ARTICLES

PHOTOGRAPHIC ARCHIVE

ESSAY

From the Editor

John W. Welch

This being the one hundredth issue of *BYU Studies Quarterly* for which I have served as editor in chief, this occasion calls for a moment of grateful celebration. I am extremely thankful for the numerous people whose goodwill and devoted service make the continued publication of this journal possible. Their wise judgment and brilliant assistance mean the world to me! They include longtime BYU faculty members in many disciplines, members of our staff and editorial boards, a steady stream of new blood from undergraduates who toil happily as interns and budding colleagues, as well as committed authors, university administrators, and ultimately our loyal readers, no doubt the most important of all. Without you, who subscribe to and read *BYU Studies Quarterly,* all of this would be of feeble interest.

And so I am very happy to introduce you readers to the outstanding contents of this issue of this journal, from the cover's expansive view of Kolob Canyon in Zion National Park to its wide variety of articles, reviews, literature, photography, and scripture studies. I hope that you will find as much rewarding joy and satisfying learning on these pages as we have found in bringing this issue together and into print.

BYU Studies is oriented not so much toward either Athens or Jerusalem as poles apart, but rather toward a restoration of the gospel of Jesus Christ that transcends both. Without being skeptical, critical, or revisionist, the articles in this issue are rigorous, crucial, and innovative. Their subjects boldly engage questions, concerns, and issues that have been generated not outside the community of religious believers, but within the hearts, minds, and spirits of the household of faith. No doubt

we live in abundantly troubled times, but antidotes can be confidently found amid the solid studies found in this issue, including:

Noel Reynolds's comparative and developmental analysis unveils of the pure and pristine ancient doctrine of the Two Ways found in the Book of Mormon.

John Hilton's team-project thoroughly traces and classifies the sources of scripture power from which the prophetic pronouncements of Samuel the Lamanite drew.

Stephen Smoot's careful study exposes several uncertainties but also certain plausible possibilities for the general location of Abraham's hometown in ancient Mesopotamia.

LeGrand Richards adds to and improves our understanding of German affairs in Saxony in 1855 where Karl G. Maeser was a young teacher.

Cory Nimer takes us behind the Church administrative efforts to meet the needs of local wards and members for library and teaching resources during a challenging half-century of media and publishing innovation and transition.

Brent Slife offers deeply personal reasons why psychology's knowledge of love has been so meager over the years and how faith can fill that void. (And here I might mention that our new book, *Turning Freud Upside Down 2,* likewise effectively turns to Christ's gospel to recalibrate some of psychotherapy's standard assumptions.)

Richard Holzapfel and Ronald Fox show newly found photographic insights into the amazing and challenging pioneer construction of the Great Salt Lake Tabernacle.

And as usual, several new books are thoughtfully reviewed or noticed.

And so on. To be continued. The upcoming issues of *BYU Studies Quarterly* are already well under way. You won't want to miss a one. I hope that you will continue to find every page of this journal helpful and enriching as we continue to strive to go beyond ecclesiastical and spiritual concerns, but without going contrary to Church interests. To see the Mormon past as much more than just a collection of social, cultural, intellectual, political or economic phenomena. To reject the idea that a steady diet of doubt or skepticism is either appetizing or nourishing. To converse with the categories, theories, and paradigms of the secular academy, but without being converted by them. And to be oriented in the end neither to Athens nor Jerusalem exclusively, but toward a Restoration, and ultimately a New Jerusalem, that transcends both.

The Ziggurat of Ur and the surrounding excavation field from an aerial photograph taken in 1927. Initially constructed at the end of the third millennium BC by the king Ur-Nammu, the ziggurat eventually fell into disrepair and was restored by the Neo-Babylonian king Nabonidus in the sixth century BC. The ziggurat was dedicated to the moon god Sîn, who also had a cult center at Haran in the north. The idolatry of Abraham's father Terah (Josh. 24:2, 14) has been connected to the worship of the moon deity at Ur and Haran.

"In the Land of the Chaldeans"

The Search for Abraham's Homeland Revisited

Stephen O. Smoot

Readers of the Hebrew Bible first encounter Abram (later Abraham), the spiritual father of the three great monotheistic faiths—Judaism, Christianity, and Islam—at the end of Genesis 11. There they discover he was the son of a certain Terah and claimed "Ur of the Chaldeans" as his home (Gen. 11:28).[1] Being as central as Abraham is to the patriarchal narratives of Genesis and, subsequently, to the faith of scores of believers across the globe, both faithful and nonbelieving readers have turned a critical eye toward the passages where Abraham makes an appearance and have attempted to discern if any historicity lies beneath the narratives enshrined in the Bible.

Latter-day Saints have likewise been drawn to this discussion, given the existence of the Book of Abraham, which enjoys canonical status in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints as part of the book of scripture called the Pearl of Great Price. The Book of Abraham purports to be the autobiography of the eponymous patriarch and offers narrative details that on many points converge with Genesis. For instance, as in Genesis, Ur of the Chaldeans claims the privilege of being Abraham's ancestral and personal residence according to the Book of Abraham (Abr. 1:1; 2:1–4). Unlike Genesis, however, the Book of Abraham describes some kind of Egyptian influence or presence in Ur of the Chaldeans that almost resulted in Abraham's execution for cultic

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1. Biblical citations for this article are drawn from the New Revised Standard Version.

offenses (Abr. 1:8–20).[2] These additional elements in the Latter-day Saint scriptural tradition concerning the life of Abraham have, at least from a Latter-day Saint perspective, added some unique (and uniquely challenging) dynamics to the overall discussion about the historicity of the scriptural work "purporting to be the writings of Abraham, while he was in Egypt."[3]

Indeed, the debate swirling around the historicity of Abraham has grown considerably since the rise of the historical-critical method of biblical studies in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the great strides made in Syro-Palestinian and Mesopotamian archaeology in the past century. There exists an almost unending stream of monographs, articles, and other works exploring nearly every aspect of this subject. My efforts for this paper shall therefore be relatively modest. In this treatment, I will not attempt to stake out any definitive position for or against the historicity of Abraham either in Genesis or in the book of LDS scripture that bears his name. It would be impossible to do justice to any such attempt in such a short treatment. Rather, I shall focus my attention on highlighting and exploring a few elements of this debate and bring to focus what the current body of evidence can and cannot resolve for us.

Since Abraham is said to have dwelt in "Ur of the Chaldeans," we might start by asking: do either the books of Genesis or Abraham offer any information about the ancient city most scholars consider Abraham's Ur (modern Tell el-Muqayyar in southern Iraq)? Do these books say anything about Ur that converges with what we know about the history of the city in the late third to early second millennia BC, the supposed time of the historical Abraham? What about the middle of the first millennium BC, the time when many biblical scholars think the end of Genesis 11 was either composed or redacted? Did the author or complier of this portion of Genesis, supposed by many to have been in Babylonian captivity at the time, betray any definitive knowledge about Ur in the pages of his story about Abraham the same way Charles Dickens betrayed knowledge of Victorian London in the pages of his many novels, for example? And if not, must we look elsewhere to find Abraham's Ur? From a Latter-day Saint perspective, we might also ask what the details provided in the Book of Abraham

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2. See Kerry Muhlestein and John Gee, "An Egyptian Context for the Sacrifice of Abraham," *Journal of the Book of Mormon and Other Restoration Scripture* 20, no. 2 (2011): 70–77.

3. "Book of Abraham," *Times and Seasons* 3 (March 1, 1842): 704.

indicate about the location of Abraham's home. If we take the historical claims of the Book of Abraham seriously, or at the very least at face value, then how might this data influence our thinking and, ultimately, our conclusions concerning this matter?

To answer these questions, I will proceed in the following order. First, I will look at what Genesis says about Abraham and his sojourns throughout Mesopotamia and Syria. I will pay special attention to passages in Genesis and elsewhere that touch on Abraham's geographical and cultural setting(s). Then I will provide a brief history of the excavation of Tell el-Muqayyar and recount what modern scholarship says about Ur in various parts of its history. From there I will compare the picture in Genesis with the archaeological picture provided by this scholarship. As will be seen in my analysis, the attempts by the renowned archaeologist Sir Leonard Woolley and others to identify Tell el-Muqayyar as Abraham's Ur are not without considerable difficulty. I will then transition into highlighting the work of scholars who have placed Abraham's Ur not in southern Iraq but rather in various sites in Syria or northern Mesopotamia. After that, I will conclude by bringing the Book of Abraham into the equation to explore the significance it carries when it comes to locating Abraham's Ur.

A few more comments before we begin. Any investigator wishing to unravel the historicity of Abraham and the patriarchs is faced with seemingly insurmountable challenges. Beyond the question of whether Abraham was a historical or mythical figure (or to what degree of either he might have been) is the question of when to date his life. Dates range anywhere from between 2200 BC to 1800 BC and beyond.[4] This inspires little confidence in our ability to pin down a definitive time for Abraham other than to say Genesis (as well as the Book of Abraham) appears to have him alive sometime during the Middle Bronze Age.

There is also the issue of the authorship and composition of the Abrahamic narratives in Genesis and the nature of Joseph Smith's "translation" of the Book of Abraham, both of which are additionally vexing problems. Many scholars, for example, prefer to see the Abrahamic

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4. Wayne T. Pitard, "Before Israel: Syria-Palestine in the Bronze Age," in *The Oxford History of the Biblical World,* ed. Michael D. Coogan (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 53–55; P. Kyle McCarter Jr., "The Patriarchal Age: Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob," in *Ancient Israel: From Abraham to the Roman Destruction of the Temple,* ed. Hershel Shanks (Washington, D.C.: Biblical Archaeology Society, 2011), 3–14.

narratives as the result of a final redaction of earlier traditions. The earliest tradition (the so-called J or Jahwist tradition) is typically dated to sometime around the tenth to ninth centuries BC, and a later tradition (the so-called P or Priestly tradition) to the seventh to sixth centuries BC or even later.[5] Of course, these dates themselves are debated in various circles, with a growing number of scholars wanting to date the underlying language and concepts of P much earlier than perhaps heretofore supposed.[6] Likewise, the exact nature of Joseph Smith's translation of the Book of Abraham is hotly disputed, as is the historicity of the contents therein.[7] These points—too complex to focus on in much detail right now—are merely raised to alert the reader to the complex situation we face as we proceed.

Abraham in Genesis

Abram's first appearance in the biblical record is brief. He is merely noted to be the son of Terah (Gen. 11:26), the brother of Nahor and Haran (vv. 26–27), and the husband of Sarai (v. 29). For reasons that go

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5. Bernhard W. Anderson, *Understanding the Old Testament* (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1998), 411–14; Richard Elliott Friedman, *The Bible with Sources Revealed: A New View of the Five Books of Moses* (New York: HarperCollins, 2003), 3–4, 49–74; Richard N. Soulen and R. Kendall Soulen, *Handbook of Biblical Criticism,* 4th ed. (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 2011), 79, 101–2, 143.

6. See, for instance, the comments by Victor Hurowitz, "P—Understanding the Priestly Source," *Bible Review* 12 (June 1996): 46.

7. Some approaches to this issue include Karl C. Sandberg, "Knowing Brother Joseph Again: The Book of Abraham and Joseph Smith as Translator," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 22, no. 4 (1989): 17–37; Kerry Muhlestein, "Egyptian Papyri and the Book of Abraham: A Faithful, Egyptological Point of View," in *No Weapon Shall Prosper: New Light on Sensitive Issues,* ed. Robert L. Millet (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 2011), 217–43; Brian M. Hauglid, "Thoughts on the Book of Abraham," in Millet, *No Weapon Shall Prosper,* 217–43; David Bokovoy, *Authoring the Old Testament: Genesis–Deuteronomy* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2014), 191–214; The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, "Translation and Historicity of the Book of Abraham," https://www.lds.org/topics/translation-and-historicity-of-the-book-of-abraham?lang=eng; Kerry Muhlestein, "Joseph Smith and Egyptian Artifacts: A Model for Evaluating the Prophetic Nature of the Prophet's Ideas about the Ancient World," *BYU Studies Quarterly* 55, no. 3 (2016): 35–82; Kerry Muhlestein, "Assessing the Joseph Smith Papyri: An Introduction to the Historiography of Their Acquisitions, Translations, and Interpretations," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 22 (2016): 17–49.

unspecified in the text, we are informed, "Terah took his son Abram and his grandson Lot son of Haran, and his daughter-in-law Sarai, his son Abram's wife, and they went out together from Ur of the Chaldeans to go into the land of Canaan; but when they came to Haran, they settled there" (v. 31). This concludes the initial introduction of Abram and his family, with only sparse genealogical and geographical information provided in these passages.

Genesis 12 begins as abruptly as Genesis 11 ends. Here we encounter Abram's prophetic call and divine commission. "Now the Lord said to Abram, 'Go from your country and your kindred and your father's house to the land that I will show you. I will make of you a great nation, and I will bless you, and make your name great, so that you will be a blessing. I will bless those who bless you, and the one who curses you I will curse; and in you all the families of the earth shall be blessed'" (Gen. 12:1–3). What is especially revealing in these verses is the comment that Haran (located in northwestern Mesopotamia[8])—and not Ur of the Chaldeans—is identified as Abram's "country" (ארץ, "land"). This has led some, such as Friedman, to conclude that the redactor of Genesis had Abram and his family migrate from Ur in the south to Haran in the north to smooth out the apparently contradictory traditions recorded in Genesis 11 (southern location) and Genesis 12 (northern location).[9] While this is certainly one way to explain this anomaly, it is not the only possible solution, as we will explore below.

The next several chapters include the details of Abraham and his family in Canaan and Egypt (Gen. 12–23). It is in Genesis 24 where more relevant geographical information about Abraham's homeland comes into play. Here Abraham instructs his servant to "go to my country [ארץ] and to my kindred and get a wife for my son Isaac" (v. 4). The servant obliges, but instead of returning down to Ur in southern Mesopotamia, he fetches Isaac's wife Rebekah from "Aram-naharaim" ("Aram of the two rivers"; v. 10) in the north, not far from Haran.[10] This detail led

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8. Cyrus H. Gordon, "Where Is Abraham's Ur?" *Biblical Archaeology Review* 3, no. 2 (1977): 20; Mark Wilson, *Biblical Turkey: A Guide to the Jewish and Christian Sites of Asia Minor* (Istanbul: Ege Yayinlari, 2010), 51–53.

9. Friedman, *Bible with Sources Revealed,* 50.

10. John A. Tvedtnes and Ross Christensen, "Ur of the Chaldeans: Increasing Evidence on the Birthplace of Abraham and the Original Homeland of the Hebrews," in *Special Publications of the Society for Early Historic Archaeology* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1985), 27–28; Wilson, *Biblical Turkey,* 40.

Gordon,[11] Hamilton,[12] Lundquist,[13] and Wilson[14] to see northern Mesopotamia as Abraham's native land, not Ur in southern Mesopotamia as Genesis 11 would seemingly have us believe.

The rest of Genesis, which contains the subsequent accounts of Abraham's son Isaac, grandson Jacob, and great-grandson Joseph (Gen. 24–50), appears to strengthen the contention of these and other scholars that northern Mesopotamia and Syria is both the immediate and ancestral setting for Abraham's clan. When Isaac instructed his son Jacob to find a wife, he directed him to the vicinity of "Paddan-aram [פדן ארם; "field/garden of Aram"] to the house of Bethuel, your mother's father," to "take as wife from there one of the daughters of Laban, your mother's brother" (Gen. 28:2). This Jacob accordingly did, and having secured no less than four wives from the area (Gen. 29–30) returned to Canaan from Paddan-aram (Gen. 31:18; 33:18; 35:9, 26). Once again, we encounter a northern setting for Jacob's activities and the home of his relatives, since Paddan-aram is recognized as being either identical with or located near Haran in northern Mesopotamia.[15]

Genesis is not the only biblical text to place Abraham and his immediate family in the north. Deuteronomy contains one passing reference to the ethnic identity of either Abraham or (more likely) Jacob/Israel. "When the priest takes the basket from your hand and sets it down before the altar of the Lord your God," the text reads, "you shall make this response before the Lord your God: 'A wandering Aramean was my ancestor [ארמי אבד אבי]; he went down into Egypt and lived there as an alien, few in number, and there he became a great nation, mighty and populous'" (Deut. 26:4–5). Here the text reinforces the narratives of Genesis that portray the patriarchs as enjoying an Aramean and not southern Mesopotamian origin or identity.[16]

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11. Cyrus H. Gordon, "Abraham and the Merchants of Ura," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 17 (January 1958): 30–31; Gordon, "Where Is Abraham's Ur?" 20.

12. Victor P. Hamilton, *The Book of Genesis: Chapters 1–17* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 1990), 364.

13. John M. Lundquist, "Was Abraham at Ebla? A Cultural Background of the Book of Abraham," in *Studies in Scripture—Volume Two: The Pearl of Great Price,* ed. Robert L. Millet and Kent P. Jackson (Salt Lake City: Randall Book, 1985), 226.

14. Wilson, *Biblical Turkey,* 49.

15. Wilson, *Biblical Turkey,* 41–42.

16. Edwin M. Yamauchi, "Abraham and Archaeology: Anachronisms or Adaptations?" in *Perspectives on Our Father Abraham: Essays in Honor of*

The History of the Excavation of Tell el-Muqayyar

The biblical tradition would therefore seem to place Abraham's homeland in the north. To fully understand how Tell el-Muqayyar (Urim or Uru in the Sumerian and Akkadian cuneiform sources) in the south came to be identified as Abraham's Ur in the minds of many scholars, it is needful for us to look briefly at the history of the site's excavation. Before I detail this history, however, I wish to point out that my designating Tell el-Muqayyar as "Ur" is simply to be consistent with standard academic language. That is to say, even though, as I'll explain below, I am skeptical that Tell el-Muqayyar is specifically Abraham's Ur, I will nevertheless, for the sake of convenience, follow the scholarly literature as I describe the history of the site by calling it Ur. The reader should simply be aware that while Tell el-Muqayyar may be *one* Ur, there is debate about whether it is *the* Ur, as we will shortly see.

Jewish and Islamic tradition has long placed Abraham's birthplace and homeland in the north, near modern Urfa in southern Turkey.[17] This tradition very likely arose in response to nothing less than the very passages from Genesis reviewed above. Even today, Urfa (modern Sanliurfa) in southern Turkey persists as the traditional site of Abraham's birthplace and remains a pilgrimage site for Muslims.[18] It would not be until the nineteenth century that scholars began to look southward for Abraham's Ur. Although it was Leonard Woolley who first revealed the full significance of Tell el-Muqayyar in the early part of the twentieth century, by the time he published his findings, excavations at the site had already been undertaken as early as the 1850s with the work of the British archaeologist John Taylor.[19]

Taylor, however, made no connection between the site and the biblical Ur in his initial excavations. Instead, he described some of the monumental architecture (complete with rough sketches) and ceramic

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Marvin R. Wilson, ed. Steven A. Hunt (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 2010), 22–24.

17. George Bush, *Notes, Critical and Practical, on the Book of Genesis: Designed as a General Help to Biblical Reading and Instruction,* 2 vols., 3rd ed. (Andover: Gould, Newman and Saxton, 1839), 1:188–89; Paul Y. Hoskisson, "Where Was Ur of the Chaldees?" in *The Pearl of Great Price: Revelations from God,* ed. H. Donl Peterson and Charles D. Tate Jr. (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1989), 121; Wilson, *Biblical Turkey,* 49.

18. Wilson, *Biblical Turkey,* 49.

19. John E. Taylor, "Notes on the Ruins of Muqeyer," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 15 (1855): 260–76.

vessels uncovered at the site. It would not be long after Taylor that biblical scholars began to recognize the potential of Abraham's Ur being Tell el-Muqayyar. By the end of the nineteenth century, German and English scholars were beginning to make the positive association between the Ur of Genesis and the Urim of Tell el-Muqayyar as deciphered in the now-readable cuneiform texts from the site and elsewhere. Doubt lingered in the minds of some on philological grounds, but by the early twentieth century the *communis opinio* had been secured: Abraham's Ur was none other than Tell el-Muqayyar.[20]

Woolley's excavations at Tell el-Muqayyar from 1922 to 1934 revealed a tremendous amount about Ur in nearly every period of its history. His voluminous work, including his multivolume field reports *Ur Excavations* and his synthesizing (if not also popularizing) monographs such as *Ur of the Chaldees, Abraham,* and *Excavations at Ur,* revolutionized our understanding of the ancient city.[21] Funded by the British Museum and the University of Pennsylvania, Woolley's excavations uncovered graves, royal tombs (with spectacular artifacts), private houses, royal residences, temples, plentiful inscriptions, and numerous other goods and wares. Even today, public imagination is thrilled by the "Standard of Ur," the "Ram in a Thicket," and the recovered goods of the tomb of queen Puabi.

Besides providing archaeologists a veritable treasure trove of artifacts and texts helpful in reconstructing the history of Ur and southern Mesopotamia more generally, Woolley's excavations likewise—in the minds of many, at least—appeared to settle the question as to the location of Abraham's Ur. The new evidence uncovered at Ur, it was argued (including by Woolley himself), appeared to grant more than enough credibility for the historicity of Abraham. The old traditions putting Abraham's Ur in the north were dismissed,[22] and, armed with a decade's worth of excavations, Woolley illuminated Genesis and other parts of the Hebrew Bible in the light of his discoveries. His initial efforts proved

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20. Hoskisson, "Where Was Ur of the Chaldees?" 121–23.

21. Leonard Woolley and Max Mallowan, *Ur Excavations* (London: The British Museum, 1927–62); Leonard Woolley, *Ur of the Chaldees* (London: E. Benn., 1929); Leonard Woolley, *Abraham: Recent Discoveries and Hebrew Origins* (London: Faber and Faber, 1936); Leonard Woolley, *Excavations at Ur: A Record of Twelve Years' Work* (London: E. Benn. 1954); Leonard Woolley and P. R. S. Moorey, *Ur "of the Chaldees,"* rev. ed. (London: Herbert Press, 1982).

22. Woolley, *Abraham,* 57–71.

persuasive, and a generation of scholars, even those who saw problems with Woolley's work,[23] happily followed his arguments.

Ur in the Third to Second Millennium BC

With this brief history of the discovery and excavation of Tell el-Muqayyar in mind, we can now consider a quick profile of Ur during the two periods relevant to Abraham: the late third to early second millennium BC (the Ur III to Old Babylonian periods) and the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods of the mid-first millennium BC. Understanding Ur during these two periods is important, since Woolley and others have speculated not only that the historical Abraham lived sometime in the Ur III or Old Babylonian periods but also that the Genesis narrative was composed or redacted during the Neo-Babylonian period.

In undertaking any investigation into the history of Ur, one is quickly confronted with several problems. The first and most obvious is the sheer amount of history that one must wade through. In historical times, Ur as an urban area is known to have existed at least as early as 2800 BC.[24] In its earliest historical period, it was an important Sumerian city-state that—along with Uruk, Larsa, Eridu, and Lagash, to name a few others—was a key player in the political and social history of southern Mesopotamia in the Early Dynastic Period (2900–2350 BC). It continued to serve as an important religious and political city throughout the Ur III (c. 2112–c. 2004 BC), Old Babylonian (2000–1600 BC), and later Kassite (c. 1595–1155 BC) periods.[25] And this is to say nothing of the first millennium, when Ur continued as a city of no small importance during both the Neo-Assyrian (911–612 BC) and Neo-Babylonian (626–539 BC) eras.[26] As such, any look at Ur is going to have to reckon

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23. Theodor H. Gaster, "Reviewed Work: Abraham: Recent Discoveries and Hebrew Origins by Leonard Woolley," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 3 (July 1937): 529–31.

24. Marc Van de Mieroop, *A History of the Ancient Near East ca. 3000–323 BC* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 41–43.

25. Van de Mieroop, *History of the Ancient Near East,* 66–69, 72–84; J. A. Brinkman, "Ur: 'The Kassite Period and the Period of Assyrian Kings,'" *Orientalia* 38, no. 2 (1969): 310–48.

26. J. A. Brinkman, "Review: Ur: 721–605 B.C.," *Orientalia* 34, no. 2 (1965): 241–58; Jean-Claude Margueron, "Ur," in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary,* ed. David Noel Freedman, 6 vols. (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 6:766–67; J. J. M. Roberts, "Chaldea, Chaldeans," in *The New Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible,*

with several centuries of history, with some centuries being better documented and understood than others.

Van de Mieroop has noted other problems that confront us as well.[27] The first is the changing countryside around the city, which over the centuries has obscured the "numerous settlements" that almost certainly surrounded Ur.[28] A second problem related to the first is our inability to accurately date the remains of these settlements "with sufficient accuracy to be of great value for a detailed historical study." Laments Van de Mieroop, "The inaccuracies of the chronological information make it impossible to establish what settlements existed at exactly the same time. Moreover, as almost none of these sites have been excavated, they remain nameless. It is thus impossible to relate them to the textual information from Ur."[29] These and other hindrances should sober anyone attempting to reconstruct a history of Ur.

Thankfully, not all is lost, as the combined archaeological and textual evidence is able to provide a reasonable enough picture of ancient Ur. Building on the early work of Woolley and others, Van de Mieroop has carefully combed through the evidence to reconstruct Ur's size, environment, economy, populace, government, and architecture. Ur was about average size for a Mesopotamian city, rounding out at about sixty-one hectares from the early second millennium onward.[30] Compared to Babylon, Uruk, and other sites that stretched out hundreds of hectares, Ur was a rather modest city.[31] Still, Van de Mieroop's investigations reveal a metropolitan Ur in the third to early second millennium that featured: a robust temple economy that dealt in land, livestock, specialized workshops, gifts, taxes, loans, and other offerings;[32] a palace bureaucracy that oversaw economic affairs more broadly while also

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ed. Katharine Doob Sakenfeld, 5 vols. (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2006–9), 1:581–82.

27. Marc Van de Mieroop, *Society and Enterprise in Old Babylonian Ur* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1992), 17–20.

28. Van de Mieroop, *Society and Enterprise in Old Babylonian Ur,* 17.

29. Van de Mieroop, *Society and Enterprise in Old Babylonian Ur,* 18.

30. Marc Van de Mieroop, *The Ancient Mesopotamian City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 95.

31. Van de Mieroop, *Ancient Mesopotamian City,* 94–95.

32. Van de Mieroop, *Society and Enterprise in Old Babylonian Ur,* 77–105; Van de Mieroop, *Ancient Mesopotamian City,* 181.

keeping ties with the temple;[33] several private residences and prominent neighborhoods, complete with private textual archives that afford us a glance at the daily lives of the citizenry;[34] a "private" economy made up of such professions as farmers, fishers, hunters, craftsmen, textile workers, and merchants;[35] and a population of over twenty thousand persons on average and perhaps as high as two hundred thousand persons at the height of the Ur III period.[36]

All of this is in addition to the scores of sanctuaries found at Ur during the third, second, and first millennia. Andrew George has identified some eighty temples, shrines, and sanctuaries in ancient Ur ranging from the Sumerian to the Neo-Babylonian periods.[37] Of these, the most notable is without doubt the Sîn/Nanna temple and ziggurat constructed by Ur-nammu (reigned 2047–2030 BC), founder of the Ur III dynasty.[38] Besides the economy that revolved around the temple, the cultic activities that took place at the temple on behalf of the moon deity served the religious needs of the city.[39] The building of Ur's great ziggurat was most likely a part of Ur-nammu's broader campaign to consolidate the structure of the Ur III empire. This included constructing temples at multiple sites, building canals, and standardizing law codes and judicial practice.[40]

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33. Van de Mieroop, *Society and Enterprise in Old Babylonian Ur,* 107–99, 231–38.

34. Van de Mieroop, *Society and Enterprise in Old Babylonian Ur,* 121–67.

35. Van de Mieroop, *Society and Enterprise in Old Babylonian Ur,* 169–210; Van de Mieroop, *Ancient Mesopotamian City,* 185–86.

36. Van de Mieroop, *Society and Enterprise in Old Babylonian Ur,* 220–23; Mario Liverani, *The Ancient Near East: History, Society and Economy,* trans. Soraia Tabatabai (London: Routledge, 2014), 161.

37. Andrew George, *House Most High: The Temples of Ancient Mesopotamia* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1993), 180.

38. Woolley, *Excavations at Ur,* 123–40; E. Jan Wilson, "Inside a Sumerian Temple: The Ekishnugal at Ur," in *The Temple in Time and Eternity,* ed. Donald W. Parry and Stephen D. Ricks (Provo, Utah: Neal A. Maxwell Institute for Religious Scholarship, 1999), 303–33; Trevor R. Bryce, *The Routledge Handbook of the Peoples and Places of Ancient Western Asia: From the Early Bronze Age to the Fall of the Persian Empire* (London: Routledge, 2009), 744; Amélie Kuhrt, *The Ancient Near East c. 3000–330 BC,* 2 vols. (London: Routledge, 1995), 1:64–66.

39. Wilson, "Inside a Sumerian Temple," 303–33.

40. Liverani, *Ancient Near East,* 156–57.

The Ur III period also saw the rise of "an impressive set of scribal functionaries" and a scribal caste that managed the affairs of the empire and transmitted both imperial bureaucratic information and Neo-Sumerian literary culture.[41] The scribal bureaucracy was supported by the state, which leaves no surprises as to why we discover gushing royal propaganda (such as hymns to royalty) and "mythological elaborations [that] continued to be developed in response to current events."[42] This highly sophisticated scribal culture reinforces the overall cosmopolitan picture we see above when it comes to Ur in the mid-third to early second millennium.

Finally, Ur during the mid-third and early second millennium is renowned for its royal cemetery.[43] "In many cities," remarks one author, "the urban dead were buried beneath the floors of their homes. Some of these tombs were reused over multiple generations. Some cities, however, had districts that were given over entirely to the dead."[44] This appears to have been the case at Ur, "where in the centre of the town a large cemetery was in use for several centuries in the middle of the third millennium."[45] As summarized by Bryce:

> The most impressive funerary remains discovered at Ur were those of the so-called Royal Cemetery, which contained c. 2,000 graves, dating from the Early Dynastic III period through and beyond the Akkadian period (i.e. from c. 2600 to 2100). The designation "Royal Cemetery" arises from sixteen of the graves belonging to the Early Dynastic III period. They consisted of chambers made of brick or stone, and contained numerous human burials, the majority of which are believed to have been the remains of attendants interred along with the graves' principal inhabitants to serve them in the afterlife. The distinctive structure of these graves, the apparent evidence of human sacrifice, and the richness of the grave goods—which included jewellery made of gold and silver and semi-precious stones, along with an assortment of weapons, musical instruments, furniture, and other items—have led to the conclusion that they were the burial places of royalty. Whether or not the major tomb occupants were in fact Early Dynastic kings and queens remains uncertain. None of the names inscribed on

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41. Liverani, *Ancient Near East,* 166.

42. Liverani, *Ancient Near East,* 167–68.

43. Woolley, *Ur of the Chaldees,* 33–89; Woolley, *Excavations at Ur,* 52–90.

44. Jason Ur, "Southern Mesopotamia," in *A Companion to the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East,* ed. D. T. Potts (Hoboken: Blackwell Publishing, 2012), 543.

45. Van de Mieroop, *Ancient Mesopotamian City,* 83.

seals or other objects are those of kings or queens known from other sources, including the Sumerian King List.[46]

Royal or not, these burials, along with the other forms of evidence discussed, offer valuable insight into the level of civilization present at Ur during the third and second millennia. If in fact a historical Abraham was a resident of Ur during this time, he would have been living in an important metropolitan center of the ancient Mesopotamian world.

Ur in the Neo-Babylonian Period

Even if a historical Abraham lived in the third or second millennium, the record of his life was composed many centuries after his exploits. Many biblical scholars see the details about Abraham and his family recorded at the end of Genesis 11 as having been composed or redacted during the Jewish exile in Babylonia. The detail that Abraham was a native of "Ur of the Chaldeans" in Genesis 11 has been taken as evidence for such. Unlike the earlier tradition that placed Abraham in the north, this later tradition, the argument goes, originated in the exile and so naturally gave the Father of the Faithful a fitting home: the metropolis Ur. Let us therefore take a quick look at Ur during the Neo-Babylonian period to see if we might discern any convergences between the biblical text and the archaeological record.

Unfortunately for our present purposes, most authors writing about the Neo-Babylonian period have focused their attention on such cities as Babylon—the capital of the empire—at the expense of other cities. Consequently, "we know little about the history of Ur" during this time, and the city has been largely, though not entirely, overshadowed by Babylon in much of the literature.[47] This makes the present task somewhat difficult, as it forces us to piece together a history of Ur from disparate sources. Thankfully, however, enough attention has been given to Ur proper during the Neo-Babylonian period that at least a manageable picture emerges.

Ur fatefully fell to the Elamites at the end of the third millennium (2004 BC [middle dating] or 1940 BC [short dating]) and "never recovered the prominence it had during the Ur I and Ur III dynasties."[48] But

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46. Bryce, *Routledge Handbook of the Peoples and Places of Ancient Western Asia,* 743.

47. Brinkman, "Review," 241.

48. J. J. M. Roberts, "Ur," in Sakenfeld, *New Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible,* 5:717.

even in its diminished grandeur, the city was continuously inhabited for the next millennium and a half under succeeding dynasties, including the Old Babylonian kingdom and the Kassites.[49] Ur makes several appearances in Neo-Assyrian documents,[50] and even saw "a new heyday" under the governor Sin-balassu-iqbi (653 BC) in the middle of the seventh century.[51] Throughout this time the city remained "an important southern city and a religious center for the worship of the moon god."[52]

Indeed, under the reigns of Nebuchadnezzar II (c. 605–c. 562 BC) and Nabonidus (556–539 BC), Ur underwent extensive restoration and construction projects.[53] "These kings were responsible for rebuilding Ur's ziggurat as well as other temples and the temenos wall which enclosed them," notes Bryce. It thus comes as little surprise that "there were strong connections between Haran and Ur in the Neo-Babylonian period insofar as Nabonidus's mother was a devotee of the moon god of Haran."[54] Partially to uphold a continuity with the old Sîn/Nanna cult established as early as the Ur III period, the "antiquarian"[55] Nabonidus restored the great ziggurat and rededicated the cult.[56] These connections between north and south would have likely fostered at least some trade and migration. At the very least, then, it is possible that a Jewish writer composing Genesis during the exile (598–538 BC) could have imagined Abraham and his family traveling between Ur and Haran.[57]

But while Ur may have boasted many splendid temples and other smaller shrines during the Neo-Babylonian period,[58] the same cannot so much be said for most of its housing. "Private housing dating from this period was also excavated," but unlike the Ur III period, in the first millennium many of these houses were comparatively shabby and betrayed that "Ur's days as a major commercial and administrative

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49. Brinkman, "Ur," 310–48.

50. Woolley, *Excavations at Ur,* 195–215; Brinkman, "Review," 241–58.

51. Brinkman, "Review," 249.

52. Roberts, "Ur," 5:717.

53. Woolley, *Excavations at Ur,* 217–25; Roberts, "Ur," 5:717.

54. Bryce, *Routledge Handbook of the Peoples and Places of Ancient Western Asia,* 745; Yamauchi, "Abraham and Archaeology," 21.

55. Woolley, *Excavations at Ur,* 217, 232.

56. Yamauchi, "Abraham and Archaeology," 21.

57. Yamauchi, "Abraham and Archaeology," 21.

58. Woolley, *Excavations at Ur,* 228–40.

centre were now past."[59] True, coming hot on the heels of the victorious expansion of the empire, Ur and southern Mesopotamia saw some economic and population growth at the beginning of the reign of the Neo-Babylonian kings, but this was comparatively "modest," and the city never reached "the density of the time of Hammurabi [1810–1750 BC], or the levels of the Ur III and Isin-Larsa periods [2000–1800 BC]."[60]

Woolley judged that the houses he excavated northwest of Nebuchadnezzar's temenos wall would have been merely tolerable to live in and surmised that the population and economy of Ur during the Neo-Babylonian period must have been considerably paltry compared to its zenith during the Ur III period.[61] The only way Woolley could account for the "very awkward clash between town planning and [the] domestic architecture" that he uncovered was to simply see Ur's urban layout as the result of "some arbitrary authority."[62] This would make sense if in fact Ur's commercial influence had waned during the first millennium and if the Neo-Babylonian kings favored Ur as a religious rather than commercial center. "Now that trade had left it there was little reason for it to exist," Woolley concluded, which would explain the lackluster housing and urban development.[63]

It would therefore appear, based on the available evidence, that Ur never fully regained its prominence in the first millennium. Its population dwindled and its economy became relatively stagnate. Some kings enacted restoration of the monumental architecture during this time, but such did little to halt the entropy of the city. Were it not for its importance as a cultic center, we might wonder if Ur would have survived as long as it did.

The Enigmatic "Chaldeans" and Their Appearance in Genesis

Heretofore this discussion has focused on the identity and history of Ur itself. But Genesis and the Book of Abraham both specify that Abraham's Ur was "of the Chaldeans." Who, then, were the Chaldeans, and why is their mention in Genesis and the Book of Abraham important to answering the question of Abraham's homeland? In fact, the specific

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59. Bryce, *Routledge Handbook of the Peoples and Places of Ancient Western Asia,* 745.

60. Liverani, *Ancient Near East,* 545.

61. Woolley, *Excavations at Ur,* 240–43.

62. Woolley, *Excavations at Ur,* 241–42.

63. Woolley, *Excavations at Ur,* 244.

naming of the Chaldeans as being associated with Abraham's Ur is something of a historical and interpretive crux, and doubly so for those who insist on a high degree of historicity for the Abraham narratives.

Not much is presently known about the origins of the Chaldeans. We have the classical Greek authors to thank for giving us the name Χαλδαῖος, which is, according to the current consensus, the rendering of the Akkadian *Kaldu.*[64] The Hebrew rendering of the same in Genesis is כשדים,[65] although some wonder whether the כשדים of Genesis are in fact the *Kaldu.*[66] Genesis itself is silent on the history of the Chaldeans, offering no purported ancestral origin for them as it does with many other ethnic groups. True enough, later biblical accounts that take place during the reign of the Neo-Babylonian kings (for example, Jeremiah) or in Babylon itself (for example, Daniel) freely employ the ethnonym "Chaldean" as a simple designation for "Babylonian."[67]

This, however, is problematic, because, as Beaulieu explains, the Neo-Babylonian kings appear not to have used the term "Chaldean" to describe themselves. "Not only do we find no ancient claim for the Chaldean origin of the dynasty," Beaulieu notes, "but the term Chaldean does not appear even once in late Babylonian cuneiform documentation. . . . Relying solely on cuneiform sources from Babylonia, which are relatively abundant, we find no evidence that Nebuchadnezzar considered himself the ruler of Chaldeans and Arameans."[68] The Chaldean kings apparently invented a new ethnic identity for themselves upon the emergence of the Neo-Babylonian dynasty. "The reason for this sudden silence is probably ideological," Beaulieu concludes. "The new kings of Babylon adopted an archaizing political vocabulary which harked back to the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon and even to the Old

64. H. W. F. Saggs, "Ur of the Chaldees: A Problem of Identification," *Iraq* 22 (1960): 205; Richard S. Hess, "Chaldea," in Freedman, *Anchor Bible Dictionary,* 1:886.

65. Saggs, "Ur of the Chaldees," 205–6; Hess, "Chaldea," 1:886; Roberts, "Chaldea, Chaldeans," 1:581.

66. Gordon, "Abraham and the Merchants of Ura," 30; Hoskisson, "Where Was Ur of the Chaldees?" 124–27.

67. Hess, "Chaldea," 1:886; Bryce, *Routledge Handbook of the Peoples and Places of Ancient Western Asia,* 159; Paul-Alain Beaulieu, "Arameans, Chaldeans, and Arabs in Cuneiform Sources from the Late Babylonian Period," in *Arameans, Chaldeans, and Arabs in Babylonia and Palestine in the First Millennium B.C.,* ed. A. Berlejung and M. P. Streck (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013), 32.

68. Beaulieu, "Arameans, Chaldeans, and Arabs," 33.

Akkadian period. The perennial and unchanging nature of Babylonian civilization and its Sumero-Akkadian heritage was emphasized, and the reality of a society fragmented along ethnic, tribal, and linguistic lines, as well as by several other factors of social and institutional nature seems to be denied."[69] We must therefore turn to other archaeological or textual witnesses to shed whatever light we can on the origin of the Chaldeans.

The general understanding among those who have looked at this problem is threefold. First, scholars agree that the earliest textual appearance of the Chaldeans dates to shortly after the turn of the first millennium.[70] While the Chaldeans predate these sources by at least two or three centuries, and possibly more, we are yet in the dark as to their ultimate background. "No Chaldean inscriptions have survived, and virtually nothing is known of the Chaldean language, beyond the fact that Chaldean names indicate that it was a form of West Semitic."[71] That they make their first textual appearance in the Neo-Assyrian period would seem to indicate that their appearance in Genesis (and the Book of Abraham) is an anachronism.[72] It is certainly possible that sources earlier than our Neo-Assyrian texts that first describe the Chaldeans have simply not survived or have not been properly identified. However, the present state of the evidence suggests that the purported existence of Chaldeans during the time of Abraham in the third to second millennium is anachronistic.

Second, many scholars agree it is very likely that the Chaldeans are not native to southern Mesopotamia but were rather a migratory group of Semites who "appear to have entered Babylonia from the northwest some time in [the eleventh or tenth centuries], settling along the lower Euphrates and the Sealand marshlands at the head of the Persian Gulf."[73] It was there that they established the eponymous dynasty that eventually overthrew

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69. Beaulieu, "Arameans, Chaldeans, and Arabs," 51.

70. Hoskisson, "Where Was Ur of the Chaldees?" 124–25; Hess, "Chaldea," 886; Alan Millard, "Where Was Abraham's Ur? The Case for the Babylonian City," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 27, no. 3 (2001): 57; Roberts, "Chaldea, Chaldeans," 1:581; Yamauchi, "Abraham and Archaeology," 20.

71. Bryce, *Routledge Handbook of the Peoples and Places of Ancient Western Asia,* 159.

72. Woolley, *Abraham,* 63–64.

73. Bryce, *Routledge Handbook of the Peoples and Places of Ancient Western Asia,* 158.

the Neo-Assyrian empire.[74] Given their settlement in the south, Liverani goes so far as to suggest it is "highly plausible" that the Chaldeans were not even native to Syria, as most scholars maintain, but instead claimed the Arabian Peninsula as their homeland.[75] This, however, he acknowledges is little more than speculation. We simply know nothing about the Chaldeans before their mention in Assyrian sources. In any event, it appears that the identification of the Chaldeans as Babylonians as seen in the Bible and other ancient sources reflects a relatively late tradition that postdates the rise of the Chaldean dynasty proper.[76]

The third point is related to the second. It appears that the Chaldeans were related to but distinct from the Aramean tribes that migrated into Mesopotamia at around the same time.[77] Indeed, their Aramean-sounding names and close association with the Arameans in the extant Assyrian sources compels most scholars to see the two groups as somehow related, although the picture is not entirely clear.[78] Fales saw enough commonality between the two groups to postulate "a connection of the Chaldeans with the northern and western Arameans in the general perspective of a shared heritage of ethnicity; while some slight hints in the texts might more specifically point to political affiliations

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74. A. Leo Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), 160–63; John Bright, *A History of Israel* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1981), 90; Tvedtnes and Christensen, "Ur of the Chaldeans," 28–29; Hoskisson, "Where Was Ur of the Chaldees?" 124; Hess, "Chaldea," 1:886; Bill T. Arnold, "What Has Nebuchadnezzar to Do with David? On the Neo-Babylonian Period and Early Israel," in *Mesopotamia and the Bible: Comparative Explorations,* ed. Mark W. Chavalas and K. Lawson Younger Jr. (Sheffield, UK: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 335–36.

75. Liverani, *Ancient Near East,* 444–45.

76. Bryce, *Routledge Handbook of the Peoples and Places of Ancient Western Asia,* 159.

77. Hoskisson, "Where Was Ur of the Chaldees?" 124; Arnold, "What Has Nebuchadnezzar to Do with David?" 335; Alan Millard, "Chaldeans," in *Dictionary of the Ancient Near East,* ed. Piotr Bienkowski and Alan Millard (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 70; Bryce, *Routledge Handbook of the Peoples and Places of Ancient Western Asia,* 158; Frederick Fales, "Moving around Babylon: On the Aramean and Chaldean Presence in Southern Mesopotamia," in *Babylon: Wissenskultur in Orient und Okzident,* ed. Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum, Margarete van Ess, and Joachim Marzahn (Boston: De Gruyter, 2011), 95; Liverani, *Ancient Near East,* 444.

78. Beaulieu, "Arameans, Chaldeans, and Arabs," 31–55; Edward Lipiński, "The Arameans in the West (13th–8th Centuries)," in Berlejung and Streck, *Arameans, Chaldeans, and Arabs in Babylonia and Palestine,* 123–47.

of long standing between the Chaldeans and the Aramean tribes of the Middle Euphrates area."[79] Unlike the Arameans, however, the Chaldeans "quickly managed to assimilate with Babylonian culture."[80] So much so, in fact, that they eventually became identified as Babylonians altogether.

Beyond this, not much more can be deduced from the present evidence. The fact that no native Chaldean inscriptions have been recovered, to say nothing of our complete ignorance of their identity before their entrance into Mesopotamia, must demand a great deal of caution in any of our conclusions. Indeed, at least a few scholars doubt parts of the scenario presented above altogether, although their counterarguments aren't especially compelling enough to abandon this consensus wholesale.[81] Nevertheless, if the end of Genesis 11 is in fact the product of the Babylonian exile, then it is understandable how a Jewish author could have come to associate Abraham with Ur "of the Chaldeans [Babylonians]."

The Arguments for Identifying Tell el-Muqayyar as Abraham's Ur

Given this level of ambiguity, what remaining arguments have scholars made for identifying Tell el-Muqayyar as Abraham's Ur? As noted above, Woolley was not the first to propose the site as Abraham's home, but rather English and German scholars writing in the late nineteenth century who had made the connection on philological grounds. What Woolley accomplished with his excavations was to lend archaeological backing to the earlier philological arguments. For some time, Woolley's arguments complementing the philological approach appeared compelling, and indeed they still are in the minds of many. Thus, the confident remarks of the Kenneth Kitchen, who insists that Abraham's Ur "is undoubtedly to be identified with . . . Tell el-Muqayyar."[82]

Undeterred by the absence of any direct reference to Abraham or his family in the texts recovered from Ur, Woolley focused the main thrust of his argument on comparing the "local colour" of Mesopotamia

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79. Fales, "Moving around Babylon," 95.

80. Liverani, *Ancient Near East,* 444.

81. J. A. Brinkman, "Notes on Arameans and Chaldeans in Southern Babylonia in the Early Seventh Century BC," *Orientalia* 46, no. 2 (1977): 304–25; Kuhrt, *Ancient Near East,* 2:399–400.

82. Kenneth Kitchen, *On the Reliability of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 2003), 316.

in the third to second millennium with the information provided in Genesis. "If the stories about Abraham had first been put into shape after the establishment of the tribes in the Promised Land," Woolley remarked, "it would have been virtually impossible for their authors to have recovered with any degree of fidelity the local colour of the patriarchal age."[83] For Woolley, the Abrahamic and patriarchal narratives were better situated earlier than the supposed exilic date of the composition of Genesis. This, he reasoned, could be seen in how the social, cultural, political, and geographical details of Genesis converged with what his excavations had revealed.

After providing a snapshot of Ur "in the time of Abraham,"[84] which he could establish no more precisely than "in the neighbourhood of 2000 BC,"[85] Woolley went on to provide specific examples of convergences between Abraham's life in Genesis with his own findings at Ur. Woolley claimed to detect the influence of Ur all over Abraham and his actions, and so read the early chapters of Genesis accordingly.[86] Thus, Abraham's seemingly callous treatment of his concubine Hagar (Gen. 16) made perfect sense to Woolley when compared with Sumerian and Old Babylonian legal codes.[87] The idolatry of Abraham's father Terah (Josh. 24:2, 14) was seen by Woolley as reflecting a knowledge of the cult of Sîn/Nanna at Ur and Haran.[88] And even Abraham's offering up of a sacrificial ram instead of his firstborn son Isaac (Gen. 22:13) seemed to Woolley "to recall a figure stereotyped in Sumerian art of which the earliest and most vivid examples shew us the rampant he-goat tied by silver chains to the boughs of flowering shrubs."[89]

Then there was of course the fact that Genesis specified Abraham's Ur was "of the Chaldeans." This for Woolley was a dead giveaway that the author of Genesis had Tell el-Muqayyar in mind, even if it had its own complications. "The Old Testament phrase 'Ur of the Chaldees' as applied to the city of Abraham is an anachronism," Woolley conceded. This, however, could easily be explained as a case where "the writers of the sacred books of the Hebrews naturally applied to the city of Abraham's

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83. Woolley, *Abraham,* 54–55.

84. Woolley, *Abraham,* 72–117.

85. Woolley, *Abraham,* 260.

86. Woolley, *Abraham,* 143–87.

87. Woolley, *Abraham,* 148–56.

88. Woolley, *Abraham,* 231–32.

89. Woolley, *Abraham,* 162; compare Woolley, *Ur of the Chaldees,* 67–68.

birth the name by which it was known in their own time."[90] Woolley thus accepted a later date for the composition of Genesis even if he insisted the accounts recorded therein contained a kernel of historical value. For Woolley, then, the historicity of Abraham was a complicated matter, but not one that was beyond the reach of his critical methods. "Direct evidence there is none," Woolley acknowledged. "But indirect evidence is possible," and cumulatively the evidence found at Ur and elsewhere was enough to satisfy him of the reality of a historical Abraham, "an Aramean or Amorite [who] . . . lived originally at Ur in Mesopotamia."[91]

Many of Woolley's points have been reiterated over the years by scholars who likewise have confidence in the historicity of Abraham. Millard, for instance, repeats many of Woolley's arguments for identifying Tell el-Muqayyar as Abraham's Ur, including once again seeing a connection between Terah's idolatry and the moon deity cult at Ur and Haran.[92] While responsible critical scholars who accept the historicity of Abraham are careful not to raise this evidence to the level of "proof," they nevertheless follow Woolley in ascribing a higher historical value to the patriarchal narratives in Genesis, all the attending problems aside.

A Northern Ur?

It did not take long for scholars to recognize problems with Woolley's thesis, however, and a chorus of dissenting voices swelled shortly after his initial publications. The scholarly movement objecting to Woolley's identification of Tell el-Muqayyar as Abraham's Ur was spearheaded by Cyrus Gordon, who began assailing Woolley's arguments as early as the 1950s.[93] Gordon had worked with Woolley at Tell el-Muqayyar for a season in 1932, and so was familiar with his work. He was nevertheless deeply unimpressed with Woolley's attempts at "canonizing . . . Sumerian Ur as the birthplace of Abraham."[94] While equating Tell el-Muqayyar with Abraham's Ur has basically remained the scholarly consensus, a vocal minority nevertheless persists today in nipping at the heels of this consensus.

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90. Woolley, *Abraham,* 63–64; compare Yamauchi, "Abraham and Archaeology," 20.

91. Woolley, *Abraham,* 50–51.

92. Millard, "Where Was Abraham's Ur?" 53; compare Wilson, "Inside a Sumerian Temple," 322.

93. Gordon, "Abraham and the Merchants of Ura," 28–31.

94. Cyrus H. Gordon, *A Scholar's Odyssey* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000), 35.

First, there is reason to question the philological arguments made in the nineteenth century that equate Urim with Ur. Hoskisson, building off the earlier objections, explains, "If the Hebrew were based on the original Mesopotamian name for al-Muqayyar, it would have to disregard the final vowel of the Sumerian and possibly the final but unnecessary 'm.' . . . Thus, while the Hebrew 'Ur' could be the equivalent of the cuneiform 'Uri(m),' this identification has serious and probably fatal problems. It cannot be used as a sufficient reason for locating Ur at Uri(m)."[95] It would thus appear that the eagerness of the nineteenth century philologists to equate the Ur of Genesis with the Urim as rendered in the cuneiform sources is somewhat questionable.

The Septuagint preserves a textual variant that further complicates the matter. In each instance, the Septuagint renders "Ur" in the phrase "Ur of the Chaldeans" (Gen. 11:28, 31; 15:7; Neh. 9:7) as χώρᾳ ("field," "place"). Recognizing this, Hamilton observes "that the [Septuagint] reflects a tradition connecting Abraham not with the 'Ur' of the Chaldeans but with 'the land' of the Chaldeans, a designation that obviously covers a much broader territory than the southern Ur."[96] Given the likelihood, as we have seen, that the *Kaldu* were a migratory group of Semites related to the Arameans before their arrival into southern Mesopotamia, the tradition preserved in the Septuagint prompts us to consider locations for Abraham's homeland more broadly than just the area where the *Kaldu* eventually settled.[97]

Another problem with equating Abraham's Ur with Tell el-Muqayyar is that it cannot easily account for the sheer weight the biblical tradition places on situating the ancestral home of Abraham and the patriarchs in the north. Speiser bluntly states it is "beyond serious dispute . . . that the home of the patriarchs was in the district of Haran," and not Tell el-Muqayyar in the south.[98] "Any explanation" for how an "intrusive" Ur found its way into the tradition "is bound to be tenuous and purely conjectural," Speiser concludes.[99] That is, of course, only if we follow Woolley in equating Abraham's Ur with Tell el-Muqayyar. Gordon and the scholars who have followed him have instead looked to Syria and surrounding

95. Hoskisson, "Where Was Ur of the Chaldees?" 124.

96. Hamilton, *Book of Genesis,* 365.

97. Hamilton, *Book of Genesis,* 365 n. 14; Gordon, "Abraham and the Merchants of Ura," 30.

98. E. A. Speiser, *Genesis,* vol. 1 of The Anchor Bible (New York: Doubleday, 1964), 1:80.

99. Speiser, *Genesis,* 80–81.

territories for Abraham's Ur, arguing on both philological and archaeological grounds that a northern Ur would answer Speiser's objections.

Following the early arguments of Gordon,[100] scholars including Bright,[101] Lundquist,[102] Tvedtnes and Christensen,[103] Freedman,[104] Frayne,[105] and others have appealed to the wealth of documentary evidence from Mari (2900–1750 BC), Ebla (2500–2250 BC), Nuzi (1450–1350 BC), Ugarit (1450–1200 BC), and other sites in northern Mesopotamia and Syria to fashion a *Sitz im Leben* for the Genesis narratives revolving around Abraham and his family. The religious attitudes, social customs, names, and migration patterns of Abraham and his immediate descendants, per these scholars, find ready home in northern Mesopotamia and Syria and betray little awareness of the same in and around Tell el-Muqayyar. In contrast to Woolley, Bright concludes that "the patriarchal traditions show little evidence of southern Mesopotamian influence,"[106] an opinion shared by Thomas, who, while at least granting them "a degree of credit" as perhaps preserving authentic folk memories, dismisses later traditions linking Abraham with Tell el-Muqayyar (such as Abraham's idolatrous father worshipping at the cult of the moon deity) as "late, vague, and inaccurate."[107]

Utilizing Woolley's own methodology against him, Gordon dutifully scours documentation from Syrian and northern Mesopotamian cities to plausibly demonstrate how the Abrahamic narratives could fit a northern setting, even pointing to cities with an "Ur" element (that is, a toponym that features "Ur" in the name in some capacity) attested in

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100. Gordon, "Abraham and the Merchants of Ura," 28–31; Cyrus H. Gordon, "Abraham of Ur," in *Hebrew and Semitic Studies,* ed. D. Winton Thomas and W. D. McHardy (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), 77–84; Gordon, "Where Is Abraham's Ur?" 20–21, 52.

101. Bright, *History of Israel,* 90–91.

102. Lundquist, "Was Abraham at Ebla?" 225–37.

103. Tvedtnes and Christensen, "Ur of the Chaldeans," 13–28.

104. David Noel Freedman, "The Ebla Tablets and the Abraham Tradition," in *Reflections on Mormonism: Judaeo-Christian Parallels,* ed. Truman G. Madsen (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1978), 67–78.

105. Douglas Frayne, "In Abraham's Footsteps," in *The World of the Arameans I: Studies in History and Archaeology in Honour of Paul-Eugène Dion,* ed. P. M. Michèle Daviau, John W. Wevers, and Michael Weigl (Sheffield, UK: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 216–36.

106. Bright, *History of Israel,* 90.

107. D. Winton Thomas, *Archaeology and Old Testament Study* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 95.

texts from Ugarit, Ebla, and elsewhere as possible candidates for Abraham's Ur. As late as 1995, Gordon continued to argue against a southern site for Abraham's Ur, maintaining that the Uri(m) known from Sumerian and Babylonian records "is never called 'Ur of the Chaldees,'" and thus "Abraham's Ur must have been one of the many Urs far to the north of Sumer."[108] More recently, Walton acknowledges no less than six possible candidates for Abraham's Ur as attested in the textual record of Syria and northern Mesopotamia, even if in his own estimation "the case for any of them will be weak" until a positive association can be made between one of them and the enigmatic "Chaldeans" of Genesis.[109]

While other objections to equating Tell el-Muqayyar with Abraham's Ur can and have been raised,[110] it should be acknowledged that these counterarguments themselves are not decisive. Saggs,[111] Millard,[112] and others—including even Hamilton,[113] who accepts the likelihood of a northern Ur—have all either questioned some of the counterarguments proposed by Gordon and his school or altogether discount them and uphold Tell el-Muqayyar as Abraham's Ur. Saggs, for instance, questions whether Abraham was in fact a Syrian merchant, as Gordon argued by comparing Genesis with texts from Ugarit and elsewhere, and whether the כשדים in Genesis "intended to represent [the] 'Ḫaldians'" of ancient Armenia, and not the *Kaldu* of Babylonia, as Gordon has also proposed.[114]

More recently, McCarter has raised the point that the traditions and names in Genesis marshalled as evidence for a northern Mesopotamian or Syrian setting appear not to be strictly unique to the Middle Bronze Age. "In almost every specific instance, the proposed parallels between details of the patriarchal stories and information found in surviving second-millennium documents have now been disputed," McCarter

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108. Cyrus H. Gordon, "Recovering Canaan and Ancient Israel," in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East,* ed. Jack M. Sasson, 4 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1995), 4:2784.

109. John Walton, *Zondervan Illustrated Bible Backgrounds Commentary: Volume 1, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 2009), 67.

110. Hoskisson, "Where Was Ur of the Chaldees?" 126; Hamilton, *Book of Genesis,* 364–65; Gordon, "Recovering Canaan and Ancient Israel," 4:2784; Walton, *Genesis,* 67.

111. Saggs, "Ur of the Chaldees," 200–209.

112. Millard, "Where Was Abraham's Ur?" 52–53, 57.

113. Hamilton, *Book of Genesis,* 364–65.

114. Saggs, "Ur of the Chaldees," 206.

notes. "In several other cases, the phenomena in question have been identified in texts from one or more later periods, thus diminishing the importance of the parallels for dating the patriarchal tradition."[115] It would thus seem prudent at this point not to overstate what the evidence might say about the historicity of Abraham, even if the overall picture of the tradition in Genesis does in fact seem to point northward. The case for a northern Ur is itself therefore not definitive.

The Contributions (and Complications) of the Book of Abraham

As already mentioned, the Book of Abraham, like Genesis, identifies Ur of the Chaldeans as the homeland of the patriarch. But the Book of Abraham goes beyond the Genesis account by introducing Abraham in an Egyptianized Ur (to some extent). The idolatry of Abraham's father and kinsmen as recorded in the Book of Abraham (but not Genesis) included not just the worship of the apparently northwest Semitic deity Elkenah,[116] but also "the god of Pharaoh, king of Egypt" (Abr. 1:6). What's more, besides a nearby site bearing the unmistakable Egyptian name Potiphar (v. 10),[117] the local priesthood devoted to the cults of these deities implemented ritual procedures that included the giving of "offering[s] unto the god of Pharaoh . . . after the manner of the Egyptians" (v. 9). These offerings included what one might call human sacrifices performed "upon [an] altar . . . after the manner of the Egyptians" (v. 11).[118] Whether the local priesthood maintaining this syncretic cult were natives or Egyptian transplants is unspecified by the text.

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115. McCarter, "Patriarchal Age," 13.

116. See Kevin L. Barney, "On Elkenah as Canaanite El," *Journal of the Book of Mormon and Other Restoration Scripture* 19, no. 1 (2010): 22–35.

117. Potiphar has long been recognized as deriving from the Late Egyptian *pꜣ dỉ pꜣ rꜥ* ("the one whom Re has given"). While the name itself appears only after the time of Abraham, most notably in Genesis 39, the formula used to render it potentially dates to the Middle Kingdom, and thus to the time of Abraham. This suggests that the specific rendering of the name in the Book of Abraham likely reflects Joseph Smith's translation of the text in his own familiar biblical idiom. See the discussion in James K. Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt: The Evidence for the Authenticity of the Exodus Tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 84–85.

118. Muhlestein and Gee, "Egyptian Context for the Sacrifice of Abraham," 70–77. See also the tantalizing discussion in Harco Willems, "Crime, Cult, and Capital Punishment (Moʿalla Inscription 8)," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 76 (1990): 46–51.

While the added detail of an Egyptian presence or influence at or near Abraham's Ur may seem relatively insignificant at first, it in fact carries profound implications for evaluating not only the location of Ur but also the historicity of the Book of Abraham. Currently, there is no evidence for an Egyptian presence in southern Mesopotamia during the time of Abraham. This has not been lost on those who read the Book of Abraham with a skeptical eye. Stephen E. Thompson dismissed the Book of Abraham's depiction of an Egyptian presence in Abraham's homeland as "historically erroneous" on the grounds that "the Egyptians never had a strong cultural influence on Mesopotamia."[119] More recently the Sumerologist Christopher Woods insists that a southern location for Abraham's Ur "poses grave difficulties for the account given in the Book of Abraham, as there is no evidence whatsoever for the cults of the purported Egyptian gods described in the narrative or for established Egyptian practices more generally in the city."[120]

This lack of connection appears highly problematic for the historicity of the Book of Abraham if Tell el-Muqayyar is in fact Abraham's Ur. Accordingly, Latter-day Saint scholars who accept a high degree of historicity for the Book of Abraham have followed Gordon in arguing for a northern Ur.[121] Besides many of the factors explored above that appear to put Abraham in the north, a northern Ur is especially

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119. Stephen E. Thompson, "Egyptology and the Book of Abraham," *Dialogue* 28, no. 1 (1995): 158.

120. Christopher Woods, "The Practice of Egyptian Religion at 'Ur of the Chaldees'?" in *The Joseph Smith Egyptian Papyri: A Complete Edition,* ed. Robert K. Ritner (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2013), 73.

121. Tvedtnes and Christensen, "Ur of the Chaldeans," 34–35; Lundquist, "Was Abraham at Ebla?" 230–35; Hoskisson, "Where Was Ur of the Chaldees?" 127–31; Hugh Nibley, *Abraham in Egypt,* ed. Gary P. Gillum, vol. 14 of The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley, 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, Utah: The Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 2000), 234–36, 238, 247; John Gee and Stephen D. Ricks, "Historical Plausibility: The Historicity of the Book of Abraham as a Case Study," in *Historicity and the Latter-day Saint Scriptures,* ed. Paul Y. Hoskisson, vol. 18 of The Religious Studies Center Monograph Series (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 2001), 70–72; Hugh Nibley, *An Approach to the Book of Abraham,* vol. 18 of The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, Utah: The Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 2009), 418–28; John Gee, "Abraham and Idrimi," *Journal of the Book of Mormon and Other Restoration Scripture* 22, no. 1 (2013): 34–39. One Latter-day Saint author who insists on a southern Ur is Wilson, "Inside a Sumerian Temple," 322.

attractive to many Latter-day Saints if for no other reason than there is evidence for Egyptian contact with the northern Levant during the time of Abraham.[122]

But besides nullifying a potential problem for the Book of Abraham's historicity, a northern Ur would appear to converge with some of the geographical details unique to the text. For instance, the Book of Abraham identifies a certain "plain of Olishem" (Abr. 1:10) as being in the vicinity of Abraham's Ur. This specific detail has captured the attention of Latter-day Saint scholars, since there is a very high likelihood that Olishem has been identified.[123] Even Woods acknowledges the possibility that the Book of Abraham's Olishem could be identified with the Ulišum mentioned in an inscription of the Akkadian king Naram-Sin (c. 2261–2224 BC), even if he is quick to dismiss such as little more than a lucky guess on Joseph Smith's part.[124] A southern Ur, however, would

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122. Woods, "Practice of Egyptian Religion," 73–74, does not deny the evidence for this contact, but rather dismisses it as being insufficient for bolstering the Book of Abraham's claims. His quick dismissal notwithstanding, the evidence is fairly impressive, and much more persuasive than Woods is willing to admit. See Tvedtnes and Christensen, "Ur of the Chaldeans," 31–33; Gee and Ricks, "Historical Plausibility," 76–78; John Gee, "Overlooked Evidence for Sesostris III's Foreign Policy," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 41 (2004): 23–31; Gee, "Abraham and Idrimi," 35.

123. Lundquist, "Was Abraham at Ebla?" 234–35; Gee and Ricks, "Historical Plausibility," 75–76. John Gee, "Has Olishem Been Discovered?" *Journal of the Book of Mormon and Other Restoration Scripture* 22, no. 2 (2013): 104–7.

124. Woods, "Practice of Egyptian Religion," 74. The meager rationale underlying Woods's brusque denial is hardly convincing. The archaeological and inscriptional evidence presented by Latter-day Saint scholars strongly indicates the connection between Olishem and Ulišum is more than just accidental, since the two converge geographically and chronologically as well as phonetically. Additionally, while it is true that Haran appears to lie east of Olishem/Ulišum, Woods's complaint that this would effectively force Abraham to backtrack from Haran to get into Canaan is by no means fatally problematic. Haran is not so far out of the way in the east that it would be a great impediment to any subsequent migration southward. In fact, if Abraham was trying to escape not only the famine that had overtaken his home (Abr. 1:30–2:5) but also the hostile local (Egyptian?) priesthood that had just attempted to take his life (Abr. 1:12, 15), it would make sense that he would first skip east across the river to let the heat die down and gather supporters and provisions before eventually making his way into Canaan. And indeed, this appears to be precisely what is depicted in Abraham 2:14–15. For a plausible route based on this reading of the text, see Gee, "Abraham and Idrimi," 36.

effectively negate the weight of this evidence for the Book of Abraham's historicity. Abraham 1 clearly places Olishem near Abraham's Ur, not the hundreds of miles away that it would be if Abraham's Ur was Tell el-Muqayyar. It is therefore understandable why many Mormon scholars keen on upholding the historicity of the Book of Abraham would focus their attention northward and appeal to archaeological and inscriptional evidence over the source critical methods favored by others who would place Ur in the south.[125]

This particular survey of the evidence shows that the Book of Abraham appears to place Abraham's Ur in Syria, not southern Mesopotamia. If this is correct, this would refute Woolley's identification of Tell el-Muqayyar as Abraham's Ur. Or at least it would from a Latter-day Saint position that accepts the Book of Abraham's claims as admissible evidence in resolving this controversy. The question Latter-day Saint researchers must therefore answer for themselves at this point is if they are willing allow the Book of Abraham's claims to be admitted as evidence, or whether they would prefer that the Book of Abraham take a back seat to the methods utilized by others to locate Ur in the south. The answer to that question will inevitably influence how they read the text. For what it's worth, I personally favor admitting the Book of Abraham's claims as evidence in this discussion. The evidence placing the opening of the Book of Abraham (and, accordingly, Abraham's Ur) in Syria sometime around the turn of the second millennium BC is, in my estimation, compelling enough that it should not be ignored.

Conclusion

I began this investigation by asking if Genesis converges in any meaningful degree with what we presently know about Tell el-Muqayyar in either the time of the purported historical Abraham or the supposed time of the composition of Genesis. The answer on both counts appears to be negative. The brief mention of "Ur of the Chaldeans" in Genesis 11 leaves us very little in the way of historical or cultural information. In short, Genesis 11 betrays no real concrete understanding of Ur as an urban entity. What do I mean by this? I mean simply that there is practically nothing in Genesis 11 that would compel us to believe that the

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125. Bokovoy, *Authoring the Old Testament,* 173–74 n. 19. Bokovoy acknowledges that a northern Ur would allow for "the type of Egyptian cultic influence depicted in the Book of Abraham" but approvingly cites Woods's treatment and ultimately favors Tell el-Muqayyar as Abraham's Ur.

author of this text had Tell el-Muqayyar in mind. Nothing that is distinguishable about Ur appears in the text. No ziggurats or other monumental architecture. No urban settlements. No moon deity cult. No description of daily life in the city. No description of social customs or structures. No hint at a thriving scribal culture or imperial administration. The author of Genesis 11 is silent on any details that would help us confidently establish Tell el-Muqayyar as the Ur of Genesis.

Had Genesis 11 specifically indicated something like, "Ur of the Chaldeans, at which there is a large ziggurat complex dedicated to the moon deity and his consort," then the argument linking Abraham to such would be much more compelling. As it is, however, there's essentially nothing in the Genesis description of Ur that would lead us to believe the author had in mind the southern metropolis. For this reason, the editor of the revised 1982 edition of Woolley's *Ur "of the Chaldees"* felt it necessary to excise any mention of Abraham altogether.

> Ur's fame as the birthplace of Abraham has given it a special position in the literary legacy of Judaism and Islam. Contrary to the view consistently argued by Woolley, there is no actual proof that Tell el-Mukayyar, the Ur of this book, was identical with "Ur of the Chaldees" in *Genesis* 11:29–32. Nor is there any agreed opinion on the existence of Abraham himself, on his social and ethnic origins, on his history and chronology, above all on his relationship to the enigmatic chapter 14 of *Genesis.* The specialist literature debating all these questions has recently grown considerably. In view of the impossibility of providing the reader with any consensus it seemed best to write of the excavations at Ur at this time without mention of Abraham. Even if Tell el-Mukayyar should eventually be shown to have been the Biblical "Ur of the Chaldees," we still have no firm evidence from this site for the period in which Abraham might have lived. He and his people were unknown to the scribes of Ur whose tablets have so far been recovered from the site.[126]

Whatever one thinks about the arguments for identifying Tell el-Muqayyar as Abraham's Ur, it says quite a lot that Woolley's own editor at least felt the arguments for such were so weak that mention of them altogether needed to be scrubbed from one of his most important publications on the matter. Indeed, it would seem the *only* thing keeping Tell el-Muqayyar in the running as Abraham's Ur would be the specific mentioning of the Chaldeans as the ethnic group associated with the city. Even then, however, problems persist. For one thing, as seen above, we know

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126. Woolley and Moorey, *Ur "of the Chaldees,"* 9.

next to nothing of the history and ethnic and geographical background of the Chaldeans before their appearance in Neo-Assyrian records in the ninth century BC. This leaves open rather significant questions, such as whether it is possible the author or redactor of Genesis 11 (anachronistically) mistook which Ur should be associated with Abraham, whether Genesis 11 preserves an older tradition associating Abraham with the then native Aramean Chaldeans before their migration into southern Mesopotamia and we are therefore looking at the wrong stage of their history, or whether it's possible the כשדים of Genesis aren't even the *Kaldu* to begin with. Presently, we have no real way of definitively answering these questions until we can know something more about the Chaldeans before their arrival in Mesopotamia.

Unlike the vague and contradictory details provided in Genesis, the Book of Abraham appears to ground Abraham's Ur in Syria. The added geographical (Olishem/Ulišum) and cultural details (an Egyptian presence at Abraham's homeland) in the Book of Abraham make a northern location for Ur essentially inescapable. At the same time, however, problems persist for the Book of Abraham. For one thing, its text's mentioning of the Chaldeans, as with Genesis, is, according to our presently available evidence, probably anachronistic. Perhaps future findings will overturn this, but as things stand at the moment, this remains a problem for the Book of Abraham's historicity (although not a fatal one). Latter-day Saints approaching the historicity of the Book of Abraham should therefore be cautious and nuanced in how they evaluate the text's historical claims. On the other hand, the explicit naming of Olishem/ Ulišum in the Book of Abraham, as well as the depiction of an Egyptian presence in the northern Levant during the time of Abraham, reinforces its historicity. These added details missing from the Genesis narrative about the life of Abraham not only draw our attention to the north as we search for Abraham's homeland, but they also complicate attempts to dismiss the Book of Abraham as pseudepigrapha.

All things considered, I am in agreement with one archaeologist's cautious assessment. "Woolley and others quickly linked [Tell el-Muqayyar] to the biblical 'Ur of Chaldees,'" writes Eric Cline. The fundamental problem, however, is that "there were several sites in the ancient Near East that had the name Ur, just as there are many cities and towns in the United States today with the name 'Troy,' and it is not clear which city named Ur, if any, is to be associated with Abraham, just as none of the cities in the United States are actually associated with the original

Trojan War."[127] The arguments for placing Abraham's Ur in the north are rather enticing and, coupled with the added details provided in the Book of Abraham, should not be dismissed lightly. Indeed, I am personally compelled in that direction in the search to locate Abraham's Ur. But the evidence at this point, admittedly, does not definitively settle the debate one way or the other.

Additionally, even if it disputes the conclusions codified by Woolley, the Book of Abraham should be given more than incidental deference as admissible evidence in this discussion. I therefore think the wisest course for now is caution and open-mindedness. The latter is especially crucial, for if we are going to satisfactorily answer this question, we must be willing to admit new evidence into the discussion if or when it surfaces, no matter how much it might challenge the scholarly consensus or a venerated tradition.

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127. Eric H. Cline, *Biblical Archaeology: A Very Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 75.
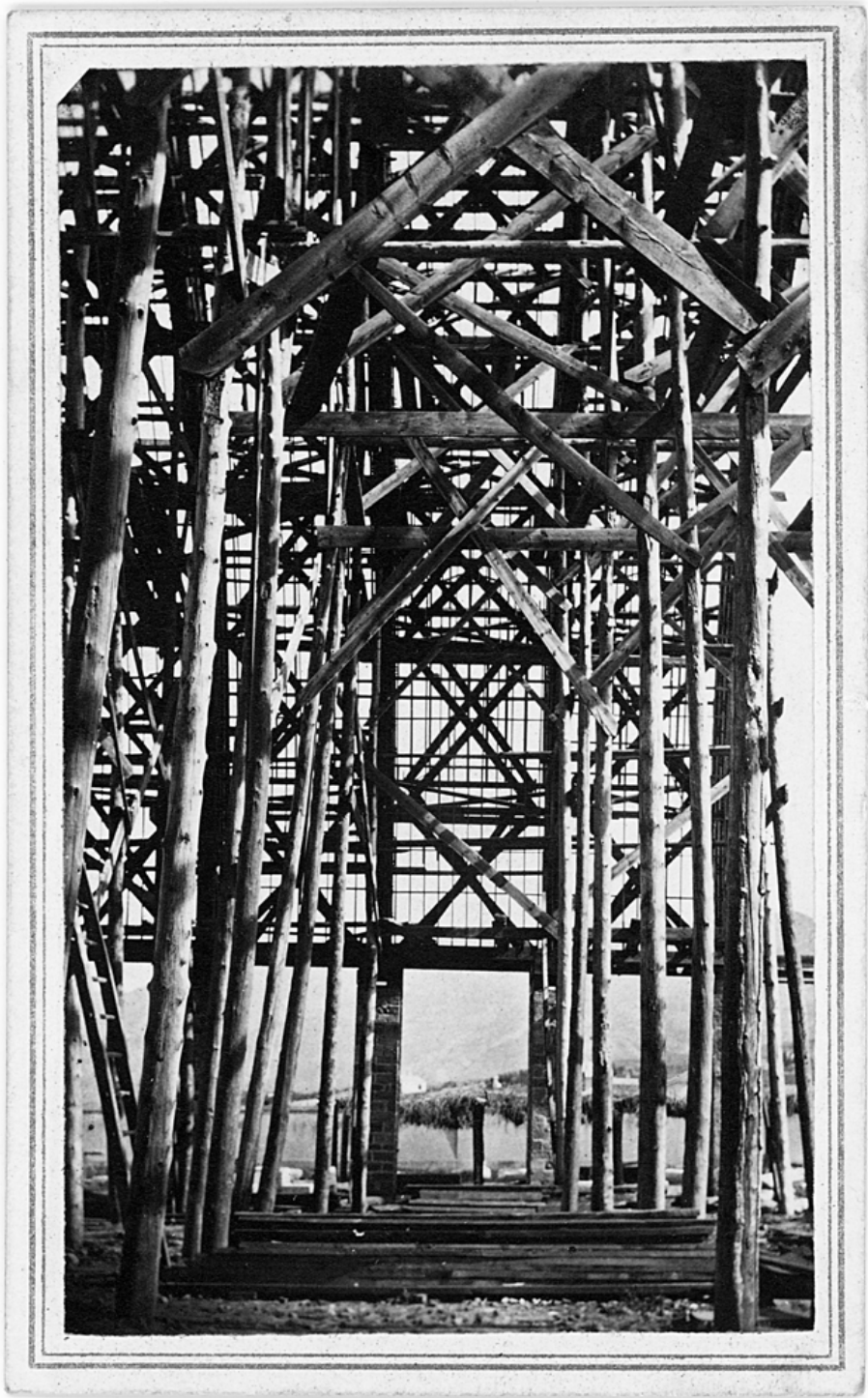
Figure 1. Salt Lake Tabernacle under construction in early 1866. The photo was taken from the interior looking north. 6.3 cm. x 10.7 cm. (2.5 in. x 4.25 in.), Edward Martin, photographer; in private possession. Used by permission.

An Edward Martin Photograph of the Construction of the Great Tabernacle

Richard Neitzel Holzapfel and Ronald L. Fox

October 2017 marks the 150th anniversary of the first general conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints held in the Salt Lake City Tabernacle.[1] On October 6, 1867, the first day of the conference, Brigham Young prayed,

> O God our Heavenly Father, who dwells in the heavens, in the name of thy Son Jesus Christ we come before thee at this time to worship thee on this occasion. . . .
>
> We pray thee in the name of Jesus to bless this congregation who have assembled within the walls of this house for the first time to worship thee. We dedicate ourselves unto thee, each and every one of us. We dedicate unto thee this house and all that pertains there unto, and pray thee in the name of Jesus Christ to give us the ability to complete the same. After we dedicate it unto the Lord of Hosts, it is then really thine.[2]

Known as the "New Tabernacle" or "Great Tabernacle" during the nineteenth century, the Salt Lake City Tabernacle became one of the most recognized buildings of Mormonism and the American West.[3]

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1. "Thirty-Seventh Semi-Annual Conference," *Deseret News,* October 9, 1867, 1.

2. "Brigham Young, October 6, 1867: Address and Prayer at the First Meeting in the Tabernacle," https://history.lds.org/article/lost-sermons-brigham-young-tabernacle-dedication?lang=eng.

3. Elwin C. Robison, with W. Randall Dixon, *Gathering as One: The History of the Mormon Tabernacle in Salt Lake City* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 2014), 25, 257–58.

During a visit to Salt Lake City on Sunday, April 26, 1953, world-renowned architect Frank Lloyd Wright said the Tabernacle was "one of the architectural masterpieces of the country and perhaps the world."[4] The construction of the Tabernacle was documented between 1864 and 1867 by numerous photographers, including Edward Martin, a lesser-known Utah pioneer photographer.[5]

Edward Martin

Edward Martin was born on November 18, 1818, in Preston, England, and was baptized by Orson Hyde in the River Ribble on October 14, 1837. Within four years, Martin emigrated from Liverpool to Nauvoo, Illinois, via New Orleans.[6] In Nauvoo, he was ordained a seventy and appointed senior president of the twenty-fourth quorum of the seventy on April 9, 1845.[7] He left Nauvoo with his family on February 15, 1846, arriving in Council Bluffs, Iowa, on June 20, 1846.[8] Less than a month later, on

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4. "Tabernacle Praised by Architect," *Deseret News,* April 27, 1953, A19.

5. The authors gratefully acknowledge the help of W. Randall Dixon in providing additional information about Edward Martin as well as Salt Lake City and the Temple Block in 1866.

6. Reid L. Neilson and Nathan N. Waite, eds., *Settling the Valley, Proclaiming the Gospel: The General Epistles of the Mormon First Presidency* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 327.

7. Certificate, Martin Family Papers, MS 14852, Church History Library, https://dcms.lds.org/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE3725436, image 23.

8. Edward Martin to John Melling, April 9, 1849, Martin Family Papers, MS 14852, image 43.

July 16, 1846, Martin enlisted in the Mormon Battalion.[9] He served as a corporal and sergeant in Company C.[10] After marching to California, Martin was discharged at Los Angeles on July 16, 1847.[11]

Martin made his way eastward to Salt Lake City with the Hancock, Hunt, Pace, and Lytle Company, arriving on October 16, 1847.[12] He discovered his family had not arrived, so he walked back to help them, arriving in Council Bluffs on December 10, 1847.[13] In the following year, Martin and his family departed the Mormon staging ground with the Heber C. Kimball Company, arriving in Salt Lake City on September 24, 1848.[14]

Four years later, Martin was called to serve a mission in England and arrived in Liverpool on February 8, 1853. After completing his missionary labors, Martin was appointed captain of a company of 856 Latter-day Saints who left Liverpool on May 25, 1856, on the ship *Horizon*.[15] Following the ship's arrival in Boston, the Saints took a train to Iowa City. Martin was assigned to be the company captain of the fifth handcart company, which contained 575 individuals, 145 handcarts, and 8 wagons. The ill-fated Martin Handcart Company departed Iowa City on July 28, 1856, and encountered early snowstorms in Wyoming in October.[16] Over a hundred lives were lost, but Martin survived and returned to Salt Lake.

Eventually, Martin advertised as a "Carriage and Sign painter" in a Salt Lake City newspaper, announcing the opening of his new "Paint Shop" in the "premises formally known as Wardle's Hall . . . two blocks west of the [Old] Tabernacle" in January 1859.[17] Martin began a career as a photographer when he opened a "new portrait gallery, opposite Walk-

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9. Power of Attorney, August 20, 1851, Martin Family Papers, MS 14852, image 19.

10. Daniel Tyler, *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War* (N.p., 1881), 121.

11. Tyler, *Concise History of the Mormon Battalion,* 298; Mexican War Service Records, 1846–48, United States National Archives, Washington D.C.

12. "Edward Martin," in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, *Mormon Pioneer Overland Travel,* https://history.lds.org/overlandtravel/pioneers/19150/edward-martin.

13. Martin to Melling.

14. Martin to Melling. See also "Edward Martin," in Church, *Mormon Pioneer Overland Travel.*

15. "Departures," *Millennial Star* 18 (June 4, 1856): 377.

16. LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion: The Story of a Unique Western Migration, 1856–1860* (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1960).

17. "New Advertisements," *Deseret News,* January 5, 1859, 188.

er's store" in 1865.[18] The "E. Martin Photography Gallery" was located on the west side of East Temple (known today as Main Street) between First and Second South in Salt Lake City.[19] Like many pioneers, Martin engaged in a variety of economic activities, including "dealer in fruit, confectionary and groceries" at the same time as he began his photography career.[20]

Martin concentrated on portrait photography printed on the most popular form of photographs in the nineteenth century, *cartes de visite* (known as CdV, a business card size). Martin also took some important panoramic views of the Salt Lake Valley, including a series of views "taken from the top of the New Tabernacle" in 1867. A collection now in the Church History Library contains twelve of Martin's views of Salt Lake featuring the Lion House, the Council House, the Salt Lake Theater, the temple construction site, and homes and businesses.[21]

By early 1874, Martin's advertisements for his photography business disappeared from local newspapers and city directories.[22] Most likely, intense competition from other well-known photographers in Salt Lake City, including Charles R. Savage and Charles W. Carter, forced him to consider another occupation. Martin was identified as a "real estate agent" in a local city directory in 1879.[23] He died on August 8, 1882, in Salt Lake City's Fourteenth Ward at the age of sixty-three.[24]

Collectors of historical photographs have long wondered whether any more Edward Martin photos might someday be found. For example, in his landmark book, *Set in Stone, Fixed in Glass: The Great Mormon Temple and Its Photographers*, Nelson B. Wadsworth dreamt, "Perhaps somewhere beneath the dust of more than a century, 'Photography

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18. "New Advertisements," *Deseret News,* January 25, 1865, 136.

19. G. Owens, comp., *Salt Lake City Directory* (New York: By the compiler, 1867), 115–16; see also Richard Neitzel Holzapfel and R. Q. Shupe, *Brigham Young: Images of a Mormon Prophet* (Salt Lake City and Provo, Utah: Eagle Gate; Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2000), 195.

20. Owens, *Salt Lake City Directory,* 74.

21. The photos can be seen online as part of the Bathsheba Wilson Bigler Smith Photograph collection (PH 8004, box 1, fd. 29), Church History Library, https://dcms.lds.org/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE7691204.

22. Peter E. Palmquist and Thomas R. Kailbourn, *Pioneer Photographers of the Far West: A Biographical Dictionary, 1840–1865* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 200), 383–84.

23. H. L. A. Culmer, ed., *Utah Directory and Gazetteer for 1879–80* (Salt Lake City: J. C. Graham, 1879), 106.

24. "Local and Other Matters," *Deseret News,* August 16, 1882, 1.

by Martin' remains to be discovered."[25] Recently, a private collector realized Wadsworth's dream when he found a previously unknown *carte de visite* photograph of the Great Tabernacle with the Edward Martin logo printed on the reverse side (figs. 1, 2).

The Great Tabernacle

Martin's photograph shows the Great Tabernacle under construction in 1866. It is no wonder that Martin would choose to photograph the Tabernacle, for the Saints had reason to be proud of the community project.[26] Architectural historian Elwin C. Robison described the magnitude of the edifice:

> Measuring two hundred fifty by one hundred fifty feet outside to outside, and holding as many as fifteen thousand people during nineteenth-century meetings, the Tabernacle missed the world record for an uninterrupted clear
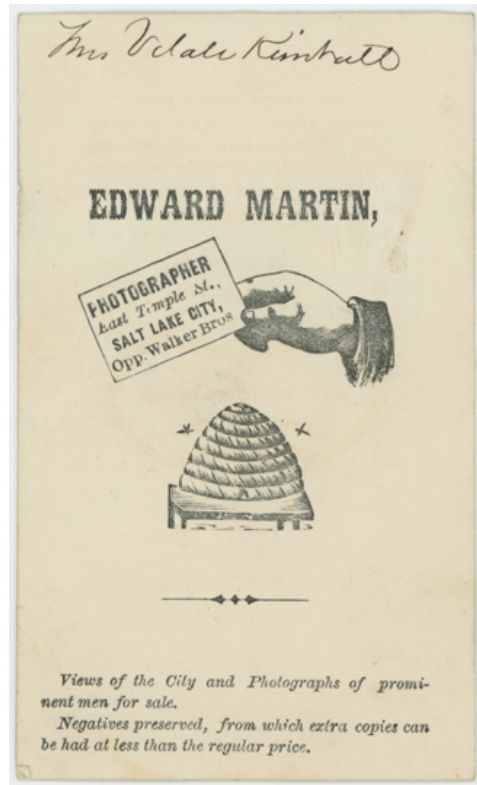
FIGURE 2. Reverse side of 1866 Tabernacle photograph with Edward Martin's logo and information, "Edward Martin, Photographer East Temple St., Salt Lake City, Opp. Walker Bros. Views of the City and Photographs of prominent men for sale. Negatives preserved, from which extra copies can be had at less than the regular price." The name at the top, "Mrs. Vilate Kimball," suggests that Edward Martin sold or gave this photograph to her; she was the wife of Heber C. Kimball, in whose company Martin had first traveled to Salt Lake City.

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25. Nelson B. Wadsworth, *Set in Stone, Fixed in Glass: The Great Mormon Temple and Its Photographers* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), 64.

26. Robison, *Gathering as One,* 21: "More than a century [after it was built], the 1971 designation of the Mormon Tabernacle in Salt Lake City as a National Engineering Landmark by the American Society of Civil Engineers validated the pride residents of the Great Salt Lake Valley had in the structure."

span by only twelve feet. The Tabernacle is still a large audience hall by today's standard, but the fact that the structure was built in a remote valley of the Great Basin with no railroad to bring in tools or materials underscores the ambition of the enterprise. . . . The push to provide an all-weather covering for the entire population of the Church resulted in a United States record for a clear span of one hundred thirty-two feet. The Tabernacle exceeded anything built in North America up to that time. . . . The lattice truss arches of the Great Tabernacle rose six stories above the valley floor.[27]

Martin's photograph was taken from inside the Tabernacle, underneath the scaffolding that was constructed to hold the truss elements in place until they could be pegged and completed.[28] The scaffolding posts in the foreground are tall tree trunks with the branches lopped off—some posts even retain their bark. There are four stone piers in the photograph's field of view. These are the four piers on the north side of the Tabernacle, flanking modern doors number seventeen through nineteen. The stone piers to the extreme left and right are mostly obscured by the scaffolding, but the center two piers are visible [fig. 3, A]. The four trusses bearing on the stone piers are visible as well. However, the two trusses toward the center of the photograph are in the center of the camera's field of vision, and, consequently, only the bottom chord of the truss is visible. The truss to the right in the photograph is obscured by the scaffolding, but the remaining truss is far enough to the left of the field of vision that the diagonal planks on the side of the truss are visible through the scaffolding [B]. The thin rafters are in place between the trusses, ready to receive the roof sheathing (boards) that will be nailed to the rafters.

Behind the tabernacle is a shaded work area covered with brush and boughs [C]. Behind the shade pavilion is the adobe wall that encircles Temple Square, known as the Temple Block in the nineteenth century. The top of the wall is obscured by the shade pavilion, but to the left of the photograph the coping stones at the top of the wall can be seen through the scaffolding posts [D]. Above the wall, several houses and outbuildings are visible on Arsenal Hill, known today as Capitol Hill, north of Temple Square [E].

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27. Robison, *Gathering as One,* 21–22, 24.

28. The authors gratefully acknowledge Elwin C. Robison in providing the architectural descriptions found in this and the two following paragraphs. He also first identified the orientation of the view—looking north.

Figure 3. *A:* stone piers. *B:* wooden truss. *C:* shaded work area. *D:* wall surrounding the Temple Block (Temple Square). *E:* buildings on Arsenal Hill (Capitol Hill), north of Temple Square.

Martin's photograph was taken before roof sheathing was installed on the north side of the Tabernacle. The *Deseret News* reported in June 1866, "The sheeting [roof sheathing] for the roof of the new Tabernacle is beginning to glisten in the strong glare of the sun, in its proper place, being covered with a coating of lime to prevent the heat drawing the wood. It looks like the paddle wheel of a hundred Great Eastern's [a famous iron steamship][29] built together, and is as novel in appearance as it is unique in design and massive in dimensions."[30] Since roof sheathing has not yet been installed in the photograph, this dates the image to the spring or early summer of 1866.

Edward Martin captured a singular view from inside the Tabernacle during the construction in early 1866. During the last one hundred and fifty years, the Tabernacle has hosted Sunday worship meetings and, until the year 2000, general conference sessions. Since 1929, it has been the home of the Sunday morning radio broadcast of the Mormon Tabernacle Choir's "Music and Spoken Word." It has been the place of many celebrations, concerts, and speeches by famous leaders including U.S. presidents. Interestingly, the Tabernacle has also been the site of the funerals of the presidents of the Church except Joseph Smith, who died in Illinois, and Gordon B. Hinckley, whose funeral was held in the LDS Conference Center on North Temple Street in Salt Lake City.[31] It seems fitting that the unique Edward Martin photograph was found and can be published at a time when members of the Church are reflecting on this marvelous building and the events that have happened there.

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29. The *Great Eastern* was launched in 1859 and served as a passenger liner between Great Britain and North America until it was converted to a cable-laying ship and laid the first permanent transatlantic telegraph cable in 1866. Instead of screws, the *Great Eastern* primarily used paddle wheels for propulsion. George S. Emmerson, *S.S. "Great Eastern": The Greatest Iron Ship* (Exeter, UK.: David and Charles, 1981).

30. "The New Tabernacle," *Deseret News*, June 21, 1866, 229. The authors kindly thank Darryl Jones for this reference.

31. Robison, *Gathering as One,* 221.

history. He is the author of numerous books and articles in Latter-day Saint history and Mormon historic photographs.

Ronald L. Fox attended California State University at Fullerton. He was employed by the California Assembly and Senate and served for over twenty years as a corporate governmental affairs representative. For over forty-three years, he served six U.S. presidents as a professional volunteer advance-man traveling the country and the world, responsible for visits and events by the president. He has coauthored two books: *When the White House Comes to Zion,* with Michael K. Winder; and *Visions of Freedom,* with Michael De Groote. He is known as a researcher and expert on early photography; he discovered the earliest individual and family photographs of President Wilford Woodruff and the only known photograph of John Perry, first conductor of the Mormon Tabernacle Choir.

I Have Traced a Jagged Autumn

I have traced the paths of jagged autumn,
Found in the lightninged veins of maple leaves
Heaven's design to become the bottom,

To shed life, giving it up for rotten
Forest floors, a colored collapse that weaves
Sky and ground in strands of jagged autumn.

We collect the fragile, windblown emblems,
Place them into books, trying to believe
We can rescue heaven from the bottom.

Crying to our God, "the sky has fallen,"
We see the twisted nakedness of trees
Their bare-branched prayers through jagged-autumn,

Reminding us of what we have forgotten—
The contours of the land that no one sees
Except when heaven has touched the bottom.

We confuse death with depth of red on plum,
But the vibrant grasp at life finds reprieve
Birthed again beneath the jagged autumn
Through heaven's design to embrace the bottom.

—Scott Cameron

This poem won first place in the 2017 Clinton F. Larson
Poetry Contest.

The Ancient Doctrine of the Two Ways and the Book of Mormon

Noel B. Reynolds

From its opening pages to the end, the Bible describes a bifurcated world in which God bids, commands, and teaches the people he has created to follow him in the way of righteousness, and in which the devil leads people into wickedness. And while great blessings and cursings are promised and realized in this life according to which way people choose to live their lives, the final judgment comes after this life when all will be judged according to whether they chose to follow good or evil. This way of seeing things surfaces explicitly in various texts and is known among scholars as the Doctrine of the Two Ways. It tends to appear in pedagogical contexts—and especially when God or his prophet is calling the wayward to repentance or to a renewal of covenants. This motif of an ongoing competition between good and evil for the souls of God's children is not unique to the Bible but also occurs in the literature of many ancient cultures.

The principal scholarly discussions of the Two Ways doctrine over the last six decades have focused on noncanonical Jewish and Christian texts from the Greco-Roman era[1] in which the doctrine took on a more elaborate form—in a familiar kind of debate over the dating and sources for different writings. Much less attention has been given to the forms the doctrine takes in older biblical texts or in the writings of nonbiblical cultures in the ancient world.

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1. Scholars have given the label "Greco-Roman" to the Mediterranean cultures that prevailed between the transfer of Persian control of Egypt to Alexander in 332 BCE and the disintegration of the Roman Empire in 395 CE.

Noel B. Reynolds

Scholars have long recognized that a number of ancient cultures shared a traditional Doctrine of the Two Ways that could be used to instruct youth and others in the right way to live their lives. While the language of the Two Ways surfaces on occasion in both the Old and New Testaments, the doctrine is not developed or explained in any detail in the Bible. However, noncanonical texts of the Greco-Roman period display a highly developed and stylized form of the doctrine in both Jewish and Christian traditions. The earliest known version of these stylized forms of the doctrine occurs in nonbiblical writings such as Hesiod and some early Persian texts but does not surface in the writings of biblical peoples until after the exile.

While LDS scholar Hugh Nibley often noted in his voluminous writings that the Book of Mormon writers also used the Two Ways doctrine, no one has yet undertaken a comparison of the Nephite teaching with these others. Because the Nephite prophets often referred to their central teaching of the gospel or doctrine of Christ as "the way" or "the right way," I have undertaken this study to determine the extent to which their approach depends on any of these historical versions and to explore the ways in which their teaching may offer original explanations or formulations. An examination of a selection of prominent occurrences of the Doctrine of the Two Ways in the Book of Mormon shows that Book of Mormon usage is fully consistent with biblical examples, but that it goes far beyond them in providing background explanations for the Doctrine of the Two Ways as the Nephite prophets adapt it to the gospel revealed to them by Jesus Christ. Further, these passages display no familiarity with the stylized rhetorical form of the doctrine that characterizes the noncanonical Jewish and Christian texts of the Greco-Roman period.

While the same teaching has been noticed in the Book of Mormon, there is as yet no study that examines the Book of Mormon presentations systematically to identify the ways in which they might follow any of the ancient versions of the Two Ways doctrine, or the ways in which these might feature original formulations. In this paper, I will show that the Book of Mormon writers did retain most elements of the earliest biblical teaching, but with enriched understandings and unique formulations featured in the even more frequent recurrence of the Doctrine of the Two Ways in their prophetic teachings than found elsewhere. In the process, we will discover that their employment of the Two Ways doctrine clearly served Book of Mormon writers as a device to facilitate the understanding of the gospel of Jesus Christ generally as the one true way by which men and women can find salvation—and specifically as an explanation of the fundamental necessity of repentance and obedience to the laws or covenants they had received from God. The Book of Mormon text refers to the gospel of Jesus Christ as "the way" or "the path" 108 times—even more frequently than the 67 times it uses the terms "doctrine" or "gospel."[2]

The Doctrine of the Two Ways in the Bible

Genesis. The Two Ways are introduced but not developed in the opening drama of Genesis as Adam and Eve are divinely commanded in one thing that is then contradicted by the serpent. They followed the serpent's direction, instead of God's, gaining the ability "to know good and evil" as a result, and subsequently were cursed and driven out of the Garden of Eden (Gen. 3). The Hebrew word for *road* or *way* (*derek*) is used once as a flaming sword was placed by the Lord God "to keep *the way* of the tree of life" (Gen. 3:24).[3] While we traditionally interpret this to mean the sword guards or protects the tree of life, the Hebrew for *keep* here is *shamar,* which also has another primary meaning of *observe* as used next in Genesis two times in the Lord's instructions to Abraham that he and his posterity should *keep* the covenant or the *way of the Lord* (Gen. 17:9–10).[4]

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2. See Noel B. Reynolds, "This Is the Way," *Religious Educator* 14, no. 3 (2013): 79–91.

3. Throughout the paper, I have introduced italics to focus the reader's attention on key words in quoted materials.

4. If "the way of the Lord" and "the way of the tree of life" were interpreted to refer to the same thing, we might expect Nephi and Lehi to read this as

David Calabro helpfully points out that "the Hebrew phrase . . . translated as 'the way of the tree of life' in the King James version of Genesis 3:24, could also be translated as 'the path leading to the tree of life,'"[5] a reading recognizable in Lehi's dream in 1 Nephi 8.

In the very next pericope, this opposition is reformulated and generalized in the Lord's response to Cain: "If thou *doest well,* shalt thou not be accepted? and if thou *doest not well,* sin lieth at the door" (Gen. 4:7). The Hebrew *yāṭab* here suggests that *doing well* will be measured by acting or living in a way that will be pleasing to the Lord and according to one's covenant with him. Congruent with the metaphor of God's covenant or way of life as a road or path is the language of walking in his way. We are told twice that Enoch "*walked* with God" (Gen. 5:22–24). Noah also "*walked* with God," but no one else did in his generation. Rather, "all flesh had corrupted his [God's] *way*" (Gen. 6:9, 12).

The language of Genesis shifts explicitly to the parallel terminology of covenant keeping when Abraham comes on the scene. "And I will establish my covenant between me and thee and thy seed after thee in their generations for an everlasting covenant, to be a God unto thee, and to thy seed after thee." Further, Abraham is admonished that both he and his posterity must "keep my covenant" (Gen. 17:7, 9). Then, in the lead-up to the Sodom and Gomorrah crisis, the Lord states his confidence in Abraham and his posterity, for "they shall *keep the way of the Lord,* to do justice and judgment" (Gen. 18:19).

The Abraham narrative also introduces the covenant language of blessings and cursings, which will also come to be associated with the Doctrine of the Two Ways. In the first announcement of this covenant with Abraham, the Lord tells him, "And I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and make thy name great; and thou shalt be a blessing: And I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee: and in thee shall all families of the earth be blessed" (Gen. 12:2–3). The blessing is confirmed again and linked to obedience when the Lord speaks to Abraham after his trial with Isaac: "And in thy seed

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a reference to the gospel or "the way," which is "the only and true doctrine" "whereby man can be saved in the kingdom of God" (2 Ne. 31:21). Our task then would be to discover how the flaming sword would contribute to observing the commandments associated with the gospel.

5. David Calabro, "Lehi's Dream and the Garden of Eden," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 26 (2017): 275 (forthcoming), online at http://www.mormoninterpreter.com/lehis-dream-and-the-garden-of-eden/.

shall all the nations of the earth be blessed; because thou hast obeyed my voice" (Gen. 22:18).

The content of that obedience is specified more fully when the Lord renews the covenant with Abraham's son Isaac: "Sojourn in this land, and I *will be with thee,* and will bless thee; for unto thee, and unto thy seed, I will give all these countries, and I will perform the oath which I sware unto Abraham thy father; and I will make thy seed to multiply as the stars of heaven, and will give unto thy seed all these countries; and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed; because that Abraham obeyed my voice, and kept my charge, my commandments, my statutes, and my laws" (Gen. 26:3–5). Jacob used similar language in vowing to worship the Lord, if he would "be with me, and will *keep me in this way* that I go" (Gen. 28:20). Seven chapters later he invokes the same phrasing in acknowledging that God "was with me *in the way* which I went" (Gen. 35:3).

As the foundational introductory framework for the whole of the Torah, the Two Ways doctrine seems to be implicit in the Genesis treatment of God's people from Adam and Eve down through the patriarchs. While the way of evil is only suggested or named, "the way of the Lord" is characterized as a road or path that he walks and invites his human followers to walk with him. By implication, any other path people choose for themselves would be the wrong or the evil path. Beginning with Abraham, the language of covenant is introduced, and walking with God is rephrased as keeping his commandments, statutes, and laws. And blessings or cursings in this world will come to men and women as they do or do not keep those commandments. While the devil was introduced as an author of alternate ways for Adam and Eve, his role is not much mentioned in subsequent accounts.

Psalms and Proverbs. The ancient wisdom literature of Israel also uses the Two Ways doctrine extensively and more explicitly, but it sometimes resembles other ancient cultural traditions as much as it reflects the Israelite tradition of Genesis.[6] The proverbs are usually framed as advice from a wise father to his youthful son in language that works for any culture and does not depend exclusively on the covenant structure of Abrahamic religion with its revealed commandments, laws, and

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6. A leading authority on Jewish literature of the period, George Nickelsburg, has observed that the idiom of the two ways is "typical of biblical and post-biblical wisdom literature." See George W. E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch: A New Translation* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2004), 10.

statutes. Proverbs 2:10–23 provides an excellent example, as is well demonstrated in four selected verses:

> Who leave the paths of uprightness,
>   to walk in the ways of darkness. (Prov. 2:13)

> Whose ways are crooked
>   And they froward in their paths. (Prov. 2:15)

> Which forsaketh the guide of her youth,
>   and forgetteth the covenant of her God. (Prov. 2:17)

> That thou mayest *walk in the way of good men,*
>   and *keep the paths of the righteous.* (Prov. 2:20)

Obviously, the underlying binary structure of the proverbs lends itself structurally to the Two Ways tradition and repeatedly invokes the imagery of competing paths or ways in the parallel structure of these simple couplets.

It may be helpful as a side note to recognize here how scriptures in both the Bible and in the Book of Mormon speak of each of the Two Ways in singular and plural terms. Just as Proverbs 2:13 speaks of "paths of uprightness" and "the ways of darkness," so also Mosiah 4:15, 29 will refer to "the ways of truth and soberness" and "the ways of sin." I see these variations in the language of the Two Ways to be easily reconciled by the observation sometimes made explicit in these texts that while the Two Ways identified in general terms are to follow the path God gives us or the path the devil tempts us to take—usually by relying on our own wisdom or desires for guidance. But in reality, each of these two paths is many simply because we are many, and the actual lives two righteous people live will be different in many respects, and the same can be said for the lives of the wicked—who are each following the course of their own wisdom. This way of thinking about it invariably makes sense for me of the plural language that surfaces in many of the scriptural passages that will be discussed below.

The psalms assume the same division of mankind into two groups, the wicked and the righteous, and also use the imagery of their ways or paths in various contexts:

> Blessed *is* the man that *walketh* not in the counsel of the ungodly,
>   nor *standeth in the way* [or *path*] of sinners,
>   nor *sitteth in the seat* of the scornful. . . .
> For the Lord knoweth *the way of the righteous*:
>   but *the way of the ungodly* shall perish. (Ps. 1:1, 6)

Lead me, O Lord, in thy righteousness because of mine enemies;
    make thy way straight before my face. (Ps. 5:8)

Oh let the wickedness of *the wicked* come to an end;
    but establish the just:
        for the *righteous* God trieth the hearts and reins. (Ps. 7:9)

Centuries later, the writers of Qumran and the early Christians will draw on these words and teachings from the Psalms, as discussed below.

Deuteronomy. The later Jewish and Christian expansions of the Doctrine of the Two Ways will also lean heavily on familiar formulations drawn from Deuteronomy. In Deuteronomy 11, we read, "Behold, I set before you today a *blessing* and a *curse*: the *blessing, if you obey the commandments* of the Lord your God which I command you today; and the *curse,* if *you do not obey the commandments* of the Lord your God, but turn aside from the *way* which I command you today, to go after other gods which you have not known" (Deut. 11:26–28 NKJV). In Deuteronomy 30, this blessing and cursing is expanded: "See, I have set before you today life and good, death and evil" (Deut. 30:15 NKJV) with the added explanation and admonition "that I command you today to love the Lord your God, to *walk in His ways,* and to *keep his commandments,* His Statutes, and His Judgments, that you may live and multiply; and the Lord your God will *bless* you in the land which you go to possess" (30:16 NKJV). The negative possibility is also expanded: "But if your heart *turns away* so that you do not hear, and *are drawn away,* and worship other gods and serve them, . . . you shall surely *perish*" (30:17–18 NKJV). The concluding admonition becomes "*choose life,* that both you and your descendants may *live*; that you may love the Lord your God, that you may *obey His voice,* and that you may cling to Him, for He is your *life*" (30:19–20 NKJV). This choice between the ways of life and death will become thematic for some of the later Two Ways traditions, as well as for Book of Mormon writers.[7]

The Prophets. Finally, the Two Ways doctrine is also found in the third part of the Hebrew Bible, the Prophets. For example, Jeremiah reduces the choice of ways to life and death: "Behold, I set before you

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7. Mack Stirling has examined much of the Two Ways material in the Book of Mormon in his doctrinal study on the ways of life and death. See Mack C. Stirling, "The Way of Life and the Way of Death in the Book of Mormon," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 6, no. 2 (1997): 152–204.

the way of life and the way of death" (Jer. 21:8 NKJV). Isaiah famously distinguished between the ways of man and of God:

A   For my thoughts are not your thoughts,
  B   neither are your *ways* my *ways,* saith the Lord.
     C   For as the heavens are higher than the earth,
  B′   so are my *ways* higher than your *ways,*
A′   and my thoughts than your thoughts. (Isa. 55:8–9)[8]

Ezekiel extends a similar idea in much more detail. Ezekiel 18 explains how the Lord holds all people responsible for their own sins and not those of others—not even the sins of their parents or their children—and rewards both the righteous and the wicked according to their willingness to repent effectively. Restating and summarizing at the end of the chapter, he writes:

> Yet ye say, *The way of the Lord* is not equal (fair). Hear now, O house of Israel; Is not *my way* equal? are not *your ways* unequal? When a righteous man turneth away from his righteousness, and committeth iniquity, and *dieth* in them; for his iniquity that he hath done shall he *die.* Again, when the wicked man turneth away from his wickedness that he hath committed, and doeth that which is lawful and right, he shall save his soul *alive.* Because he considereth, and turneth away from all his transgressions that he hath committed, he shall surely *live,* he shall *not die.* Yet saith the house of Israel, *The way of the Lord* is not equal. O house of Israel, are not *my ways* equal? are not *your ways* unequal? Therefore I will judge you, O house of Israel, every one according to *his ways,* saith the Lord God. Repent, and turn yourselves from all your transgressions; so iniquity shall not be your ruin. (Ezek. 18:25–30)

With that explanation in place, Ezekiel then restates the Lord's call to Israel to abandon their transgressions, to get themselves a new heart and a new spirit—to repent and live, and not die (Ezek. 18:31–32).

New Testament. Not surprisingly, the writers of the New Testament perpetuate the Doctrine of the Two Ways, although with new applications. Jesus used the image of Two Ways somewhat differently, with the same emphasis on life and death, but emphasizing the ease of the way that leads to destruction and the difficulty of the way that leads to life. "Enter by *the narrow gate*; for wide is *the gate* and broad is *the way* that leads to *destruction,* and there are many who go in by it. Because narrow is the *gate* and difficult is *the way* which leads to *life,* and there are few

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8. Later Jewish, Christian, and Nephite writers emphasize other Two Ways references from Isaiah (2:3, 5; 3:12; 8:11, 20; 9:2; 40:3; 48:17; 49:9, 11).

who find it" (Matt. 7:13–14 NKJV). He also taught "I am *the way, the truth, and the life.* No one comes to the Father except through Me" (John 14:6 NKJV), and some early Christians apparently referred to their church or its gospel as "*the way.*" As Aaron Milavec explains:

> The notion that there are two well-defined paths would have been familiar to a Jewish audience. . . . Psalm 1, for instance, contrasts "the way of the righteous" with "the way of the wicked." The first-named are defined as those who "delight . . . in the law [Torah] of the Lord" (Ps 1:2). Standing in this tradition, it is no surprise that the Jesus movement was known in some circles as "the Way" (Acts 9:2; 19:9, 23; 22;4; 24:14, 22). This was undoubtedly due to the fact that its members were trained in "the way of salvation" (Acts 16:17), "the way of the Lord" (Acts 18:25), or "the way of God" (Acts 18:26)—terms used repeatedly in the Septuagint. In 2 Peter false teachers are spoken of as having left "the way of truth" (2:2), "the right way" (2:15), "the way of righteousness" (2:21) in order to follow "the way of Balaam" (2:15). According to the Q Gospel, Jesus contrasts "the narrow gate" with "the wide gate" (Matt 7:13–14; Luke 13:23–24). The former "way is hard" but "leads to life" while the latter "way is easy" but "leads to destruction." In each of these cases the two-way mentality is evident, yet, in none of them is there the suggestion that the *Didache* was known or used to flesh out the exact meaning of the Way of Life.[9]

Noncanonical Jewish and Early Christian Two Ways Texts

While the Doctrine of the Two Ways surfaces in only a few biblical passages, a much larger number point to one or the other of the two ways—either the ways of God or of men—assuming that the hearer is aware of the other, which will make the meaning clear. Some of these passages have received more attention than others from the scholars who, since the 1960s, have analyzed the uses and origins of the Doctrine of the Two Ways in the Bible and in associated literatures. Much of this attention was stimulated by Robert Kraft's 1965 translation and joint commentary on *Barnabas* and *Didache,* two early Christian texts that borrow the language of Deuteronomy and Jeremiah and illustrate the importance of this motif in early Christian literature.[10] While the bulk of this scholarly literature focused on standard dating and source issues raised by

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9. Aaron Milavec, *The Didache: Text, Analysis, and Commentary* (Collegeville, Minn: Liturgical Press, 2003), 45.

10. Robert A. Kraft, *The Apostolic Fathers: A New Translation and Commentary,* vol. 3, *Barnabas and Didache* (New York: Thomas Nelson, 1965).

these two documents, the emergence of the Dead Sea Scrolls in this same time period raised new questions as it became evident that earlier Jewish documents exhibited an emphasis on a version of the Two Ways doctrine that was represented subsequently in these Christian texts.[11] Form critic Klaus Baltzer accommodated all these developments with his claim that the Doctrine of the Two Ways developed in Jewish writings from "the basic commandment 'to walk according to God's ways.'"[12]

The *Didache* is usually treated as a key text by scholars of early Christianity because of its generally accepted antiquity and its presumed function as a catechism for Christian converts possibly even in the first century and because it announces this doctrine in its opening lines:

> There are two ways: one of life and one of death!
> (And) [there is] a great difference between the two ways.[13]

But the similarities of this text with *Pseudo-Barnabas* and some others have led scholars to divide over which text might have been the source for the other, or whether—even more likely—both are drawn from an even earlier Two Ways text.[14]

While many questions about the original composition, influence, and uses of *Barnabas* and *Didache* continue to attract significant scholarly inquiry, these documents make it quite clear that the Christians of the first and second centuries did have a Doctrine of the Two Ways that likely played a significant role in the catechization of converts and in preaching repentance to the faithful.[15] In these and other sources, it is evident that the early Christians were drawing on both Old and New Testament sources, as well as other contemporary writings such as the Dead Sea text from Qumran.

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11. This can be readily seen in the Damascus document, the Community Rule, and in the lesser-known Fragment 4Q473—all of which will be discussed in more detail below.

12. Klaus Baltzer, *The Covenant Formulary in Old Testament, Jewish, and Early Christian Writings,* trans. David E. Green (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), 180.

13. *Didache* 1:1, Milavec translation, p. 3.

14. Kraft, *Apostolic Fathers,* 3:4–16, presents an extended study of the possible relations between these and other related texts, without any clear conclusions.

15. See James N. Rhodes, "The Two Ways Tradition in the *Epistle of Barnabas*: Revisiting an Old Question," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 73, no. 4 (2011): 797–816, for a helpful reflection on the scholarly debates of the last six decades and discussion of some current issues.

The Dead Sea Scrolls. As already mentioned, much of the earlier scholarship that viewed the flowering of the Two Ways teaching as a Christian development had to be reconsidered after the earlier texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls became available. The opening exhortation of the Damascus Document speaks copiously of and repeatedly opposes "the ways *of evil,*" "the paths *of sin,*" and following "their own will" or "willful hearts" or the "will of his own spirit," instead of turning to God's "*wonderful* ways," "the *proper* way," "paths of righteousness," or even God's "*mysterious* ways." Apostates from the new covenant are described in this same highly charged text as having "*traitorously* turned *away* from the *fountain of living water.*"[16] The Community Rule compiles rules for those who have entered this new eternal covenant with God and see themselves as Children of Light or The Way. In absolute terms, this document says that they were foreordained to "walk *faultless* in all the ways of God," without turning aside to "*the right nor the left*"—not deviating "in *the smallest detail* from all of His words." Recognizing the human tendency to "walk in the *stubbornness*" of their own hearts, initiates should seek "atonement for a man's ways." God has strictly appointed for humankind "*two spirits* in which to walk until the time ordained for His visitation. These are the spirits of truth and falsehood." While the righteous "walk in the paths *of light,*" the wicked "walk in the paths *of darkness.*" For the Sons of Light, the God of Israel and his Angel of Light are said to completely enlighten "a man's mind, making straight before him the paths of true righteousness and causing his heart to fear the laws of God," engendering "*humility, patience,* abundant *compassion,* perpetual *goodness, insight, understanding,* and powerful *wisdom*" in the process.

The path one chooses absolutely determines one's rewards in this life and the next. "All who walk in this spirit will *know healing, bountiful peace, long life,* and multiple *progeny,* followed by eternal blessings and perpetual joy through life everlasting. They will abundantly receive a *crown* of glory with a *robe of honor,* resplendent forever and ever." While on the other extreme, "the operations of *the spirit of falsehood* result in greed, neglect of righteous deeds, wickedness, lying, pride and haughtiness, cruel deceit and fraud, massive hypocrisy, a want of self-control and abundant foolishness, a zeal for arrogance, abominable

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16. All references to the Dead Sea Scrolls are taken from Michael Wise, Martin Abegg Jr., and Edward Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1996). These phrases are excerpted from pages 51–61.

deeds fashioned by whorish desire, lechery in its filthy manifestation . . . to the end of *walking* in all the *ways of darkness* and *evil cunning.*" "The judgment of all who walk in such *ways* will be multiple afflictions at the hand of all the *angels of perdition,* everlasting damnation in the wrath of God's furious vengeance, never-ending terror and reproach for all eternity, with a shameful extinction in the fire of *Hell's outer darkness.*"[17]

The Qumran community derived the simple label of "the *Way*" from Isaiah. People who progress "conforming to these doctrines . . . shall separate from the session of perverse men to go to the wilderness, there to prepare the *way* of truth, as it is written, 'In the wilderness prepare the *way* of the Lord, *make straight* in the desert a *highway* for our God'" (Isa. 40:3).[18] But much further direction was provided for the instructor of "those who have chosen the *Way.*" He is to instruct them "in truly *wondrous* mysteries" that "the *secret* Way [may be] *perfected* among [them]." "Each will walk *blamelessly*" in this time of "preparing the way." "These are the precepts of the Way for the Instructor in these times."[19] These expressions clearly reflect development well beyond its canonical predecessors.

Finally, the small fragment known only as 4Q473 as reconstructed presents the Doctrine of the Two Ways in almost the same Deuteronomic language that would be used a century or so later to open that discussion in *Didache.* "He is setting [before you a blessing and a curse. These are] t[wo] *ways,* one goo[d and one evil. If you walk in the good *way,*] He will bless you. But if you walk in the [evil] *way,* [He will curse you]."[20] In this text, the Two Ways doctrine seems to reflect only the older tradition.

The Form Critical Perspective of Margaret McKenna. Probably because of its much broader approach to the Two Ways traditions in early Christian writers, the 1981 PhD dissertation of Margaret McKenna seems not to have been used by any of the numerous writers on this topic over the last three decades, including her dissertation adviser, Robert Kraft.[21] While they have focused their efforts on questions of chronological priority and interdependence between a number of Greco-Roman period Christian and Jewish writings, McKenna took on the related but

17. Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *Dead Sea Scrolls,* 129–131.

18. Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *Dead Sea Scrolls,* 138.

19. Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *Dead Sea Scrolls,* 140.

20. Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *Dead Sea Scrolls,* 405.

21. Margaret McKenna, "'The Two Ways' in Jewish and Christian Writings of the Greco-Roman Period: A Study of the Form of Repentance Parenesis" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1981).

much larger task of collecting and carefully categorizing the principal examples of Two Ways motifs in ancient literatures of the Mediterranean and Near Eastern traditions—all from the perspective of twentieth-century form criticism.[22] I find McKenna's study particularly valuable, not only because of her comprehensive approach to ancient literature, but especially because of her detailed form-critical approach, which makes it possible to detect trends and relationships between different strands of Two Ways traditions. While her conclusions apply to a wide range of issues, I will draw on only a few of these here to illuminate some of the shared and distinctive features of Two Ways passages in the Bible and in the Book of Mormon.

McKenna began her search for a consistent form of Two Ways texts with a study of texts from the Greco-Roman period that explicitly employ "the phrase *Two Ways* in a textual unit." The texts selected for initial analysis and comparison were: *Testament of Asher* 1, *2 Enoch* 30, *Didache* 1–6, *Pseudo-Barnabas* 18–20, *Sibylline Oracles* 8, and Clement of Alexandria's *Stromata* 5:31.[23] Without my going into detail to explain her thorough exposition of this development, McKenna found a recurring and complex form of the Two Ways doctrine in these texts:

> Two Ways Texts are characterized by a unity of antithetical structure and thematic content composed of five elements: way imagery, guides, ethical content, ends, and turns which appear in a great variety of expressions. Their function is [almost always] repentance parenesis.

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22. In the early decades of the twentieth century, a group of German biblical scholars developed a method of textual interpretation that began with identifying units of text with recognized genres that exhibited standard form across multiple occurrences, including prose and poetry, which were subsequently divided into history, legends, myths, hymns, psalms, and prophetic oracles. See Oxford University Press, "Form Criticism," *Oxford Biblical Studies Online,* http://www.oxfordbiblicalstudies.com/article/opr/t94/e693 (accessed September 12, 2016). The approach is widely credited with advancing biblical interpretation in important ways, but seemed to run out of new creativity after mid-century (James Muilenberg, "Form Criticism and Beyond," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 88, no. 1 [March 1969]: 1–18), and even ran into strong criticism when form critics assumed the literary forms they had identified were fixed entities. Later scholars point out that biblical writers "repeatedly find ways to juggle and transform generic conventions, formulaic or otherwise, and on occasion push genre beyond its own formal or thematic limits." See Robert Alter, "Psalms," in *The Literary Guide to the Bible,* ed. Robert Alter and Frank Kermode (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987), 247.

23. McKenna, "Two Ways in Jewish and Christian Writings," 32–33.

They appear in a limited and recurring variety of life contexts which are related to this general function.[24]

McKenna's analysis of dozens of early Christian texts shows that this model featuring these specific five elements, presented through an antithetical structure, and functioning as repentance preaching, seems to guide a significant number of stylized Two Ways passages. McKenna recognized that this identifiable, recurring form obviously developed over time, and the handful of preexilic examples are not nearly so complete or well-defined as are those from the second- and third-century Christians.[25] While her Two Ways texts bear obvious similarities with older covenant-making and renewal texts, she argues that even though these two text-types clearly share some form and terminology, they each have their consistently distinct elements and functions.[26]

After searching through the older literature of the ancient world, she found three clear early precedents—two in Hesiod's *Works and Days,* and one Persian—all of which plausibly share even more ancient Aryan links. She recognizes that there are simply no texts available that could test such a speculated connection. But it is clear that the Two Ways metaphor and literary form featuring antithetical imagery blossomed in the postexilic period of Jewish writings and that the highly developed form used in Qumran and early Christianity comes through that line. She also detected differences in writers who were more influenced by the Persian or the Greek perspective, but she was not inclined to argue for direct influence by either tradition.[27] Her survey

> indicates irresistibly that the great dividing line in the history of the Two Ways tradition is the exile. While there are several pre-exilic texts that relate to the Two Ways tradition, there are (with the sole exception of Hesiod 13:12–14:10) no Two Ways texts, properly so called, in existence until the exile comes at least into view (as e.g. in Jr 21, Dt 30 and Ez 18). Also, of the texts listed from the OT, the only fully developed . . . texts are from the Wisdom writings, and the largest group of fully developed Two Ways texts are from extra-canonical writings of the Greco-Roman period.[28]

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24. McKenna, "Two Ways in Jewish and Christian Writings," 281.

25. McKenna, "Two Ways in Jewish and Christian Writings," 273.

26. McKenna, "Two Ways in Jewish and Christian Writings," 288–90.

27. McKenna, "Two Ways in Jewish and Christian Writings," 293–97, and especially 330, 377–87.

28. McKenna, "Two Ways in Jewish and Christian Writings," 293–94. McKenna focused her study on texts that use the phrase "two ways" and that exhibit most of the standard features identified by her form critical analysis.

The Book of Mormon

While readers of the Book of Mormon have long known that the book is informed by the Two Ways teaching and advances it repeatedly in a variety of contexts, there has not previously been any attempt to assess the content and the variations that may occur in that teaching. Nor has there been any systematic effort to compare Book of Mormon versions of the doctrine with the Jewish and Christian versions surveyed above. Twentieth-century Book of Mormon scholar Hugh Nibley referred repeatedly in his writings to "the famous and ubiquitous doctrine of the Two Ways," but as far as I have been able to determine, he never explored how it is embedded in Nephite discourse.[29]

In what follows, I will survey and document about a dozen exemplary passages in the Book of Mormon that explicitly refer to two paths or ways to assess the extent to which these follow or vary from each other or from the Jewish and Christian models listed above. I will then illustrate how the prevalence of this teaching throughout the Book of Mormon goes hand in hand with the idea that there is only one true way

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29. Hugh Nibley and Michael D. Rhodes, *One Eternal Round,* ed. John W. Welch, The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley, vol. 19 (Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2010), 498. Nibley's real message may be to biblical scholars who have not usually recognized how widespread this doctrine was in ancient Near East cultures. In other writings, Nibley did demonstrate culturally diverse examples of the doctrine in the ancient world. See Hugh Nibley, "The Ancient Law of Liberty," *The World and the Prophets*, ed. John W. Welch, Gary P. Gillam, and Don E. Norton, Collected Works of Hugh Nibley, vol. 3 (Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1987), 182–85; Hugh Nibley, "Evangelium Quadraginta Dierum: The Forty-day Mission of Christ—The Forgotten Heritage," in *Mormonism and Early Christianity,* ed. Todd M Compton and Stephen D. Ricks, Collected Works of Hugh Nibley, vol. 4 (Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1987), 16; and Hugh Nibley, "The Expanding Gospel," *Temple and Cosmos,* ed. Don E. Norton and Stephen D. Ricks, Collected Works of Hugh Nibley, vol. 12 (Provo, Utah: Foundations for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 195–99. His one-volume text on the Book of Mormon does not mention the doctrine. See Hugh Nibley, *An Approach to the Book of Mormon,* 3d ed., ed. John W. Welch, Collected Works of Hugh Nibley, vol. 6 (Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1988). See also Hans Dieter Betz, *The Sermon on the Mount: A Commentary on the Sermon on the Mount, Including the Sermon on the Plain (Matthew 5:3–7:27 and Luke 6:20–49)* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995), 521–22, where Betz briefly reviews the ancient Jewish, Egyptian, and Greek literature that uses the Two Ways motif.

by which men and women can be saved in the kingdom of God, and that that way is provided by the gospel of Jesus Christ, which in turn is made possible through his Atonement.

Any reader familiar with the Jewish and Christian Two Ways writings listed above will have no difficulty recognizing similar passages in the Book of Mormon. In fact, the first impression will be that the Two Ways appear to be thematic from the beginning to the end of the book and are developed even more explicitly and extensively in a number of sermons and editorial commentaries. As many as a hundred less-obvious passages assume the Two Ways doctrine implicitly for their meanings. In the following analysis of a dozen salient passages, it becomes clear that the Nephite prophets saw themselves (1) continuing the preexilic views, (2) adapting that approach to accommodate the revelations of Christ's gospel as they had received it directly, and (3) providing a rich portfolio of background explanations for their version of the Two Ways doctrine, explanations which have little analog in the literature discussed to this point. In addition, as readers will observe, the distinctive five-theme, antithetically structured form identified by Margaret McKenna in the Two Ways teachings of the Greco-Roman period plays no significant role here. The Nephite prophets do invoke the Two Ways doctrine principally in repentance preaching, and they do sometimes provide antithetical comparisons of the two ways, but the developed Two Ways form used by Jewish and Christian writers of the Greco-Roman period does not occur as far as I have been able to determine.

The Two Ways Doctrine Taught by Lehi, Nephi, and Jacob

Lehi. The first explicit Book of Mormon description of human lives in terms of their choices between Two Ways (or paths) occurs in Nephi's summary description of the vision or dream his father, Lehi, received shortly after leading his family out of Jerusalem at the Lord's command. In this dream, Lehi found himself being led for hours by a man dressed in white across "a dark and dreary waste" and finally to "a tree whose fruit was desirable to make one happy" and the "most sweet, above all that I ever had before tasted" and "white to exceed all the whiteness that I had ever seen" (1 Ne. 8:4–11).[30] Looking around, Lehi discovered that "a *straight and narrow path*" led to the tree and was equipped with an iron rod that would help

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30. All Book of Mormon quotations are taken from Royal Skousen, ed., *The Book of Mormon: The Earliest Text* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2009).

people follow the path, even when the path was obscured in a "mist of darkness." Although great multitudes grasped the rod and began the journey on the path, many "fell away into *forbidden paths* and were lost," or were "lost . . . wandering in *strange roads*" (1 Ne. 8:20, 23–32). Even Lehi's eldest sons, after coming to him at the tree, were among those who fell away—leading him to share his dream with his family and to "exhort them then with all the feeling of a tender parent that they would hearken to his words, in that perhaps the Lord would be merciful to them and not cast them off" (1 Ne. 8:36–37). And so the iconic *straight and narrow path* so frequently used in Book of Mormon repentance paraenesis[31] was first counterposed to "forbidden paths" and "strange roads."

In launching the second half of his first book, Nephi rehearses his father's prophecies about a coming Messiah, whose gospel would be taken to Israel and to the Gentiles alike. And again he emphasizes the eschatological version of the Two Ways doctrine that "the *way* is prepared" if men and women will "repent and come unto him." But those who seek to do wickedly "must be cast off forever" (1 Ne. 10:18–21).

Lehi continues by calling his oldest sons to repentance with an allusion to Deuteronomy 4:8 and the Two Ways language of blessing and cursing. If the oldest sons "will hearken unto the voice of Nephi," he will "leave unto [them] a blessing" (2 Ne. 1:28). But he fears for them because of their rebelliousness, that they may be "cursed with a sore cursing" and "cut off from [the Lord's] presence" and "come down into captivity." For the *ways* of the Lord "are righteousness forever" (2 Ne. 1:19–22). "Awake, my sons, put on the armor of righteousness, shake off the chains with which ye are bound, and come forth out of obscurity and arise from the dust" (2 Ne. 1:23).

As Lehi moves on to a blessing for his younger son Jacob, he shifts into the mode of doctrinal instruction and provides an account of the Two Ways doctrine that seems both original and new. Lehi begins with an explanation of the Atonement performed by the Holy Messiah, the Redeemer, who has prepared *the way* for the salvation of humankind, who have been "cut off," having perished "from that which is good," having become "miserable forever" (2 Ne. 2:3–5). Because he laid "down

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31. Jacob's description of the "righteous" path of the Lord as both narrow and straight (2 Ne. 9:41) is implicitly invoked in several simpler passages such as 1 Nephi 10:8; 2 Nephi 4:33; Alma 7:9 and 19; and Alma 37:12, echoing the biblical patterns seen in Isaiah 42:16 as reflected in Matthew 3:3; Mark 1:3; Luke 3:4; and in Hebrews 12:13.

his life" and took it again, he brought to pass the resurrection. "And they that believe in him shall be saved" (2 Ne. 2:8–9). Because he made "intercession for all the children of men," they must all "stand in the presence of him to be judged of him according to the truth and holiness which is in him" (2 Ne. 2:9–10). This much sounds quite familiar, but Lehi goes on to provide a theological explanation for this, setting out as his starting point the necessity of "an opposition in all things." Without this there could be no wickedness nor righteousness, happiness nor misery, good nor bad, life nor death, corruption nor incorruption, sense nor insensibility, law nor sin. There could be "no purpose in the end of . . . creation," which would "destroy the wisdom of God and his eternal purposes" (2 Ne. 2:11–12).

In that context of opposition in all things, "the Lord God gave unto man that he should act for himself," which could not occur unless "he were enticed by the one or the other" (2 Ne. 2:16). And so the source of opposition is pushed back to the time when "*an angel of God . . . had fallen* from heaven" and "*became a devil,*" and "*sought also the misery of all mankind*" (2 Ne. 2:17–18). Likewise, all people "were lost because of the transgression of their parents," and so their days "were prolonged . . . that they might repent while in the flesh." And the Lord God commanded "that all men must repent," making of this mortal life "a state of probation" (2 Ne. 2:21). But through the redemption provided by the Messiah, men and women "have become free forever, *knowing good from evil*, to act for themselves. . . . They are *free to choose liberty and eternal life* . . . or to *choose captivity and death*" (2 Ne. 2:26–27). Applying this doctrine to his own sons, Lehi mounts his final appeal: "I would that ye should look to the great Mediator and hearken unto his great commandments and be faithful unto his words and *choose eternal life* according to *the will of his Holy Spirit,* and *not choose eternal death* according to *the will of the flesh* and the evil which is therein, which giveth *the spirit of the devil* power to captivate, to bring you down to hell, that *he may reign over you* in his own kingdom" (2 Ne. 2:28–29).

The Early Nephi. Next, Nephi reports that he was also allowed to share his father's great vision, which he now describes in much greater detail using the same binary language associated with Two Ways preaching. Nephi saw that the iron rod was "the word of God" (1 Ne. 11:25), a phrase that refers repeatedly to the gospel or doctrine of Christ in the writings of Nephi and later prophets.[32] It can also refer to "the words of

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32. Reynolds, "This Is the Way," 85.

Christ," which Nephi later equates to the specific gospel principle that personal guidance by the Holy Ghost "will shew unto you all things what ye should do" (2 Ne. 32:5). Nephi was also shown the nativity, the baptism, and the ministry of the Messiah that would come to the Jews, and was taught "that all men *must come unto him* or they cannot be saved" (1 Ne. 13:40).[33] He was shown a future time when the Messiah would come to the Nephites after which "three generations did pass away in righteousness." But that did not last forever, and he also saw that "the mists of darkness are the temptations of the devil" that lead the children of men "into *broad roads* that they perish and are lost" (1 Ne. 12:11, 17), implicitly contrasting these evil ways with the "straight and narrow path" of the vision.

Nephi's extended vision account then moves on to the future Gentiles who would come to this same promised land, bringing with them the Bible, which originally had contained the fullness of the gospel, but from which "many parts which are plain and most precious" had been removed, leading to a perversion of "the *right ways* of the Lord" (1 Ne. 13:24–27). But the fullness of the gospel will be brought forth to the Gentiles, and Nephi learns that "if the Gentiles repent, it shall be well with them," but "whoso repenteth not must perish" (1 Ne. 14:5). The eschatological focus of the Two Ways doctrine as taught to Nephi in this vision continues to be evident as the long-term outcomes of following one way or the other are distinguished:

> For the time cometh, saith the Lamb of God, that I will work a great and a marvelous work among the children of men, a work which shall be everlasting, either on the one hand or on the other, either to the convincing of them unto peace and life eternal or unto the deliverance of them to the hardness of their hearts and the blindness of their minds, unto their being brought down into captivity, and also unto destruction both temporally and spiritually, according to the captivity of the devil of which I have spoken. (1 Ne. 14:7)

This binary language is emphasized when Nephi identifies the multiplicity of churches of that latter day solely in terms of the two authors of the opposed paths they promote: "Behold, there is save it be two churches; the one is the church of the Lamb of God and the other is the church of the devil" (1 Ne. 14:10). Nephi returns again to an exhortation of his

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33. See my paper "How 'Come unto Me' Fits into the Nephite Gospel," *The Religious Educator* 18, no. 2 (2017): 15–29, for a detailed treatment of this and other similar scriptural statements.

brothers, that they should "hearken unto the word of God and . . . *hold fast* unto it," so that "they would never perish, neither could the temptations and the fiery darts of the adversary overpower them unto blindness, to *lead them away* to destruction" (1 Ne. 15:24).

The eternal consequences of following the right or the wrong paths receive one final emphasis. Explaining the vision further to his brothers, Nephi said that there was "an awful gulf" separating the wicked from "the saints of God," which was "that awful hell . . . prepared for the wicked." And "the justice of God did also divide the wicked from the righteous" (1 Ne. 15:28–30).

> Wherefore they must be brought to stand before God to be judged of their works. . . . And if they be filthy, it must needs be that they cannot dwell in the kingdom of God; . . . there cannot any unclean thing enter into the kingdom of God. . . . Wherefore the final state of the soul of man is to dwell in the kingdom of God or to be cast out because of that justice of which I have spoken. Wherefore the wicked are separated from the righteous. (1 Ne. 15:33–36)

The language of the Two Ways resurfaces explicitly as Nephi ends by urging his brothers to "*walk uprightly* before God" and expresses his new hope "that they would *walk in the paths of righteousness*" (1 Ne. 16:3–5).

Following the final blessings and teachings of Lehi to his family in 2 Nephi 1–4, Nephi records his own plea to God, employing once again the Two Ways language to articulate his own struggles with temptation and "the enemy of my soul." He prays that the Lord will keep "the *gates of hell* . . . shut continually before [him]," but that he will "not shut the *gates of* [the Lord's] *righteousness* before [him]." Further, Nephi prays that he "may *walk in the path* of the low valley," and that he may "be strict in the *plain road.*" He prays that the Lord will "make a *way* for [his] escape" from his enemies, that he will "*make* [his] *path straight* before [him]," that he "not place a stumbling block in [Nephi's] *way*," but that he would "clear [his] *way* before [him] . . . and hedge not up [his] *way* but the *ways* of [his] enemy" (2 Ne. 4:28, 32–33).

Jacob. By far the most extensive and multifaceted development of the Two Ways doctrine that I have seen anywhere occurs in the central section of the sermon that Jacob, the younger brother and spiritual heir of the first principal prophet/recorder Nephi, delivers to the Nephite people as recorded in chapter 9 of 2 Nephi. While drawing on a number of the familiar Two Ways themes, he goes on to include several unique formulations and to meld the elements of the biblical preexilic themes with a highly developed account of the gospel of Jesus Christ in one

comprehensive Two Ways perspective. At the conclusion of the full sermon, Jacob then reminds his hearers that they "are free to act for [themselves], to choose *the way* of everlasting death or *the way* of eternal life." They can accomplish this by reconciling themselves "to the will of God and not to the will of the devil and the flesh" (2 Ne. 10:23–24). After an extensive earlier call to repentance, Jacob acknowledges that "the words of truth are hard against all uncleanness." But, as he explains, "the righteous fear it not, for they love the truth and are not shaken" (2 Ne. 9:40). With this warning, he extends his central appeal and brings the eschatological context and Two Ways structure of his doctrine into focus: "O then, my beloved brethren, come unto the Lord, the Holy One. Remember that *his paths* are righteousness. Behold, *the way* for man is narrow, but it lieth in a *straight course* before him. And the keeper of *the gate* is the Holy One of Israel, and he employeth no servant there. And there is *none other way* save it be by *the gate,* for he cannot be deceived, for the Lord God is his name" (2 Ne. 9:41).

Although this passage from Jacob is much richer conceptually than the related passage in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 7:13–14), Jacob's text raises the same question about the location of the gate in the image that has troubled Bible scholars. Is the gate at the beginning or at the end of the path? Hans Dieter Betz has argued that the image in the Sermon on the Mount requires the strait and broad gates to be at the end of the two paths—one opening to the heavenly Jerusalem, and the other to hell.[34] But Jacob is clearly following the teaching of his older brother Nephi, who learned in a very early vision that "the *gate* by which ye should enter is repentance and baptism. . . . And then are ye in this *straight and narrow path* which leads to eternal life" (2 Ne. 31:17–18). So, entering on this path requires divine approval of one's repentance and baptism, and the final judgment comes at the end—approval that comes with "a remission of your sins by fire and by the Holy Ghost" (2 Ne. 31:17). Nephi's location of the gate at the beginning of the path emphasizes the clear teaching of all Nephite prophets after him that the first step on the true path has to be sincere individual repentance.

Repentance is the key, and "he will not open unto them" who "are puffed up because of their learning, and their wisdom, and their riches . . . save they shall cast these things away, and consider themselves fools before God, and come down in the depths of humility" (2 Ne. 9:42). The "happiness which is prepared for the saints" will be hid forever from the

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34. See Betz, *Sermon on the Mount,* 520–23.

unrepentant (2 Ne. 9:43). To emphasize the seriousness of his invitation to repentance, Jacob shakes his garment before his brethren so that at the day of judgment, the God of Israel will know "that I shook your iniquities from my soul and that I stand with brightness before him and am rid of your blood" (9:44). He then launches one more appeal: "O my beloved brethren, *turn away* from your sins. *Shake off the chains* of him that would bind you fast. *Come unto that God* who is the rock of *your salvation.* Prepare your souls for that glorious day when *justice* shall be administered unto the *righteous,* even the *day of judgment*" (2 Ne. 9:45–46).

In the lead-up to this central passage, we are introduced to many additional features of Jacob's version of the Doctrine of the Two Ways. Jacob begins his paraenesis by referring to the ancient "*covenants* of the Lord, that he hath *covenanted* with all the house of Israel . . . by the mouth of his holy prophets . . . from the beginning down from generation to generation" until they shall be restored to the true "fold of God, when they shall be gathered home to the lands of their inheritance and shall be established in all their lands of promise" (2 Ne. 9:1–2). Jacob thus reminds his brethren that they have cause to rejoice "because of the *blessings* which the Lord God shall bestow upon [their] children" (2 Ne. 9:3) in accordance with the Abrahamic covenant.

To this point, Jacob is providing an enriched and integrated version of what we have read in the preexilic portions of the Old Testament. But then he transitions immediately into a Christian account of the Fall, which brought death upon all people and made "a power of resurrection" necessary "to fulfill *the merciful plan* of the great Creator" (2 Ne. 9:5–6). Because fallen men and women "were cut off from the presence of the Lord," it was also necessary that there be "an infinite atonement" (2 Ne. 9:6–7). Thus cut off, "our spirits must become subject to that *angel which fell* from before the presence of the Eternal God and became the *devil,* to rise no more. And our spirits must have become like unto him, and we become devils, angels to a devil—to be shut out from the presence of our God" (2 Ne. 9:8–9).

In the face of such a hopeless eventuality, Jacob exclaims his praise for the great "goodness of our God who *prepareth a way* for our escape from the grasp of this awful monster"—*death and hell*—"which I call the *death* of the body and also the *death* of the spirit" (2 Nephi 9:10). But "because of *the way of deliverance* of our God, . . . hell must deliver up its captive spirits and the grave must deliver up its captive bodies. And the bodies and the spirits of men will be restored one to the other"

(2 Ne. 9:11–12). Because they have again become "living souls," they will have "a perfect knowledge"—for the wicked "a perfect knowledge of all [their] guilt and [their] uncleanness and [their] nakedness"—and for the righteous "a perfect knowledge of their enjoyment and their righteousness, being clothed with purity, yea, even with *the robe of righteousness*" (2 Ne. 9:13–14). "And then cometh the *judgment,*" and "they which are *righteous*" will "inherit the kingdom of God," and "they which are *filthy . . .* the *devil and his angels, . . .* shall go away into *everlasting fire*" (2 Ne. 9:15–18).

Jacob then goes on to contrast "the merciful *plan of the great Creator,*" or the "great *plan of our God*" (2 Ne. 9:6, 13) with the "cunning *plan of the evil one*" (2 Nephi 9:28). Wilhelm Michaelis has shown us that the biblical term for *way* (ὁδος), when referring to human lives, can often be best translated as *plan.*[35] Jacob likewise moves back and forth between the language of *way* and *plan.* He praises the greatness, justice, mercy, and holiness of God, who delivers "his saints from that awful monster, the *devil* and *death* and *hell*" by coming "into the world that he may save all men, if they will hearken unto his voice" (2 Ne. 9:17–21). The Christian character of the plan as understood by Jacob becomes clear as he then proceeds to spell out the gospel or way to salvation that will be explained in greater detail by his brother Nephi in chapter 31 at the end of this same book, listing five of the six elements of that gospel or doctrine of Christ.[36] Jacob uniquely sees this gospel as a law given by "the Lord God, the Holy One of Israel," for those who would "be saved in the kingdom of God." But, "if they will not repent and believe in his name and be baptized in his name and endure to the end, they must be damned" (2 Ne. 9:23–24). The Two Ways are now stated in terms of the Christian gospel, and only those who follow God's law and embrace that gospel and endure to the end can be saved.

But Jacob also recognizes that many peoples have not received this gospel or law, and goes on to explain that the law can have no hold

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35. Wilhelm Michaelis, "ὁδος," in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament,* ed. Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich, trans. Geoffrey W. Bromiley, 10 vols. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1967), 5:50.

36. For an explanation of how this six-element definition of the gospel of Jesus Christ is established in the text, see Noel B. Reynolds, "The Gospel According to Mormon," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 68, no. 2 (2015): 218–34. See also the detailed discussion of 2 Nephi 31 in Noel B. Reynolds, "The Gospel According to Nephi," *Religious Educator* 16, no. 2 (2015): 65–66.

on such people, but that "the mercies of the Holy One of Israel hath claim upon them because of the atonement, for they are delivered by the power of him" (2 Ne. 9:25). These will be "delivered from that awful monster, *death and hell and the devil*" and be restored to God. "But woe unto him that hath the law given, . . . that hath all the commandments of God, . . . and that transgresseth them and that wasteth the days of his probation, for awful is his state" (2 Ne. 9:26–27). It has become clear that the Two Ways doctrine applies only to those who have received the true way—the law or the gospel.

Jacob turns next to an account of the other path or "cunning *plan* of the evil one," which exploits "the vainness and the frailties and the foolishness of men! When they are learned they think they are wise, and they hearken not unto the counsel of God, for they set it aside, supposing they know of themselves" (2 Ne. 9:28). He then goes on to specify the common failings or sins of those who yield "to the enticings of that cunning one," by pronouncing woes on those who commit any of a list of nine offenses (2 Ne. 9:30–39). Those who are "carnally minded" are on the path to death, while the "spiritually minded" are headed for life eternal (2 Ne. 9:39).

Having spelled out the Two Ways, Jacob issues the appeal to his brethren cited earlier that they "*turn away* from [their] sins" by shaking off "the chains of him that would bind [them] fast" that they may "*come unto that God* who is the rock of [their] salvation" (2 Ne. 9:45). His call to repentance is built squarely on a Two Ways teaching, as he reminds them that "there is none other *way* [to salvation] save it be by the *gate*" that is kept by the Holy One of Israel. But "his *paths* are righteousness," and "the *way* for man is narrow," and "it lieth in a *straight course* before him" (2 Ne. 9:41).

The Later Nephi. After Lehi's death and Jacob's covenant oration in 2 Nephi 6–10, when Nephi seeks Old Testament support for his teachings, he goes to different passages of Isaiah than those used by the writers in Qumran and by the early Christians. One case of Isaiah's use of the Two Ways teaching may signal Nephi's chief source for the doctrine: "And many people shall go and say: Come ye and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob, and he will teach us of his *ways* and we will walk in his *paths*." And further, "O house of Jacob, come ye and let us *walk in the light* of the Lord, yea, come, for ye have all *gone astray*, every one to his *wicked ways*" (2 Ne. 12:3, 5, quoting from Isa. 2). The same themes echo six chapters later where Nephi continues with Isaiah 8 and 9: "For the Lord spake thus to me with a strong hand

and instructed me that I should not *walk in the way* of this people . . . because there is *no light* in them." But more optimistically he prophecies that "the people that *walked in darkness* have seen *a great light.* They that dwell in the land of *the shadow of death,* upon them hath *the light shined*" (2 Ne. 18:11, 20; 19:2, quoting Isa. 8:11, 20; 9:2).

Following the long section of chapters borrowed from Isaiah, Nephi undertakes his own final sermon to his righteous followers, but he concerns himself first with their future descendants who will become wicked. Nephi feels his teachings "are sufficient to teach any man the *right way.*" Twice he affirms that "the *right way* is to believe in Christ and deny him not." By implication *the wrong way* is to deny Christ, by which they "also deny the prophets and the law" (2 Ne. 25:28–29). Having seen in vision the Lord's punishments for these wicked descendants, Nephi is constrained to acknowledge to the Lord, "Thy *ways* are just" (2 Ne. 26:7). Nephi contrasts the fates of his wicked and righteous descendants and notes that "the righteous that hearken unto the words of the prophets . . . shall not perish." Rather, the Lord will heal them and bless them with peace across three generations or more. But those who yield to "the devil and choose *works of darkness* rather than *light* . . . must *go down to hell*" (2 Ne. 26:8–10).

Nephi then goes on to describe the Two Ways in the last days by first describing the sins of the Gentiles and recognizing the devil as "the founder of all these things." He is "the founder of murder and works of darkness—yea, and he *leadeth them* by the neck with a flaxen cord until he bindeth them with his strong cords forever." Nephi goes on to contrast this with the Lord God who "worketh not in darkness. He doeth not any thing save it be for the benefit of the world, for he loveth the world." Nephi then summarizes all the Lord has done for humanity and reemphasizes his invitation to all that come to him and repent and "partake of his salvation . . . [and] his goodness" (2 Ne. 26:20–33). Continuing this binary mode of analysis in his final sermon, Nephi describes the positive and the negative responses that will meet the restoration of the gospel in the last days and refers again to Abraham, whose seed will respond positively: "Jacob shall not now be ashamed . . . . They shall sanctify my name and sanctify the Holy One of Jacob and shall fear the God of Israel" (2 Ne. 27:28–35). By contrast, he describes the wicked in those days who have denied the Holy Ghost and have been seduced by the persuasions of the devil, who *leads them* carefully down to hell. He also distinguishes those who are built on the rock from various kinds of sinners who are built on a sandy foundation. But even though they will deny the Lord, he will still

be merciful "if they will repent and come unto [him]." The Doctrine of the Two Ways now distinguishes those "that fight against my word and against my people" from those who heed the Lord's words (2 Ne. 28:32; 29:14). "For the time speedily cometh that the Lord God shall cause a great division among the people; and the wicked will he destroy and he will spare his people" (2 Ne. 30:10).

In the final section of his farewell sermon, Nephi presents his most complete explanation of "the doctrine of Christ," which is "the *only way*" that leads to salvation in the kingdom of God. Using the image of a path and a gate, Nephi teaches that repentance and baptism are the *gate* by which all should enter. For those who have repented sincerely, the remission of sins will then come by fire and by the Holy Ghost, and they will then be in the *"straight and narrow path"* that leads to eternal life. And the Father will send the Holy Ghost to all who have "entered in by *the way*" (2 Ne. 31:17–21). Here Nephi has told us clearly that the Lord's way is and has always been the gospel of Jesus Christ, and the ways of Satan are the many paths into which he leads those who follow him into sin. But Nephi can only hope for those who reconcile themselves unto Christ "and enter into the narrow *gate* and walk in the *straight path*[37] which leads *to life* and continue in the *path* until the end of the day of probation" (2 Ne. 33:9).

Later Nephite Formulations of the Two Ways Doctrine

I have identified several additional passages in which a doctrine of Two Ways is explicitly taught, and over a hundred others that implicitly assume the logic of the Two Ways doctrine in promoting "the right *way,*" only a few of which will be mentioned here. Like Jacob, Lehi, and Nephi, some of these introduce new vocabulary, but none are so richly developed as those presented by the first generation of Nephite prophets. The binary logic of the Two Ways doctrine derives from repentance paraenesis in an eschatological context. All the family of Adam are headed for a final judgment where the wicked and the righteous will receive just rewards for the kind of lives they have chosen to live—the

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37. Skousen elected to use "strait" in this passage but acknowledged he could also have justified "straight," which does seem to me to be the better choice. See his superb discussion of the strait/straight problem in the Book of Mormon in Royal Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon: Part One, 1 Nephi 1–2, Nephi 10* (Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 2017), 174–81.

paths they have walked in mortality—by receiving eternal life in the presence of God, or being banished to hell with the devil and his other followers. Most preaching of repentance focuses on these two alternatives explicitly or implicitly and often employs the metaphor of two paths or ways of life that lead to one or the other of these eternal outcomes. The Book of Mormon story of Lehi and his progeny begins as he and other prophets are called to preach repentance to the apostate Jews in Jerusalem, warning them around 600 BCE of impending destruction and captivity if they will not turn back from their wicked ways to the Holy One of Israel. And the book will end over five hundred pages later with similar written calls to repentance addressed to the Gentiles and to the prophesied descendants of Lehi in a much later day.

Benjamin. In his own farewell, King Benjamin also chooses binary terminology to describe the lives of those who will be judged at the last day. For "there shall be no other name given *nor no other way* nor means whereby salvation can come unto the children of men, only in and through the name of Christ the Lord Omnipotent" (Mosiah 3:17). "Men drinketh damnation to their own souls except they humble themselves and become as little children and believeth that salvation was and is and is to come in and through the atoning blood of Christ the Lord Omnipotent" (Mosiah 3:18). Benjamin categorizes the Two Ways of *living* with new language: "For the *natural man* is an enemy to God and has been from the fall of Adam and will be forever and ever but if he yieldeth to the enticings of the Holy Spirit and putteth off the natural man and becometh a *saint* through the atonement of Christ the Lord and becometh as a child, submissive, meek, humble, patient, full of love, willing to submit to all things which the Lord seeth fit to inflict upon him, even as a child doth submit to his father" (Mosiah 3:19). Benjamin goes on to warn his people not to suffer their children "that they transgress the laws of God and fight and quarrel one with another and *serve the devil,* which is the master of sin, or which is *the evil spirit,* which hath been spoken of by our fathers, he being *an enemy to all righteousness.* But ye will teach them to *walk in the ways of truth and soberness*; ye will teach them to love one another and to serve one another" (Mosiah 4:14–15). And the *ways of sin* are "so many that I cannot number them" (Mosiah 4:29).

Benjamin explicitly contrasts the "ways of truth and soberness" with the "ways of sin" and provides us with new and instructive labels for the people who may choose to walk either of them. The "natural man" is "an enemy to God" who has chosen to "serve the devil," who is "an enemy to all righteousness" (Mosiah 3:19; 4:14). But through the Atonement

of Christ, another alternative has been provided. And God will entice his children through his Holy Spirit to "[put] off the natural man" and become "a saint" (Mosiah 3:19). For through the power of the Atonement of Christ, mankind can become as little children and learn "to walk in the ways of truth and soberness," becoming "submissive, meek, humble, patient, full of love, willing to submit to all things which the Lord seeth fit to inflict upon him, even as a child doth submit to his father" (Mosiah 4:15; 3:19).

Nephi, the son of Helaman. A few generations later the Nephites had fallen into great apostasy and "the more part of them had *turned out of the way of righteousness* and did trample under their feet the commandments of God and did turn unto their *own ways*" (Hel. 6:31). These would include "secret *plans*" or "*plans* of awful wickedness" (Hel. 11:26; 6:30). But at the same time, the Lamanites "did begin to keep his statutes and commandments and *to walk in truth and uprightness* before him" (Hel. 6:34).

The Resurrected Jesus Christ. When the Savior came to the Nephites after his crucifixion, he included in his teachings much of the New Testament Sermon on the Mount, including: "Enter ye in at the strait *gate*, for wide is the *gate* and broad is the *way* that leadeth to destruction. And many there be which go in thereat, because strait is the *gate* and narrow is the *way* which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it" (3 Ne. 14:13–14). While this formulation is consistent with the earlier Two Ways teaching of the Book of Mormon prophets, no distinctive features of this passage seem to show up in other Book of Mormon examples.[38]

Moroni, the son of Mormon. Moroni wrote that "in the gift of his Son hath God prepared a *more excellent way*" (Ether 12:11). For the benefit of the future Gentiles, Moroni summarizes in the concluding chapters of the Book of Mormon the measures that were taken in the Nephite church of Christ to keep their new converts "in the *right way*" (Moro. 6:4). Moroni goes on to include his father Mormon's contrast between the ways of good and evil and explains that people cannot

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38. In his landmark publication on the Book of Mormon version of the Sermon on the Mount, John W. Welch recognized Two Ways doctrine not only in this passage, but also in the series of opposites employed throughout the sermon. See John W. Welch, *Illuminating the Sermon at the Temple and Sermon on the Mount: An Approach to 3 Nephi 11–18 and Matthew 5–7* (Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1999), 62–63, 93, 243.

follow Christ and the devil at the same time, but must choose to follow one or the other. And *the way* to judge between them is plain. "The Spirit of Christ is given to every man that they may know good from evil" (Moro. 7:15–16).

Conclusions

Consistent with their preexilic Hebrew Bible predecessors, the Book of Mormon prophets taught a version of the Two Ways doctrine that featured (1) invitations to repentance defined as turning or returning to God's way, (2) the context of the Abrahamic covenant, (3) the blessings and cursings that would come from obedience or disobedience, and (4) the contrast of the path of righteousness that leads to life with the path of evil that leads to death. But this analysis has also produced a number of expansions or refinements of the Two Ways doctrine that are not reflected in biblical treatments of the Two Ways.

In this analysis of prominent Two Ways passages, I have identified numerous ways in which the Book of Mormon writers enriched and expanded the Two Ways doctrine as it occurred in preexilic writings of the Old Testament—the primary sources for this doctrine that would have been available to them in the plates of brass. In so doing, they relied mostly on the great revelations given to the early Nephite prophets, and especially on the visions in which they were taught about the coming Atonement of Jesus Christ and his gospel. The Nephite prophets continued to add new insights and vocabulary in their adaptations of the Two Ways doctrine as they taught their people—almost always in the mode of calling them to repentance. But even though their biblical sources were largely the same as the ones the Qumran writers and the early Christians drew on, they do not exhibit the developed rhetorical form or themes that Margaret McKenna identified in the Jewish and Christian texts from the Greco-Roman period. The Nephite prophets created a far richer and more highly developed language and system of explanations of the Doctrine of the Two Ways. But they do not seem to have adopted a standard rhetorical form for presenting it. Rather, successive authors tended to assume the contributions of their predecessors, while they felt free to add and extend that discourse as influenced by their own experience and inspiration.

It should be stressed again that these Book of Mormon passages constitute only a small group of the total number that appear to state or assume a Doctrine of the Two Ways. But they stood out for me as passages that offer new language or perspectives while at the same time

exhibiting some of the structure, function, and characteristic content of the biblical texts introduced in the opening sections of the paper. The Book of Mormon writers do refer to the ways of light and darkness, the ways of life and death, competing guides, the context of covenant, and the function of repentance paraenesis. But they also introduce a surprisingly large number of additional and fundamental notions that indicate significant originality and independence from even preexilic models. Most importantly, they meld together the Two Ways doctrine of the Abrahamic covenant and its promises of blessings to be received in this life with the Two Ways doctrine of the gospel of Jesus Christ and its promise of eternal life. And they do not display the formulaic patterns based on five specific antithetically structured themes that McKenna found evolving in the biblical and nonbiblical texts of Judaism and Christianity in the postexilic and Greco-Roman periods.

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The Experience of Love and the Limitations of Psychological Explanation

Brent D. Slife

BYU Studies has a long history of publishing the annual lecture given by the recipient of the Karl G. Maeser Distinguished Faculty Lecturer Award, BYU's highest faculty honor. It is with great pleasure that BYU Studies Quarterly *publishes this year's lecture by Dr. Brent D. Slife, a clinical psychologist and professor of psychology. His speech was delivered as a forum address on May 16, 2017, at Brigham Young University.*

It may not surprise you, but I want to declare at the outset that I have been multiply blessed. I want to *initially* mention an important blessing—this university—and then I would like to *dwell* on a forty-one-year blessing—my marriage. Those who have received this award in past years have stood here to express their gratitude to BYU, but I feel especially blessed in receiving this award as a non-Mormon. This university has insisted on valuing me regardless of my religious minority status. I am a religious "other," yet this university has not only accepted me as a colleague and a friend but also persisted in recognizing me and celebrating my work. I think this is a sort of minor miracle. As you will see in the case of my wife, I honestly believe that when we truly value and even love those who are "other" in some way, God is there.[1]

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1. I have fond memories of chanting a variation of this phrase and meaning in an Episcopal rite song: "Where true charity and love dwell, God himself is there." Joyce M. Glover, trans., "Since the Love of Christ Has Joined Us in One

I also want to acknowledge how important this university has been to my academic work. I have long desired to actively interface the sacred and the secular—the sacredness of my faith and the secularity of my discipline of psychology—but there are few places that permit this work. BYU, however, has not only welcomed this type of scholarship but also encouraged and facilitated it. For this reason, I have never had to compartmentalize my Christianity away from my discipline; I have been able to integrate the two—which has been an incredible blessing to me!

As I mentioned, however, the blessing I want to dwell on today is the love I feel for my wife. But discussing such a personal experience may seem a bit strange for a psychologist. Psychologists are supposed to deal with objective data.[2] Unfortunately, love isn't objective, so psychology's knowledge of love has been meager over the years. Consider renowned love researcher Harry Harlow and his lament in his presidential address to the American Psychological Association: "So far as love or affection is concerned, psychologists have failed in this mission. The little we know about love does not transcend simple observation, and the little we write about it has been written better by poets and novelists."[3] This conclusion was stated many years ago, but it is not unusual for even modern investigators of love to echo Harlow's lament. Zick Rubin, for example, believes that some progress has been made, but he comments that love has "seemed safely beyond the research scientist's ever-extending grasp."[4]

I won't get into psychological methods here. Suffice it to say that a relatively new brand of psychological method—qualitative investigation—was specifically set up to study subjective experiences. And qualitative investigators are not afraid of even just one person's experiences, especially when those personal experiences teach us something about the phenomenon of interest.

As a marital therapist of thirty-five years, I have long realized the great blessing of my love for Karen. I know that everyone is supposed to

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Body," *The Hymnal 1982: According to the Use of the Episcopal Church* (New York: Church Hymnal Corp., 1985), no. 606.

2. See Brent D. Slife and Richard N. Williams, *What's Behind the Research? Discovering Hidden Assumptions in the Behavioral Sciences* (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1995).

3. Harry F. Harlow, "The Nature of Love," *American Psychologist* 13 (December 1958): 673; quoted in Zick Rubin, "Preface," in *The Psychology of Love,* ed. Robert J. Sternberg and Michael L. Barnes (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1988), vii.

4. Rubin, "Preface," vii.

love their spouse, but I don't just love my wife; I am still *in love* with her. I love the way she stands, the way she walks, and the way she talks, even after all these years. And it turns out that I am not the only one who feels this form of love. Qualitative research indicates that there are many whom I will typify with my personal experiences today.[5] Indeed, I don't doubt that many of you will see yourselves in my description.

My purpose today is not to romanticize this love. Instead, my desire is to understand it, at least to some degree. As I interface the sacred and the secular, I am struck by how little my experience of this love is explainable in conventional psychological terms, or, indeed, in *any* secular terms. And I am not merely intellectually curious about this issue. As a marital therapist, an understanding of love would help me to address the problem marriages I hope to heal. Why is my marriage thriving while other marriages are dying?

My presentation today will first attempt to describe why I believe several aspects of psychological explanation make little sense of what I experience in my love for Karen. The presentation will then turn to philosopher Jean-Luc Marion, who seems to think outside the explanatory box on this particular topic.[6] As I will describe, Marion agrees with me that the ideas underlying our current ways of thinking about love don't inform us about what it is. Indeed, he is clear that these current ideas serve instead to drain away any meaning that could resemble what most of us experience as love.

Love of Karen

Allow me to begin with some background information on Karen and me. Like people in a lot of marriages, we could not be more different. Karen is one of those sweet and generally enthusiastic people. She's the kind of person whose only question in writing personal notes is how many exclamation points to put at the end of a sentence. She's also a

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5. See Elaine Hatfield, Jane Traupmann Pillemer, Mary Utne O'Brien, and Yen-Chi L. Le, "The Endurance of Love: Passionate and Companionate Love in Newlywed and Long-Term Marriages," *Interpersona* 2, no. 1 (2008): 35–64.

6. See Jean-Luc Marion, "'Christian Philosophy': Hermeneutic or Heuristic?" in *The Question of Christian Philosophy Today,* ed. Francis J. Ambrosio (New York: Fordham University Press, 1999); Jean-Luc Marion, *Cartesian Questions: Method and Metaphysics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); Jean-Luc Marion, *Prolegomena to Charity,* trans. Stephen E. Lewis (New York: Fordham University Press, 2002); and Jean-Luc Marion, *The Erotic Phenomenon,* trans. Stephen E. Lewis (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

uniquely loving person; she's very other-centered—very aware of the needs of those around her. As for me, I believe that I can safely say that I am more I-centered—more egoistic. I am certainly not sweet and certainly not naturally loving. I could cite witnesses from my family of origin as evidence, but suffice it to say that there is no evidence that I could love someone over the long haul.

Yet my experience is precisely the opposite. My love for Karen has lasted more than forty years and has endured amazing changes in our identities, bodies, and situations. And, as I mentioned, this love is not some abstract "I care about her"; it is the beguiled and captivated kind of love that many seem to lose after the honeymoon period of marriage. I am still excited at her touch and her presence. I thrill in holding her hand, sitting beside her, or kissing her. And if you are a student in one of my classes, you have to put up with me talking about her—because I like to so much!

For example, I constantly experience how cute she is. I don't quite know what I mean when I say "cute" here, but I know that she feels entirely special and dear to me—like a one-of-a-kind person whose attractiveness never flags. This is not to say that my experience of her cuteness is always good for our relationship. When she's angry at me, I think she's cute, which gets me into trouble. When she's sad, I think she's cute, which gets me into trouble. When she's hurt, all I want to do is apologize, even if I have no clue how I have hurt her, which can *also* get me into trouble. You would think that a psychotherapist would have a little more emotional intelligence, wouldn't you? But it's out the window with Karen. When my students ask how I might diagnose her, I reply without skipping a beat: "Severely cute."

And this is my first problem with conventional explanations: How can my love last so long, across so many changes, and with me as an egoistic lover? Psychology's theories can explain me when I am egoistic but not when I am truly loving her. Egoism assumes that we are all ultimately watching out for "number one." Our motives and goals are fundamentally those that benefit us in some way or another. True to this egoism, all the conventional theories of psychology fall into line: psychoanalysts talk about the ego benefiting from pleasure, behaviorists tell us how we are ultimately motivated by rewards, and humanists discuss *self*-actualization rather than *other*-actualization.[7]

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7. See Joseph F. Rychlak, *Introduction to Personality and Psychotherapy Theory: A Theory-Construction Approach,* 2d ed. (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1981).

Even the social interactions that many economists discuss are ego-istic.[8] From their perspective, we would be irrational without some type of self-benefit motivating our interactions. This is part of the reason so many psychologists assume that mutual self-benefit, a kind of business transaction, is the best we can do in marriage, where I won't scratch your back until I am reasonably sure you will scratch mine. These mutual self-benefit relationships are certainly what the vast majority of social scientists expect, and I clearly see these types of "calculator" marriages in my practice, where spouses are angry because they have given six units of love today and their spouse has provided only four.

The difficulty with this egoistic understanding of relationships is that I experience none of it in my love for Karen—over four decades of time! My experience just doesn't seem like the kind of thing most psy-chologists would predict. I experience my behavior with her as almost completely *un*selfish. And perhaps most astounding to me, I experience my unselfishness toward her as *easy*—even easier than being selfish. I don't want you to think that I am knighting myself here; my egoistic sense of myself is still intact, except for those I love. My point here is that conventional explanations do not predict or even render as plausible my loving behaviors.

A second problem for conventional explanations concerns the "others" of our lives, those who are unlike us for whatever reason—a different race, gender, religion, or political persuasion. Psychologists have an interna-tional conference called Psychology and the Other that is devoted to this problem because otherness is viewed as disruptive to relationships. My students seem to feel this problem, because they fear otherness when they are looking for dates and eventual marital partners. They look, instead, for a match—a set of similarities—as the dating website Match.com exemplifies. Our culture and my discipline tend to view similarities—not differences—among people as the fundamental bonding agent of rela-tionships. Even communities and organizations are typically thought to be unified through common beliefs and values, with differences in beliefs and values frequently viewed as threats to the community.[9]

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8. See Edwin E. Gantt, "Books Briefly Noted," *Journal of Theoretical and Philosophical Psychology* (in press); see also Brent D. Slife, "Taking Practice Seriously: Toward a Relational Ontology," *Journal of Theoretical and Philosophi-cal Psychology* 24, no. 2 (2004): 157–78.

9. See Brent D. Slife, "Theoretical Challenges to Therapy Practice and Research: The Constraint of Naturalism," in *Bergin and Garfield's Handbook of*

But again, this emphasis on similarities is not my experience in my relationship with Karen. As many marital partners will tell you, they cannot imagine someone more different from them than their spouse. And when I hear my friends or clients describe this otherness, it almost always points to problems in their relationships. Yet nothing could be further from the truth in my experience with Karen. Indeed, her extreme otherness from me feels like the spice of our marriage, the really good stuff. She and I can experience the same hike or discussion and come away with dramatically differing perceptions, yet I experience these differences with her as delightful. How is my delight possible, given the so-called problem of otherness and our culture's emphasis on similarity?

None of this is to say that Karen and I don't fight, argue, or generally conflict. How could you really be "other" than someone and not conflict? It is to say, instead, that our love disallows the conflict from being threatening. Unlike most secular understandings of relationships, I experience my love for her not *in spite of* her otherness, but *because* of it. Conflict, in this sense, feels more like a kind of intimacy. It's hard to be angry with someone you don't care about. In conflict, I have the privilege of getting to know the person *through* the interaction. Imagine how our world would be if we stopped seeing differences as obstacles to relationships, but rather saw them as the healthy tension that can promote character, deepen intimacy, and kindle friendship.

These few snippets of my experience with Karen say nothing about other facets of psychological explanations, such as their abstractness, their amorality, and their determinism. I don't have time today, but I believe I could demonstrate how each of these facets of explanation *also* hinders efforts to understand love. And, honestly, I don't experience laypersons faring much better in attempting to explain their love. My clients will routinely challenge their spouses to tell them why they love them. Yet the most articulate and educated of spouses inevitably sense the inadequacy of their answers. This is surely the reason so many of us resort to poetry or ballads; the usual cultural explanations of our loving relationships appear to be just as empty as psychological explanations.

As I mentioned at the outset, I believe that the French philosopher Jean-Luc Marion comes to our rescue.[10] And, as it happens, Marion agrees with me about the unexplainability of love. He demonstrates

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Psychotherapy and Behavior Change, ed. Michael J. Lambert, 5th ed. (New York: Wiley, 2004), 44–83.

10. See Marion, "Christian Philosophy"; Marion, *Cartesian Questions*; Marion, *Prolegomena to Charity*; and Marion, *Erotic Phenomenon*.

that this unexplainability is not just the phenomenon of love but also the *inadequacy* of our cultural and philosophical frameworks for comprehending love. Specifically, he believes that we are using the wrong ideas to understand our relationships with other people.

Descartes on Self

These wrong ideas, Marion argues, were popularized by the great philosopher René Descartes. We cannot overestimate the influence of this philosopher on our basic understandings of our relationships with others. Most everyone has probably heard Descartes's famous proposition "I think, therefore I am,"[11] in which he equated the thinking-I, the rational self, with our identity. Marion sees this proposition as a symptom of a framework for the self that messes up our understanding of love, that indeed makes it unexplainable.

A pivotal part of this Cartesian framework is that the thinking-I, the self, exists separately from other people. After all, I don't need other people in order to think, so my basic identity has little to do with other people or even the world around me. I am who I am *without* you and the world. And when I do perceive the world, it is a mere perception or representation of that world; it is not the world itself. When I lovingly perceive Karen, I am not experiencing the real person; I am experiencing my representation of her. And there is all sorts of evidence that our mental representations don't always correspond to the person whom our image is supposed to represent. The sweet and loving person I am describing to you right now may not be the authentic Karen at all but merely my mental image of her, which I control to some degree.[12] These representations are called many things in psychology—mental sets, scripts, stereotypes, or schemas—but they all function in the spirit of this Cartesian sense of the self.

An important implication of this Cartesian view of the self, according to Marion, is that we are all in a world of our own representations. It makes sense from this perspective that we would all be egoistic, because everything in our world is basically *us*—the things we control and the things we want. My representation of Karen is itself egoistic because it has more to do with me than with Karen.[13] It is how I *want* to think of her rather than how she *really* is. Descartes's rationality, in this sense,

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11. René Descartes, *A Discourse on Method* (1637), part IV.

12. With Descartes, love is reduced to a representation of an object for which one feels passion. See Marion, *Cartesian Questions,* 131–32.

13. The cognitive ego makes an alter ego impossible. See Marion, *Cartesian Questions,* 131–32.

functions solely for my benefit.[14] We are, in effect, naturally selfish, because any self in Descartes's scheme would maximize the benefits of its representations, which, as I mentioned, is the assumption of many economists.

This selfishness means, of course, that I am not really capable of acting in Karen's best interest, especially if her best interest conflicts with my own. I am more likely to use Karen and treat her as a means to my own ends, which is consonant with much of positive psychology, where others exist primarily to make us happy.[15] Many marriage researchers see this selfish mode as the primary cause of our high divorce rate:[16] we see marriage as a means to our individual happiness, not as an end in itself. The bottom line for Marion here is that Descartes's understanding of the self makes truly gracious love impossible—not just unexplainable—because truly loving someone means treating them *as* an end, not as a means, and our Cartesian selfishness always makes the self the end. The best we can do in Descartes's framework is to use each other for mutual benefit.

But if all humans are doomed to our own represented world, according to Descartes, how do we function in the real world? Many clinical psychologists might answer this question with one word: *poorly*. Consider how many of us go through the day experiencing all kinds of misunderstandings with other people. This is because the parts of the real world that don't fit our represented world rarely change our representations. Because *I* control my representation of Karen, her actual self in the real world can't disrupt my little represented world.[17] Her otherness in the real world won't necessarily alter my stereotype of her. In fact, Descartes predicts that I will make her otherness into the enemy. I will focus on how she is similar to my stereotype of her. This is the reason people want their spouses to be similar to them. Similarities best fit our represented world.

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14. The ego for Descartes loves only the self. Even charity is interpreted as self-affection. See Marion, *Cartesian Questions,* 112.

15. See Blaine J. Fowers, "Instrumentalism and Psychology: Beyond Using and Being Used," *Theory and Psychology* 20 (February 2010): 102–24.

16. See Blaine J. Fowers, *Beyond the Myth of Marital Happiness: How Embracing the Virtues of Loyalty, Generosity, Justice, and Courage Can Strengthen Your Relationship* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2000).

17. "The Cartesian *intuitus* . . . controls its objects and imposes order on them." Christina M. Gschwandtner, *Reading Jean-Luc Marion: Exceeding Metaphysics* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), 227.

In Marion's view, by contrast, "I am not in control." Gschwandtner, *Reading Jean-Luc Marion,* 221.

Now, to give Descartes credit, his understanding of self and others makes sense of a lot of my experiences, and this is surely why this understanding is so prevalent in psychology. Still, the question I am raising today is, why doesn't Descartes's understanding make sense of my experiences of love? As I have described, I experience none of these implications of his understanding of the self. I am not the selfish dolt that Descartes would predict. I also experience a lot of otherness with Karen, but I experience it not as an enemy of my self and my control. Indeed, I willingly give up my control, allowing for the disruption of my represented world, because of my delight in her otherness. I guess I could be deceiving myself about my unselfishness and my delight, but this deception doesn't account for my other more egoistic relationships, which I apparently see quite clearly. It also doesn't account for those who experience this same type of love—perhaps many of you. What is it, then, about this gracious love that leads us to be so different in these loving interactions?

Marion on Love

Although Marion agrees with Descartes on many things, he presents a markedly different understanding of the self. Perhaps first is Marion's contention that not everything we experience is representable,[18] with love being one of those things.[19] Gracious love is what he considers a "saturated" experience.[20] Saturation occurs when an experience touches us so deeply that we can't explain or even fathom it. Have you ever witnessed such a stunning sunset that you can't find the words to describe it? Gracious love is similar. It is saturated so much that our experience of it is more than we can grasp or contain in a representation.[21]

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18. By "experience" here, I do not mean my own "consciousness," because this is still what I am calling here a representation and thus a reduction to an "object," which for Marion eliminates any possibility of love. "Love as a figure of consciousness always ends up in self-idolatry." Gschwandtner, *Reading Jean-Luc Marion,* 231. By experience of a truly other (Karen), I mean that I must allow her own intentionality, her own agency, and her own "counter-current of consciousness." Marion, *Prolegomena to Charity,* 82.

19. Marion's *Prolegomena to Charity* (specifically chapter 4) was written in homage to Emmanuel Lévinas (see also Lévinas, *Totality and Infinity: An Essay on Exteriority,* trans. Alphonso Lingis [Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1969]).

20. "I discover myself lovable by the grace of the other." Marion, *Erotic Phenomenon,* 213.

21. "The instability of [loving] phenomena thus never comes from a poverty of intuition, but instead from the opposite: from my incapacity to assign to it a precise signification that is individualized and stable." Marion, *Erotic*

Here Marion hits the nail on the head for me. My experience of Karen's love is so luminous and so glorious that it feels unearthly. This is the reason we become tongue-tied when trying to explain or justify our love for another. It is the reason we recite poetry or croon love songs.

But why *is* love so difficult to grasp? Gracious love is gracious for Marion because it is never deserved or rational in the conventional sense;[22] it is a pure gift without strings attached, logical justifications, or ulterior motives. Again, this feels right to me in my relationship with Karen. I naturally sense that I don't deserve her love.[23] Unlike the Cartesian approach, in which everyone *must* deserve the love they receive from the benefits they provide, love from Marion's perspective cannot be controlled through reciprocal benefit and is *never* truly deserved or justified. Love literally defies conventional logic. Indeed, it is so illogical that Marion believes we are incapable of giving such a pure gift without getting one ourselves—God's gift of Jesus Christ.[24] Only a truly grateful heart, a heart that has already experienced the Purest of Gifts, can truly love someone in this manner.[25]

As the philosopher Paul Woodruff describes so well, the only proper response to that which is above or beyond us is reverence.[26] When I come face-to-face with a saturated experience—the wonder of a baby's birth, the illumination of a spiritual insight—the only realistic response is a profound honoring of and appreciation for it. This is the reason for my use of the term "blessed" when describing my marriage; our love feels sacred to me, like one of my main duties in life is to reverently protect and nurture it. Miroslav Volf puts it this way: "We enjoy things

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Phenomenon, 96. "The beloved therefore emerges not as [a Cartesian] object, but as a . . . saturated phenomenon." Gschwandtner, *Reading Jean-Luc Marion,* 234.

22. "Love lacks neither reason nor logic; quite simply, it does not admit reason or logic other than its own." Marion, *Erotic Phenomenon,* 217.

23. See Kyle Hubbard, "The Unity of Eros and Agape: On Jean-Luc Marion's *Erotic Phenomenon*," *Essays in Philosophy* 12 (January 2011): 130–46.

24. "All human love originates in this divine source." Gschwandtner, *Reading Jean-Luc Marion,* 241.

25. Marion argues, for example, that "charity discovers and introduces new phenomena into the world itself and the conceptual universe, which are saturated with meaning and glory, which ordain and eventually save the world." Marion, "Christian Philosophy," 261. Only in his more recent work on the erotic phenomenon (Marion, *Erotic Phenomenon*) does he attempt to rid himself of theological contamination, which Gschwandtner ultimately disputes. See Gschwandtner, *Reading Jean-Luc Marion,* 233.

26. See Paul Woodruff, *Reverence: Renewing a Forgotten Virtue* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2001).

the most when we experience them as sacraments—as carriers of the presence of another."[27]

Gracious love, then, is so "other"—so above and beyond—that it doesn't fit our stereotype or representation of the world.[28] It throws us; it knocks us off our egoistic thrones as controllers of our own little universe.[29] This is the reason we feel so vulnerable when we love. Our egoistic world is put in jeopardy. There is someone *else* in our world, some "other" who matters to me besides me. Karen's differences from me, then, are not *outside* of my love, as if they are foreign or threatening. They are *within* and an essential part of my love, even when they exceed my understanding. This excess could, in fact, be the secret of our love's duration across the span of our marriage. Our love is never familiar or predictable, so it can never be staid or boring. Indeed, it fills me with a kind of everyday reverence that I strive to honor and appreciate.

We are also no longer separate selves in the Cartesian sense. My relationship with Karen, because of this saturated experience of love, is part of my very identity. This relationship helps to constitute who I am. I have a kind of shared being with her—perhaps even "one flesh", as the scriptures teach us (for example, Gen. 2:24). You all know about the old couple who finish each other's sentences. Marion puts it this way: "I am [only] insofar as I love and [am loved]."[30] How, then, can I be selfish or use her to my own ends when she is part of me?[31] And Marion doesn't believe that she merely enters my world; my love for her serves as a bridge to the real world, where I don't always get what I want. I'm not the king or the ultimate controller in the real world. In this sense, Marion doesn't just believe that love is required for good relationships; he believes that gracious love is required to be *in touch with reality*.

In fact, it is only when we are in touch with this loving reality that we can truly develop as selves. We were reminded of the need for gracious love in 1989 when severely neglected orphans were discovered in

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27. Miroslav Volf, *Flourishing: Why We Need Religion in a Globalized World* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2015), 204.

28. As Gschwandtner, in *Reading Jean-Luc Marion,* 237, notes, "The Cartesian ego here loses control not just over other objects but even over itself."

29. To become a self in this manner is to become a me that is "uncovered, stripped bare, decentered." Marion, *Prolegomena to Charity,* 84.

30. Marion, *Erotic Phenomenon,* 195.

31. Similar to Lévinas (see *Totality and Infinity*), love goes beyond the universality and abstractness of deontological ethics, and it issues an ethical call for the particular other. Only love, in fact, can concretize and individualize the face of the other.

Romania.[32] Infants simply cannot thrive without gracious love.[33] I say *gracious* love specifically because infants never do anything to deserve the love of their caretakers; infants just *are,* in all their otherness from us. There is no reciprocity with infants, no business transaction; we love them because of who they are. With infants, an experience with a gracious caregiver is a *saturated* experience, one that breaks through their mental representations and invites them into the real world. Marion's understanding of love, for this reason, explains why gracious love is central not only to our mental health but also to our initial and continuing growth as people.

American poet Christian Wiman seems to capture some of the spirit of Marion's account and my own experience of Karen when he writes about falling in love with his own wife:

> Not only was that gray veil between me and the world ripped aside, colors aching back into things, but all the particulars of the world suddenly seemed in excess of themselves, and thus more truly themselves. We, too, were part of this enlargement: it was as if our love demanded some expression beyond the blissful intensity our two lives made. I thought for years that any love had to be limiting, that it was a zero-sum game: what you gave with one part of yourself had to be taken from another. In fact, the great paradox of love, and not just romantic love, is that a closer focus may go hand in hand with a broadened scope.[34]

Conclusion

So what, in conclusion, are the practical implications of Marion's understanding of love for our everyday lives? What lessons can we draw? I ask you to consider ten such lessons.

1. Love is to some degree ungraspable, so don't get upset when your spouse's description of his or her love is inadequate.

2. Love isn't deserved; it's a gift. We don't deserve true gifts; otherwise it's not a gift at all—it's a business transaction. We don't ask

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32. See Mary Battiata, "Despite Aid, Romanian Children Face Bleak Lives," *Washington Post,* January 7, 1991, A1, A20.

33. See Michelle DeKlyen and Mark T. Greenberg, "Attachment and Psychopathology in Childhood," in *Handbook of Attachment: Theory, Research, and Clinical Applications,* ed. Jude Cassidy and Phillip R. Shaver, 2d ed. (New York: Guilford Press, 2008), 637–65.

34. Christian Wiman, *My Bright Abyss: Meditation of a Modern Believer* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2013), 67.

true givers to justify their gifts. We accept them humbly, enjoy them, respond with gratefulness, and then give gifts to others who don't deserve them, like us.

3. Avoid "calculator relationships," in which we keep track of units of love given to one another. If we're keeping track of them, they aren't units of love at all.

4. You don't love someone so they can be happy. Love isn't the means to something else; it's the end. The quality of your relationship is the main thing, not the emotional satisfaction of the individuals in the relationships.

5. Love is widely recognized as crucial to mental health, but psychologists typically interpret it as an instrument of individual happiness rather than a crucial pathway out of our egoistic world.

6. Unlike egoistic theories of the social sciences, we are completely capable of unselfishness, whether it is love of a country or love of a person. And, perhaps surprisingly, true unselfishness isn't necessarily experienced as sacrificial, because the other who is loved is literally part of us.

7. Otherness is not the enemy or disrupter of relationships. Loving someone who is different can make us vulnerable, but this vulnerability is part of us giving up control and getting in touch with the real world.

8. When otherness is not the enemy, marital conflicts are less threatening and more productive.

9. The otherness of gracious love is pivotal to our initial and continuing development as persons.

10. Otherness ultimately becomes the spice of our relationships; loving similarities solely is akin to loving a mirror image of ourselves, which is just another kind of selfishness.

These, I believe, are some of the lessons of Marion. I hope they bless your lives as they have mine.

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The Political Climate of Saxony during the Conversion of Karl G. Maeser

With Special Reference to the Franklin D. Richards Letter to Brigham Young, November 1855

A. LeGrand Richards

In September 1855, Franklin D. Richards, who was serving as "President of the Church in Europe," toured the Church membership on the Continent. In three weeks, he visited the members in France, Switzerland, and Italy, bearing testimony, strengthening the members, and hearing the stories of their struggles.[1]

President Richards did not plan to visit Germany during this trip because no inroads had been developed into any of the German provinces except a few members in Hamburg. Germany had been rigidly unwelcoming to previous attempts by missionaries. In 1852, Daniel Carn had attempted to organize a small branch in Hamburg but was banished to Denmark. In 1853, Orson Spencer had traveled from Salt Lake City to Berlin because the king of Prussia had expressed interest through a representative in Washington, D.C., in learning more about the Mormons. Church materials in German were immediately sent, and it was decided to call Orson Spencer and Jacob Houtz to follow up with the king personally. The syndic of Hamburg had debated a long time whether to

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1. Daniel Tyler kept a detailed account of Richards's visit in this journal. Daniel Tyler, Journal, 1854 November–1855 November, MS 4846, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, especially September 12–October 2, 1855; see also "Departures," *Millennial Star* 17 (September 22, 1855): 605; (September 29, 1855): 620; "President F. D. Richards," *Millennial Star* 17 (October 20, 1855): 665; (November 10, 1855): 723; compare also A. LeGrand Richards, *Called to Teach: The Legacy of Karl G. Maeser* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 2014), 100–103.

allow Mormons in Hamburg before they rejected Carn. When Spencer and Houtz explained their hopes to open Prussia to their preaching, the American consul predicted that Prussia would not be as lenient with these elders as Hamburg had been with Elder Carn. Mr. Bromberg of the consul predicted that in Prussia "their course will be prompt and energetic, probably setting you out of their kingdom *immediately.*"[2]

Feeling called to proceed anyway and hopeful that the king's request for Church materials gave them the "right to anticipate at least a respectable reception," Spencer and Houtz persevered and were met at the railway station by "soldiers armed with guns and bayonets." Spencer decided to make an open appeal to the king because proceeding covertly would not be practical given "the system of secret espionage" that dominated the culture of Prussia at the time. Spencer was never allowed time with the king; the "State's Minister of Public Worship," Karl von Raumer, denied his request and dictated an order expressly forbidding the elders from staying. "You, Orson Spencer and Jacob Houtz, are hereby commanded to depart out of this kingdom to-morrow morning, under the penalty of *transportation*; and you are also forbidden ever to return to this kingdom hereafter, under the penalty of being transported." Spencer was shocked that because of his religion he was "subjected to such abrupt and rigid banishment."[3]

Other attempts to introduce the restored gospel to the provinces of Germany met similar resistance in 1853. George Riser was officially expelled from his own birth town, Kornwestheim, in Württemberg, because he wanted to open it to missionary work.[4] Jacob Secrist nearly reached the border of Saxony when he was arrested and sent back to Hamburg.[5]

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2. Orson Spencer, *The Prussian Mission of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Liverpool: S. W. Richards, 1853), 3. For an analysis of this experience in the context of the politics in continental Europe, see Jacob G. Bury, "The Politics of Proselytizing: Europe after 1848 and the Development of Mormon Pre-Millennialism" (2016), All Graduate Plan B and Other Reports, Utah State University, available on DigitalCommons@USU, http://docplayer .net/48493609-The-politics-of-proselytizing-europe-after-1848-and-the-devel opment-of-mormon-pre-millenialism.html.

3. Spencer, *Prussian Mission,* 6, 4, 10–11.

4. George C. Riser to S. W. Richards, "The German Mission," *Millennial Star* 15 (June 4, 1853): 365–67.

5. J. F. Secrist to S. W. Richards, "The German Mission," *Millennial Star* 15 (June 4, 1853): 362–65.

In July 1855, Daniel Tyler, president of the German, French, and Italian mission in Switzerland, received a suspicious letter from a Mister Karl Mäser in Saxony. Karl Gottfried Mäser (hereafter written as Maeser) was a teacher at the Budich Institut, a private school in Dresden that was also the first Saxon teacher training college for women. Maeser had been teaching there as early as 1852 after teaching at least a year at the 1st District School, where he met Edward Schönfeld[6] (hereafter written as Schoenfeld) and his future father-in-law, the director, Benjamin Immanuel Mieth (see figs. 1, 2, and 3).[7] Maeser was preparing a

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6. Roger P. Minert and M. Ralf Bartsch, "Why and How Did Karl G. Maeser Leave Saxony? New Documents Offer New Insights," *BYU Studies Quarterly* 55, no. 2 (2016): 74–98, supposed that Maeser and Schoenfeld met each other at the Budich Institut but thought many of Schoenfeld's later reports appeared with inaccurate dates; in all of them, however, he confirmed that he met Maeser while teaching at the same school. In his autobiography, he recorded that after graduating from his teacher college in Freiberg, "In May 1852 I went through an examination for a position as Teacher in the Capital City of Dresden and received a position on the 1st Bezirkschule (District School) under Director Mieth, whose daughter Ottilie I later have married. . . . In Dresden became acquainted with a Teacher Karl G. Maeser; both of us married daughters of school director Mieth." Edward Schoenfeld, Autobiography, MS 18126, Church History Library. From 1853 to 1856, Schoenfeld is listed exclusively as a teacher in District schools. Schoenfeld is not listed in the 1852 *Adressbuch,* but is listed in the 1853 *Adressbuch* as a *Hulfslehrer* (assistant teacher) with Maeser (Maeser was listed as *Lehrer* [teacher]) at the 1st District School. In 1854–56, he is listed in the *Adressbuch* as *Hulfslehrer* (assistant teacher) in the *IV Bezirkschule* (Fourth District School), verifying that he remained in the district schools and did not join the Budich Institut.

7. Minert and Bartsch found a document listing Maeser's salary in 1852 and concluded that Maeser's only employment in Dresden was at the Budich Institut, starting as early as 1851. This would deny that he taught at the 1st District School, where he worked under Mieth. At the jubilee held for Maeser for his fifty years as a teacher, a recitation was given about each of his five decades of teaching; these were then published in the 1898 edition of Maeser's book *School and Fireside*. It records: "The magistrate of Dresden invited him to teach in the first district school of that city. Promotion soon followed, and his next post of responsibility was that of Oberlehrer or head teacher of the Budig Academy. . . . He had met and fallen in love with a daughter of the principal of the former school—a woman who, for nearly half a century afterwards, worked faithfully by his side through trials such as only a pioneer life can bring." Karl G. Maeser, *School and Fireside* (Provo, Utah: Skelton, 1898), 352–53. If the Budich Institut was Maeser's first place of employment, Maeser himself could have clarified this in his 1898 book. In the Dresden *Adressbuch* of 1853, Maeser is listed at both the

II. Bürgerschule. (Am See Nr. 45. u. 46.)
Director: Belzing, Hnr. Ldw.

Lehrer:		1. Lehrerin: Trescher, Julie.
Naumann, C.	Pfitzmann, Gust.	2. Lehrerin: Hausmann, A. F.
Müller, Joh. Glob.	Zumpe, Hm. Rud.	3. Lehrerin: Wolf, Marie.
Heger, C. Trg.	Gebauer, C. A.	Inspectorin: Böttger, Past. Ehe=
Winkler, Paul.	Müller, Bernh.	gattin.
	Zeichnenlehrer: Fehrmann, O.	

III. Bürgerschule. (In Friedrichstadt.) Ist nach Ostern 1851 aufgehoben worden.

IV. Bürgerschule. (Glacisstraße Nr. 4.)
Director: Zehrfeld, C. A.

Lehrer:	Jacob, F. Hm.	1. Lehrerin: Göhler, Louise Pl.
Krumbholz, C. F.	Kellner, C. F. Otto	2. Lehrerin: Eichler, Rosalie.
Reichenbach, Louis Edgar C.	Dreschke, Rud.	3. Lehrerin: Schütz, Emilie.
Gersch, C.	Gebauer, Joh. C. A.	Inspectorin: Schulz, Geh. Kir=
Boden, Joh. Hnr.	Zeichnenlehrer: Möckel.	chenr. Eheg.

b) Bezirksschulen:

I. Bezirksschule. (Neugasse Nr. 39.)
(Von Ostern 1852 ab im neuen Schulhause an der Waisenhausstraße.)
Director: Mieth, C. Imm.

Lehrer:	Meixner, C. F.	Zeichnenlehrer: Kaul, Geo. Trg.
	Schneider, F. A. J.	1. Lehrerin: Kuhnert, Am.
Müller, Jul.	Mühle, Joh. F.	2. Lehrerin: Kuhnert, Rosalie.
Schiffner, Chst. Gfr.	Euchler, Wilh. Ant.	Inspectorin: Schüller, Mad.
Däßler, Joh. Glieb.	Mäser, C. Gfr.	Inspector: D. Leonhardi sen.
Held, Wilh. Ed.	Hilfslehrer: Mohr, C. Kir.	

II. Bezirksschule. (Am See Nr. 45. u. 46.)
Director: Kaulfuß, C. A.

Lehrer:	Riehle, Rob.	2. Lehrerin: verw. Jentsch,
	Schellhammer, C. Rud.	Ihne. Chstne.
Fichte, F. M.	Wüstner, Gust. Ad.	3. Lehrerin: Naumann, Aug.
Gebauer, C. Ed.	Hilfslehrer: Körbitz, F. Wilh.	Wilhm.
Lansky, Joh. F. A.	— Flade, C. Hnr.	4. Lehrerin: Damm, Louise.
Seidel, F. Wilh. Hm.	Zeichnenlehrer: Kaul, Geo. Trg.	Inspectorin: Barteldes, Mad.
Jacob, C. Emil.	1. Lehrerin: verw. Pech, Ihne.	Inspector: D. Leonhardi.
Seyffart, C. Hm.		

III. Bezirksschule. (Seminarstraße Nr. 4.)
Director: Schulze, C. Hnr. Lehr.

Lehrer:	Michel, Joh. Trg.	1. Lehrerin: Pönitz, Agnes.
	Wilcke, C. Th.	2. Lehrerin: Müller, Ida.
Carl, F. M.	Perthen, Joh. Ldw.	3. Lehrerin: Drobisch.
Zschaler, Joh. Gfr.	Pönitz, Gust.	4. Lehrerin: Preßler.
Wagner, F. Ghelf.	Stiehler, C. F. M.	Inspectorin: Otto, Seminardir.
Wille, Joh. C. F.	Görlich, Chst. A.	Eheg.
Baumgarten, Rud.	Zeichnenlehrer: Schütz, Otto.	Inspector: Barteldes, Kfm.

IV. Bezirksschule.
1. Abtheilung: Knabenschule. (Louisenstraße Nr. 20.)
Director: Nieritz, Gust.

Lehrer:	Bürger, Joh. F.	Hölemann, Otto.
Pilliger, Alb. Theod.	Arnstädt, F. A.	Zeichnenlehrer: Möckel, C. J.
Illing, Fridolin.	v. Feilitsch, Hnr.	

2. Abtheilung: Mädchenschule. (Glacisstraße Nr. 4.)
Director: Zehrfeld, C. A.

Lehrer:	Kaden, C. Emil.	2. Lehrerin: Hincke, Math.
Teichmann, F. Glob.	Wiedemann, Frz. Hm.	3. Lehrerin: Hauffe, Ida.
Stephan, C. Ldw.	Pfeiffer, F. Gust.	Inspectorin: Westen, Regist. Eheg.
Schramm, Joh. F.	Zeichnenlehrer: Möckel, C. J.	Inspector: Seyffert, Stadt=
Michael, Ferd.	1. Lehrerin: Weiß, Sidonie.	rath.

c) Armenschulen:

I. Armenschule. (Im Stadtwaisenhause.)
Director: Jäkel, J. Cäsar.

Lehrer:	Fiebig, C.	Hiehle, C. Gust.
Rothe, C. F., Cantor.	Poscharsky, Louis.	Miersch, Joh. Wilh.

Figure 1. *Adressbuch Dresden 1852*, listing Maeser as a teacher in the 1st District School with Mieth as the director. Courtesy Sächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden.

Figure 2. *Adressbuch Dresden 1852,* showing the Budich Institut at Birkengasse 9, not yet at Königstrasse. Courtesy Sächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden.

Figure 3. *Adressbuch Dresden 1853,* listing both Maeser and Schoenfeld as teachers at the 1st District School. Immanuel Mieth was listed as the director even though he passed away in December 1852. Maeser was also listed as living at the Budich Institut this year. Courtesy Sächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden.

presentation for the Dresden branch of the Saxon Teachers Association regarding the teaching of history when he read an anti-Mormon documentary book by Moritz Busch.[8] This book awakened an unquenchable thirst to learn more about this religion. He could not believe a "people could develop and thrive as the facts showed the Latter-day Saints to

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district school and the Budich Institut, though it is not likely that he had both positions. Mieth is also listed as the director in 1853, though he passed away in December of 1852. See the obituary in the *Sächsische Schulzeitung,* January 9, 1853, 26–27. So, I conclude that the *Adressbuch* was not accurately updated, and that most likely Maeser taught at the district school during the 1851–52 school year, after which he transferred to the Budich Institut. See *Adressbuch der Haupt- und Residenzstadt Dresden* (Dresden: Verlag des Königlichen Sächsischen Adreß-Comptoirs, 1852), 361. These references are available online at http://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/dlf/393/1/.

8. Richards, *Called to Teach,* 82–95. See also A. LeGrand Richards, "Moritz Busch's *Die Mormonen* and the Conversion of Karl G. Maeser," *BYU Studies* 45, no. 4 (2006): 46–67.

have done, and at the same time be of degraded nature and base ideals."[9] He eventually was directed to the address of Daniel Tyler in Switzerland for more information. Knowing that the inquiry itself could bring severe consequences, Maeser ventured forward by writing a letter to Tyler.

Maeser's letter was so positive about the Church that Tyler couldn't believe it was genuine. After all, Switzerland claimed to have religious freedom, and yet his missionaries had been persecuted, arrested, and driven from nearly every Swiss community. The provinces of Germany, however, made no such claims to religious freedom. He, therefore, concluded the letter was probably a ploy by the Saxon government to discover the Church's efforts in Germany, so he returned the letter without any comment.[10] Maeser persisted, and eventually President Tyler decided to contact Franklin D. Richards to ask William Budge if he would be willing to travel from England to Saxony to find out if the inquiry was really sincere.

Budge had spent seven months in Switzerland as one of Daniel Tyler's missionaries. He was arrested thirteen times, was banished from several cantons, and was beaten, so it was decided to reassign him to England.[11] Before Richards left Liverpool for the continent, he visited with Budge to invite him to travel to Saxony to determine if the inquiry from this teacher in Dresden was authentic. Budge accepted, so while Richards visited with Tyler and the Saints in Switzerland and Italy, Budge ventured into Saxony, traveling as an English gentleman desirous of studying German with Maeser. Maeser's reception of Budge was so warm that Budge wrote to Tyler that Maeser and others wanted to be baptized. This letter was forwarded to Richards, and when he returned to Liverpool from the continent and found it, he immediately dropped everything else and set out again, this time for Dresden, writing to Brigham Young, "I leave in ten minutes for Dresden, the capital of Saxony, where I hope to organize a Branch of the Church before I return."[12]

A recent article has claimed that the "almost cloak-and-dagger" descriptions of Maeser's conversion are exaggerations if not outright

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9. As quoted in James E. Talmage, "In Worthy Remembrance," *Millennial Star* 88 (December 9, 1926): 772.

10. Tyler, Journal, July 11, 1855. See also Daniel Tyler, "Incidents of Experience," *Faith-Promoting Series,* vol. 10 (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor, 1882), 43.

11. Jesse R. S. Budge, *The Life of William Budge* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1915), 47–62.

12. Franklin D. Richards to Brigham Young, October 6, 1855, CR 1234, Brigham Young Office Files, 1832–1878, Church History Library.

false. The authors contend that the Maesers were not forced to leave
Germany, that the Church members meeting in the Maeser home would
not have raised concerns with the Dresden police, and that the laws
of Saxony were not as oppressive as previous authors had claimed.[13]
Based on an 1835 law that was reaffirmed in 1850, the authors claimed
"there was no law in 1855 requiring the Dresden Mormons to register
their meetings and no penalty for not doing so," concluding "there is
little probability that the police ever monitored the religious activi-
ties of Maeser and his friends."[14] This claim did not attempt to explain
why nearly every account of those involved with the Dresden branch
indicates that they felt the need to be as secretive as possible; why the
baptisms were held at midnight, in small numbers, at a secluded place
outside of the city; or why it became an important news item all over
Germany and beyond when the congregation of Mormons in Dresden
was discovered. It also overlooked the extension of Saxon law on Janu-
ary 30, 1855, requiring all new and existing organizations (*Vereine*) to
register with the police (see fig. 4). This law was adopted in all the Ger-
man *Bundesstaaten* (states). "Only those associations are to be tolerated
that can provide sufficient proof that their purposes are in accordance
with the federal and state law and will not endanger the public order and
security."[15] Punishments for violating this 1855 law ranged from one to
one hundred *Thaler* or three days' to six months' imprisonment.

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13. Minert and Bartsch, "Why and How Did Karl G. Maeser Leave Saxony?"
74–98.

14. Minert and Bartsch, "Why and How Did Karl G. Maeser Leave Saxony?" 86.

15. *Gesetz- und Verordnungsblatt für das Königreich Sachsen vom Jahre 1855*
(Dresden: CC Meinhold, 1855), 30–31; all translations by the author. Hans Mar-
tin Moderow also contends that associations were required to register based
on an earlier law: "Eine Verordnung, die zu den gemeinsam mit der Wie-
derberufung der alten Stände ergriffenen Maßnahmen gehörte, beschränkte
die Rechte derjenigen Vereine, die 'öffentliche Angelegenheiten' behandelten.
Ihnen wurde auferlegt, ihre Statuten bei den Behörden einzureichen. Dies galt
für Neugründungen, aber auch für die schon bestehenden Vereine. Außer-
dem wurde für alle Versammlungen eine Meldepflicht eingeführt. Zugleich
wurde (§ 24) bestimmt, daß Vereine mit Bezug zu öffentlichen Angelegenhei-
ten nicht als Körperschaft auftreten, keine Zweigvereine bilden und sich nicht
mit anderen Vereinen verbinden durften. Allerdings wurde nicht definiert, was
unter öffentlichen Angelegenheiten zu verstehen war." Hans Martin Moderow,
*Volksschule zwischen Staat und Kirche: das Beispiel Sachsen im 18. und 19. Jahr-
hundert* (Köln: Böhlau, 2007), 255, citing June 3, 1850, *Gesetz- und Verordnungs-
blatt* (GVBl), 137–40; 149–50; June 7, 1850, GVBl, 149–50.

№ 14) Verordnung
zu Ausführung des Bundesbeschlusses vom 13ten Juli 1854;
vom 31sten Januar 1855.

Zu Ausführung des mittels Allerhöchster Verordnung vom 30sten Januar dieses Jahres bekannt gemachten Bundesbeschlusses vom 13ten Juli 1854 wird, mit Allerhöchster Genehmigung, hiermit Folgendes verordnet:

§ 1. In Gemäßheit von § 2 dieses Bundesbeschlusses sind die Ortspolizeibehörden berechtigt, künftig von allen Vereinen ohne Ausnahme und mithin nicht blos von denjenigen Vereinen, deren Zwecke sich auf öffentliche Angelegenheiten beziehen, wenn und so oft sie es für nöthig erachten, über die Einrichtung, die Zwecke und die Wirksamkeit des Vereins genaue Auskunft zu verlangen, insbesondere sich die Vorsteher und Beamten jeden Vereins anzeigen, auch die etwaigen Statuten und Acten desselben zur Einsicht vorlegen zu lassen.

Den dießfallsigen Aufforderungen der Polizeibehörden haben die betreffenden Vereine und insbesondere deren Vorsteher, bei Vermeidung der in §§ 31 und 33 des Gesetzes vom 22sten November 1850 (Gesetz- und Verordnungsblatt vom Jahre 1850, Seite 269) angedrohten Rechtsnachtheile, pünktlich Folge zu leisten.

§ 2. Arbeiter-Vereine und Verbrüderungen von der in der Verordnung vom 4ten Juli 1850 (Gesetz- und Verordnungsblatt vom Jahre 1850, Seite 179), sowie im § 8 des obigen Bundesbeschlusses gedachten Art bleiben auch fernerhin verboten.

Bei Zuwiderhandlungen gegen dieses Verbot ist den Bestimmungen in den §§ 33 und 34 des Gesetzes vom 22sten November 1850 nachzugehen.

§ 3. Im Uebrigen hat es bei dem mehrgedachten Gesetze vom 22sten November 1850, insoweit dasselbe durch die Bestimmungen des Bundesbeschlusses vom 13ten Juli vorigen Jahres nicht abgeändert wird, sein Bewenden.

Dresden, den 31sten Januar 1855.

Ministerium des Innern.
Frhr. von Beust.

Eppendorf.

Letzte Absendung: am 28sten Februar 1855.

FIGURE 4. Saxon ordinance of January 31, 1855, requiring all associations, without exception, to register and to give precise details of their purposes, leaders, and officers. Failure to do so would bring the punishments detailed in the 1850 law. (*Gesetz- und Verordnungsblatt für das Königreich Sachsen vom Jahre 1855,* 32.)

Numerous international historians have documented that the provinces of Germany following the failed revolutions of 1848–49 engaged in severe reactionary policies to squelch democracy, becoming police states, in Martin Kitchen's terms, "an army of snoopers and informers."[16] Foreigners were viewed with particular suspicion, and teachers were subjected to regular "inspections" of their schools and homes for forbidden materials. Every major account of Maeser's conversion affirms that the political climate of Dresden at the time was extremely oppressive.[17]

Maeser's Account

The "Report of the Organization of a Branch of the Church of Jesus Christ of L.D. Saints at Dresden, Kingdom of Saxony, 1855," attributed to and signed by Karl Maeser after he arrived in Salt Lake supports this description:[18]

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16. See, for example, Martin Kitchen, *A History of Modern Germany, 1800–2000* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2006), 91–92; Christian Jansen, "Saxon Forty-Eighters in Postrevolutionary Epoch, 1849–1867," in *Saxony in German History,* ed. James Retallack (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), 149; and Moderow, *Volksschule zwischen Staat und Kirche,* 250–80.

17. Minert and Bartsch dismiss these entries as unverified and probably exaggerated by Maeser; however, they do not offer any evidence that Maeser was prone to such exaggeration. They do admit that it would have been intolerable ("untragbar") for Maeser and Schoenfeld to keep their school posts if it had been known they were Mormons.

18. Minert and Bartsch claim that in spite of Maeser's signature at the end of the document, "the title makes it clear that it was written by Franklin D. Richards." Minert and Bartsch, "Why and How Did Karl G. Maeser Leave Saxony?" 84. The full title of the document is "Report of the Organization of a Branch of the Church of Jesus Christ of L.D. Saints at Dresden, Kingdom of Saxony. Oct. 21, 1855. by Franklin D. Richards, one of the twelve Apostles." MS 391, Church History Library. There are inaccuracies in this record, especially regarding specific dates, but there is little reason to believe that the description of the social climate at the time was fabricated. Analysis of the handwriting clearly shows that Maeser was the writer, and the title makes it clear that Franklin D. Richards was the one who organized the branch—not the one who wrote the history. Maeser signed the report as: "Reporter." This report is now available online at https://dcms.lds.org/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE10058319. Minert and Bartsch suppose, "Neither Maeser nor Schoenfeld made any such claim" that the branch drew the attention of the police. They overlooked accounts by both authors to the contrary. Karl G. Maeser, "Dresden Branch 1855," LR 3168 v. 1—CRMH microfilm, German Mission History, Church History Library.

> Being obliged to maintain the utmost secrecy on account of the police, Elder Budge's stay was represented as being for the purpose of learning the german language, which he really did and with astonishing rapidity. . . . Being forced to be very cautious the brethren did not see one another as they desired, but the work was carried on the following days, so that the following Wednesday, the other five members of the family were baptized by Elders Richards, Kimball and Budge, to wit: Henrietta Mieth, Emil Mieth, Anna Maeser, Otillie Schoenfeld, and Camilla Mieth.[19]

Richards and Kimball then acted as tourists the following day, visiting the grave of Martin Luther, "by which movement the aroused suspicion of the police was again evaded."[20]

Maeser spoke at a conference in Philadelphia in August of 1857 about which the *New York Times* reported: "He heard of Mormonism and scoffed at it at first, but when he examined it and came to know more of it he could not express in the English language what he felt then. His happiness, and strength, and life had increased since he had joined the Saints. For this he had left his fatherland, where he was not permitted to hold this belief—for this he had left his parents,—for this he had left his friends."[21]

Another special conference was held in August 1858 in Philadelphia, and Maeser spoke again. This time the *New York Herald* reported the story (calling him Elder Mainer) who "gave a pithy exposition of his views of Mormonism in a rather striking German accent. He had embraced the new faith in a despotic country, where the few Saints had been watched closely, and prevented from assembling for worship even in private houses. So guarded were they in their proceedings, that when brother met brother they passed each other as strangers, and had to counsel and consult each other by correspondence. He thanked God that he lived now in America, and understood the great principles of exaltation."[22]

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19. Maeser, "Dresden Branch 1855."
20. Maeser, "Dresden Branch 1855," 3.
21. "A Mormon Woods Meeting!: Three Days in a Jersey Wilderness," *New York Times,* August 31, 1857, 5.
22. "The Mormons," *New York Herald,* August 29, 1858, 3.

Edward Schoenfeld

Edward Schoenfeld was also baptized in the night of October 14, 1855. He did not go into great detail about the political climate in Dresden, but his account affirms that Saxony was not welcoming to the Church. In his autobiography, he wrote that William Budge, the first missionary, was sent to Dresden "under the guise of a traveling Englishman to learn the German language." A guise would not have been needed if the police had no interest in the organization of a new religious branch, nor would President Richards and William Kimball had been required to leave Dresden immediately after forming the branch "to avoid the suspicion of the police."[23] In a letter to Andrew Jenson, Church historian, on January 11, 1914, Schoenfeld described how after Christmas 1855 "the knowledge of our doings leaked out and Bro. Maeser and I were counseled to go to England, because as Protestant school teachers we would have been prosecuted, according to the then very stringent laws of Saxony."[24]

William Budge

William Budge was the missionary originally sent to Dresden in September 1855 to determine whether investigators there were serious. Budge's biography written by his son describes the political climate of Saxony. He reported a number of experiences he was told by his father that illustrated the risk he took: "Father then went to police headquarters to obtain a permit to remain for a time in the city, and to deposit his passport. He explained to the officials that as he could speak the German language but imperfectly, he desired to take further instruction in it, and that if there was no objection he would very much like to occupy a room at the home of Professor Maeser who had offered to assist him."[25] He continued by describing the policies of the police:

> In view of the fact that the movements of strangers were very carefully noted by the government officials, it was necessary that father exercise great care in the performance of his mission. . . . To avert any suspicion on the part of the political authorities by keeping himself within

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23. Edward Schoenfeld, Autobiography, MSS SC 1076, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

24. Edward Schoenfeld to Andrew Jenson, January 11, 1914, transcription available on FamilySearch.org, https://www.familysearch.org/photos/artifacts/19547619?pid=KWNX-DKZ.

25. Budge, *Life of William Budge*, 65.

the view of the police, father, during the day time, was in the habit of showing himself on the streets, attending musical entertainments and frequenting refreshment establishments, where policemen were commonly found . . .—the police regulations forbidding more than a very limited number of persons from congregating in any private house.²⁶

Budge then described some of the stories his father told the family: "The police were very vigilant in looking after those whom they supposed to be political agents, and any man was subject to arrest on suspicion and imprisoned until the authorities were satisfied that he was not an undesirable resident; and it might be added that a trial upon any charge was at such time as might suit the convenience or whim of the authorities." He then reported that his father was followed and suggested that the authorities were suspicious. His father stated, "I considered it was about time for me to look to my health by taking a change of air."²⁷

Daniel Tyler

Daniel Tyler was president of the Swiss, Italian, French, and German Mission. He did not travel to Dresden but received Maeser's inquiry letter. The actual letter has not been found, but it was said to be so positive that Tyler could not believe it was sincere.

In his autobiography, Tyler wrote, "In consideration of the excitement and desire on the part of many police authorities to trap the Elders; Elder Chislett and myself looked upon it [Maeser's first inquiry letter] as a snare to entrap us. I returned the letter without answer." After it was decided that Maeser was sincere, a proposal was made to send an elder "under the guise of a teacher of the English language," but Tyler believed that "such a policy might draw a class around him who would be liable to betray him to prison and banishment," so he proposed that an elder be sent as a student of German, "if there was free toleration of religion perhaps I might send an Elder to preach the gospel to others as well as to instruct him further in its principles. He wrote, in answer, that no religion, except the Lutheran, was allowed to be taught, and that was the national religion." So William Budge was sent "as a gentleman

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26. Budge, *Life of William Budge,* 66.
27. Budge, *Life of William Budge,* 69.

from England, having come to complete his education in the German language."[28]

John Van Cott, president of the Scandinavian Mission, received Maeser's first letter and had directed him to Tyler for German materials. When Maeser received his letter back from Tyler unanswered, he forwarded it to Van Cott with another letter asking for an explanation. Van Cott wrote in his journal on July 29, 1855, "Received 2 letters from Dresden makeing enquiries concerning the way and manner by which they could be adopted into the kingdom of God."[29] Considering the political climate in Saxony at the time, it is no wonder Tyler had a hard time believing Maeser's original letter was sincere!

Of course, these accounts could have been affected by time and retelling, but the general points of the experience are confirmed in all the accounts. The government of Saxony did care a great deal if a group of Mormons were secretly meeting.

William Kimball

"Having had some anxiety for our personal safety,"[30] Franklin D. Richards recorded, he requested William Kimball to accompany him to Dresden for protection. Kimball, who had served in the Nauvoo militia, kept a daily diary during 1855, but his entries during October read as if he were only a tourist (as though he wanted to conceal his real purpose should his things be searched). He made no reference to the baptisms performed or Church meetings or the names of people he met. On October 13, they met Maeser, and he wrote, "Left Berlin at 7 A.M. by train for Dresden. Arrived at Dresden at one PM. Put up at Stadt Wien Hotel. Took a walk threw [*sic*] the City in the even William Budge and another man came in and spent the evening with us."[31] He recorded

28. Tyler, "Incidents of Experience," 44. In August 1882, Maeser agreed for Tyler to publish this story, "if you think thereby any good can be done to the youth of our people you may refer to me in the manner indicated by you." He did not insist on corrections. Tyler Papers, August 1882, MS 4846 3, Church History Library.

29. John Van Cott, Journal, July 29, 1855, MSS 1035, 1:223, Perry Special Collections.

30. Franklin D. Richards, Journal, October 11, 1855, MS 1215 6, Church History Library.

31. William H. Kimball, Journal, October 13, 1855, MS 8795, Church History Library.

the historical sites they visited and the Catholic mass they attended but revealed nothing about the baptisms held in the nights of October 14 and 18 or the formation of a branch of the Church on October 21, 1855.

Franklin D. Richards to Brigham Young—November 3, 1855

The most detailed and credible account of Maeser's conversion is found in a letter of Franklin D. Richards to Brigham Young on November 3, 1855,[32] immediately following his return to Liverpool from his trip to Dresden where the baptism took place on October 14, 1855. This letter, received May 10, 1856, is completely illegible from the microfilm copy and very difficult to read from the online version, because the original was badly smeared (see fig. 5) in the copy process.[33] With special permission, I was allowed access to the original and, with a magnifying glass and several hours of careful examination, I was able to transcribe nearly all of the letter. Because it is not generally available to a larger audience, I have included the following rendition of the relevant portions of the letter. It confirms the political climate of Dresden at the time:

> Nov. 3rd 1855—[received May 10, 1856?]
> President Brigham Young
> Dear Brother,
>
> I have the pleasure to acknowledge receipt of your general letter and list of property for sale. and P. E. Fund Communication for publication in the Star, all bearing date Aug 31st for which please accept my grateful thanks. . . .
> My letters still unacknowledged by you are of the dates of July & Aug. 4.th. Sep 6 and Oct 6. I am at a loss to express in becoming terms the gratitude I feel in my immortal soul for the choice letter you have recently favoured me with. which shown forth the dealings of the Lord with his people in Zion. . . . [end of p. 1] . . .

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32. Minert and Bartsch, "Why and How Did Karl G. Maeser Leave Saxony?" 90–91, overlooked the discussion of this letter in *Called to Teach* and claimed that I believed the 1892 account of Franklin D. Richards was the most credible.

33. Franklin D. Richards to Brigham Young, November 3, 1855, CR 1234 1, Brigham Young Office Files. In Young's reply, he wrote, "While I think of it, I wish to suggest to you that in copying with the press for duplicates, the manuscript in some of your letters is nearly defaced by wetting the impression, while the paper is too wet, if your clerks would use the blotting paper a little more freely before they put in the manuscript, this might be avoided." Brigham Young to Franklin D. Richards, May 29, 1856, CR 1234 1 2 827, Brigham Young Office Files.

As intimated to you in my last I left on its date [October 6, 1855] for Germany, being joined at Hull on my way by Bro. William H. Kimball. At Hamburgh during the night of the 10th the Lord Comforted us with a dream in which it was shown to me that we should pass through the scrutiny of the police without harm, and in[?] the dream I saw them just after we had got out, hunting for

FIGURE 5. First page of a letter from Franklin D. Richards to Brigham Young, November 3, 1855, describing his trip to Dresden when Karl G. Maeser and Edward Schoenfeld were baptized. The letter was smeared during the copy process, making it very difficult to read. Courtesy Church History Library.

us. Spending one day in Hamburgh another in Berlin, during which time we visited the most interesting and important places admissible to strangers. We arrived in Dresden the capital of Saxony at noon of the 11th of October. The accompanying view is precisely the same [end of p. 2] as that from the room which we occupied in the "Staat Wein [*sic*]" (Vienna State Hotel). This place is about 400[?] English miles a little South of East from Liverpool. Contains about 100.000 inhabitants. 5000 of whom with the King are Roman Catholics. The remaining nineteen twentieths are Lutheran protestants. After our interview with Elder Wm. Budge, who had been there some three or four Weeks, we found we could do nothing toward establishing the Gospel in that place except in[?] the teeth of all Saxon law and in elusion of the most rigid police surveillance. In Switzerland, the law nominally allows the promulgation of all doctrines which are in accordance with the Old and New Testaments. The Elders were not banished from the Cantons for teaching such doctrines, but for proselyting to a new political government now being set up in America. Not so in Saxony, there no religious liberty exists except for Catholics and Lutherans. But I would not return and give it up. So, everything that was in [illegible]. We had come by the counsel of the Holy Spirit, and we immediately determined to do
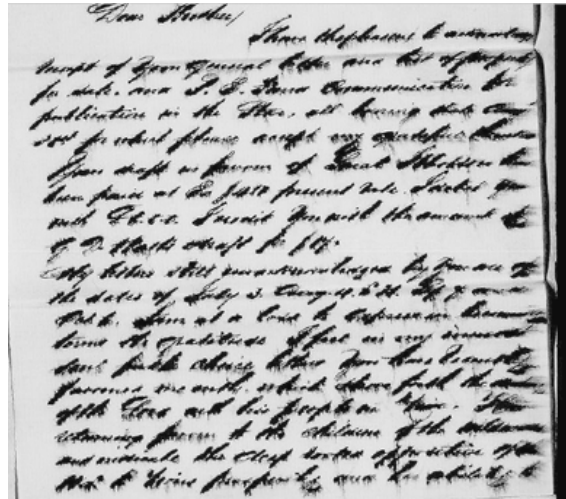
whatsoever the Spirit would help us in doing. Accordingly next day Sunday we privately [end of p. 3] met a few friends and taught them the Gospel. Bro. Budge interpreting and the same Assisting[?] I administered baptism to Karl G. Mäser, a professor or principal of an institute and Frederick E. Schönfeld, and Edward G. Martin, teachers. On Tuesday evening the 16th we ventured[?] another setting[?] down together and the next day received word that five others were ready for baptism. On Friday evening the 18th I baptized Christianne H. Mieth age 45 years. Anna H. Mäser age 25 yrs, Caroline C A Schönfeld age 24 yrs. Emile O. E. C. Mieth, age 16 yrs and Clara C. Mieth, age 12 yrs. Being Bro. Mäser's entire household, except an infant whom we blessed on the Sunday following, when we Confirmed the members and organized a Branch of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter day Saints, calling it the Dresden Branch. At this meeting held at Bro. Mäser's, where each of the other meetings were held, we administered the Sacrament and gave such leading instructions as the spirit directed and the time allowed. As we considered ourselves momentarily in jeopardy and knew not the hour when Bro. Budge might be thrust into prison [end of p. 4] or be banished from the country. I felt constrained to ordain Bro. Mäser to the office of an Elder that the right to administer spiritual blessings might be left among them. I also ordained Elder Budge a Seventy, blessing him with a portion of the apostleship that he might be an apostle to the German Saints. He is one of those choice spirits of whom there seem to be but few in the Earth. He was imprisoned in and banished from Switzerland, which experience is precious to him and profitable to the Dresden Saints. He is in Saxony as an English gentleman from Cambridge, being a foreign[?] scholar of Professor Mäsers, to complete his education in the German Language. Having instructed him in such items as the circumstances of the Branch seemed to require we felt that we had then accomplished the Work we were sent to do and accordingly called for our passports and came[?] off as soon as we could with propriety, but [illegible]ed we had discovered we were watched.

By a disguised letter which I presume is from Elder Budge, just received, I am informed that the Saints had scarcely got their baptism[?] papers and everything that could fix suspicions[?] [end of p. 5] hidden when he and his effects were seized by the police on the suspicion that he was engaged in something contrary to the law. (Saxon I presume) but on examination doubtless to their satisfaction he was enabled to resume his studies. He also informed me that the papers immediately after our departure, announced the visit of Governor Young's Son to Copenhagen, which doubtless very much strengthened their apprehensions.

Saxon law requires that every child shall be christened at about the age of one month and in default of which its parents are fined eine

Thaler (equal to 46 Cents U.S. for each day they are delinquent. Communicants are required to partake of their Sacrament once or twice a year, in default of either of these our brethren must betray their faith. Again the teachers in the Government Schools are Sworn by an Oath to maintain and teach the Lutheran faith, text books being furnished them from which they must teach their Scholars. Thus presenting the anomalous fact of a Roman Catholic King requiring his Subjects to become protestants by law. These facts present the greatest difficulties to our Young brethren there, that they have found in their investigations of Mormonism. How can they [end of p. 6] reconcile their consciences to pursue the course which seems indispensable to their existence and the maintenance of the Trust in that land till the Work is established so that the honest may be gathered out? This they desire most fervently to do, being warm[?] and full of love to their Countrymen. Upon the two first points baptism and communion circumstances help them as they continue[?] to overcome or elude the difficulty.

On the two last points they and I desire your suggestions. At best their Case demands our sympathy, for when their faith is known imprisonment or banishment probably both, are the mildest forms in which their case will be treated, unless as in a case lately tried in Switzerland they might be sentenced to a term of imprisonment, another term of hard labour. Their Ca[illegible] themselves prohibited from ever leaving their native Country and from getting married.

In helping to commence the Work in Dresden the Lord has granted me one great desire of my life for ever since you counselled me to learn that language while we were together on the Counsel Boat in Ohio in 1844 my feelings have been particularly led towards [end of page 7] the German people, and I have made three[?] several efforts to learn the language. The little which I have acquired I found an essential aid to me as I was enabled to administer baptism in the tongue of the candidates and am now more than ever resolved to acquire the language. Please let nothing concerning the Work in Saxony go into print or be made public in any way outside the Territory until the mustard seed as sprouted and got strength to live. Our most fanciful apprehensions are from what would result from such a circumstance as this. . . .

With everlasting love, I remain your fellow labourer,

F. D. Richards.[34]

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34. Richards to Young, November 3, 1855. To view the entire transcript of the letter, see https://byustudies.byu.edu/content/political-climate-saxony -during-conversion-karl-g-maeser-supplementary-material.

After organizing the Dresden Branch on Sunday, October 21, Richards and Kimball attended the Saxon state fair and left on Tuesday morning at 4:00 a.m. to return to England,[35] leaving Budge with the new members for several more weeks. The little branch struggled on in secret until the next spring when the authorities became aware of its existence. In March 1856, Franklin D. Richards reported to Brigham Young that Maeser had visited England for about two weeks and that the Dresden Branch was growing "cheeringly," adding, "The police had not then discovered their movements although they were nearly ready to organize two other branches." Maeser had reported to him "that the Church increases by the grace of God every day."[36]

Were the Police Involved in Maeser Leaving Saxony?

Maeser's history of the Dresden Branch describes some of the events that followed after the branch was formed in October 1855:

> About the beginning of December the church in Saxony had increased to 32 members, when a letter arrived from President Richards from Liverpool, summoning Elder Maeser to England during the holidays. The latter started off at once and visited with Elder Budge, the saints in Liverpool, Glasgow, and Edinburgh, attending their meetings, speaking several times in German and returned highly benefited after a four weeks' absence to Dresden. During his absence things had become clouded, the saints not observing the strict discretion perhaps enjoined upon them, had given cause to the police to inspect, and they were watched in all their movements, and Brother Maeser saw that the net was drawn tighter around them every day. To save from the coming catastrophe as many as he could, he sent his brother-in-law, with his wife and sister, Auguste Bartholomeus, who also had been baptized, to England, being himself determined to stay at his post and risk the consequences. But upon the representation of Brother Schoenfeld to Pres. Richards, a note arrived releasing Elder Maeser of his appointment and ordering him to come to England forthwith.

No official German records have yet been found that verify Maeser was arrested or questioned by the police, but no surviving record of police action does not mean that none occurred. No records have been found that Franklin D. Richards, William Kimball, or William Budge

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35. Kimball, Journal, October 22, 1855.

36. Franklin D. Richards to Brigham Young, March 28, 1856, CR 1234 1, Brigham Young Office Files, 1832–78, Church History Library.

ever visited Dresden in 1855 either, but the lack of extant police documentation among the records that survived the bombing of Dresden in 1945 does not prove that there was no involvement.

On March 28, 1856, John L. Smith, president of the Swiss and Italian Mission, wrote in his journal, "Received a Letter from Karl Mäser Dresden 24th written in English; that they called the branch Bethesda, now number 30 members. The police are very attentive and he is obliged to move with great caution."[37] On May 14, 1856, Smith recorded, "Received a letter from Elder Mäser Dresden 14th inst. that the police knew he was a Mormon & were watching him very closely. They had had him before them & in prison, but he did not know what they would do yet."[38]

In October 1856, Orson Pratt, who replaced Richards over the European missions, wrote to Brigham Young, "The Brethren Meäser and Schonfield who were banished from Dresden Saxony are in London and doing a good work among the Germans and Danes there, baptized quite a number and organized a branch. The work is progressing also in Dresden in spite of the opposition of the Priests and police, under the direction of Elder Meäser President of that Mission."[39]

The biography given at Maeser's fiftieth jubilee and published in *School and Fireside* reported, "For no sooner was it known to the authorities that he had 'turned Mormon' than he was compelled not only to give up his position, but to flee from his native land."[40] Daniel Tyler's account continued, "When the authorities learned to their satisfaction that he had joined the Church of the Saints they not only dropped him from his position, but banished him from the kingdom."[41]

The Saxon minister of education Von Beust had placed very stringent requirements on the teachers in May 1851 and expanded the reasons for dismissing them, including: "If the teacher in a flagrant manner neglects the religious practice of the confession to which he by virtue of his office is obliged," or "If the teacher is guilty of making invective statements

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37. John L. Smith, Missionary journal, March 28, 1856, MSS 680, Perry Special Collections. I am left to suppose that they called the branch "Bethesda" to help keep it undiscovered.

38. John L. Smith, Journal, May 4, 1856, Church History Library.

39. Orson Pratt to Brigham Young, October 31, 1856, CR 1234 1, Church History Library.

40 Maeser, *School and Fireside,* 353–54. Before its publication, Maeser did not attempt to correct this rendition.

41. Daniel Tyler, "Incidents of Experience," *Classic Experiences and Adventures* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1969), chapter 5, 45.

about the constitution and ordinances, or likewise about the officials of the state or church."[42] School inspectors were given strict instructions to make regular visits, "especially to monitor the behavior of the teacher within and without his office and to annotate precisely and impartially not only his perceptions regarding the school protocol, but also to notify the district school inspector without delay regarding social mischief that they cannot remedy."[43] School inspectors who knowingly gave a good reference "against the truth" or who knowingly failed to disclose unacceptable qualities were forced to pay the salary increase given the teacher out of their own salary.

To suppose that the police had nothing to do with Maeser and Schoenfeld leaving Saxony is to overlook too much evidence. After Maeser and Schoenfeld left for England, a flurry of newspaper articles appeared in Dresden, Cologne, Augsburg, Munich, and Berlin, suggesting that uncovering a secret congregation of Mormons was indeed a shocking news item. Maeser, then in England, responded to one report in the *Sächsische Dorfzeitung* that intimated he had joined the Mormons out of ambition to become an "Apostle" in his new home in Salt Lake or at least to overcome his "failed financial circumstances." The article continued by recommending that anyone who would like to know more about the Mormons should consult the new book by Moritz Busch.[44] Maeser reminded the readers that the other side should also be heard.

While not every newspaper report confirmed the oppressive nature of the Saxon government at the time, they all recognized that the existence of a Mormon congregation in Dresden was alarming. It was even considered surprising news in the United States. On September 17, 1856, the *German Reformed Messenger* (published in Pennsylvania) reported the story, concluding, "In Saxony they [the Mormons] have succeeded in forming a society of adherents in the city of Dresden, carefully avoiding any

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42. *Gesetz- und Verordnungsblatt für das Königreich Sachsen vom Jahre 1851,* May 3, 1851, no. 33, §4 109.

43. *Gesetz- und Verordnungsblatt für das Königreich Sachsen vom Jahre 1851,* May 5, 1851, no. 34, §4–7, 111.

44. *Sächsische Dorfzeitung*, August 22, 1856, 271. The Moritz Busch book, ironically, was the book that introduced Maeser to the Church, in spite of the author's intent to criticize the Church's followers. See Richards, "Moritz Busch's *Die Mormonen*."

collision with the police, who are ever on the alert for new religious sects, suspecting every new doctrine to be a mere cloak for some political plot."[45]

The *Kölnische Zeitung* also provided evidence that the police would have been very concerned about a secret congregation of Mormons in Dresden: "While individuals cannot be forbidden from joining a faith according to their whims or to discuss religious systems, naturally these people must be very cunning to build a congregation without facing further police actions. Our 'saints of the last days' are clever enough to stay out of sight."[46]

In an 1856 article in the *Historisch-politische Blätter für das katholische Deutschland,* Josef Edmund Jörg wrote a lengthy treatise on Mormonism[47] and its political ambitions to create a heaven on earth. After describing its basic beliefs, he turned to its missionary success in various countries. While it had found much success in parts of Europe, it met stiff resistance in Germany. He described how seven missionaries had been sent to Germany to establish the work, but all had been expelled ("*ausgewiesen*") or thrust out ("*fortgeschubt*") by the police, when suddenly a month previously the news came that a secret congregation had been formed in Dresden, apparently without the police being aware of it. It included two of the city's teachers (Mäser and Schönfeld), supposing that there were undoubtedly more congregations in Germany secretly gathering without the knowledge of the police. He concluded, "At any rate, only the police will carry the guilt if the German protestant nation is not highly represented in the new age in the valleys of Utah."[48] Apparently, this author was convinced that police toleration of Mormonism in Germany would constitute negligence of their duty.

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45. *German Reformed Messenger,* September 17, 1856. This article was also reprinted in the New York *Independent,* "Spread of Mormonism," October 2, 1856, 320.

46. *Kölnische Zeitung,* August 25, 1856. "Natürlich hüten diese Leute sich wohl, eine Gemeinde zu bilden, weil sie dann ohne Weiteres mit der Polizei in Händel geraten würden, während es den Individuen nicht verwehrt werden kann, sich einem Glauben nach Belieben anzuschließen und über religiöse Systeme sich zu unterhalten. Unsere 'Heiligen vom jüngsten Tage' sind klug genug, jedes Aussehen zu vermeiden."

47. Josef Edmund Jörg, "Der Mormonismus," in "Streiflichter auf die neueste Geschichte des Protestantismus," *Historisch-politische Blätter für das katholische Deutschland* 38 (1856): 1068–110.

48. Jörg, "Der Mormonismus," 1107.

Karl Maeser's story remains one of a remarkable seeker of truth, who embraced the restored gospel knowing that it would require a great personal sacrifice. Saxony was not welcoming to the new faith. He stayed at his post in Dresden attempting to share the gospel until it was no longer tenable. He left his beloved fatherland with a heavy heart, but one also filled with hope for the future. On his way to America in 1857, he wrote to his German compatriots:

> My entrance into the Church was difficult and turbulent. It wasn't enough that I had to sacrifice my fatherland, my professional position, my possessions, the love of my parents and friends and my good name before the world, but before I stood ready to fully enjoy the marvelous blessings of Jesus' Kingdom, I was also required to renounce many of my fondest preferences and prejudices. . . . I am moved to pain and my eyes are filled with tears as I look back at Europe and my dear German fatherland, for I have left much there that I can never forget. I also see, however, with firm view, a hard and stormy time facing me across the great waters! . . . I pray that they may be blessed as I am now, that the God of Joseph and Brigham, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob will be with you and all the Saints, that the honest in heart in this region will continue to gather to his house until the day comes that everything will be confirmed that the prophets of old have said and that the current generation rejects. Amen.[49]

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49. Karl G. Maeser to John L. Smith, published in *Darsteller,* June 1857, 11–13, trans. A. LeGrand Richards and cited in *Called to Teach,* 146–48.

Samuel and His Nephite Sources

John Hilton III, Sunny Hendry Hafen, and Jaron Hansen

Samuel the Lamanite is a unique and powerful individual in the Book of Mormon. Dennis Largey described him as "one of the most colorful figures in the Book of Mormon," stating that "few readers can forget the image of this fearless servant of God announcing the dramatic signs of Christ's birth and death, crying repentance from the walls of Zarahemla."[1]

The only Lamanite specifically cited by name as being a prophet, Samuel taught doctrine and prophesied to the Nephites in approximately 6 BC. Samuel demonstrated extreme boldness; even after the Nephites "would not suffer that he should enter into the city . . . [Samuel] went and got upon the wall thereof, and stretched forth his hand and cried with a loud voice, and prophesied unto the people whatsoever things the Lord put into his heart" (Hel. 13:4).

Samuel's prophecies were specific and were remembered. For instance, Samuel provided a precise date of the Savior's coming, announcing that "five years more cometh, and behold, then cometh the Son of God" (Hel. 14:2). His words were taken seriously; even unbelievers carefully monitored his prophecies to see if they would come to pass (see 3 Ne. 1:5). They were so important that the Savior instructed Nephi₃ to add their fulfillment to the official scriptural record (3 Ne. 23:7–13). Hundreds of years later, Mormon still referred to Samuel's words, indicating that they had been both written and remembered (see Morm. 1:19).

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1. Dennis L. Largey, "Samuel the Lamanite," in *Book of Mormon Reference Companion,* ed. Dennis L. Largey (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2003) 697.

Much has already been written regarding Samuel's powerful discourse. Some have commented on the importance of Samuel's words to the Savior himself.[2] Others, such as Wayne Shute and Wayne Brickey, emphasize that the unusual circumstances surrounding Samuel's message (for example, it being delivered from a city wall) may have been viewed as both spectacular and perplexing by the people, perhaps specifically to inspire them to repent.[3] Joseph M. Spencer provides a theological reading of the first portion of Samuel's speech by analyzing Samuel's interest in time.[4]

Samuel the Lamanite's speech has been shown to represent many aspects of prophetic sermons recorded in scripture. Don Parry demonstrates how Samuel uses several prophetic forms of speech common to the Bible that "are indicative of prophetic authority and prerogative," which would have provided a strong foundation of authority for his speech.[5] Kent Brown focuses on illustrating how Samuel gives two poetic prophetic laments reminiscent of the laments recorded in the Psalms. Brown argues that although Samuel's laments resemble these biblical laments in structure, composition, and style, they are unique in that they contain prophecies that would later be fulfilled.[6] Edgar Snow's narrative analysis of Helaman 13–16 reveals a sense of irony

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2. Sidney B. Sperry, "The Lamanites Portrayed in the Book of Mormon," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 4, no. 1 (1995): 253. It should be noted that some scholars argue that the record kept by Nephi$_2$ may not have originally contained the record of Samuel's speech at all, but that it was recorded after this request by the Savior and later included chronologically in Mormon's abridgement. See Brant A. Gardner, "Helaman 13," in *Second Witness: Analytical and Contextual Commentary on the Book of Mormon, Helaman–Third Nephi* (Draper, Utah: Greg Kofford Books, 2007), 172–73.

3. R. Wayne Shute and Wayne E. Brickey, "Prophets and Perplexity: The Book of Helaman as a Case Study," in *The Book of Mormon: Helaman through 3 Nephi 8, According to Thy Word,* ed. Monte S. Nyman and Charles D. Tate Jr. (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1992), 186, 188.

4. Joseph M. Spencer, "The Time of Sin," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 9 (2014): 87–110.

5. Donald N. Parry, "'Thus Saith the Lord': Prophetic Language in Samuel's Speech," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 1, no. 1 (1992): 181–83.

6. S. Kent Brown, "The Prophetic Laments of Samuel the Lamanite," in *From Jerusalem to Zarahemla: Literary and Historical Studies of the Book of Mormon,* ed. S. Kent Brown (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1998): 128–45.

at the ministry of a righteous Lamanite to the historically righteous Nephites through Mormon's narrative juxtaposition of Samuel's speech with Nephi$_2$'s ongoing preaching and baptism.[7] These studies and other literature[8] show that Samuel the Lamanite's discourse is a rich example of a prophetic sermon in the Book of Mormon.

While this literature has done much to help readers more fully appreciate the grandeur of Samuel's sermon, there is an important facet of this discourse that has received scant attention, namely, the possible intertextuality between the words of Samuel the Lamanite and other scriptural sources. To date, limited work has been done that explicitly focuses on this aspect of Samuel's words. Quinten Barney explores a series of textual connections between Samuel the Lamanite and Christ's teachings in Matthew 23–24 and speculates that the parallels between the texts could be attributed to Zenos.[9] Shon Hopkin and John Hilton III examine a series of Old Testament phrases that are utilized by Samuel the Lamanite.[10] However, to date, there has been no focused examination of textual connections between Samuel the Lamanite and his Nephite predecessors who preached in the Book of Mormon.

The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate that he extensively utilized words from multiple Book of Mormon prophets[11] as he taught the Nephites from a wall in Zarahemla. In terms of examining connections between Samuel and other Book of Mormon prophets, the

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7. Edgar C. Snow Jr., "Narrative Criticism and the Book of Mormon," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 4, no. 2 (1995): 93–106.

8. See also Mae Blanch, "Samuel the Lamanite," in *Studies in Scripture: Volume Eight, Alma 30 to Moroni,* ed. Kent P. Jackson and Robert L. Millet (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1988), 114–24; Gardner, "Helaman 13," 172–215; Grant Hardy, *Understanding the Book of Mormon: A Reader's Guide* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 182–89; and Joseph Fielding McConkie and Robert L. Millet, *Doctrinal Commentary on the Book of Mormon,* 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1991), 3:398–421.

9. Quinten Barney, "Samuel the Lamanite, Christ, and Zenos: A Study of Intertextuality," *Interpreter* 18 (2016): 159–70.

10. Shon Hopkin and John Hilton III, "Samuel's Reliance on Biblical Language," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 24 (2015): 31–52.

11. It is clear that in addition to alluding to the words of Book of Mormon prophets, Samuel's words have multiple biblical textual connections. The present study focuses on how Nephite prophets may have influenced Samuel; we hope future articles will deeply explore biblical connections with Samuel's words and compare them with those discussed in the present study.

most significant work today is John W. Welch's observation that Samuel appears to have referenced the words of King Benjamin, as evidenced in table 1.[12]

Table 1. Samuel Referencing King Benjamin

King Benjamin's Words	Samuel's Words
And he shall be called *Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Father of heaven and of* earth, the Creator of all things from the beginning*; and his mother shall be called Mary. (Mosiah 3:8)	And also that ye might know of the coming of *Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Father of heaven and of earth, the Creator of all things from the beginning*; and that ye might know of the signs of his coming, to the intent that ye might believe on his name. (Hel. 14:12)

* The "of" in "of earth" has been omitted in later editions of the Book of Mormon, but is present in Royal Skousen, ed., *The Book of Mormon: The Earliest Text* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

When working with intertextuality, care must be utilized in order to differentiate between coincidental connections and instances where one author genuinely appears to be borrowing from another. Welch's above example is a twenty-one-word phrase that appears only in these two verses, indicating a purposeful connection. In a previous *BYU Studies Quarterly* article by one of the authors of the present study,[13] basic principles of intertextuality were discussed, including the concepts that lengthy and unique parallels, as well as multiple connections in quick succession, increase the likelihood that two passages are related to each other.[14] In the present study, we demonstrate that in addition to textual

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12. John W. Welch, "Textual Consistency," in *Reexploring the Book of Mormon,* ed. John W. Welch. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1992), 21–23. Richard Rust also hints at a possible allusion from Samuel to Zenos in *Feasting on the Word* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1997), 167.

13. John Hilton III, "Textual Similarities in the Words of Abinadi and Alma's Counsel to Corianton," *BYU Studies Quarterly* 51, no. 2 (2012): 39–60.

14. More recently, Nicholas J. Frederick has proposed criteria for evaluating the significance of proposed textual connections. While his article focuses on the New Testament and Book of Mormon, many of the principles are relevant to the present study. See Nicholas J. Frederick, "Evaluating the Interaction between the New Testament and the Book of Mormon: A Proposed Methodology," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 24, no. 1 (2015): 1–30.

connections with King Benjamin,[15] Samuel's words have important relationships with the words of Nephi₁, Jacob, Alma₂, Amulek, and Nephi₂.[16]

In this paper, we discuss textual connections between Samuel and Nephite prophets by looking at some of those that fall into two overarching themes.[17] First, we examine how Samuel uses the words of previous Nephite prophets to directly indict the Nephites. (For listings of Samuel's borrowings from Book of Mormon prophets, see tables 2a and 2b.) Second, we show how Samuel takes the words spoken regarding various members of the house of Israel and employs them to specifically refer to the Lamanites. Throughout this paper, we consider Helaman 13–15 to consist Samuel's actual words, or at least an approximation of those words as recorded by Nephi₂ or others who heard them. An alternate possibility is explored at the end of this article.

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15. In addition to the example cited from Welch, consider the following potential textual connection between King Benjamin and Samuel. Benjamin taught, "Wo unto him who knoweth that he *rebelleth against* God! For salvation cometh to none such *except it be through repentance and faith on the Lord Jesus Christ*" (Mosiah 3:12). Speaking to a people who had "*rebelled against* [their] holy God" (Hel. 8:25), Samuel echoed Benjamin's words and prophesied, "Nothing can save this people *save it be repentance and faith on the Lord Jesus Christ*" (Hel. 13:6). Outside of these two verses, the phrase "repentance and faith on the Lord Jesus Christ" appears only in Alma 37:33. Throughout this article, we will italicize portions of verses to highlight phrases that show intertextuality.

16. Some might wonder how it is that Samuel, a Lamanite, would have access to the words of previous Nephite prophets. Approximately fifty years before Samuel preached in Zarahemla, "all those engravings which were in the possession of Helaman were written and sent forth among the children of men throughout all the land" (Alma 63:12). Such a sending forth of the prophetic word would surely have been made available to the many Lamanites who converted twenty years later (see Hel. 5). Indeed, while we do not have any record regarding Samuel's conversion, Samuel's sermon in Zarahemla transpired twenty-five years after the miraculous preaching of Nephi₂ and his brother in the land of Nephi. Perhaps Samuel was one of Nephi₂'s converts that occurred at the prison in the land of Nephi (see Hel. 5:40–50). This possibility is suggested by Largey, "Samuel the Lamanite," 697. If that were the case, one can imagine that Nephi₂'s direct lineal connection to previous Book of Mormon record keepers would have only enhanced Samuel's access to and interest in these records.

17. A third theme in how Samuel uses Nephite prophets that could be discussed is in his teachings related to the plan of salvation. For example, Jacob told the Nephites, "*Ye are free to act for yourselves*—to *choose* the way of everlasting *death or* the way of eternal *life*" (2 Ne. 10:23). Samuel echoes these words, stating, "*Ye are free; ye are permitted to act for yourselves*. . . . [God] hath given

Table 2a. Samuel's Statements and Sources from Which He Quotes

Samuel	Sources Quoted	Discussed on
Hel. 13:9	Alma 10:23	p.125
Hel. 13:10	Alma 9:18	pp. 125–26
Hel. 13:14	Alma 10:19, 23	p. 124
Hel. 13:16, 17, 24, 26	Jacob 2:29, 31, 33, 35	p. 132
Hel. 13:21–23	Hel. 7:18, 20–22	p. 128
Hel. 13:24	2 Ne. 26:3	p. 122
Hel. 13:28	2 Ne. 28:21, 25	pp. 123–24
Hel. 13:29	2 Ne. 26:10; Alma 9:8, 10:17, 25; Hel. 9:21	p. 138
Hel. 13:30	2 Ne. 26:6	pp. 122–23
Hel. 13:32, 37	Hel. 11:8, 10–11	p. 129
Hel. 13:38	Alma 34:31, 33	p. 127
Hel. 14:10	Hel. 9:23–24	p. 129 n. 32
Hel. 14:12	Mosiah 3:8	p. 118
Hel. 14:16	Alma 42:9, 14	pp. 120–21 n. 17
Hel. 15:3	Alma 9:19–20	p. 126 n. 26
Hel. 15:5	2 Ne. 5:10	p. 130
Hel. 15:11, 13	2 Ne. 10:2	p. 132
Hel. 15:11–13, 15	Jacob 3:6–7; Mosiah 1:5; Alma 9:16–17; Hel. 7:24	p. 135
Hel. 15:12	2 Ne. 6:11	p. 131
Hel. 15:13	1 Ne. 22:25	p. 131
Hel. 15:14	Hel. 7:23	p. 133

unto you that ye might *choose life or death*" (Hel. 14:30–31). The phrase "ye are free" and the word "act" appear together only in these two verses. Across scripture, the words "choose," "life," and "death" appear in only six different verses. The fact that 2 Nephi 10:23 is closely related to 2 Nephi 2:26–27 does raise the possibility that Samuel is actually drawing upon Lehi's words rather than Jacob's. Samuel also appears to draw on Alma$_2$'s teachings regarding spiritual death. One example of this pattern is found in the phrase "cut off from the presence of the Lord." This phrase appears eleven times in the Book of Mormon, typically in the context of sin leading to a lack of prosperity (see for example 1 Ne. 2:21; 2 Ne. 5:20; Alma 50:20). Samuel and Alma$_2$ each use this expression in a unique way, equating it with death, particularly the spiritual death brought by the Fall. Alma$_2$ says, "*The fall* had brought upon *all mankind* a *spiritual death as well as a temporal*" (Alma 42:9) and, "Thus we see that *all mankind* were *fallen,* and they were in the grasp of justice; yea, the justice of God, which consigned them forever to be *cut off from his presence*" (Alma 42:14; see also 42:11). Samuel teaches, "For *all mankind,* by the *fall* of Adam *being cut off from*

Table 2b. Samuel's Sources and Where He Uses Them

Sources Quoted	Samuel	Discussed on
1 Ne. 22:25	Hel. 15:13	p. 131
2 Ne. 5:10	Hel. 15:5	p. 130
2 Ne. 6:11	Hel. 15:12	p. 131
2 Ne. 10:2	Hel. 15:11, 13	p. 132
2 Ne. 26:3	Hel. 13:24	p. 122
2 Ne. 26:6	Hel. 13:30	pp. 122–23
2 Ne. 26:10	Hel. 13:29	p. 138
2 Ne. 28:21, 25	Hel. 13:28	pp. 123–24
Jacob 2:29, 31, 33, 35	Hel. 13:16, 17, 24, 26	p. 132
Jacob 3:6–7	Hel. 15:11–13, 15	p. 135
Mosiah 1:5	Hel. 15:11–13, 15	p. 135
Mosiah 3:8	Hel. 14:12	p. 118
Hel. 7:18, 20–22	Hel. 13:21–23	p. 128
Hel. 7:23	Hel. 15:14	p. 133
Hel. 7:24	Hel. 15:11–13, 15	p. 135
Hel. 9:21	Hel. 13:29	p. 138
Hel. 9:23–24	Hel. 14:10	p. 129 n. 32
Hel. 11:8, 10–11	Hel. 13:32, 37	p. 129
Alma 9:8	Hel. 13:29	p. 138
Alma 9:16–17	Hel. 15:11–13, 15	p. 135
Alma 9:18	Hel. 13:10	pp. 125–26
Alma 9:19–20	Hel. 15:3	p. 126 n. 26
Alma 10:17, 25	Hel. 13:29	p. 138
Alma 10:19, 23	Hel. 13:14	p. 124
Alma 10:23	Hel. 13:9	p. 125
Alma 34:31, 33	Hel. 13:38	p. 127
Alma 42:9, 14	Hel. 14:16	pp. 120–21 n.22

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the presence of the Lord, are considered as *dead,* both as to things *temporal and to things spiritual*" (Hel. 14:16). In these verses, both Alma₂ and Samuel speak of a universal separation from God by virtue of the Fall. Jacob also employs similar usage (see 2 Ne. 9:6). It is possible that Alma has drawn from Jacob (see also 2 Ne. 9:11–12); however, additional textual similarities make it seem as though Alma, not Jacob, is Samuel's source in this instance. Other examples of intertextuality between Samuel and Alma₂ that are similar in nature are found in Alma 12:32 (see Hel. 14:18); Alma 42:13, 23 (Hel. 14:11, 15, 17–18); Alma 41:3–4 (Hel. 14:30–31); and Alma 41:14 (Hel. 14:29). However, since this theme is not as pronounced as the other two, we do not focus on it in the present study.

Theme #1: Samuel's Use of Nephite Prophecies to Indict the Nephites of His Day

As a Lamanite called to preach to the Nephites, Samuel found himself in a difficult position. While we do not know details concerning the relationships between the Nephites and Lamanites at this point in time, historically the Nephites had looked down upon the Lamanites (see Jacob 3:5, Mosiah 10:10–17, Alma 26:23–24). Thus, Samuel may have been looking for ways that he could increase the Nephites' perceptions of the validity of his message. By appealing to the words of both ancient and contemporary Nephite prophets and leaders, Samuel strengthened his message and made his warnings even more ominous.

Samuel's Use of Nephi₁ to Condemn the Nephites

As the eponymous ancestor of the Nephites, Nephi₁ would be a primary person for Samuel to draw on when speaking to those in Zarahemla. Nephi₁ had spoken stern words regarding his descendants and their situation during the time period of Christ's mortal ministry. While Nephi₁ spoke of signs being given of Christ's birth, Samuel provides specific details regarding those signs (see Hel. 14:1–6, 20–28). Samuel also uses some of the same text as Nephi to describe these events in greater detail. Speaking of the time of the signs of the birth, death, and resurrection of Christ, Nephi said that at that day, "they perish because *they cast out the prophets,* and the saints, *and stone them, and slay them*" (2 Ne. 26:3).

Samuel makes it clear that the day of which Nephi had prophesied had come.[18] Rather than speak in third person, as did Nephi, Samuel speaks in second person: "Yea, wo unto this people, because of this time which has arrived, that *ye do cast out the prophets,* and do mock them, *and cast stones at them, and do slay them*" (Hel. 13:24). Although Nephi₁ was clearly speaking of the future, Samuel shifts Nephi₁'s words from being about the future to being a time that "has arrived."

Speaking of this same general time period, Nephi₁ had warned, "*The anger of the Lord shall be kindled against them*" (2 Ne. 26:6). Note that Nephi spoke in future tense and in third person in describing a later

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18. While the resurrection was still decades in the future, it was certainly much closer than it had been from Nephi's vantage point, centuries earlier. While we do not have a record of prophets being killed at this time period (but see Hel. 13:24), 3 Nephi 7:14 indicates that such things did happen. Thus, when Samuel says that the time "has arrived," he may have been engaging in a bit of hyperbole, since the time of the birth, death, and resurrection of Christ had *nearly* arrived.

day and people. Samuel takes Nephi₁'s words and again transforms the tense and moves the words to be directly about his audience saying, "*The anger of the Lord is already kindled against you*" (Hel. 13:30). This event that Nephi₁ had prophesied (the anger of the Lord being kindled against them) has *already* happened.

As Nephi₁ contemplated the future destruction of his people, he stated that it would come because the Nephites "*choose* works of *darkness rather than light*" (2 Ne. 26:10). While Nephi was describing future people, Samuel takes this phrase and personalizes it for the Nephites of his day, directly asking them, "How long will ye *choose darkness rather than light*?" (Hel. 13:29).

Thus, in three instances within seven verses, Samuel takes a specific phrase that had been used by Nephi₁ when describing the time period of the birth and death of the Savior and informs the Nephites that they are living in the day that Nephi foretold. While each of these connections is significant in its own right,[19] these unique phrases from 2 Nephi 26:3–10 all clustering together in Helaman 13:24–30 does not appear to be coincidental. Thus, Samuel uses a rhetorical strategy of shifting Nephi₁'s words from being prophetic utterances about six hundred years in the future into a statement about the current state of Nephite affairs, emphasizing to the Nephites the seriousness of their present situation.

Another phrase from Nephi₁ that Samuel appears to use in order to warn the Nephites is "all is well." While this might seem like a commonly used phrase, in the Book of Mormon it is employed only by Nephi₁ and Samuel.[20] Nephi₁ had warned that Satan would attempt to "pacify [the people], and lull them away into carnal security, that they will say: *All is well* in Zion; yea, Zion prospereth, *all is well*—and thus the devil cheateth their souls. . . . Wo be unto him that crieth: *All is well!*" (2 Ne. 28:21, 25). Nephi₁ said that those who believed "all is well" were being cheated by the devil and being led "away carefully down to hell" (2 Ne. 28:21). Samuel extends and specifies the same warnings to those

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19. The exact phrase "casting out the prophets" appears only one time in the Book of Mormon outside of these two passages (see 3 Ne. 9:10). The phrase "choose . . . darkness rather than light" does not appear in any other verses, although the phrase "darkness rather than light" occurs in John 3:19, as well as in D&C 10:21 and 29:45. The phraseology of the "anger of the Lord" being "kindled against" someone appears fourteen times in the Old Testament and three times in the Book of Mormon (2 Ne. 15:25; 2 Ne. 26:6; Hel. 13:30). "The anger of the Lord is kindled" also appears in D&C 1:13.

20. Outside the Book of Mormon, this phrase appears in 2 Samuel 18:28 and 2 Kings 5:22.

in his audience. Through his rhetoric, Samuel reminds his listeners of Nephi₁'s teachings and indicates that they have again fallen into the snare that Nephi₁ had warned them against.

While Nephi₁ appears to have been specifically talking about latter-day readers (see 2 Ne. 28:1–3), Samuel attributes this same phrase to the Nephites of his day, accusing his listeners of not finding fault with false prophets who come among them and say "that *all is well*" (Hel. 13:28). The not-so-subtle implication to a Nephite audience would seem to be a stern reprimand—they themselves were articulating the very words of the devil that Nephi had warned against.[21]

Samuel's Use of Alma and Amulek's Preaching in Ammonihah and Antionum to Condemn the Nephites

Samuel clearly utilizes the words of both Alma and Amulek's discourses in Ammonihah to condemn the Nephites. We first examine a series of connections between Samuel and Amulek, both of whom warn against the wickedness of their respective audiences and prophesy that destruction will fall upon them if they cast out the righteous. Both prophets accuse their listeners being a "wicked and perverse generation," a phrase that appears only in these two pericopes.[22]

Amulek told the people of Ammonihah, "*If the time should come that this people should fall into transgression, they would be ripe for destruction. . . . But it is by the prayers of the righteous that ye are spared*; now therefore, if ye will *cast out the righteous from among you* then will not the Lord stay his hand" (Alma 10:19, 23). Samuel almost identically mirrors Amulek's words, saying to the inhabitants of Zarahemla, "It is for the *righteous' sake that [Zarahemla] is spared. But behold, the time cometh,* saith the Lord, that *when ye shall cast out the righteous from among you, then shall ye be ripe for destruction*" (Hel. 13:14).

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21. It had been less than one hundred years since Nehor had preached a message that essentially stated "All is well" to the Nephites, by telling them that all men would receive eternal life. The Nephites who listened to Nehor "began to support him and give him money" (Alma 1:5), and Nehor began "to wear very costly apparel" (Alma 1:6). Samuel may be telling the Nephites of his day that they are responding to "all is well" messages in the same way; Samuel states that in response to false prophets who say "all is well," the Nephites "will give unto him of your gold, and of your silver, and ye will clothe him with costly apparel" (Hel. 13:28).

22. In addition to the uniqueness of this specific phrase, the words "wicked," "perverse," and "generation" appear together only in Alma 9:8; 10:17, 25; and Helaman 13:29.

Both prophets teach that the people are spared because of the righteous who live among them but warn of what will happen when the righteous are cast out. Ominously, where Amulek's words were conditional, Samuel's are not. Amulek said, "*If* the time should come," while Samuel says, "The time cometh"—no "if." Likewise, Amulek said, "*If* we will cast out the righteous," but Samuel says, "*When* ye shall cast out the righteous."

Amulek specifically warned the people of Ammonihah that God would come against them and then they would be "*smitten by famine, and by pestilence, and by the sword*" (Alma 10:23). Samuel likewise echoes this warning, as he tells the people that the Lord has said he would visit them "*with the sword and with famine and with pestilence*" (Hel. 13:9). Not only are the textual parallels between Alma 10 and Helaman 13 significant,[23] but their clustering further adds credence that it is intentional.

Conceivably, Samuel's words would have been seen by his audience as a direct reminder of the fate of the people of Ammonihah. Not only are Samuel's words thematically linked to Amulek's in terms of the prayers of the righteous protecting the people, but Samuel also uses specific phrases such as "cast out the righteous" and "smitten . . . with the sword and with famine and with pestilence" that appear rarely or never in other passages of scriptures.[24] Only seventy-five years had passed since the annihilation of the people of Ammonihah; the destruction of a city in one day had likely left a lasting impression on the people. Through his use of Amulek's words, Samuel reminds the Nephites of previous destruction that had been both prophesied and fulfilled. He thus implores the Nephites to learn from the past in order to change their future.

In addition to employing Amulek's words, Samuel also utilizes Alma₂'s rebuke to the people of Ammonihah. In Ammonihah, Alma₂ preached, "*The Lamanites* shall be sent upon you; . . . and ye shall be visited with *utter destruction*; and it shall be according to the *fierce anger* of the Lord" (Alma 9:18). Samuel stated that the Lord had said of the

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23. The words "sword," "famine," and "pestilence" appear together in only four Book of Mormon verses (Alma 10:22, 23; Helaman 11:14; 13:9). These phrases do appear together in the Old Testament.

24. The phrase "cast out the righteous" appears in only Alma 10:23 and Helaman 13:14; the words "smitten," "sword," "famine," and "pestilence" appear in only two other passages outside of these two (see Jer. 21:7 and Ezek. 6:11). In addition, the words "ripe" and "destruction" appear together in only eleven verses of scripture.

Nephites, "I will visit them in my *fierce anger,* and there shall be those of the fourth generation who shall live, *of your enemies,* to behold your *utter destruction*" (Hel. 13:10). These passages share both thematic and textual similarities. Alma₂ warned the Nephites that if they did not repent, their perennial enemy, the Lamanites, would utterly destroy them because of the fierce anger of the Lord. Samuel echoes these themes; moreover, the phrases *utter destruction* and *fierce anger* appear together only in these two verses.[25]

Samuel appears to specifically use the words of Nephite prophets, perhaps to deemphasize himself as a Lamanite messenger. The result is that Samuel's identity does not detract from his message. In fact, it may be significant that, unlike Alma₂, Samuel stops short of explicitly naming the Lamanites as those who would cause the destruction of the Nephites. By employing the words of Nephite prophets who had taught a similar principle, Samuel may have been trying to prevent his listeners from falsely believing that Samuel was simply bearing a message of doom against a group with whom the Lamanites had long had enmity.[26]

Samuel also appears to borrow some of Amulek's words to the Zoramites.[27] Amulek taught the Zoramites, "Now is the time and the *day of your*

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25. The phrase "fierce anger" appears eleven times in the Book of Mormon; three of those come from Isaiah quotations (2 Ne. 17:4; 23:9; 23:13), and four are spoken to the people of Ammonihah (Alma 8:29; 9:12, 18; 10:23). Other verses that use this phrase are Mosiah 12:1, Alma 43:44, and Helaman 11:12.

26. Alternatively, it's possible that because the majority of the Lamanites were righteous (see Helaman 13:1), Samuel and the Nephites may have viewed the Gadianton robbers as representing the biggest danger. Another example of Samuel employing Alma₂'s words of condemnation to the people of Ammonihah may be found in Alma₂'s statement that the Lord "would rather suffer that the Lamanites might destroy all his *people who are called the people of Nephi,* if it were possible that [the Nephites] could fall into sins and transgressions, after having had *so much light and so much knowledge given unto them* of the Lord their God; Yea, after having been such a *highly favored people of the Lord*" (Alma 9:19–20). Similarly, Samuel said, "Wo unto this *people who are called the people of Nephi* except they shall repent, when they shall see *all these signs and wonders which shall be showed unto them*; for behold, they have been a *chosen people of the Lord*" (Hel. 15:3). While the phrase matches are not exact, they are thematically similar, and the phrase "called the people of Nephi" appears only in Jacob 1:2, Alma 9:19, Helaman 15:3, and 4 Nephi 1:43.

27. There is some evidence that the mission to the Zoramites had particular significance to the Lamanites. Aminadab appears to refer to the Zoramite mission as he encourages the Lamanites who had come to kill Nephi₂ to repent (see Hel. 5:41; Alma 31:32).

salvation. . . . Therefore, I *beseech of you that ye do not procrastinate the day of your repentance until the end*" (Alma 34:31, 33). Samuel similarly speaks of the danger of procrastination; however, rather than providing a warning, he tells the Nephites it is too late for them to change: "But behold, *your days of probation are past*; ye have *procrastinated the day of your salvation until it is everlastingly too late*" (Hel. 13:38).[28]

Samuel thus both shifts and extends Amulek's statement forward into his own time and context. As he had done previously, he takes a conditional statement from Amulek ("do not procrastinate until the end") and makes it unconditional ("ye have procrastinated . . . until it is . . . too late"). By transforming Amulek's statement, Samuel presents a portentous picture of what is to come for the Nephites.[29]

Samuel's Use of Nephi₂ to Condemn the Nephites

In addition to the foregoing examples of Samuel's use of previous Nephite prophets, Samuel also used text similar to that of his contemporary among the Nephites, Nephi₂, whose key recorded prophecies occur between 23 and 16 BC (see Hel. 7–11).[30] Perhaps more than any other prophet Samuel quotes, Nephi₂ may have been the most familiar to the Nephite people (since he was alive at the time of Samuel's appearance); indeed, those who believed Samuel's words sought Nephi₂ for further teaching and baptism (Hel. 16:1, 3). Not only were Nephi₂ and Samuel contemporaries in their prophetic mission, Samuel may have seen direct connections between himself and Nephi₂. As he did with the words of others, Samuel sought to establish credibility for his message specifically by utilizing the words of a Nephite prophet to rebuke the Nephites.

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28. The phrase "day of your salvation" is unique to Amulek and Samuel. The phrase "day of salvation" can be found in Isaiah 49:8; 2 Corinthians 6:2; 1 Nephi 21:8–9; and Alma 13:21. The word "procrastinate" appears only in Alma 13:27; 34:33, 35; and Helaman 13:38.

29. This is not to say that Samuel never holds out any hope for the Nephites; on some occasions, he does indicate that destruction could be conditional for the Nephites (see Hel. 14:19).

30. We read that "the seventy and seventh year began in peace; and the church did spread throughout the face of all the land; and the more part of the people, both the Nephites and the Lamanites, did belong to the church; and they did have exceedingly great peace in the land" (Hel. 11:21), which indicates that Nephi₂'s words could have reached the Lamanites. Therefore, it is plausible that Samuel would have access to Nephi₂'s teachings.

Nephi₂ had chastised the people, saying, "O ye fools, ye uncircumcised of heart, ye *blind,* and *ye stiffnecked people, do ye know how long the Lord your God will suffer you* that ye shall go on in this your way of sin?" (Hel. 9:21). Samuel mirrors these words, warning, "*Ye stiffnecked people, how long will ye suppose that the Lord will suffer you*? Yea, how long will ye suffer yourselves to be led by foolish and *blind* guides?" (Hel. 13:29). While some of this may sound like generic language, across all scripture the phrase "ye stiffnecked people" appears only in these two passages, and in the Book of Mormon, the phrases "how long" and "suffer you" also appear together only in these two passages.[31]

Another instance of Samuel's use of Nephi₂'s words illustrates parallels in rebuking the people's forgetfulness and pleadings with the Nephites to repent and hearken to the Lord. Nephi₂ said,

> *Ye will not hearken* unto the voice of the good shepherd. . . . *O, how could you have forgotten your God* in the very day that he has delivered you? . . . *Ye have set your hearts upon the riches* and the vain things of this world, for the which ye do *murder,* and plunder, and steal, and bear false witness against your neighbor and *do all manner of iniquity. And for this cause wo shall come unto you* except ye shall repent. For if ye will not repent, behold, *this great city* . . . shall be taken away that ye shall have no place in [it]. (Hel. 7:18, 20–22)

Similarly, Samuel stated,

> Behold ye, the people of *this great city,* . . . are cursed because of your riches, . . . because ye have *set your hearts upon them, and have not hearkened* unto the words of him who gave them unto you. *Ye do not remember the Lord your God in the things with which he hath blessed you, but ye do always remember your riches*; . . . your hearts . . . do swell with great pride, unto . . . *murders,* and *all manner of iniquities. For this cause* hath the Lord *God caused that a curse should come upon the land* (Hel. 13:21–23).

While none of the specific phrases that match in these passages are extremely unique in and of themselves, the multiple relationships between these verses demonstrate a possible connection. Approximately twenty years had elapsed since Nephi₂ delivered these words from his garden tower; Samuel's use of similar words may be a textual way of indicating that the while Nephites may have briefly demonstrated sincere

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31. These phrases also appear together in Matthew 17:17, Mark 9:19, and Luke 9:41.

repentance (see Hel. 11), they had quickly returned to their former state. Moreover, Samuel shifts Nephi₂'s words forward in time; while Nephi₂ had used the future tense when he stated, "Wo shall come unto you except ye repent," Samuel speaks in the past tense saying that God "hath . . . [already] caused that a curse should come upon the land" (Hel. 13:23).

Another example of Samuel using a Nephite prophet's words to condemn the Nephites stems from Nephi₂'s prayer to turn away the famine the Nephites suffered a few years prior to Samuel's arrival. Because of this famine, the people humbled themselves and pleaded with Nephi₂, "*Cry unto the Lord* our God that he turn away from us this famine" (Hel. 11:8). Nephi₂ did pray unto the Lord, saying, "Lord, behold this people repenteth. . . . Now, *O Lord, because of this their humility wilt thou turn away thine anger*" (Hel. 11:10–11).

Although the Nephites repented and the famine abated, within a decade "they did wax stronger and stronger in their pride, and in their wickedness" (Hel. 11:37). Samuel may have alluded to the words we have in Helaman 11 by speaking of the inevitable vainness of crying to the Lord later if the people don't repent now. Samuel prophesies, "In the days of your poverty *ye shall cry unto the Lord*; . . . then shall ye lament and say: . . . *O Lord, canst thou not turn away thine anger from us?* And this shall be your language in those days" (Hel. 13:32, 37). Samuel might have purposefully used this language³² to remind the Nephites of their previous pitiable state, when they had cried unto the Lord, pleading for mercy, and in fact had mercy granted unto them. Perhaps by using the very words spoken by both the people and Nephi₂, Samuel warns the people

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32. One could argue that these phrase matches are coincidental, given that the phrase "cry unto the Lord" appears seventy times in scripture and "turn away thine anger" appears nine times. It also is not clear how Samuel would have accessed these specific words from Nephi₂. However, we believe that their close proximity in these two passages and Samuel's other evident use of Nephi₂'s words in other passages argue for an intentional textual connection. Another possible connection between Samuel and Nephi₂ is found in the following passages: Nephi₂ said, "*Because* I have testified unto you . . . *ye are angry with me,* and *seek to destroy* my life" (Hel. 9:23–24). Similarly, Samuel said, "*Because* I am a Lamanite, and have spoken unto you the words which the Lord hath commanded me . . . *ye are angry with me* and do *seek to destroy* me" (Hel. 14:10). While not a perfect match, the similarity of the phraseology in these two passages indicate that perhaps Samuel is making an intentional comparison. Outside of these two passages, the word "anger" and the phrase "seek/sought to destroy" appear together only in Alma 54:13 and Helaman 13:37.

that the Lord had already *turned away his anger* when they *cried unto him,* but a point will come when "it is everlastingly too late" (Hel. 13:38).

Theme #2: Samuel's Use of Phrases Regarding the House of Israel to Specifically Refer to the Lamanites

A second key way in which Samuel utilizes the words of previous prophets is by employing their words to describe the Lamanites. Throughout Nephite history, their prophets had spoken about various members of the house of Israel, including the Jews, the Nephites, and the Lamanites. Samuel takes words originally spoken about each of these groups and applies them specifically to the Lamanites, typically to show that the Lamanites are more righteous than the Nephites.

Samuel's Use of Nephi₁'s Words to Describe the Lamanites

In describing his people after their separation from the Lamanites, Nephi₁ says they "*did observe to keep the judgments, and the statutes, and the commandments of the Lord in all things according to the law of Moses*" (2 Ne. 5:10). Samuel takes these words and applies them in his own context by using Nephi₁'s earlier words about the Nephites to describe the Lamanites: "I would that ye should behold that the more part of [the Lamanites] . . . *do observe to keep his commandments and his statutes and his judgments according to the law of Moses*" (Hel. 15:5). This lengthy use of nearly identical and unique phraseology[33] indicates intentional usage by Samuel.

It seems that Samuel is poetically stating the Lamanites of his time were just as righteous as Nephi₁'s people were at the time of their separation from Laman and Lemuel. Samuel takes Nephi₁'s words and shifts them forward in time to describe the Lamanites. The irony is found in the fact that while Nephi₁'s people once fled from the Lamanites

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33. The key words "observe," "commandments," "judgments," and "statutes," coupled with the phrase "law of Moses" appear only in these two passages. As described by John W. Welch, connections between "statues," "commandments," and "judgments" appear in 1 Kings 2:3 and was likely on the plates of brass. See "Statues, Judgments, Ordinances, and Commandments," in Welch, *Reexploring the Book of Mormon,* 62–65. It is possible that Samuel is thinking of other passages such as Mosiah 6:6; Alma 8:17; 58:40; or Helaman 3:20. However, given that the connection in 2 Nephi 5:10 and Helaman 15:5 is reinforced with the inclusion of the Law of Moses, we believe Samuel intentionally draws on this particular passage.

because the Nephites were those who *observed to keep the command-ments, statutes, and judgments of the Lord according to the law of Moses,* now the Lamanites set the example for the Nephites.[34]

Another example of Samuel's shifting Nephi₁'s words to make them specifically apply to the Lamanites concerns Nephi₁'s general proph-ecy about God's children being gathered and cared for like sheep and applies it specifically to the Lamanites. Nephi had taught that God "*numbereth* his *sheep,* and they know him; and there shall be one fold and one *shepherd*; and he shall feed his *sheep,* and in him they shall find pasture" (1 Ne. 22:25). Samuel makes it clear that this concept applies to the Lamanites, stating that the Lamanites would "be brought to the true knowledge, which is the knowledge of their Redeemer, and their great and true *shepherd,* and be *numbered* among *his sheep*" (Hel. 15:13).[35] Through this statement, Samuel emphasizes that the gathering of which Nephi₁ prophesied specifically applies to the Lamanites. As we will see in the following example, it seems that Samuel is emphasizing the fact that the Lamanites are a chosen people who are heirs to great promises and not defined by past iniquities.

Samuel's Use of Jacob's Words to Describe the Lamanites

Just as Samuel transforms some of Nephi₁'s statements regarding other nations and applies them to the Lamanites, he does the same with some of Jacob's teachings. Speaking of the Jews, Jacob said, "After they are *driven to and fro, . . .* they shall be *scattered, and smitten,* and hated; nevertheless, *the Lord will be merciful unto them*" (2 Ne. 6:11). Samuel applies these words to the Lamanites, saying, "Notwithstanding they [the Lamanites] shall be *driven to and fro* upon the face of the earth, and be hunted, and shall be *smitten and scattered* abroad, having no place for refuge, *the Lord shall be merciful unto them*" (Hel. 15:12). Samuel utilizes

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34. While Mae Blanch does not discuss aspects of Samuel's intertextuality, she does suggest that Samuel's overall rhetoric regarding the Lamanites may have been "an effort to shame the Nephites into repenting." Blanch, "Samuel the Lamanite," 121. This example of intertextuality could strengthen Blanch's claim.

35. Although this phraseology may seem common, outside of these two verses, the words *shepherd, number,* and *sheep* appear together only in 3 Nephi 16:13. While there are clear connections between John 10:16; 1 Nephi 22:25; and 3 Nephi 15:17, 21; 16:3, the verses in John and 3 Nephi do not speak of being *numbered* among the sheep as do 1 Nephi 22:25 and Helaman 15:13. Whereas Gardner sees in these words "certain signs that Joseph was influenced by the New Testament," it is equally plausible that this phrase could stem from Nephi. See Gardner, *Second Witness,* 208.

these unique phrases[36] to assert that the Lamanites are not secondary citizens but rather have a special part in God's plan. Their role is likened unto the Jews—God's chosen people who have marvelous promises extended to them in latter days. Samuel's words emphasize that the Lamanites too are part of God's covenant people and have the blessings that pertain to that covenant.

Samuel may be utilizing this same approach as he transforms Jacob's words regarding the descendants of the Nephites into a prophecy about the Lamanites. Jacob had taught, "Our children shall be *restored,* that they may come to that which will give them *the true knowledge of their Redeemer*" (2 Ne. 10:2). Samuel applies Jacob's words[37] to the Lamanites, referring to how many prophets have spoken "concerning the *restoration* of our brethren, the Lamanites, again . . . to *the true knowledge,* which is the knowledge *of their Redeemer*" (Hel. 15:11, 13). Thus, Samuel uses Jacob's phrases in order to indicate that the Lamanites are equal to the Nephites and will receive similar blessings.

Samuel incorporated several of Jacob's phrases, as illustrated in table 3.

Table 3. Samuel's Use of Jacob's Words Regarding the Nephites

Jacob's Words	Samuel's Words
This people shall keep my commandments, *saith the Lord of Hosts,* or *cursed be the land for their sakes. . . .* I, the Lord, have seen the sorrow, and heard the mourning of the daughters of my people . . . *because of the wickedness and abominations* of their husbands. . . . I shall *visit them with a sore curse,* even unto destruction; for they shall not commit whoredoms, *like unto them of old. . . .* Behold, *ye have done greater iniquities than the Lamanites, our brethren.* (Jacob 2:29, 31, 33, 35)	Wo be unto all the cities which are in the land round about, which are possessed by the Nephites, *because of the wickedness and abominations* which are in them. And behold, a *curse shall come upon the land, saith the Lord of Hosts, because of the peoples' sake* who are upon the land, yea, *because of their wickedness and their abominations. . . .* Yea, wo unto this people, because of this time which has arrived, that ye . . . do all manner of *iniquity* unto them, *even as they did of old time. . . . Behold ye are worse than they.* (Hel. 13:16–17, 24, 26)

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36. The phrase "scattered and smitten" (or "smitten and scattered") appears only in these two verses and in 2 Nephi 1:11; the word "driven" combined with the phrase "to and fro" appears only three times outside these two verses (Job 13:25, Mosiah 17:17; 21:13).

37. It could be argued that Samuel refers to the words of Lehi or Nephi (see 1 Ne. 10:14; 2 Ne. 1:10). However, the phrase "true knowledge" appears only in 2 Nephi 10:2 and Helaman 15:13.

There are multiple connection points between these two quotations. Both employ the relatively unique phrase "saith the Lord of Hosts"[38] to warn that *the land* will be *cursed* for the *people's sake because of the wickedness and abominations* of the people. In both cases, Samuel and Jacob compare their listeners with others and declare that their audience is the less righteous group. Jacob directly compares his Nephite listeners to the Lamanites; however, Samuel compares his listeners to those (presumably Nephites) of an earlier generation. Significantly, Samuel uses Jacob's words to indicate that, as in Jacob's day, the Nephites are currently more wicked than the Lamanites. This message would undoubtedly have been difficult for Nephites to receive, particularly from a Lamanite. Perhaps Samuel felt that by using Jacob's words to deliver this news he was in a sense shifting the responsibility for his ominous message to previous Nephite prophets.

Samuel's Use of Nephi₂'s Words to Describe the Lamanites

When Nephi₂ stood on his tower, he specifically stated to his Nephite listeners, "*It shall be better for the Lamanites than for you except ye shall repent*" (Hel. 7:23). Samuel echoes this phrase, stating to the Nephites, "*It shall be better for them [the Lamanites] than for you except ye repent*" (Hel. 15:14). This relatively long phrase is unique in multiple ways. The phrase "it shall be better" appears in these two verses, and the words "better," "except," and "repent," also exclusively appear together in these two verses. It seems like Samuel is specifically using this phrase from a contemporary prophet to emphasize the fact that, due to Nephite wickedness, the Lamanites will ultimately receive a better result than will the Nephites.

Samuel's Use of Multiple Prophets' Words to Describe the Lamanites

Perhaps Samuel's most significant instance of intertextuality describing the Lamanites is his use of the teachings of several previous prophets regarding the Lamanites. Unlike the previous examples, in which Samuel applied to the Lamanites words that had been spoken about other

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38. This phrase is relatively rare in the Book of Mormon. Not including heavenly messengers or biblical authors quoted in the Book of Mormon, the only individuals in the Book of Mormon who use this phrase are Nephi₁, Jacob, and Samuel the Lamanite. Shon Hopkin and John Hilton III discuss this phrase further in "Samuel's Reliance on Biblical Language."

groups, in this instance, he uses the words of previous prophets regarding the Lamanites. He explicitly refers to plural prophets, speaking of the "time [that] shall come which hath been spoken of by our *fathers,* and *also by the prophet Zenos,* and *many other prophets,* concerning the restoration of our brethren, the Lamanites, again to the knowledge of the truth" (Hel. 15:11). Throughout much of Nephite history, prophets had taught that while the Lamanites did not believe in Christ, they were in some respects more righteous than the Nephites, and the Lord will be merciful to them in latter days. This theme is first developed by Jacob, but King Benjamin, Alma₂, Nephi₂, and Samuel all repeat it. Samuel appears to combine unique phrases from each of these prophets as illustrated in table 4.

Samuel explicitly states that he is aware of prophecies that have been made by the previous prophets, and he evidently incorporates the text of multiple prophecies while crafting his own.[39] As he has done with the passages previously described in this theme, Samuel uses the words of Nephite prophets to elevate the status of the Lamanites. At the same time that Samuel prophesies of the ultimate destruction of the Nephites, he emphasizes the latter-day restoration of the Lamanites. By using the words of Nephite prophets, he perhaps hopes that his listeners will be more receptive than they would be to words coming from a Lamanite.

Conclusion

We have demonstrated that Samuel the Lamanite has a penchant for quoting from previous Nephite prophets and leaders and that his quotations cluster around indicting the Nephites and building up the Lamanites. Throughout this article, we have assumed that Samuel's words in Helaman 13–15 are presented just as he said them, but it is possible that Mormon (or another redactor) reshaped Samuel's discourse. Samuel's words regarding the people *crying unto the Lord* and the *anger of*

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39. Because statements regarding the Lord being merciful to the Lamanites who have dwindled in unbelief appear throughout the Book of Mormon, it is difficult to know which specific prophecies Samuel refers to. However, Samuel's statement that "the promises of the Lord have been extended to our brethren, the Lamanites" (Hel. 15:12) appears to be directly related to Alma₂'s words to the people of Ammonihah. The words "promise" and "extend" occur together only in Alma 9:16, 24; 17:15; and Helaman 15:12. Other concepts, such as the Lord being merciful to the Lamanites, appear in multiple passages.

Table 4. Samuel's Use of Multiple Prophetic Statements Regarding the Future of the Lamanites

Speaker	Quotation
Samuel	The time shall come which hath been spoken of by our fathers, and also by the prophet Zenos, and many other prophets, concerning the restoration of our brethren, the Lamanites, . . . in the latter times the *promises* of the Lord have been *extended to our brethren, the Lamanites*; . . . *the Lord shall be merciful unto them.* And this is according to the prophecy, that they shall again be brought to the true knowledge. . . . For behold, had the mighty works been shown unto them which have been shown unto you, yea, unto them who have *dwindled in unbelief because of the traditions of their fathers,* ye can see of yourselves that they never would again have *dwindled in unbelief.* (Hel. 15:11–13, 15)
Jacob	[God] *will be merciful unto them* [the Lamanites]; and one day they shall become a blessed people. . . . Their *unbelief* and their hatred towards you is *because of the iniquity of their fathers*; wherefore, how much better are you than they, in the sight of your great Creator? (Jacob 3:6–7)
King Benjamin	I say unto you, my sons, were it not for these things, . . . that even our fathers would have *dwindled in unbelief,* and we should have been like unto our brethren, the Lamanites, who know nothing concerning these things, or even do not believe them when they are taught them, *because of the traditions of their fathers.* (Mosiah 1:5)
Alma₂	*For there are many promises which are extended to the Lamanites*; for it *is because of the traditions of their fathers* that caused them to remain in their state of ignorance; *therefore the Lord will be merciful unto them* and prolong their existence in the land. And at some period of time *they will be brought to believe in his word.* (Alma 9:16–17)
Nephi₂	For behold, they [the Lamanites] are more righteous than you, for they have not sinned against that great knowledge which ye have received; *therefore the Lord will be merciful unto them;* yea, he will lengthen out their days and increase their seed. (Hel. 7:24)

the Lord turning away (Hel. 13:32, 39) refer to conversations between the Nephites and Nephi₂, recorded in Helaman 11. It seems likely that Samuel might not have been privy to such conversations, although we cannot rule out this possibility.[40] Instances such as this prompt us to wonder if Samuel's speech was edited in order to create or enhance these instances of intertextuality. After all, it would be very difficult for a contemporary listener in Zarahemla to precisely record Samuel's words as he spoke from the wall.

There are many potential reasons that Mormon (or another redactor) might have created these textual connections. It may be that he wanted to show that the Lord speaks the same message to prophets from multiple nations (both Nephite and Lamanite). Perhaps he intended to emphasize the wickedness of the Nephites by creating a striking framework of comparisons, delivered by a Lamanite, that highlight the distinction between the two nations.

While Mormon or another redactor certainly could be the source of these connections, let us consider the possibility that they originated with Samuel. Why would Samuel so frequently utilize the same words as his prophetic predecessors? Perhaps he felt the Nephites would be more receptive to the words of their ancestors. Alternatively, it may be Samuel felt insecure in his role as a Lamanite prophet and found strength by using the words of other prophets. Moroni₂ explicitly mentions his concerns regarding his weakness writing, and Grant Hardy suggests that perhaps this is one reason why Moroni₂ may have borrowed so heavily from other prophets.[41] Perhaps a similar phenomenon occurs with Samuel.

Another intriguing possibility behind Samuel's multiple use of the words of previous prophets lies in a unique phrase spoken of in relation to Samuel. In the scriptures, there are only three instances in which God puts ideas or words into people's hearts; two of these concern Samuel.[42] After being rejected once by the Nephites, as "he was about

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40. The fact that these textual connections come from potentially non-public statements by Nephi and the people may indicate that Mormon is the source of these connections. At the same time, there may have been a record distributed among that people after the famine. Mormon would have learned of the experience through some kind of written record; perhaps such a record was also available to Samuel.

41. Hardy, *Understanding the Book of Mormon*, 266.

42. See Helaman 13:4–5. The other instance is in Nehemiah 7:5.

to return to his own land . . . the voice of the Lord came unto him, that he should return again, and prophesy unto the people whatsoever things should come into his heart. . . . Therefore he went and got upon the wall thereof, and stretched forth his hand and cried with a loud voice, and prophesied unto the people whatsoever things the Lord put into his heart. And he said unto them: Behold, I, Samuel, a Lamanite, do speak the words of the Lord which he doth put into my heart" (Hel. 13:2–5).[43]

In conjunction with this statement, Samuel uses the phrase "saith the Lord" more than any Nephite prophet.[44] Perhaps the words the Lord put into Samuel's heart were the words of previous prophets. While this could have happened simply through inspiration,[45] it is also possible that this came as a result of Samuel's intense study of the scriptures.[46] He can be seen as a role model of the Lord's injunction to "neither take ye thought beforehand what ye shall say; but treasure up in your minds continually the words of life, and it shall be given you in the very hour that portion that shall be meted unto every man" (D&C 84:85).[47]

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43. Christ emphasizes the fact that he was directing Samuel's words (see 3 Ne. 23:9–11). Samuel is an outstanding example of one who followed this direction: "Lift up your voices unto this people; speak the thoughts that I shall put into your hearts, and you shall not be confounded before men; for it shall be given you in the very hour, yea, in the very moment, what ye shall say" (D&C 100:5–6).

44. Samuel uses this phrase seventeen times compared with fourteen instances where Nephi$_1$ is the speaker (Jacob uses the phrase ten times). The fact that Samuel employed the phrase more frequently than Nephi$_1$ is particularly significant, given that Nephi$_1$'s voice is heard much more frequently in the Book of Mormon than Samuel's.

45. Elder Jeffrey R. Holland has posited that similar scriptural language could be "another evidence that the Holy Ghost can reveal a truth in essentially the same words to more than one person." Jeffrey R. Holland, *Christ and the New Covenant* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book: 1997), 413.

46. This possibility is complicated by the significant probability that the Nephite language changed dramatically between the time of Nephi$_1$ and Samuel. Although all the engravings that were in Helaman's possession (which would have included the small plates) "were written and sent forth among the children of men throughout all the land" (Alma 63:12), it is not clear whether or how the language would have shifted over time.

47. While it is beyond the scope of the present study, it is interesting to note that many of the phrases that Samuel alludes to are also spoken by Christ to the people in darkness in 3 Nephi 9. For example, Christ speaks of casting

Although we cannot always specifically ascertain which sources Samuel draws from, it is clear that in many instances he weaves together words and phrases from multiple previous prophets. For example, in Helaman 13:29, where Samuel merges distinct phrases from three different prophets: *O ye wicked and ye perverse generation* (Alma$_2$ or Amulek: Alma 9:8, 10:25)[48]; *ye hardened and ye stiffnecked people, how long will ye suppose that the Lord will suffer you? Yea, how long will ye suffer yourselves to be led by foolish and blind guides?* (Nephi$_2$: Helaman 9:21)[49] Yea, how long will ye *choose darkness rather than light?* (Nephi$_1$: 2 Ne. 26:10).[50] It may be that Samuel had treasured up the prophetic word[51] and thus was able to be inspired to use these and other passages as he spoke to the Nephites.[52]

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out prophets and stoning them (compare Hel. 13:24; 2 Ne. 26:3), and destruction coming after the righteous were cast out (compare Alma 10:23, Hel. 13:14). While the textual connections are not as tight or numerous, they may bear future examination.

48. The words "wicked," "perverse," and "generation" appear together only in Alma 9:8; 10:17, 25; and Helaman 13:29.

49. As noted previously (see text associated with note 32), the phrases "how long" and "suffer you" appear together in the Book of Mormon only in these two passages. Nephi$_2$'s use of these phrases is as follows: "But Nephi said unto them: O ye fools, ye uncircumcised of heart, *ye blind, and ye stiffnecked people, do ye know how long the Lord your God will suffer you* that ye shall go on in this your way of sin?" (Hel. 9:21).

50. The words "choose," "darkness," and "light" appear together in same verse of scripture only in these two verses. Nephi$_1$ taught, "And when these things have passed away a speedy destruction cometh unto my people; for, notwithstanding the pains of my soul, I have seen it; wherefore, I know that it shall come to pass; and they sell themselves for naught; for, for the reward of their pride and their foolishness they shall reap destruction; for because they yield unto the devil and *choose works of darkness rather than light,* therefore they must go down to hell" (2 Ne. 26:10).

51. If this is the case, Samuel's use of previous Nephite prophets' words may help us understand how much access people in the Book of Mormon had to prophetic word. The relatively lengthy allusions that Samuel the Lamanite makes to Nephi$_1$'s words indicate that at least parts of Nephi$_1$'s record were available to him. Similar statements could be made about Jacob, Alma, Amulek, and King Benjamin.

52. Modern religious educators have been instructed to teach in this manner. Elder David A. Bednar taught, "We have the obligation to study, treasure up, ponder, so that in the very moment we can be given that which is needful or in the very moment, connections will be created . . . that we have never

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noticed before." Question and Answer Session with Seminaries and Institutes, Worldwide Training Broadcast, August 2, 2011. Quoted in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, "Follow the Master Teacher," https://www.lds.org/prophets-and-apostles/unto-all-the-world/follow-the-example-of-the-master-teacher?lang=eng. Perhaps Samuel's sermon on the wall of Zarahemla can serve as a model of that phenomenon.

Constructively Broken

Sarah d'Evegnee

> *"Crazy world. Cockeyed."*[1]
> Mr. Savo, in *The Chosen,* by Chiam Potok

When I cracked open the door, my friend's fragmented face grimaced grotesquely like an image yawning out of a Picasso painting. I squinted out of one eye as the migraine ballooned inside my head, slurring my speech and creating a stained-glass world.

I saw fuzzy, disjointed hands reach out for the four dirty-faced kids huddled around my legs, including the youngest, whose over-filled diaper almost reached her knees.

"Just let me take them for a few hours so you can rest."

I was too heavy with grief and nausea to resist. I wanted to tell her I could take care of myself, but it was obvious that I couldn't. My stained maternity nightgown created a sad, floral tent over my swollen frame, and my tears splashed against it like rain as I shut the door and staggered over a minefield of toys back to the couch.

Only days before, the ultrasound tech had rubbed cool jelly over the mound of my stomach, pressing the wand harder and harder into my abdomen, the impassive expression on her face producing a marked contrast to the anxious movements of her arms. After a series of drawn-out hmmmms, she left the room and returned with another technician, who studied the static gray and white blobs on the screen.

The nurse practitioner offered me an overinflated smile and a smudged photocopy of a poem about how geese in flight support each other. She told me to call them if I passed anything larger than a baseball.

I didn't even cry. I just stuttered, "Wait. I think there's been a mistake."

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1. Chaim Potok, *The Chosen* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967), 57.

She looked at me blankly and replied, "Yes. You might feel that way, but there isn't a heartbeat." I clutched the paper with the poem with one hand and my misshapen, unsuitable stomach with the other and stood still, not wanting to enter this distorted reality. Her smile became slightly lopsided, as if someone had let the air out of one side. The matronly woman's white coat rustled as she patted my arm and shooed me into the waiting room, encouraging me again to read the poem about the geese and be sure to call her office if I noticed anything abnormal.

Everything about the next minutes and days and weeks was abnormal. I could have called the nurse practitioner again and again with the tick of each second, and yet I never did. I had entered a land that swept over me like a blank screen on which every letter, every syllable has been deleted. Each paragraph has been lost and yet looms large in the whiteness. There is only a curser blinking expectantly at me, waiting for me to finally produce something viable. Something normal. The ever-powerful absent presence. The character that is never part of the story but is the catalyst to all of the action. The ghost of a person never present.

The word "miscarriage" makes the process of losing a baby sound like an intentional error on the part of the mother. The prefix "mis" comes from Old English, meaning "wrong, bad, or erroneous" or "to fail to achieve an intended outcome."

In French, a miscarriage is a "fausse couche," literally a false delivery, as if some pathologically affected woman prancing around in a beret had simply concocted the whole pregnancy thing on a lark, eating cheese and making outrageous claims about carrying around a human being inside her. But of course, these are the same people who refer to pregnancy as "la grossesse," which, while not meaning something "gross," does mean "the fatness." There doesn't seem to be a whole lot of *jouissance* or veracity in that either.

A few weeks after my friend had swooped in to rescue my children from my mid-miscarriage migraine, I forced myself to bring her homemade cookies and a handmade card. I was a hollow husk on her doorstep, but the grief that had taken over my insides would not be allowed to show on my face. I didn't want to make that faux pas again.

My friend looked so relieved to see me dressed and upright and socially acceptable that she accepted the plate of perfectly round cookies and the painfully symmetrical card and blurted out, "I was happy to see you like that."

I blinked quickly and swallowed back the urge to throw up on her cookies. It sounded like she had just said that she was happy to see me

flailing and floundering, enjoying the show as I was barely holding onto the edges of the burnt and smoldering walls of Tartarus, the flames licking at my varicose-veined legs and house slippers. Surely I must have misunderstood.

She continued, "Well, it's just that in all the time I've known you, you have never seemed to have a bad day. You're one of those people that seems like you have it all together, and it was just nice to know that you're human. It was good to see you like that." I could feel another migraine coming on, the blind spots nudging their way into my peripheral vision.

My relatively sheltered and private life was now a gaping and crooked chasm of feminine vulnerability. I had lost control of everything—my body, my baby, and my ability to appear controlled at all costs. My miscarriage had transformed me into a Lady Macbeth in a housedress, shrieking:

> Come, you spirits
> That tend on mortal thoughts, unsex me here,
> And fill me from the crown to the toe top-full
> Of direst cruelty![2]

I didn't want to want the world to see my error, my mistake, my miscarriage, my false delivery, because I felt that it was a glaring representation of my own mortality, my own imperfection on display. But this broken body of mine wasn't giving me any choice. I was my own cubist painting on display.

That broken summer, the baby-weight without the baby forced me to see that I couldn't control my need for heavenly help, turning it on and off like a miraculous faucet of forgiveness. I hadn't done anything that could be considered a sin, and yet I needed to acknowledge my own weaknesses in order to find healing.

I came to see repentance as not just an eraser, but as something more, as a way of changing the way I saw my broken world. The LDS Bible Dictionary's definition of repentance actually focuses on our focus, implying that how we perceive ourselves might just be as vital as our actions: "The Greek word of which this is the translation denotes a change of mind, i.e., a fresh view about God, about oneself, and about the world. . . . Without this there can be no progress in the things of the soul's salvation." When I glimpsed in the mirror and saw someone who was only a

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2. William Shakespeare, *Macbeth,* act 1, scene 5, lines 38–43.

shadow of who I had been before, sometimes it didn't seem like it was all negative.

In an almost surprising way, I started to claim ownership of my own brokenness even as I began to heal from my miscarriage. I started to apply the word "repentance" to my own transformation from broken to healed, and I even began to savor the wide chasm between those two adjectives. President Kimball said it this way: "When most of us think of repentance we tend to narrow our vision and view it as good only for our husbands, our wives, our parents, our children, our neighbors, our friends, the world—anyone and everyone except ourselves. Similarly there is a prevalent, perhaps subconscious, feeling that the Lord designed repentance only for those who commit murder or adultery or theft or other heinous crimes. . . . *Repentance is for every soul who has not yet reached perfection.*"[3]

Everywhere I looked, I started to claim an almost maternal affection for broken things, for missteps and mistakes and misunderstandings. Even our car couldn't escape my hungry gaze. Our Suburban already looked like it had played the part of the LDS Family Vehicle in several clean and swear-free Mormon home movies. It had been used and abused on family vacations and family ski trips before it had hit Craig's List, and we were happy to get its worn-out carcass because we had outgrown our minivan and the hunk of white bread on wheels was all we could afford.

After running it ragged for a year or two filled with carpools and the remnants of Happy Meals, several concerned travelers anxiously waved their well-manicured nails at me and motioned for me to look at my license plate. I parked the car and noticed that one of the bolts holding our license plate in place had fallen out. Not long after that, I was put on bedrest for another anxiety-filled pregnancy and hardly left the house. I forgot all about the missing bolt and the crooked license plate and concentrated on coaxing my baby to grow despite my inability to keep any food down.

When my colicky little fellow arrived months later, his continuous screams kept my mind on him and off of the license plate until one day several service-oriented people in several different parking lots told me that my license plate was going to fall off. I looked at the license plate,

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3. Spencer W. Kimball, *The Miracle of Forgiveness* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1969), 33, italics added.

which was about three inches lower on one side than the other. The right side looked like it was going on a joy-ride while the left side was being held down by not only a bolt, but surely some sort of compensatory discipline. I was tired and had a sick baby at home, and I couldn't stop thinking, "No. It's not going to fall off. It's been that way for a year. It's crooked, but it's secure."

The insistence of strangers that my leaning license plate bothered them reminded me of a dear friend's daughter. One evening when she was supposed to be at Mutual, Hannah had met a boy by the train tracks, and he had raped her. My friend didn't find out until nearly three years later, when her daughter was discovered in the high school bathroom passed out from the blood she had lost because of self-harm. She was expelled from the high school and in turn from the group of socially acceptable girls in her ward. The whispers followed her in the gray-carpeted hallways of the church building and into the Young Women's room until finally if she came to church at all, she huddled close to her mom as she played the piano in Primary.

"Mom. I just don't fit in their frame. I'm outside of the frame, and so I don't belong."

My friend and I cried together as she told me about her daughter. The next time someone dutifully reported to me the unacceptable state of my license plate, I thought of Hannah. Hannah's life had been broken into shards, but she was an innocent victim. She was forced into the world of the other and could never be what those girls in our small town would consider normal. Like my license plate, Hannah was viewed as something that needed to be straightened out and fixed—an uncomfortably off-kilter symbol in an otherwise symmetrical world.

The comments about my license plate continued almost every day on virtually every errand I ran. The well-meaning clucks and the helpful fingers pointing. "Your license plate is going to fall off." I became so worn down by the comments that I decided to ask a friend who is a police officer if it was illegal for me to have only one bolt holding up my struggling license plate. He responded that technically it just needed to be stable and that the number of bolts didn't really matter. I decided to leave the bolt off. I did it for Hannah. It was just me and my free-wheeling license plate, cruising all three blocks of Main Street, causing a rowdy and slightly askew ruckus.

Dedicating the state of my license plate to Hannah gave me one line to add to my role as Preacher of the Parking Lot. No. It may be crooked, but it's stable and secure. I asked a police officer about it. "You

know," I ruminated to the beleaguered woman holding weighty bags of produce and potato chips, "sometimes I think we're too hard on people who are different or who don't match the way we think people should be. My license plate reminds me that sometimes it's okay to be crooked. It's okay to be different. And sometimes it's okay to be broken. Broken isn't always bad." I'd point to my car's asymmetrical front end with maternal pride.

After being subjected to my license plate lecture, more than one of my innocent victims has thanked me, but most them look a little startled by my sudden seriousness. One of them was a less-active woman in my ward whom I was assigned to visit teach, but who refused to allow me into her home to give her monthly lessons. Sister Prince had been proudly absent from church for twenty years and wasn't afraid to get persnickety about it, even if it meant yelling at her visiting teachers to get them to leave her alone. She didn't recognize me as the woman who brought her children to the doorstep every month to help her bring treats and homemade bread. She didn't remember that one snowy winter month, my daughter had lured her younger brother to the door and said, "It's okay if she tries to be mean to us. He's so cute that we can use him as bait!"

But the parking lot was my pulpit that day. I told Sister Prince my Parable of the Plate and my desire to help people accept and cherish broken things. She nodded and teared up a little, saying, "I wish everyone felt that way." I thought, "I wish you really knew that I felt that way." She never let me into her house, and she passed away the next year, never knowing that the visiting teacher thrusting unwelcome bits of homemade goodness through cracks in her door and the woman in the parking lot with the crooked license plate were the same person.

When I was in a singles ward at BYU, my cheerful visiting teachers and I were talking about the Relief Society president, a paragon of discipline and refinement who seemed to effortlessly dance through her daily to-do list, leaving her time for service and smiles each day. We were discussing how much we liked her and how perfect she seemed to be. Suddenly, my visiting teacher leaned in close, and whispered through her perfectly straight teeth, "It makes me want to throw dirt on her!"

Sometimes I worry that in my struggle to look perfect I miss the point of the journey toward perfection. If my miscarriage was a faux pas, then I never should have attempted to bring that "failed child" into the world. If celebrations of the mistakes and missteps of others are the only thing that lifts our heads from our personal pity parties, we probably can't count that as progressive.

I'm not sure if I could mourn or comfort or cry with friends if I've never mourned or comforted or cried myself. If I have never been broken, how would I ever be fixed? My life only pretends to be full of instant, immediate solutions. If there is a gap between broken and fixed, impatience surfaces and I squirm with discomfort. But there is a certain beauty in broken things, even in miscarriages and crooked license plates.

I'd like to think that a stanza about my crooked license plate would fit right in with Gerard Manley Hopkins's lovely description of naturally freckled and beautifully imperfect wonders:

> Glory be to God for dappled things—
>   For skies of couple-colour as a brinded cow;
>   For rose-moles all in stipple upon trout that swim;
> Fresh-firecoal chestnut-falls; finches' wings;
>   Landscape plotted and pieced—fold, fallow, and plough;
>   And all trades, their gear and tackle and trim.
>
> All things counter, original, spare, strange;
>   Whatever is fickle, freckled (who knows how?)
>   With swift, slow; sweet, sour; adazzle, dim;
> He fathers-forth whose beauty is past change:
>   Praise him.[4]

If perfect is flawless and straight-backed and solemn, then I'm not sure I want it. I don't want to have a photoshopped existence, because some of my favorite parts have been slightly bent and out of focus—my frustration with the florist on my wedding day that my husband still teases me about; the scars shining out from my abdomen from two babies who tried to jump into the world feet first; my teenage son accidentally wearing his sister's skinny jeans to school and pulling it off (I still haven't told him); awkward conversations in a parking lot.

This essay by Sarah d'Evegnee won second place in the 2017 Richard H. Cracroft Personal Essay Contest.

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4. Gerard Manley Hopkins, "Pied Beauty," in *The Poems of Gerard Manley Hopkins,* 3d ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1948), 74.

The Church Library Coordinating Committee and the Correlation of Meetinghouse Libraries

Cory Nimer

Beginning in the late 1950s, many religious groups in the United States saw a growing interest in the development and improvement of libraries. Within some denominations, organizations were created to advocate library programs and promulgate standards and guidelines. This effort included the establishment of the Parish Library Section of the Catholic Library Association in 1957 and the formation of the Lutheran Church Library Association the following year.[1] A drive toward greater cooperation and professionalization culminated in 1967 with the creation of the Church and Synagogue Library Association, a nonprofit, nondenominational organization that provided conferences and publications for training church librarians.[2]

As part of this national effort to improve church libraries, a range of manuals and support materials were published to guide local church programs. Many of these followed the structure established by the Southern Baptist Convention in their 1937 publication *The Church Library Manual*. This important handbook was based on the conclusion that "those who have studied carefully the church library problem are convinced

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1. Joyce L. White, "Church Libraries," in *Encyclopedia of Library and Information Science*, ed. Allen Kent and Harold Lancour, vol. 4 (New York: Marcel Dekker, 1970), 665–66.

2. Ruth S. Smith, "Church and Synagogue Library Association," *Encyclopedia of Library and Information Science*, ed. Allen Kent and Harold Lancour, vol. 4 (New York: Marcel Dekker, 1970), 676–77; *Standards for Church and Synagogue Libraries* (Bryn Mawr, Pa.: Church and Synagogue Library Association, 1977), 1.

that the easiest, most accurate and most practical plan for church libraries is to employ methods of other libraries, simplified and adapted for church library use."[3] This adapted program for Baptist libraries included the establishment of dedicated space for collections and reading, the use of the Dewey Decimal System and subject indexing, and committee-based governance. More importantly, it recommended expanding the role of libraries beyond the Sunday school to be a resource for the whole church.[4] This amplified, standards-based approach to church libraries was widely adopted and integrated into guides published during the late 1950s in other American religious communities.[5]

The influence of this growth and changes in church library programs was felt more slowly within The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The Church's program, developed and administered by the Deseret Sunday School Union through the end of the 1950s, focused on the use of library materials as "teaching aids" for curriculum support rather than as a general resource for members.[6] In many units, the use of the library was limited to the Sunday School itself, with other auxiliary organizations maintaining their own collections separately. This narrow focus expanded under the guidance of the professional librarians at Brigham Young University during the 1960s and 1970s, and a new model of library service began to develop within the Church. Under the rubric of the correlation program, this library initiative was able to expand in ward meetinghouses throughout the Church during this period. However, the direction given through the Correlation Committee eventually transformed Church libraries again, returning them to their former role as material centers.

Reimagining the Sunday School Library

The Deseret Sunday School Union had been involved in library work since its inception in 1867. At the organizing meeting, a committee was

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3. Leona Lavender Althoff, *The Church Library Manual* (Nashville: Sunday School Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1937), vii.

4. Althoff, *Church Library Manual,* 12.

5. Examples include Christine Buder, *How to Build a Church Library* (St. Louis: Bethany Press, 1955) (nondenominational); Erwin E. John, *The Key to a Successful Church Library* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1958) (Evangelical Lutheran); and *Parish Library Manual* (Villanova, Pa.: Catholic Library Association, 1959) (Roman Catholic).

6. *Teaching Aids and Library Guidebook* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Sunday School Union Board, 1954), 9.

established to select "suitable works for Sunday School libraries."[7] This concept of libraries as an integral component of the Sunday School remained constant through the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Librarians in individual units received instruction through occasional articles published in the Church periodical the *Juvenile Instructor,* and beginning in 1930 the library committee published a regular column in the *Juvenile Instructor.* However, many of the details of implementing the program were left to local Sunday School leaders. Funding could be inconsistent, relying heavily on donations from members and reuse of Church publications. In some units, this meant that libraries were not established, while in wards with libraries the selection of material varied widely.[8]

Additional guidelines later developed and published by the Deseret Sunday School reflected the loose central regulation of the library program. The last full version of these instructions, published as *Teaching Aids and Library Guidebook* in 1954, restated the goal of the Sunday School to have "an adequate and useful library in every ward in the Church supervised by an active, enthusiastic, and efficient librarian."[9] However, it was left to each individual unit to use "ingenuity to adapt to its individual situation" both in terms of library space and the content of the library itself.[10] A basic list of materials and supplies was provided in the guidebook (listed in full in appendix A), but wide discretion was given for adding books, pictures, and other publications that supported teaching. While some of the materials were available through Deseret Book Company, librarians were also referred to national publishing houses such as Standard Publishing Company, Thomas Nelson and Sons Company, David C. Cook Publishing Company, and National Geographic and allowed to individually decide what materials fit with Church doctrines.[11]

Once the materials had been obtained, the librarian was responsible for organizing and making them available to Church members. In order to keep track of library items, the guidebook recommended the use

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7. *Jubilee History of Latter-day Saints Sunday Schools* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Sunday School Union, 1900), 17.

8. Ruth Anne Lewis, "From Sunday School to Meetinghouse Library: The Evolution of Library Support Service in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" (research paper, School of Library and Information Science, Brigham Young University, 1981), 14–15.

9. *Teaching Aids and Library Guidebook,* 11.

10. *Teaching Aids and Library Guidebook,* 11.

11. *Teaching Aids and Library Guidebook,* 35.

of accession numbers for maintaining inventory control.[12] Basic classification systems were also recommended for arranging materials on the shelves, although the systems for books and pictures varied significantly.[13] In order to provide access, librarians were also encouraged to develop their own subject indexes to the content of books, magazines, and pictures to assist users in finding needed resources.

Despite the significant challenges of funding and organizing libraries, as well as the instruction to librarians to develop selective collections aimed specifically at supporting Church curricular needs, by the late 1950s "Sunday School libraries throughout the Church . . . [were] growing rapidly in size and number," according to J. Holman Waters of the Sunday School's Library and Teaching Aids Committee.[14] In many cases, librarians were unable to effectively manage the resulting collections and turned to the Deseret Sunday School Union for additional guidance. The Sunday School in turn sought out the advice of the professional librarians at Brigham Young University.

Beginning in the mid-1950s, the Brigham Young University administration had made significant efforts to expand the university library's collections and services. In 1954, President Ernest L. Wilkinson had appointed S. Lyman Tyler to be director of the library (fig. 1).[15] Tyler had only recently been hired as a member of the history faculty at the time of his appointment and was not a trained librarian, but he came to the position with a strong background in libraries and a desire to improve the university library.[16] As he developed the university's policy on libraries in 1956, Tyler embedded a statement on the importance of Brigham Young University as the leading institution in the Unified Church School System and had its library designated as the archive for

12. *Teaching Aids and Library Guidebook,* 66–68. Accession numbers typically indicate when an item was acquired and may not group similar items together. Accession numbers were specific to each meetinghouse library.

13. *Teaching Aids and Library Guidebook,* 21, 38.

14. J. Holman Waters to S. Lyman Tyler, June 18, 1957, J. Reuben Clark Jr. Library Records, UA 549a, box 32, folder 3, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

15. Hattie M. Knight, *Brigham Young University Library Centennial History* (Provo, Utah: Harold B. Lee Library, 1976), 89.

16. "Dr. S. L. Tyler Is Director of Libraries," S. Lyman Tyler Collection, UA 614, box 36, folder 6, Perry Special Collections; S. Lyman Tyler to Harvey L. Taylor, November 17, 1956, Office of the President Records, UA 1086, box 69, folder 2, Perry Special Collections.

FIGURE 1. S. Lyman Tyler in his office at the Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University. Courtesy L. Tom Perry Special Collections.

the Church Educational System.[17] His goal was to establish the university library as the research library for the Church, with collections capable of "meet[ing] the requirements of the teaching and research program of the University, the Alumni, and the Church Membership in general."[18] In order to meet this goal, the library determined to build special collections in the areas of "Mormon Americana" and religion, and build expertise in developing library cataloging and classification systems to manage this material.[19]

In recognition of this growing expertise, the Deseret Sunday School Union Board contacted Brigham Young University to request assistance

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17. "Statement of Policy for the University Library," March 24, 1956, Tyler Collection, UA 614, box 39, folder 10.

18. "Two Year Report of the Brigham Young University Library, July 1956–June 1958," 32–33, Harold B. Lee Library Records, UA 549a, box 30, folder 5, Perry Special Collections.

19. "Statement of Policy for the University Library."

in adapting formal library methods for Church libraries. In a letter dated January 30, 1957, George R. Hill, general superintendent of the Sunday School, requested through President Wilkinson "that the library department of the Brigham Young University think through and adapt a simplified but adequate Dewey Decimal System, for the use of Sunday School or ward libraries, and furnish a brochure or card system so completely worked out that newly appointed inexperienced persons called to be Sunday School librarians may use it to quickly find and properly account for all the books and pamphlets found in the library."[20] In responding to their request, S. Lyman Tyler appears to have reviewed the general library literature as well as the Baptist Sunday School program and their use of the Dewey Decimal System.[21] Based on this review, when he attended the Sunday School board meeting in March he presented a plan not only for classification, but also a proposal for a larger reorganization of the Church's library program.[22] According to Tyler's recommendation, at the Church level the administration of the library program would be removed from the Sunday School and placed under a General Church Library Committee composed of representatives of the different auxiliary organizations. This committee would be responsible for preparing a list of recommended books, pictures, and other materials for which catalog cards could be provided by the Church library program. At an intermediate level, stake supervisors of library services might be called to supervise local librarians and provide training. Then, at a local level, each ward would have its own library supervised by a ward-level library committee with representatives from each auxiliary. In order to support the Sunday School board's requirements for a centralized cataloging service, Tyler suggested that general book drives be discontinued and that members be allowed only to "supply materials on [the] basic list or money to purchase these."[23]

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20. George R. Hill to Ernest L. Wilkinson, January 30, 1957, Clark Library Records.

21. Among his papers on this subject, Tyler included copies of various publications by the Baptist Sunday School regarding library services, including Sue Eller, *Looking for New Ideas?* (Nashville: Church Library Service, n.d.); Bess Carter, *Simplified Book Mending* (Nashville: Church Library Service, n.d.); and the periodical *Church Library Book List.*

22. "Minutes of the Meeting with the General Sunday School Board," March 31, 1957, Clark Library Records, UA 549a, box 32, folder 4.

23. "Church Library," undated, Clark Library Records, UA 549a, box 32, folder 2.

While the Sunday School board was supportive of Tyler's plans for centralizing the selection and cataloging of library materials, they were not willing to support the reorganization of the administration of the library program. As described in the meeting's minutes, "The Sunday School Board members suggested that there would be much opposition to this idea at the present time" and that they should instead plan on working within the existing organization.[24] To implement the centralized system, the Sunday School enlisted the Brigham Young University library to develop a guide to the Dewey Decimal System and subject listing for existing materials, which was to be published and distributed for librarians who were trained in library practices. At the same time, they were asked to classify and create catalog records for "every book which appropriately can be in a Church library."[25] To begin this process, the Library and Teaching Aids Committee provided a list of books suggested by the manager of Deseret Book Company, though they allowed the university librarians to include other titles that they felt would be useful.

Although Tyler initially had some reservations about providing cataloging services for the Sunday School, the librarians at Brigham Young University assisted with this work for the first two years of the centralized program. During the fall, Tyler prepared an abridged classification table for the Dewey Decimal System using an expansion of the 289.3 for Mormon works, which was distributed at the Sunday School conference in October 1957.[26] The library also continued to provide catalog records for duplication and distribution until at least 1959, when the Sunday School hired a professional librarian to assist with the program.[27]

Shifting Responsibility for Church Libraries

While the introduction of library standards and of centralized cataloging services provided useful tools for existing libraries, it was not until

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24. "Minutes of the Meeting with the General Sunday School Board," March 31, 1957.

25. Waters to Tyler, June 18, 1957.

26. "Abridged Dewey Decimal Classification Tables for the Organization of Ward Libraries of the L.D.S. Church" (Prepared for the General Board of the Deseret Sunday School Union by the Brigham Young University Library), undated, Clark Library Records, UA 549a, box 32, folder 2.

27. Naoma Rich to J. Holman Waters, ca. April 1959, Clark Library Records, UA 549a, box 32, folder 3.

the rise of the modern correlation movement that the Church was able to significantly expand library services. The Correlation Committee formed under the direction of Harold B. Lee in 1961 built on previous initiatives to coordinate and harmonize Church curriculum.[28] However, the role of the correlation program eventually expanded beyond curriculum design until it was in a position to reorganize much of the administration of the Church itself.[29] Among the goals of correlation was reducing the duplication of effort across the organization, aligning programs with Church policies and standards, and reviewing and approving the Church curriculum.[30] Due to the fragmented nature of library services within the Church and the role of libraries in supporting teaching and learning, the Correlation Committee was a natural ally in the expansion of the Church's library program.[31]

The role of libraries in the Church was brought to the attention of the Correlation Committee largely through the continued efforts of S. Lyman Tyler. Starting in 1963, Tyler had begun working closely with President N. Eldon Tanner of the First Presidency, first serving on an advisory committee to the Genealogical Society library and then later that year providing reference and research services to the

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28. Harold B. Lee, in *One Hundred Thirty-second Semi-annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1962), 71–76, available online at Internet Archive, https://archive.org/stream/conferencereport1962sa#page/n71/mode/2up (accessed September 21, 2016). For information on correlation efforts in the early twentieth century beginning with President Joseph F. Smith, see Michael A. Goodman, "Correlation: The Early Years," 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), 319–38.

29. Gregory A. Prince and William Robert Wright, *David O. McKay and the Rise of Modern Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2005), 142–58; Church Educational System, *Church History in the Fulness of Times* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2003), 562–64.

30. Frank O. May Jr., "Correlation of the Church, Administration," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism,* ed. Daniel H. Ludlow, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 1:323–25, available online at http://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/EoM/id/4391/show/5634 (accessed April 18, 2015).

31. Richard O. Cowan, *The Church in the Twentieth Century* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1985), 315.

First Presidency.[32] In late 1964, Tanner started making arrangements for Tyler to take a sabbatical leave from the university to assist the Church in long-term planning related to information and communications issues.[33] This work focused on records management, internal and external communications, and library services; of these Tyler turned his attention first to the library program.[34] An initial meeting was called by President Tanner in December 1964, bringing together the directors of the Brigham Young University library (S. Lyman Tyler), the Historian's Office library (Earl E. Olson), and the Genealogical Society library (Delbert Roach). This Librarians Council was charged with "the development of a library program for the Church," though the first meeting focused on the role of only the libraries represented on the council.[35] By February 1965, the role of the council had been expanded to include responsibility for meetinghouse libraries, as well as the establishment of a central reference library.[36] At Tyler's urging, on February 17, 1965, a letter was sent by President Tanner on behalf of the First Presidency to all General Authorities and Church administrative officials announcing the formation of the Librarians Council and indicating the First Presidency's approval of their developing program.[37] Tanner also wrote to Elder Harold B. Lee in March 1965 to bring the Librarians Council program to the attention of the Correlation Committee "so as to prevent any overlapping" with that committee's work.[38]

During the following month, Tyler and the Librarians Council continued to develop their preliminary plans for the Church library program. The outline of this plan was presented by Tyler at a meeting of an Advisory Council for Church Library, Records Management, and Communications Programs in April in President Tanner's office, which included an expanded version of his 1957 recommendations for

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32. S. Lyman Tyler to N. Eldon Tanner, August 2, 1963, S. Lyman Tyler Papers, MS 42, Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City; S. Lyman Tyler to N. Eldon Tanner, November 11, 1963, Tyler Papers.

33. N. Eldon Tanner to S. Lyman Tyler, October 23, 1964, Tyler Papers.

34. S. Lyman Tyler to N. Eldon Tanner, January 29, 1965, Tyler Papers.

35. Minutes of meeting of prospective Librarians Council with President Tanner, December 30, 1964, Tyler Papers.

36. S. Lyman Tyler to N. Eldon Tanner, February 8, 1965, Tyler Papers.

37. First Presidency, February 17, 1965, Tyler Papers.

38. N. Eldon Tanner to Harold B. Lee, March 10, 1965, Tyler Papers.

consolidating and reorganizing meetinghouse libraries as part of the establishment of Churchwide library information services. According to this revised plan, ward libraries would be under the direction of the bishop, while a stake librarian would provide training and supervision. In a further extension of the original plan, branch genealogical libraries would be integrated into the overall library system and a central reference library would be established under the direction of the Church Historian's Office to provide interlibrary loan of needed library materials.[39]

While the general outline of the new library program had now been defined, it took some time for the plan to be reviewed, refined, and approved by the Correlation Committee. In May 1965, President Tanner appeared before the committee to present the program, and Correlation Committee secretary Antone Romney was appointed to work on refining the plan.[40] A revised proposal, entitled "The Church Library System," was brought back to the Correlation Committee in September 1965 by Romney and Tyler, but discussion continued through most of 1966.[41] During this time, construction plans for meetinghouse libraries were developed for use in the Church building program, which featured ample counter space, shelving for books and other materials, a work table, and an adjoining classroom or reading room for researchers.

By the end of 1966, the details of the program were finalized and it was ready to be publicly announced, though the goals of the program had shifted through the correlation process. In August 1966, President Tanner announced in a Librarians Council meeting that the ward library program would move forward.[42] The expanded program was formally announced through a First Presidency letter dated December 5, 1966. In line with the Correlation Committee's objectives, however, the function of the library program as described in the letter was to support "the improvement of instruction and general educational development"

39. "Meeting of the Advisory Council for Church Library, Records Management and Communications Programs," April 19, 1965, Tyler Collection, UA 614, box 1, folder 6.

40. "Correlation Chronology as Reflected in Minutes of Correlation Executive Committee Meetings, 1960–1971," undated, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.

41. "The Church Library System," 1965, UA 614, box 1, folder 6, Perry Special Collections.

42. "Report of the Office of the Church Historian, including the Historian's Office Library-Archives, for the Five Year Period 1966–1970, and an Inventory of Holdings as of December 31, 1970," 1970, Church History Library.

within the Church.[43] Nevertheless, the approval of the program provided necessary resources to expand library services, since the letter also announced that all newly constructed meetinghouses would now include space for library facilities. By January 1967, the First Presidency authorized the Building Department to release blueprints for library construction (figs. 2, 3).[44]

Following the announcement, the Church sought to institutionalize the administration of the program. As Tyler had proposed in 1957, the meetinghouse library program was removed from the Deseret Sunday School's administration and placed under a Churchwide committee. At first the program was supervised directly by President Tanner and a Church Library and Instructional Materials Committee, but on November 22, 1968, at the request of Harold B. Lee and the Correlation Committee, an expanded Church Library Coordinating Committee was established. Based on the Correlation Committee's interpretation of Doctrine and Covenants 69:8 that the Historian's Office had responsibility for Church library functions, Assistant Church Historian Earl E. Olson was appointed as chair of the committee.[45] Other initial members included Theodore Burton of the Genealogical Society, Russell L. Davis representing curriculum libraries, Keith R. Oaks of the Church School System, Donald K. Nelson of the Brigham Young University library, and S. Lyman Tyler as a consultant. In June 1966, Tyler had left Brigham Young University to join the history faculty and serve as director of the Bureau of Indian Services at the University of Utah.[46] However, Harold B. Lee recommended that he be retained on the committee due to his earlier planning role.[47]

CORRELATING CHURCH LIBRARIES

As it was established, the Church Library Coordinating Committee was responsible for a wide range of activities, only a portion of which were

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43. Church Library and Instructional Materials Committee, "Ward Library and Instructional Materials Centers," *Information Series*, no. 1 (December 1, 1967): 1.

44. "Report of the Office of the Church Historian . . . 1966–1970."

45. Harold B. Lee to N. Eldon Tanner, July 19, 1968, CR 598 2, box 39, Harold B. Lee Papers, Church History Library.

46. S. Lyman Tyler, interview by Everett L. Cooley, Novembe 26, 1984, Everett L. Cooley Oral History Project, Marriott Library.

47. Church Coordinating Committee minutes, October 15, 1968, Lee Papers.

Figure 2. Blueprint for the Ward Library and Instructional Material Center, January 1967, Church History Library, copy in Perry Special Collections, BYU. © Intellectual Reserve Inc.

The library as drawn includes a work table with chairs, a desk, work counters, a sink, a spirit duplicator (a Ditto machine), and a Dutch door. Adjacent to the library is a classroom/reading room with a folding table, chairs, chalkboard, and screen.
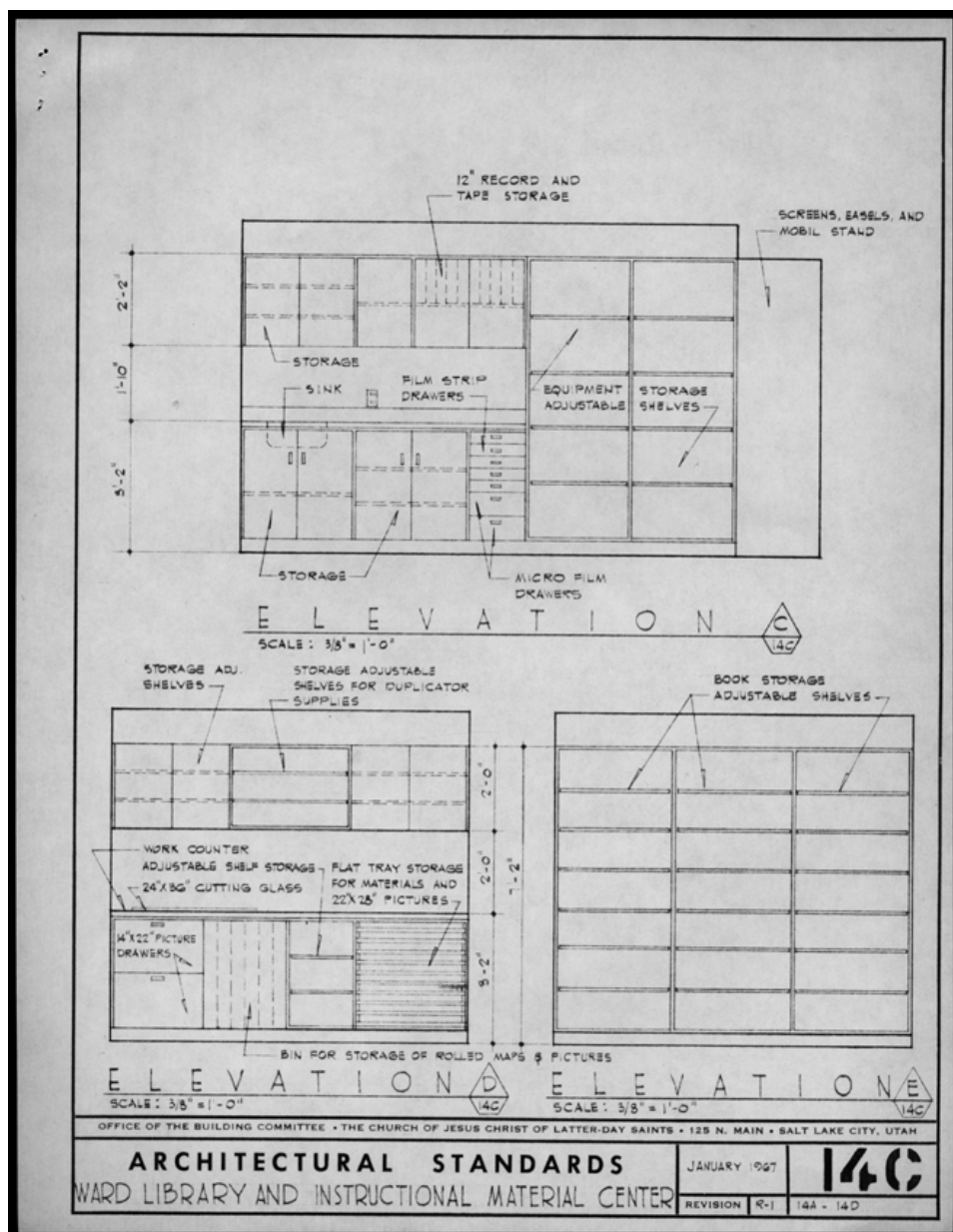
FIGURE 3. Blueprint for the Ward Library and Instructional Material Center, January 1967, Church History Library, copy in Perry Special Collections, BYU. © Intellectual Reserve Inc.

The plan for library shelving including specific storage units for books, pictures, flannel boards, film strips, records (LPs), tapes, maps, screens, easels, a mobile stand, and other equipment.

related to meetinghouse libraries. The overall goal of the committee was "correlating the activities and procedures to be followed in all Church libraries"; however, as the goal was defined, the committee served primarily as advisors, with implementation decisions left to individual libraries and to the Correlation Committee.[48] The major exception was the development of the meetinghouse library program, which had no institutional sponsor on the committee, and which remained a prominent area of the group's work. At the time of its creation, the objectives of the committee included:

1. The further development of a Curriculum Library in each ward building, now designated as the Ward Library and Instructional Materials Center (to consider changing this title to Ward Library), and to include the following aids:

   a. Instructions on administration and library procedures, equipment, etc.

   b. Helps on cataloging and filing systems.

   c. Provide copies of library catalog cards where desired.

   d. Provide suggested lists of books, filmstrips, equipment, etc.

   e. Designate ward centers as good examples of a ward library program.

2. The development of facilities in ward libraries for housing Branch Genealogical Libraries. To ascertain the responsibility of this committee with regard to administration, inspection, etc., of branch libraries.[49]

Under Earl Olson, during its first two years the Church Library Coordinating Committee worked to address each of these objectives but found that they would need help to implement such an expansive program. In 1969, they formed a temporary task committee to assist them, but once that committee completed its work, they proposed that the group be formalized as the Meetinghouse Library Committee to operate under their direction and focus on the meetinghouse library program. This new committee was established with seventeen members in December 1970 and placed under the direction of Utah State Librarian

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48. The Church Library Coordinating Committee, "Program, Duties and Objectives," February 13, 1969, Tyler Collection, UA 614, box 1, folder 6.

49. Church Coordinating Committee minutes, October 15, 1968.

Russell L. Davis.[50] In 1972, with the reorganization of the Historical Department, Earl Olson became Church Archivist and Don Schmidt of the Brigham Young University library was made Church Librarian with responsibility for the meetinghouse library program.[51]

In working to implement the meetinghouse library program, the Church Library Coordinating Committee and the Meetinghouse Library Committee participated in a range of activities. These included hosting workshops in association with general conference, participating in regional trainings, and preparing manuals and training films.[52] Those areas in which the committee's efforts had the longest-term effect included the expansion of facilities and the standardization of content, as described below.

Facilities

The expansion of library facilities was one of the most visible outcomes of the meetinghouse library program and perhaps had the greatest effect on increasing local member access to Church resources. The uniform integration of library spaces in meetinghouses was first announced in the 1966 First Presidency letter, declaring that thereafter all newly constructed buildings would be required to include library facilities.[53] For existing meetinghouses, renovations could only be encouraged, but the Church initiated a shared costs program, providing 70 percent of funds for remodeling in wards and 80 percent for branches.[54]

In developing local facilities, there was initially some uncertainty as to what these facilities should be called. In December 1968, the committee decided that the title "Ward Library" should be used in place of

50. Church Library Coordinating Committee minutes, December 8, 1970, Church Library Coordinating Committee Chairman's Files, CR 30 7, Church History Library; "Report of the Office of the Church Historian . . . 1966–1970."

51. "Responsibilities of the Church Librarian," Leonard J. Arrington Papers, Merrill-Cazier Library, Utah State University, Logan, Utah.

52. "Report of the Office of the Church Historian . . . 1966–1970"; "A Report of the Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints . . . for the Five-Year Period 1971–1975," Church History Library.

53. Church Library and Instructional Materials Committee, "Ward Library and Instructional Materials Centers," *Information Series,* no. 1 (December 1, 1967): 1.

54. David M. Mayfield and Lamond F. Beatty, "Libraries of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," 14–15, Church History Library.

"Ward Library and Instructional Materials Center." The earlier title of "Curriculum Library," which had been used under the Deseret Sunday School Union, was also not to be used.[55] After the committee consulted with President Tanner, in January the terminology was again changed to "Meetinghouse Library" in order to clarify that only one library facility would exist in each building, rather than having one under the direction of each ward.[56]

Working with the Building Department, the Church Library Coordinating Committee was also responsible for developing plans for the library facilities themselves. A significant component of the building plans developed for the meetinghouse library program was the inclusion of an adjacent reading room for using library materials. This room was included in the first library blueprints released by the Building Department in 1967 (see fig. 2).[57] While alternate configurations were eventually created for smaller branch or ward buildings, the committee was adamant that a fully established meetinghouse library should include dedicated study space.[58]

One of the main reasons for requiring the additional space was the increasingly close relationship between the meetinghouse library program and the Genealogical Society's branch genealogical library program. The branch genealogical libraries were first announced by President N. Eldon Tanner as the president of the Genealogical Society in 1963, and a pilot branch location in the Brigham Young University library was established in May 1964.[59] Additional branches were set up either as independent facilities or through cooperation with public libraries, but in February 1965, S. Lyman Tyler began discussions with Elder Theodore Burton of the Genealogical Society about the possibility of collocating branch genealogical libraries in "regional or multiregional libraries in

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55. Church Library Coordinating Committee minutes, December 12, 1968.

56. Church Library Coordinating Committee minutes, January 9, 1969. Often, two or more wards share a building.

57. "Ward Library and Instructional Materials Center" blueprints, Tyler Collection, UA 614, box 1, folder 6.

58. Church Library Coordinating Committee minutes, September 15, 1970; September 22, 1970.

59. 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, 1995), 188.

the library system of the Church."[60] With the formation of the Church Library Coordinating Committee in 1968, Burton hoped to have the committee "assisting in approving and inspecting the branch libraries."[61]

By 1970, branch genealogical libraries being placed in meetinghouse libraries was becoming the norm. Increasingly while reviewing requests for branch genealogical libraries, the committee required that a meetinghouse library be constructed first and that it should house both facilities.[62] As part of this collocation, the committee also suggested that the branch genealogical librarian should be under the direction of the meetinghouse librarian.[63] With the termination of the sixty-mile radius policy, which prohibited branch genealogical libraries from being located near each other, in late 1970 the growth of the branch genealogical library program accelerated further, increasing the pressure to align it closely with meetinghouse libraries.[64] As a result, this revised administrative structure was accepted by the committee in 1972 and integrated into the instructions for meetinghouse libraries, though the merged program was not formally adopted until 1974.[65]

Throughout the 1970s, the branch genealogical library program continued to grow, driving further expansion of meetinghouse library facilities. In 1973, the approval of branch genealogical libraries was further streamlined so that proposals that placed genealogy services in the meetinghouse library facilities were given blanket approval.[66] The final expansion of the program came on May 16, 1975, when the First Presidency gave their approval for branch genealogical libraries to be established in all stakes and districts under the meetinghouse library program. By the end of 1975, there were nearly two hundred branch genealogical libraries in the system.[67]

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60. S. Lyman Tyler to N. Eldon Tanner, February 8, 1965, Tyler Papers.

61. Church Library Coordinating Committee minutes, November 22, 1968.

62. Church Library Coordinating Committee minutes, January 6, 1970.

63. Church Library Coordinating Committee minutes, February 24, 1970.

64. Church Library Coordinating Committee minutes, September 22, 1970.

65. Church Library Coordinating Committee minutes, February 8, 1972; "Report of the Historical Department . . . 1971–1975."

66. Church Library Coordinating Committee minutes, February 16, 1973.

67. Church Library Coordinating Committee minutes, April 15, 1975; "Report of the Historical Department . . . 1971–1975."

Content

Another area in which the Church Library Coordinating Committee had a significant impact on Church programs was in the development of library resources. While the manuals produced by the Church for the meetinghouse library program during the 1960s and 1970s retained earlier wording granting librarians the discretion to purchase or otherwise obtain library materials from any source, there were growing efforts during this period to narrow the range of content available in libraries. This was not driven by the necessity of centralized cataloging as in the 1950s, but by economic concerns related to the purchase and packaging of commercially produced materials, as well as concerns about the lack of correlation between materials produced outside the Church and the Church's developing curriculum program. As stated in the *Meetinghouse Library Bulletin* in August 1972, the problem with purchasing materials not distributed by the Church was that "none of them [commercial resources] have been programed into Church curriculum programs."[68]

Recommended lists of books were published periodically in manuals and bulletins under the new correlated program. These included a short list of recommended materials in the first issue of the *Information Series* in 1967 (see appendix B), with an expanded list of suggested books included in the third issue the following year.[69] After the establishment of the Church Library Coordinating Committee in fall 1968, however, the content of the *Information Series* was required to be approved by the Correlation Committee and the process of recommending books for meetinghouse libraries became significantly more conservative. In January 1969, the Church Library Coordinating Committee approved reprinting issue 1 of the *Information Series* rather than revise it and send it through the Correlation Committee.[70] When the library committee did propose adding titles to the recommended list in April 1969, it recommended only those books that had been already approved by the Church for translation (see appendix C).[71]

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68. Church Library Coordinating Committee, "Materials Purchased for Library," *Meetinghouse Library Bulletin,* no. 16 (August 1972): 4.

69. Church Library and Instructional Materials Committee, "Recommended Basic Titles," *Information Series,* no. 1 (December 1, 1967): 6; Church Library and Instructional Materials Committee, "Books Suggested for the Ward Center," *Information Series,* no. 3 (July 1, 1968): 3–4.

70. Church Library Coordinating Committee minutes, January 9, 1969.

71. Church Library Coordinating Committee minutes, April 22, 1969.

With the publication of the *Meetinghouse Library Technical Manual* in 1970, the list of books recommended by the Church was largely codified. This list included most of the titles from the 1967 and 1969 lists in the *Information Series* and a few from the 1954 Deseret Sunday School Union list, such as James E. Talmage's *Jesus the Christ* and *Articles of Faith*, Joseph Fielding Smith's *Essentials in Church History*, and David O. McKay's *Gospel Ideals* (see appendix D).[72] Some of the reticence to add to the list appears to have been practical; the committee feared it would be overwhelmed by requests from authors to have their book added to the list.[73] However, the larger issue was likely one of approvals, since by late 1970 the Quorum of the Twelve had become directly responsible for the approval of the list itself.[74]

The difficulty of amending the list of titles on the approved meetinghouse library list can be seen in the committee's efforts in 1974. Based on a proposal from Daniel H. Ludlow, then coordinator of Curriculum Planning and Correlation, the Church Library Coordinating Committee and the Meetinghouse Library Committee recommended that the Deseret News *Church Almanac* and Bruce R. McConkie's *Mormon Doctrine* be added to the list.[75] This recommendation was given to Church Librarian Don Schmidt and submitted to the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles by Elder Joseph Anderson. Two months later the committee was informed that only the *Church Almanac* had been approved, and the list was updated accordingly.[76]

The movement to standardize meetinghouse library content also provided the impetus for larger-scale projects for the Church to develop its own correlated content, such as the creation of uniform picture sets and the development of the LDS edition of the scriptures. This work began with a review of existing content initiated in February 13, 1969, when the committee received notice from the Correlation Committee secretaries that they should work with Daniel Ludlow to develop a list of teaching aids already in use as part of the curriculum that should be included in meetinghouse libraries. Lists were requested from the

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72. Church Library Coordinating Committee, *Meetinghouse Library Technical Manual* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1970), section 4, "List of Books, Handbooks, Manuals, Periodicals, and Catalogs."

73. Church Library Coordinating Committee minutes, January 5, 1971.

74. Church Library Coordinating Committee minutes, December 22, 1970.

75. Church Library Coordinating Committee minutes, January 8, 1974.

76. Church Library Coordinating Committee minutes, March 12, 1974.

auxiliaries, with a deadline of September 1, 1970.[77] The following month it was further clarified that this list would then serve as "a basic source for writers to know what is available."[78]

To move this work forward, in June 1969 the Church Library Coordination Committee established a Teaching Aids Task Committee under the direction of Kenneth Slack, a library administrator at the University of Utah and the former library director at the Church College of Hawaii. They were charged with assembling a list of pictures and other materials used in the curriculum.[79] This group met regularly during the summer of 1969, gathering information from most of the auxiliary programs and researching production costs of the materials.[80] Based on their review, the following February the Teaching Aids Task Committee recommended to the Church Library Coordinating Committee that they establish "a master list which would be a standard collection of pictures that have been or will be used most frequently in teaching."[81]

Based on the Teaching Aids Task Committee's recommendation, the Church Library Coordination Committee began consulting on the production of teaching aids. In September 1970, Earl Olson and committee secretary Jack Pickrell met with the Church's Publications Department to discuss the issues surrounding the production of teaching packets issued annually with manuals. They recommended that these be discontinued and the pictures needed for lessons instead be acquired by the meetinghouse library as part of "a standard set of pictures for the current curriculum programs."[82] Based on this discussion, committee member Darrel Monson developed a proposal for the establishment of an instructional materials committee to correlate the use of pictures within the Church curriculum.

It was not until the following year that plans for a uniform set of images for curricular use moved forward, and then with the assistance of the Internal Communications Department. The public announcement of this change was made by Elder Howard W. Hunter in the *Ensign*

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77. Church Library Coordinating Committee minutes, February 13, 1969.
78. Church Library Coordinating Committee minutes, March 13, 1969.
79. Church Library Coordinating Committee minutes, June 13, 1969.
80. Church Library Coordinating Committee minutes, August 19, 1969.
81. Church Library Coordinating Committee minutes, February 24, 1970.
82. Church Library Coordinating Committee minutes, September 22, 1970.

in June 1971.[83] At the same time, Daniel Ludlow was asked to serve as head of the Publications Department and given responsibility for "all materials produced and used by the Church" and to consult with the Church Library Coordinating Committee.[84] In September, the committee attempted to take steps to ensure that teaching packets would in fact be discontinued and worked with Elder Hunter to draft a letter for President Lee.[85] However, due to his position, Ludlow was able to take concrete steps to implement the committee's vision, and in December 1971 he confirmed that disposable packets would be eliminated from the 1972 manuals. In their place, pictures and other materials would be available through the Distribution Center and references to the previous kits would in the future be referred to as "library packets."[86]

The decision to eliminate teaching packets combined with the requirement that individual pictures be available for purchase through Distribution made it difficult for the Church to continue to use commercial picture sets previously purchased through external publishers. For example, it was reported that in one case in order to individually sell twelve images listed in the instructional materials catalog, the Church would be required to buy a full packet of eighteen pictures from the publisher. After reviewing these problems, in August 1972 the Church Library Coordinating Committee concluded its work in this area by recommending that in the future all pictures used in teaching be produced directly by the Church, a task later assigned to the Department of Instructional Materials in Internal Communications.[87]

In a similar fashion to the development of Church-produced teaching aids, the forum provided by the Church's general library committees also played an important role in the standardization of Bibles and biblical resources in the Church, an effort of far-reaching consequence for

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83. Howard W. Hunter, "Prepare Every Needful Thing," *Ensign* 1 (June 1971): 51–52.

84. Church Library Coordinating Committee minutes, July 6, 1971.

85. Church Library Coordinating Committee minutes, September 7, 1971.

86. Church Library Coordinating Committee minutes, December 14, 1971. Course-based picture packets for use independent of the meetinghouse library program were not reintroduced until after President Hunter's death. *Salt Lake City Distribution Center Catalog* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1994, 1997).

87. Church Library Coordinating Committee minutes, August 8, 1972.

the Church.[88] Questions related to biblical resources were first raised in 1970 in a brief discussion in the Church Library Coordinating Committee related to concordances included in the list of recommended library books. At the time, libraries were permitted to acquire Alexander Cruden's *A Complete Concordance to the Holy Scriptures* and Robert Young's *Analytical Concordance to the Holy Bible*, but not James Strong's *The Exhaustive Concordance of the Bible.* While there was support at the time from the Brigham Young University library staff for adding Strong's Concordance, the question was deferred as the committee sought the advice of the university Religion Department faculty.[89]

The following year the question of standardization reemerged within the Meetinghouse Library Committee, perhaps as they considered which version of the Bible to include in library inventories. At the time, three different editions of the King James Bible were produced by the Church: a missionary edition, a student Bible for seminaries and institutes, and a large-print edition for the Primary Association.[90] Two members of the committee, George A. Horton Jr. and Grant E. Barton, were particularly interested in moving toward the use of a single version of the text across the curriculum, and in December 1971 they proposed that the Meetinghouse Library Committee distribute a survey to the different auxiliaries to determine what their needs were for the text and its accompanying commentaries and maps.[91] During the discussion in the committee, it was suggested that the issue might be resolved through William James Mortimer of Deseret Book Company, who also served on the committee, but Horton and Barton determined to move ahead with their survey. The results of the survey were then forwarded to Daniel Ludlow, who developed a proposal for the development of a Latter-day Saint edition of the Bible. In September 1972, Elder Thomas S. Monson

88. Philip L. Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible: The Place of the Latter-day Saints in American Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 205–6.

89. Church Library Coordinating Committee minutes, June 2, 1970.

90. Wm. James Mortimer, "The Coming Forth of the LDS Editions of Scripture," *Ensign* 13 (August 1983): 36.

91. Church Library Coordinating Committee minutes, December 14, 1971; Fred E. Woods, "The Latter-day Saint Edition of the King James Bible," in *The King James Bible and the Restoration*, ed. Kent P. Jackson (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2011), 260–80, available online at http://rsc.byu.edu/archived/king-james-bible-and-restoration/15 -latter-day-saint-edition-king-james-bible.

called a planning meeting related to Bible standardization, to which the Meetinghouse Library Committee sent Barton as a representative.[92] After the proposal was approved by the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve in October, the Church Library Coordinating Committee and the Meetinghouse Library Committee continued to be provided with periodic updates on the project until its completion in 1979.[93]

Procedures

A final area of library development begun during this period was the institution of new filing systems for managing meetinghouse library materials, replacing accession lists and classification systems with uniform identifiers. The idea of using a numeric code for managing the meetinghouse library inventory was introduced by the Teaching Aids Task Committee in November 1969. While images had previously been organized according to a basic subject classification system developed by the Deseret Sunday School, Kenneth Slack's committee recommended that they move instead to "a subject serial number system for organizing materials in the library" for all materials except books.[94] They also proposed that the new subject list be aligned with the Church's index to periodicals and be published and available independently.

As this new numbering system developed during the following year, the role of these numbers was expanded and standardized. Under the new system, the numbers came to serve "as the order number, manual reference number, and location code in the library."[95] The codes themselves were composed of a two-letter code indicating the type of material, and a three-letter code for the location of the item.[96] This serial number system was then integrated into planning for the Instructional Materials Catalog developed in 1971, which included images and descriptions of the items along with a subject and title index.[97]

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92. Church Library Coordinating Committee minutes, September 12, 1972.

93. Church Library Coordinating Committee minutes, December 13, 1973; December 9, 1975; March 8, 1977.

94. Church Library Coordinating Committee minutes, November 6, 1969.

95. Church Library Coordinating Committee minutes, February 16, 1971.

96. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, *Meetinghouse Library Handbook* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1974), 17–18.

97. Church Library Coordinating Committee minutes, March 2, 1971. Sometimes the code was four letters long if the item was not Church produced.

The use of uniform descriptions and alignment between the Distribution Center catalog and library organization simplified maintenance while discouraging the acquisition of materials not produced by the Church. Pictures and other items acquired by meetinghouse libraries from sources other than the Distribution Center were assigned an accession number and added to the local library index. The Dewey Decimal System previously used for books was also abandoned in favor of accession numbers.[98] In order to simplify the development of local indexes, in 1972 Russell Davis proposed that sets of preprinted subject cards be made available based on the categories in the Instructional Materials Catalog.[99] Maintaining the published catalog became a primary focus of the meetinghouse library program, both in terms of organization and content.[100]

Committee Realignment and Termination

Due to the close working relationship between the Internal Communications Department and the Church Library Coordinating Committee related to meetinghouse libraries, in February 1973, Daniel Ludlow requested that responsibility for the meetinghouse library program be transferred from the Historical Department and the Church Library Coordinating Committee to Internal Communications. Within the Historical Department, this proposed transfer was seen as a way to further align meetinghouse library content with curriculum support and was not initially opposed.[101] This transfer was approved by the First Presidency, and the program was moved to the twenty-fourth floor of the Church Office Building in April 1973.[102] However, by early 1974, Darrel Monson was circulating proposals within the Church Library Coordinating Committee recommending that the meetinghouse library program be returned to their supervision. The main reason for the proposal was a sense that the program should be closely related to the Church

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98. Church Library Coordinating Committee, *Meetinghouse Library Handbook* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1970), 12.

99. Church Library Coordinating Committee minutes, July 25, 1972.

100. "Church Library Coordinating Committee Goals," in Church Library Coordinating Committee minutes, October 21, 1971.

101. Historical Department executive minutes, February 6, 1973, Arrington Papers.

102. "Report of the Historical Department . . . 1971–1975."

Library system, but also that the purpose of the meetinghouse library should be wider than simple curriculum support. Meetinghouse libraries supported "genealogical services, family home evening, auxiliary lessons, scouting, missionary activities, seminaries and institutes, individual research, teacher development, priesthood lessons, choir music and other music, recording equipment for patriarchs, MIA activities and equipment, individual study, individual talks."[103] This justification was echoed in S. Lyman Tyler's continued advocacy on the committee for a wider scope of library service that would "incorporate all materials which might be needed for answering questions or doing research."[104]

In response to the proposal, further administrative changes were made, though their effects were mixed. Under the direction of the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve, the meetinghouse library program was transferred back to the Historical Department on May 16, 1974.[105] In the letter announcing the change, Elder Ezra Taft Benson delineated the responsibilities of each group, limiting the Historical Department's role to "the establishment of library procedures, the training of meetinghouse librarians, and the coding and indexing of library material."[106] The development and methods of using teaching aids was left entirely to the Internal Communications Department. The Meetinghouse Library Committee was further hobbled by the decision not to return it to its previous position under the direction of the Church Library Coordinating Committee, but to make it administratively subordinate to Earl Olson and the Historical Department.[107] With no connection to meetinghouse libraries, the Church Library Coordinating Committee reduced the frequency of their meetings and struggled to establish new goals.[108] The Meetinghouse Library Committee continued to meet separately and worked to further streamline library operations but did not significantly change the program developed in the early 1970s.

Due to the static nature of the committees' work, the justification for their existence seems to have dissipated. In June 1978, in response to a general Church directive to "simplify and reduce, and to eliminate

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103. Church Library Coordinating Committee minutes, March 12, 1974.
104. Church Library Coordinating Committee minutes, April 10, 1974.
105. "Report of the Historical Department . . . 1971–1975."
106. "Report of the Historical Department . . . 1971–1975."
107. Church Library Coordinating Committee minutes, June 11, 1974.
108. Church Library Coordinating Committee minutes, April 15, 1975.

committees where possible," the Historical Department requested that the First Presidency dissolve both the Church Library Coordinating Committee and the Meetinghouse Library Committee.[109] In the case of the Meetinghouse Library Committee, this move was supported by the claim that "the Church has become too large for our committee of experts to really function beyond the Wasatch front."[110] This recommendation was approved, and the committee's last meeting was held on November 30, 1978.[111] In January 1979, the Meetinghouse Library Division of the Historical Department was disbanded and direction of the program devolved to a "small, in-house, informal staff group" consisting of Earl Olson, Don Schmidt, and Glenn N. Rowe.[112]

With the removal of its advisory committees, the Historical Department group reduced the scope of the meetinghouse library program. As described in the Historical Department's five-year report in 1980, following the termination of the committee, the library bulletin published for meetinghouse librarians was discontinued, and the efforts to collocate branch genealogical libraries and meetinghouse libraries were abandoned.[113] However, the procedures the program standardized during the previous decade remained largely unchanged in the decades that followed.

Conclusions

The meetinghouse library program envisioned by S. Lyman Tyler and developed by the Church in the 1960s and 1970s was based on an expansive vision of libraries as resource centers, providing members with a

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109. A Report of the Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, December 31, 1980, Arrington Papers.

110. Historical Department to First Presidency, June 20, 1978, Arrington Papers. The Wasatch Front includes Odgen, Salt Lake City, and Provo, all cities very close to Church headquarters.

111. Report of the Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, December 31, 1980.

112. Historical Department to First Presidency, June 20, 1978. After the dissolution of the committee, its executive secretary, Jack Pickrell, was transferred to the Church's Audio-Visual Department where he also continued to work with the meetinghouse libraries. Jack Pickrell, interviewed by author, Salt Lake City, October 21, 2015.

113. Report of the Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, December 31, 1980.

range of resources to meet their information needs. This was a significant departure from earlier libraries developed by the Deseret Sunday School (which focused entirely on curricular support) and brought the Church in line with ideas from the wider church library movement under way in the United States. With the support of the First Presidency and Church administration, using library facilities became a normal part of the Church experience for congregations throughout the world. Unlike libraries in other denominations, however, meetinghouse libraries in the Church were asked to be selective in their acquisitions, particularly when purchasing books, due to their role as part of a larger system of Church libraries that could provide a wider range of resources as needed.

This limitation, while well-meaning, prevented the full development of meetinghouse libraries and forced them to remain focused on curriculum support. As part of their work to develop policies for library-based concerns of acquisitions, cataloging, and inventory control, the Church Library Coordinating Committee contributed to reductions in the range of resources that could be provided through meetinghouse libraries and the standardization of content used in Church curriculum. While its close association with the Correlation Committee and Internal Communications initially assisted in the expansion of library services, it ultimately redirected the program from serving as a general information resource further toward being a curriculum center.

The decision to shift away from Tyler's vision of a Churchwide system of libraries toward a system of correlated resources is still felt today with the ongoing transformation of meetinghouse library services. Since 2006, Church policy has restricted meetinghouse libraries from providing access to any materials not produced by the Church.[114] At the same time, the development of the Church website and mobile applications such as Gospel Library have both expanded access to approved content while marginalizing physical meetinghouse libraries and their existing collections. In newly constructed chapels, the library is now termed the Materials Center and is described as being intended for "secured storage

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114. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, "Questions and Answers about Meetinghouse Libraries," question 4, https://www.lds.org/callings/sunday-school/leader-resources/meetinghouse-library-questions?lang=eng (accessed May 1, 2015).

of curriculum materials, audiovisual equipment, and a copy machine."[115] As resources continue to move online, where they can be more easily managed and updated, it is unclear what the future of meetinghouse libraries will hold.

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115. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, *Architecture, Engineering, and Construction: Design Guidelines (United States and Canada),* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2015), 1-11.

Appendix A. Beginning Library List, 1954

In 1954, the Deseret Sunday School Union Board included this list in their *Teaching Aids and Library Guidebook,* page 13.

The Beginning Library

The beginning library should be extensive enough to have some practical and useful value. The following items are suggested to start the library functioning:

Pictures (about 500). *See* Chapter 8 on pictures for mountings, etc.
The *Instructor* issues of the last three years. (Two volumes of each.)
The Improvement Era issues of the last three years. (Two volumes of each.)
Children's Friend issues of the last three years. (Two volumes of each.)
Relief Society Magazine issues of the last three years. (Two volumes of each.)
Deseret News Church Section issues of the last three years. (Two volumes of each.)
Conference Reports for the last three years. (Two volumes of each.)
Sunday School Manuals and Teacher's Supplements—All in current use.
Gospel Doctrine Manuals for the last three years.
Articles of Faith, by James E. Talmage.
Eight copies of the Bible.
Eight copies of the Book of Mormon.
Four copies of the Doctrine & Covenants.
Four copies of the Pearl of Great Price.
Jesus the Christ, by James E. Talmage.
Essentials in Church History, by Joseph Fielding Smith.
The Way To Perfection, by Joseph Fielding Smith.
A Rational Theology, by John A. Widtsoe.
Gospel Ideals, by David O. McKay.
Consider the Children and How They Grow, by Elizabeth Manwell and Sophia Fahs.
A Study of Young Children, by Ruth Strang.
Songs to Sing for L. D. S. Children (edited) by Alexander Schreiner. (Two copies.)
The Children Sing, L. D. S. hymns for little children.
Teaching As The Direction of Activities, by John T. Wahlquist.
Principles of Teaching, by Adam S. Bennion.

The Master's Art, by Howard R. Driggs.
Maps as suggested in the section on maps.
A blackboard for each class.
Chalk, erasers, and other supplies. *See* Chapter 15 on "Supplies."

Appendix B. Basic List of Titles, 1967

The Church Library and Instructional Materials Committee published this list in their *Information Series* (no. 1 [December 1, 1967]: 6).

The following library materials are recommended as basic titles that are desirable for each Ward Library and Instructional Center:

A. Standard Works	Bible
	Book of Mormon
	Doctrine and Covenants
	Pearl of Great Price
B. Books	Articles of Faith, by James E. Talmage
	Documentary History of the Church, 7 Volumes
	Essentials in Church History, by Joseph Fielding Smith
	Jesus the Christ, by James E. Talmage
C. Periodicals/Serials (Current issues)	Children's Friend
	Church News
	Conference Reports
	Improvement Era
	Index to Church Periodicals
	Instructor
	Priesthood Bulletin
	Relief Society Magazine
D. Handbooks	Aaronic Priesthood—Adult, Handbook for Leaders
	Aaronic Priesthood—Youth, Handbook for Leaders
	Conducting the Oral Evaluation
	General Handbook of Instructions
	Melchizedek Priesthood Handbook

	Priesthood Genealogy Handbook
	Priesthood Home Teaching Handbook
	Priesthood Missionary Program Fellowshipping Manual
	Suggestions for Operating Stake Missions
	Suggestions for Stake Missionaries
	Welfare Plan . . . Handbook of Instructions
E. Manuals	Current manuals of all auxiliary and priesthood organizations
	Family Home Evening Manual
F. Catalogs	Catalogs of Motion Picture Films available from Brigham Young University and Deseret Book Company.

Appendix C. Expanded List of Recommended Texts, 1969

This list appeared in the Church Library Coordinating Committee *Library Bulletin* (no. 4 [1969]: 3–4).

> A list of books recommended for the meetinghouse library was published in Information Series 1. The following books are recommended as an addition to that list:
>
> *Discourses of Brigham Young*, John A. Widtsoe, compiler
> *Doctrines of Salvation* (3 Vols.), Joseph Fielding Smith
> *Gospel Doctrine*, Joseph F. Smith
> *Gospel Ideals*, David O. McKay
> *Great Apostasy*, James E. Talmage
> *House of the Lord*, James E. Talmage
> *A Marvelous Work and a Wonder*, LeGrand Richards
> *The Presidents of the Church*, Preston Nibley
> *The Restored Church*, William E. Berrett
> *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, Joseph Fielding Smith
> *Truth Restored*, Gordon B. Hinckley

Appendix D. List of Approved Library Publications, 1970

The Church Library Coordinating Committee produced this list in 1970 in their *Meetinghouse Library Technical Manual,* section 4.

List of Books, Handbooks, Manuals, Periodicals, and Catalogs

A. The following approved publications are recommended for procurement by each meetinghouse library.

1. *Books*
    Bible
    Book of Mormon
    Doctrine and Covenants
    Pearl of Great Price

    Articles of Faith, James E. Talmage
    Discourses of Brigham Young, John A. Widtsoe, compiler
    Doctrines of Salvation, Joseph Fielding Smith
    Essentials in Church History, Joseph Fielding Smith
    Gospel Doctrine, Joseph F. Smith
    Gospel Ideals, David O. McKay
    The Great Apostasy, James E. Talmage
    History of the Church, Period 1 (Documentary: 7 vols.), Joseph Smith
    House of the Lord, James E. Talmage
    Hymns, LDS
    Jesus the Christ, James E. Talmage
    A Marvelous Work and a Wonder, LeGrand Richards
    Meet the Mormons, Doyle L. Green and Randall L. Green
    Presidents of the Church, Preston Nibley
    The Restored Church, William E. Berrett
    Sing With Me
    Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith, Joseph Fielding Smith, comp.
    Truth Restored, Gordon B. Hinckley
    What of the Mormons, Gordon B. Hinckley

2. *Handbooks*—current issues
    Aaronic Priesthood-Adult
    Aaronic Priesthood—Youth
    Auxiliary organizations handbooks
    General Handbook of Instructions

    Meetinghouse Library Handbook
    Melchizedek Priesthood Handbook
    Priesthood Genealogy Handbook
    Priesthood Home Teaching Handbook
    Priesthood Missionary Program Fellowshipping Manual
    Suggestions for Operating Stake Missions
    Suggestions for Stake Missionaries
    Welfare Plan—Handbook of Instructions

3. *Manuals*—current issues
    Aaronic Priesthood-Adult
    Aaronic Priesthood-Youth: Deacons, Teachers, Priests
    Conducting the Oral Evaluation
    Family Home Evening Manual
    Genealogical Society—*A Continuing Priesthood Program for Family Exaltation*
                    —*Records Submission Manual*
    Instructional Materials Index for Sunday School Teaching Aids Specialists
    Melchizedek Priesthood
    Pictorial Teaching Aids in the Instructor
    Priesthood Correlation in Home Teaching
    Primary
    Relief Society
    Sunday School
    YMMIA
    YWMIA

4. *Periodicals/Serials*—for the past ten years
    The Children's Friend
    Church News
    Conference Reports
    The Improvement Era
    Index to LDS Church Periodicals
    The Instructor
    Priesthood Bulletin
    The Relief Society Magazine

B. The following books are suggested as useful reference works for meetinghouse libraries.
    Bible Atlas (or Westminster Historical Atlas), Kraeling
    Bible Concordance, Creden, or Robert Young
    A Complete Concordance to the Book of Mormon, George Reynolds
    Comprehensive History of the Church, B. H. Roberts
    Concordance to the Doctrine and Covenants, John V. Bluth

Concordance to the Pearl of Great Price, Lynn M. Hilton
Dictionary
Dictionary of the Bible, Hastings, or Smith
Priesthood and Church Government, John A. Widtsoe

C. The following catalogs are suggested as useful reference sources for instructional materials

BYU Catalog of Sound Recordings
Catalogs of commercial 16-mm motion picture films
LDS Church Publications Price List
Library Supplies Catalog
Motion Pictures Produced by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints
Supply catalogs for auxiliary organizations
Teaching Aids and Audio Visual Media Catalog
Ward, Branch, Stake, District, Mission Catalog

Steven L. Peck. *Evolving Faith:
Wanderings of a Mormon Biologist.*
Provo, Utah: Neal A. Maxwell Institute, 2015.

Reviewed by Blake T. Ostler

*E*volving Faith is a remarkable book within the context of Latter-day Saint faith. Steven L. Peck has put together a marvelously readable book that addresses some of the most difficult philosophical issues confronting not only Mormons, but all people. The expertise of Peck's discussion of philosophical issues is quite surprising because Peck is a professor of biology, not philosophy, at Brigham Young University. He addresses the relationship between LDS thought and evolution, the mind-body problem, the problem of consciousness, emergence of novelty and ontologically novel life systems, and free will. In addition, he addresses the ecological issues confronting Latter-day Saints, along with approaches for truly reverencing creation.

Peck is at his best addressing issues such as "subjectivity" as an epistemology (theory of knowledge) and the emergence of new realities in biological life systems. He discusses the views of French philosopher Henri Bergson as a critique of "flat naturalism" (or the view that everything happens by random chance). Peck focuses expertly on the important issue of whether there can be a theistic view of evolution and purpose in the seemingly random mutations that drive evolution. I highly recommend his discussion.

Peck also addresses evolution in light of LDS faith. I think this discussion is one of the most informed and instructive available in LDS thought. However, it does not address the issues for those who struggle to reconcile specific scriptural texts with the theory of evolution. He takes a general approach and discusses the reasons for avoiding the scriptural literalism that largely gives rise to the problem in the first place. However, Peck does not explore the specific scriptures that seem to conflict with an evolutionary worldview. He does little to assist the thoughtful Latter-day Saint to actually reduce the cognitive dissonance

arising from the scriptural claims regarding, for instance, no death before the Fall (which some believe occurred right before the six thousand years of the earth's temporal existence) and the millions of years of fossils demonstrated in the geological record.

Notwithstanding the academic acumen demonstrated in the text, the most interesting parts of the book focus on Peck's personal experiences after contracting in Vietnam a brain infection known as *Burkholderia pseudomallei.* As a result, he experienced alternative realities that seemed equally real while fully "conscious." In this world of delusion mixed with reality, there were two versions of his wife and children—a good version and an evil version. He could not distinguish which was "real" because both were equally presented as real to his conscious experience. He finally distinguished the real wife from the alternative evil wife only because he knew his wife did not swear and his evil wife did.

The philosopher in me wants to comment on the epistemology used to detect which world was real (using a coherence theory of truth and background experience as a test). However, such experiences challenge all of our seemingly "empirical experience" and how much of our experience may be a simulation created by our physiological states—leaving us with the unsettling idea that all of our conscious experience is like a dream state. Such *Matrix* experiences suggest that a large part of what we take for granted as real is a simulation created by the neural structures in our brains and central nervous systems. They also suggest that consciousness is dependent in a strong sense on the matter that makes up our biological systems—suggesting a form of mind-body identity materialism. But that is not the route Peck takes.

Peck expertly discusses the various mind-body theories and brain sciences, reviewing functionalist materialism (the view that consciousness is identical to the functions of the brain) and dualist theories (the brain and thinking-soul are two different substances). Peck wisely rejects both and instead suggests that the best fit with the evidence and Latter-day Saint commitments to free will is emergence, the view that consciousness arises on a new level of explanation from the underlying material base of the functioning brain, and it is dependent on the proper functioning of our physical bodies and brain but cannot be reduced to mere matter. Consciousness emerges as a new reality that is not fully explained by the material parts that give rise to it.

Perhaps it is not fair for me to review this work because I agree with virtually every position that Peck takes in the book. His discussion of the "hard problem" of consciousness and brain studies and the various

philosophical positions related to consciousness are exactly those that Latter-day Saints ought to take, in my view, with respect to such issues. It seems to me that viewing the brain and neural systems as a substrate for biological processes that provide the ground for genuinely novel ontological emergence on a new level of reality for consciousness and free will is the best resolution of the mind-body problem available to Latter-day Saints. In addition, his view of purposeful biological processes guided by a Divine mind (called "teleology" by philosophers) as a means of theistic evolution is also the best option for Latter-day Saints with respect to resolving evolution and the faith commitments embodied in Mormon and Judeo-Christian scriptures. Further, it seems to me that his focus on "subjectivity as a way of knowing" is precisely the best option for Latter-day Saints with respect to epistemology, or a theory of knowledge. In all of these discussions, Peck provides a competent, thorough, and enlightening analysis of the various options and why he believes these approaches best fit the Latter-day Saint worldview(s).

It would be difficult for me to recommend this book more highly to the nonspecialized student who wants to have an introduction to the various issues of evolution, the problem of consciousness, and the relationship between faith and science.

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Blake T. Ostler received his BA in philosophy and BS in psychobiology from Brigham Young University. He received his JD as a William Leary Scholar from the University of Utah. He has published extensively as a philosopher and theologian, and his three-volume *Exploring Mormon Thought* is a seminal philosophical Mormon treatise.

Scott H. Partridge, ed. *Thirteenth Apostle:*
The Diaries of Amasa M. Lyman, 1832–1877.
Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2016.

Reviewed by Richard Neitzel Holzapfel

Scott H. Partridge, professor emeritus of business administration at California State University–Hayward, died in 2015 before completing his last project, a transcription of the forty-three diaries of his famous relative, Amasa M. Lyman (1813–77). Partridge had previously edited Eliza Maria Partridge's diaries, *Eliza Maria Partridge Journal* (2003). He is also the author of a number of articles published in *BYU Studies,* including "The Failure of the Kirtland Safety Society" (12:4, 1972), "Edward Partridge in Painesville, Ohio" (42:1, 2003), and "Two Early Missionaries in Hawaii: Mercy Partridge Whitney and Edward Partridge Jr." (52:1, 2013).

This diary project was a massive undertaking; the publisher reflects, "It is hard to imagine the amount of time the compiler and editor devoted to the diaries" (vii). For anyone interested in early LDS history, especially from the viewpoint of an insider, the diaries provide a clear and expansive window into Mormon beginnings from the early 1830s through the end of the Brigham Young era in the late 1870s.

Lyman was released from the Quorum of the Twelve in 1867, and his diary entries after that point become a window into Utah life and society from the view of an outsider. Lyman was eventually excommunicated in 1870.

This handsome volume contains more than a thousand pages and includes the annotated transcriptions of the diaries that Lyman began recording as he started on a Church mission in 1832. Lyman's remarkable effort to record his life ended the day before he died in 1877 with four final words about his very weak condition: "The same as yesterday" (939).

Sometimes the entries are daily, and, at other times, they are a reminiscence of the past few days, weeks, or months. The diaries, like many diaries, contain mundane details about Lyman's ecclesiastical obligations,

his domestic and family life, and his travels across oceans and between pioneer settlements on the Mormon frontier. He rarely reveals his personal feelings and observations. Nevertheless, the *Thirteenth Apostle* will be of interest to those who read it cover to cover and who will use the excellent index to identify people and places.

Readers have the benefit of an insightful life sketch about Lyman in the introduction (ix–xxiv). The publisher also included a semiadequate biographical register (957–76), a comprehensive bibliography (977–96), and an exhaustive index (997–1050).

The decision to include Lyman's sermon "The Nature and Mission of Jesus" (otherwise known as "The Dundee Sermon"), given in Dundee, Scotland, on March 16, 1832, allows readers to "hear" Lyman as he began to distance himself from the Church's theological, fundamental teachings about Christ's Atonement (941–55).

As Partridge opines, "What was controversial was that he said Jesus was not so much a God-Savior as an older-brother exemplar. Believers, he asserted, did not need a savior; people are capable of improving themselves through decency and good works" (xviii). Even though Lyman later recanted and asked for forgiveness, the talk was the beginning of his fall from grace.

He went on to preach more sermons with universalist themes, and he was disfellowshipped from the Church in early May 1867. Lyman then joined with William Godbe, an adversary of Brigham Young, in practicing spiritualism along with attending séances. Lyman's public association with the Godbeites led to his excommunication in May 1870.

With *Thirteenth Apostle,* Scott Partridge has performed a great service to readers interested in gleaning an understanding of the times, as well as the man who began so close to the Prophet Joseph Smith but died in quiet estrangement from the Church. On January 12, 1909, Church President Joseph F. Smith posthumously restored Lyman's Church membership and his office as an apostle.

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Quentin Thomas Wells. *Defender: The Life of Daniel H. Wells.*
Logan: Utah State University Press, 2016.

Reviewed by Cherry B. Silver

His wives referred to him with tongue-in-cheek respect as "the Esquire." Brigham Young and other associates addressed him as Squire Wells. Militia members followed their "General." The people of Salt Lake City elected him mayor for ten years. Church members honored him as counselor in the First Presidency for twenty years and president of the Endowment House for nine. He presided over the European Mission twice and served as first president of the Manti Temple.

The accomplishments of Daniel H. Wells (1814–1891) are amply documented in a new biography by his descendant Quentin Thomas Wells. This volume, entitled *Defender: The Life of Daniel H. Wells,* unfolds Wells's military roles, public service, business acumen, church callings, and family life with convincing detail and skillful narrative flow. It offers an overview of a developing frontier society. It describes an impossibly busy life for Daniel Wells, who held overlapping roles in the public sphere as he supported six wives and many children. Yet he was not personally ambitious, claims the author: "As with other civic positions to which he was elected, Daniel did not actively seek the job of mayor. . . . Brigham Young requested Daniel to stand for the office. He agreed and was elected by a large majority" (293).

Biographer Quentin Wells has had a long career in investigative and advertising fields, communications, and media, including seventeen years at Salt Lake Community College. He has collected Daniel Wells documents for thirty years or so with an eye to expanding on a 1942 biography written by Bryant S. Hinckley. That book was commissioned by President Heber J. Grant out of respect for the man who years before had helped lift his mother, Rachel R. Grant, out of poverty. The story is that Daniel H. Wells brought his nephew N. Park Wells and wife to the Grant house asking for bed and board. The very satisfied young couple

paid Sister Grant twenty dollars weekly. They also introduced General Alexander G. Hawes, who mentored young Heber J. in the insurance business (311).[1] Full of useful documents and anecdotes, the Hinckley biography feeds Quentin Wells's current study of Daniel's influence during fifty years of LDS history and social growth.

Daniel Hanmer Wells was born in 1814, only son in a farming family that settled in Oneida County, New York. When the family farm was sold, Daniel sought his fortune in Illinois, accompanied by his widowed mother and younger sister. In 1834, before he was even legally of age, Daniel bought his first eighty-four acres in Hancock County, eventual site of Nauvoo. He was elected constable and justice of the peace as soon as he came of age. In 1837, Daniel married Eliza Robison, the daughter of an evangelical preacher and widower who had courted and married his mother. Crops were bountiful, the markets rewarding, and Daniel began to sell land to newcomers like the Mormons. Daniel's future in Nauvoo seemed promising. He accepted a post on the city council and associated with the Mormon leaders as a nonmember colleague. However, in August 1846, after armed forces attacked the city, he asked Almon W. Babbitt, one of the trustees of the Church selling property in Nauvoo, to baptize him a Latter-day Saint. Because Eliza never shared his faith, he settled her with relatives in Burlington, Iowa, and left behind his property, his public position, and his wife and son to meet the Saints in Winter Quarters in June 1848, where he became Young's aide-de-camp for the journey west.

At this point, the author helps us understand his motivation. He quotes Daniel Wells years later saying that he abandoned the world for honor in the kingdom of God (85). He also cites Daniel's mournful letter to Brigham Young in February 1848 at his crisis point, "I see no prospects short of a complete sacrifice of everything I hold dear on earth, as well as in a pecuniary point of view, as the kindlier affections of the human heart. Please remember me before the Lord that I may be sustained through the dark day" (102).

The epithet "Defender," as used in this study, reveals Daniel Wells as not just a military leader but a protector of law and morality, a man of basic kindness and integrity. His efforts as mayor, struggling to secure the land rights of the founding Mormons (303–8) and resisting the

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1. See also Bryant S. Hinckley, *Daniel Hanmer Wells and Events of His Time* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1942), 7–8.

machinations of the Gentile League of Utah (339–44), provide gripping stories of conflicting political values in the early 1870s. There is a vivid depiction of the train of carriages escorting Daniel back from prison in May 1879 and the cheering people lining the road (345–46). Daniel's refusal to reveal sacred ceremonies of the Endowment House before a judge who threatened church and culture caught the public imagination (360–72).

Quentin Wells's research uncovers valuable accounts of human relationships among LDS leaders. One example comes from Heber C. Kimball's diaries of 1862, which indicate a rupture not registered in Daniel's own writings (170–71). The author detects possible jealousy on Kimball's part over Brigham Young's confidence in Wells: "Why Heber felt oppressed or how he had been 'sat on' by Daniel or what good the latter might have done him, he never revealed to anyone. Daniel never mentioned any conflict or distancing of himself from the first counselor and was unaware of Heber's feelings. But the fact remains that Daniel's influence with Brigham increased significantly after his calling as second counselor and the number and scope of his assignments grew from 1857 onward while Heber's duties remained static" (171).

My interest in the Wells family has come from annotating Emmeline B. Wells's Utah diaries, 1874–1921. She was the sixth wife of Daniel Wells in Utah, and diary entries frequently refer to family dynamics among Daniel, his wives, and children For example, when Emmeline first penned articles for *The Woman's Exponent,* family members were skeptical: daughters "Belle and Em. were indignant with me for working in the Office, as if I had to earn my living."[2] Daniel too had to be convinced by others that editing was a worthy occupation for his wife, as she expressed with some sarcasm: "In the afternoon we had an excellent meeting, Sister [Eliza R.] Snow was present *my husband seemed proud of my literary acquirements for once in his life* called to me as I was passing and spoke to Br. [George Q.] Cannon of my being a journalist, invited me to go to Lake Point with an Excursion Party tomorrow— *something indeed very wonderful for him.*"[3] Thereafter Daniel, having his

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2. Emmeline B. Wells, Diary, original in L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, March 24, 1875, Vault MSS 510, 2:159.

3. Emmeline B. Wells, Diary, June 3, 1875, Vault MSS 805, 1:8–9, emphasis added.

eyes opened, encouraged Emmeline in her literary talents and included her in entertaining visiting dignitaries.

While the author has helpfully drawn on primary documents from the Daniel H. Wells files at Utah State University and a personal narrative from the Bancroft Library in Berkeley, some of his secondary sources prove less than reliable. Fact checking, I believe, would have prevented obvious errors. He gives Daniel's famous wife's maiden name as Emmeline Belos Woodward and says she was born on April 29, 1828 (138 and index), whereas she is Emmeline Blanche and had a leap year birthdate, February 29. Then he speaks of her having a son, Newell, in Winter Quarters who died within a day (139), citing a sketch in volume 8 of Kate Carter's *Our Pioneer Heritage*. Newell Melchizedek Whitney was actually the son of Newell K. Whitney and his first wife Elizabeth Smith, not of Emmeline, though as a young woman she tended the little boy. Also, the boy did not die within a day, but through his father's blessing he survived, though as an invalid, for nine years.[4]

Quentin Wells explains that under financial duress Daniel Wells sold his large home and bought separate cottages for his wives. He says Daniel lived with Emmeline in a house at 327 Second Avenue and died there (414, 419). In fact, to avoid prosecution, Daniel made his residence at the home of his son Junius Free Wells, while Emmeline was housed in the old adobe Church historian's office on South Temple Street.[5] She describes him visiting her undercover to avoid arrest for cohabitation.[6] This subterfuge adds poignancy to the story of his older years. Daniel was ill in March of 1891 when Emmeline returned from a women's rights conference in Washington, DC. She joined friends and sister wives watching at his bedside, affirms Carol Madsen, until he died in wife Hannah's house on A Street three days later.[7] Emmeline's words pay tribute: "O, such a glorious entrance into the celestial world for him."[8]

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4. Emmeline B. Wells, Diary, February 6, 1891, Vault MSS 510, 14:67, and February 6, 1894, Vault MSS 510, 17:41.

5. Emmeline B. Wells, Diary, March 20, 1891, Vault MSS 510, 14:109. She labeled it "my old Rookery[,] the Owl's nest."

6. Emmeline B. Wells, Diary, December 27, 1887, Vault MSS 510, 10:385, and Memoranda 1887, Vault MSS 510, 10:394.

7. Carol Cornwall Madsen, *Emmeline B. Wells: An Intimate History* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2017), 313.

8. Emmeline B. Wells, Diary, March 25, 1891, Vault MSS 510, 14:114.

Obviously, this is a man worth knowing, and we can be grateful to Quentin T. Wells for detailing the Daniel H. Wells story in such a readable form. It will be the landmark volume on this leader for many years to come.

With a background in American literature, Cherry B. Silver has taught courses at Brigham Young University and colleges in Washington State and California. For fifteen years, she has focused on women's history in her own research and through MWHIT, the Mormon Women's History Initiative Team. With Carol Cornwall Madsen, she edited *New Scholarship on Latter-day Saint Women in the Twentieth Century* (2005). She is currently annotating forty-six years of diaries written by Emmeline B. Wells, the fifth general president of the Relief Society.

Matthew Lyman Rasmussen. *Mormonism and
the Making of a British Zion.*
Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2016.

Reviewed by Ronald E. Bartholomew

Considering the large corpus of published research on the historical origins of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Great Britain, it is significant that Rasmussen begins his work with this statement: "Today, a comprehensive history of British Mormonism continues to elude the corpus" (10). Instead of providing us with that comprehensive history, he asserts the need to return to the most studied geographic area in Great Britain: Lancashire, home to Liverpool, Manchester, Preston, and surrounding areas of LDS Church History fame and lore. His justification? "Basing a study of British Mormonism on the English North West does not extend from Mormonism's impact on Lancashire, but from Lancashire's outstanding impact on Mormonism" (3–4). At first glance, I was disappointed at what appeared to be a redo of something that arguably had already been overdone; however, I was quickly convinced of the need for this book by Rasmussen's literary talent, research skill and methodology, and excellent presentation.

The reader will find several things about this book attractive. First, Rasmussen is a gifted writer whose English prose is enviable at least and awe-inspiring at best. As a recipient of a bachelor of arts in English from the University of Utah, he has found his canvas in this book and has utilized his skill as a literary artist. Second, his research methodology is equally inspiring. He utilizes a comprehensive set of source material, drawing heavily upon the *Millennial Star,* local newspapers from the time periods in question, primary source materials like the journals of members and missionaries, as well as extensively drawing from the LDS Church Archives and little-used oral histories recorded and preserved by others. At every turn, it is clear Rasmussen is bringing to the reader every available resource imaginable to expertly craft his story.

Furthermore, anyone interested in scholarship regarding the Church in Great Britain, from its beginnings in 1837 to present, will be delighted

by and perhaps engrossed in this book. What at first glance appears to deal only with specifics relative to Lancashire is actually a book dealing with the history of the Church in Britain using specifics from Lancashire as a case study.

His thesis is simple: while much emphasis in the past has been given to the conversion and subsequent emigration of thousands of British Saints to an American Zion and the contributions they made there, "comparatively little attention is given to Mormonism's equally remarkable perpetuation [in Britain], a gap in the historiography this book seeks to remedy, . . . reveal[ing] that the endurance of Mormonism in Britain has been enabled by doctrinal adaptation" (17).

Rasmussen posits five reasons for the successful perpetuation of the Church in Britain, noting that the history of the Church in Britain, when compared to other locations, is atypical: "Much of the history of global Mormonism is characterized by a simple pattern: an initial advance, a subsequent retreat (giving various countries in South America, Asia, and Scandinavia as examples), and an eventual regrouping and reassertion. . . . Given its longevity, the British church is the most notable exception to this pattern" (191).

First, in chapter 2, he argues that while "the gathering of converts in the nineteenth century was in fulfillment of the church's institutional agenda, . . . twentieth-century emigration was in direct opposition to it. Thus the years 1892–1911 comprise a crucial transitional period when church leaders divested Mormonism of its westward orientation, permitted its millenarian expectations to wane, and encouraged its development as a British denomination" (187). He contends that a "dramatic shift in Mormonism's eschatological ethos" allowed for not only the development of a "more positive worldview" (187), but also allowed the Church to discard its negative "Britain as Babylon" paradigm in favor of "Britain as Zion." This doctrinal adaptation was the first piece necessary for the perpetuation of a domestic presence in Britain.

Second, as discussed in chapters 3 and 4, he points to missionary work as "central to the survival of British Mormonism" (188). As a missiologist, I found his careful analysis of missionary work in Lancashire, beginning with the apostolic mission of Heber C. Kimball and following through to near present, nothing short of brilliant. I also agree with his assessment for future work in this area: "Further comparison of the origins and methods of nineteenth-century missionaries with their modern, twentieth- and twenty-first-century counterparts would illuminate the underlying and evolving motivations that continue to sustain Mormon proselytizing in Britain" (189).

Third, in chapter 5, he examines the history of anti-Mormonism in Britain and concludes that "the abundance of opposition the British saints had to endure could be regarded as one of the keys to Mormonism's regional endurance" (188). The reader will find the breadth and scope of his careful treatment to be near-encyclopedic.

Fourth, in chapter 7, Rasmussen uncovers, for the first time, the role sacred space has played in the perpetuation of British Mormonism. He accurately asserts that "the identification and examination of places of worship is one of the least-researched aspects of British Mormon history" (155). He conducts his analysis by dividing the history into the four phases regarding places of worship in Britain, asserting that "the chapel building program . . . may be the single most important development within British Mormon history" because it "sent a clear message to both the British members and the wider public. Each group needed convincing that Mormonism was no longer equated with Utah" (184–85). Rodney Fullwood, a convert from Liverpool, reminisced about one of the primary effects this had on the membership involved: "[the chapel building program] must have contributed to some people thinking, 'Well maybe we don't have to emigrate.' . . . Because when you invest in something with your own labor, you tend to value it. It becomes a part of you" (182).

Rasmussen gives a fifth and final criterion for a stable, self-perpetuating British Zion: "The main challenge to the stability of British Mormonism in the twenty-first century will not concern its proven capacity to attract converts. . . . Until British Mormonism genuinely and comprehensively becomes multigenerational, its future will never be assured. . . . Having built a British Zion, . . . the temple, where family and faith are melded spiritually and permanently, will be at the center of this pursuit" (189–90). Beginning with the prophetic descriptions Heber C. Kimball and Joseph Smith proffered, making Lancashire "sacred space," he asserts: "From the Vauxhall Chapel (borrowed sacred space) to the Preston Temple (sacred space provided by the institutional church), the creation of a spiritual heartland or center place [is] vital to the endurance of British Mormonism and [will secure] the foundations upon which modern church leaders clearly anticipate future growth" (185).

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Stephen L. Prince. *Hosea Stout:*
Lawman, Legislator, Mormon Defender.
Logan: Utah State University Press;
Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 2016.

Reviewed by Jay H. Buckley

Hosea Stout presents a controversial, complicated, and surprisingly important figure in early Mormon and Utah history "due to his sharp temper and a number of self-admitted violent actions [but] he also was a devoted follower and defender of the faith who contributed to the church's kingdom through persistence, reliability, and self-taught legal acumen" (xi).

A little more than fifty years ago, several events happened that brought the history of this remarkable and colorful nineteenth-century Latter-day Saint to life. First, the *Utah Historical Quarterly* published Hosea Stout's two autobiographies edited by Reed A. Stout in 1962.[1] Then, two years later, historian Juanita Brooks published a two-volume edition of Hosea Stout's diaries entitled *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout, 1844–1861.*[2] Stout's diaries offered a descriptive and informative narrative of the Mormon exodus from Winter Quarters on the Missouri River across the plains to the valley of the Great Salt Lake. Historian Dale Morgan, who discovered the diaries in 1941, declared them "one of the most magnificent windows upon Mormon history ever opened."[3]

Independent historian Stephen L. Prince edited and published *The Autobiography of Hosea Stout,*[4] which reprinted Reed Stout's 1962

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1. Reed A. Stout, ed., "Autobiography of Hosea Stout, 1810 to 1835," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 30, nos. 1–3 (Winter, Spring, Summer, 1962): 53–75; 149–74; 237–61; Reed A. Stout, ed., "Autobiography of Hosea Stout, 1810 to 1844," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 30 (Fall 1962): 333–44.

2. Juanita Brooks, ed., *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout, 1844–1861,* 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1964).

3. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier,* dust jacket.

4. Stephen L. Prince and Reed A. Stout, eds., *The Autobiography of Hosea Stout* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2010).

autobiographies. Editing the autobiography enabled Prince to come to know Hosea Stout intimately. Moreover, it is always preferable when the person you are analyzing has put pen to paper, and Hosea Stout wrote a lot. Prince is no stranger to writing Mormon history, having received two awards from the Mormon History Association for his *Gathering in Harmony*,[5] which chronicled the saga of several southern Utah families, including the tale of his grandfather, Sheriff Antone B. Prince.

Prince's account of Hosea Stout offers the first complete biography of this controversial lightning rod who played such a significant role in early LDS and Utah history. He examines Stout's life with the thoroughness of a dental examination. Prince offers the big picture of how Stout fits within the larger framework of the Mormon founding and exodus, but he also identifies and extracts the core elements that defined Stout as a person, offering both the faults and virtues of someone Prince views as "one of the most important—and notorious—figures in the history of Mormon Nauvoo" (80).

Hosea Stout is important for several reasons. First, his life chronicled nearly the entire nineteenth-century Mormon experience. Stout joined the Latter-day Saints in 1838 in Missouri and continued with them to the Great Basin until his death in 1889, just a year before the Mormon Manifesto ended the practice of plural marriage. Second, Stout served as an eyewitness and recorder to so many critical events in nineteenth-century Mormon history. Moreover, his positions of authority and responsibility in civil and religious affairs enabled him to observe and record information unavailable to most other LDS diarists, chronicling the infighting and unrest that sometimes occurred among the hierarchy from the viewpoint of a rank-and-file member within their midst. The author includes the fact that Stout fought as a Danite against Missouri mobs in 1838. He moved with the body of Saints to Quincy, and then Nauvoo, serving as clerk to the high council, a bodyguard for Joseph Smith, and a leader of the Nauvoo Legion. He headed the police forces in Nauvoo and in Winter Quarters. Stout helped police the overland trail and provides an account as captain of the guard for Brigham Young's 1848 trek. Stout also participated in the first battle between Mormons and Utes at Battle Creek (Pleasant Grove) in 1849.

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5. Stephen L. Prince, *Gathering in Harmony: A Saga of Southern Utah Families, Their Roots and Pioneering Heritage, and the Tale of Antone Prince, Sheriff of Washington County* (Spokane, Wash.: Arthur H. Clark, 2004).

Stout's civic responsibilities increased as he served in the Utah Territorial Legislature, helping codify and publish the territorial laws. He provided one of the most complete accounts of the Utah Territorial Legislature and served as Speaker of the House of Representatives in 1856–57. He served as a regent for the University of Deseret (University of Utah) and judge advocate for the Nauvoo Legion in Utah Territory. Brigham Young appointed Stout as the first attorney general for the State of Deseret. Stout later served as territorial prosecutor and a United States attorney for the Utah Territory. His service there offers a window into the legal battles of overland emigrants passing through Salt Lake City. He played an influential role as a U.S. attorney during the federal army's occupation of Utah in the late 1850s, fighting against antagonistic federal judges to defend the LDS Church and its leaders. Stout and his companions returned home early from the first LDS mission to China and Hong Kong after their unsuccessful effort to spread the gospel in Asia in 1853. He was also the oldest rescuer to assist the 1856 handcart pioneer companies.

One of Prince's most enlightening chapters traces how Stout's proclivity to violence stemmed from his childhood experiences on the Kentucky frontier. His abusive father, Joseph, alternated between chaining, whipping, and neglecting Hosea. Stout spent several traumatic boyhood years in a Shaker community that used flogging as a regular method to discipline children. After his mother, Anna, died when he was fourteen, Hosea's father abandoned him. Stout went to a Quaker community and prospered until he was provoked into several fistfights that ultimately placed him out of favor with the pacifists. He fought in the Black Hawk War in Illinois before joining the Latter-day Saints in 1838 to fight against Missouri mobs. Stout, "armed with 2 six shooters and a large Bowie knife all in sight," gained a reputation as always ready to dispense justice well before his conversion to Mormonism (124). "Significantly," Prince argues, "it was in the midst of the burgeoning hostilities [in Missouri] that Hosea Stout decided to become a Mormon" (153). Yet, although Mormonism did not create this violent man, Prince claims that "Mormon leaders put him in positions and gave him the permission to be violent, and he took full advantage of the opportunities" (159).

Prince juxtaposes Stout's violent tendencies to use force with his devotion as a tender, loving husband to several wives and father to numerous children, as well as his allegiance to the faith as a member of the Council of Fifty and the Quorum of the Seventy. Prince has done remarkable work using Stout's own words to paint an intimate portrait

of the complicated man as well as the historiographical work necessary to situate Stout within the historical context of his times. The prose is both engaging and compelling. *Hosea Stout: Lawman, Legislator, Mormon Defender* represents the definitive biography of this significant Mormon leader and serves as an indispensable resource for understanding nineteenth-century Mormon history.

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Nicholas J. Frederick. *The Bible, Mormon Scripture,
and the Rhetoric of Allusivity.*
Madison, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2016.

Reviewed by Jeffrey D. Tucker

Nicholas J. Frederick's new book, *The Bible, Mormon Scripture, and
the Rhetoric of Allusivity,* is a highly detailed analysis in which Frederick compares the Book of Mormon and the Doctrine and Covenants with the Gospel of John, especially the first eighteen verses of John's Gospel—the Johannine Prologue. In so doing, Frederick argues that Joseph Smith purposefully incorporated biblical allusions into Mormon canonical works to imbue Mormon scripture, the nascent church, and Joseph Smith himself with authority and gravitas—a technique prophets have traditionally used throughout the ages (xiv). According to Frederick, one mark of a prophet, anciently speaking, *was* allusivity: "By adopting the rhetoric of allusivity, authors intentionally link themselves to earlier text . . . to gain entry into a canon" (xiv). Such, Frederick argues, was Joseph Smith's intention. Quoting Grant Hardy, Frederick suggests that Joseph Smith was simply following the lead of Moroni, who knew "his core audience intimately; [that is,] latter-day Gentiles" (7). To reach such an audience, Frederick avers, Joseph Smith used passages from the King James Bible.

Frederick divides Smith's use of biblical allusivity into four categories: (1) an "echo" of John's prologue, wherein the Johannine language appearing in the Book of Mormon is just that—an echo, meant to cause Book of Mormon readers to recall familiar pieces of the Bible and not, necessarily, to suggest any subtext, aside from establishing Smith's authority as a prophet; (2) an "allusion" to John's prologue, where both the language *and* context of John's words are carried over from the Bible into the Book of Mormon, allowing readers to apply the meaning or subtext of John's words to LDS scripture (and vice versa); (3) a Johannine "expansion," in which a concept, originally expressed in John's Gospel, is amplified or given additional meaning through its inclusion

in Mormon scripture; and (4) "inversion," which Frederick describes as something of an opposite use of "expansion"—that is, a concept or quote is taken from the Gospel of John, but its meaning, through inclusion in Mormon scripture, is recast and reconstructed to fit Mormon ideology. (Frederick points out that, with regard to the Johannine Prologue, only section 93 in the Doctrine and Covenants falls into this latter category.)

Here is an example of an "echo": Frederick, in analyzing 3 Nephi 9, notes that Jesus repeats a statement found in John 1:1–2, that "I am in the Father and the Father in me," a phrase also found in John 14. Why, Frederick asks, is this statement found in 3 Nephi, removed from the context that originally produced it—that is, Jesus's reply to a question from Philip? While Frederick admits that the statement does have intrinsic doctrinal value, Frederick asserts that Joseph Smith wrote Jesus's statement as it appears in 3 Nephi 9 to win over Smith's nineteenth-century audience, showing Smith's contemporaries that "the Book of Mormon speaks in a language that . . . carries . . . the authority of the Bible" (5).

Why use the Gospel of John? "Perhaps," Frederick posits, "Joseph Smith wanted a distinct voice in which Jesus would speak in the modern days, and John's text, with its unique language and imagery, provided that voice. . . . Perhaps Joseph Smith, like the epic poets of ancient Greece, relied upon certain stock phrases . . . around which to construct his revelations" (47), and the Gospel of John was the best source for such "stock phrases."

When employing the term *rhetoric,* the art of persuasion, Frederick means exactly that—Joseph Smith deliberately employed persuasive techniques while writing the Book of Mormon to make it more palatable to a hostile nineteenth-century readership. According to Frederick, Joseph Smith "borrows" language from the Johannine Prologue "as part of a well-developed argument" (24); Joseph Smith uses the Gospel of John for "rhetorical" purposes "rather than theological" ones (15); in the Doctrine and Covenants, the Johannine echoes serve "a rhetorical function," not an "interpretive" role (10). It is over this point that some of Frederick's audience—assuming an audience composed, at least partially, of believing Latter-day Saints—may balk. For those Latter-day Saints who believe, as many do, that Smith merely wrote the words dictated to him by God, such people may ask why any *choice* about the Book of Mormon's—or the Doctrine and Covenants'—verbiage was necessary. They may feel that Frederick's thesis hews too closely to the claims of anti-LDS writings, which, for years, have claimed that Joseph Smith, rather than ancient prophets, is the actual author of the Book of Mormon.

In his introduction, Frederick quotes such familiar names as Emma Smith and Joseph Knight Sr., with each giving their personal testimony to how, exactly, they saw Smith translate the Book of Mormon; Frederick even includes a brief summary of the "stone in a hat" translation method. Ultimately, though, Frederick says that no historical account "satisfactorily explicates the *source* of [Joseph Smith's] revelations" (xxvi), and it is telling that Frederick quotes Robert J. Woodford, who, speaking in shades of Derrida, says that "the great majority of [Joseph Smith's] revelations were given to him through inspiration to his mind, and it was left to him to write them so others could also obtain the same message" (xxvii).

In an email exchange with me, Frederick expressed hope that people can "get past the questions of translation" and simply focus on the text itself. Yet, given the claimed supernatural origin of LDS scripture, some may find that separating the text from Joseph Smith's translation process is, at best, impossible, and, at worst, deleterious to the exegetical process. For example, in his first chapter, Frederick cites three passages from John quoted by Jesus in 3 Nephi—"And as many have received me, to them have I given to become the sons of God," "And even so will I to as many as shall believe on my name," and "I am the light and the life of the world"—and then states:

> All three phrases can function within the Book of Mormon narrative, but no meaning is carried over from the Bible to the Book of Mormon from a hermeneutical perspective because *the Nephites could not have understood the source material and its significance.* In the time frame laid out by the Book of Mormon, the Gospel of John did not yet exist. For this reason we must seek out an audience for whom the language of John would have been meaningful, an audience for whom the "echo" would actually have signified something, in this case the nineteenth century readers of the Book of Mormon. (6, emphasis added)

While acknowledging that the three phrases spoken by Jesus "can function in the Book of Mormon narrative," Frederick fails to see that these phrases would have certainly "signified something" to Jesus' Nephite audience and cannot be so easily dismissed.

Frederick's stance that caters to an audience of non-LDS academics is understandable, given the situation in which Frederick finds himself: he is writing to an academically rigorous audience, most of whom are not LDS. (Fairleigh Dickinson University Press has made strides recently to publish more material in the field of Mormon studies.) The tone of his book, unsurprisingly, reflects this. And, truly, Frederick writes a

thorough, probing example of scriptural close reading that would be valuable for any student of LDS scripture, believer or nonbeliever alike. When Frederick rolls up his sleeves and dives into scriptural analysis, identifying the Gospel of John in places previously unnoticed, the book fascinates and instructs.

In saying that Joseph Smith used rhetorical technique when translating, we can postulate that Frederick favors the hypothesis that the Lord placed ideas into Joseph Smith's mind, who then had to figure out the best way to present those ideas. Thus, perhaps the greatest value of Frederick's book lies not in its thesis or in its conclusions, but in the questions it raises about the nature of Joseph Smith's revelatory process. For those not affiliated with the LDS faith, the book inspires contemplation of Joseph Smith, his era, and the struggle he faced to establish a new faith. For the believer, *The Bible, Mormon Scripture, and the Rhetoric of Allusivity* demonstrates how intricate the process of revelation can be. Can the Lord dictate, word by word, a revelation, as many—such as Royal Skousen—believe happened with the Book of Mormon? Can he also give impressions into the mind, thus prompting study, meditation, and prayer to fully understand a revelation, which is then put to paper under the influence of rhetorical technique? This is a book that asks us to put ourselves in Joseph Smith's place and, in turn, ponder how we can commune with a higher power.

Jeffrey D. Tucker received degrees in English from Brigham Young University (BA, 2003; MA, 2006) and a doctorate in English from the University of Southern Mississippi, where he studied creative writing. Tucker recently published his first full-length collection of poetry, *Kill February* (Sage Hill, 2015), which was chosen as the winner of the Powder Horn Prize for Poetry, a national literary contest. He currently teaches in the Department of English at Brigham Young University; he has also taught in the Church Educational System, serving as an Institute of Religion teacher in Virginia.

Against the Wall: Johann Huber and the First Mormons in Austria, by Roger P. Minert (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center; Salt Lake City, Deseret Book, 2015)

Johann Huber (1861–1941) was one of the earliest Austrian converts to the Latter-day Saint faith and arguably the most notable. Being involved with political causes opposing the strong influence of the Catholic Church in the Austrian Empire, his already controversial political life was further complicated by his baptism into The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in 1900. He was heavily persecuted by neighbors, Catholic clergy, and government officials alike, yet he remained steadfast in his faith. He played a significant role in the establishment and growth of the LDS faith in Austria up to the time of World War II.

This book is the first to explore the life and influence of Johann Huber in depth. Letters, photographs, and interviews throughout the book bring his story to life with intimate detail, including an interview that the author, Roger Minert, had with Huber's grandson, Wilhelm Hirschmann, in 2014. An appendix lists Johann Huber's descendants, showing the enduring legacy of this dedicated Latter-day Saint.

This book's personal tone, as well as its detailed citations to facts, events, and personal accounts regarding Johann Huber and the early Church in Austria, will appeal to those intrigued by Church history and biography, especially international biography. Huber's firmness and dedication to the LDS faith in the face of powerful persecution adds an overtone of inspiration to this biographical documentary, suiting it well to readers keenly interested in the lives and sacrifices of faithful Latter-day Saints who were pioneers in their lands.

—Melissa Howland

Just South of Zion: The Mormons in Mexico and Its Borderlands, ed. Jason H. Dormady and Jared M. Tamez (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2015)

Jason H. Dormady and Jared M. Tamez are doing important work in borderland studies—studies surrounding the history of the U.S.–Mexico borderlands and surrounding regions.

Dormady is an associate professor of history at Central Washington University and the author of *Primitive Revolution: Restorationist Religion and the Idea of the Mexican Revolution, 1940–1968* (2011). Tamez is a well-known history PhD student and blogger focusing on the LDS experience in Mexico, LDS Hispanics in the United States, and race and Mormonism.

The book began as an idea generated during a roundtable presentation about the Latter-day Saint experience in Mexico at the Utah Rocky Mountain Council for Latin American Studies conference in 2012. Mormons went to Mexico in 1847 as soldiers in the Mormon Battalion during the Mexican-American War, as proselyting missionaries when Brigham Young called a party of six missionaries to take Spanish-language materials about the Church from Salt Lake City to Mexico in 1875, as refugees from U.S. federal prosecution for plural marriage in the 1880s, and as permanent settlers establishing Mormon colonies near the Sierra Madre Mountains in northern Mexico beginning in 1885.

Ten authors, including established and new historians, provide readers with a thoughtful look at a controversial topic: the LDS experience in Mexico. During the process, Mormons "expended considerable effort to maintain as foremost their identity as members of what they considered the Kingdom of God on earth, often culturally isolating themselves from their

Mexican neighbors" (6). This tension plays out as native Mexicans and native LDS Mexicans interact with each other and with LDS Anglo-colonizers, LDS Anglo-missionaries, and LDS leaders during more than 170 years.

In dialogue with previous scholarship, *Just South of Zion* provides new insights about some old topics, including plural marriage, LDS colonization, and transnational identity. It also plows new ground with topics such as the role of LDS women in local worship, indigenous intellectuals, and the roles of masculinity and violence in Mormon identity.

Because this book is the first collection of scholarly work by academics whose primary focus is Mexico and the borderlands instead of LDS history, the discussions and tone will be new to most Latter-day Saints. The audience is obviously not LDS, as the detailed "Glossary of Terms Related to Mormonism or Mexican Mormons" reveals (203–6). Instead, the book is addressed to academics in Mexico and the United States who have or should have interests in "looking at one of the most active groups of transborder migrants in US-Mexican history—the Mormons" (19).

In the end, *Just South of Zion* provides a fresh survey of religious pluralism in Mexico and an informed approach to LDS international history.

—Richard Neitzel Holzapfel

Far Away in the West: Reflections on the Mormon Pioneer Trail, edited by Scott C. Esplin, Richard E. Bennett, Susan Easton Black, and Craig K. Manscill (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 2015)

This book contains twelve articles chronicling the story of the Mormons' great trek west. It is divided into three

parts, each containing four articles that cover a different aspect of the story of the Latter-day Saints moving west. Part 1 focuses on the Mormons being forced from their homes in Nauvoo. Part 2 examines their journey across the plains and through the Rocky Mountains. Part 3 discusses what the Mormon Trail means to people now, how it has been interpreted, and how it is being preserved.

The book is edited by Richard E. Bennett (professor of Church history and doctrine, BYU), Susan Easton Black (professor emerita of Church history and doctrine, BYU), and Scott C. Esplin and Craig K. Manscill (associate professors of Church history and doctrine, BYU). Esplin, Black, and Bennett also contributed their own essays to this book, with the latter also penning the introduction. Other contributors include Douglas Seefeldt (assistant professor of history, Ball State University), Alexander L. Baugh (chair of the Department of Church History and Doctrine, BYU), Wendy Top (independent historian, Pleasant Grove, Utah), Terry B. Ball (professor of ancient scripture, BYU), Spencer S. Snyder (student at Virginia Commonwealth University pursuing a master's degree in health administration), David F. Boone (associate professor of Church history and doctrine, BYU), Hank R. Smith (adjunct professor of ancient scripture, BYU), Kenneth L. Alford (associate professor of Church history and doctrine, BYU), Richard O. Cowan (professor emeritus of Church history and doctrine, BYU), and J. B. Haws (assistant professor of Church history and doctrine, BYU).

The first essay in part 1, by Seefeldt, discusses the maps of the west that were available around the time of the Mormon exodus. Baugh's essay explores John C. Frémont's western expedition in 1843–44 and how it influenced the

Mormons' settlement in Utah. Black's essay analyzes the economic sacrifice of leaving Nauvoo. Part 1 concludes with Wendy Top, writing on the rescue of some left behind in a "poor camp" during the early stages of the exodus from Nauvoo.

The first essay of part 2, by Ball and Snyder, shows the reader the kind of environment that welcomed the Saints when they finally arrived in the Salt Lake Valley. The next two essays, by Bennett and Boone, respectively, explore the unique experiences of Horace K. Whitney (as recorded in his journals) and of the Saints who came up from the South. The concluding essay, by Smith, discusses Cache Cave and its meaning to Utah pioneers.

Part 3 opens with Alford discussing the safety and upkeep of a portion of the Mormon Trail during the Civil War. Cowan then compares the routes of travel that wagons, trains, and automobiles forged when heading west. Haws explores the character of Wilford Wood, a key individual in preserving Church historical sites. This section and the book conclude with Esplin's essay on the preservation and marking of the Mormon Trail.

This book provides valuable insight into the lesser-known aspects of our pioneer heritage, adding a depth and richness that causes the reader to appreciate this part of Mormonism's history even more.

—Veronica J. Anderson

The Mormon Church and Blacks: A Documentary History, edited by Matthew L. Harris and Newell G. Bringhurst (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 2015)

On June 1, 1978, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints lifted its 126-year-long ban preventing male Church members of African descent from receiving the priesthood, declaring that "all worthy male members of the Church may be ordained to the priesthood without regard to race or color" (109). In *The Mormon Church and Blacks: A Documentary History*, Matthew L. Harris and Newell G. Bringhurst present thirty documents illustrating the Church's stance on blacks and the priesthood before, during, and after the ban.

Matthew L. Harris is a professor of history at Colorado State University–Pueblo and coauthored *The Founding Fathers and the Debate over Religion in Revolutionary America.* Newell G. Bringhurst is a professor emeritus of history and political science at College of the Sequoias and wrote *Saints, Slaves, and Blacks: The Changing Place of Blacks within Mormonism.* Harris and Bringhurst have coauthored several books, including *Scattering of the Saints: Schism within Mormonism* and *The Persistence of Polygamy* series.

The Mormon Church and Blacks is divided into seven chapters that chronologically document the Church's evolving stance on the priesthood and blacks. Each chapter begins with a brief historical introduction, followed by a discussion of each primary source before presenting the document to the reader. The collected documents range from early LDS newspaper articles, a patriarchal blessing given to one of the first black Latter-day Saints, letters between Church members and Church leaders, scholarly essays, statements made by prominent Church leaders, and official Church statements.

In part 1, Harris and Bringhurst first explore the scriptural canon that established the Church's complicated position on blacks and the priesthood. Part 2 investigates the shifting attitudes on blacks and slavery in the early Church. The beginnings of priesthood denial to

blacks and the legalization of slavery in Utah are discussed in part 3. Part 4 examines the ban's perpetuation, and part 5 studies the increasing pressures within and without the Church that prompted Church leaders to reconsider the ban. Documents in part 6 describe the lifting of the ban and the resulting implications. The Church's actions today regarding its past decisions on blacks are addressed in part 7, followed by detailed notes for each chapter.

The editors successfully provide the full picture of a delicate subject by including documents from all sides of the argument without condemning or accusing the individuals involved in these pivotal moments in Church history. *The Mormon Church and Blacks* is a comprehensive documentary history for anyone wanting a fuller understanding of the Church's past and present actions concerning blacks and the priesthood.

—Stephanie Fudge

Let Your Hearts and Minds Expand: Reflections on Faith, Reason, Charity, and Beauty, by Thomas F. Rogers (Provo, Utah: Maxwell Institute, 2016)

Thomas Rogers is a Mormon treasure. Indeed, we may never see another quite like him. In his long and productive life, he has been a missionary in Germany; professor of Russian; director of the BYU Honors Program; renowned playwright; gifted painter; aspiring poet; perceptive essayist; mission president in Russia; traveling patriarch to Eastern Europe and Russia; temple missionary in Sweden; branch president at both BYU and the MTC; teacher of English in China; and "self-styled polyglot" who has studied language and culture in many lands, including Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Poland, Armenia, India, Syria, Austria, France, and Italy.

It is only fitting, then, that this collection of writings is so diverse: essays, speeches, symposium presentations, letters, poems, journal entries, reminiscences, a BYU forum address, a travelogue, dating advice to students, commentary on scripture, a note to the first cast of his play *Huebener,* and even a discourse he prepared for some forgotten purpose and can't remember ever giving. In addition to his own thoughts, he also includes many perceptive observations from student papers and quotations from famous writers, most of which I had never seen before. These sundry pieces are assembled somewhat unevenly under the four topics listed in the book's subtitle. The section on beauty, for instance, seemed something of a catch-all category for pieces that didn't quite fit under the other three topics. But overall the book is well worth reading, and reading carefully.

I have known Tom Rogers for many years, but only after reviewing this assemblage of his varied writings do I feel I have some understanding of his depth, his breadth, and his brilliance. Tom is one of the kindest men I know, and this shines through in all of his thinking. Whether he is writing to a son who left the Church as a youth, speaking to students in the BYU Honors Program, or reminiscing about strangers he has encountered in his extensive travels, one thing is obvious: he cares deeply about people.

He also cares deeply about ideas, and he does not shy away from difficult questions and paradoxes. Indeed, perplexing moral dilemmas lie at the heart of his best plays. And I was surprised to find him addressing questions forty years ago that are troubling many Latter-day Saints in today's information-saturated society. Despite recognizing the flaws in the Church, Tom offers his seven personal reasons for

staying, which he outlines in the book's opening essay, "It Satisfies My Restless Mind." I would recommend this essay to anyone who is thinking of leaving.

Another fine installment in the Maxwell Institute's Living Faith series, *Let Your Hearts and Minds Expand* is not just a window into the soul of an extraordinary human being; it is also mirror in which we can examine our own souls. My only regret, after reading this book, is that when Tom's best-known play, *Huebener,* was first performed at BYU, I missed the performance because I was still a missionary in Hamburg, Germany, the hometown of Helmuth Huebener and the city where Tom Rogers, also as a young missionary, first learned about the boy who gave his life opposing Hitler.
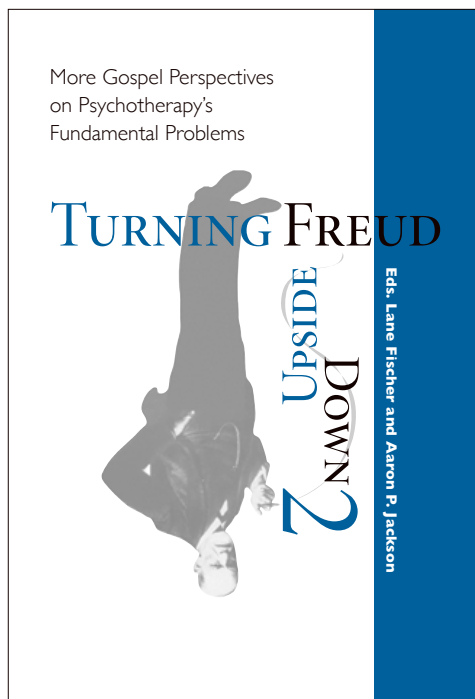
—Roger Terry
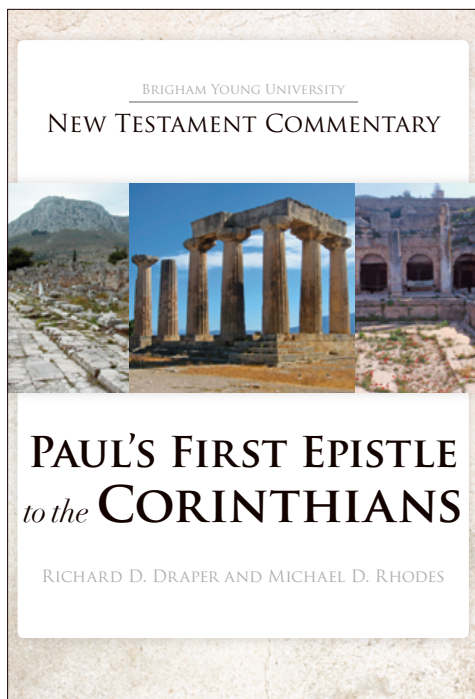
This book is the most comprehensive study of First Corinthians that LDS scholars have yet produced. It relies on the LDS canon of scripture and the teachings of LDS prophets alongside rigorous biblical scholarship and Paul's original Greek.

Because this commentary relies heavily on the Greek original, the full Greek text is presented along with the King James Version. It also presents a new English rendering of the Greek text that makes Paul's epistle more understandable to modern readers. This rendition is set side by side with the King James text for easy comparison. The commentary contains translation notes and helpful historical and cultural background. The work strives to be as up to date, comprehensive, scholarly, and doctrinally sound as possible.

Of all Paul's epistles, First Corinthians may resonate best with Latter-day Saints. Many of its doctrinal teachings reappear in the Restoration: baptism for the dead, degrees of glory, charity never faileth, the administration of the sacrament, and others. Those who read this volume will find in it faith, hope, and understanding of key principles and doctrines. The text bears a strong witness of the Lord Jesus Christ and a clear elucidation of his gospel as articulated by the Apostle Paul.

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Eds. Lane Fischer and Aaron P. Jackson

BYU STUDIES

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of each of the authors. There was a genuine respect for the complexity
inherent in trying to view therapy through a gospel lens. If you, like me,
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mitted to being true to gospel truths in the context of the relationships
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spirit of living the gospel and *practicing* it with others."

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Clinical Professor of Counseling Psychology at Brigham Young University