrapbooks and correspondence documenting the performing groups of the university to the archives. The Department of Athletics (UA 1327) transferred the records of athletic directors Floyd Millet and Edwin Kimball as well as other program information. The College of Family Living (UA 661) transferred correspondence, annual reports for the college and departments, budget information, meeting minutes, faculty files, and dean's office files.

Accepting departmental and university administrative records required that Hansen develop procedures for managing these materials. Confidential records could be viewed only by personnel from the originating office. Other records were available for public research. (This policy is similar to the access restrictions on university records today. Current records are restricted based on the source of the records, and older records can be viewed in person in the L. Tom Perry Special Collections reading room.) In 1957, the library had created the Special Collections department to manage all of the unique materials, including rare books, manuscripts, and archives in the library.[53]

Hansen understood that active collecting meant that there needed to be a place for the materials collected, and he was excited to be involved in the planning of a new library building for BYU. Planning for the building began in earnest in 1957, and in late 1958 Hansen wrote archivist

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52. Ralph W. Hansen to Earl C. Crockett, October 4, 1960, UA 549n, Box 1 Folder 5, Perry Special Collections.

53. Chad Flake, interviewed by Russell C. Taylor, June 7, 2002, 16; copy in the possession of the author. When Special Collections was established in 1957 it had responsibility for the rare books held by the university.

Dolores Renze for advice on what equipment "should be built into a modern archives."[54] Renze advised him to be concerned about being able to keep temperature and relative humidity stable.[55]

Manuscript Collections

The year 1958 was energizing to Hansen because he had begun to emphasize the collecting of manuscript materials as well as university records—and he discovered that he really enjoyed manuscript collecting. Hansen had been given responsibility for manuscript collecting in 1957 but had not been able to do much with it. In March 1958, Hansen contacted W. Lester Bagley about Bagley's "collection of photographs pertaining to early pioneer Mormon trails, memorials, and residences."[56] He explained to donor Fred Fellow why manuscript collections were so valuable to the university. He wrote, "We are ever grateful to friends of the University such as you whose donations are building up the manuscript collection of the library which makes it possible for our students to do intelligent research on the history of Utah."[57] He contacted many more people over the following years. In 1959, he wrote to Brigham Y. Card to see if Card would be willing to donate his family's diaries to the university. Hansen's selling point was, "We feel that in our expanding graduate program the greatest contribution our students can make is in the field of Mormon studies, and I include in the term Mormon studies: history, economics, sociology and related areas as well as religion."[58] Enabling rich student research experiences was at the heart of Hansen's interest in manuscript collecting. Hansen carefully developed plans articulating what types of manuscript material the university should collect and why.

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54. Ralph W. Hansen to Dolores Renze, October 3, 1958, UA 549n, box 1, folder 2, Perry Special Collections.

55. Hansen to Renze, October 3, 1958, typewritten response on the letter.

56. Ralph W. Hansen to W. Lester Bagley, March 14, 1958, UA 549n, box 1, folder 1, Perry Special Collections. It is unclear from the University Archives records whether Hansen was successful in acquiring the Bagley collection. Hansen did acquire other materials documenting Mormon and Utah life that enabled students to gain experience researching in archival collections.

57. Ralph W. Hansen to Fred Fellow, August 20, 1958, UA 549n, box 1, folder 1, Perry Special Collections.

58. Ralph W. Hansen to Brigham Y. Card, January 6, 1959, UA 549n, box 1, folder 2, Perry Special Collections.

Donald T. Schmidt, who served as acting university archivist from 1959 to 1960, when Ralph Hansen took a sabbatical to work on a PhD degree. Courtesy L. Tom Perry Special Collections.

But Hansen was not as upbeat about facilities. In 1959, the Archives had been forced off campus due to the encroachment of administrative offices in the Maeser Building and had ended up in the "library storage area of the Utah Wholesale Grocery Warehouse."[59] Hansen and the archives assistant were not able to do much work during the winter months because the building was too cold. Hansen was forced to maintain the status quo and mentioned that this would probably be the case "until the new library is a reality."[60] The 1959–1960 school year brought no improvements. That year Hansen was "on leave of absence. Donald T. Schmidt was assigned acting University Archivist as well as assistant in Special Collections."[61] Hansen had taken his sabbatical to begin work on a PhD degree in history at the University of Oregon, where he learned more about going out into the field to gather historical documents.

Schmidt continued Hansen's efforts to gather university records. He approached Sam F. Brewster, director of physical facilities, about getting architectural drawings and proposed use "for all new buildings."[62] Schmidt also continued the manuscript collecting program that Hansen had begun. He approached S. Lyman Tyler about making a collecting

59. Third Annual Report—University Archives [1958–1959], 1, UA 1068, box 15, folder 5, Perry Special Collections.

60. Third Annual Report—University Archives, 1.

61. Fourth Annual Report—University Archives [1959–1960], 1, UA 1068, box 15, folder 5, Perry Special Collections.

62. Donald T. Schmidt to Sam F. Brewster, October 23, 1959, UA 549n, box 1, folder 2, Perry Special Collections.

Chad Flake, *right,* with an unidentified individual. In 1957, the library created the Special Collections department with Chad Flake as the head. The University Archives became a part of the new department. Courtesy L. Tom Perry Special Collections.

trip to southern Utah and wrote various potential donors about acquiring their manuscript materials.[63]

Chad Flake was placed in charge of a new department that included the University Archives,[64] and when Hansen returned from Oregon, he was assigned to gather documents from outside BYU. He relished "getting out into the various areas of Utah and visiting with potential donors, and bringing in manuscript collections." He noted that almost all of the archival institutions in Utah collected LDS Church history, and he decided to welcome those items that came but to focus his energy elsewhere. He "went after mining history, economic history, and things that no one else was collecting at the time."[65] Hansen's colleague Martin Schmitt, curator at the University of Oregon, encouraged him, writing:

63. Donald T. Schmidt to Mrs. John L. Bench, May 23, 1960, UA 549n, box 1, folder 2; Donald T. Schmidt to Joe C. Anderson, May 4, 1960; UA 549n, box 1, folder 3; Donald T. Schmidt to Albert Giles, March 18, 1960, UA 549n, box 1, folder 2; all in Perry Special Collections.

64. Procedures Manual for Special Collections: Provo, Brigham Young University Library, 1959, UA 549, box 24, folder 10, Perry Special Collections.

65. Hansen, oral history, p. 2–3.

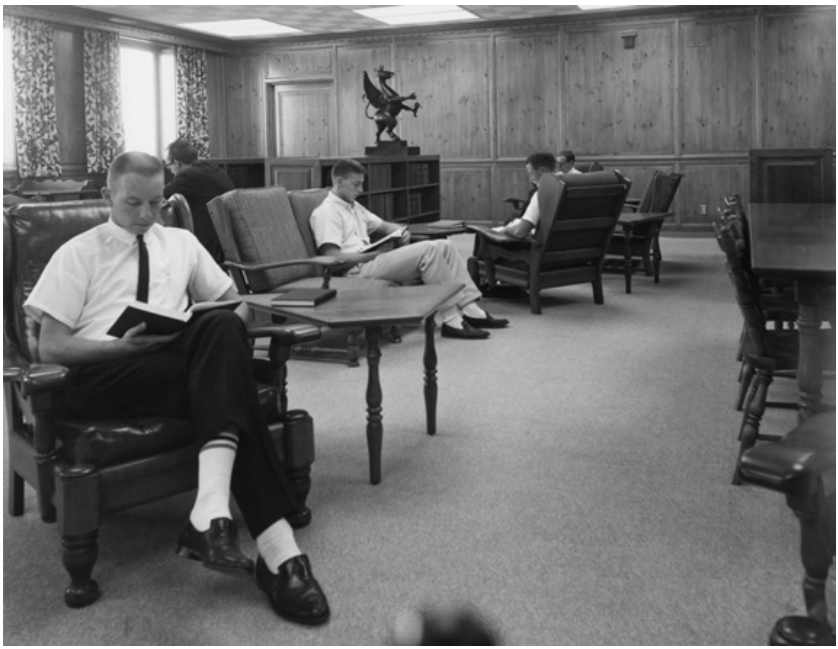
The J. Reuben Clark Jr. Library, 1961. Ralph Hansen enjoyed participating in the planning for the building because it would offer a new home for the University Archives. Courtesy L. Tom Perry Special Collections.

"You have discovered the Achilles heel of the State Historical Society and the LDS Historian—they have no field men. They must rely on the ancient belief that people are historically conscious and will send them the good things. This, as you know, is a lot of baloney."[66]

Things began to look up for the archives during the 1960–1961 school year as faculty and administrators began to get a better understanding of the role of the archives "in the preservation of important papers and in research on various aspects of University history."[67] Hansen's annual report immediately following his sabbatical is the first that discusses manuscript collecting as separate from the archives or special collections. Hansen describes the establishment of a project to make "registers of the larger manuscript collections in order to acquaint students wishing to use them with all of the materials in them." He patterned these registers

66. Martin Schmitt to Ralph W. Hansen, January 9, 1961, MSS 295, box 4, folder 2, Special Collections and Archives, Albertsons Library, Boise State University.

67. Fifth Annual Report—University Archives, June 1, 1960–August 31, 1961, 1, UA 1068, box 15, folder 5, Perry Special Collections.



The special collections reading room in the new J. Reuben Clark Jr. Library, 1961. Courtesy L. Tom Perry Special Collections. In 2015, this room serves as the Music Special Collections library.

after the ones used at the Library of Congress.[68] Hansen indicated that he continued to engage in field operations and was always looking to obtain "interesting manuscripts which are valuable for research."[69]

The 1961–1962 school year saw a new location for the archives in the newly completed J. Reuben Clark Jr. Library.[70] Hansen had played a vital role in moving not only the archives into the new building but also all of the rest of the library's collections.[71] The new location "has permitted bringing together the here-to-fore scattered manuscript collections." These collections included the Peerless Coal Co. records, the Bamberger

68. Fifth Annual Report—University Archives, 2, and Ralph W. Hansen to David C. Mearns, April 11, 1961, UA 549n, box 1, folder 3, Perry Special Collections.

69. Fifth Annual Report—University Archives, 2, 3.

70. The J. Reuben Clark Jr. Library would be renamed the Harold B. Lee Library in 1973 with the establishment of the J. Reuben Clark Law School at Brigham Young University.

71. Hansen, oral history, p. 3.

Two unidentified library employees in the manuscripts stacks of the Special Collections in the new J. Reuben Clark Jr. Library, ca. 1961. Courtesy L. Tom Perry Special Collections.

Railway records, the Herald R. Clark papers, the Arthur V. Watkins papers, the James E. Talmage papers, the L. John Nuttall papers, and the Jesse Knight Investment Company records.[72] These collections are rich resources for scholars. For example, the Watkins papers (MSS 146) contain correspondence, photographs, newspaper articles, speeches, and other materials documenting Watkins's Senate career. Much of the correspondence concerns Watkins's involvement with the McCarthy censure hearings. The Talmage papers (MSS 229) document his education in England and America, his academic career as a teacher and university administrator, and his activities in scholarly societies. The Nuttall papers (vault MSS 790) document his involvement in the LDS Church and his activities on behalf of the Utah Militia. The Knight Investment Company collection (MSS 278) documents the activities of the company in mining and railroads in Utah. These important collections laid the foundation for many of the collecting areas that the L. Tom Perry Special Collections is now recognized for.

Hansen believed that the "expanding academic program of the University will necessitate increased activity in the Manuscript Collection."[73] The archives benefited greatly from the new space and now could accept new materials from campus departments and faculty members. The archives was being recognized as an important "function of the University." Hansen initiated a study of the classification of archival material to determine the "most feasible way of classifying, arranging and shelving

72. Annual Report, 1961–1962, Archives and Manuscript Department, 1, UA 1068, box 15, folder 5, Perry Special Collections. (This is the sixth annual report.)

73. Annual Report, 1961–1962.

material to permit the Archives to perform its second function, that of answering quickly any question of B.Y.U. history and function."[74]

Passing the Torch

The additional responsibilities taken on during the library move caused Hansen to become restless. He was particularly concerned that the salary he was being paid was not adequate for what he felt were the multiple jobs he was being asked to perform.[75] Hansen began writing letters to Western repositories advertising his services as "an archivist and manuscript librarian."[76]

Hansen still believed strongly in what he was doing and continued looking for opportunities to improve his archival skills. During the summer of 1962, he received a grant to work in the Baker Library business archives in the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration.[77] When Hansen returned to BYU, he told others that BYU should search out Western mining records, railroad records, public utility records, transportation records, and cowboy history.[78] Shortly after returning from his summer at the Baker Library, Hansen left BYU to found an archives and manuscript repository at Stanford University. He felt that Stanford's reputation provided him an opportunity to advance professionally and personally.[79] Hansen served as university archivist and manuscript librarian at Stanford University from 1962 until 1979, when he left to become an associate university librarian at Boise State University.

Hansen was succeeded at BYU by Delbert Roach, who had been working at the Genealogical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Roach continued to work toward excellence in "preserving the worthy body of records of the University as well as other historical materials

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74. Annual Report, 1961–1962, 2.

75. Ralph W. Hansen autobiography; Ralph W. Hansen papers, MSS 295, box 5, Special Collections and Archives, Albertsons Library, Boise State University.

76. Ralph W. Hansen to George P. Hammond, October 30, 1961, MSS 295, box 4, folder 2, Special Collections and Archives, Albertsons Library, Boise State University.

77. Hansen, oral history, p. 4.

78. Ralph W. Hansen to Ralph W. Hidy, August 21, 1962, MSS 295, box 4, folder 2, Special Collections and Archives, Albertsons Library, Boise State University.

79. Hansen, oral history, p. 4.

relating to Utah and the Mormons and facilitating the dissemination of these materials consistent with established policies."[80] Roach wrote that "the archival program and facilities of the University Archives is believed to be further advanced than that of any institution of higher learning in the interior states of western America."[81] Roach was not trained as an archivist but recognized the importance of archival training. He wrote a colleague, "I hope to become better acquainted as to archival practices so as to better serve the Brigham Young University and the profession in general."[82] Roach also continued to actively build the manuscript collection. He explained to Robert E. McConaughy, "The Brigham Young University is vitally interested in preserving the history of western America and especially Utah. It was this interest that prompted the Brigham Young University to provide the finest facilities for the preservation of manuscripts, personal records, diaries, letters, business records and similar records in its new library."[83] After about a year, Delbert Roach was reassigned to go back to the Genealogical Society and was succeeded as archivist by Hollis Scott.

Delbert Roach, who followed Ralph Hansen as BYU archivist and served for about a year. Courtesy L. Tom Perry Special Collections.

80. Annual Report, 1962–1963, University Archives and Manuscript Division, 1, UA 1068, box 15, folder 5, Perry Special Collections Perry Special Collections. (This is the seventh annual report.)

81. Annual Report, 1962–1963, 1.

82. Delbert E. Roach to Mrs. Edith Fox, November 28, 1962, UA 549n, box 1, folder 8, Perry Special Collections.

83. Delbert E. Roach to Robert E. McConaughy, November 20, 1962, UA 549n, box 1, folder 8, Perry Special Collections.

Building on a Firm Foundation

By 1963, the University Archives was well established. Hansen had formed strong relationships with campus departments and was successfully documenting the history of the university. These relationships led to the development of collections that allowed the telling of the university's history at its centennial in 1975.[84] The University Archives continues to work actively to document the university's history.

The manuscript collecting program was still developing, and it would not be until the 1970s that it was firmly established. Hansen set important precedents regarding the types of manuscript materials to be collected. Early manuscript collections eventually included important Mormon collections as well as the papers of prominent individuals such as Cecil B. DeMille, Jimmy Stewart, Helen Foster Snow, and George Edward Anderson. The curators collected business records, including the Rosemarie Reid papers, the Provo Building and Loan Society records, and the Interstate Brick records; and political collections, including the Wallace F. Bennett papers, the George Romney papers, and the Reed Smoot papers. Early foresight laid the groundwork for much of the collecting done by later manuscript curators.

The items in the Perry Special Collections are used in a variety of ways. An excellent example of current faculty use of the collection is Leslee Thorne Murphy's use of a wiki to engage students with the Victorian Literature collection.[85] Scott Eyman, a prominent author, made heavy use of the manuscript collections in the writing of his excellent biography of John Wayne.[86] Students participating in the annual Brimhall Essay Contest are strongly encouraged to use archival materials from the University Archives in their essays.

In 1962, Hansen wrote an article, "Is There History in Your Attic?" for *Utah Libraries* and described why BYU had established its archives. Hansen's article highlighted the fact that he was attempting to

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84. Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*; and Edwin Butterworth, *Brigham Young University: 1000 Views of 100 Years* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1975).

85. More information about the Victorian Literature Wiki is available at "BYU Professor Leads the Way in Digitizing Victorian Era Literature," Brigham Young University, http://news.byu.edu/archive14-nov-vikiwiki.aspx (accessed December 9, 2014).

86. Scott Eyman, *John Wayne: The Life and Legend* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2014).

follow professional standards in establishing the University Archives. Hansen wrote,

> In the fall of 1956, Brigham Young University commenced an archival program which in large measure fulfilled the precepts of the preceding definition. This is not to say that an effort had not been made previously to preserve university records. The library had a program of collecting and cataloguing most university publications. The papers of former presidents were carefully bundled in butcher paper, stored, and then just as carefully forgotten. From time-to-time, Newburn I. Butt, library research associate, would retrieve important minute books or ledgers from oblivion, but he was hampered by inadequate space to house the treasures of the university.

Hansen described how he had worked with campus departments to locate and retrieve records of historical value.[87] He brought that same sense of professionalism to manuscript collecting.

Ralph W. Hansen's insistence that the Brigham Young University Archives be founded on sound archival principles and practices directly impacts those who research in the manuscript and archival collections housed in the Perry Special Collections. The results of his efforts range from the quality of the collections held in the repository to the accessibility of those collections for research by students, faculty, and others. The blueprint he established resulted in a rich documentary history of both the university itself and important manuscript collections.

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87. "Is There History in Your Attic?" *Utah Libraries* (1962): 2.

Christus, by Bertel Thorvaldsen (born 1768 or 1770, died 1844), in the Cathedral of Copenhagen. The Danish words on the pedestal read "Come unto me" (Matt. 11:28).

The *Christus* in Context

A Photo Essay

John W. Welch

Among the many good reasons to go to Copenhagen, Denmark, is to experience firsthand the famous *Christus* statue by Bertel Thorvaldsen (1770–1844) in the Vor Frue Kirke (The Church of Our Lady), the Lutheran Cathedral of Copenhagen. While this classic sculpture of Christ, in stunning white Carrara marble, would be impressive in any setting, it is especially meaningful and emotive in its original architectural setting.[1]

Many circumstances providentially welcomed the Apostle Erastus Snow when he and three other missionaries arrived in 1849 in Copenhagen, the first missionaries of the Restoration to set foot on the continent of Europe.[2] Most significantly, only months before their arrival, the Danish constitution had been adopted,[3] containing one of the most progressive provisions guaranteeing religious liberty ever to be adopted. This significant constitutional development was the first in the world to follow the Constitution of the United States, fulfilling a hope expressed

1. Anne-Mette Gravgaard and Eva Henschen, *On the Statue of Christ by Thorvaldsen* (Copenhagen: The Thorvaldsen Museum and the Church of Our Lady, 1997). See also David Bindman, *Warm Flesh, Cold Marble: Canova, Thorvaldsen, and Their Critics* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2014), Matthew O. Richardson, *The Christus Legacy* (Sandy, Utah: Leatherwood Press, 2007); and Matthew O. Richardson, "Bertel Thorvaldsen's *Christus*: A Mormon Icon," *Journal of Mormon History* 29, no. 1 (2003): 66–100.

2. William Mulder, *Homeward to Zion: The Mormon Migration from Scandinavia* (1957; repr., Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 35–39.

3. Mulder, *Homeward to Zion,* 40–41.

by Joseph Smith that "all nations [will adopt] the God given Constitution of the United States as a palladium of Liberty and & equal Rights."[4]

While the Danish population languished religiously, Søren Kierkegaard (1813–1855) had begun publishing in the 1840s such masterpieces as *Either/Or* (1843), *Edifying Discourses in Diverse Spirits* (1847), *Christian Discourses* (1848), and *Sickness unto Death* (1849). His works had people in Copenhagen wondering about what it means to do good, to be human, and to follow Christ. A few years earlier, in 1837, Hans Christian Andersen published his first book. That book included "The Princess and the Pea," "The Little Mermaid," and "The Emperor's New Clothes." Andersen had been born in 1805, the same year as Joseph Smith. His famous tales are much more than fairy tales and are better described as moral allegories that still seek to improve moral sensitivities today. In addition, "folk imagination in Scandinavia by 1850 had already been quickened by the growing number of" books and travel memoirs about America.[5]

Also welcoming the Mormon arrivals was Thorvaldsen's *Christus* statue, which had been commissioned during the artist's 1819–20 visit home to Copenhagen from Rome. The plaster cast of the *Christus* was present for the dedication of the Copenhagen Cathedral on June 7, 1829.[6] The completed marble statue was then brought into the cathedral in November 1833 and was consecrated on the Feast of Pentecost in 1839.[7] On one occasion, Apostle Erastus Snow sat through a service there and mused, if the statues of Christ and his Apostles were alive, what they might say to the archbishop and his clergy.[8]

As these missionaries entered the church, they would have been greeted by the outstretched arms of the Savior standing before them. The view from the entrance offers a clear line of vision to the *Christus*. Looking up from the altar, the viewer feels embraced in the extension

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4. Benjamin F. Johnson, *I Knew the Prophets: An Analysis of the Letter of Benjamin F. Johnson to George F. Gibbs, Reporting Doctrinal Views of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young*, ed. Dean R. Zimmerman (Bountiful, Utah: Horizon Publishers, 1976), 31, spelling regularized, no date given; see John W. Welch, "Joseph Smith and the Constitution," in *Sustaining the Law: Joseph Smith's Legal Encounters,* ed. Gorden A. Madsen, Jeffrey N. Walker, and John W. Welch (Provo: BYU Studies, 2014), 19.

5. Mulder, *Homeward to Zion,* 65.

6. Gravgaard and Henschen, *On the Statue of Christ,* 51.

7. Gravgaard and Henschen, *On the Statue of Christ,* 52.

8. Mulder, *Homeward to Zion,* 36.

Top: The center aisle of the Church of Our Lady, looking toward the front, with dome above the altar and the *Christus. Bottom:* Looking back toward the entrance. The diverse architecture of this building reaches out to all people, combining biblical personalities and inscriptions, Greek temple columns, Roman arches, elegant vaulted ceilings, and plain decor.

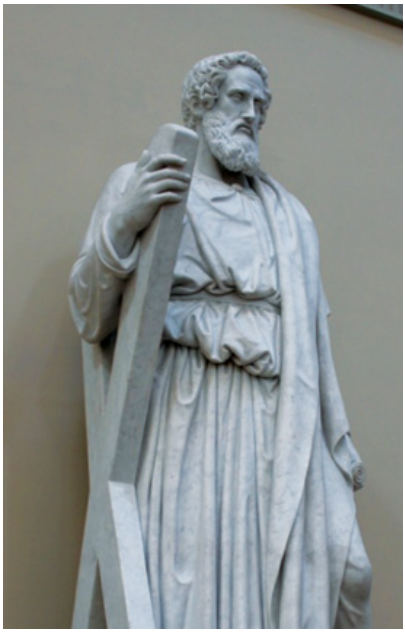
of the semicircle formed by his welcoming arms. This is not the typical altarpiece or the normal portrayal of the crucifixion of Christ that stands behind the high altar of many European Christian churches.[9] Here is the resurrected Lord, showing the signs of the crucifixion in his hands, feet, and side. He stands in glorious white, alone, the Redeemer in whom salvation is found.

9. Gravgaard and Henschen, *On the Statue of Christ,* 65.

Along the side walls of the cathedral are statues of twelve Apostles, six on each side. They are positioned on pedestals on the floor, right next to the pews, giving worshipers the sense that these holy men are in the congregation flanking all the church members. Thorvaldsen personally sacrificed to enable these statues to be completed in the same marble as the *Christus*.[10]

On the congregation's right is Peter, holding the keys to bind on earth and in heaven. He alone is looking steadfastly forward to the statue of Jesus, his Master.

10. "Due to the ailing economy [in 1829], the church commission now hesitated to order the apostles in marble. However, Thorvaldsen came to a rapid decision. He offered to have the apostles cut in marble on the sole condition that the church pay for the materials and the wages of the stonecutters. It was an offer they could not refuse. However, it was not until 1848 that all twelve of the plaster apostles were finally replaced by copies in marble." Gravgaard and Henschen, *On the Statue of Christ,* 51. Another interesting aspect of the story is that "the apostles that were delivered by Thorvaldsen were too large to be placed in the niches which had been specifically fitted for them. Instead, they had to be placed freely in front of the pillars." Gravgaard and Henschen, *On the Statue of Christ,* 20.



Accompanying each of the Apostles are symbolic representations of their main gifts and contributions to the building of the kingdom in the meridian of time, in many cases together with indications of how these witnesses gave their lives as martyrs for their resurrected Lord. *From top left to bottom right:* The Apostles James, John, Andrew, and Philip.

The *Christus* statue is flanked by two pillars, reminiscent of the pillars named after Jachin and Boaz at the entrance to the Temple of Solomon, which may represent the pillars of fire and of cloud that dwelt before the tabernacle and guided the Israelites in the wilderness.

The weight of the statue is carried, in repose, on the back foot, with the front foot uncovered. The Savior's unclad feet stand on holy ground and are the blessed feet of him who brings good tidings.

The arms are extended to the viewer below. The hands are blessing and inviting. The wounds are clearly visible, almost touchable.

Behind the *Christus* is a shiny gold curved background, marvelously signifying the glory of the sun, placed as if it were a radiant veil between the world below and the heavenly presence beyond.

On the entablature directly above the *Christus* and below the triangular pediment is an inscription that reads, "Denne er min Søn den elskelige hører Ham / Marci. IX. 7" ("This is my beloved Son, hear him / Mark 9:7"). These are the words spoken by the Father to Peter, James, and John on the Mount of Transfiguration. Although written in Danish, these words are not difficult for English or German speakers to recognize.

On the pedestal below the *Christus* is a second inscription, "Kommer til mig / Matth. XI. 28." ("Come unto me / Matt. 11:28"). The Savior beckons to all who "labor and are heavy laden," and promises, "I will give you rest."

Underneath the pedestal on the monumental foundation is yet a third scripture, which reads, "See ieg er med Eder alle Dage indtil Verdens Ende / Mat. XXVIII. 20." ("Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world / Matt. 28:20."), the final words spoken by the resurrected Christ to his Apostles as reported at the conclusion of the Gospel of Matthew. Countless numbers of replicas of the *Christus* statue have been produced, but none, as far as I am aware, are presented together with the three significant scriptures—one above this masterpiece in the voice of the Father to the three chief Apostles and two below in the voice of Christ, first to everyone, and finally to his Apostles.

To the right and the left of this largely unadorned Protestant sanctuary are two doors used by the clergy. On the lentil above one is the inscription, "Lader eder forlige med Gud / 2 Cor: V. 20" ("Be ye reconciled with God / 2 Cor. 5:20"), and over the other side door, "I skulle elske hverandre som ieg har elsket eder / Ioh: XV. 12." ("Ye should love one another as I have loved you / John 15:12"). These portals may symbolize, on the one side, the Atonement and first great commandment, to love God, and, on the other side, the second great commandment, to love one another.

Although, based on existing sources, we cannot know for sure, Thorvaldsen himself may have planned all of these details for the setting of his most important lifetime work. It was commissioned in 1820. He brooded over it for nearly a decade, and then designed and modeled it in plaster in 1829. Though he made his name and reputation as a classical, monumental sculptor, the *Christus* clearly has become the most famous of this very popular and gifted artist's works. Was he inspired? According to Elder Rex D. Pinegar, who was with President Spencer W. Kimball when he visited the Vor Frue Kirke in 1976, President Kimball told the caretaker of the church that "the man who created these statues was surely inspired of the Lord."[11] Was Thorvaldsen a religious man? Perhaps not.[12] But did he capture the essence of the world's need for a living, loving Savior? Certainly yes, and through his masterpiece all can come to appreciate the embrace of the Master's arms outstretched in forgiveness.

Self-portrait of Thorvaldsen with chisel and mallet in hand, standing next to his muse, the goddess of hope.

11. Rex D. Pinegar, "The Living Prophet," *Ensign* 6, no. 11 (1976): 68.

12. Gravgaard and Henschen suggest not only that Thorvaldsen was not religiously inclined. Some have cited his relationship with a married woman who bore him two children as one evidence of this. Gravgaard and Henschen, *On the Statue of Christ,* 11.

Above: The entrance to the Vor Frue Kirke features six Ionic columns upon which rests a pediment with statues of John the Baptist preaching to people who have come to hear him. *Facing page:* The baptismal theme continues inside the cathdral. Worshipers coming up to the altar find a baptismal font positioned between themselves and the *Christus.* This angelic font was donated as a gift from Thorvaldsen.

Together, the overall effect of the expression and posture of the *Christus* radiates a complete and loving peace. He invites all to come unto him, "for my yoke is easy, and my burden is light" (Matt. 11:30). Thorvaldsen's *Christus* graciously speaks to all: "Come unto me. . . . My peace I give unto you." It welcomes every visitor today just as it did when it welcomed Erastus Snow and the arrival of those bearing the news of the Restoration in 1849, only five years after the deaths of Joseph Smith and Bertel Thorvaldsen, just three months apart in 1844.

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Minerva Teichert, *The Seduction of Corianton.* Sketch, oil on paper, 10⅝″ x 15⅝″. Courtesy Mark Callister.

Minerva Teichert's *The Seduction of Corianton*

Herman du Toit

A previously unknown oil sketch by Minerva Teichert (1888–1976), the pioneering LDS woman artist, was recently acquired by an art collector when it came up for sale in Salt Lake City. This small painting depicts the temptation of Corianton, who was the son of Alma the Younger in the Book of Mormon; it captures the moment spoken of in Alma's words to his wayward son: "Thou didst do that which was grievous unto me; for thou didst forsake the ministry, and did go over into the land of Siron among the borders of the Lamanites, after the harlot Isabel. Yea, she did steal away the hearts of many; but this was no excuse for thee, my son" (Alma 39:3–4).

This painting had been owned for many years by a Wyoming rancher who received it from Teichert as a birthday gift when he was a boy in the early 1950s. The boy's family had lived near the Teicherts in Cokeville, and although he and his family were not members of the LDS Church, the two families became good friends. They helped each other with yard work, and the children often played together. The painting's longtime owner believes that Teichert had presented this birthday gift to him with the added hope that it would cultivate in him an interest in the Book of Mormon and its teachings.

The sketch is not dated, but it was likely painted in the early 1950s as part of a series of such small color sketches that Teichert produced based on her charcoal drawings illustrating scenes from the Book of Mormon.[1]

1. John W. Welch and Doris R. Dant, *The Book of Mormon Paintings of Minerva Teichert* (Provo, Utah: BYU Studies; Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1997), 11, 21.

She began this project on March 21, 1949, less than two years after completing the murals for the Church's Manti Temple.[2] In her monthly letters, from that March until May the following year, she communicated her enthusiasm for this project:

> I have started Book of Mormon sketches. Ought to be great. . . . I am on my third illustration for the Book of Mormon—very good. . . . It should bring that Book to life. . . . Am really painting! Have three illustrations going on at once but they do not go very fast at that. I'm getting where there are wars and conflicts and trials before judges that call for figures and action. . . . Am back into illustrations so won't be writing letters for a little bit. . . . I do wish I could get these illustrations done but there is as much composition and good drawing on one as on a larger painting. It just takes time and I must tell my story well. . . . I'm doing nothing I don't have to until these B[ook of] M[ormon] illustrations are finished. . . . I think I'll be about two weeks on the illustrations then I'll be down and turn them in.[3]

She had hoped that these Book of Mormon paintings would also be accepted by Church leaders in Salt Lake City for use by the Church, but this was not to be the case, and she was advised by unknown sources to reproduce these illustrations on a larger scale and with stronger color.[4] She dutifully set to work, at her own expense, and by late 1951 she completed a new series of forty-two larger murals, painted on Masonite. These paintings were also not accepted by the Church, and after seventeen years of trying to have them placed, Teichert eventually donated the entire series to Brigham Young University on September 16, 1969.[5]

This newly discovered color sketch depicts Corianton reaching out to Isabel, spoken of by Alma as a harlot (Alma 39:3). Corianton had accompanied his father, Alma, on a mission to reclaim the apostate Zoramites (Alma 31:7), but forsook his ministry and went over to the land of Siron to seek the favors of Isabel among the wayward Lamanites. Teichert depicts the moment Isabel is about to pour some drink into Corianton's raised cup. Corianton is restrained by another figure on the

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2. For information on the Manti Temple murals, see Doris R. Dant, "Minerva Teichert's Manti Temple Murals," *BYU Studies* 38, no. 3 (1999): 7–39.

3. Laurie Teichert Eastwood, ed., *Letters of Minerva Teichert: 1930–1970* (Provo, Utah: BYU Studies, 1997), excerpted in Welch and Dant, *Book of Mormon Paintings*, 162–63.

4. Marian Wardle, *Minerva Teichert: Pageants in Paint* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Museum of Art, 2007), 103.

5. Welch and Dant, *Book of Mormon Paintings*, 168.

right (perhaps his brother Shiblon or a missionary companion). This figure clutches Corianton by the left arm as he futilely tries to hold him back from Isabel and the revelry represented by the dancing women on the left in this opulent setting. However, in the end all is not lost, as Corianton soon repents, is again called to preach (Alma 42:31), and serves successfully with his brothers and the sons of Mosiah (Alma 49:30). He will eventually go into the land northward, not to be mentioned again in the Book of Mormon (Alma 63:10).

The account of Corianton's fall and rescue captured the fascination of none less than the relatively young B. H. Roberts, who embellished this story into a five-installment serial in the *Contributor* magazine in 1889,[6] whose pages were then reworked into a stage play by Orestes U. Bean. That story also had an early influence on Minerva Teichert. As a young girl she was treated to a performance of Bean's play *Corianton* by her art teacher, Isabel Ballantyne West. First performed in August 1902 in the old Salt Lake Theatre, that play received great acclaim and rave reviews nationwide. Teichert also owned a copy of the play. According to Marian Wardle, Curator of American Art at the BYU Museum of Art, who has written extensively on the life and work of Teichert: "Evidence of the lasting impression this play made on Minerva Teichert appears in a handwritten manuscript, seemingly an introduction to a volume she intended to write about the Book of Mormon. In her dedication of the volume, she wrote: 'I dedicate this volume to Isabell Ballantyne West, my early teacher, and friend, who made it possible for a little waif of a girl like me to see the great play Corianton by that first company who had such magnificent scenery and costumes.'"[7]

Notwithstanding the early decision by the Church not to use Teichert's Book of Mormon illustrations, several of her works have since been accepted into the Church's canon of approved images for reproduction and use by Church members worldwide. The recent acquisition and surfacing of this color sketch represents another step in the growing recognition of Minerva Teichert as a legendary pioneering woman artist in the history of Mormon culture in the West.

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6. B. H. Roberts, "Corianton: I: The Prisoner; II: In the Hall of Justice; III: The New Convert; IV: Joan; V: Isabel," *Contributor* (1889): 171–76, 206–10, 245–48, 286–90, 324–30; reprinted as a booklet, "Corianton—a Nephite Story" (Salt Lake City: B. H. Roberts, 1902), and in B. H. Roberts, *A Scrap Book*, comp. Lynn Pulsipher (Provo, Utah: Pulsipher Publishing, 1989), 1:72–117.

7. Wardle, *Minerva Teichert*, 104.

Mary and Martha, by Chiloba Chirwa. Oil on Panel, 2014.

Chiloba Chirwa and J. Kirk Richards. *From My Brother's Perspective: Two Artists Painting Gospel Themes.*

An exhibition at the Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, September 2014.

Reviewed by Herman du Toit

The exhibition *From My Brother's Perspective,* which was held at the Harold B. Lee Library in September 2014, brought together the gospel-themed paintings of two contemporary Latter-day Saint artists from divergent cultural backgrounds. Chiloba Chirwa is a BYU student from Lusaka, Zambia, majoring in construction management. He is largely self-taught and, by his own admission, simply paints as a hobby. Chirwa was also the first southern African missionary to serve a full-time mission for the Church in the Congo. He transferred to BYU from Malaysia, where he had been enrolled in an architecture program after his mission.

In stark contrast, J. Kirk Richards is an accomplished painter who graduated with a bachelor's degree in visual arts from BYU in 2000. As a professional artist, his work is well represented in regional museum shows and in private collections throughout the United States. His work has also been featured in several Church publications, including the *Liahona* and *Ensign* magazines.

The cultural disparity between these two artists and their vastly different life experiences could not be greater, yet their artworks are united by their common love for the gospel and by the spirit that inspired them. It is unlikely that they would ever have met had it not been for their membership in the Church and for the role that BYU played in bringing them together. Richards was first introduced to Chirwa's artwork when he was shown examples of the Zambian artist's paintings by Margaret Blair Young, a local filmmaker and writer who also teaches creative writing at BYU. Chirwa was familiar with Richards's work and admired his use of symbolism. After a meeting over pizza, the two men struck up an immediate friendship and were soon planning their combined

Top: The Wise and Foolish Virgins, by Chiloba Chirwa. Oil on Panel, 2014.
Bottom: Last Supper, by J. Kirk Richards. Oil on Panel, 2014.

exhibition. Richards was intrigued by Chirwa's African background: "The theme came to me because I am probably from the least exotic place a Mormon can be from—that's Provo, Utah!"[1] Commenting on the initial concept for the show, Richards said, "I thought it would be really fun to do a show where we approach the same gospel themes, but each from our own aesthetic experience. Then put them side-by-side just to show that gospel themes that have meaning for all of us also have personal meaning for each of us."[2] Both artists worked quickly, completing the paintings for the exhibition in a period of just three months.

Chirwa is a relative newcomer to painting and has been painting on a regular basis for only the past three years. He is steeped in the traditions of his homeland, and his work echoes the vibrant colors and rhythms of this indigenous culture. However, his work also reflects the influence of aspects of Western culture that he was exposed to as a young boy when he started drawing sports stars and comic book

1. J. Kirk Richards, interview by Herman du Toit, December 5, 2014.

2. Paige Vogt, "BYU Art Exhibit Featuring Contrasting Biblical Scenes Closes Sept. 30," *Herald Media,* September 11, 2014, http://www.heraldextra.com/news/community/higher-education/byu-art-exhibit-featuring-contrasting-biblical-scenes-closes-sept/article_ccbfdafc-7b5e-5d3c-be50-06308c8caf35.html.

Healing, by J. Kirk Richards. Oil on Panel, 2014.

heroes in a realistic style. Chirwa has become increasingly impressed with Richards's use of symbolic figures as a result of their collaboration. Although he never had any formal art instruction, he believes his capacity for drawing provides a sound foundation for his painting. He had chosen to become an architect while he was still in high school in Lusaka, so that he would have a means of providing for himself in a society where it is hard to make a living as an independent artist. In reflecting on his career choice at the time, Chirwa referred to a quotation he had once read: "Life depends on science but the arts make it worth living."[3]

Chirwa's paintings reflect his African roots. Back in Zambia he had decided he would represent the true character of his culture: "I took the women who tend to have colorful clothing and colorful dispositions. They are very expressive people. Using traditional stick figures—the way that unschooled African people would draw their figures—and putting colorful clothing on them, [I] give these paintings life. That's how I wanted to represent my culture—they are a very bright people."[4] His

3. Attributed to John Martin, a noted contemporary British medical researcher.

4. Chiloba Chirwa, interview by Herman du Toit, December 4, 2014.

Left: Woman at the Well, by J. Kirk Richards. Oil on Panel, 2014. *Right: Woman at the Well,* by Chiloba Chirwa. Oil on Panel, 2014.

bright colors, unsophisticated figures, and the incorporation of tribal fabric motifs in his paintings charge his works with an elemental energy found only in Africa: "The history of African art is about characters, figures, and animals. Everything that represents a human figure is stylized—that's how it's always been. We don't necessarily want to create realistic art all the time—we like to create stylizations. We tend to look at figures differently and give them a twist to give them character. I would like to make representations that people can interpret their own way, not just push it in their faces."[5] Chirwa's paintings often strike a celebratory tone. Commenting on his painting *Mary and Martha* (see page 166), he said, "African women are excited and jubilant. They are graceful. I wanted to portray how they might actually react to meeting Jesus; they wouldn't be humbly sitting there—they would be rejoicing!"[6]

5. Chirwa, interview.
6. Vogt, "BYU Art Exhibit."

He is an only child and says he owes much of who he is and what he has become to his mother and grandmother. Perhaps this is another reason why he is drawn to themes that involve women and Christ. Richards said that he learned much from Chirwa's expressive and joyful depictions: "My work is often somber and tells the narrative in a fairly straightforward, reverent kind of way—it's fun to see Chirwa's interpretations that involve more celebration."[7] On the other hand, Chirwa was drawn closer to Richards's often abstract forms. He said, "[Richards's] work incorporates rhythms and abstractions—reducing the figures to symbols—which echo a lot of the things that I do, and that struck a chord with me. I used to paint realistically, but not anymore, as this whole abstract thing has caught on."[8]

In this exhibition, both artists share a common stylistic idiom in their use of depersonalized figures with often featureless faces. These figures act as symbolic references, allowing viewers to relate to them in their own terms. Chirwa said he also learned a lot from Richards's strong sense of composition: "I love his composition. As a self-taught artist I try to learn from people who have had a professional training. Kirk also uses simple figures but his compositions are so powerful."[9]

Both artists also share a profound spiritual basis for their painting. Their spiritual alignment became the overarching factor that united their work. Chirwa referred to the inspiration he receives: "Being in tune with the Spirit gives me an outlet to paint. When I paint a figure of Christ, I'm painting from my head—from my spirit. I'm not looking at pictures to paint my representations of Christ. It doesn't always work out, but when you really do feel close to him in certain moments, you feel comfortable and your representations just work—it just comes to you when you feel inspired, and it doesn't work when you're not inspired."[10]

Richards commented in similar fashion about the spiritual underpinnings of his work: "An artwork for me is very much like a prayer or an offering, and it could be that way even if the pieces were not overtly religious. Most of my work is overtly religious, but I find deep spirituality in works that are landscapes or that are portraits. So I think most artists would agree that it's an offering, a type of prayer, and that's certainly true for me. I've made promises to God, if he would show me how to

7. Richards, interview.
8. Chirwa, interview.
9. Chirwa, interview.
10. Chirwa, interview.

do this, that I would teach others, that I would use my artwork to serve. I think that is a foundational element to the inspiration that I receive."[11]

This exhibition highlighted the contrasting styles of two artists from opposite sides of the world in depicting gospel themes; it also demonstrated the strength that comes from such an unlikely collaboration. The exhibition not only provided each man an opportunity to appreciate and learn from his "brother's perspective," but through their friendship they also became their "brother's keeper" in a manner that affirmed both their faith and their creativity in ways that neither had expected.

Herman du Toit retired in 2011 as head of museum research at the Brigham Young University Museum of Art in Provo, Utah. He has enjoyed an extensive career as an art educator, curator, administrator, critic, and author, both locally and abroad. He is a former head of the Durban Art School and founding director of the Cecil Renaud Art Gallery at the Durban University of Technology in South Africa. He holds postgraduate degrees in art history and sociology of education from the former University of Natal. While at BYU, he was awarded a J. Paul Getty Fellowship for his PhD study of interpretive practices at some of America's leading art museums.

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11. Richards, interview.

Between Materialism and the Metaphysics of Eternity

A Reply to Joseph M. Spencer's Review of *Responsibility of Reason*

Ralph C. Hancock

BYU Studies strives to involve readers in the LDS academic experience. In that spirit, we offer this scholarly exchange between Ralph C. Hancock and Joseph M. Spencer based on Spencer's "Goodness and Truth: An Essay on Ralph Hancock's The Responsibility of Reason,*" found in* BYU Studies Quarterly *53, no. 4 (2014): 61–73.*

It is a blessing to have Joseph Spencer's serious reading of my book from a Latter-day Saint perspective. *Responsibility of Reason* is about what the title says, but since it addresses fundamental questions about the world and our place in it, and since a Mormon wrote it, I would certainly hope that at some level it would shed light on concerns fundamental to Mormonism and, indeed, suggest a Mormon contribution to the pivotal questions of the Western tradition. I am glad Spencer finds it to be a step in that direction.

Spencer and I seem to agree, largely, on the problem, which is a certain approach to modern materialism. The problem lies not so much in elevating the status of the material, natural, or physical, but rather in a theoretical framing of the natural as an open field of human mastery. The problem, as Spencer notices, is a privileging of the theoretical over the practical. There is a paradox here (which I explore in my book at some length) in that this extreme theoretical rationalism (which has shown its political face most clearly first in the Jacobinism of the French Revolution and then in Marxist-Leninism) is driven by aims in one sense very "practical," that is, to transform the world—"the mastery and

possession of nature for the relief of the human condition" was the formula dear to early moderns such as Francis Bacon and René Descartes. This modern materialism is at the same time a secular-humanist idealism, but an idealism that has abandoned responsibility for its action because it has lost touch with the practical and concrete sense of the human good. Deeper than any metaphysical or theoretical doctrine lies the endless and thus rudderless modern project of mastery, the spirit of what Heidegger called "technology"—by which he meant not an assortment of powerful machines but the very ontology, the very orientation toward being, that underlies the deployment of those machines. Human power is everywhere, Heidegger observed, but humanity, or some distinctively human meaning, is nowhere to be found. Thus modernity, as Leo Strauss once wrote, is a blindly advancing colossus: all power and no purpose. Modern progressivism, I submit, is a milder, self-disguised version of this blind colossus, although in the American version it is fortunately tempered, as Tocqueville understood so well, by Christian and other premodern admixtures.

Spencer and I seem to go this far together in our critique of extreme modern rationalism, this idealistic materialism whose effectual truth is Technology—but then one of us somehow loses the thread. Our parting company seems to be owing to two main thrusts of my argument that I may not have made clear enough or that were lost in a long and complicated text in which I contend with various philosophical adversaries and rivals from various angles. These overlooked main points are: (1) my argument is not metaphysical but practical (in a way that is inseparable from reflexive examination); and (2) I do not appeal to a premodern Platonic totalizing cosmology (if indeed the ancients can be accused of such) but rather to a Tocquevillean balancing of ancient and modern responses to the Truth and to the openness of the human spirit.

Nowhere do I affirm the availability of a "morally ordered cosmos" that is "total and consistent," as Spencer writes (68). My Platonism, as he at first seems to notice, is more open-ended or aporetic: I take my bearings from Plato's wonder about the elusive order of a cosmos that escapes us and not from any completed metaphysics that might cash out in a full and determinate system of natural law. (If I had wanted to defend the idea of natural law, I would have done so somewhere in my 300-plus page book.) Spencer himself notices that for me "*the good* is inevitably experienced indirectly, always in the form of derivative [I would say practical] *goods,* emphatically in the plural" (65). Here is

my attempt, from the book, to articulate a Platonic response to human wonder before the elusive order of the whole, the common yet mysterious fittedness of mind to thing:

> This awareness of the goodness of thinking cannot fail to issue into the thinking of goodness. The primitive discovery of the immediate evidence of some order and goodness connecting mind and being does not of course give anything like a complete understanding of the order of this whole. The whole and the good that yokes it, that makes it a whole, remain elusive—a mysterious something that, as Plato says, every soul pursues whatever it is pursuing, but without being able to grasp what it is. But every soul already participates, already is part of some larger whole and is subordinate to some "higher" authority—political, moral, religious, or rather, originally, all these at once, indistinguishably. The "soul" or "the human spirit" comes to self-awareness as a part of a larger whole, a particular whole with a particular history.[1]

It should be clear, then, that while I appeal to a certain intimation of order, I am very far from invoking a totalizing system of metaphysics and natural law. Rather, I call upon reason to acknowledge its limitations and to accept responsibility for the imperfect traces of order implicit in the practical experience of an actual community, with its own history, institutions, and practices. In doing so, I recognize the validity of not only "vertical" (aristocratic) but also "horizontal" (Christian-democratic-progressive) figures of transcendence and thus dissent pointedly from Leo Strauss's fundamentally aristocratic strategy of classical "natural right":

> Strauss's deliberately aristocratic proposal of the lofty autonomy of philosophy as a stable ground of practical elevation is already proving implausible and unstable, even or especially in the hands of Strauss's most ardent or high-minded disciples. . . . [Strauss's] project of recovering the elevation of philosophy as the highest good compels him to deny the legitimacy of human longings for a liberation or salvation that addresses the whole of our humanity, our fulfillment in love as well as in knowledge.[2]

Thus the more conservative part of my argument, which indeed points up the importance of reason's deferring to practical intimations

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1. Ralph C. Hancock, *The Responsibility of Reason: Theory and Practice in a Liberal-Democratic Age* (Lanham, Md: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), 61.

2. Hancock, *Responsibility of Reason,* 26.

of an order that constrains human power, is only the first half of my project (though admittedly the most prominent and emphatic through much of the text). The other half—and here is where the example of Alexis de Tocqueville is crucially important—emphasizes the modern aspect of the Truth, that is, human freedom, or a human openness to possibility never fully realized or represented in any community or even any cosmos. Like Tocqueville, I want to hold together aristocratic "elevation" or excellence with democratic "justice" (and thus openness to a future of possibility).

> The irreversible Western inheritance of an eternity not indifferent to time implies a more elusive, if arguably also richer and dynamic, sense of the meaning of human existence than can be contained in the classical ruling idea of reason. It therefore also implies a more hazardous horizon for practical reason, in effect a resignation to the impossibility of containing the soul's longings within a specific, substantive understanding of the nobility of the good. The illusion of the simple superiority of "theory" to "practice" (or vice versa) cannot be sustained. . . .
>
> Practical reason today must be attuned to the truth of the fundamental aporia that is the deep spring of Western dynamism, the aporia defined by alternatives of, on the one hand, a horizon of knowable goodness above ordinary human concerns [ancient moral order, if you will] and, on the other, by the Christian and revolutionary promise of the regeneration of all humanity [modern freedom].[3]

Thus, if there is something distinctly Mormon in my practical or moral metaphysics, I hope it is just this: I try to attend both to the truth of eternal moral law and to the truth of open-ended human freedom.

And this takes us to the theme of LDS "materialism," which is central to Spencer's essay. I do not think it is very helpful to assimilate a poetic and in some ways inchoate LDS cosmology to modern materialism, precisely because modern materialism is just a face of the technological project I sketched above. Mormon materialism seems to me to be poised precisely between an ancient metaphysics of eternal order and a modern metaphysics of the will to power. (Terryl Givens's "Romantic" reading of early LDS thought often captures this equipoise, I think, although, like Romanticism itself, it risks going off the rails of eternal progress and veering into technological power. See my interviews with

3. Hancock, *Responsibility of Reason,* 27.

Givens online at *Meridian Magazine Expand.*[4]) Spencer himself grants the Mormon cosmos "an inherent moral ordering," which is enough to distinguish it radically from anything truly modern.

This moral ordering inherent in Mormon materialism seems to put it in a different category from Alain Badiou's metaphysics of "inherent multiplicity." I have only a secondary familiarity with Badiou's metaphysics, I admit, but his well-known "Pauline" communism explicitly excludes a consistent or unified moral order and seems to be fully implicated in the anti-metaphysics of modern mastery, the idealistic materialism I thought Spencer disliked. In his *Saint Paul: The Foundation of Universalism,* Badiou follows the modern recipe to the letter: the Truth is stripped of all authoritative good, and so revolutionary human action (allegedly Pauline "universalization") can proceed without any particular moral or religious restraints. Badiou's atheistic appropriation of Pauline universalism is the purest formalism, a splendid example of modern theory's utter subjugation of actual human practice, the apotheosis of technology in the name of a humanity with no human content. Such sweeping secular appropriation of Christian idealism is quite an old story (going back, as a matter of fact, to Bacon and Descartes—and even to Machiavelli), and I think Badiou's "metaphysics of multiplicity" is finally driven by, or at least aligned with, this totalizing secular political project.

But let me conclude on what seems to be a large measure of agreement between Joseph Spencer and me: Mormon poetic theology seems to point to some dynamic eternal materialism consistent with inherent moral order. By way of suggestion, my account of reason, which is at once reflexively critical and aware of its responsibility to the best of inherited and culturally embedded authority, might point to a meeting ground between two of the most impressive enterprises in contemporary Mormon theology: Terryl Givens's Romantic moral dynamism and James Faulconer's anti-metaphysical openness to the Other. *The Responsibility of Reason* might also serve as a caution to both modern and postmodern theologies not to succumb to progressive enthusiasm or to anti-metaphysical ire.

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4. Ralph C. Hancock, "Terryl Givens' Foundations: Wrestling with History and Theology," *Meridian Magazine Expand,* November 11, 2014, http://ldsmag.com/terryl-givens-foundations-wrestling-with-history-and-theology/.

A Reply to "Between Materialism and the Metaphysics of Eternity"

Joseph M. Spencer

In his response to my review of *The Responsibility of Reason*, Ralph Hancock suggests that I have missed two essential points of his argument. First, he believes I have missed the essentially *practical*—rather than *metaphysical*—basis of his argument. Second, he believes I have wrongly attributed to him the view that the moral order of the world is *total* and *consistent.* I appreciate his further explanations and clarifications, but he has not as yet convinced me on either of these points. It seems, though, that I need to clarify my critique of his position. I would like to address these two points briefly and then add a word or two in defense of my interest in Alain Badiou.

Regarding the first point, I recognize that Hancock's argument is practical rather than metaphysical. The difficulty is found in the practical bearings of Hancock's argument that seem to presuppose, however subtly, a metaphysics. Hancock makes clear in what sense he takes reason to bear an irremediable responsibility to real goods. But it must be asked *how* one goes about knowing the goods in question—that is, knowing goods *as goods*. An epistemological question of fundamental importance goes unasked and, therefore, unanswered in Hancock's work. Or rather, to the extent that there *is* an answer to this question in *The Responsibility of Reason,* it is to be found implicitly packed into the notion of the Good, the fittedness between human intelligences and the contours of the real. There, in the (implicit) dependence of the knowability of practical goods on the knowledge-granting existence of the Good, I find a set of metaphysical commitments.

The second point mentioned above concerns the nature of those metaphysical commitments. I fail to see how to distinguish between commitment to the existence of the Good and commitment to a moral order that is both total and consistent. To make this point clear, let me insist that by "total" I do not in any way mean—as, I think, Hancock assumes—"totalizing," where this last word would bear within itself certain political echoes. When I speak of a total moral order, I mean just that it is all-encompassing, that its extension or its scope is total, that it forms—in Hancock's own consistent words—a whole. If that much is clear, perhaps it can be seen why any insistence on the knowability of goods as goods, inasmuch as this knowability (however limited it may be) is predicated on the existence of the Good, appears to be wedded to an insistence on a moral order both total and consistent. The mysterious fittedness between human intelligence and the existence of real goods

depends on a certain wholeness and consistency in the moral ordering of the real.

If this is right, then I remain convinced that Hancock paints a picture that, even as it nicely fixes the boundaries of the questions that need asking, does not quite match up with what I find operative in Mormonism—as I have already argued in my review of *The Responsibility of Reason*.

Regarding my use of Badiou's thought in attempting to outline—far too briefly!—a repositioning of *truth* rather than *goodness* at the heart of Mormonism, I find Hancock's dismissal somewhat confusing. He recommends pursuing something positioned "between an ancient metaphysics of eternal order and a modern metaphysics of the will to power," but this seems to me a beautiful encapsulation of Badiou's very thought, and it serves as the motivation for my interest in the work of Badiou (and similar thinkers). At any rate, everything in Badiou that supposedly *does* follow what Hancock calls "the modern recipe" can be found in Joseph Smith himself, who ignored the institutional authority of established religion, questioned the canonical boundaries of scripture, troubled prevailing conceptions of sexuality, refused to countenance the contours of contemporary politics, and calculated to lay a foundation that would revolutionize the world. I find it significant that he did all this in the name of truth.

A Modernizing Rhetoric in a Modern Context: A Final Reply
Ralph C. Hancock

I thank Joseph Spencer for his thoughtful and pertinent reply, as I do for his original review. I take heart from the narrowing of any substantial disagreement between us to two fundamental questions. The first, which concerns the relation between theory and practice, or between knowing and doing, is as elusive as a question can be; there will never be one right way to say (theory) what cannot be said (practice). So philosophy necessarily shades into poetry or into theology when such basic intuitions or orientations are at stake. In this sense, I think Spencer is asking for too much when he asks for an answer to the "epistemological" question: as befits an author whose sympathies seem to be more "modern" than mine, he asks that I decide in advance just what can be known (concerning the Good, notably), before claiming to take practical responsibility for any goods. He thinks I make but do not justify a Platonic claim regarding the cognitive apprehension of the total Good, a justification he thinks would be needed to ground my practical (moral and political) position.

But I am trying to evoke a position in which any attempt to ground practice in theory (or vice versa) is seen to be misguided and potentially dangerous; my whole purpose is to point to a moment prior to the distinction between theory and practice. The very apprehension of the Good translates into an attunement between our human existence and some larger reality. But this attunement can never be reducible to a purely theoretical, "metaphysical" apprehension; it cannot exist apart from an interpretation inevitably affected by our moral-political condition as human beings—and this condition is always in some way particular, never simply universal, though it is open to what is highest. So my whole argument—perhaps itself elusive, even chimerical—is that there is no metaphysics that lies deeper than this attunement to a larger order, which is always a moral-political attunement. In other words, the ultimate rightness of the practical whole, the realm in which we undertake meaningful actions, can never be fully distinguished from our ultimate philosophical or religious orientation. Though I derived this notion of the mutual implication of humanity and divinity from rigorous readings of the likes of Heidegger and Leo Strauss, it might well be considered a deeply Mormon feature of my project to articulate the meaning of reason's responsibility.

Where the rubber of this argument hits the road, at least as concerns the discussion between Spencer and me, concerns the relation of Mormonism to some ancient/modern polarity. Despite my explicit Tocquevillian stance of equilibrium between these poles, Spencer thinks I lean too much toward the ancients (the moral authority of a Platonic total Good). Well, I certainly lean that way when I push back against what I regard as ill-advised enthusiasm for a one-sided "modern" (progressive, anti-traditionalist) view of our Mormonism. (And I certainly do not think Spencer is the most appropriate example of this modernizing Mormonism.) I do think that the different conditions of the world, and of the Church in relation to the world today, call for a different rhetoric than might have been dominant in the first generations of the Church.

For instance, Spencer claims that Joseph Smith "troubled prevailing conceptions of sexuality," but in the present modern context, such troubling looks very different. It also looks very different from anything Spencer would espouse. Such misdirections can easily arise among audiences who find modernist rhetoric attractive but overlook context. The language of Joseph's revelation on marriage abounds in legalistic restrictions that place sexuality squarely within the bonds of marriage between a man and a woman (though a plurality of marriages might exist), which is a conception that harks back to an ancient order more

than looking forward to modernity. To be clear even at the risk of being simple, I think the ongoing contemporary liquidation of traditional norms and bonds requires that we Latter-day Saints recognize the continuity of our most fundamental goods with those "traditional" goods (such as marital fidelity) now being dissolved. "Metaphysically," I appreciate what I see as a marvelous Mormon equipoise between (ancient) eternal norms and (modern) free possibility. But there is no question for me concerning which of these poles is now more under attack, and thus more in need of emphasis, both in theory and in practice.

Ralph C. Hancock is Professor of Politcal Science at Brigham Young University, receiving his MA and PhD in political science from Harvard University. Besides writing *The Responsibility of Reason (*Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), he is the editor of *America, the West, and Liberal Education* (Rowman and Littlefield, 1999), which includes his own writings as well as essays by influential scholars such as Allan Bloom and Stanley Rosen. He has also written articles for *First Things, Square Two, Political Science Reviewer,* and *FARMS Review.*

Joseph M. Spencer recently earned his PhD in philosophy from the University of New Mexico, and he is currently teaching as an instructor in Brigham Young University's Department of Ancient Scripture. His recent works include *For Zion: A Mormon Theology of Hope* (Greg Kofford, 2014). He is the associate director of the Mormon Theology Seminar and an associate editor of *The Journal of Book of Mormon Studies.*

Feast of Epiphany

Coyote leaves a squirrel on the back porch
in two mounds like cairns—fur to the west, bones

to the east, points on a map
to an invisible world. Or a warning—the border

between inside and outside, warmth and wildness
thinner than we imagined, death approaching

in matted gray and brown pulsing in the wind
like a hairy lung breathing down the door,

or settling in delicate, chalky lines like a letter
fallen in on itself. Weeks pass

before I bury the carcass, lifting it with a shovel
and laying it in the shadow

of a barren hydrangea, my kids squealing through
the French doors, half terrified, half delighted.

The remains weigh nothing. I barely perceive
the clink as they drop, their song a hymn

the ground devours. *O God,* I whisper, folding
earth over empty skin, parched bone. *I hunger.*

—John Alba Cutler

Mormon Women in Memoir

Introduction by Angela Hallstrom

From a very young age, Latter-day Saints are taught to pay attention to the meaningful details of everyday life and to share these experiences by bearing public testimony or keeping a journal to be passed on to posterity. The importance of keeping written records has been emphasized from the Church's inception, and as a result we enjoy access to a trove of personal histories written by Mormons that reach back nearly two hundred years. Mormon women have been particularly diligent writers of personal history, and their words have helped to preserve a nuanced, multifaceted representation of what it means to be a female Latter-day Saint. According to former Church Historian Leonard J. Arrington, the personal histories penned by our earliest Mormon sisters allow us a valuable glimpse into the lives of these "formidable, intelligent, resourceful, and independent women who deserve to be remembered."[1]

In the twenty-first century, Mormon women have continued this tradition of preserving personal history, both in print and online. For example, over the last decade Mormon women have established such a dominant online presence as bloggers and social media aficionados that articles appearing on websites like *Salon*[2] and *Gawker*[3] have exclaimed over the

1. Leonard J. Arrington, "Blessed Damozels: Women in Mormon History," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 6, no. 2 (1971): 24.

2. Emily Matchar, "Why I Can't Stop Reading Mormon Housewife Blogs," *Salon.com,* January 15, 2011, http://www.salon.com/2011/01/15/feminist_obsessed_with_mormon_blogs/.

3. Adrian Chen, "Why Do Mormons, Including Mitt Romney's Wife, Love Pinterest?" *Gawker.com,* February 21, 2012, http://gawker.com/5887097/why-do-mormons-including-mitt-romneys-wife-love-pinterest.

phenomenon. However, modern Mormon women haven't restricted themselves to detailing their lives solely online. Recently a spate of well-received memoirs by Mormon women has been published by national presses and marketed to non-Mormon audiences. Although some of these women, like plane crash survivor Stephanie Nielsen and scholar Joanna Brooks, were popular bloggers before publishing their memoirs, others, like poet Emma Lou Thayne and world-traveler Melissa Dalton-Bradford, took a more traditional route to publication, without the benefit of a built-in online audience. Some of these recently published memoirs are more literary in style and hark back to Terry Tempest Williams's groundbreaking 1992 memoir *Refuge*—a personal and political exploration of family, environmentalism, and Mormon faith. Others are more straightforward personal narratives. But no matter the style or the route to publication, it is clear that the turn of the new millennium has seen an unprecedented number of Mormon women publicly telling their stories to an ever-widening audience.

One obvious explanation for this publication trend is the advent of the "Mormon Moment"—a period of heightened national attention trained on Mormonism due in large part to Mitt Romney's 2012 presidential bid, but abetted by the popular *Book of Mormon* Broadway musical, the Church's own "I'm a Mormon" campaign, and other small stories that caught the media's attention. It is interesting to note, however, that this increased scrutiny did not seem to lead to increased sensationalism by national publishers in many of the memoirs they chose to promote. In the past, most "Mormon" memoirs published nationally were written by former members and touted as exposés; memoirs marketed to a mainstream audience rarely featured the voices of active, believing Latter-day Saints. Of course, memoir is more about an author's narrative artistry and personal perspective than about the strict dissemination of historical facts, and a story tends to get more attention when it is sensational or reflects the interests and viewpoints of national publishers. Notwithstanding this tendency, a significant number of recent memoirs written by Mormons but marketed to a national non-Mormon audience have featured diverse voices, very few of which present themselves as antagonistic to Mormonism. Most of these memoirs do not contain an overt religious message: they aren't primarily focused on convincing readers to leave or join the Church. They focus instead on telling engaging personal stories of women who also happen to have connections to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

The memoirs chosen for inclusion here represent a wide range of experiences and approaches, and some of these writers are more

explicitly interested in exploring Mormonism itself than others are. Such a broad selection is not intended as a generalized endorsement but is designed to be helpful to scholars who study the virtue and vulnerability of memoir, along with its historic and folkloric impact on culture at large. The following coverage focuses on six titles published since 2010: *Heaven Is Here: An Incredible Story of Hope, Triumph, and Everyday Joy* by Stephanie Nielson (2013); *My Story* by Elizabeth Smart (2013); *Flunking Sainthood: A Year of Breaking the Sabbath, Forgetting to Pray, and Still Loving My Neighbor* by Jana Riess (2011); *The Place of Knowing: A Spiritual Autobiography* by Emma Lou Warner Thayne (2011); *The Book of Mormon Girl: A Memoir of an American Faith* by Joanna Brooks (2012); and *Global Mom*: *Eight Countries, Sixteen Addresses, Five Languages, One Family* by Melissa Dalton-Bradford (2013).

Many other titles are worthy of review but could not be included due to space considerations. Kathryn Lynard Soper's *The Year My Son and I Were Born: A Story of Down Syndrome, Motherhood, and Self-Discovery* (GPP Life, 2010) received a great deal of positive attention for its lyrical writing and honest narrative, particularly among readers interested in stories about parenting children with disabilities. Another recent memoir about motherhood, *The Key Is Love: My Mother's Wisdom, a Daughter's Gratitude* (Penguin, 2013), written by well-known Mormon performer Marie Osmond, was praised by *Publishers Weekly* as "poignant and beautifully drawn." Recently published by Deseret Book's imprint that markets books to a national audience, *Diary of Two Mad Black Mormons: Finding the Lord's Lessons in Everyday Life* (Ensign Peak, 2014) by Tamu Smith and Zandra Vranes has reached many readers, Mormon and non-Mormon alike, with its honesty, humor, and wisdom.

These memoirs are just a sampling of the stories told by talented, fascinating Mormon women. Since the main focus of this review project is memoirs recently published by mainstream presses intended for national audiences, unmentioned here are the numerous insights found in memoirs written years ago or the quality of expression found in memoirs written by Mormons, for Mormons, published by Deseret Book, Covenant, and other presses devoted to the LDS market. Clearly, there are many Mormon women willing and eager to speak, and there is much to be learned from them if the public chooses to listen. Although the media's "Mormon Moment" has passed for now, stories such as these will continue to be written, read, and remembered.

***Heaven Is Here: An Incredible Story of Hope, Triumph, and Everyday Joy,* by Stephanie Nielson (New York: Hyperion, 2012)**

Reviewed by Jacqueline S. Thursby

Stephanie Nielson is a well-known Mommy Blogger with a large following. Raised in the LDS faith, she survived a plane crash that left her with second- and third-degree burns over 80 percent of her body. She was given a slim chance for survival. Her story describes her role as a Latter-day Saint wife and mother, along with how she developed the will to survive.

Stephanie grew up in a large Mormon family in Provo, Utah. With nine brothers and sisters, she was never alone. She lived only a block from her chapel, and both neighborhood friends and schoolmates were LDS. From her earliest years she dreamed of a fairy-tale life of growing up, being married in the temple, and becoming a wife and mother. She says that "for some, the dream of a fairy-tale life fades away, but for me, it never did" (20). Her memoir reflects her happiness in a life based on her faith and familiar culture. The devastating airplane accident, together with the subsequent aftermath of healing from life-threatening injuries, upended predictability and brought unexpected and difficult challenges. In her memoir, she clearly relates how her faith and the love of friends and family sustained her through the long, painful recovery.

Stephanie recounts the accident that happened when they were flying home after a trip to her husband's family ranch in Arizona. The plane suddenly went down in an explosion of fire, and their lives were changed forever. Their friend Doug was killed in the crash, and both Christian and Stephanie were badly burned. After an almost-three-month-long coma, Stephanie awoke to a broken and burned body, horrific pain and confusion, and what seemed to be total blindness. She describes her returning memory piece by piece—the sequence of the crash, a dangling leaf above her as she lay gravely wounded afterward, and voices reminding her that she would be okay. She also remembers that strangers gave her a comforting priesthood blessing.

As Stephanie unfolds the gripping narrative, the essence of her story reveals a personal account of faith, family, community, and love. She explains that her eyes were sewn shut so they could heal, and later, when for the first time she saw Christian with burns over 30 percent of his body, she did not recognize him. When it was safe, Stephanie was moved to University Hospital in Salt Lake City. With pain in every movement, she

had to relearn how to use her muscles. While looking at the Christmas lights on Temple Square from the hospital window, she saw her reflection for the first time after the accident. Shocked, she refused to look again for several days. Eventually, she was lovingly coaxed into it; she examined her face in a hand mirror and gradually accepted the change. The first time her children visited was another traumatic experience, but slowly and patiently, important family bonds were reestablished with tenderness and understanding.

Acceptance of the new situation eventually formed, which she accredits to her faith. She writes: "The foundation of my faith in God had been laid when I was a little girl going to church. I remember even then being moved to tears by music or the words of a talk. As I'd gotten older, my faith had grown deeper. For some people there is a pivotal moment when their belief is crystallized, but for me, my belief in God has never wavered but instead has grown steadily stronger" (139).

Stephanie Nielson's book is a unique window on a contemporary orthodox but realistic LDS family. Their compassion is a lesson to us all, and the strength of the book is demonstrated by her faith and dignity even under the weight of tragedy. Still, I believe the book could have been improved by shortening the detailed first half about family background and by developing the recovery challenges more fully.

Nielson's story has had a broad impact on many readers within and without the worldwide LDS membership. Her story is not only of faith but also of newly found strategies that, in spite of continued physical pain, have brought her sustained peace of mind and her readers confirmed hope.

My Story, by Elizabeth Smart with Christopher Stewart (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2013)

Reviewed by Rosalyn Collings Eves

Elizabeth Smart shares a message about the power of faith to weather incredible hardship. The public details of Elizabeth Smart's story are well known: as a fourteen-year-old, Smart disappeared on June 5, 2002, and despite the intensive search efforts of her family, friends, and community, she did not reappear until March 12, 2003. After a much publicized trial in 2010, kidnappers Brian David Mitchell and Wanda Barzee were sentenced to prison. In the many years since her abduction, Smart has

become an advocate for children, created a foundation to help prevent crimes against children, served an LDS mission in Paris, and married.

My Story promises a deeper insight into Smart's experience. She begins her narrative with her first encounter with Mitchell in downtown Salt Lake City, nearly eight months before her abduction. Unbeknownst to Smart, Mitchell then began to devise a plan to make her one of his "wives." The book recounts in detail the way he planned and executed her abduction, the months of terror (and boredom) while she was kept chained in a camp up in the local Utah mountains, their eventual move to California, and their return to Utah, at Smart's prompting, where she was finally recognized and rescued.

Smart's faith is a mainstay of the narrative, giving her hope throughout her ordeal. She writes early on that she experienced "miracles—'tender mercies' some have called them—that comfort us in ways that other people may not see" (54). These tender mercies included a feeling that God loved her and was aware of her, a sense that her recently deceased grandfather was often near (56), and a firm belief that her family would continue to love her, no matter what happened (61).

The story that emerges is engrossing, often horrifying, but equally often inspiring, particularly as Smart's grit, tenacity, and faith shine through. The writing style is straightforward, sometimes relying on telling (rather than showing) and exclamation points to convey the depth of Smart's feeling: "I can't describe the terror! It is simply impossible to express. Here I was, a little girl, in the middle of the night, being taken from my bed, from my own home, from what I thought was the safest place in the entire world. It was an unimaginable intrusion!" (26). This stylistic choice is likely meant to convey Smart's youth and to make the memoir more accessible to young women and girls, a group that Smart particularly has championed since her ordeal.

And yet, as inspiring as her faith is, at the end of the narrative I am left with a feeling that Elizabeth Smart is, in some ways, still a mystery. While the story does not shy away from mention of rape and other physical torture, it seems, like many memoirs, filtered in certain ways. Her physical struggles are detailed—we see a young girl who is frightened, sometimes weak with hunger and fatigue—but her inner struggles remain opaque. Her faith never seems to flag, and she never seems to question her purpose. Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, in describing the differences between Eliza R. Snow's private diary and the public autobiography she wrote at the end of her life, observes, "It would seem that

in life writings, truth is a matter of purpose and point of view. Personal texts are thus the fictions we create in order to make our lives acceptable to ourselves and our imagined readers."[4] Smart's story, with the help of Christopher Stewart, feels skillfully and purposefully crafted to present the details of her experience to a wider audience in a way that presents Smart in the best possible light while still respecting and preserving some privacy.

Flunking Sainthood: A Year of Breaking the Sabbath, Forgetting to Pray, and Still Loving My Neighbor, by Jana Riess (Brewster, Mass: Paraclete Press, 2011)

Reviewed by Amy A. Easton-Flake

Although marketed to audiences outside of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Jana Riess's memoir offers insights for the LDS community. Her book provides a candid and compelling portrait of the difficulties that arise during the pursuit of living one's faith. Riess shares her story with authenticity, humor, and at times poignancy, although her narrative style may be somewhat jarring to some LDS readers.

Riess has recently become a more vocal critic against some aspects of the Church, and *Flunking Sainthood* is a candid, irreverent, penetrating, and self-deprecating work that seems to presage her current writings. She offers a focused tale that chronicles her life over one year as she sought to, as she describes it, "pop a little zing back into [her] relationship" with God by focusing on a different faith practice each month of the year (2). She tried fasting from sunup to sundown, mindfulness of God's presence, *lectio divina,* simplicity and no shopping, centering prayer, keeping the Sabbath, gratitude, hospitality, vegetarianism, fixed-time prayer, and generosity. Absent from Riess's memoir are any overt references to the Latter-day Saint faith or culture. Instead, she offers a narrative compelling to the countless individuals who have sincerely tried (and failed) to be more committed in their devotion to God or to become a better person.

Riess's memoir is part of the growing Christian literature on spiritual disciplines. For those unacquainted with the term, a spiritual discipline,

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4. Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, introduction to *The Personal Writings of Eliza Roxcy Snow* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2000), xviii.

as Christian theologian Richard Foster describes it, "is an intentionally directed action which places us in a position to receive from God the power to do what we cannot accomplish on our own."[5] Riess's narrative fits well into this genre and is therefore highly accessible to a wide Christian audience, but what makes her narrative unique is that it does not focus on the doctrine of the disciplines or on how to practice them successfully. Instead, it focuses on what the author learned from exploring practices outside of her faith and is predicated not on her success but on her failure to master each discipline. As she states in the introduction, "I am going to fail at every single spiritual practice I undertake in this book" (ix).

Since readers know the end from the beginning, the formulaic structure of Riess's narrative becomes a bit pedantic at times as she walks through the same pattern each month: she gleans wisdom by reading a spiritual classic, sets out with enthusiasm to practice what she learns, experiences setbacks and becomes despondent over her inability to master the discipline, and then reflects on what she gains through the process. The book is at its best when Riess shares moments of connection—when the practice she is trying to master reveals to her a more profound issue that is actually inhibiting her progression toward God.

Riess is a well-established author and editor who holds degrees in religion from Wellesley College and Princeton Theological Seminary and a PhD in American religious history from Columbia University. While her religious studies background adds an important depth to her work as she weaves together insights across multiple faiths, Riess's personal, frank, and light tone creates an enjoyable and accessible narrative that largely belies the depths of her religious training. One does not get the impression from reading the memoir that Riess is a scholar of religion but rather that she is a devoted and seeking Christian. Similarly, Riess's commitment to the Latter-day Saint faith is masked to those who do not share it. Latter-day Saint readers, however, will recognize her descriptions of prayer, fasting, and tithe paying. Riess seems to take seriously Joseph Smith's advice to gather truth wherever it may be, and Latter-day Saint readers will benefit from the brief insights that she offers into religious practices from other faiths.

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5. Richard J. Foster, *Life with God: Reading the Bible for Spiritual Transformation* (New York: Renovaré, 2008), 135.

For instance, in her chapter on *lectio divina*—how to read the scriptures deeply—Riess shares suggestions that most Latter-day Saints would benefit from implementing. Similarly, the practices she undergoes on hospitality, gratitude, and prayer would help many draw closer to God. Latter-day Saints may readily identify with her desire to progress spiritually and with the unrealistic expectations that she sets for herself. In the end, readers may benefit from seeing the progress that is found even in seeming failure and the good that may be drawn from faith traditions outside their own. Riess's memoir has much to recommend itself, and the question of whether to read the book will depend largely on the tolerance of readers for a book that seeks enlightenment through whimsy and irreverence.

The Place of Knowing: A Spiritual Autobiography,
by Emma Lou Warner Thayne (Bloomington, Ind.: iUniverse, 2011)

Reviewed by Amy Isaksen Cartwright

From their cultural beginnings in the Great Salt Lake Valley to what is now a worldwide presence, members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints have sought to define, understand, correlate, and grapple for and with identity. As a body of membership, we have worked to describe who we are—our faith, our heritage, and our culture—both to ourselves and to the broader world. The institutional messages and initiatives are primarily about coming to unity. But the lived experiences of individuals—their needs, hopes, desires, and circumstances—are sometimes different than what is perceived as a prescriptive Mormon identity, and this prompts a search for and reflection of the inward Self. It is this search, and the desire to share individual knowing, that fuels Emma Lou Warner Thayne's *The Place of Knowing: A Spiritual Autobiography.* In this current moment of Church history when questions regarding the female experience are receiving much attention, Thayne adds her voice as a Mormon woman who has followed her convictions and found herself and God in the journey.

Mormon matriarch Emma Lou Warner Thayne (1924–2014) shares what it is to follow her individual path and to find beauty and divinity in unexpected places and ways. Her memoir begins with a terrifying near-death experience in which an iron rod flew through the windshield and into her face. As she processed the events and her experiences surrounding the accident, she recognized what had happened—she had

died and come back. She had experienced the next life, but rather than understanding her experience all at once, she slowly came to understand, piece by piece, her brush with death, the afterlife, and divinity.

Upon first encountering this episode in the book, I expected a more concrete vision of the afterlife—one that looked, sounded, and felt like the afterlife taught to me in Sunday School classes. I expected a clear vision that led the author to a place of certainty. But in this work, one that reads much like a pleasant conversation with a dear friend, Thayne describes transcendence, not in terms of surety or arrival, but in terms of peace and process. The "place of knowing," the afterlife she experiences in the brief moments of her death, is not one of heaven and hell or judgment and retribution. It is the sweetness of home, the feeling of belonging, the warmth of connection and love of family. It is what Thayne coins as *childness.* The afterlife no longer becomes something wholly separate but an extension of the grandest and most transcendent of the current life.

As beautiful, important, and defining as was Thayne's near-death experience, it is only one ingredient in the narrative of a life devoted to the love of self and the love of all humankind. As she relates account after account of personal ministration, one cannot help but feel safe in her literary presence. Following the passing of her friend, artist Paul Fini, and his partner, David, from AIDS, she worked with interfaith groups through the AIDS Foundation to display Fini's fourteen works depicting the Stations of the Cross. When her own daughter struggled through the ravages of bipolar disorder, at a time when there was a great amount of stigma surrounding issues of mental health, she stood by her side and turned to God for peace. Time after time, it is her love that burns brightly and transcends the bounds of race, nationality, life path, or faith tradition. Her message is one of belonging in the human family. The warmth of belonging, which Thayne brings from "the place of knowing" to experiences of the here and now, helps to establish her as the Mormon matriarch she aptly proclaims herself to be.

Alongside her accounts of service and personal enlightenment, Thayne includes a wealth of personal poetry. On a micro level, each poem offers a snapshot into her thoughts, feelings, and details of those events described through her prose. However, the inclusion of her poetry also harkens to a lifetime of upholding while also subverting certain gender roles as a Latter-day Saint woman. Thayne explains how her choice to take time away from home and family to focus on her writing

and poetry was often met with questioning and disapproval. Christ says, "Whosoever will save his life shall lose it: and whosoever will lose his life for my sake shall find it" (Matt. 16:25). Such words bring a culture of outward service that weighs heavily upon Latter-day Saints, as it did upon Thayne: "My culture does not encourage a woman to find a life inside herself. Doing is promoted far more than being" (96). With each poem—many of which were composed while spending time in quiet retreat or at workshops away from home—we are reminded of Thayne's grappling to make peace with expectations from without and her yearning from within.

Above all, Thayne exemplifies the strife for enlightenment and progression common to all. We learn that to be a woman is not just to be found in *doing* particular things, but in *being*: passionate, intuitive, insightful, and seeking. Thayne discovers the unexpected Self in her constant work and desire to build relationships—horizontally to the earthly, inwardly to the self, and vertically to the Divine.[6]

The Book of Mormon Girl: A Memoir of an American Faith, by Joanna Brooks (New York: Free Press/Simon and Schuster, 2012)

Reviewed by Jacqueline S. Thursby

Joanna Brooks is an author and professor of English and comparative literature at San Diego State University. She has contributed to several media outlets, including *Religion Dispatches.* Her popular memoir tells her story of growing up in the Latter-day Saint faith and her struggles with orthodox Mormonism. Her autobiography documents her efforts to find a compromise that assuages memories of deeply ingrained mores and still provides some peace of mind.

Joanna's family of six—two sisters, one brother, and their parents—lived in Southern California, where there were few LDS members. She explains that when growing up she was often the only Mormon girl in her school classroom. At friends' birthday parties, she often felt conspicuous because they were served Coca-Cola (or Dr. Pepper, Mountain Dew, or Sunkist); she could not have those because of her family's strict

6. For a recent interview with Emma Lou Thayne before she passed away, see "Emma Lou Thayne and the Art of Peace," *BYU Studies Quarterly* 53, no. 3 (2014): 181–195.

prohibition from caffeine and so had to request root beer or another noncaffeinated soda.

Joanna recounts how when she was eleven and living in Southern California, her family was caught up in the fear triggered by the "Cold War arms race" (36). From her childhood perspective, these reactions created an atmosphere of anxiety and dread. Also an issue at this time was the proposed Equal Rights Amendment, and she frequently heard discussions about the signs of the times, which left her with a sense of foreboding. Lessons about moral behavior likewise left her uncomfortable; she had been hurt physically by a friend's father and by an aggressive boy, and her feelings about the subject of sexuality were numbed. In her text, she represents her formative years as typical of an LDS girl, but she clearly conveys the discomfort she felt by the threat of "unseen powers of darkness" (43). While family members dispute her version of the story, these compelling descriptions of those years are poignant and deeply moving, and they set the scene for later reversals in her life.

When Joanna entered BYU, English professors like Eugene England resonated with her and helped rekindle her spiritual sensitivity. She writes, "But whereas before my cosmic Mormon vision had been colored by dark tones of end times, I now saw it anew in the basement classroom in the BYU humanities building: 'the glory of God was intelligence' as Joseph Smith wrote, 'or in other words, light and truth'" (132). Joanna was also present at BYU when "Boyd K. Packer, a member of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, delivered a speech to the Mormon All-Church Coordinating Council declaring that the three greatest 'dangers' to the Church were the 'gay-lesbian' movement, 'the feminist movement,' and the 'so-called scholars or intellectuals'" (136). She considered herself a feminist and scholar; these words, she felt, "declared [her] a double enemy" (139).

Strong feelings are sometimes more visceral than factual, and looking at the original speech shows that Elder Packer neither called these movements "the three greatest dangers" nor declared people in these movements as "the enemy," though he did raise concerns about them. Nevertheless, Joanna's reaction to this speech and other currents in Mormonism were acute. While graduating from BYU and earning a PhD in Los Angeles, she struggled with feelings of exile and deep angst for what seemed lost, and she moved on and married a Jewish man from her hometown. Though not active while in her self-imposed exile years, she kept the embers of her faith alive, remembered progenitors, and appreciated the helpful devotion and care of a faithful visiting teacher.

Brooks writes that many needful issues are seldom discussed by Latter-day Saints when their relationships with Church teachings are strained. She asks, "How is it we come through most of the difficult miles? . . . Do we come in company, or do we come alone?" (155). Brooks has traveled alone before, but now her marriage is good, her daughters are bright and healthy, and her LDS heritage is alive in her memory and records. Her daughters have a double heritage—both Jewish and Mormon. Each year, the family attends the Pioneer Day celebrations so the girls can be familiar with that element of their heritage. In describing herself, she writes, "I am an unorthodox woman with a fierce and hungry faith" (168).

Brooks's book will resonate with certain readers because of its irony and sardonic contrasts and restless outlook. "I want to do what my ancestors did," she explains. "Look west and dream up a new country for my children" (200). But her vision of the journey is likely to offend some LDS readers and strike others as being a somewhat lightweight effort at capturing the spirit of her pioneer heritage. Why did the pioneers in early Utah choose to sacrifice so much? Her narrative would have been improved by answering that question and sharing at a deeper level more of what she feels about the restored gospel.

For Joanna Brooks, faith and striving are the bedrock of her journey, but she appears to have found personal peace on a different path than many others in her faith community.

Global Mom: Eight Countries, Sixteen Addresses, Five Languages, One Family, by Melissa Dalton-Bradford (Utah: Familius, 2013)

Reviewed by Rosalyn Collings Eves

On her blog, *Melissa Writes of Passage,* Melissa Dalton-Bradford describes herself as a "mother, wife, sister, daughter, friend, writer, independent scholar, [and] professional soprano," among other things. She holds a BA in German and an MA in comparative literature from BYU; speaks French, German, Norwegian, and some Mandarin; and has taught language and literature courses at various universities. She is a prize-winning poet and has served on the editorial board of *Segullah*, a literary magazine for LDS women. In many ways, her resume is as ambitious as her book, which is at once a memoir of parenting, living abroad, negotiating between the demands of motherhood and career, and a manual of grieving—all wrapped in Dalton-Bradford's lovely prose. Her memoir is witty,

complicated, and confessional: she spills her guts on so many topics that readers are left feeling they have become her new best friend.

Before Dalton-Bradford married, she and her husband, Randall, knew they wanted to raise their children abroad. So when he proposed a move to Norway several years into their marriage, she agreed, despite misgivings she had about what this hiatus might do to her fledgling acting career in New York City. Contemplating this move, Dalton-Bradford writes, "Somehow we know in our bones that however narrow and colorless that strip of comfort zone ledge might be that we're teetering on, leaving it, flinging ourselves off into a major geographic and cultural relocation, will expose us. It will expose our limitations, insecurities, weaknesses, and our baggy Superhero underwear" (10).

Dalton-Bradford might have said the same of her memoir. While her vivid prose carries readers through the cultural idiosyncrasies of each new exotic land (Norway, France, Germany, Singapore, and Switzerland), it is ultimately her exposure that pulls readers into her story. Dalton-Bradford's attempts to navigate the cultural expectations, particularly at each of her children's schools, are funny and heart-warming, and readers cheer at her small triumphs, such as mastering French bureaucracy. But she is also honest about her struggles, her recurring bouts with depression in France, her feelings of alienation upon returning to America, and, of course, her devastating grief over her oldest son Parker who, trying to save another, died in a swimming accident at age eighteen.

In one of the most tender and wrenching passages of the book, Dalton-Bradford describes the nurse who washes her son as he lies comatose in the hospital:

> Now this stranger, this woman with white nurse's shoes and a metal rolling trolley is walking toward those hands, hands with calluses she cannot read, toward an entire geography of flesh and blood she cannot know. Nothing but foreign soil to her. And then, with everyday grace softening her movements, she proceeds with the speechless routine of turning and lifting, wrapping and bending, of dipping a cloth in cool water and tracing a limb with it. . . . This unnamed woman, cradling my son, following the curve of his mortal landscape, sharing with him his final sacrament (209).

While the memoir as a whole is about building a life in unfamiliar landscapes, this new landscape of grief becomes the grounding heart of the story, making an otherwise ordinary (if fascinating) narrative extraordinary. Dalton-Bradford admits on her blog that her life

is "sometimes irrationally busy and unpredictable," and readers might wonder what hidden struggles children encounter in this more nomadic lifestyle. Whatever the case, Dalton-Bradford's willingness to expose herself to new places, new friends, new experiences, and even new loss is for her transformative—and can be so for readers as well.

Angela Hallstrom is the author of the novel *Bound on Earth* and editor of the anthology *Dispensation: Latter-day Fiction*. She has taught at Brigham Young University and has served as the editor of *Irreantum*. She teaches writing at the University of Wisconsin–River Falls.

Jacqueline S. Thursby is a professor of English and folklore in the English Department of Brigham Young University. She received her PhD at Bowling Green State University in 1994. Her books and articles focus on ethnography and American studies.

Rosalyn Collings Eves is an adjunct professor at Southern Utah University. She earned her PhD in English with an emphasis on rhetoric and composition from Penn State. Her dissertation and subsequent publications focus on the intersection of rhetoric and space in the narratives of nineteenth-century American women. Her debut young adult novel is forthcoming in fall 2016 from Knopf.

Amy A. Easton-Flake is Assistant Professor of Ancient Scripture at Brigham Young University. She earned a PhD from Brandeis University in American Literature with an emphasis in nineteenth-century women's polemical fiction. Her current work focuses on nineteenth-century women's biblical hermeneutics and the Book of Mormon through a narrative lens.

Amy Isaksen Cartwright graduated from Brigham Young University in 2011 with an MMusic and a minor in theatre studies. She currently resides in Calgary, Alberta, Canada, with her husband and two children.

Jedediah S. Rogers. *Roads in the Wilderness: Conflict in Canyon Country.*
Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2013.

Reviewed by Brian Q. Cannon

In this superb, award-winning study, Jedediah S. Rogers, state historian and co-managing editor of the *Utah Historical Quarterly,* traces the history of conflicts over roads in Utah's backcountry. This book is a must-read for anyone who identifies with and frequents southern Utah's rugged canyonlands.

While roads facilitate travel and commerce, Rogers plumbs their cultural significance as "expressions of ideology" (6). Masterfully he demonstrates that roads are "objects of considerable social and political significance that represent a way of life and livelihood" (134). Adherents to traditional, utilitarian views of the land often celebrate roads because they facilitate economic enterprises. Conversely, some who value wild land primarily as a source of spiritual renewal tend to regard backcountry roads and the traffic they enable as unwelcome intrusions. Many western historians have explored the tension between utilitarian and preservationist worldviews, which are often described as a clash between Old Western attitudes and the New Western sensibilities, but Rogers is one of the few to examine this polarity primarily through the lens of roads. Although he focuses on Utah, his case studies indirectly illuminate controversies over public land usage throughout the West.

Rogers begins with the tale of the road built and traversed by Utah's Hole-in-the-Rock pioneers of 1879–80. It was an incongruous road through a slick-rock wilderness that symbolized Mormon settlers' determination to subdue the physical landscape. He contrasts that road-building saga with the fanciful explorations of the adjacent Kaiparowits Plateau by Clyde Kluckhohn, a Princeton University student, in the 1920s. The budding anthropologist exulted at the magnificence and solitude of the mesa and gushed, "NO ROADS, NO BUILT TRAILS" (26).

Next the author develops a similar contrast between two larger-than-life figures in the cultural memory of southeastern Utah: writer Edward Abbey, who famously derided paved roads in his classic meditation *Desert Solitaire,* and Calvin Black, a San Juan County commissioner and entrepreneur who championed tourist development and road construction. Admitting that these two complex men were not really "Manichaean opposites" (60), Rogers nevertheless creatively uses them as symbols of the differences between environmentalists and developers.

The heart of the book consists of five admirably researched and documented case studies of road-based conflicts. One case surrounds the controversy over designating Negro Bill Canyon near Moab as a wilderness under the 1964 Wilderness Act. Because the act identified the absence of roads as a fundamental characteristic of wilderness, opponents of the wilderness proposal sought to document public use and improvement of a road crisscrossing the canyon.

In a second fascinating case study, Rogers traces a drawn-out tug-of-war in the 1980s over proposed improvements to the Burr Trail, a steep dirt road linking Boulder, Utah, with Lake Powell. The sixty-six-mile road, an old Indian and ranching trace that had been upgraded during the Cold War by the Atomic Energy Commission, attracted national attention when the state and county proposed paving it in order to facilitate tourism. Plans to pave the trail mobilized local conservationists, including the recently formed Southern Utah Wilderness Alliance and the Utah Wilderness Association. Rogers's interview with a much-maligned figure in the controversy, Grant Johnson, helps to correct elements of the story that have been misunderstood. The case study also showcases divisions among Utah environmentalists over strategy and objectives. Rogers convincingly argues that the conflict over paving the trail, which devolved into a bitter, demonizing feud, "was more an ideological contest than a debate about the virtues of a paved road" (110).

Another case study involves a battle in the 1980s over a freeway that would have bisected the Book Cliffs, linking Vernal with Interstate 70 at Crescent Junction. Energy companies enthusiastically promoted the plan because it would have facilitated extraction and transportation of oil and natural gas. Through this case study, Rogers illuminates the rising political power of environmentalists in Moab, which was becoming a mecca for mountain bikers, river runners, and hikers. These recreation-conscious voters stymied the proposed road and ousted the

Grand County commissioners who championed it, even though support for the road persisted in Uintah County to the north.

Rogers next explores the contentious question of county rights to old roads on public lands, using the creation of the Grand Staircase–Escalante National Monument as the backdrop for his story. His interesting account reveals a little-known detail regarding the monument's designation: shortly before President Bill Clinton announced the monument, Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt asked William Smart of the Grand Canyon Trust, one of a handful of Utahns who had been invited to attend the announcement, to suggest ways that the administration could make the designation more acceptable in the Beehive State. As he describes southern Utahns' opposition to the monument, the author capably highlights divisions among them: some believed it best to compromise with the federal government on access to roads within the monument, while others wanted the county to legally and practically contest every road within the boundaries. Rogers also skillfully highlights the cultural disconnect between wilderness advocates and local opponents of the monument; supporters attributed local opposition to "a naked material self-interest" and failed to realize that the paramount issue for many was the freedom to "move about the landscape as they pleased" (152).

Rogers's final case study explores access to off-road vehicle trails in Arch Canyon, a section of Comb Wash in San Juan County. In 1989, Jeep-Chrysler designated this region as the site for its Jeep Jamboree USA. Unlike the other case studies, this one involves blazing new trails and roads with new technology. The off-road vehicle, Rogers points out, "is the modern version of the horse" (163).

Roads in the Wilderness is an impressively researched study backed by thirty densely packed pages of endnotes. Rogers incorporates a wide array of sources, including oral histories, minutes of public meetings, records of state and federal agencies, documents from county archives, and the papers of organizations including the Utah Wilderness Association and the Utah Chapter of the Sierra Club. Although the source base is impressive, it might have been further enriched by additional oral history interviews, assuming that participants were willing to talk. For instance, the case study regarding Negro Bill Canyon could have been deepened if activists such as Dave Forman and James Catlin had been interviewed.

The book is a pleasure to read. Rogers is a masterful stylist whose prose reflects careful craftsmanship. Consider his likening of roads that "imprint the land" to "veins [that] mark a leaf" (4). The book sparkles with delightful anecdotes, including quotations from a dedicatory

prayer offered when a major road was completed in southeastern Utah (who knew that roads were blessed like church buildings?) and a heated interchange between Bureau of Land Management staffers and Calvin Black at a wilderness study open house in Blanding.

Rogers declares that his "intent is not to be polemic," and he largely succeeds. He avoids caricatures and emphasizes the moral complexity of the individuals and issues. "The sides are not clearly or morally drawn," he cautions (8). But this is not a neutral, dispassionate study. Rogers voices a moderate but unabashedly environmentalist position. After a fairly balanced treatment of the pro- and anti-wilderness positions in the Negro Bill Canyon dispute, Rogers opines that "wilderness has been and ought to be still considered in places . . . that yet bear the human imprint" (86). In other words, old roads should not disqualify a landscape from wilderness designation. Elsewhere in the volume he editorializes, "We need these wilderness areas to keep us rooted" (184). After an evenhanded account of the fight over plans to pave a highway through the Book Cliffs, he tips the scales in favor of the road's opponents by observing that "nonrenewable resource development is very often shortsighted" (132).

Although some readers may wish for less advocacy, others may feel that Rogers is too restrained. In the final analysis, he champions the moderate environmentalist position that roads are "desired yet lamented" (170). He finds some merit in the paving of the Burr Trail and supports maintaining backcountry roads that serve a higher purpose than entertainment or political grandstanding, such as fire suppression or intercommunity transportation. Most significantly, Rogers chides conservationists who have overlooked or discounted "the deeply held cultural connection that many locals have with the land" (183).

Rogers posits that environmental preservation can promote the health and well-being of rural Utah settlements and can revitalize "local culture and heritage" (183). This type of win-win situation seems highly desirable but difficult to attain; it would require substantial concessions on all sides and the leadership of someone with as much sensitivity to both sides as Rogers possesses.

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Adam S. Miller. *Speculative Grace: Bruno Latour and Object-Oriented Theology.*
Perspectives in Continental Philosophy Series.
New York: Fordham University Press, 2013.

Reviewed by Brent J. Schmidt

Adam Miller's work *Speculative Grace* deserves more than one reading. In essence, it is metaphysical poetry utilizing Bruno Latour's writings to approach theology outside of a traditional, theistic, and orthodox worldview. Latour's avant-garde, object-oriented philosophy (OOP), in brief, analyzes the components, forces, limitations, and interactions of material objects in an ordinary universe. Paradoxically, Miller's work uses a nontheistic worldview to discuss theology in order to break the hold of conventional thinking about grace. Reminiscent of how the Roman epicurean philosopher Lucretius poetically promoted Epicurus's Greek ideas to a Roman audience in his *De Rerum Natura,* Miller's hypotheses about OOP are grounded in the nuances of Latour's multidisciplinary studies and are adapted to the subgenre of philosophical writing.

Miller introduces the Latourian notion that the essence of grace is in all objects—not only in the unconditional gift of a transcendent deity. Miller envisions grace as emanating from all objects, including all material things. The expression of work and suffering, agency and evil are found in the interactions of equal objects within a democratically structured cosmos. Erudite Latin terms such as *a tergo* progressively occupy space in the text alongside mundane terminology, such as "black boxes," to become the flat objects found in Miller's interpretation of Latour.

At some points, the reader may wonder if Latour would even agree with Miller's grandiose characterizations of his work. Unfortunately, these object-oriented terms are not defined clearly, nor are examples given to reinforce the meaning of OOP in relation to the theology of grace; something more concrete would help many curious readers to fully perceive and appreciate Latour's worldview. In fact, it might be disconcerting for some readers that Miller, from the outset, often discusses the details of

Latour's work before explaining its basics or central themes. Apparently, Miller uses words as objects to paint Latour's view of the world; details and themes consciously or subconsciously are all on the same OOP playing field. While a lack of examples may frustrate the ability of many conscientious readers in their efforts to understand this playing field, other readers might find Miller's abstract style a proper vehicle for exploring Latour's abstract philosophy, which evolves into a theology compatible with some principles at home in Christianity, including Latter-day Saint doctrines.

On my first reading, the work seemed so abstract that I wondered what religious and philosophical traditions were being jettisoned, misunderstood, lauded, promoted, or approved. Furthermore, I would have welcomed more help in understanding the value of Latour's OOP thinking and Miller's interpretation of it. However, after my second and third readings, I noticed that the materialistic universe envisioned by Latour and subtly proposed by Miller is in harmony with the restored gospel's ability to encompass "small-scale, localized" objects (3) that are both spiritual and material (D&C 131:7–8). For Latter-day Saints, spiritual and temporal things maintain a close interplay (Mosiah 2:41; D&C 29:32).

Instead of recycling thoroughly explicated notions of grace from orthodox Christianity, Miller presents an object-oriented force of grace that permeates all these equal things. This flat structure of the universe is the context in which Miller consistently animates the principle of grace. Miller's grace is pluralistic, immanent, dynamic, and even ordinary, thereby transforming its meaning to enliven it with heightened relevance.

Because he sidesteps theological controversies about grace in Christian history, Miller is able to make his way back to the original Greek meanings of grace, or *charis,* which were also quite ordinary, all encompassing, reciprocal, and "double-binding" on the ancient giver and recipient. Miller's grace could function in LDS and certain other theologies in the sense that an anthropomorphic God is able to have relationships, grant blessings, and make covenants with his children. As Miller explains, "God is an object among a multitude of objects" (47), or, to use a saying commonly attributed to Lorenzo Snow, "As man now is, God once was; as God is now man may be."

Miller's novel uses of other theological terms, including faith, charity, prayer, grace, religion, and angels, especially near the end of his poem, seem to subtly reveal his LDS background. The first-person thought that religion "*requires* that I be faithful to the grace of what has already been made available" (127) perhaps presupposes LDS nuances concerning the

nature and importance of the Atonement and the reciprocal making and keeping of covenants by faithful believers.

In the final chapters of *Speculative Grace,* Miller explores the limitations, strengths, problems, and potential benefits of religion and science in an OOP universe of competing and equally important objects. Miller's science-versus-religion analysis warrants the attention of readers of any religious or nonreligious persuasion seeking to understand the competing claims of metaphysical authority in the modern world. After considering Miller's points, many readers may feel the need to reassess their thinking about the proper spheres of both science and religion.

Miller's explorative work will undoubtedly generate interest and discussion in select philosophical circles. In its paperback version, it may serve as an inexpensive college textbook for modern philosophy or even serve as a guide for those interested in learning more about the possible theological implications of Latour's notable ideas. Those who are invested in LDS scripture and theology might puzzle over terms and ideas that appear to go too far in favoring a flat universe in which God is simply one more object. Latter-day Saints understand that "God is above all things" (D&C 88:41) and that wherever two spirits exist, one is "more intelligent than the other" (Abr. 3:19). Miller has surely reconciled in his mind the tension between scriptural hierarchy and Latour's distaste for vertical constructs, but many LDS readers are likely to see at least as much tension here as reconciliation. Overall, I suspect that *Speculative Grace* will have limited influence in the LDS community because of its poetically abstract and example-free presentation of object-oriented philosophy. Nevertheless, for those willing to explore in this direction, Miller's work beckons them to careful and thoughtful reflection.

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W. Kesler Jackson. *Elijah Abel: The Life and Times of a Black Priesthood Holder.* Springville, Utah: Cedar Fort, 2013.

Reviewed by Matthew L. Harris

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and its relationship to black people continues to be a relevant topic in the Church today. Indeed, the Church recently released a document disavowing as official doctrine previous rationales for the priesthood ban while reaffirming that "all are alike unto God."[1] Along with the Church's voice are a spate of recent scholarly books that recently appeared evaluating the origins of the priesthood ban, the lifting of the ban, and the legacy of the ban. These include Russell W. Stevenson's *For the Cause of Righteousness,* W. Paul Reeve's *Religion of a Different Color,* and Matthew L. Harris and Newell G. Bringhurst's *Blacks and Mormons: A Documentary History*.[2]

Now added to the list is W. Kesler Jackson's *Elijah Abel: The Life and Times of a Black Priesthood Holder,* which is a solid account of this early pioneer's experience in the Church. In this effort, Jackson stands on the shoulders of two pioneers in LDS race relations—Lester E. Bush Jr. and Newell G. Bringhurst—whose pathbreaking studies elucidated Abel's priesthood status within the Church.[3]

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1. See The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, "Race and Priesthood," https://www.lds.org/topics/race-and-the-priesthood?lang=eng.

2. Russell W. Stevenson, *For the Cause of Righteousness* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2014); W. Paul Reeve, *Religion of a Different Color* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015); and Matthew L. Harris and Newell G. Bringhurst, *Blacks and Mormons: A Documentary History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, November 2015). See also J. B. Haws, *The Mormon Image in the American Mind: Fifty Years of Public Perception* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), which contains a trenchant discussion on the effect of the priesthood ban on the Church's "public image."

3. In particular, see Lester E. Bush Jr., "Mormonism's Negro Doctrine: An Historical Overview," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 8 (Spring 1973):

Though Jackson's book is succinct, it traces Abel's early life, his baptism into the Church, his priesthood ordination and temple ordinances, his missionary service, and his migration west with the Saints to the Great Basin. Jackson provides a crisp, compelling account of his life and times and, more importantly, situates this iconic Mormon figure within the broader context of Mormon history. It is a commendable accomplishment, considering the fragmentary sources Jackson has to work with and the gaps in the record that surround key events of Abel's life.

For instance, we have no direct record stating whether Abel was a slave—though Jackson clearly thinks he was. In recreating Abel's early life, Jackson draws on the *Autobiography of Frederick Douglass,* who, like Abel, lived in Maryland during his adolescent years. Jackson makes liberal use of Douglass's life to draw comparisons about what slave life may have been like for Abel—a point he acknowledges "can only be speculated" (15). He also draws on Margaret Blair Young and Darius Gray's fictional account of Abel's life, freely conjecturing that "he may have been a woodworker rather than a simple field hand" (16) and further asserting that Abel was likely a carpenter in his later life. Jackson also offers the idea that Abel, because he was born in Maryland, a major hub of the underground railroad, may have escaped slavery using that network.

These speculations notwithstanding, the strength of the book lies in Jackson's treatment of Abel's conversion and participation as a black man in the Mormon Church. Jackson writes that he was baptized in 1832 by Mormon missionary Ezekiel Roberts, who, during his missionary service, may have met Abel in Canada. Thereafter, Abel migrated to Kirkland, Ohio, where he received his priesthood and temple ordinances in the late 1830s. Jackson does not identify how these events transpired, and available details are limited. Abel lived in antebellum America during a time when blacks were associated with Cain and Ham, biblical counterfigures that early Europeans appealed to when justifying slavery. It is notable, Jackson opines, that Abel received his priesthood ordination and temple ordinances despite this racial uncertainty, and despite the Church's apparent ambivalence toward blacks in its early days.

The most intriguing part of the story for me, and one for which there is a clear documentary record, is Abel's patriarchal blessing. In 1836, Patriarch to the Church Joseph Smith Sr., the Prophet's father, pronounced a blessing upon Abel's head declaring that he would "be made

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11–68; Newell G. Bringhurst, *Saints, Slaves, and Blacks: The Changing Place of Black People within Mormonism* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1981).

equal to thy brethren," affirming that his "soul shall be white in eternity" and his "robes glittering" (56). Such words can be taken as a hopeful and prescient look at the future or, on the other hand, as words with stark racial overtones. Jackson insinuates the latter, asserting that "Abel's skin color was considered something less than blessed, something that required changing," and it was "despite his blackness . . . that Abel was to achieve eventual glory" (56–57). Smith's tantalizing language undoubtedly had roots in the Book of Mormon, where discussions of whiteness abound. But here Jackson misses an opportunity to elucidate this important theme by putting it into a larger theological context within Mormon racial teachings. For instance, scripture upholds the idea that those with white skin must still be "made white" in the blood of the Lamb, along with all other people (1 Ne. 12:11; Alma 5:21).

Jackson also omits other key episodes in the Elijah Abel story, specifically when Abel's son and grandson were also ordained to the priesthood—something that LDS scholar Lester Bush writes about in an authoritative article, averring that "several of Elijah Abel's descendants," including "his son Enoch and grandson Elijah," both were "reportedly elders."[4] Jackson acknowledges that Abel's son was "ordained an elder in 1900" (84), yet he does not provide any context or details about the ordination, nor does he discuss at all his grandson's ordination. Jackson's narration is well done, but these omissions are missed opportunities, for the story of Abel's descendants is a remarkable one, a story of faith and perseverance, of exclusion and hardship.

The final part of the book examines Abel's migration west with the Saints after Joseph Smith's untimely death in 1844. Here Jackson is at his best, discussing Abel's missionary service to Canada, his duties in the Quorums of the Seventy, and his leadership in the Church. Unusually, he includes a "personal note" (105), in which he ruminates on race and the accusations of Church critics, who assert that the priesthood ban was both racist and wrong. He characterizes these claims as serious, and he acknowledges that "if we define 'racism' as the belief that a group of people should be treated differently, at least policywise, based on that group's 'race,' then the LDS Church—at least for a period—certainly

4. See Lester E. Bush, "A Commentary on Stephen G. Taggart's Mormonism's Negro Policy: Social and Historical Origins," in *Neither Black nor White: Mormon Scholars Confront the Race Issue in a Universal Church,* ed. Lester E. Bush Jr. and Armand L. Mauss (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1984), 44–45 n. 30.

did uphold a racist policy" (106). It would have provided balance here if Jackson had distinguished between race and lineage, as many blacks not of African descent have been ordained to the priesthood throughout the Church's history. In his personal reflection, Jackson seems nervous about criticizing the Church he loves, yet sympathetic with critics who believe that the ban was neither kind nor fair. Some of this discussion seems less urgent now, considering the Church's recent statement suggesting, among other things, that the priesthood policy echoed the social, cultural, and racial milieu of the nineteenth century. Still, Jackson's discussion is a timely one. Not only does he restore Elijah Abel as a seminal figure in early Mormon history, but he also reminds us that our perspectives on racism have evolved—and will continue to evolve.

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