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From the Editor

John W. Welch

As we send this issue of *BYU Studies Quarterly* to press, I find myself reflecting on the influences of many people upon my life. Goodly parents and beloved family members always come at the top of my appreciation list. I recently met with many friends associated with BYU Studies and was filled with overwhelming thankfulness for the many editors, authors, advisors, administrators, readers, and subscribers, who sustain this extraordinary publication. And I feel more profoundly indebted to BYU for its increasingly unusual mission. As President Dallin H. Oaks recently said at a BYU leadership conference, the mandate given to BYU now has a new complexity: "Today Brigham Young University . . . needs to resist being homogenized by the world." Using the analogy of "the battle group of CES" with BYU as the flagship, he charged this array of institutions to build up and defend the Church. This initiative also sets out to provide education for all members of the Church, wherever they may be, consistent with their circumstances. We have been called to rally our resources in this effort, and, at BYU Studies, we eagerly answer his call.

President Oaks encouraged BYU faculty to "offer public, unassigned support of Church policies." He emphasized the word *unassigned*, for "the duty is inherent in the position." BYU Studies hopes to place its corpus of valuable scholarship even more effectively at the disposal of scholars and Church members around the world. Our BYU Studies website and the social media channels of affiliated organizations are poised to educate and inspire people for good in the light of the gospel of Jesus Christ.

We invite you to join this effort, putting your shoulder to the wheel, submitting thoughtful and well-crafted materials, spreading the word,

without waiting to be assigned. All articles in this journal are typical of this BYU Studies mode of operation. They are voluntarily submitted, unsolicited. They are then rigorously peer reviewed and edited by experts whose personal yearnings support the Church.

What could typify better putting one's shoulder to the wheel than Mel Bashore's article in this issue on commemorative reenactments of Mormon handcart trekking? There are good reasons to memorialize our history and those who came voluntarily to Zion. And who better exemplifies the dedicated life of a disciplined Mormon than Joseph Fielding Smith, self-taught as a historian and inspired by his prophet-father? Reid Neilson and Scott Marianno's study helps us walk thousands of pages in his intellectual shoes. One key to evaluating and appreciating historical writing is to know what motivated or constrained its writer. Often overlooked, the influence of Joseph Fielding Smith's efforts was more methodological than is usually realized.

Walker Wright's article on religious and economic perspectives about immigration, strangers, and refugees is marvelously timely. He approaches the debate over immigration through a double lens: the Church's official statements and scholarly research on the economic effects of immigration. He demonstrates that the Church's accommodating approach is overwhelmingly supported by the research. Migration is often impelled by external pressures, but it is ultimately the voluntary response of those fleeing to improve their lives. Immigrants come unassigned, so people can reach out to them without needing to be asked.

I am confident that readers will be enriched by the essays and reviews in this issue: a timely book review of John Gee's introduction to the Book of Abraham; a summation of Royal Skousen's latest volumes in his monumental Book of Mormon Critical Text project; a review of the survival of temple precepts in rabbinic literature; an essay on an early Christian idea of the Trinity being composed of three persons characterized by relentless affection and concern for others; a discussion of John Turner's tracing of Mormon emphases on aspects of Jesus; and a celebration of the long-awaited final volume in Carol Madsen's two-part biography of Emmeline B. Wells.

For all of this we can certainly be grateful. As in all cases with good things in life, we go forward with faith and hope that we may, in the end, have joy and rejoicing, being thankful for the concerted and consecrated efforts of many contributors.

FIGURE 1. Portrait of Joseph Fielding Smith with his father, Joseph F. Smith, May 1914. Courtesy Church History Library.

True and Faithful

Joseph Fielding Smith as Mormon Historian and Theologian

Reid L. Neilson and Scott D. Marianno

Each year hundreds of thousands of visitors to Salt Lake City's Temple Square make their way to the Church History Museum[1] of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. While many of the museum's exhibits have been rotated over the past three decades, the "Presidents of the Church" gallery, made of individual displays for each previous Church president, is a longstanding exhibit that has generally been refreshed only after a Mormon prophet has died and his artifacts have been added to the chronological display cases. The current museum exhibit commemorating President Joseph Fielding Smith (1876–1972) hangs on the east wall of the second-floor gallery (fig. 2). To the right of his official oil portrait is a text panel that reads: "Joseph Fielding Smith was one of the Church's most prolific writers. His numerous books and articles helped educate generations of Latter-day Saints about the history and doctrine of the Church." To the left of his portrait is a large display case showcasing his numerous publications. The largest text panel within this showcase is titled "Church Historian," and it reads as follows: "Joseph Fielding Smith worked nearly 70 years in the Church historian's office, 50 years as Church historian. He authored more than twenty volumes on Latter-day Saint history and doctrine." This exhibit succinctly summarizes Smith's legacy as both a historian and theologian.

For most Latter-day Saints who grew up in or converted to the Church during Smith's five-decade tenure as Church Historian, Smith

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1. The Museum of Church History and Art, which opened in April 1984, was renamed the "Church History Museum" in November 2008.

Figure 2. The Joseph Fielding Smith exhibit at the Church History Museum, Salt Lake City, Utah. Church History Department, photograph taken by Julie MacDonald.

was viewed as a trusted expert on LDS doctrine, practice, and history because of his popular and widely available publications. His many book publications, regular periodical articles, and semiannual general conference addresses kept Mormon history in the public eye and mind on an ongoing basis. His status as an authority on Mormon doctrine and history was also bolstered by his familial relationship to his great uncle the Prophet Joseph Smith, grandfather Patriarch Hyrum Smith, and father President Joseph F. Smith, and by his own apostolic calling.

More than four decades have passed since Smith died in 1972. There are now at least two generations of Latter-day Saints who know very little about him as Church Historian, and most are less aware of his historical writings and theological contributions than their Mormon parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents were. Several reasons may exist for why Smith's theological and historical writings have lost prominence and circulation among some Latter-day Saints and scholars. He was not professionally trained as a historian—he was a defender of the faith tutored in the office of his prophet-father—a fact that became more significant as the field of history established professional standards and methodologies throughout the twentieth century. Smith never acquired a degree from a university. He began working as a self-taught clerk in the Historian's Office shortly after his mission as a young man. More-over, his historical and theological conservatism was not appreciated by some academically trained historians in the second half of the twentieth century. They more often celebrated Mormon thinkers and writers like

B. H. Roberts and James E. Talmage, both of whom locked theological horns with Smith over the issue of evolution in the early 1930s. In addition, the revisionist New Mormon History school, which emerged during the late 1950s, eschewed apologetics and embraced scholarly methodology.[2] Finally, some have seemingly viewed Smith more as a homegrown theologian than a serious historian, given his role as an Apostle and his mantle to declare doctrine, not propound history.

Nevertheless, in 1990, nearly two decades after Smith's passing in 1972, Curt Bench, a dealer in rare Mormon books, published an article describing fifty important Mormon books released between 1830 and 1980. "By important, I generally mean the work has had significant impact on or a major contribution" to the long-term development of Mormon theology, history, or literature, Bench explains.[3] For example, Smith's *Essentials in Church History* (1922) was not necessarily a model historical work, according to Bench, but it was a Mormon classic. "This book, which has gone through many editions, was used extensively for over fifty years in various Church settings such as Melchizedek priesthood quorums, seminaries, and institutes, and was required reading for all missionaries for many years. One may dispute the book's value as an accurate Church history text, but one cannot discount the influence it had on Mormon historiography and on several generations of Mormons."[4]

Significantly, Bench's list of important Mormon books signaled Smith's indelible influence on Mormon thought. In the category "History and Biography," the late Church Historian and Apostle landed one title, *Essentials in Church History.* In the section "Doctrine and Theology," he

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2. For more on the New Mormon History, see Thomas G. Alexander, "Historiography and the New Mormon History: A Historian's Perspective," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 19, no. 3 (Fall 1986): 25–49; Henry Warner Bowden, "From the Age of Science to an Age of Uncertainty: History and Mormon Studies in the Twentieth Century," *Journal of Mormon History* 15 (1989): 105–20; Ronald W. Walker, David J. Whittaker, and James B. Allen, *Mormon History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 60–112.

3. Curt Bench, "Fifty Important Mormon Books," *Sunstone* 14, no. 5 (October 1990): 54.

4. Bench, "Fifty Important Mormon Books," 55. In 2002, Arnold K. Garr published an updated survey of "scholars who teach, research, and write in the field of Mormonism." Smith's *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* sat atop the "Doctrine" category and was voted "the most important nonscriptural volume." Smith had four titles that received votes, but none approached the popularity of *Teachings.* Arnold K. Garr, "Which Are the Most Important Mormon Books?" *BYU Studies* 41, no. 3 (2002): 35–47.

had four titles: *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (1938), *Man: His Origin and Destiny* (1954), *Doctrines of Salvation* (three volumes, 1954–1956), and *Answers to Gospel Questions* (five volumes, 1957–1966). In other words, Smith produced five of the fifty (one-tenth) of the most significant books (or book series) during the first 150 years of the Church, according to Bench. No other author or editor, including Parley P. Pratt (three books), B. H. Roberts (four books), John A. Widtsoe (three books), or James E. Talmage (two books), had more books on the list than Smith.[5]

The longevity of Smith's printed works and their broad cultural influence suggest that some academics have perhaps been too dismissive of Smith as a historian and writer. Scholars who attempt to read Smith solely against the New Mormon History risk severing his corpus of writings from its immediate historical context and purpose. Like most serious historians, he endeavored to write a narrative of Mormon history that approached in its use of facts the ever-elusive "truth" on a topic. He commented in the *Improvement Era* in 1906: "In the degree that a writer of history departs from the truth, to that extent his writings become worse than fiction, and are valueless." In Smith's opinion, the historian "should not be deprived of his individuality; but if he willfully disregards the truth, no matter what his standing may be, or how greatly he may be respected, he should be avoided. No historian has the right to make his prejudices paramount to the facts he should record."[6]

In this quest, Smith's historical approach tells the truth of the intellectual landscape he inhabited and thus holds historical value. The survey that follows is intended as a primer to Smith's written corpus for a new generation of scholars and Latter-day Saints removed from his intellectual world. Taken collectively, his pamphlets and books provide a glimpse into the historical and theological tensions at work in the twentieth-century Church. More specifically, Smith's writings place readers inside the mindset of Latter-day Saint leaders who increasingly articulated a conservative theology as the Church, in the words of sociologist Armand Mauss, moved towards a period of "retrenchment."[7] This

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5. Bench, "Fifty Important Mormon Books," 54–57.

6. Joseph Fielding Smith, "Libels of Historians," *Improvement Era* 10, no. 2 (December 1906): 103.

7. Armand L. Mauss identified "five major expressions" of retrenchment in Mormonism around the mid-twentieth century: the reassertion of the importance of revelation, especially those received by prophets; more emphasis on genealogy and temple work; adjustments to and an expansion of the missionary program; more focus on the family unit; and an expansion of religious

theological conservatism is not easily boundaried or uniform, but in Smith's case, it manifested itself in the form of a vocal distrust of modern academic scholarship, higher criticism of the Bible, and theories on the origins of humans and the earth. "False conclusions, ideas and theories that were not a part of the gospel in the days of the Son of God," Smith argued, were causing Latter-day Saints and the world in general to drift "farther away from the principles of the gospel as they are contained in the holy scriptures."[8] His response to secular encroachments on Mormon culture was to reassert the importance of modern prophetic authority and advance a literal reading of LDS scripture as well as a simplified form of LDS doctrine and practice.[9] For Smith and others, the "gospel" was a blend of praxis and principles endowed with a standard of performance that marked the boundaries of an orthodox identity and culture. It took a few decades into Smith's tenure as an Apostle, however, for his conservative perspective to take root in the Church.[10]

Today, Smith's writings can help historians understand not only early-to-mid-twentieth-century Mormon culture, but also Mormonism of the 1970s, 1980s, and beyond. The comprehensiveness in his writings allowed subsequent Mormon leaders to defer to his perspective on a variety of gospel and historical topics. Citations to Smith's corpus of writings abounded in LDS general conference talks, seminary and institute manuals, and Sunday School manuals for decades after his death. His perspective guided the collective memory of Latter-day Saints who began to look at their tradition's sacred past in more systematized ways.

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education programs, including "a new mandate for indoctrination rather than intellectual reconciliation." Mauss also drew parallels between the theological conservatism exhibited in this era and fundamentalist religious thought which in general was "characterized by such beliefs as scriptural inerrancy and literalism; . . . authoritarian leadership; and strict obedience to pastoral injunctions." Armand L. Mauss, *The Angel and the Beehive: The Mormon Struggle with Assimilation* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 99, 157–58; see also Armand L. Mauss, "Rethinking Retrenchment: Course Corrections in the Ongoing Campaign for Respectability," *Dialogue* 44, no. 3 (Winter 2011): 1–42.

8. Joseph Fielding Smith, *Doctrines of Salvation: Sermons and Writings of Joseph Fielding Smith*, comp. Bruce R. McConkie, 3 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1956), 3:275–76.

9. For a good summary of mid-century Mormonism's theological conservatism, see Matthew Bowman, *The Mormon People: The Making of an American Faith* (New York: Random House, 2012), 190–91.

10. Terryl L. Givens, *People of Paradox: A History of Mormon Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 206–7.

For some who lamented the changes, the charismatic spirituality of nineteenth-century Mormonism, with its theological diversity, was now checked by consolidated and simplified doctrine and practice. To avoid equivocation on LDS truth claims, especially as secular society seemingly encroached, Smith inoculated believers with the foundational doctrines and behaviors of the kingdom, at the expense of any exploration beyond Church curriculum and prophetic writings.[11] One finds in Smith's writings a metanarrative that ordered Latter-day Saint doctrine and practice by its importance and significance to Mormon salvation. He emphasized elements of the Church's past that spoke to the spirit and essence of the gospel for a Latter-day Saint audience. Smith's providential narrative, a mixture of theology and history, expanded into an orthodox system in the latter half of the twentieth century as his perspective remained influential on Mormon leaders and on Church curriculum. The timing was right as his push to draw orthodox boundaries around the faith matched (and in some ways fueled) a larger agenda among Church leaders, beginning in the 1950s, to correlate Mormon doctrine, history, and institutional structure.

For the man who eventually became the tenth President of the Church, writing history was an act of faith and a pursuit of truth. Future scholarly treatments of Smith's work should "judge the participants [of history] by their own standards," not simply by whether the narrative presented resonates with current scholarly best practices.[12] And by the standards of more recent historiographical trends, scholars should seek to understand the Mormon "past in its landscapes: religious, social, intellectual, and material."[13] This essay seeks to excavate Smith's historical project and thinking as the longtime Church Historian reacted to, borrowed from, and in some ways wrote against the encroaching intellectual, social, and political climate around him.

We have divided Smith's published books into three parts: historical works, theological works, and compiled works. (See the list of published books by Smith in chronological order in the appendix.) We realize that Smith's writings could fit under multiple labels, but we made our assignments based on the scope and overarching purpose of each volume.

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11. Mauss, *Angel and the Beehive,* 164–65; Bowman, *Mormon People,* 190–91, 197.

12. Klaus J. Hansen, quoted in Alexander, "Historiography and the New Mormon History," 30.

13. Matthew Bowman, "Context and the New-New Mormon History," *Journal of Mormon History* 35, no. 3 (Summer 2009): 209.

Understanding the themes of Smith's written works first requires a brief sketch of his life and of the institutional developments in the twentieth-century Church.[14] This study does not claim to be a reception history on the writings of Joseph Fielding Smith, and for this essay we did not probe his vast corpus of personal writings, including his extensive collection of incoming and outgoing correspondence. While we do make some judgements on Smith's legacy as a historian and theologian, future studies may wish to engage his private writings to draw more definitive conclusions on Smith's influence on Mormon culture, doctrine, and practice.

Joseph Fielding Smith and the Church in the Twentieth Century

Joseph Fielding Smith was born on July 19, 1876, just three blocks northwest of Temple Square in Salt Lake City to the eventual sixth President of the Church, Joseph F. Smith, and his wife Julina Lambson. Foreshadowing Smith's own affiliation with the Church Historian's Office on South Temple Street, his parents met there and were married in the Endowment House in 1866. Smith's grandfather was the Prophet Joseph Smith's brother, Hyrum Smith. With his familial roots firmly entrenched in the Church, the future prophet studied the history and doctrine of the Church from an early age.[15]

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14. For book and article treatments of Smith's life, see Joseph F. McConkie, *True and Faithful: The Life Story of Joseph Fielding Smith* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1971); Joseph Fielding Smith Jr. (III) and John J. Stewart, *The Life of Joseph Fielding Smith, Tenth President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1972); Francis M. Gibbons, *Joseph Fielding Smith: Gospel Scholar, Prophet of God* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992); Dean May, "Tenth President: Joseph Fielding Smith," in *The Presidents of the Church,* ed. Preston Nibley (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1974), 409–24; Heidi S. Swinton, "Joseph Fielding Smith," in *In the Company of Prophets: Personal Experiences of D. Arthur Haycock with Heber J. Grant, George Albert Smith, David O. McKay, Joseph Fielding Smith, Harold B. Lee, Spencer W. Kimball, and Ezra Taft Benson* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1993), 56–68; Susan Arrington Madsen, "Joseph Fielding Smith: Historian, Author, Pie-Maker," in *The Lord Needed a Prophet,* 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1996), 155–67; Francis M. Gibbons, "Joseph Fielding Smith," in *Dynamic Disciples, Prophets of God: Life Stories of the Presidents of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1996), 216–37.

15. Smith and Stewart, *Life of Joseph Fielding Smith,* v–vi.

As a young man, Smith took a job at the Church's department store, Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution (ZCMI), and prepared to serve a proselyting mission. He began dating and became engaged to Louie Shurtliff, who was staying with the Smith family as she attended the University of Utah. The couple married on April 26, 1898, in the Salt Lake Temple. The following year, at age twenty-three, he received an official call to the British Mission and served there for two years (1899–1901). In search of immediate employment following his mission, Smith took a position at the Historian's Office, which launched his career as a Mormon chronicler. In 1906, only five years into his professional career, he was appointed as an Assistant Church Historian. He would continue to work daily in the Historian's Office even after his call as an Apostle in April 1910. For nearly fifty years beginning in 1921, he served as Church Historian in addition to his other Church roles, which included President of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles and a counselor in the First Presidency. Following the death of President David O. McKay in 1970, Smith became the tenth President of the Church. He served for two years and five months and died in 1972 at the age of ninety-five.[16]

Smith entered the historical field at a time when professional standards at American universities were still developing. Some of the most popular and well-regarded histories were holdovers from the nineteenth century and written by historians outside of the professional academy for a general audience.[17] Nonetheless, the field had made strides in instituting professional techniques and a standard of objectivity.[18] Smith also took cues from the works of his academically trained General Authority

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16. Gibbons, *Joseph Fielding Smith,* 51–61, 106–8, 123–24, 453–57, 493–94; Smith and Stewart, *Life of Joseph Fielding Smith,* 65–83, 206–7, 355–57.

17. The writings of nationalist historians, such as Francis Parkman and George Bancroft, followed a romantic literary style and highlighted the triumphs of Protestantism and the Anglo-Saxon race. Their histories of American civilization, and others written outside the fledgling professional historical guild, remained popular in the early twentieth century. Thomas Bender, "Writing American History, 1789–1945," in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing, Volume 4: 1800–1945,* ed. Stuart Macintyre, Juan Maiguashca, and Attila Pók (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 372–74.

18. Following World War I, some professional historians, such as Charles Beard, James Harvey Robinson, and Carl Becker, rejected the notion of historical objectivity as fully achievable. Many historians now see history as an interpretive field and consider no historian objectively removed from or an impartial writer on his or her historical subject. Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge:

colleagues as he developed his own voice. However, he remained outside of the academic guild and nurtured a persistent distrust of modern theories being churned out of the universities.[19]

Smith's theological conservatism partially developed from an intellectual tussle with modernizing trends that espoused higher criticism of the Bible. Since the late nineteenth century, Protestantism had been fending off challenges to the Bible's premier status in American society. Conservative theologians protested the claims of higher critics by asserting biblical inerrancy and doubling down on their literalist interpretations.[20] Smith felt modern hermeneutical trends were more aptly titled "destructive criticism" because they were perpetrated by scholars who intended to "tear asunder and destroy the authenticity of the holy scriptures."[21]

There was a counterbalance to Smith's more conservative reading of LDS scripture and doctrine in General Authorities B. H. Roberts, James E. Talmage, and John A. Widtsoe, among others. Both Talmage and Widtsoe were members of the Quorum of the Twelve and held PhDs in the field of science, while Roberts, a member of the Quorum of the Seventy, was a gifted intellectual and historian.[22] All three emphasized the harmony between modern science and Mormon doctrine. Though Roberts nurtured significant reservations about the conclusions of biblical criticism, he felt scripture could stand up against empirical and

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Cambridge University Press, 1988), 47–53, 133–205; Thomas Bender, "Writing American History, 1789–1945," 380.

19. As early as 1917, Smith railed against "the theories of evolution, of higher criticism, the ideas that prevail in the schools throughout our land that are dangerous" and were "striking at the fundamentals of the gospel of Jesus Christ, trying to destroy the faith in the minds of the students who attend the schools." *Eighty-Seventh Annual Conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1917), 64.

20. For more on the crisis that gripped Protestantism during this period, see George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism: 1870–1925* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980); Mark A. Noll, *Between Faith and Criticism: Evangelicals, Scholarship, and the Bible in America* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1986); William R. Hutchison, *The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976).

21. Joseph Fielding Smith, *Man: His Origin and Destiny* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1954), 490; Philip L. Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible: The Place of the Latter-day Saints in American Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 136.

22. Bowman, *Mormon People,* 163–67.

textual analyses. In the estimation of Roberts, as well as Talmage and Widtsoe, a rational approach to religion could reaffirm faith, rather than erode it.[23] Their theological expressions bore a resemblance to the changing contours of Christianity in Progressive-Era America—faith and reason were compatible and could be used to uncover the laws of the natural universe.[24]

The swing toward naturalism and higher criticism in America required a more liberal theology that could square with new science and the theory of evolution. A deep divide developed in Protestantism as a surge in fundamentalism countered the liberal theology that hewed closely to the methods and conclusions of the natural sciences.[25] Mormonism was not immune to such fractures, and Smith, as a youthful Apostle, led the charge against his pro-science colleagues. Though this philosophical divide did not parse neatly along fundamentalist/liberal lines, Smith preferred a literal interpretation of scripture and championed the ultimate authority of the LDS canon in a way that resounded with Protestant fundamentalists of his day. His opposition to the intellectual work of Roberts, Talmage, and Widtsoe eventually spilled over into the meetings of the Quorum of the Twelve as Smith took opposition to Roberts's ambitious manuscript *The Truth, the Way, the Life.* Roberts's unpublished work in part adjusted the traditional creation narrative to square with modern science, and the conclusions were divisive enough among Church leaders that Smith and Roberts were ordered to drop the discussion.[26]

If Smith's more conservative and literal reading of scripture seemed to be gaining traction in the 1930s, the deaths of Roberts and Talmage in 1933 tipped the scales. Vacancies in the Quorum of the Twelve were filled increasingly with men from the fields of business and law so that

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23. Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible,* 123–33; Thomas G. Alexander, "The Reconstruction of Mormon Doctrine: From Joseph Smith to Progressive Theology," *Sunstone* 5, no. 4 (July–Aug. 1980): 28–33.

24. Bowman, *Mormon People,* 165–67.

25. Noll, *Between Faith and Criticism,* 1–61.

26. Richard Sherlock, "'We Can See No Advantage to a Continuation of the Discussion': The Roberts/Smith/Talmage Affair," *Dialogue* 13, no. 3 (Fall 1980): 63–78; Ronald L. Numbers, *The Creationists* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 309–14. Roberts's manuscript remained unpublished until 1994. See B. H. Roberts, *The Truth, the Way, the Life: An Elementary Treatise on Theology,* ed. John W. Welch (Provo, Utah: BYU Studies, 1994), second edition published 1996, page references hereafter are to the second edition; Stan Larson, ed., *The Truth, the Way, the Life, an Elementary Treatise: The Masterwork of B. H. Roberts* (San Francisco: Smith Research Associates, 1994).

by midcentury the stance of the Quorum had shifted somewhat away from modern science and secular scholarly training.[27] More progressive General Authorities such as David O. McKay, Joseph F. Merrill, and John A. Widtsoe remained, but a new conservative majority in the Quorum put the Church on a path toward retrenchment, aided by structural and bureaucratic changes that took root midcentury.[28]

A program of correlation to centralize the organizational structure of the Church under the authority of the priesthood quorums increased in importance in the 1960s. The movement was an institutional response to accelerating membership growth and the complexities inherent to a globalizing faith. Churchwide initiatives included the standardization and synchronization of curriculum.[29] By the time correlation officially commenced under the leadership of Elder Harold B. Lee in the 1960s, Smith, as the senior member of the Quorum of the Twelve, had outpaced his fellow quorum members in publishing works on Church history and doctrine.[30] The internal logic of the correlation program to coordinate, simplify, and reduce fit some of the aims of his corpus of works.[31] Smith's writing matured in the 1930s and 1940s, when auxiliaries and

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27. Mauss, *Angel and the Beehive,* 81–83.

28. Thomas W. Simpson, *American Universities and the Birth of Modern Mormonism, 1867–1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016), 92–121; Mauss, *Angel and the Beehive,* 78–85.

29. Michael A. Goodman, "Correlation: The Turning Point (1960s)," in *Salt Lake City: The Place Which God Prepared,* ed. Scott C. Esplin and Kenneth L. Alford (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, 2011), 259–84; Gregory A. Prince and Wm. Robert Wright, *David O. McKay and the Rise of Modern Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2005), 139–58.

30. At the April 1963 general conference, where Elder Harold B. Lee announced details of the Churchwide priesthood correlation program at a general priesthood meeting, the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles consisted of Joseph Fielding Smith, Harold B. Lee, Spencer W. Kimball, Ezra Taft Benson, Mark E. Petersen, Delbert L. Stapley, Marion G. Romney, LeGrand Richards, Richard L. Evans, Howard W. Hunter, Gordon B. Hinckley, and N. Eldon Tanner. *One Hundred Thirty-Third Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1963), 1, 79–89.

31. By 1973, all Church curriculum was supervised by a general Curriculum Department whose aim was to produce curriculum that could be "used anywhere in the world, under any cultural or political circumstance, so that the only culture we're bound by is the culture of the gospel." *Church News,* December 29, 1990, 6, 10, quoted in Mauss, *Angel and the Beehive,* 164.

programs within the Church still produced their own curriculum.[32] He authored over a half dozen manuals that ordered and systematized Mormon doctrine for readers and often included canonical references and lesson outlines for instructors. His writings, generally saturated with scripture, benefitted from the esteemed status the standard works held in Mormon culture. Prior to the significant institutional overhaul of the 1960s, Mormon leaders had made multiple attempts to correlate Church curriculum with no substantial results.[33] Smith proved especially adept at authoring popular, accessible manuals that were received as authoritative on issues of doctrine and practice.

Smith's writings included setting forth a precedent for how to structure and communicate Mormon doctrine in Churchwide curricula. His works suggested that doctrinal coherence across the auxiliary and priesthood organizations of the Church was best achieved in a simplified form. He had been systematizing Mormon theology for decades, allowing scripture and modern revelation to rule on the most important components of Latter-day Saint doctrine and practice. The result was a conservative current of institutional thought and practice easily distributable across an expanding Church. Smith demonstrated to a generation of Latter-day Saints that definitive answers could be provided to gospel questions, that the doctrines of salvation could be arranged in an understandable form, and that Church history and modern revelation could work in tandem to promote faith by offering only the essentials.

Part I: Historical Works

Joseph Fielding Smith's introduction to the historian's craft came at the Smith home, where his parents, Joseph F. and Julina, were both former workers at the Historian's Office. In October 1901, as Smith was settling into his new clerkship there, his father and namesake was sustained as the sixth President of the Church (fig. 1). Smith felt keenly the weight of his father's call and sensed that he was expected to bear the family name well.[34] He was a Smith as much as he was a Latter-day Saint—

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32. Beginning in 1961, Apostle Harold B. Lee chaired the newly formed All-Church Coordinating Council to simplify and streamline curriculum for all priesthood and auxiliary units of the Church. Prince and Wright, *David O. McKay and the Rise of Modern Mormonism,* 149–52; Bowman, *Mormon People,* 195.

33. 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, 2011), 321–35.

34. Gibbons, *Joseph Fielding Smith,* 109–10.

of presidential and prophetic lineage as a member of one of the first families of Mormonism. In addition, it was Smith's firm belief in the importance of genealogy and temple work that drew him to the historical trade. His first independent historical project, "Asahel Smith of Topsfield, with Some Account of the Smith Family" (1902), reflects these early impulses.

Smith would defend his family name throughout his life, but his historical projects grew more expansive as his career progressed. His credentials were unadorned by academic titles, but his historical bona fides were authenticated and preserved by his ability to credibly defend the Church through the institution's historical record. He preferred a usable past, relevant, inspiring, and teachable for the modern Mormon life, but he should not be singled out as Mormonism's only twentieth-century historian/apologist. The longtime Assistant Church Historian, despite some interpersonal disagreements at the Historian's Office, wrote like most of his contemporaries at Church headquarters. Tutored under Talmage and Roberts, Smith borrowed from the same providential narrative, but he did so unabashedly and more in lockstep with the increasingly conservative Church leadership.

Contrary to some scholarly assessments that Smith produced only a single historical work, *Essentials in Church History,* the list below tallies a half dozen works of his original authorship based on primary source research and containing historical themes.[35] What follows is an analysis of Smith's evolution from family historian to Church Historian as seen through the works that profoundly influenced the historical attitudes of a generation of Latter-day Saints.

"Asahel Smith of Topsfield, with Some Account of the Smith Family" (1902)[36]

Smith's inaugural published article demonstrated his ability to write history that relied on the documentary record. His prophet-father sent him east in early July 1902 to Essex County, Massachusetts, to gather information and records related to their family heritage. He found an ally in George Francis Dow, secretary of the Essex County Historical

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35. See Gregory A. Prince, *Leonard Arrington and the Writing of Mormon History* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2016), 154–55, 163.

36. Joseph F. Smith Jr. [Joseph Fielding Smith], "Asahel Smith of Topsfield, with Some Account of the Smith Family," 87–101, in *The Historical Collections of the Topsfield Historical Society,* ed. George Francis Dow, vol. 8 (Topsfield, Mass.: Topsfield Historical Society, 1902).

Society, who provided him with a number of Smith family documents.[37] Dow, who had a mutual interest in preserving early Essex County history, invited Smith to prepare a brief article on his family history.

Many of Smith's writings reflect the importance he, as a member of the Genealogical Society of Utah, placed on family history work and vicarious ordinances for the dead. His fourteen-page family history traced his paternal family line from the arrival of Robert Smith on the American continent in 1638 to the family of Joseph Smith Jr.'s grandparents, Asael (rendered Asahel in the title) and Mary Smith. Although lacking professional training, Smith demonstrated impressive attention to detail. He organized facts like Rankean traditionalists before him who acknowledged the role of a beneficent providence in the unfolding of history but privileged historical facts and objective inquiry over theory and conjecture.[38] Smith accounted for the influence of the "inspiration of the Lord" on the first settlers of the American continent. These first colonists were "men, such as the Lord would choose to cope with the many problems" of settling a "new country or in the framing of a new nation" (87).

According to Smith, his great-grandfather Asael was a "man of very liberal views" who, like his prophet-grandson decades later, attracted the "prejudices of his neighbors." Asael nurtured Universalist sentiments and apparently cared little for how his views played among the local community (89–90). He elected to remain "aloof from all denominations" because "he could not reconcile their teachings with the Scriptures and his reason" (90). Smith drew a striking parallel between the account of Asael's quest for truth and the autobiographical account of Joseph Smith, the Church's founding prophet, captured in his manuscript history. During the revivalist ferment of the Second Great Awakening, Joseph Smith wrote that "during this time of great excitement . . .

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37. Smith and Stewart, *Life of Joseph Fielding Smith,* 140.

38. Leopold von Ranke was a nineteenth-century German historian considered by many as the founder of professional, scientific history grounded in objective inquiry and historical sources. Even with objectivity in mind, Ranke still wrote according to the romanticism and nationalism of his age and frequently highlighted universal truths borne out by the historical record. Matthew Bowman, "James Talmage, B. H. Roberts, and Confessional History in a Secular Age," in *Standing Apart: Mormon Historical Consciousness and the Concept of Apostasy,* ed. Miranda Wilcox and John D. Young (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 79; Leonard Krieger, *Ranke: The Meaning of History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), 1–20.

I kept myself aloof from all these parties though I attended their several meetings." Disheartened by the cacophony of religious opinions, Joseph Smith wondered, "Who of all these parties are right? Or are they all wrong together?"[39] Both were committed seekers of religious truth.

Smith's biographical sketch of his great-grandfather Asael helped promote a worthy prophetic inheritance for Smith's father, who was a year into his tenure as President of the Church, by demonstrating to twentieth-century Mormon readers a spiritual lineage for Joseph Smith's theology and the development of the Church. Read in this way, Joseph Smith's exceptional talents and path-breaking theology could be partially placed in the context of his family origins. Though only loosely sketched in Smith's first historical work, a believing reader would conclude that the Smith family was prepared by the Lord for the reception of the restored gospel of Jesus Christ.

Blood Atonement and the Origin of Plural Marriage: A Discussion (1905)[40] and *The "Reorganized" Church vs. Salvation for the Dead* (1905)[41]

As Smith continued his work in the Historian's Office, he became increasingly frustrated by the verbal and written attacks hurled against the Church by leaders of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (RLDS), a competitor to the Utah-based LDS Church led by Joseph Smith's son, Joseph Smith III. The slim volume *Blood Atonement and the Origin of Plural Marriage* inspired an informal series of publications from Smith addressing differences between the two Mormon traditions. At some point in 1905, Smith completed a book on the RLDS Church and ordinances for the dead (*The "Reorganized" Church vs. Salvation for the Dead*). The works collectively addressed three main differences between Utah Mormonism and the RLDS Church: namely, priesthood authority, temple ordinances, and plural marriage. Especially following Wilford Woodruff's 1890 manifesto (Official Declaration 1) on plural marriage, the RLDS Church redoubled their missionary efforts in

39. Karen Lynn Davidson and others, eds., *Histories, Volume 1: Joseph Smith Histories, 1832–1844,* The Joseph Smith Papers (Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, 2012), 208, 210.

40. Joseph F. Smith Jr. [Joseph Fielding Smith], *Blood Atonement and the Origin of Plural Marriage: A Discussion* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1905) (94 pp.).

41. Joseph Smith Jr. [Joseph Fielding Smith], *The "Reorganized" Church vs. Salvation for the Dead* (n.p., 1905) (32 pp.).

Utah in hopes of attracting members of the LDS Church disillusioned by the tumultuous decade surrounding the end of plural marriage.[42]

Content for *Blood Atonement and the Origin of Plural Marriage* was generated from a series of correspondence between Smith and a member of the RLDS First Presidency, Richard C. Evans. In January 1905, the *Daily Star* of Toronto, Ontario, Canada, printed an interview in which Evans described "the radical difference between the two denominations" (7).[43] Evans briefly attacked polygamy in Utah and the doctrine of blood atonement as Brigham Young taught it. Using scripture, statements from LDS Church leaders, and the RLDS periodical, the *Saints' Herald,* Smith crafted a response that was also published in the *Daily Star.*

Smith felt the exchange between the two ecclesiastical leaders deserved a lengthier treatment in order to properly correct "the wilful misrepresentation of the doctrines of the Latter-day Saints and the unwarranted abuse of the authorities of the [RLDS] Church" (3). Further incensed by some selective editing on the part of Evans when he published their correspondence in the RLDS *Zion's Ensign*, Smith wished to refute the "falsehood, vilification and abuse" allegedly perpetuated by the RLDS Church (5). He was especially writing to persuade "those who are not acquainted with the facts" who might be easily deceived by the use of "garbled and isolated extracts" of the "sermons and . . . writings" of LDS Church leaders (6).

A portion of the debate centered on the integrity of the teachings of Joseph Smith. Not willing to attribute the development of plural marriage to the founding Mormon prophet, Evans instead sought to prove that plural marriage (as well as blood atonement) were among "the abominations of *Brighamism*" (20). To do so, Evans leaned heavily on the writings of Young and statements made by other Utah Church leaders. Smith's concerns, as presented in his rebuttal, centered on Evans's selection and presentation of facts, not the details themselves. For Smith, Evans placed his own "*desired* interpretation" on the remarks of Church leaders, "taking care to give the darkest interpretation possible from which the public may gather false conclusions" (37). On the issue of blood atonement specifically, Smith marshaled evidence in the Book of Mormon in support of the doctrine and hoped to correct

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42. Wilford Woodruff, "Official Declaration," *Deseret Evening News,* September 25, 1890, 2; Smith and Stewart, *Life of Joseph Fielding Smith,* 134.

43. R. C. Evans, interview in the Toronto, Canada, *Daily Star,* January 28, 1905, quoted in Smith, *Blood Atonement,* 7.

Evans's portrayal of the LDS Church as a violent sect which murderously opposed apostates. Smith attested that not a single apostate was executed at the command of Mormon leaders, but that the doctrine instead applied to those who committed certain "unpardonable sins" that fell outside the protection of the atoning blood of Jesus Christ (14). Offenders could voluntarily submit their own life as atonement for their sins. Such teachings were not the creation of "Brighamism," Smith countered, but were "the doctrine of Christ our *Redeemer*, who died for us. This is the doctrine of Joseph Smith" (47).[44]

Smith's treatment of plural marriage in *Blood Atonement* similarly attributed its origins to Joseph Smith—but his defense was tempered with caution. He hoped to avoid igniting further debate about the "virtues" and "arguments in opposition to that principle as a principle of our faith" (16). Controversy over the practice still swirled despite the Church's dual Manifestos (1890 and 1904) that created some distance between the Church and plural marriage.[45] Congressional hearings were under way since 1904 on whether or not to expel Utah Senator and Mormon Apostle Reed Smoot from the United States Senate. Polygamy, especially post-Manifesto polygamy, was at the center of the debate. By intentionally remaining silent about the continuance of plural marriage after the 1890 Manifesto, Smith hoped to avoid stirring further public anger against the Church.

Blood Atonement and the Origin of Plural Marriage impressively assembled affidavits, testimonies, and other evidence in support of the Joseph Smith–Nauvoo roots for plural marriage. Smith also appended to

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44. Joseph Smith on occasion advocated for capital punishment for murderers as a means of acquiring just payment for the shedding of blood. Brigham Young and other Mormon leaders repeatedly taught a formalized version of blood atonement during (and after) what became known as the Mormon Reformation in 1856–57, which, as some historians have put it, "must have helped create a climate of violence in the [Utah] territory, especially among those who chose to take license from it." Ronald W. Walker, Richard E. Turley Jr. and Glen M. Leonard, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 25–27; Robert H. Briggs, "Mormonism and Violence," in *Mormonism: A Historical Encyclopedia,* ed. W. Paul Reeve and Ardis E. Parshall (Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO, 2010), 345–46. The LDS Church no longer espouses teachings related to blood atonement. "Peace and Violence among 19th-Century Latter-day Saints," The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, https://www.lds.org/topics/peace-and-violence-among-19th-century-latter-day-saints?lang=eng.

45. Woodruff, "Official Declaration," 2; Joseph F. Smith, "Official Statement by President Joseph F. Smith," *Deseret Evening News,* Apr. 6, 1904, 1.

the work "some facts regarding" the origin of the RLDS Church, briefly previewing a historical argument he would lay out more fully later (89). Smith wrote *The "Reorganized" Church vs. Salvation for the Dead* in 1905 because of an editorial in the *Improvement Era* (1904) that featured a letter from RLDS president Joseph Smith III, who alleged that the LDS Church had been rejected and was no longer recognized as authoritative or valid by God after the martyrdom.[46] Smith responded in detail to what he felt was an "absurd and misty" assertion by Joseph Smith III (3). In particular, Smith honed in on the claim that the Church lacked the authority or divine commission to redeem the dead (4). Using LDS sources, including the sermons of Joseph Smith, as well as RLDS sources, Smith flipped the RLDS argument, declaring vicarious work for the dead a singular marker of the retention of priesthood authority and divine approval. "A church without salvation for the dead," proclaimed Smith, "cannot be the Church of Christ" (5).

As a staff member of the Historian's Office, Smith performed real historical work in assembling primary sources and historical arguments in defense of Mormon doctrine. And while his purpose was predominantly confessional, Smith's defense showed the potency of combining scripture and the historical record to preserve Mormon doctrinal claims. For Smith, the two documentary records were equal in their evidentiary value. Ultimate proof of Mormon truth claims, however, also involved tracing their origins back to the Church's founding prophet, Joseph Smith, whose prophetic mantle became central for Mormon writers in the twentieth century who hoped to shore up questions on the historical authenticity of Mormon doctrine, practice, and authority.

Origin of the "Reorganized" Church: The Question of Succession (1907)[47]

Origin of the "Reorganized" Church (1907) was Smith's first published work following his appointment as Assistant Church Historian in 1906. Continuing his defense against polemics from RLDS missionaries traveling throughout Utah, the book borrowed its form from a two-part lecture series he presented at the Weber Stake Tabernacle in Ogden, Utah,

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46. John Powell, "The Church Rejected—When?" *Improvement Era* 7, no. 11 (September 1904): 817–28.

47. Joseph F. Smith Jr. [Joseph Fielding Smith], *Origin of the "Reorganized" Church: The Question of Succession* (Salt Lake City: Skelton Publishing Co., 1907) (139 pp.).

in the spring of 1907.[48] Smith offered the lectures at the invitation of his father-in-law, Lewis Shurtliff, who was president of the Weber Stake.[49]

In addition to responding to the proselytizing of RLDS missionaries, LDS officials expressed growing concerns about the *Salt Lake Tribune,* which, since the election of Reed Smoot to the United States Senate, had seemingly redoubled its efforts to discredit the Church. The *Tribune*'s weekly vitriol was catalyzed further when former Utah senators Frank J. Cannon and Thomas Kearns began running a series of editorials to turn public opinion against the elected Smoot while hearings to debate his retention in the Senate continued in Congress.[50]

When Smith spoke before the Mormon congregation gathered at the Weber Stake Tabernacle, he spoke generally in the "spirit of self-defense" (3–4). He also had a specific target audience in mind: those whose "faith . . . may be weak" (3). He appeared concerned that the sizeable press generated by the RLDS Church in recent years was distorting the RLDS Church's still relatively negligible size among Mormon groups. Despite the assertion by some detractors that LDS membership was in decline after the exodus to the Great Basin in 1847, Smith's projections based on census data showed little sign of a significant apostasy. The Utah-based Church was still the largest within the Latter-day Saint tradition, and a comparative few, according to Smith, joined the RLDS Church at its organization in 1860.

Smith was confident that the Church's historical claims could stand up against what he believed was the inauthentic account of the RLDS Church. Like his fellow Assistant Church Historian B. H. Roberts, he felt that the faithful retelling of Mormon history could both teach the

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48. Smith witnessed or engaged in a debate with RLDS officials at the Historian's Office on a few occasions. RLDS missionary Amos Milton Chase debated Smith on the origins and divinity of LDS teachings on plural marriage in January 1904. Smith recorded the exchange in his journal. See Joseph Fielding Smith, Journal, January 14, 1904, and August 19, 1903, Church History Library, Salt Lake City.

49. Susa Young Gates, "On the Altar of Motherhood," *Improvement Era* 11, no. 7 (May 1908): 540–43.

50. Smith and Stewart, *Life of Joseph Fielding Smith,* 128, 138–39, 145–47. See also Frank J. Cannon, *Selected Frank J. Cannon Salt Lake Tribune Editorials during the Reed Smoot Hearings, 1940–1907, and Snippets from Frank J. Cannon's Campaign against Mormonism during the 1910s,* ed. Michael Harold Paulos and Kenneth L. Cannon II (n.p., 2010).

principles of the gospel and validate the broader mission and claims of the Church.[51] Smith spent the bulk of his initial lecture recounting the origins of the RLDS Church (11–19), and here partially unveiled his historical methodology: history served a confessional purpose as a tool for evaluating truth claims and locating precisely where divine loyalty rested among the two Mormon traditions. "Alleged" revelation aside, history, according to Smith's reading, made it "quite evident" that the RLDS Church was the "offspring" of the church of James Strang (29–30).[52] The RLDS Church thus lacked any claim on the LDS Church's miraculous origin story, which by the presidency of Joseph F. Smith had become so enmeshed with the identity of the main body of Saints as to function as both sacred narrative and collective memory.

In his second lecture, Smith systematically challenged the RLDS Church's contention that the ecclesiastical office of president and prophet should remain with the patriarchal line of Joseph Smith. He talked his audience through three themes—the scriptural law of lineage, Joseph Smith III's alleged appointment by Joseph Smith, and his subsequent ordination—performing scriptural exegesis along the way using the Doctrine and Covenants, a text both Mormon traditions regarded as scripture. Doubting that Joseph Smith ever "'appointed,' 'blessed,' and 'ordained,'" his namesake as his successor (82), Smith investigated a variety of possible channels from which the RLDS Church might have inherited priesthood authority and the keys to administer the kingdom of God (59). He concluded that priesthood keys to administer the Church remained with the presiding Quorum of the Twelve at the death of Joseph Smith (82–85, 136–139).

Smith proved adept at crafting his defense using RLDS Church sources like the *Saints' Herald* and the multivolume *History of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints* (16). The budding

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51. See B. H. Roberts, *Outlines of Ecclesiastical History* (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon and Sons, 1893), vi.

52. The RLDS Church did not directly break away from the movement started by James Strang, but many disaffected Strangites joined the RLDS Church after its organization in 1860. RLDS leaders refused to acknowledge Strang as a legitimate successor to Joseph Smith, and Strang died in 1856 without appointing his own successor. Vickie Cleverley Speek, "From Strangites to Reorganized Latter Day Saints: Transformations in Midwestern Mormonism, 1856–79," in *Scattering of the Saints: Schism within Mormonism,* ed. Newell G. Bringhurst and John C. Hamer (Independence, Mo.: John Whitmer Books, 2007), 141–60.

historian seemingly borrowed many of his themes from Roberts's earlier work, *Succession in the Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (1894), which Smith referenced in a later edition of his own work.[53] Beyond an impulse to add his voice to the institutional discussion on priesthood succession, the publication of *Origin of the "Reorganized" Church* suggested a settled direction for Smith's career as an institutional Mormon historian, one that would rely on history to promote and defend the Church and its leaders.

Essentials in Church History (1922)[54]

Twelve years after his call to the apostleship in 1910 and one year after his appointment as Church Historian in 1921, Smith published his most influential historical work. As a longtime employee of the Historian's Office, Smith became aware of the need for an accessible account of the Church's sacred past. Prior to the release of *Essentials*, seekers of a more complete retelling of Mormon history had few options. Interested readers could sift through fellow Assistant Church Historian B. H. Roberts's edited six volumes of *History of the Church* (completed in 1912) or seek out Roberts's serially produced column "History of The Mormon Church" in *Americana* magazine[55] in addition to other disparate volumes on isolated periods in Church history.[56] Roberts, with six years of articles chronologically retelling the Mormon past, seemed primed to author such a new history. Church leaders, however, expressed concerns about the extensive cost of a multivolume set and instead commissioned Smith to author a single volume for a general Church audience.[57]

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53. B. H. Roberts, *Succession in the Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1894). For Joseph Fielding Smith's use of B. H. Roberts's work, see Joseph F. Smith Jr. [Joseph Fielding Smith], *Origin of the "Reorganized" Church and the Question of Succession* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1909), 12, 82.

54. Joseph Fielding Smith, *Essentials in Church History* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1922) (694 pp.).

55. Previously titled *The American Historical Magazine.*

56. Davis Bitton, "B. H. Roberts as Historian," *Dialogue* 3, no. 4 (Winter 1968): 26.

57. Walker, Whittaker, and Allen, *Mormon History,* 35–36.

Essentials was released as the Church's priesthood manual for 1922, but it quickly became the premier institutional history on the LDS Church. For twenty-six editions, Church-owned Deseret Book sold ten thousand copies a year, and the book did not go out of print until after Smith's death in 1972, when

Smith set out to construct a history that could be "used for general reading, and . . . meet the requirements of a text-book in the priesthood quorums, Church schools and auxiliary organizations" (iii). In writing only the "essentials," Smith carried out a careful selection process, framing facts in such a way as to offer his target audience a faithful retelling of only the most pivotal historical moments of the Restoration. He framed the development of Mormon history with the same periodization found in prior works by Mormon authorities. In particular, Smith placed the Restoration in the context of "a falling away," or what James E. Talmage called the "great apostasy" in his influential work (7).[58] More than a decade before Talmage's work, B. H. Roberts devoted an entire section to the wholesale apostasy that plagued the early Christian church in his *Outlines of Ecclesiastical History*.[59] Unlike Talmage and Roberts, however, Smith had little use for sources beyond the LDS scriptural canon to prove the "necessity for a restoration" (22). He attempted to maneuver seamlessly between history and scripture, theology and reality. In fact, Smith wedded the pairs so closely that the entire history of the Church seemed to carry a sense of divine inevitability. For example, Smith expressed gratitude to the "great souls who conducted the Protestant Revolution" (21). He credited the Protestant Reformation that occurred centuries before the founding of the Church with preparing "the way for one who was yet to come with a mission of restoration and everlasting power" (21). It was clear to Smith after reviewing the early history of his ancestors that Joseph Smith "was prepared to direct the work of . . . the building of the Kingdom of God" (24).

The unfolding of the kingdom of God in the "Dispensation of the Fulness of Times" was of the utmost concern and often overshadowed contemporary world events in Smith's narrative (303). When US history entered

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Mormon leaders commissioned the Church's Historical Department to write a new volume to take its place. Leonard J. Arrington and his counterparts in the History Division of the Church's Historical Department were tasked with publishing objective, professional historical scholarship on Mormon history. *The Story of the Latter-day Saints* (1976), written by James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, was the intended replacement volume for *Essentials,* but some Mormon leaders expressed concerns upon its release that the volume was too secular and would cause some to doubt their faith. Leonard J. Arrington, *Adventures of a Church Historian* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 139–40.

58. James E. Talmage, *The Great Apostasy: Considered in the Light of Scriptural and Secular History* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1909).

59. Roberts, *Outlines of Ecclesiastical History,* 121–228.

into *Essentials,* it served as the backdrop for the suffering and hardships of the Church's first generation. Smith also softened some of the more objectionable moments in Mormon history to avoid obscuring the Church's exceptional progress in building the kingdom of God. He could not excuse the massacre that occurred at Mountain Meadows in September 1857, "a crime . . . treacherous and damnable in the extreme." Yet he laid blame for the slaughter of the emigrant wagon train from Arkansas predominantly with John D. Lee and "enraged Indians aided by a number of white men" (511). Smith failed to tie the "white men," other than Lee, to Mormon stakes in southern Utah, and Smith wrote that the participants only committed the heinous murders because they were "lured to the meadows" by the Indians and seemed to partake of the "frenzy of the redmen" (515). It is unlikely Smith consulted the archives of the Historian's Office on the massacre, and he seemed content with leaving Mormon militiamen in southern Utah out of his retelling.[60]

The majority of *Essentials* (574 pages) focuses on the era of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young, describing the First Vision, the coming forth of the Book of Mormon, the growing organization of the Church, and colonizing in the Rocky Mountains. Later chapters were divided by the administrations of each subsequent Church President beginning with President John Taylor. His first edition concluded with the administration of Heber J. Grant, and future editions were updated to include the administration of the current Church president (vi). For the final posthumous edition, published in 1973, Church leaders asked the Historical

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60. Smith was later accused by one historian of the massacre of ignoring the records in the Historian's Office "of which he is the custodian." More use of the Church's records by Smith, she felt, would have yielded the conclusion that the massacre "was definitely *not* the crime of a single individual, nor the responsibility of only one man." Juanita Brooks, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1950), 160. Previously, in *Blood Atonement and the Origin of Plural Marriage* (1905), Smith boldly declared "The 'Mormon' people were *not* guilty of the Mountain Meadows massacre" and cited Hubert H. Bancroft's *History of Utah* (1889) to lay blame solely with Lee. Smith, *Blood Atonement and the Origin of Plural Marriage,* 44. In 2008, Richard E. Turley Jr., then Assistant Church Historian and Recorder for the LDS Church, and former historians for the LDS Historical Department, Ronald W. Walker and Glen M. Leonard, reversed Smith's conclusion in the opening to their book, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows*: "The perpetrators [of the massacre] were members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, aided by Indians." Walker, Turley, and Leonard, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows,* iv.

Department to update the book one final time to include the administrations of Joseph Fielding Smith and Harold B. Lee.[61] Smith's conceptualization of twentieth-century Mormon history organized by prophetic administration was a convention that lingered in LDS curriculum for another four decades after his death.[62]

Based on the popularity of *Essentials* in the middle decades of the twentieth century, the volume's appeal outweighed limitations in its content and historical perspective. By the 1970s, when Deseret Book considered replacing *Essentials,* the book had been republished in over twenty unique editions.[63] Designed as curriculum, *Essentials* was as much a theological treatise as it was a work of history, which might explain its broad appeal. Firmly rooted in the institutional documentary record, the book trailed closely the movements of LDS leaders over the first century of the Church's existence (at the expense of a more social or cultural history, which Smith lacked training to write). His operating paradigm accounted for God's direct control over the critical moments in Mormon history played out by a cast of characters either for the kingdom of God or against it. As Church Historian he was writing to arm his readers with a cohesive and readable narrative that fit with the Church's mission and could be used to fend off its most vocal critics.

Life of Joseph F. Smith, Sixth President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (1938)[64]

Twenty years after the death of his prophet-father, Smith published a biography for the enjoyment of Smith family descendants; yet, the detail with which Smith approached the life of his father carried wider implications for understanding the early-twentieth-century Church (5). Smith wrote as a historian and a son, a Mormon leader and a member of the Smith family. The end product was a positive sketch of the Church's

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61. Arrington, *Adventures of a Church Historian,* 139.

62. For example, from 1998 until 2017, LDS Melchizedek Priesthood and Relief Society classes taught from a series of manuals entitled *Teachings of Presidents of the Church*. Each year, a different Church president's life and teachings were studied, until the series concluded in 2017 with *Teachings of Presidents of the Church: Gordon B. Hinckley.*

63. Gibbons, *Joseph Fielding Smith,* 224; Arrington, *Adventures of a Church Historian,* 139.

64. Joseph Fielding Smith, *Life of Joseph F. Smith, Sixth President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1938) (490 pp.).

sixth President that defended the Church and marked its arrival as a modern, increasingly global organization.

Life of Joseph F. Smith opened with a lengthy discussion of Smith family genealogy. Smith had already proven himself well versed in the details of his family tree. "The Lord had work for" Joseph Smith Sr.'s family to perform, and Smith hoped to show that they were "loyal to . . . the Prophet Joseph Smith and died with a firm testimony of the restoration" (32, 36). He was especially committed to documenting the loyalty of Hyrum Smith, his paternal grandfather. *Life of Joseph F. Smith* narrated Hyrum's rise to Assistant President of the Church following Oliver Cowdery's excommunication in 1838 (67–68). This appointment placed Hyrum as "a prophet, seer, revelator and president of the Church." Therefore, Hyrum and Joseph Smith "jointly held the keys of this dispensation" (68).[65] In case Hyrum's pivotal role in the administration of the early Restoration was in doubt, Smith reprinted discourses given by Hyrum to the Latter-day Saints in Nauvoo (chapters 6 and 8). Smith's descendants, through the line of Hyrum, stood in stark contrast with the RLDS descendants of Joseph Smith, who were "engaging with the enemies of the Church in the futile endeavor to destroy" the Restoration (355).

Smith's biography of his father also reveals more about the growth and transformation of the twentieth-century Church. Still reeling from the effects of federal prosecution for polygamy in the late nineteenth century, the Church remained in dire financial straits, but emerged

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65. In January 1841, Hyrum Smith was appointed to replace Oliver Cowdery as a "prophet, and a seer, and a revelator" to "act in concert" with Joseph Smith. Cowdery had been ordained as a second elder of the Church on April 6, 1830. Hyrum Smith was also chosen to "take the office of Priesthood and Patriarch" for the Church (D&C 124:91–94; D&C 20:3). William Clayton recorded a clarification on Hyrum's status made by Joseph Smith in a July 1843 sermon: "Hyrum held the office of prophet to the church by birth-right & he was going to have a reformation and the saints must regard Hyrum for he has authority." Shortly after the death of Joseph and Hyrum, Brigham Young commented at a conference in Nauvoo that "if Hyrum had lived he would not have stood between Joseph and the Twelve, but he would have stood for Joseph . . . [and] would have acted for Joseph." Andrew H. Hedges, Alex D. Smith, and Richard Lloyd Anderson, eds., *Journals, Volume 2: December 1841–April 1843,* The Joseph Smith Papers (Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, 2011), xviii–xix; Andrew H. Hedges, Alex D. Smith, and Brent M. Rogers, eds. *Journals, Volume 3: May 1843–June 1844,* The Joseph Smith Papers (Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, 2015), 61; "October Conference Minutes," *Times and Seasons* 5, no. 19 (October 15, 1844): 683.

from the presidency of Joseph F. Smith on improved financial footing. As described by Smith, his father's presidency was marked by "great prosperity and advancement in the Church" (420). Joseph F. Smith presided over the dedication of land for two temples outside of the continental United States, the first in Cardston, Alberta, and the second in Laie, Hawaii (421–23). He also oversaw the construction of the Church Office Building (later renamed the Church Administration Building), "a suitable, modern" structure capable of housing officers of a growing, global Church. Joseph F. Smith was also instrumental in the purchase of multiple Church history sites and the creation of a monument at Joseph Smith's birthplace, in Sharon, Vermont, commemorating the prophet's one-hundredth birthday in 1905 (353–70, 427–29). Smith also took an unprecedented trip to Europe as Church President to visit missions and congregations. According to Smith, his father "in all of these lands . . . bore testimony to the divine mission of Joseph Smith" (396–97). In sum, his father oversaw an era where "missionary work abroad" was spreading rapidly and "Zion at home has been strengthened" (485).

A few potentially sensitive events in Joseph F. Smith's life were only peripherally discussed or, in some cases, granted a reasoned explanation. For example, Smith only briefly addresses the challenges in his father's first marriage to Levira Clark, citing Levira's health, her husband's prolonged stay in the mission field, and family "interference" as the reasons behind the separation (230–31). Perhaps the most turbulent period of Smith's administration, the congressional debates over the seating of Mormon Apostle Reed Smoot (1904–1907) were referenced but not granted extensive treatment. Smith outlined the debates that raged in Congress, but he did not explain the role his father played in the hearings. Instead, he celebrated the nationwide publicity that prompted some to join the Church (329–33).

Smith's biography continued his father's efforts to reorient the attention of the Saints toward the founding prophet Joseph Smith. He attempted to shape collective Mormon memory of Joseph F. Smith by portraying him as a twentieth-century manifestation of the Restoration's first prophet: "Never since the days of the Prophet Joseph Smith . . . has there arisen . . . any teacher or authority who possessed a clearer understanding of the revealed truth . . . as did President Joseph F. Smith. The mantle of the Prophet Joseph Smith rested mightily upon him" (407). *Life of Joseph F. Smith* was a passionate defense of the modern Church and a reminder to the Saints that the spiritual power and inspired leadership experienced in the early Church remained despite modernizations

in doctrine and practice, including the relatively recent transition away from plural marriage. Smith's portrayal was devotional to be sure, but by tapping into the prophetic legacy of the Smith family, Smith showed the continuity of the foundational doctrinal innovations of Joseph Smith's restoration and steadied his father's legacy in an era of change.[66]

Church History and Modern Revelation, 4 vols. (1946–1949)[67]

By 1946, when Smith published the first of four volumes in the series *Church History and Modern Revelation,* he was already distinguished for his expansive knowledge of Church history. He had in the last decade plucked from the voluminous *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* the most important teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith for a one-volume reference work (1938, *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith,* discussed below). The Church Historian seemed the natural choice to develop curricula dealing with Church history and Joseph Smith's revelations "for the study of the Melchizedek Priesthood Quorums" (1:v). In addition to a number of other apostolic duties, Smith chaired the General Church Melchizedek Priesthood Committee and, with his fellow brethren, expressed growing concern that many Latter-day Saints possessed a weak understanding of Mormon history and doctrine.[68]

Smith and his fellow General Authorities may have felt a responsibility to safeguard Church members against the dawning of a new era in the study of Mormon History, since by this time both insiders and outsiders were reevaluating the life of Joseph Smith. National historian Fawn Brodie, for example, had published her controversial *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith* (1945) just a year before the release of the first volume of *Church History and Modern Revelation.* Smith's four-volume work carried significant traces of the standard historical narrative generated by Joseph Smith's team of scribes beginning in 1838. Rather than penning a fresh institutional version, Smith leaned heavily on the late B. H. Roberts's edited *History of the Church* (known as the *Documentary History of the Church*) for his source material. George F. Richards, President of the Quorum of the Twelve and drafter of the

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66. For a similar argument see, Kathleen Flake, *The Politics of American Religious Identity: The Seating of Senator Reed Smoot, Mormon Apostle* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 109–37.

67. Joseph Fielding Smith, *Church History and Modern Revelation,* 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1946–49) (833 pp.).

68. Gibbons, *Joseph Fielding Smith,* 368.

introduction to the multivolume work, invited priesthood holders to "have in their possession the volumes" of the *Documentary History of the Church* when they attended quorum meetings (1:v). The utility of Smith's multivolume account is found in its relative conciseness and its pedagogical capacity to reimmerse the Latter-day Saints in their past, further solidifying institutional memory.

The "momentous times" the Saints were living in called for a more prepared body of believers who could "guard against the introduction of false doctrines, theories and practices into the Church" (1:v). An intellectually inoculated membership would be immune to the "evil designing persons" who sought to "lead away many after them" (1:v). Thus, Smith never intended *Church History and Modern Revelation* to be a comprehensive retelling of Mormon history; instead, the structure of the volumes suggested a genuine effort on the part of Smith to simplify the historical record for lay instructors responsible for teaching in priesthood quorums. Each chapter began with a lesson outline supported by references and suggested readings. Smith confined his commentary to "Notes" sections, where he offered limited historical analysis and often injected primary source quotations and outside perspectives.

In some ways Smith modeled what became the modern curricular form used by the Church Educational System and Church auxiliary and priesthood courses. With few exceptions, lessons proceeded chronologically through Church history, pausing to consider Joseph Smith's revelations as canonized in the Doctrine and Covenants. Revelations were placed in their respective historical contexts, but their content upstaged extensive use of the historical record. Divine revelation to God's prophets provided the substance of Smith's Church history, infusing it with teachable moments for a modern audience. For example, when Smith discussed "The Vision" recorded in Doctrine and Covenants 76, he briefly described the circumstances in which the revelation was received and then devoted nearly two entire chapters to its revolutionary doctrine (see chapters 54 and 55). "The Vision," he believed, was unsurpassed in its "sublimity and clearness in relation to the eternal destiny of the human family" (2:50). The revelation's unique doctrine made it of the highest importance, "a priceless heritage" that "could not come from the mind of man" (2:50). For Smith, history was made when God entered into the lives of his children; the Church Historian's dual subject matter—Church history *and* modern revelation—was in reality a single, unified topic.

What *Church History and Modern Revelation* evinced most was an institutional shift toward retrenchment, more fully under way in the

Church by midcentury. Suspicious of modern intellectual and secular theories, Church leaders, with Smith and others at the vanguard, initiated a move away from accenting parallels between the Church and the outside world to focus more insularly on scripture and prophetic counsel.[69] Smith attempted to focus the course of study in the Church's seminaries and institutes of religion and in its Sunday instruction to align more closely with modern revelation and the foundational teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith.[70]

Part II: Theological Works

For most of his professional and ecclesiastical career as Church Historian, Joseph Fielding Smith occupied dual roles, moving seamlessly between narrator of the past and theologian. In 1910, Smith was selected as an Apostle, a calling that allowed him to maintain his place at the Historian's Office but added more import to his publications, since his name now bore the title of a "special witness" of Christ (see D&C 107:23). He fulfilled his many responsibilities faithfully, but also he found it increasingly difficult to differentiate and draw boundaries around his long list of duties. Prior to his call as Church President in 1970, Smith at one point served simultaneously as a member of the Quorum of the Twelve, chairman of the Church Committee on Publications, president of the Genealogical Society of Utah, president of the Salt Lake Temple, and Church Historian. His writings reflected the diversity of tasks he absorbed for a globalizing Church.

As transformation enveloped the Church in the twentieth century, Smith honed in on a sacred narrative that located the indispensable restored truths of the gospel on an eternal timeline. Smith did the sifting work for Church members and determined which doctrines and practices had always existed and were thus nonnegotiable and irrefutable. Occasionally, some of his fellow Church leaders felt he overstepped his bounds, like when he publicized his views on evolution, expressed most completely in his book *Man: His Origin and Destiny* (1954). Nonetheless, the majority of Smith's works went unchallenged by his colleagues, which gave him great latitude in establishing an orthodox path for Latter-day Saints.

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69. Mauss, *Angel and the Beehive,* 81–99.

70. See Mauss, *Angel and the Beehive,* 81–99; Prince and Wright, *David O. McKay and the Rise of Modern Mormonism,* 45–49.

What follows is an analysis of the thrust of Smith's theological works. In addition to situating his readers on the path to eternal progression, Smith championed family history and temple work as well as tracked the appearance of signs foretelling the Second Coming of Jesus Christ. He warned of the imminence of the end times during a period when millenarianism was beginning to wane in Mormondom.[71] What Smith proposed to the twentieth-century Church is a way of reading religious performance within the context of a simplified sacred history and eternal destiny.

Salvation Universal (1912)[72] and *Elijah the Prophet and His Mission* (1924)[73]

Smith's interest in genealogy started well before he published the pamphlet *Salvation Universal* on behalf of the Genealogical Society of Utah in 1912. Smith was a founding member of the Society, served as secretary for the organization, and, in 1910, became associate editor of the *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine.*[74] Smith later served as president of the Genealogical Society of Utah for nearly three decades beginning in 1934 as an Apostle.[75] In conjunction with his duties for the Society, Smith toured libraries in Chicago, New York, Boston, and Washington, DC, to learn the best practices for managing a genealogy library.[76] He also published regular columns for the *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* and the *Improvement Era.*[77]

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71. Grant Underwood, *The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 141–42; Ethan R. Yorgason, *Transformation of the Mormon Culture Region* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 165.

72. Joseph Smith Jr. [Joseph Fielding Smith], *Salvation Universal* (Salt Lake City: Genealogical Society of Utah, 1912) (32 pp.).

73. Joseph Fielding Smith, *Elijah the Prophet and His Mission* (Salt Lake City: Genealogical Society of Utah, 1924) (32 pp.). In a 1957 reprinting of *Salvation Universal* by Deseret Book, the pamphlet was combined with Smith's *Elijah the Prophet and His Mission* (1924) into a single book.

74. The Genealogical Society of Utah was founded in 1894. James B. Allen, Jessie L. Embry, and Kahlile B. Mehr, *Hearts Turned to the Fathers: A History of the Genealogical Society of Utah, 1894–1994* (Provo, Utah: BYU Studies, 1995), 11. See *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 1 (January 1910).

75. McConkie, *True and Faithful,* 39.

76. Smith and Stewart, *Life of Joseph Fielding Smith,* 150–51.

77. The column was first published in the November 1909 edition of the *Improvement Era* and continued to be published in subsequent editions until March 1910. See Joseph F. Smith Jr. [Joseph Fielding Smith], "Salvation Universal," *Improvement Era* 13, no. 1 (November 1909): 38–45; Joseph Fielding Smith,

Salvation Universal laid out the LDS plan of salvation and responded to general criticism that the Church maintained an exclusive hold on salvation for the living and the dead (7). Smith's notions on salvation did not amount to Christian universalism in its truest sense. "Certain laws must be observed, and ordinances complied with," wrote Smith; yet Mormons, in Smith's estimation, "are broader and more liberal in our teachings than the believers in the faith-only theory of salvation" (7–8).[78] Vicarious ordinances for the dead played a crucial role in this more liberal view. Ordinances performed through the holy priesthood for the living and the dead were the only way in which salvation could be offered to the entire human family. These publications also indicated that Smith believed the Saints were not doing enough to seek out and redeem their family lines.

Smith began to develop a significant corpus of work on family history from talks he gave to Mormon wards and stakes as well as for the Genealogical Society and the Daughters of Utah Pioneers.[79] Smith specifically prepared detailed remarks on Elijah for a public lecture sponsored by the Genealogical Society in October 1920 and repackaged them for his 1924 book, *Elijah the Prophet and His Mission*.[80]

When Smith stood before the congregation in the Assembly Hall to speak on family history, he did so not just as a prominent member of the Genealogical Society or out of loyalty to his role as Assistant Church Historian. His audience likely consisted almost entirely of Church members who would give extra weight to Smith's role as a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. He therefore seized the opportunity to instruct on matters of history and doctrine related to the salvation of humankind. Smith proved to be a capable biblical

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Elijah the Prophet and His Mission; Salvation Universal (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1957), 59.

78. Early Mormonism drew comparisons to universalism partially because of Joseph Smith's revelation, titled "The Vision," canonized in Doctrine and Covenants 76. The revelation declared "glad tidings" that "all might be saved . . . except those sons of perdition who deny the Son after the Father has revealed him" (D&C 76:40, 43). Casey Paul Griffiths, "Universalism and the Revelations of Joseph Smith," in *The Doctrine and Covenants, Revelations in Context*, ed. Andrew H. Hedges, J. Spencer Fluhman, and Alonzo L. Gaskill (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2008), 168–87.

79. Smith and Stewart, *Life of Joseph Fielding Smith*, 150–51.

80. Smith, *Elijah the Prophet and His Mission*; Joseph Fielding Smith, "Elijah the Prophet and His Mission," *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 12 (January 1921): 1–20.

scholar, recounting the history of Elijah in the Old Testament and the ancient prophet's status among the religions of the world (6–18).

Biblical history, however, was only peripheral to Smith's purpose. What mainly followed was a discussion of Elijah's mission, especially "in the dispensation of the fullness of time" (18). Smith's source text for his address was a sermon given by Joseph Smith on March 10, 1844, and reprinted in the *History of the Church*.[81] While Smith briefly quoted from the Doctrine and Covenants, he reproduced large sections of Joseph Smith's sermon, coloring the text with his own analysis. *Salvation Universal* and Smith's discourse for the Genealogical Society of Utah articulated the doctrinal underpinnings of why Latter-day Saints build temples and perform vicarious work on behalf of the dead. The doctrinal foundation Smith set forth would be reiterated in his future works and serve as a reference point for Latter-day Saints throughout the twentieth century.

The Way to Perfection: Short Discourses on Gospel Themes (1931)[82]

By 1931, close to seven years had lapsed since Smith's latest book project, which was sponsored by the Genealogical Society of Utah. *The Way to Perfection* surveyed the principles, doctrines, and history associated with "the large place salvation for the living and the dead occupies in the life of every Latter-day Saint" (3–4). He apparently experienced "much hesitation" about such a project, but after "repeated requests" and further persuasion from the board of directors of the Genealogical Society of Utah, he acquiesced (3–4). With First Presidency approval, the book provided an "authoritative" and definitive response to a "real need" among the Latter-day Saints.[83] With over ten separate printings, the book remains one of Smith's most successful endeavors. Royalties for the book, all of which Smith donated to the Genealogical Society of Utah, were still trickling in four years after his death.[84]

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81. Joseph Smith Jr., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints,* ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1912), 6:249–54; Wilford Woodruff, Journal, March 10, 1844, Church History Library; Wilford Woodruff, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833–1898, Typescript,* ed. Scott G. Kenney, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983), 2:359–66.

82. Joseph Fielding Smith, *The Way to Perfection: Short Discourses on Gospel Themes* (Salt Lake City: Genealogical Society of Utah, 1931) (365 pp.).

83. *Topical Outlines to the Way to Perfection* (Salt Lake City: Genealogical Society of Utah, [1932]), 1.

84. Gibbons, *Joseph Fielding Smith,* 370.

The Way to Perfection was advertised as a compilation of Smith's "short discourses on gospel themes" but was more accurately a fresh, cohesive creation by Smith. Like *The Progress of Man* (1936), the unofficial sequel to *The Way to Perfection*, the book was intended as a course on genealogy, but it was suitable for use more broadly in other classes throughout the Church. Unlike *The Progress of Man,* which focused more exclusively on the sojourn of humankind in the backdrop of world history, *Way to Perfection* reemphasized, as was done in LDS temples, gospel fundamentals and the history of the earth from the time of creation.

"In many respects," according to Smith, "genealogy has almost reached the status of an exact science" (3). He believed that textbooks on the topic could be prepared in such a way that they "would be almost permanent" (3). While the precise methods for conducting genealogy research remained outside of his focus, Smith's discussion of the doctrines that granted family history work its form and significance in the lives of the Latter-day Saints shared the same level of definitiveness because "the principles of the Gospel do not change" (4). Smith was ultimately concerned with the truths of the gospel as practiced "in human lives" (4). Thus, *The Way to Perfection* carried a prescriptive tone as it attempted to "dress" "old and familiar subjects" in "new clothes" and chart a definitive path to exaltation so that Latter-day Saints could "awake to their privileges and duties" (4).

In his quest to stir Church members to action, Smith reemphasized Mormon teachings on lineage and priesthood, especially as it pertained to a ban preventing those of African descent from participating in temple ordinances or holding the priesthood. In this, Smith's emphatic tone allowed his remarks to rise to the top as other Church leaders deferred to the status quo on the subject.[85] According to Smith, "our place among the tribes and nations evidently was assigned to us by the Lord" (46). He devoted an entire chapter to recounting "the saddest story in history"—the biblical account of Cain and Abel—to contrast the chosen lineage of Abraham with the cursed seed of Cain (97). To link the descendants of Cain to "the negro of the present day," Smith had to look beyond the Bible, which offered "no definite information

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85. See Lester E. Bush Jr., "Mormonism's Negro Doctrine: An Historical Overview," *Dialogue* 8, no. 1 (Spring 1973): 40–41; W. Paul Reeve, *Religion of a Different Color: Race and the Mormon Struggle for Whiteness* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 255–56.

on this question," and turn instead to the Pearl of Great Price and the teachings of Joseph Smith (103). Smith was confident that the curse pronounced on Cain's descendants did not originate with Brigham Young, but was formulated by Joseph Smith. He admitted the evidence for such a claim was sparse, but reminiscences from Church leaders who knew Joseph Smith personally supported his assertion (110). In addition, Smith recycled an earlier statement from B. H. Roberts to link the roots of the temple and priesthood restriction to the "indifference or lack of integrity" shown by the descendants of Cain in the preexistence (105).[86] On lineage and the priesthood, Smith indeed did not offer anything new, but he rearticulated a justification for the ban's existence to a new generation of Saints that gave the circulating folklore new life in the twentieth century.

Smith's teachings on blacks and the priesthood were housed neatly within the book's broader framework. Saints born into a "favored lineage" were beholden to a "higher calling" to seek out and redeem their ancestors (48, 54). For Smith, the work of redeeming the dead grew out of an understanding of the eternal family structure and God's revealed process for bringing salvation to His children. Thus, *The Way to Perfection* ultimately helped readers locate themselves within "what went before and what shall come hereafter" so that they may one day do all that was required to receive a place "with God . . . in his presence, . . . possessing the same kind of life which he possesses," and in turn "be like him" (19, 331).

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86. Smith would be more explicit on this point in *Answers to Gospel Questions,* stating that blacks were "not valiant" in the premortal existence, and, "because of their lack of obedience, they . . . came here under restrictions. One of those restrictions is that they were denied the priesthood." Joseph Fielding Smith, *Answers to Gospel Questions,* ed. Joseph Fielding Smith Jr., 5 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1966), 5:163. According to W. Paul Reeve, Smith's writings indicated "a transition" in Mormon thought on the priesthood and temple ban as "the premortal life slowly supplanted the curse of Cain justification" for the ban "even as the premortal reason experienced a modification of its own, from 'neutral' to 'less valiant.'" Reeve, *Religion of a Different Color,* 255. Scholars attribute the "pre-existence thesis" first to Orson Hyde, and it was subsequently expanded and modified by Smith. See Max Perry Mueller, *Race and the Making of the Mormon People* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017), 218–19.

The Progress of Man (1936)[87]

As expressed by Archibald F. Bennett, a longtime employee of the Genealogical Society of Utah, Smith's *The Progress of Man* was "in reality the story of man's progress in life upon this earth until he reaches his exaltation in the celestial kingdom" (5). *Progress of Man* fits within a genre of other historical works that bequeathed to Mormonism a historical theology and a consciousness through which to view world developments.[88] This historical technique was not the wholesale creation of Smith and others; the template was found in Protestant histories of Christianity and adapted to fit the LDS restoration narrative.[89]

Smith retained some of early Mormonism's fervent millenarianism. By the 1920s, the imminence of the millennium was less prevalent in the discourse of Mormon leaders, tempered by modernizing trends in the Church.[90] Nonetheless, Smith spotted in recent world events cause for contemplation about the last days. "We are living in perilous times," Smith declared. "Today we are witnesses of all . . . things" signaling the Second Coming of Jesus Christ, including "great changes in governments . . . tyranny . . . blood and carnage in the offing" (1). Smith was writing in 1936, the same year Hitler violated the Treaty of Versailles and sent troops into the demilitarized Rhineland. In consequence of these "grave conditions," the board of the Genealogical Society of Utah felt it "timely" to create a course of study detailing the history of man on earth proving that "God rules among the nations" and that Jesus Christ would soon "rule upon the earth" (1–2). The class study manual for *Progress of Man* wished all who "receive the endowment in the Temple, and to labor in behalf of the dead" to "have a thorough understanding of the history of man." The most faithful would also understand the "true government of God" and the future destiny of the earth and its inhabitants.[91]

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87. Joseph Fielding Smith, *The Progress of Man* (Salt Lake City: Genealogical Society of Utah, 1936) (530 pp.).

88. See, for example, Talmage, *Great Apostasy*; Roberts, *Outlines of Ecclesiastical History.*

89. Bowman, "James Talmage, B. H. Roberts, and Confessional History," 84.

90. John G. Turner, *The Mormon Jesus: A Biography* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 2016), 141–49.

91. *Discussion Themes for Class Studies of "The Progress of Man"* (Salt Lake City: Genealogical Society of Utah, 1937), 4.

In profiling world history in *The Progress of Man,* Smith engaged the "time of apostasy" in greater detail than any of his previous works (167). Though he rarely cites sources, his treatment of the Great Apostasy is derivative of earlier works by B. H. Roberts and James E. Talmage.[92] All three authors, borrowing from nineteenth-century historians, conceived of premodern history in three distinct periods: the Classical Period, where science, literature, and philosophy thrived; the Dark Ages, a "departure from the light of truth"; and the Renaissance, or the "revival of learning" (193, 197).[93] Smith quoted from John Addington Symonds's influential *Renaissance in Italy*: "The word 'Renaissance' has of late years received a more expanded significance than that which is implied in our English equivalent—the 'Revival of Learning.' We use it to denote the whole transition from the Middle Ages to the modern world" (197).[94] This simplified rendering of premodern history placed emphasis on the Protestant Reformation, the precursor to America's fertile religious marketplace where the Restoration blossomed. Protestant reformers, according to Smith, "God-fearing and sincere, were sent to prepare the way" for the Restoration of the gospel (237).

The upward trajectory of world civilization was evidence to Smith that God was actively preparing the landscape in which the restored gospel would emerge. Unabashed in his feelings about the Constitution or America's role in the gospel plan, Smith wholly embraced American exceptionalism, despite the Church's rocky past with its host nation. Following a discussion of colonial history and the American Revolution, Smith reprinted the Constitution in full. He believed "that the Constitution was given by inspiration of the Almighty to honorable and wise men raised up for this purpose" (335). Smith's benevolent account of US history mirrored the patriotic expressions running through the core

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92. Roberts, *Outlines of Ecclesiastical History*; Talmage, *Great Apostasy.*

93. Smith borrowed this perspective on the Middle Ages and the Renaissance from contemporary Mormon writers and from nineteenth-century Protestant theologians and historians who conceived of the Middle Ages as a period of spiritual and intellectual darkness and decline in civilization reversed only by the classical learning and advances of the Renaissance era. Current scholarship now notes significant advances during the Middle Ages and pushes back on the narrative of a "Dark Ages." Eric R. Dursteler, "Historical Periodization in the LDS Great Apostasy Narrative," in Wilcox and Young, *Standing Apart,* 23–54.

94. Quoting John Addington Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy: The Age of Despots* (New York: H. Holt, 1888), 1.

of the twentieth-century Church.[95] Acknowledging that the US government was the "best form of government" ever created, Smith detailed the more godly government to come when Christ would reign on the earth (472). His historical timeline extended into the future, and modern developments portended future prophetic fulfillments.

Progress of Man might be considered Smith's most ambitious project up to this point. His source base was varied: he drew from a number of prominent textbooks and likely relied on the expanding library of the Genealogical Society of Utah. More importantly, he demonstrated how blurred the line between history and theology could become in Mormonism. Rooted in history, *Progress of Man* nonetheless had a moral purpose and a message calculated to help the Saints contextualize their own progress toward salvation in the kingdom of God.

Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith: Taken from His Sermons and Writings (1938)[96]

The year 1938 was a productive one for Smith and the Historian's Office. In addition to finishing the biography of his father, discussed earlier, he was also compiling a volume of the most important teachings of his great-uncle Joseph Smith. It is unclear how involved Smith was in the selection and editorial process, but the volume's structure and purpose bore the perspective of the Church Historian, who felt the Latter-day Saints were drifting from the foundational teachings of the founding prophet of the Restoration. Smith was privately critical of teachers in the Church Educational System who had absorbed "too much philosophy of a worldly nature" and were acting "without regard for the revealed word of the Lord." Smith wondered, if this trajectory continued for "the next 20 years," what would "be left of the foundation laid by the Prophet Joseph Smith?"[97] He felt that the "members of the Church

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95. See, for example, Ezra Taft Benson's general conference address, "A Witness and a Warning," *Ensign* 9 (November 1979): 31–33. On Benson's patriotism and conservatism, see Patrick Q. Mason, "Ezra Taft Benson and Modern (Book of) Mormon Conservatism," in *Out of Obscurity: Mormonism since 1945,* ed. Patrick Q. Mason and John G. Turner (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 63–80.

96. Joseph Fielding Smith, *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith: Taken from His Sermons and Writings as They Are Found in the Documentary History and Other Publications of the Church and Written or Published in the Days of the Prophet's Ministry* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1938) (410 pp.).

97. Smith and Stewart, *Life of Joseph Fielding Smith*, 211–12.

quite generally desire to know what the Prophet Joseph Smith" said on "important subjects" (3). Prior to the publication of *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith,* Smith submitted the manuscript to the First Presidency for their review and approval (3). *Teachings* received the sanction of Mormon leaders, which meant the book and its contents became the authorized version of the founding prophet's teachings. While *Teachings* was not explicitly historical in nature, Smith's training influenced the work's overall content and tone. His compilation aimed to make available the discourses and writings of Joseph Smith found in sources "not accessible for general use" (3).

 Teachings was not without a precursor. In 1912, Edwin F. Parry published *Joseph Smith's Teachings* as a missionary tract.[98] He organized his tract by alphabetical topic, pulling his source material from the expansive *History of the Church*. In Smith's opinion, Parry's small volume stirred public interest for more of Joseph Smith's writings. Rather than following Parry's topical organization, Smith structured his volume by periods, proceeding through Joseph Smith's teachings in chronological order. His volume did not involve extensive research from the corpus of documents managed by the Historian's Office. The source base was still more expansive than Parry's by including early Church periodicals such as *The Evening and the Morning Star,* the *Times and Seasons,* the *Far West Record,* and the *Messenger and Advocate.* Smith also relied on the Journal History of the Church compiled by Assistant Church Historian Andrew Jenson, the unpublished manuscript history of the Church, and the print volumes of *History of the Church* (i).[99]

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 98. Edwin F. Parry, *Joseph Smith's Teachings: A Classified Arrangement of the Doctrinal Sermons and Writings of the Great Latter-day Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1912) (192 pp.).

 99. In 1838, Joseph Smith with the assistance of Sidney Rigdon, George W. Robinson, and, later, James Mullholland, began work on a manuscript history of the Church. The project was not finished until 1856, when George A. Smith and Wilford Woodruff extended the manuscript through August 1844. It was published as the "History of Joseph Smith" in the *Times Seasons* in Nauvoo until February 1846 and continued in Utah in the *Deseret News* beginning in November 1851. B. H. Roberts's seven-volume *History of the Church* (1902–12, 1932) relied heavily on the manuscript, but Roberts also made extensive silent revisions and updates to the history. "Introduction to History, 1838–1856 (Manuscript History of the Church)," Joseph Smith Papers, http://www.josephsmithpapers.org/doc/introduction-to-history-1838-1856-manuscript-history-of-the-church. For an index of original sources for the material found in *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith,* see "Sources for *Teachings of the*

Though he footnoted sparingly, Smith found space to explain Joseph Smith's words using the standard works and historical context. For example, he used an 1834 statement by Joseph Smith concerning members who failed to "comply with and obey" the Word of Wisdom to expound upon a brief 1838 statement on the same topic (117). Smith also relied on the historical abilities of the late B. H. Roberts. He printed in full the entire funeral sermon known as the "King Follett Discourse," delivered by Joseph Smith on April 7, 1844, using Roberts to explain some of the sermon's more complex doctrinal elements (342–62). He also quoted a 1909 *Improvement Era* article in which Roberts annotated the King Follett Discourse as it appeared in the *Times and Seasons.*[100]

Until the Church's publication of *Presidents of the Church: Joseph Smith* (2007), Smith's compilation *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* remained the most influential compilation of the sermons and writings of the Church's founder. The volume's intention to "promote faith among the members of the Church" made it a popular resource for teachers and students in seminaries and institutes (4). Smith's *Teachings* also provided a discursive backdrop to his own presidency as he attempted to focus the Church on the founding prophet's teachings.

The Signs of the Times: A Series of Discussions (1942)[101]

The content of Smith's next published work came from a six-part lecture series he gave in fall 1942. Just four months before Smith gave the first lecture before a packed crowd at the Lion House in downtown Salt Lake City, the United States achieved its first significant military victory in World War II, defeating the Japanese in a naval battle at Midway in June 1942. The US was in the throes of war, and Smith's mind was weighed down with the conflict that had whisked his enlisted son across the world. Smith's doctrinal and historical prowess, well known among the Latter-day Saints by 1942, had made him the natural choice for a lecture series dealing with the signs of the times. Smith's earlier writings showcased a propensity for millenarian thinking as he surveyed the world scene and uncovered signs that the Second Coming of Jesus Christ

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Prophet Joseph Smith," Joseph Smith Papers, http://www.josephsmithpapers .org/articles/sources-for-teachings-of-js-by-joseph-fielding-smith.

100. B. H. Roberts, "The King Follett Discourse," *Improvement Era* 12, no. 3 (January 1909): 169–91.

101. Joseph Fielding Smith, *The Signs of the Times: A Series of Discussions* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1942) (142 pp.).

was approaching.[102] Beginning in about 1909, Smith decided to comb through newspapers and magazines to track the number of "calamities, destructions, plagues" that had occurred throughout the world, at the encouragement of his prophet-father. He wrote of his "astonishment" that, according to his informal study, the "commotions among men" were increasing steadily since the 1893 completion of the Salt Lake Temple (99). His conclusion suggested that at least some Church leaders were adjusting their position on the Millennium's imminence: the end was not immediately at hand, but the earth and its inhabitants were participants in a predictable declension narrative that would result in the earth's destruction and the ushering in of the kingdom of God.

Smith began his six-part lecture series at the Lion House, which served as a social center for the Young Women's Mutual Improvement Association.[103] His first discourse filled the building to capacity, forcing subsequent lectures to be held at nearby Barratt Hall, a building erected for the Latter-day Saints' University. The lectures were designed to raise funds for planned renovations on the Lion House. Demand and interest were high, prompting Smith to publish the talks in paperback form by December 1942.[104]

Smith attracted some critics with his literalist interpretations of scripture. For example, one of his lectures referenced a neighbor who appeared "almost . . . angry" at his predictions of the impending destruction awaiting the earth, which Smith based on a perceived correlation between modern events and scriptural prophecy, especially given events then occurring in Europe in the build up to World War II (99). Many of Smith's critics took exception with his apocalyptic predictions, accusing him of voicing errant judgments a loving God would never deliberately impose on his children (78–79). Smith, however, continued to build off of the apocalypticism the wartime seemed to engender, warning the unrighteous to repent or the "judgments of the Lord [would] overtake them."[105]

Beyond a special interest in the signs of the times or his versatility with LDS scripture, Smith seemed to genuinely long for the Second Coming of Jesus Christ. Smith remarked in one of his lectures: "I am praying for the end of the world because I want a better world. I want

102. Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible,* 133–41.

103. "Lion House Social Center Organizes Many New Classes," *Deseret News,* January 14, 1933, iii.

104. Gibbons, *Joseph Fielding Smith,* 345.

105. Gibbons, *Joseph Fielding Smith,* 312.

the coming of Christ. I want the reign of peace. I want the time to come when every man can live in peace and in the spirit of faith, humility and prayer" (149). For Smith, both the past and the future were known to God and could be found out through revelation. Once known, it became his "duty . . . to raise the warning voice" (108).

The Restoration of All Things (1945)[106]

In 1944, as World War II continued to ravage Europe, the Pacific, and Asia, Smith took on a new assignment. Accustomed to lecturing before congregations on Temple Square and elsewhere, Smith was invited to participate in the weekly radio series "Sunday Evening from Temple Square" to reach a larger Mormon audience. The half-hour program broadcasted by Church-owned KSL featured a lecture and special musical numbers. Church leaders relieved Smith of his travel to far-flung stake conferences for the duration of the series so that he could remain in Salt Lake City and focus more exclusively on preparing polished sermons for the broadcast.[107]

Since the 1920s, the Church had used radio as a public medium for sharing and defending the message of the Restoration. In 1935, Mormon leaders established the Radio, Publicity, and Mission Literature Committee to produce scripts for film and radio programs.[108] The committee helped produce "Sunday Evening from Temple Square," featuring Smith's broadcasts. Smith titled his lecture series "The Restoration of All Things" and used that general theme to address a wide range of topics that included "The Dispensation of the Fulness of Times," "The Restored Church," "The Redemption of Judah," "The Coming of Elijah," and "Salvation for the Dead." His weekly radio program aired on Sunday evenings from the beginning of June until the end of December 1944. The depth and breadth of the lectures and the short period of time in which they were created marked an impressive achievement for Smith. Response to the lectures was overwhelmingly positive. Transcripts of the broadcasts were mailed out by the thousands each week to meet

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106. Joseph Fielding Smith, *The Restoration of All Things* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1945) (334 pp.).

107. Gibbons, *Joseph Fielding Smith,* 355–56.

108. Matthew Porter Wilcox, "The Resources and Results of the Radio, Publicity, and Mission Literature Committee: 1935–1942" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 2013), 67–69.

requests, and then compiled into a stand-alone collection titled *The Restoration of All Things* in 1945.[109]

The ongoing war influenced the tone and content of the lectures. According to Smith, Church members were "living in the final dispensation of the world's history" (11). The Lord was "gathering and restoring in one—or in unity—all things in Christ" in preparation for his coming (19). In his opening lecture, Smith declared the prophecies concerning "the calamities, wars and tribulations which were to precede" the Second Coming "now at hand" (11). The war, however, was entirely avoidable, according to Smith: "Men have loved darkness rather than light and the consequences of such action is now being felt by every nation, tongue and people." Beyond the civil discord and fraught politics from which the war emerged, nations lacked peace because they were willfully disregarding the mission and message of Jesus Christ (283).

Smith was also aware that the KSL radio signal transmitted his lectures into the homes of members of other faiths living throughout the Intermountain West. Thus, he offered a defense of the Church and an invitation. On August 27, 1944, Smith wished to "address . . . particularly . . . all non-believers in Joseph Smith" (121). Smith used English clergyman William Paley's *Natural Theology* (1802) to draw parallels between the original establishment of Christianity and the founding of the Church. "In every respect," Smith contended, Joseph Smith and his followers "filled the requirements of Dr. Paley's test of genuineness" (126–27). In mixing biblical literalism with reason and rational theology, Smith mounted a defense of the Prophet that took cues from the late Apostles James E. Talmage and John A. Widtsoe. His apologetics, however, never strayed too far from scripture and history. To outsiders, the founding prophet's religious claims led naturally to his indictment as an impostor; for Smith, history offered the best chance of exonerating him.

Smith also presented to nonbelievers and Mormon doubters a pathway for knowing the truth of the Restoration. By the mid-twentieth century, proselyting copies of the Book of Mormon were printed with Moroni 10:3–5 prominently placed just inside the front cover, offering an institutionally sanctioned path for knowing the "truth of all things."[110] According to Smith, "Thousands have put [Moroni's] promise to a test."

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109. Gibbons, *Joseph Fielding Smith,* 355–56.

110. Philip L. Barlow, "Mind and Spirit in Mormon Thought," in *The Oxford Handbook of Mormonism,* ed. Terryl L. Givens and Philip L. Barlow (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 236–42.

Smith was "one of these" who gained a testimony by "the voice of his Spirit that . . . this book is verily true" (88). In his estimation, determining the veracity of Mormon truth claims could be collapsed into one singular choice—the Church was either entirely true or entirely false. His lectures, therefore, vocalized a more systematized Mormon theology, but they also assigned listeners an errand grounded in the Restoration's revelatory roots, where, like the young Joseph, the honest seeker could ask for and receive a testimony of the Church.

The Restoration of All Things, in the tradition of B. H. Roberts, James E. Talmage, and others, presented a highlight reel of the notable in Mormon doctrine. So thorough a survey of Mormon doctrine primed Smith for later more exhaustive multivolume attempts at defining and ordering LDS theology.

Man: His Origin and Destiny (1954)[111]

In the 1920s, one of Smith's fellow Assistant Church Historians, B. H. Roberts imagined a blended work of history and theology that reconciled the revealed gospel plan—from the creation of the world to the death and resurrection of all people—with recent advances in science. By September 1928, he had produced approximately forty-three chapters of a manuscript he titled *The Truth, the Way, the Life.* Roberts declared this latest volume "the most important work that I have yet contributed to the Church, the six-volume *Comprehensive History of the Church* not omitted," and viewed his manuscript as the culmination of over fifty years of Church service and gospel study.[112] Roberts authored the manuscript as a curriculum for the Seventies quorums, a task he had undertaken before with his *Seventy's Course in Theology* (1907), but he also suggested that if publication was expedited, the book could serve as a course of study for all Melchizedek Priesthood quorums in 1929.[113]

A committee of Mormon leaders, however, invited Roberts to revise portions of his manuscript that did not square with officially sanctioned LDS doctrine. Roberts resolutely declined their request. The suggested revisions included his speculative theory on "pre-Adamites," a species

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111. Joseph Fielding Smith, *Man: His Origin and Destiny* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1954) (563 pp.).

112. B. H. Roberts to Heber J. Grant, February 9, 1931, quoted in James B. Allen, "The Story of *The Truth, the Way, the Life,*" in Roberts, *Truth, the Way, the Life,* 692, 708.

113. Sherlock, "'We Can See No Advantage,'" 63.

of humans who allegedly existed before the book of Genesis chronicled the creation of Adam and Eve.[114] Biblical literalists like Smith balked at Roberts's attempt to bring the traditional biblical record into accordance with new evidence in the fields of geology and organic evolution.[115] In April 1930, Smith publicly denounced Robert's "Pre-Adamite Theory" before attendees at a genealogy conference.[116] Roberts was outraged when Smith's address appeared in print, and he demanded an opportunity to defend his manuscript before the Quorum of the Twelve. In January 1931, Smith and Roberts presented their opposing views at a meeting of the Apostles, confident that the collective attention of the Church leadership could produce a resolution.[117] The First Presidency determined in April 1931, however, that there was "no advantage to be gained by a continuation of the discussion," and both Roberts and Smith were asked to cease public discussion of controversial topics.[118]

The moratorium held steady for over two decades until the 1950s, when John A. Widtsoe, the last of the trained scientists then in the Quorum of the Twelve, passed away.[119] Smith retained the materials he used to undermine Roberts's manuscript and, sensing that some members in the quorum might be more sympathetic toward his perspective, published his antievolution *Man: His Origin and Destiny* in 1954 as a "defense of the fundamental principles of the Gospel for the benefit of our youth," who were being inundated with "modern theories of so-called science and philosophy" (1). Smith wrote the book as a manual for the Church's seminaries and institutes.

As part of a five-week Church Educational System seminar at Brigham Young University held in June and July 1954, Apostle Harold B. Lee assigned Smith's work as reading to the seminary and institute teachers in attendance.[120] In addition, Smith was invited to speak and read

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114. Sherlock, "'We Can See No Advantage,'" 65.

115. Allen, "Story of *The Truth, the Way, the Life*," 694–703.

116. Joseph Fielding Smith, "Faith Leads to a Fulness of Truth and Righteousness," *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 21, no. 4 (October 1930): 147–49.

117. Allen, "Story of *The Truth, the Way, the Life*," 703–6; Larson, *Truth, the Way, the Life, an Elementary Treatise,* li–liv.

118. Sherlock, "'We Can See No Advantage,'" 70–71.

119. Prince and Wright, *David O. McKay and the Rise of Modern Mormonism,* 45.

120. Prince and Wright, *David O. McKay and the Rise of Modern Mormonism,* 47–49; Mauss, *Angel and the Beehive,* 97.

excerpts from his book at the seminar in late June. It was clear, however, that not all Mormon leaders embraced the book's antiscience message. Nearly two weeks after Smith spoke, J. Reuben Clark, a member of the First Presidency, attended the seminar and gave a talk entitled "When Are the Writings and Sermons of Church Leaders Entitled to the Claim of Being Scripture?" His sermon was not an outright public censure of Smith, but it was designed to instruct Church members on how to discern the authoritativeness of statements made by their leaders. President David O. McKay and his counselors in the First Presidency ultimately concluded that *Man: His Origin and Destiny* "should not be used as a study course in the seminaries and institutes" because it did not represent the official position of the Church on evolution or science.[121] However, Smith's book remained in print and faced few significant public challenges to its premises.

According to fellow Apostle Mark E. Petersen, who penned the book's foreword, Smith's volume was not antiscience but endeavored to "coordinate . . . the pure truth of both science and revelation" (vi). Petersen saw Smith as a "profound student of scripture" and a "deep student of science" (vi). To add stature to his scientific conclusions, Smith also invited Mormon chemist Melvin A. Cook to draft an introduction. Cook shared Smith's outlook: "Every principle of the baser sciences must square with . . . revealed truths" (viii). Such an outlook, however, made Smith selective in his sources. To "square" science with Mormon doctrine, Smith relied on two bodies of sources: the standard works and a careful selection of scientific literature informed by his antimodernist bent. For example, when Smith presented his perspective before the Quorum of the Twelve, he leaned heavily on the creationist views of geologist George McCready Price enshrined in *The New Geology* (1923). To many scientists, Price's work had obvious theoretical and factual shortfalls, all matters that scientist and Apostle James E. Talmage vocalized to Smith and fellow Church leaders in meetings about *The Truth, the Way, the Life* back in 1931.[122] Nonetheless, when *Man: His Origin and Destiny* reached print, it retained Price's conclusions bolstered by the opinions of other creationists and religious authorities who opposed higher criticism of the Bible (xv; chapter 7).

121. Prince and Wright, *David O. McKay and the Rise of Modern Mormonism,* 47–48.

122. Jeffrey E. Keller, "Discussion Continued: The Sequel to the Roberts/Smith/Talmage Affair," *Dialogue* 15, no. 1 (Spring 1982): 83.

In five chapters, Smith deconstructed the "Hypothesis of Organic Evolution," but his real enemy remained the "web of modernism" that had reached pandemic levels among religious and secular authorities, causing the erosion of the "fundamental doctrines of Christianity" (132). Modernist assumptions formed the basis of much of the "pernicious doctrine" that prompted the theory of evolution or even Roberts's musings on "Pre-Adamites" (133–34).[123] The antidogmatism of modernist thought struck at the heart of Smith's orthodoxy, which privileged modern revelation and the immutability of scripture over secular learning.[124] In chapter three, Smith proceeded through eighteen fundamental doctrines of the Church that, as "revealed truth," were not susceptible to change or modification (50–59). Smith's earlier conflict with Roberts was fueled by disparate views on who held the authority to define official Church positions. Roberts had questioned Smith's "competency to utter such dogmatism either as a scholar or as an Apostle."[125] Smith, however, believed it was his apostolic duty to systematize and preach revealed truth, for "true religion is dogmatic. All truth *is* dogmatic" (54–55, italics in original). A religious paradigm comprised of unchanging truths, according to Smith, ran counter to the "evolutionist," who dealt only in observable facts. The "scientist . . . denies . . . his religious fellows the right" to know and teach "truths, which scientifically cannot be discerned," Smith asserted (55–56). For him, incontrovertible dogma was not the sign of a weak intellectual mind or an overzealous religious authority, but the marker of authentic religion.

Thus, Smith's *Man: His Origin and Destiny* attempted to parse "true science," which could coexist with revealed truth, from its theoretical counterfeit. Smith called for a return to "the word of the Lord," which imparted an "abiding knowledge that no theory or false doctrine can destroy" (8). His antievolutionist perspective was nevertheless packaged with broader rhetoric asserting the fundamental doctrines of the

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123. Across three chapters Smith discussed "Adam's Place in the Earth's Destiny," never mentioning B. H. Roberts by name, but clearly refuting the idea that Adam was not "the first man on the earth" (see chs. 15–17).

124. It is important to note here that Smith's anti-intellectual sentiments were not the only ones on learning, especially secular learning, to operate in Mormon thought. A Joseph Smith revelation invited Latter-day Saints to "seek ye diligently and teach one another words of wisdom; yea, seek ye out of the best books words of wisdom; seek learning, even by study and also by faith" (D&C 88:118).

125. Quoted in Keller, "Discussion Continued," 81.

Church, helping his side win the day. Smith devoted three chapters to the "Doctrine of God," three chapters to the "Authenticity of the Scriptures," and several chapters to the plan of salvation. *Man: His Origin and Destiny* therefore carried broad implications for the intellectual trajectory of the Church. Its popular reception offered the final word on the Roberts/Smith debate, but it also foreshadowed a more systematized (or correlated) corpus of core doctrines that shaped the institutional message of the Church in the latter half of the twentieth century.

Part III: Compiled Works

By the 1950s, Joseph Fielding Smith's years of service for the Church surpassed over a half century, and he had amassed many sermons and writings. During the final twenty years of the Church Historian's life, family members began abridging his historical and theological publications into a format that was easily distributable to the wider Church. Taken together, the closing volumes documenting his lifework provided commentary on a spectrum of gospel themes. They contained Smith's final injunctions as he drew near to his eventual call as President of the Church and evidenced that his conservative voice had become the mouthpiece of orthodoxy. The works also collectively displayed an intrepidness that came with Smith's growing seniority in the Quorum of the Twelve. At a time when the Church was working toward correlating its curriculum and organizational structure, Smith offered his authoritative voice on what could be relied on as Mormon doctrine and practice and what could not.

Doctrines of Salvation: Sermons and Writings of Joseph Fielding Smith, 3 vols. (1954–1956)[126]

Months after Smith published his provocative *Man: His Origin and Destiny* (1954), efforts were under way to release the first of a three-volume compilation of sermons and writings spanning his then over forty-year ecclesiastical service as Church Historian and as an Apostle. His son-in-law Bruce R. McConkie, then a member of the First Council of the Seventy, was primarily responsible for gathering and organizing Smith's vast corpus of previously published writings. The expansive *Doctrines*

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126. Joseph Fielding Smith, *Doctrines of Salvation: Sermons and Writings of Joseph Fielding Smith,* comp. Bruce R. McConkie, 3 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1954–56) (1036 pp.).

of Salvation was McConkie's first large-scale editing project and gave him the requisite training and confidence to publish his own doctrinal compilation, the controversial but popular *Mormon Doctrine: A Compendium of the Gospel* (1958), four years later.[127] McConkie looked to Smith, "the leading gospel scholar and the greatest doctrinal teacher of this generation," as an ecclesiastical and familial mentor (1:v). In codifying Smith's sermons and writings, McConkie hoped the inquiring reader would find "a host of answers . . . to gospel questions frequently asked" (1:v). Each volume, organized topically by theme, also contained a robust index, allowing the volumes to function as reference works on gospel doctrine.

Doctrines of Salvation (fig. 3) was not without precursors that informed the organization and structure of the series. Sixteen years prior to the release of his own selected teachings, Smith published a lengthy anthology of the Prophet Joseph Smith's sermons.[128] Other prophets, too, received abridged editions of their sermons and writings, compiled mostly by other General Authorities. For example, a year after the death of President Joseph F. Smith, the Church's Committee on Courses of Study for the Priesthood Quorums assembled his discourses into a Church textbook entitled *Gospel Doctrine*.[129] G. Homer Durham published the teachings of President Heber J. Grant in *Gospel Standards,* a companion volume to *Gospel Doctrine,* to "form . . . a body of doctrine and practice based upon the teachings of Joseph Smith."[130] A multivolume treatment of a living Apostle's teachings, however, was unprecedented.

At the time of printing, Smith's published books and pamphlets totaled over fifteen volumes. In addition to quoting occasionally from

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127. President David O. McKay and a pair of Apostles, Mark E. Petersen and Marion G. Romney, reported numerous errors in McConkie's initial edition of *Mormon Doctrine.* The First Presidency recommended that a new edition of the book not be published and determined that all future books produced by General Authorities required the approval of the First Presidency before their publication. McKay eventually relented on a second edition of *Mormon Doctrine* with revisions that was released in 1966. Prince and Wright, *David O. McKay and the Rise of Modern Mormonism,* 49–53.

128. See Smith, *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith.*

129. John A. Widtsoe and Joseph F. Smith, *Gospel Doctrine: Selections from the Sermons and Writings of Joseph F. Smith, Sixth President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1919), vi.

130. Heber J. Grant and G. Homer Durham, *Gospel Standards: Selections from the Sermons and Writings of Heber J. Grant* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1941), xvii.

FIGURE 3. Joseph Fielding Smith after the publication of volume three of *Doctrines of Salvation*. Courtesy Church History Library. Copyright Deseret News. Used with permission.

these books, McConkie drew material from Smith's numerous articles, talks, and correspondence. Smith, for much of his apostolic career, was a regular contributor to newspaper columns. His sermons and writings were featured in the *Deseret News,* including its Sunday edition of the *Church News,* as well as the *Improvement Era, Relief Society Magazine, Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine,* and *Millennial Star.* Among his columns was a feature that appeared serially throughout 1931 in the *Church News* entitled "A Peculiar People," where he offered short surveys of important gospel principles.[131] Smith was also a regular speaker at the Church's semiannual general conference for over four decades.[132]

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131. See, for example, *Church News,* May 2, 1931, 2; August 29, 1931, 2; and December 12, 1931, 7.

132. Smith's general conference addresses were featured in more detail in a later volume, *Take Heed to Yourselves!*

McConkie's preference for Smith's more concise writings harmonized with his personal vision for the editorial project. He desired to provide a resource for students to understand the gospel in its "plainness and simplicity" (2:v). McConkie's source base included much of Smith's unpublished and published correspondence on difficult gospel questions.[133] His answers were succinct and leaned heavily on scripture or prophetic counsel; thus, they translated well to the topical structure of McConkie's series.

Smith's authoritative and simplistic mode of expounding gospel principles made McConkie's three-volume series a suitable companion for a focused study of the LDS scriptural canon. In addition, *Doctrines of Salvation* enshrined Smith's conservative doctrinal and theological views in an accessible and semiofficial format. The popular reception enjoyed by the volumes installed Smith's viewpoints in the minds of a generation of Latter-day Saints who would see the gospel as Smith understood it. Replete with numerous cross-references to LDS scripture, Smith's teachings, to the lay observer, seemed to be in lockstep with the revealed gospel throughout all dispensations. Indeed, even if Smith never reached the highest office in the Church, following the release of *Doctrines of Salvation*, his influence on collective expressions of Mormon doctrine and practice was no longer in doubt.

Answers to Gospel Questions, 5 vols. (1957–1966)[134]

Aside from working on manuscripts for public consumption, Smith would frequently sit down at an old typewriter and, "using the hunt-and-peck method," answer the increasingly voluminous private correspondence sent by Church members seeking answers to difficult or misunderstood components of the gospel (fig. 4).[135] Smith's efforts, while time consuming, eventually led the *Church News* to reprint some of his replies to the most commonly asked questions.[136] In 1953, at the request of Smith's neighbor Richard L. Evans, editor of the *Improvement*

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133. Smith published his correspondence on a monthly basis in the *Improvement Era* starting in 1953. See Joseph Fielding Smith, "Your Question," *Improvement Era* 56, no. 7 (July 1953): 502.

134. Joseph Fielding Smith, *Answers to Gospel Questions,* ed. Joseph Fielding Smith Jr., 5 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1966) (1,114 pp.).

135. Gibbons, *Joseph Fielding Smith,* 311.

136. See, for example, "Answer to Questions," *Church News,* September 23, 1933, 3, 8.

FIGURE 4. Joseph Fielding Smith at his typewriter, ca. 1960s. Courtesy Church History Library. Copyright Deseret News. Used with permission.

Era, he launched a monthly column entitled "Your Question."[137] Smith's attachment to the *Improvement Era* stemmed from, in the tradition of his prophet-father, Joseph F. Smith, his service as the magazine's editor for a number of years.[138]

Smith's past service to the *Era* meant he understood the magazine's reach. Throughout its history, the *Era* served as the publishing platform for a number of Church organizations, but, by 1953, it fit broadly under the auspices of the Church's priesthood quorums and Mutual Improvement Associations.[139] Church magazines ensured that the general membership maintained frequent contact with the institutional position on

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137. See Joseph Fielding Smith, "Your Question," *Improvement Era* 56, no. 5 (May 1953): 310.

138. Smith's father, Joseph F. Smith, was one of the founding editors of the *Improvement Era.* See *Improvement Era* 1, no. 1 (November 1897).

139. See *Improvement Era* 56, no. 6 (June 1953): 380.

gospel topics, preventing the spread of unsanctioned folklore. Printing concise, scripturally sourced answers to gospel questions was done before in the *Era* in an unattributed column that followed immediately after President Joseph F. Smith's "Editor's Table."[140] Apostle John A. Widtsoe also contributed to a regular feature in the *Era* entitled "Evidences and Reconciliations," which eventually provided the source material for a 1943 volume by the same title.[141]

Smith's reputation as an authority on gospel doctrine carried personal meaning for his son Joseph Fielding Smith Jr., who frequently requested answers from his father to challenging gospel questions while in the mission field.[142] Perhaps out of a desire to help his father's "answers" become more deeply rooted among the general membership, Smith Jr., like his brother-in-law Bruce R. McConkie, sorted and compiled his father's vast correspondence—including his regular columns in the *Era*—for publication in the five-volume *Answers to Gospel Questions* (1957–1966). The volumes provided a remedy, at least partially, to what Smith saw as rampant scriptural illiteracy among the Latter-day Saints. It seemed a "difficult thing," Smith confessed, "to eliminate from the minds of some of our brethren cherished notions that are contrary to the revealed word" (1:xv). Too many of the "members of the Church" were "mentally lazy so far as seeking the words of life" (2:xiii). Increasingly bothered by the persistence of false doctrine and historical misconceptions among Church members, Smith hoped the published volumes would "settle once and for all time the problems discussed, which occur and re-occur so frequently, yet are answered in the revelations in the Standard Works" (1:xviii). Smith long envisioned a more systematized Church soaked in the fundamental, unchanging truths of the gospel.

The series *Answers to Gospel Questions* also included Smith's unpublished correspondence (vol. 2) and the occasional answers offered while fulfilling apostolic responsibilities at Church meetings.[143] The Apostle's son received permission "to search through [Smith's] files covering many years to see if there were not other answers to questions which

140. Joseph F. Smith, "Editor's Table. Congress and the 'Mormons,'" and "Questions and Answers," *Improvement Era* 6, no. 6 (April 1903): 469–74.

141. John A. Widtsoe, *Evidences and Reconciliations: Aids to Faith in a Modern Day,* vol. 1 (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1943).

142. Smith and Stewart, *Life of Joseph Fielding Smith,* 294.

143. See, for example, vol. 4, chs. 40 and 41.

might . . . prove of value to the reading public" (2:v). Smith, however, retained ultimate editorial control over his correspondence selected for print (2:v). The selected questions were the ones that seemed "most timely, or most significant, or most frequently repeated" (1:v).

The five volumes of *Answers to Gospel Questions* ensured that Smith's painstaking effort to resolve the questions of inquiring members received a permanent and public place next to his many other contributions to the institutional memory of the Church. To make the series more use-ful to future answer seekers, Smith Jr. appended to the final volume a comprehensive list of the over two hundred fifty questions published in the series, complete with volume and page number (5:191–99). Outside of etching Smith's authoritative answers into the gospel consciousness of Latter-day Saints, *Answers to Gospel Questions* added a foreword to the broader program of correlation and other institutional efforts to codify and consolidate Church curriculum just getting under way in the 1960s. In reality, *Answers* did not fully settle the numerous doctrinal and policy conundrums in the Church, but its intention to do so stemmed from a pervasive belief of the gospel's relative simplicity.

Take Heed to Yourselves! (1966)[144] and *Seek Ye Earnestly* (1970)[145]

Joseph Fielding Smith Jr. followed the ambitious *Answers to Gospel Questions* series with another two-volume project. He hoped to demon-strate how his father, over the course of six decades as a General Author-ity, answered a divine mandate originally issued to Joseph Smith to "say nothing but repentance unto this generation" (*Take Heed,* v). With the approval and assistance of Deseret Book, Smith Jr. thought it appropri-ate to publish "a selection" of his father's sermons on two major themes: "the necessity for repentance and the need to seek earnestly for knowl-edge and understanding of the saving principles of the gospel" (*Seek Ye Earnestly,* vi; *Take Heed,* vi).

The resulting two volumes, *Take Heed to Yourselves!* (1966) and *Seek Ye Earnestly* (1970), were created primarily from Smith's public sermons at Church conferences and meetings. Included were talks Smith gave on occasion in his local congregation, the Salt Lake Eighteenth Ward, and at meetings of the Ensign Stake (*Take Heed,* 284–85, 306). Smith Jr.

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144. Joseph Fielding Smith, *Take Heed to Yourselves!* ed. Joseph Fielding Smith Jr. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1966) (453 pp.).

145. Joseph Fielding Smith, *Seek Ye Earnestly,* ed. Joseph Fielding Smith Jr. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1970) (459 pp.).

also pulled material from his father's general conference addresses and his columns in the *Improvement Era*. It is unclear who recorded Smith's many local addresses or how his son acquired the full text of talks given at less prominent venues. For example, *Seek Ye Earnestly* included a talk Smith gave before a group of Mia Maids (a class in the Church's organization for young women) in Rexburg, Idaho, in 1968 (*Seek Ye Earnestly*, 87–92). Smith also delivered an address as part of the "Know Your Religion Series" sponsored by Brigham Young University in which he urged a congregation at the Salt Lake Seventeenth Ward chapel to keep the commandments (*Seek Ye Earnestly*, 73–84).

Smith Jr. also periodically included excerpts from his father's printed works. For example, a chapter describing conditions in the Dark Ages, the period in which the "papal kingdom attempted the exercise of authority . . . over the consciences of men," had appeared in full in Smith's 1922 *Essentials in Church History* (*Seek Ye Earnestly*, 326–27; *Essentials in Church History*, 15). Where the volumes did not feature direct excerpts from Smith's printed works, his son added cross-references pointing readers to more of Smith's published teachings on particular topics (*Seek Ye Earnestly*, 349).

Take Heed to Yourselves! and *Seek Ye Earnestly*, both published by 1970, did not include talks Smith gave as Church President, a calling he received shortly after the death of President David O. McKay in January 1970.[146] In a fitting close to both volumes, Smith Jr. included his father's testimony. Smith testified of the restoration of the gospel and urged the people to "return to your homes, teach the people. Call upon them to repent wherein they need to repent, to get on their knees before the Lord, to remember their covenants . . . and to walk faithfully and humbly in the sight of their Eternal Father." Smith's calls to repentance indeed permeated his writings and rhetoric and came as he read in every decade of his over sixty years of Church service the signs of the times and witnessed "the judgments of the Almighty . . . being poured out upon the inhabitants of the earth" (*Take Heed*, 438).

Conclusion

Joseph Fielding Smith's intellectual influence reached far into the fabric of Latter-day Saint belief and culture, as well as its historical tradition.

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146. A published compilation of some of President Smith's discourses was published by the *Deseret News* in 1971, namely, J. M. Heslop and Dell R. Van Orden, *Joseph Fielding Smith: A Prophet among the People* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1971). It is unclear what role Smith had in the book's release.

His historical approach was after what some have titled the "response tradition."[147] The Church Historian was stirred to action in defense of the Church and produced a master narrative of Mormon history that became the preferred institutional account for twentieth-century Latter-day Saints. He wrote often in the interest of the Smith family or out of duty to the Church he served faithfully. He also penned his works alongside and in the confessional style of prominent Mormon intellectuals like James E. Talmage and B. H. Roberts, who borrowed unapologetically from the providential narratives of European Protestant romantics of the nineteenth century.[148] For these writers, the arc of history was not godless, nor was it disconnected from the divine march of time. But by seeing God in the historical events of the Restoration, Smith was not sidelining himself as an authentic historian. Perhaps in the opinion of some scholars who follow professional historical conventions, Smith's confessional history lacked appeal, but his historical craft should not be extracted from the era in which he developed his historical voice. The untrained Smith was a historian by yearning and learning, developing his historical trade in a period when the Church was undergoing unparalleled changes in the public eye and was in need of defense.

The bulk of Smith's theological works were produced for an uncorrelated Church. Especially after the deaths of his colleagues Talmage and Roberts in the 1930s, Smith's productiveness allowed him to become a pervasive, orthodox voice for Mormonism. As the Church emerged out of its period of transition into American acceptability after 1920, Smith took on the role of sorting out and defining the Church's core doctrines and anchoring the Church to a more traditional and conservative doctrinal foundation.

Smith's prowess as a doctrinal scholar and his direct and authoritative tone provided an interpretation of Mormon history and doctrine for a Church without a formal creed but in search of definitive answers to ambiguities in the restored gospel. The correlation program of the 1960s and 1970s involved forces larger than Harold B. Lee and Smith, but Smith ensured the vast stream of Mormon doctrine and practice flowed steadily toward conservatism. Smith's books still occupy shelf space in

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147. The "response tradition" was a "genre closely related to apologetic history," where Mormons responded directly to critics often using scripture and exhibiting a "general tendency toward proof texting." Walker, Whittaker, and Allen, *Mormon History,* 207.

148. Bowman, "James Talmage, B. H. Roberts, and Confessional History," 77–92.

many Latter-day Saint living rooms and meetinghouse libraries, holding his place as one of the primary doctrinal voices for generations of Latter-day Saints. More importantly, a quick search of the Church's teaching manuals, as well as general conference sermons and books published by apologetic writers and General Authorities, turns up hundreds of references to Smith's corpus of writings, underscoring his lasting influence. The launching point, however, for Smith's prolific career remains the Historian's Office that hired him shortly after his mission. His almost impulsive defense of the Church was developed from his time working in history as he learned to marshal the records of the Historian's Office to defend his faith. From there, Smith grew to blend a potent mixture of history and theology that shaped how Latter-day Saints viewed their history and engaged their religion. Scholars thus must pass through Joseph Fielding Smith as historian and theologian to understand Smith as apostle or prophet or the broader move toward conservatism that enveloped the intellectual culture of the twentieth-century Church.

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Appendix: The Published Books of Joseph Fielding Smith in Chronological Order

Employment in Church Historian's Office, 1901–1906

"Asahel Smith of Topsfield, with Some Account of the Smith Family." In *The Historical Collections of the Topsfield Historical Society,* edited by George Francis Dow, 8:87–101. Topsfield, Mass.: Topsfield Historical Society, 1902.

Blood Atonement and the Origin of Plural Marriage: A Discussion. Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1905.

The "Reorganized" Church vs. Salvation for the Dead. [N.p., 1905].

Appointment as an Assistant Church Historian, 1906–1921

Origin of the "Reorganized" Church: The Question of Succession. Salt Lake City: Skelton Publishing Co., 1907.

Calling as an Apostle, 1910–1970

Salvation Universal. Salt Lake City: Genealogical Society of Utah, 1912.

Appointment as Church Historian, 1921–1970

Essentials in Church History. Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1922.

Elijah the Prophet and His Mission. Salt Lake City: Genealogical Society of Utah, 1924.

The Way to Perfection: Short Discourses on Gospel Themes. Salt Lake City: Genealogical Society of Utah, 1931.

The Progress of Man. Salt Lake City: Genealogical Society of Utah, 1936.

Life of Joseph F. Smith, Sixth President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1938.

Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith: Taken from His Sermons and Writings as They Are Found in the Documentary History and Other Publications of the Church and Written or Published in the Days of the Prophet's Ministry. Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1938.

The Signs of the Times: A Series of Discussions. Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1942.

The Restoration of All Things. Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1945.

Church History and Modern Revelation. Vol. 1. Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1946.

Church History and Modern Revelation. Vol. 2. Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1947.

Church History and Modern Revelation. Vol. 3. Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1946 [1948].

Church History and Modern Revelation. Vol. 4. Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1949.

Man: His Origin and Destiny. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1954.

Doctrines of Salvation: Sermons and Writings of Joseph Fielding Smith. Compiled by Bruce R. McConkie. Vol. 1. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1954.

Doctrines of Salvation: Sermons and Writings of Joseph Fielding Smith. Compiled by Bruce R. McConkie. Vol. 2. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1955.

Doctrines of Salvation: Sermons and Writings of Joseph Fielding Smith. Compiled by Bruce R. McConkie. Vol. 3. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1956.

Answers to Gospel Questions. Edited by Joseph Fielding Smith Jr. Vol. 1. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1957.

Answers to Gospel Questions. Edited by Joseph Fielding Smith Jr. Vol. 2. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1958.

Answers to Gospel Questions. Edited by Joseph Fielding Smith Jr. Vol. 3. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1960.

Answers to Gospel Questions. Edited by Joseph Fielding Smith Jr. Vol. 4. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1963.

Answers to Gospel Questions. Edited by Joseph Fielding Smith Jr. Vol. 5. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1966.

Take Heed to Yourselves! Edited by Joseph Fielding Smith Jr. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1966.

Seek Ye Earnestly. Edited by Joseph Fielding Smith Jr. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1970.

"Ye Are No More Strangers and Foreigners"

Theological and Economic Perspectives on the LDS Church and Immigration

Walker A. Wright

While always a heated topic, immigration has once again taken center stage in political discourse across multiple countries in recent years. The controversial debate surrounding the Syrian refugee crisis was especially critical to the 2016 United States presidential election. In response to the crisis, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints announced its "I Was a Stranger" relief effort, encouraging members—and the women in particular—to seek out and assist refugees in their local communities. With this contentious political climate in mind, this paper will review the Church's "I Was a Stranger" initiative as well as its position on immigration. Furthermore, it will provide a brief scriptural overview of migration and the covenant people's responsibility toward the poor and "the stranger." After exploring the general public's attitudes toward immigration (including Mormons), the bulk of the paper will review the empirical economic literature on immigration, demonstrating that (1) fears about immigration are often overblown or fueled by misinformation and (2) liberalizing immigration restrictions would be an incredibly effective antipoverty program. By favoring policies that reflect the empirical evidence, Latter-day Saints can come closer to achieving the Church's "divinely appointed responsibilit[y]" of "caring for the poor and needy."[1]

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1. *Handbook 2: Administering the Church 2010* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2010), 9.

"I Was a Stranger"

In October 2015, the First Presidency released a letter responding to the growing refugee crisis, encouraging members to "contribute to the Church Humanitarian Fund" and "to participate in local refugee relief projects, where practical."[2] A couple of months later, Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump called "for a total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States until [the] country's representatives can figure out what is going on."[3] The following day, the Church published two statements from the Prophet Joseph Smith on the importance of religious freedom, explaining that while the Church "is neutral in regard to party politics and election campaigns, . . . it is not neutral in relation to religious freedom."[4] The statement appeared to be a direct counter to the proposed "shutdown" and the religious litmus test it seemed to advocate.[5] Both the timing of the Church's statements and the choice of quotations seem to indicate that restricting the flow

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2. Sarah Jane Weaver, "October 2015 LDS First Presidency Letter on Refugees," *Church News,* March 26, 2016, http://www.deseretnews.com/article/865650963/LDS-First-Presidency-letter-on-refugees.html.

3. Jeremy Diamond, "Donald Trump: Ban All Muslim Travel to U.S.," *CNN,* December 8, 2015, http://www.cnn.com/2015/12/07/politics/donald-trump-muslim-ban-immigration/; Jenna Johnson, "Trump Calls for 'Total and Complete Shutdown of Muslims Entering the United States,'" *Washington Post,* December 7, 2015, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-politics/wp/2015/12/07/donald-trump-calls-for-total-and-complete-shutdown-of-muslims-entering-the-united-states/.

4. "Church Points to Joseph Smith's Statements on Religious Freedom, Pluralism," *Newsroom—The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* December 8, 2015, http://www.mormonnewsroom.org/article/church-statement-religious-freedom-pluralism.

5. Peggy Fletcher Stack, "Mormon Church Backs Religious Liberty after Trump Comments," *Salt Lake Tribune,* December 25, 2015, http://www.sltrib.com/home/3282686-155/mormon-church-backs-religious-liberty-after; Tad Walch, "LDS Church Releases Statement on Religious Freedom as Donald Trump's Muslim Controversy Swirls," *Deseret News,* December 8, 2015, http://www.deseretnews.com/article/865643265/LDS-Church-releases-statement-on-religious-freedom-as-Donald-Trumps-Muslim-controversy-swirls.html. Trump's inflammatory rhetoric had led the Church-owned *Deseret News* to offer some harsh criticisms of the candidate the month prior. See "In Our Opinion: Trump Unmatched as a Candidate in Blatant Contempt for Basic 1st Amendment Freedoms," *Deseret News,* November 27, 2015, http://www.deseretnews.com/article/865642538/In-our-opinion-Trump-unmatched-as-a-candidate-in-blatant-contempt-for-basic-1st-Amendment-freedoms.html?pg=all.

of migration based on religious association is out of harmony with the Church's current teachings.

In the spring of 2016, the "I Was a Stranger" initiative was announced by then Relief Society General President Linda K. Burton in the women's session of general conference.[6] Sister Burton made the following remarks about the female-led effort: "It is our hope that you will prayerfully determine what you can do—according to your own time and circumstance—to serve the refugees living in your neighborhoods and communities. This is an opportunity to serve one on one, in families, and by organization to offer friendship, mentoring, and other Christlike service and is one of many ways sisters can serve. . . . Sisters, we know that reaching out to others with love matters to the Lord."[7]

The following weekend, Elder Patrick Kearon of the Seventy devoted his general conference address to the plight of refugees. While "not intend[ing] in any way to form part of [the] heated discussion, nor to comment on immigration policy," Elder Kearon nonetheless wanted to "focus on the *people* who have been driven from their homes and their countries by wars that they had no hand in starting." Kearon invited members to remember their own history as refugees as well as Christ's, particularly his family's flight to Egypt to escape King Herod. He encouraged Latter-day Saints to "think in terms of doing something close to home, in your own community, where you will find people who need help in adapting to their new circumstances."[8]

In a letter sent that same month to stake, ward, and branch councils worldwide, the First Presidency reminded members that "one of the fundamental principles of the restored gospel of Jesus Christ is to 'impart of your substance to the poor, every man according to that which he hath, . . . administering to their relief, both spiritually and temporally, according to their wants' (Mosiah 4:26). In harmony with our letter of October 27, 2015, the general presidencies of the Relief Society, Young Women, and Primary invite women of all ages to join together to help refugees

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6. Tad Walch, "LDS Church Launches 'I Was a Stranger' Website for Mormon Women's Refugee Relief Effort," *Deseret News,* March 28, 2016, http://www .deseretnews.com/article/865651006/LDS-Church-launches-I-Was-a-Stranger -website-for-Mormon-womens-refugee-relief-effort.html.

7. Linda K. Burton, "I Was a Stranger," *Ensign* 46 (May 2016): 14, https://www .lds.org/ensign/2016/05/general-womens-session/i-was-a-stranger?lang=eng.

8. Patrick Kearon, "Refuge from the Storm," *Ensign* 46 (May 2016): 111, 113, https://www.lds.org/ensign/2016/05/sunday-afternoon-session/refuge-from -the-storm?lang=eng.

in their local communities."[9] Elder Jeffrey R. Holland later expressed similar views in a 2016 conference on forced migration and religious freedom. In one of his addresses, he highlighted the sexual violence toward women that often occurs in the countries refugees are fleeing.[10] After reviewing the history of early Mormon refugees who fled to Utah to escape religious persecution, he stated that migrant beliefs and traditions "should be celebrated, not dismissed" and that refugees should be given "greater organizational participation" and welcomed into the "everyday lives" of local citizens.[11]

While these examples are largely confined to the recent refugee crisis (all refugees are migrants, but not all migrants are refugees), the underlying principle of the Church's response is captured in its 2011 statement on immigration policy, quoted in part here:

> The bedrock moral issue for The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is how we treat each other as children of God.
>
> The history of mass expulsion or mistreatment of individuals or families is cause for concern especially where race, culture, or religion are involved. This should give pause to any policy that contemplates targeting any one group, particularly if that group comes mostly from one heritage.
>
> . . . The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is concerned that any state legislation that only contains enforcement provisions is likely to fall short of the high moral standard of treating each other as children of God.

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9. First Presidency to General Authorities and Others, March 26, 2016. The full letter can be downloaded at iwasastranger.lds.org. It is worth noting that in this letter the plight of refugees is equated with the plight of the poor. This association is made all the more potent given the relatively recent addition of "care for the poor and needy" to the mission of the Church. See Peggy Fletcher Stack, "New LDS Emphasis: Care for the Needy," *Salt Lake Tribune,* December 9, 2009, http://archive.sltrib.com/story.php?ref=/lds/ci_13965607.

10. "Elder Holland Transcript: Religious Freedom and Preventing Sexual Violence," *Newsroom—The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* September 11, 2016, http://www.mormonnewsroom.org/article/transcript-elder -holland-religious-persecution-forced-migration-conference.

11. "Elder Holland Transcript: The Mormon Refugee Experience," *Newsroom—The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* September 12, 2016, http://www.mormonnewsroom.org/article/elder-holland-transcript-mormon -refugee-experience.

The Church supports an approach where undocumented immigrants are allowed to square themselves with the law and continue to work without this necessarily leading to citizenship.

In furtherance of needed immigration reform in the United States, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints supports a balanced and civil approach to a challenging problem, fully consistent with its tradition of compassion, its reverence for family, and its commitment to law.[12]

Of course, some would be quick to point out the opening paragraph of the statement: "Most Americans agree that the federal government of the United States should secure its borders and sharply reduce or eliminate the flow of undocumented immigrants. Unchecked and unregulated, such a flow may destabilize society and ultimately become unsustainable." Furthermore, in a March 2011 announcement prior to the official statement above, the Church "acknowledge[d] that every nation has the right to enforce its laws and secure its borders. All persons subject to a nation's laws are accountable for their acts in relation to them."[13]

While pinning down a specific immigration policy based on the Church's statements is nearly impossible, it is worth pointing out what they do *not* say, namely, that immigration should be discouraged. The official statement plainly states that most *Americans* support a reduction in *undocumented* immigrants. The Church also encourages its *members* to obey the law and refrain from "entering any country without legal documentation" or "deliberately overstaying legal travel visas" as a matter of Church policy.[14] This is in keeping with the twelfth Article of Faith: "We believe . . . in obeying, honoring, and sustaining the law."[15] However, the flow of undocumented workers could technically be reduced or eliminated by making legalization more accessible (that is, making these illegal immigrants legal). In other words, the law could be changed

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12. "Immigration: Church Issues New Statement," *Newsroom—The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* June 10, 2011, http://www.mormonnews room.org/article/immigration-church-issues-new-statement.

13. "A Principle-Based Approach to Immigration," *Newsroom—The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* March 17, 2011, http://www.mormonnews room.org/article/a-principle-based-approach-to-immigration.

14. "Immigration: Church Issues New Statement."

15. "The Articles of Faith of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," Lds.org, https://www.lds.org/scriptures/pgp/a-of-f/1?lang=eng.

and subsequently obeyed, honored, and sustained. The statement also says "unchecked and unregulated" illegal immigration "*may* destabilize society and ultimately become unsustainable."[16] This is an arguably wise acknowledgement, but it is mainly a reflection of uncertainty, caution, and intellectual humility. Ultimately, the question about the impact of undocumented immigrants is an empirical one.

This more liberal position is a fairly recent development in the Church. In 2004, Utah passed a bill prohibiting undocumented workers from obtaining a driver's license. The Church was reported as taking "no position" on the bill and "warned" others "not to imply otherwise."[17] In 2006, journalist Lou Dobbs claimed that the LDS Church "has a vigorous enthusiasm for as many of Mexico's citizens as they possibly could attract to the state of Utah, irrespective of the cost to taxpayers."[18] In response, the Church issued a statement, saying that Dobbs's assertions were "completely without foundation. . . . The Church, in fact, has made no comment so far on the immigration debate, recognizing that this complex question is now before Congress and is already being thoroughly aired in the public square."[19] Yet, in 2008, Elder Marlin K. Jensen of the Seventy advocated for "a spirit of compassion" regarding immigration, reminding lawmakers, "Immigration questions are questions dealing with God's children. . . . I believe a more thoughtful and factual, not to mention humane, approach is warranted, and urge those responsible for enactment of Utah's immigration policy to measure twice before they cut."[20]

According to a 2012 news report, "Latinos now make up the fastest growing segment within the Church" in the United States. "From 2000 to 2010 the number of Spanish language congregations more than

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16. "Immigration: Church Issues New Statement," italics added.

17. Josh Loftin, "Immigrant Driver's License Bill Expires," *Deseret News,* March 4, 2004, https://www.deseretnews.com/article/595046525/Immigrant -drivers-license-bill-expires.html.

18. Anderson Cooper 360 Degrees Transcript, aired May 23, 2006, http:// transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0605/23/acd.02.html.

19. "Response to Lou Dobbs Comments on CNN," *Newsroom—The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* May 23, 2006, https://www.mormonnews room.org/article/the-church-and-immigration.

20. Deborah Bulkeley, "Have Compassion for Immigrants, Lawmakers Urged," *Deseret News,* February 14, 2008, https://www.deseretnews.com/article/695253048/ Have-compassion-for-immigrants-lawmakers-urged.html.

doubled from 377 to 760."[21] In 2009, BYU's Ignacio Garcia estimated that 70 percent of all Latino converts in the United States over the previous decade or more had been undocumented immigrants.[22] It is likely that this growth in membership among undocumented immigrants was what drove the Church's support of the Utah Compact, a statement of principles signed by political, business, religious, and law enforcement leaders. In the wake of Arizona's 2010 enforcement bill on illegal immigration (which was authored by a member of the Church), Utah lawmakers sought to construct a similar bill. In response, Church leadership praised the Utah Compact, describing it as "a responsible approach to the urgent challenge of immigration reform."[23] The state declaration highlighted law enforcement while opposing "policies that unnecessarily separate families." The compact also "acknowledge[d] the economic role immigrants play as workers and taxpayers." Finally, it said, "We must adopt a humane approach to [immigration], reflecting our unique culture, history and spirit of inclusion. The way we treat immigrants will say more about us as a free society and less about our immigrant neighbors. Utah should always be a place that welcomes people of goodwill."[24] In 2011, the Church released its official statement on immigration.

During the next few years, the federal government failed to enact comprehensive immigration reform, and so it became a divisive political issue in the 2016 presidential campaign. In September 2017, President Trump announced that he would begin to phase out the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program, which protected nearly 800,000 undocumented individuals who had entered the country as minors, by granting a two-year period of deferred action from

21. Victoria M. DeFrancesco Soto, "Analysis: Latinos Are the Fastest Growing Group in the Mormon Church," *NBC Latino,* February 13, 2012, http://nbclatino.com/2012/02/13/17547041869/.

22. Daniel Gonzalez, "LDS Members Conflicted on Church's Illegal-Migrant Growth," *USA Today,* April 3, 2009, https://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/religion/2009-04-03-mormon-immigrants_N.htm.

23. "Church Supports Principles of *Utah Compact* on Immigration," *Newsroom—The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* November 11, 2010, http://www.mormonnewsroom.org/article/church-supports-principles-of-utah-compact-on-immigration.

24. The Utah Compact: A Declaration of Five Principles to Guide Utah's Immigration Discussion, November 11, 2010, https://the-utah-compact.com/.

deportation (subject to renewal) and eligibility for work authorization.[25] Following the government shutdown in January 2018, the Trump administration proposed an immigration plan that would grant legal status to young immigrants brought over illegally as children, allow them to work, and provide a possible path to citizenship over a ten-to-twelve-year period. "In exchange," reports the *New York Times,* "Congress would have to create a $25 billion trust fund to pay for a southern border wall, dramatically increase immigration arrests, speed up deportations, crack down on people who overstay their visas, prevent citizens from bringing their parents to the United States, and end a State Department program designed to encourage migration from underrepresented countries. White House officials said that the list of enhanced security measures . . . were nonnegotiable. They warned that if no deal is reached, DACA recipients will face deportation when the program fully expires on March 5."[26] With the threat of expiration looming near, the Church released an official statement on DACA:

> Immigration is a complex and sometimes divisive issue. . . . Each nation must determine and administer its policies related to immigration. The Church does not advocate any specific legislative or executive solution. Our hope is that, in whatever solution emerges, there is provision for strengthening families and keeping them together. We also acknowledge that every nation has the right to enforce its laws and secure its borders and that all persons subject to a nation's laws are accountable for their acts in relation to them.
>
> We welcome the sincere efforts of lawmakers and leaders to seek for solutions that honor these principles and extend compassion to those seeking a better life. Specifically, we call upon our national leaders to create policies that provide hope and opportunities for those, sometimes referred to as "Dreamers," who grew up here from a young

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25. See Michael D. Shear and Julie Hirschfeld Davis, "Trump Moves to End DACA and Calls on Congress to Act," *New York Times,* September 5, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/05/us/politics/trump-daca-dreamers-immi gration.html; Tal Kopan, "Trump Ends DACA but Gives Congress Window to Save It," *CNN*, September 5, 2017, https://www.cnn.com/2017/09/05/politics/ daca-trump-congress/index.html; "Memorandum on Rescission of Deferred Action For Childhood Arrivals (DACA)," September, 5, 2017; https://www.dhs .gov/news/2017/09/05/memorandum-rescission-daca.

26. Michael D. Shear and Sheryl Gay Stolberg, "Trump Immigration Plan Demands Tough Concessions from Democrats," *New York Times,* January 25, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/25/us/politics/trump-immigration -plan-white-house.html.

age and for whom this country is their home. They have built lives, pursued educational opportunities and been employed for years based on the policies that were in place. These individuals have demonstrated a capacity to serve and contribute positively in our society, and we believe they should be granted the opportunity to continue to do so.[27]

The Church's position on immigration has evolved over time in response to the polarized political climate surrounding the issue. When all the Church's statements are considered, it becomes fairly clear that the Church's position over the last several years has leaned (somewhat tentatively) in favor of more open and inclusive immigration policies. This is likely due to the Church's own history, the narratives of its scriptural canon, and its theological and moral commitments.

Migration in Scripture and Sacred History

The story of migration is the story of humanity and consequently the story of scripture. Beginning with the exile of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden to the establishment of the Enochic Zion to modern times, God's covenant people have always been migrants of one sort or another. God's promise to make Abraham "a great nation" (Gen. 12:2)[28] is intertwined with the command to "get thee out of thy country . . . unto a land that I will shew thee" (Gen. 12:1; compare Abr. 2:3). As outlined by Donald Senior of Catholic Theological Union, "the deepest experiences of Israel are marked by migration." These include "the tortured journey of Jacob and his sons to Egypt in search of food in a time of famine," "the defining experience of the Exodus," the "deportation of the northern tribes by Assyria in the seventh century," "the Babylonian exile a century or more later," and the "subsequent mass dispersions under the Greeks and Romans." Senior further notes, "These markers in the biblical saga—the wanderings of the patriarchs, the Exodus, the exile, the dispersion, and the return—became embedded in the consciousness of the people of Israel and helped define their character as a people and the nature of their relationship to God."[29]

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27. "Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) Statement," *Newsroom—The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* January 26, 2018, https://www.mormonnewsroom.org/article/daca-statement-january-2018.

28. Unless noted otherwise, all Bible references herein are from the King James Version.

29. Donald Senior, "'Beloved Aliens and Exiles': New Testament Perspectives on Migration," in *A Promised Land, a Perilous Journey: Theological*

Migration also plays a role in the New Testament. The story of Christ's birth in both Luke and Matthew portray Jesus as being "born on the road, as it were," as Mary and Joseph returned "to their ancestral home for a census imposed by a world ruler (Luke 2:1–7)."[30] As mentioned by Elder Kearon, Matthew's Gospel features Mary and Joseph fleeing to Egypt to escape the genocide enacted by King Herod (Matt. 2:13–23) and eventually settling in Nazareth to avoid the cruelty of Herod's son Archelaus (Matt. 2:22–23). Persecution scattered the early Christian communities throughout Judea and Samaria (Acts 8:1–8) and later to Phoenicia, Cyprus, and Antioch (Acts 11:19–21). In Acts 18, Paul meets Aquila and Priscilla in Corinth, who had been displaced from Rome due to Claudius's edict. Apostolic letters also mention the exiled status of the early Christians. The author of 1 Peter addresses the recipients as "foreigners and exiles" (1 Pet. 2:11, NET[31]), while James addresses his epistle to "the twelve tribes in the Dispersion" (James 1:1, NRSV[32]). Senior notes, "Some contemporary commentators . . . believe the designation as resident aliens and exiles is not simply used as a spiritual metaphor but is an indication of the social and ethnic status of these Christians as migrant workers who were socially and ethnically estranged to these regions as well as experiencing spiritual isolation and harassment because of their Christian allegiance."[33]

The Book of Mormon also contains stories of migration. The book opens with details of the departure of Lehi and his family from Jerusalem to the New World (1 Ne. 2, 7, 17–18), echoing the Exodus of ancient Israel.[34] The book of Ether details the migration of the Jaredites from Babel to the promised land (Ether 1–3, 6). One record of this people was discovered later by King Mosiah$_1$ among the people of Zarahemla (Omni 1:20–21), and another was discovered by the people of Limhi (Mosiah 8:6–17). The "people of Zarahemla" were themselves migrants,

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Perspectives on Migration, ed. Daniel G. Groody and Gioacchino Campese (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2008), 21–22.

30. Senior, "Beloved Aliens and Exiles," 23.

31. New English Translation.

32. New Revised Standard Version.

33. Senior, "Beloved Aliens and Exiles," 25.

34. See George S. Tate, "The Typology of the Exodus Pattern in the Book of Mormon," in *Literature of Belief: Sacred Scripture and Religious Experience,* ed. Neal E. Lambert (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1981); S. Kent Brown, "The Exodus Pattern in the Book of Mormon," *BYU Studies* 30, no. 3 (1990): 111–26.

tracing their lineage back to Zedekiah's son Mulek, who escaped Jerusalem prior to the Babylonian exile (Omni 1:15–16; Hel. 6:10, 8:21). Other massive migrations are mentioned throughout the Book of Mormon, including:

- King Mosiah and his people's inspired departure to the land of Zarahemla (Omni 1:12–13).
- Zeniff's expedition to recolonize the land of Nephi (Omni 1:27–30).
- The integration of the people of Ammon into Nephite society (Alma 43:11–13).
- The thousands who "departed out of the land of Zarahemla into the land which was northward" (Alma 63:4).
- Hagoth and those that followed him (Alma 63:5–7).[35]
- The "exceedingly great many" that departed "out of the land of Zarahemla, and went forth unto the land northward to inherit the land" and "did spread forth into all parts of the land" (Hel. 3:3, 5).
- The free trade and mobility among the Nephites and Lamanites during and following the sixty-third year, from which both grew "exceedingly rich" (Hel. 6:6–9).

Early Mormon history and revelations were also in large part driven by migration, with the early Saints moving from place to place, seeking refuge from persecution. Their multiple interstate migrations are well known—from New York to Ohio to Missouri to Illinois to their eventual settlement in what was then Mexican territory (later Utah). "After the Mormon exodus to the Great Basin," writes Nathan B. Oman, "Americans came to see Mormons—the majority of whom were either displaced Yankees or converts from Northern Europe—as a foreign race."[36] This mounting distrust and suspicion toward Mormons and

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35. See Robert E. Parsons, "Hagoth and the Polynesians," in *The Book of Mormon: Alma, the Testimony of the Word,* ed. Monte S. Nyman and Charles D. Tate Jr. (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1992), 249–62.

36. Nathan B. Oman, "Natural Law and the Rhetoric of Empire: *Reynolds v. United States,* Polygamy, and Imperialism," *Washington University Law Review* 88, no. 3 (2011): 681. See also W. Paul Reeve, *Religion of a Different Color: Race and the Mormon Struggle for Whiteness* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015); J. Spencer Fluhman, *"A Peculiar People": Anti-Mormonism and the Making of Religion in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012).

their "uncivilized"[37] practice of polygamy influenced American immigration debates of that time.

In a 2017 brief filed in the US Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit regarding President Trump's barring of refugees and immigrants from various Muslim countries,[38] nineteen Mormon scholars outlined the history of governmental hostility toward Mormons, including the targeting of Mormon immigrants. "In 1879," they write, "the Secretary of State sent a circular letter to all American diplomatic offices, calling on them to pressure European governments to prohibit Mormon emigration from their countries. The letter denounced Mormon converts as coming from among the 'ignorant classes' and insisted that Mormon missionary efforts were a 'criminal enterprise.' It called on European governments to make sure that the United States did not become 'a resort or refuge for . . . crowds of misguided men and women.'"[39] The US government also attempted to turn away Mormon converts at ports of entry, even blocking Mormons emigrating from England to New York City.[40]

As this brief overview demonstrates, God's covenant people were often migrants themselves, typically due to persecution, war, or disasters. In fact, it wasn't until the presidency of David O. McKay in the latter half of the twentieth century that the expectation for non-American converts to emigrate to the Great Basin was officially reversed.[41] As recent events have revealed, it can be easy to assume the worst about

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37. Chief Justice Morrison Waite "situate[d] polygamists among the 'uncivilized.'" "Polygamy has always been odious among the northern and western nations of Europe," Waite opined, "and, until the establishment of the Mormon Church, was almost exclusively a feature of the life of Asiatic and of African people." Fluhman, *"Peculiar People,"* 110.

38. Early Mormons were often compared to Muslims and Joseph Smith to Muhammad. See Fluhman, "'Imposter': The Mormon Prophet," ch. 1 in *"Peculiar People"*; Reeves, "Oriental, White, and Mormon," ch. 8 in *Religion of a Different Color.*

39. Amici Curiae Brief of Scholars of American Religious History and Law in Support of Neither Party, *State of Hawaii, et al. v. Donald J. Trump, et al.,* 15–16, scholarship.law.wm.edu/briefs/6/.

40. Amici Curiae Brief of Scholars, 15–16.

41. See Gregory A. Prince and Wm. Robert Wright, *David O. McKay and the Rise of Modern Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2005), 363–67. Church leaders in the early twentieth century neither encouraged nor discouraged emigration.

migrants from a comfortable, settled position. However, the scriptures and Mormons' own history should disturb any negative, simplistic ideas one might have about migrants.

Strangers, the Sin of Sodom, and Zion

One of the most prominent and consistent themes throughout the LDS canon is an obligation to care for the poor and needy.[42] Included among the list of the disadvantaged classes in need of provisions and protection—widows, orphans, and the poor—were "strangers" or "sojourners" (Deut. 24:17–21; Jer. 7:6; Zech. 7:10).[43] As stated in the *Dictionary of the*

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42. In Enoch's time, "the Lord called his people Zion, because they were of one heart and one mind, and dwelt in righteousness; and there was no poor among them" (Moses 7:18). Modern revelation commanded the early Saints to "remember the poor, and consecrate of thy properties for their support that which thou hast to impart unto them, with a covenant and a deed which cannot be broken" (D&C 42:30). The Book of Mormon—and King Benjamin in particular—places special emphasis on the poor and needy: "administer of your substance unto him that standeth in need; and ye will not suffer that the beggar putteth up his petition to you in vain, and turn him out to perish" (Mosiah 4:16). The post-Christ Nephite Zion "had all things common among them; therefore there were not rich and poor, bond and free" (4 Ne. 1:3). The law of Moses had rules in place to make sure the poor were provided for (Ex. 21:2–6; 22:25–27; 23:10–11; Lev. 19:9–10; 25:3–7, 25–27; Deut. 14:28–29; 15:12–15; 24:19–21; 26:12–13). The prophets consistently reminded Israel and its rulers of their obligations to the poor (Isa. 10:1–4; Amos 2:6–7; 4:1; Ezek. 18). Oppressors of the poor were considered wicked (Ps. 37:14; Prov. 14:31), and God himself would provide for and protect the poor (Isa. 41:17; Ps. 140:12). The prophetic concern for the economically disadvantaged continued with the ministry of Jesus, who declared his mission to involve "preach[ing] the gospel to the poor" (Luke 4:18). Christ taught that to feed the hungry and thirsty, clothe the naked, visit the sick and imprisoned, and host the stranger—"the least of these"—was to do so unto him (Matt. 25:35–40). In Jesus's view, the one thing the rich man lacked was to "sell whatsoever thou hast, and give to the poor . . . and come, take up the cross, and follow me" (Mark 10:21). The Christian charge to care for the poor continued in the early Christian communities, with Paul seeking a collection for the poor of the Jerusalem church (Gal. 2:1–10; 1 Cor. 16:1–4; Rom. 15:25–27). See also David J. Cherrington, "Poverty, Attitudes Toward," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism,* ed. Daniel H. Ludlow, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992); Michael D. Coogan, "Poor," in *The Oxford Companion to the Bible,* ed. Bruce M. Metzger and Michael D. Coogan (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 604.

43. See Timothy M. Willis, "Alien," in Metzger and Coogan, *Oxford Companion to the Bible,* 120.

Old Testament, "The position of the 'alien' in ancient Near Eastern society was generally one of dependence, with a certain amount of cultural isolation." Given Israel's experiences listed above, the identity of the stranger was "foundational to Israelite self-understanding."[44] Hence, the Lord commanded Israel, "Thou shalt neither vex a stranger, nor oppress him: for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt" (Ex. 22:21). The alien resident among the Israelites was to "be unto you as one born among you, and thou shalt love him as thyself; for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt: I am the Lord your God" (Lev. 19:34). The stranger was therefore protected under Israelite law due to their vulnerable position (Deut. 1:16–17; 16:11, 14; 24:14, 17–18; 26:12–13; 27:19; Lev. 19:10; 23:22; 25:6).[45]

Mistreatment of the stranger seeking refuge was likely the reason for the destruction of Sodom. Hospitality was "one of the most highly praised virtues in antiquity. In nomadic societies, hospitality was an unwritten law, and the stranger was regarded as divinely protected."[46] When the "men of Sodom" demanded that Lot give up his angelic/holy guests[47] so that they might "know" them (Gen. 19:4–5)—in contrast to Abraham's reaction (Gen. 18)—they committed "a gross violation of the conventions of hospitality."[48] As biblical scholar Gordon Wenham explains, "In the ancient Near East outside Israel (cf. Lev. 18:22) homosexual acts between consenting adults do not seem to have been banned, but homosexual rape was, except to humiliate prisoners of war. Everywhere it would have been regarded as abhorrent to treat guests this way; rather, there was a sacred duty to look after them."[49] It becomes apparent that the sin of Sodom had to do with "social injustice—mistreatment of the powerless. Among the latter were strangers, and the story of Lot in Genesis 19 provides a vivid illustration of how strangers were

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44. R. J. D. Knauth, "Alien, Foreign Resident," in *Dictionary of the Old Testament: Pentateuch,* ed. T. Desmond Alexander and David W. Baker (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 2003), 26.

45. Knauth, "Alien, Foreign Resident," 32–33.

46. Abraham J. Malherbe, "Hospitality," in Metzger and Coogan, *Oxford Companion to the Bible,* 292.

47. The King James text describes the men as "angels," but the Joseph Smith Translation of Genesis 18:22 reads, "And the angels which were holy men . . ."

48. Jon Levenson, "Genesis," in *The Jewish Study Bible,* ed. Adele Berlin and Marc Zvi Brettler (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 41.

49. Gordon J. Wenham, "Genesis," in *Eerdmans Commentary on the Bible,* ed. James D. G. Dunn and John W. Rogerson (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2003), 53.

mistreated in Sodom, by being subject to rape. Homoeroticism is only secondarily relevant."[50] Or, as Ezekiel preached, "Behold, this was the iniquity of thy sister Sodom, pride, fullness of bread, and abundance of idleness was in her and in her daughters, neither did she strengthen the hand of the poor and needy" (Ezek. 16:49).[51]

The welcoming of the ethnically and culturally different is later encapsulated in Paul's mission to the Gentiles: "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus" (Gal. 3:28). The author of Ephesians echoes this communal embrace of Gentile converts: "Now therefore ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellowcitizens with the saints, and of the household of God" (Eph. 2:19).

Interestingly enough, migration and refuge were also inherent in the early Mormon conception of Zion (see D&C 45:64–71; 115:5–6). Mark Ashurst-McGee, historian and editor for the Joseph Smith Papers Project, explains that "[Joseph] Smith's eschatology . . . established another dynamic geopolitical relationship between Zion and the nations: Zion would be a refugee territory in the midst of a world of warring nations." He continues:

> As the plague of international conflict spread, Zion would serve as a neutral territory and safe harbor for any wishing to escape the destructions of war. . . . At this extreme moment of worldwide conflict, Smith declared, "every man that will not take his sword against his neighbor must needs flee unto Zion for safety & there shall be gathered unto it out of every nation under heaven" (D&C 45:68–69). . . . Smith's prophecy of civil and global war traced the trajectory of destruction to its extremity—the "full end of all Nations" (D&C 87:6). . . . After the destruction of the United States and all other nations, Zion would be left standing as the sole sovereign in the Americas. . . . These revelations gave the Saints a view of the world as a place that was contentious and prone to violence, warfare, and destruction. . . . Zion would serve as a refuge only for the peaceful.[52]

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50. Michael Coogan, *God and Sex: What the Bible Really Says* (New York: Twelve, 2010), 130.

51. John J. Goldingay explains, "Given Ezekiel's sexual imagery, it is noteworthy that Sodom's sin lies in its combination of good living with social neglect (v. 49), in line with the implications of Genesis 18 itself, not in the sexual practices which have preoccupied the Christian postbiblical tradition." Goldingay, "Ezekiel," in Dunn and Rogerson, *Eerdmans Commentary on the Bible,* 637.

52. Mark Ashurst-McGee, "Zion as a Refuge from the Wars of Nations," in *War and Peace in Our Time: Mormon Perspectives,* ed. Patrick Q. Mason,

Public Opinion on Immigration

Given the scriptural, moral, and theological commitments to the stranger detailed above, it is important to establish what the average person thinks about immigration. According to a 2015 study, which surveyed 183,000 adults in more than 140 countries from 2012 to 2014, only 21 percent of the world population would like to see an increase in immigration.[53] More specifically, only 23 percent of North Americans support increasing immigration, while a mere 8 percent of Europeans do (52 percent want to *decrease* it). The number of Americans in favor of increased immigration has steadily risen from 7 percent in 1965 to 21 percent in 2016. Those wanting to decrease immigration has dropped from 65 percent in 1993 to 38 percent in 2016.[54] Worry over illegal immigration is split along party lines in the United States: 79 percent of Republicans worry "a great deal or fair amount" over illegal immigration, while 48 percent of Democrats and 57 percent of Independents do.[55] Despite this partisan difference, an increasing number in both major parties recognize that "immigrants strengthen the country because of their hard work and talents."[56]

A particularly interesting aspect of public attitudes toward immigration is that of *political ignorance.* Multiple studies have shown that

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J. David Pulsipher, and Richard L. Bushman (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2012), 87–89.

53. Neli Esipova and others, *How the World Views Migration* (Geneva, Switzerland: International Organization for Migration, 2015), https://publications .iom.int/system/files/how_the_world_gallup.pdf.

54. "Immigration," *Gallup News,* http://www.gallup.com/poll/1660/immi gration.aspx. See also Lee Rainie and Anna Brown, "Americans Less Concerned Than a Decade Ago over Immigrants' Impact on Workforce," *Pew Research Center: Fact Tank,* October 7, 2016, http://www.pewresearch.org/fact -tank/2016/10/07/americans-less-concerned-than-a-decade-ago-over-immi grants-impact-on-workforce/.

55. Jeffrey M. Jones, "In US, Worry about Illegal Immigration Steady," *Gallup,* March 20, 2017, http://www.gallup.com/poll/206681/worry-illegal-immi gration-steady.aspx.

56. The portion of Republicans who express this view grew from 30 percent in 1994 to 42 percent in 2017, while the number of Democrats went from 32 percent to 84 percent. "More Say Immigrants Strengthen U.S. as the Partisan Divide Grows," Pew Research Center, October 4, 2017, http://www.people-press .org/2017/10/05/4-race-immigration-and-discrimination/4_9-3/.

political ignorance is rampant among average voters,[57] and this holds true when it comes to immigration policy. As legal scholar Ilya Somin explains, "Immigration restriction . . . is one that has long-standing associations with political ignorance. In both the United States and Europe, survey data suggest that it is strongly correlated with overestimation of the proportion of immigrants in the population, lack of sophistication in making judgments about the economic costs and benefits of immigration, and general xenophobic attitudes toward foreigners. By contrast, studies show that there is little correlation between opposition to immigration and exposure to labor market competition from recent immigrants."[58] One pair of economists found that those voting to leave the European Union in the Brexit referendum, who were motivated largely by a desire to restrict immigration, "were overwhelmingly more likely to live in areas with very low levels of migration."[59] Similarly,

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57. See Ilya Somin, *Democracy and Political Ignorance: Why Smaller Government Is Smarter,* 2d ed. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2016); Bryan Caplan, *The Myth of the Rational Voter: Why Democracies Choose Bad Policies* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2007); Christopher H. Achen and Larry M. Bartels, *Democracy for Realists: Why Elections Do Not Produce Responsive Government* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2016); and Jason Brennan, "Ignorant, Irrational, Misinformed Nationalists," ch. 2 in *Against Democracy* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2016). For an analysis of the public disdain for experts, see Tom Nichols, *The Death of Expertise: The Campaign against Established Knowledge and Why It Matters* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).

58. Somin, *Democracy and Political Ignorance,* 23. See also Jens Hainmueller and Daniel J. Hopkins, "Public Attitudes towards Immigration," *Annual Review of Political Science* 17 (2014): 225–49. Somin makes clear that "political ignorance is not the result of stupidity or selfishness. . . . The insignificance of any one vote to electoral outcomes makes it rational for most citizens to devote little effort acquiring political knowledge. They also have little incentive to engage in unbiased evaluation of the information they do know." Somin, *Democracy and Political Ignorance,* 3–4.

59. Chris Lawton and Robert Ackrill, "Hard Evidence: How Areas with Low Immigration Voted Mainly for Brexit," *The Conversation,* July 8, 2016, https:// theconversation.com/hard-evidence-how-areas-with-low-immigration-voted -mainly-for-brexit-62138. However, in these areas the foreign-born population had recently increased dramatically, even if the overall head count of immigrants was comparatively low. See "Britain's Immigration Paradox," *The Economist,* July 8, 2016, http://www.economist.com/news/britain/21701950-areas-lots -migrants-voted-mainly-remain-or-did-they-britains-immigration-paradox.

voters who supported Donald Trump during the US election were *more* likely to oppose liberalizing immigration laws (even compared to other Republicans), but *least* likely to live in racially diverse neighborhoods.[60] In short, both political ignorance and lack of interaction with foreigners tend to inflame anti-immigration sentiments. These sentiments are what George Mason University economist Bryan Caplan refers to as *antiforeign bias*: "a tendency to underestimate the economic benefits of interaction with foreigners."[61] In fact, economists take nearly the opposite view from the general public on immigration.[62]

Where do most Mormons fall along the spectrum of immigration attitudes? According to political scientists David Campbell, Christopher Karpowitz, and J. Quin Monson, American Mormons "are more accepting of immigrants than most other Americans, particularly in contrast to evangelicals. The Faith Matters survey (2011) gave respondents the option of saying that immigration should be increased, decreased, or kept the same as it is." According to one analysis of the survey, it turns out that

> 26 percent of Mormons would like to see more immigration. That may not seem like a lot until Mormons are compared with other religious traditions. Only Jews are more likely to favor greater immigration (29 percent). By contrast, only 12 percent of evangelicals favor more immigration. Likewise, Mormons are also on the low end of favoring less immigration—only Jews are less likely to say that America should decrease the number of new arrivals in the country.
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> . . . The church's own policy is to turn a blind eye toward people who are in the United States illegally—the church will baptize them, call them on missions, and even have them serve as church leaders. LDS leaders have consistently been a voice of compassion regarding immigration. A notable example is the message of emeritus church general authority Elder Marlin Jensen, who has urged lawmakers to consider illegal immigrants as "God's children" and to "slow down, step back and carefully study and assess the implications and human costs involved" in legislation designed to curb illegal immigration. More recently, the church has taken a vocal stand for moderate immigration reforms that balance a law-and-order mentality against compassion for immigrants and a strong desire for policies that keep families together. These

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60. Jonathan T. Rothwell and Pablo Diego-Rosell, "Explaining Nationalist Political Views: The Case of Donald Trump," November 2, 2016, 11–14; SSRN: https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2822059.

61. Caplan, *Myth of the Rational Voter,* 36.

62. Caplan, *Myth of the Rational Voter,* 58–59.

stances moved public opinion among conservative Utah Mormons in a more moderate direction.[63]

Thankfully, a 2016 study found that accurate information can actually shift people's views on immigration.[64] The goal of the remainder of this paper is to present some of the most up-to-date scholarship on immigration economics in hopes of shifting the views of Latter-day Saints who are either on the fence or skeptical about immigration. By receiving accurate information and empirical evidence, Latter-day Saints can better engage the topic and improve the lives of their brothers and sisters around the world.

The Economy as a Whole

The positive economic impact of immigrants—past, present, and potential future—is often underappreciated in the debate over immigration. During America's Age of Mass Migration (1850–1920), the United States witnessed its highest levels of immigration. In contrast to previous waves of mainly western-European immigrants, this period saw large numbers of immigrants from southern, northern, and eastern Europe. They brought with them both different languages and different religious practices. A working paper from the National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER) finds that US counties that experienced more immigrant settlement during this time period "now have higher incomes, less unemployment, less poverty, more education, and more urbanization." The authors also found that "these economic benefits do not come at the cost of social outcomes." Furthermore, "immigrants resulted in an immediate increase in industrialization. Immigrants first contributed to the establishment of more manufacturing facilities and then to the development of larger facilities." Immigrants also had "large positive effects . . . on agricultural productivity and innovation as measured by patenting rates."[65]

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63. David E. Campbell, Christopher F. Karpowitz, and J. Quin Monson, "A Politically Peculiar People: How Mormons Moved into and Then out of the Political Mainstream," in *Mormonism and American Politics*, ed. Randall Balmer and Jana Riess (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016), 146–47.

64. Alexis Grigorieff, Christopher Roth, and Diego Ubfal, "Does Information Change Attitudes towards Immigrants? Representative Evidence from Survey Experiments," IZA Discussion Paper No. 10419, December 2016, http://ftp.iza.org/dp10419.pdf.

65. Sandra Sequeira, Nathan Nunn, and Nancy Qian, "Migrants and the Making of America: The Short and Long-Run Effects of Immigration during

This trend of positive economic impact from immigration continues today. In 2015, migrants made up 3.4 percent of the world population yet contributed about $6.7 trillion to global output—9.4 percent of world gross domestic product (GDP).[66] Even those working illegally in the United States contribute about 3 percent of private-sector GDP annually—around five trillion dollars over a ten-year period. Granting these migrants legal status would increase the percentage to 3.6.[67] In France, an increase of foreign-born workers in a firm's department increases the productivity of that department, especially for firms with virtually no previous foreign employment.[68] A 2016 International Monetary Fund (IMF) study estimates that—after controlling for multiple variables, including trade openness, technology, education level, and age structure—"a 1 percentage point increase in the share of migrants in the adult population (the average annual increase is 0.2 percentage point) can raise GDP per capita by up to 2 percent in the longer run."[69] More

the Age of Mass Migration," NBER Working Paper No. 23289, 2017, 43–44, https://scholar.harvard.edu/files/nunn/files/immigrants_in_america_manu script.pdf.

66. Jonathan Woetzel and others, *People on the Move: Global Migration's Impact and Opportunity* (McKinsey Global Institute, December 2016), 1, 8, 55, http://www.mckinsey.com/global-themes/employment-and-growth/global -migrations-impact-and-opportunity. Gross domestic product is "a measure of the value of all of the goods and services produced in a country or equivalently as the total income, in the form of wages, rents, interest, and profits, earned in a country. GDP is thus also known as output or national income." It works as "a rough-and-ready measure of standard of living." David N. Weil, *Economic Growth,* 3d ed. (New York: Pearson Education, 2013), 3.

67. Ryan Edwards and Francesc Ortega, "The Economic Contribution of Unauthorized Workers: An Industry Analysis," IZA Discussion Paper No. 10366, November 2016, http://ftp.iza.org/dp10366.pdf. Legal authorization has also been shown to reduce unemployment and poverty among undocumented immigrants as well as increase the income for immigrants at the bottom of the income distribution. See Catalina Ameudo-Dorantes, "Can Authorization Reduce Poverty among Undocumented Immigrants? Evidence from the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals Program," *Economic Letters* 147 (2016): 1–4; Nolan G. Pope, "The Effects of DACAmentation: The Impact of Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals on Unauthorized Immigrants," *Journal of Public Economics* 143 (2016): 98–144.

68. Cristina Mitaritonna, Gianluca Orefice, and Giovanni Peri, "Immigrants and Firms' Outcomes: Evidence from France," *European Economic Review* 96 (2017): 62–82.

69. Florence Jaumotte, Ksenia Koloskova, and Sweta C. Saxena, "Impact of Migration on Income Levels in Advanced Economies," IMF Spillover

importantly, it turns out that "migration increases income per capita for both the top 10 and bottom 90 percent earners, even though the gain is larger for the richest decile."[70] Even the most pessimistic literature "estimates that immigration to the United States generates an annual efficiency gain for Americans of between \$5 billion and \$10 billion."[71]

These data represent both past and present effects of immigration. But what if all current immigration restrictions around the world were dropped? What would the future economy potentially look like? In a 2011 meta-analysis, economist Michael Clemens asked this very question. He found that the estimated "gains from eliminating migration barriers dwarf—by an order of a magnitude or two—the gains from eliminating other types of barriers. For the elimination of trade policy barriers and capital flow barriers, the estimated gains amount to less than a few percent of world GDP. For labor mobility barriers, the estimated gains are often in *the range of 50–150 percent of world GDP.*"[72]

These economic gains are astronomical; a literal doubling of world product. But these gains assume the migration of over half the population of poor countries. However, even smaller movements (less than 5 percent of the population of poor countries) would result in "gains exceeding the gains from total elimination of all policy barriers to merchandise trade and all barriers to capital flows."[73] A more recent analysis finds that lifting all migration restrictions would increase world output by 126 percent, while even partial liberalization (in which 10 percent of the world population moves) would yield a nearly 14 percent increase in world output.[74]

Notes, no. 8 (October 2016): 2, 11, https://www.imf.org/en/Publications/Spill over-Notes/Issues/2016/12/31/Impact-of-Migration-on-Income-Levels-in -Advanced-Economies-44343.

70. Jaumotte, Koloskova, and Saxena, "Impact of Migration on Income Levels," 15.

71. Peter T. Leeson and Zachary Gochenour, "The Economic Effects of International Labor Mobility," in *The Economics of Immigration: Market-Based Approaches, Social Science, and Public Policy,* ed. Benjamin Powell (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 21.

72. Michael A. Clemens, "Economics and Emigration: Trillion-Dollar Bills on the Sidewalk?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 25 (Summer 2011): 84, emphasis added.

73. Clemens, "Economics and Emigration," 84.

74. Klaus Desmet, David Krisztian Nagy, and Esteban Rossi-Hansberg, "The Geography of Development," *Journal of Political Economy,* forthcoming, https://doi.org/10.1086/697084, see table 3.

Restrictions on immigration are essentially restrictions on the selling of labor. One pair of political philosophers describes closed borders as a "type of trade restriction in labor, akin to an import quota or restriction in cars, wheat, or other goods. Normally, such restrictions lead to inefficiencies and deadweight losses, as they prevent mutually beneficial trades from occurring, and cause people to turn to less productive providers."[75] Hence, the best economic evidence available suggests that liberalized immigration would be a gigantic gain to the world economy, and a more prosperous economy often translates into greater well-being.[76] If one is concerned about potential problems of increased immigration, a cost-benefit analysis must be in order. It is difficult to imagine what problems could arise whose avoidance would be worth sacrificing a whole earth's worth of economic output.

Global Poverty

Immigration restrictions tend to negatively affect the least well-off. As a case in point, annual legal immigration to the United States falls under one of the the following categories: family-based immigration, temporary work visas, permanent employment visas, refugee visas, and diversity visas.[77] The majority of US-bound immigrants are allowed into the country based on family connections or work visas. As a result, those without a college degree or a close family member in the country have effectively no legal way to come to the United States. This makes the common talking point "I'm in favor of immigration, just *legal* immigration" both tone deaf and misconstrued. The argument assumes the status quo is just and fair, ignoring the perverse incentives it creates among those desperate for a better life but lacking the necessary "qualifications." As will be shown, immigration restrictions prevent the poor from seeking out better opportunities and instead force them—with the threat of governmental violence—to remain in their impoverished or chaotic homelands.

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75. Jason Brennan and Bas van der Vossen, *In Defense of Openness* (New York: Oxford University Press, forthcoming).

76. Two useful sources for comparing wealth and other factors of well-being are https://ourworldindata.org/ and http://www.gapminder.org/.

77. American Immigration Council, *How the United States Immigration System Works,* August 12, 2016, https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/research/how-united-states-immigration-system-works.

The massive gains that immigration brings to the poor and needy is captured in the work of Harvard's Lant Pritchett, who compares the effectiveness of antipoverty programs to that of migration. Pritchett and colleagues compare the gains of migration to that of microcredit (made famous by Muhammad Yunus, who was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his work),[78] antisweatshop activism, additional schooling, and even deworming. According to Pritchett, a low-skill Bangladeshi male "would have to work *four weeks* in the United States to have a gain in income equal to a *lifetime* of microcredit. . . . Obviously, one would have to add a few weeks to pay transportation costs and some for expenditures while in the United States, but a single seasonal access of three months to a job in the United States could provide savings more than equal to the total *lifetime* financial gain from microcredit."[79] A marginal worker from Indonesia would have to work *thirty weeks* in the United States to achieve the gain of a *lifetime*'s worth of antisweatshop activism. A similar worker from Bolivia would need only *eleven weeks* of work in the United States to reach the *lifetime* benefit of an additional year of schooling at zero cost. Finally, a Kenyan worker would need only *0.3 weeks* in the US to achieve a *lifetime*'s earnings due to deworming.[80] As Pritchett asked elsewhere, "If I get 3,000 additional Bangladeshi workers into the US, do I get a Nobel Peace Prize?"[81]

Further research by Pritchett and Clemens found that 82 percent of native-born Haitians who are not now poor escaped poverty simply by moving to and working in the United States. The percentages were lower for Mexicans (43 percent) and Indians (27 percent) but are still hefty amounts.[82] This is even true for immigrants doing the *same job*

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78. Microcredit is the lending of small amounts of money to businesses in developing countries. See Muhammad Yunus, "Microlending: Toward a Poverty-Free World," *BYU Studies* 38, no. 2 (1999): 149–55; and "Muhammad Yunus—Nobel Lecture" (lecture, Oslo, December 10, 2006), https://www.nobel prize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/2006/yunus-lecture-en.html.

79. Lant Pritchett, "The Cliff at the Border," in *Equity and Growth in a Globalizing World,* ed. Ravi Kanbur and Michael Spence (Washington, DC: World Bank, 2010), 275.

80. Pritchett, "Cliff at the Border," 275–76.

81. Lant Pritchett, "Is Migration Good for Development? How Could You Even Ask?" (PowerPoint presentation, Columbia University, New York City, February 13, 2009), https://www.hks.harvard.edu/fs/lpritch/Presentations/Is %20Migration%20Good%20for%20Development_columbia.ppt.

82. Michael A. Clemens and Lant Pritchett, "Income per Natural: Measuring Development for People Rather Than Places," *Population and Development*

requiring the *same skill set* as what they were doing in their native countries. For example, an "identical prime-age urban formal-sector male Peruvian with nine years of Peruvian schooling earns about 2.6 times as much in the US as in Peru."[83] For Filipinos, the estimated increase is 3.5, while it is a colossal 7.8 for Haitians. But even these figures underestimate the full impact of migration for the poor. Remittances, for instance, boost the income of families left behind in source countries. One analysis of remittances to Sri Lanka found that the majority of remittances go to families in the bottom quintiles and positively impact the health and education of recipient children.[84] Remittances make up a significant portion of GDP for several countries, including the Kyrgyz Republic (34.5 percent), Nepal (29.7 percent), Liberia (29.6 percent), Haiti (27.8 percent), and Tonga (27.8 percent).[85] In 2013, they accounted for nearly half of Tajikistan's GDP.[86] A review of the empirical literature also finds that there is a robust, positive relationship between emigration and source-country wages, in part due to emigration's reduction of the labor supply in source countries.[87] Even the status quo of skill-based immigration "has offsetting benefits for those left behind. Skilled immigrants often return with valuable skills, investment capital, and business connections. Furthermore, opportunities for high-skilled emigration spur skill acquisition. Empirically, such incentives look strong enough

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Review 34 (September 2008): 395–434.

83. Michael A. Clemens, Claudio E. Montenegro, and Lant Pritchett, "The Place Premium: Wage Differences for Identical Workers across the U.S. Border," Center for Global Development Working Paper No. 148, December 2008, 4, https://www.cgdev.org/sites/default/files/16352_file_CMP_place_premium _148.pdf.

84. Prabal K. De and Dilip Ratha, "Impact of Remittances on Household Income, Asset, and Human Capital: Evidence from Sri Lanka," *Migration and Development* 1 (June 2012): 163–79.

85. The World Bank Group, "Migration and remittances," *Migration and Development Brief 27,* April 2017, 3, http://pubdocs.worldbank.org/en/99237149 2706371662/MigrationandDevelopmentBrief27.pdf.

86. The World Bank Group, "Migration and Remittances," *Migration and Development Brief 24,* April 13, 2015, 5, https://siteresources.worldbank.org/ INTPROSPECTS/Resources/334934-1288990760745/MigrationandDevelop mentBrief24.pdf.

87. Prachi Mishra, "Emigration and Wages in Source Countries: A Survey of the Empirical Literature," in *International Handbook on Migration and Economic Development,* ed. Robert E. B. Lucas (Northampton, Mass.: Edward Elgar, 2014), 241–66.

to make the average *non*-migrant more skillful."[88] Complementing Clemens's work mentioned in the previous section, economist John Kennan finds that dropping all immigration restrictions would lead to an estimated net gain of "$10,798 per worker (including nonmigrants), per year (in 2012 dollars, adjusted for purchasing power parity). This is a very large number: the average income per worker in these countries is $8633, so the gain in (net) income is 125%."[89] This is a literal doubling of income for the world's most deprived.

When one reviews the vast improvements that immigration can bring to the lives of the world's poor, it becomes increasingly clear that we have a moral obligation to echo the title of Lant Prichett's book: let their people come.[90]

Refugees

It is plausible the forced migration of refugees would result in a different scenario than that of self-selected immigration, resulting in an economic burden rather than gain. However, the evidence is once again against this common assumption. A 2016 report estimating the economic impact of asylum seekers and refugees on the European Union found that investing in refugees can yield a number of economic dividends to host countries, including boosts in demand, contributions to the labor supply (including filling skill gaps), complementary labor skills (often leading to new job opportunities and higher wages for natives), more entrepreneurship (resulting in wealth creation, new jobs for locals, and expansion of international trade and investment), increased diversity and innovation, a younger workforce, and eventually fiscal contributions.[91] Based on IMF calculations, the report states, "Investing one euro in refugee assistance can yield nearly two euros in economic benefits within five years." The report adds, "This is likely to be an underestimate of refugees' economic

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88. Bryan Caplan and Vipul Naik, "A Radical Case for Open Borders," in Powell, *Economics of Immigration,* 189.

89. John Kennan, "Open Borders," *Review of Economic Dynamics* 16 (2013): L11.

90. Lant Pritchett, *Let Their People Come: Breaking the Gridlock on International Labor Mobility* (Washington, DC: Center for Global Development, 2006).

91. Philippe Legrain, *Refugees Work: A Humanitarian Investment That Yields Economic Dividends* (Tent Foundation and Open Political Economy Network, May 2016), 19–41, http://www.opennetwork.net/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/Tent-Open-Refugees-Work_V13.pdf.

contribution, since it does not include their dynamic contribution to enterprise and growth."[92]

A 2016 study investigated three Congolese refugee camps in Rwanda, two of which provided cash aid while the other provided in-kind aid in the form of food. The researchers found that the two cash camps increased real income within a 10-km radius by an equivalent of 63 percent and 96 percent of the average host-country per capita income around the camps, exceeding "the value of per-refugee [World Food Program] assistance." The in-kind camp, however, put "slight downward pressure on [food] prices. This adversely affects local producers, who compete with cheap food assistance." Host-country households also experienced "a small negative spillover."[93] This suggests that cash transfers would be preferable to in-kind assistance.

Using longitudinal data on Danish workers between 1991 and 2008, economists Mette Foged and Giovanni Peri examined the impact that the influx of refugees had on low-skilled natives. The two found that "less skilled native workers responded to refugee-country immigration, mainly composed of low-educated individuals in manual-intensive jobs, by increasing significantly their mobility towards more complex occupations and away from manual tasks. Immigration also increased native low skilled wages and made them more likely to move out of the municipality."[94] The authors observed no increase in unemployment or decrease in employment for unskilled natives.

A 2014 study conducted by the Humanitarian Innovation Project and the Refugee Studies Center at Oxford University did extensive research on 1,593 refugees in two rural settlements in Uganda and the capital of Kampala, finding that refugees made positive contributions to the country's economy. These contributions included the purchasing of goods and services from Ugandan businesses, job creation, and provision of human capital.[95] This led the authors to label the claim that refugees are an economic burden a "myth."

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92. Legrain, *Refugees Work,* 22, see page 59 for calculations.

93. J. Edward Taylor and others, "Economic Impact of Refugees," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 113, no. 27 (2016): 7450.

94. Mette Foged and Giovanni Peri, "Immigrants' Effects on Native Workers: New Analysis on Longitudinal Data," IZA Discussion Paper No. 8961, March 2015, 29, http://ftp.iza.org/dp8961.pdf.

95. Alexander Betts and others, *Refugee Economies: Rethinking Popular Assumptions* (Oxford: Humanitarian Innovation Project and Refugee Studies

Common Objections to Immigration

"In America," writes historian David Gerber,

> law and policy have been mobilized to structure and at times limit immigration. The ideological sources of this evolution have been complex. Persisting alongside the recognition of the need for immigrant labor has been nativism, which has manifested itself in the fear and dislike of foreigners and the perception that immigration destabilizes politics, society, and culture. Popular nativist feeling has always possessed an emotional, bigoted component that invites political leaders to seek gain in recognizing and exploiting the passions of the electorate. But nativism need not always be racist or mean-spirited; those who want the state to limit immigration and access to citizenship may have little against immigrants, and instead may be concerned about the welfare of the nation's established residents.[96]

This nativist impulse in America can be traced back to colonial times and anxieties over non-British immigrants. These prejudices extended to Catholics (especially Irish), Chinese, Japanese, Mexicans, Jews, Slavs, Italians, Greeks, and so forth.[97] In turn, various restrictions followed. For example, a literacy test for immigrants "first came to a vote in Congress in 1897 and was overwhelmingly passed by the House and cleared a majority in the Senate."[98] The literacy test eventually became law in 1917. This "literacy test was an overture to the Emergency Quota Act passed in 1921, the Immigration Act of 1924, and, eventually, the National Origins Act passed in 1929."[99]

Attempts to restrict immigration seem to have stemmed from a fear that immigrants were hurting the economy. Harvard's Claudia Goldin notes, "Almost all serious calls for the literacy test were preceded by economic downturns, some of major proportion, and few economic downturns of the era were not accompanied by a call for restriction in the halls

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Center, Oxford University, 2014), 16–20, https://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/files/publications/other/refugee-economies-2014.pdf.

96. David A. Gerber, *American Immigration: A Very Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 15–16.

97. For a general, brief overview of this history, see Gerber, *American Immigration,* in full.

98. Claudia Goldin, "The Political Economy of Immigration Restriction in the United States, 1890 to 1921," in *The Regulated Economy: A Historical Approach to Political Economy,* ed. Claudia Goldin and Gary D. Libecap (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 227.

99. Goldin, "Political Economy of Immigration Restriction," 237–38.

of Congress. Unemployment and labor unrest were clearly in the minds of legislators in the 1897 and 1898 votes, and economic conditions had worsened just as the 1915 literacy test came to a vote. The major recession just following World War I was a factor in the Emergency Quota Act."[100] Many Progressive Era economists "defended exclusionary labor and immigration legislation on grounds that the labor force should be rid of unfit workers, whom they labeled parasites, the unemployable, low-wage races, and the industrial residuum. Removing the unfit, went the argument, would uplift superior, deserving workers."[101]

One of the recommended reforms was a "tariff" on immigrant labor (a minimum wage). Princeton economist Thomas Leonard explains, "By pushing firms to hire only the most able immigrant workers, a mandated minimum wage for immigrants would reduce the quantity of immigrants and also select for higher quality immigrants. . . . Progressive labor reformers embraced the minimum wage for its power to exclude as well as to uplift. The minimum wage test would, more efficiently than the literacy test, target the inferior races of southern and eastern Europe by identifying inferiority not with illiteracy but with low labor productivity—the inability to command a minimum wage."[102] Recent analyses also find that between 1910 and 1930, increased immigration within US cities created political backlash. Cities cut public spending and redistribution and favored more anti-immigrant politicians and legislation, despite the economic benefits brought about by immigrants.[103]

Today, for many rich-country natives, objections to immigration still hold considerable weight largely because they concern the immediate welfare of native workers. Of course, it is worth putting the economic well-being of these workers in perspective. For example, the US poverty threshold as of 2018 is $12,140 for a one-person household and $25,100 for a four-person household.[104] These households are still within the

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100. Goldin, "Political Economy of Immigration Restriction," 239.

101. Thomas C. Leonard, "Retrospectives: Eugenics and Economics in the Progressive Era," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 19, no. 4 (2005): 207–8.

102. Thomas C. Leonard, *Illiberal Reformers: Race, Eugenics, and American Economics in the Progressive Era* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2016), 159.

103. Marco Tabellini, "Gifts of the Immigrants, Woes of the Natives: Lessons from the Age of Mass Migration," Job Market Paper, January 12, 2018, http://economics.mit.edu/files/13646.

104. US Department of Health and Human Services, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, *Poverty Guidelines,* https://aspe.hhs.gov/poverty-guidelines.

richest 20 percent of the world's population.[105] Nonetheless, it is worth addressing some of the most common objections to immigration, which include:

- Immigrants "steal" native jobs.
- Immigrants depress native wages.
- Immigrants undermine host country culture and institutions.
- Immigrants are a fiscal burden and increase the welfare state.
- Immigrants are criminals and terrorists.

"Stealing" Jobs

"That immigrants 'take our jobs' is probably the most repeated and most economically ignorant objection to immigration," writes economist Benjamin Powell.[106] Aside from the implicit and problematic assumption that jobs in host countries somehow belong to natives, the notion that there is a fixed amount of jobs is economically unsound. "In the market's process of creative destruction," Powell says, "jobs are created and destroyed all the time." He continues, "Since 1950, there has been massive entry of women, baby boomers, and immigrants into the work force. . . . The civilian labor force grew from around 60 million workers in 1950 to more than 150 million workers today. Yet there has been no long-term increase in the unemployment rate. In 1950, the unemployment rate was 5.2 percent, and in 2007, the year before the current recession started, the unemployment rate was 4.6 percent. As more people enter the labor force, more people get jobs."[107]

In a policy paper appropriately titled "Do Migrants Take the Jobs of Native Workers?" economist Amelie Constant found no correlation between unemployment and immigration rates in Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries.[108] Instead,

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105. See the calculations at "How Rich Am I?" Giving What We Can, https://www.givingwhatwecan.org/get-involved/how-rich-am-i/.

106. Benjamin Powell, "An Economic Case for Immigration," June 7, 2010, *Library of Economics and Liberty,* http://www.econlib.org/library/Columns/y2010/Powellimmigration.html.

107. Powell, "Economic Case for Immigration." The numbers for the civilian labor force are https://data.bls.gov/timeseries/LNS11000000.

108. Amelie F. Constant, "Do Migrants Take the Jobs of Native Workers?" *IZA World of Labor* 10 (May 2014): 7, https://wol.iza.org/uploads/articles/10/pdfs/do-migrants-take-the-jobs-of-native-workers.pdf. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) is an intergovernmental

she concluded that "immigrants do not take native workers' jobs in the long term," but instead "stimulate job creation through increased production, self-employment, entrepreneurship, and innovation. They also provide opportunities for native workers to upgrade their occupation and specialize in higher-skill jobs."[109] Relying on US Census data between 1980 to 2000, a 2016 working paper found that each immigrant generates about 1.2 jobs each within his or her new host cities.[110] A survey of the economic literature by Peter Leeson and Zachary Gochenour revealed "that native employment is largely unaffected by immigration" (with most influential studies showing zero or even positive effects).[111] Similarly, a 2017 literature review by the National Academy of Sciences (NAS) found that immigration has little effect on native employment (although the work hours of native teens and employment of prior immigrants are slightly reduced).[112]

In summary, although some job loss may occur in the short run (as is common with *any* change to the economy), the long-run effect of immigration on employment is neutral to positive.

Depressed Wages

A basic understanding of the laws of supply and demand would suggest that as the supply of labor increases (via immigration), wages fall. However, this perspective fails to take into account the idea that "immigrants who increase the supply of labor also demand goods and services, causing the demand for labor to increase. This means that the effect of immigration on wages shifts from being a theoretical question to being an empirical one."[113] What does the empirical evidence suggest? One

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economic organization with thirty-five member countries. The mission of the OECD is to promote policies that will improve the economic and social well-being of people around the world.

109. Constant, "Do Migrants Take the Jobs of Native Workers?" 9.

110. Gihoon Hong and John McLaren, "Are Immigrants a Shot in the Arm for the Local Economy?" NBER Working Paper, June 22, 2016, 41, http://www .people.virginia.edu/~jem6x/hong%20mclaren%200615%20shot%20in%20the %20arm.pdf.

111. Leeson and Gochenour, "Economic Effects of International Labor Mobility," 21.

112. Francine D. Blau and Christopher Mackie, eds., *The Economic and Fiscal Consequences of Immigration* (Washington, DC: National Academies Press, 2017), 268.

113. Powell, "Economic Case for Immigration."

study looked at the elimination of the *bracero* ("manual laborer") program under John F. Kennedy, which had allowed for the importation of Mexican guest workers after the early days of World War II. Following the war, the program focused primarily on agricultural labor, bringing in about a half million Mexican seasonal laborers per year. Though the bracero program was ended to protect and improve wages for domestic workers, the authors found "that *bracero* exclusion failed to raise wages or substantially raise employment for domestic workers in the sector."[114]

According to the 2017 NAS report, most empirical research shows that "the impact of immigration on wages of natives overall is very small."[115] However, "native dropouts tend to be more negatively affected by immigration than better-educated natives. Some research also suggests that, among those with low skill levels, the negative effect on natives' wages may be larger for disadvantaged minorities." Yet, these negative effects "tend to be smaller (or even positive)" when periods of ten years or longer are considered.[116] In fact, research suggests "that immigration to the United States between 1990 and 2006 reduced the wages of natives without high-school degrees by only 0.7 percent in the short run and *increased* their wages by 0.6–1.7 percent in the long run."[117]

Similar to the effects of employment, low-skill native wages may be depressed in the short run, but long-run effects tend to be zero to positive.

Culture and Institutions

Another objection is what is known as the "epidemiological case," which argues that immigrants may bring with them foreign values that undermine the culture and institutions of the host country. In essence, immigrants transmit to rich countries those elements that make their source

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114. Michael A. Clemens, Ethan G. Lewis, and Hannah M. Postel, "Immigration Restrictions as Active Labor Market Policy: Evidence from the Mexican *Bracero* Exclusion," IZA Discussion Paper No. 10512, January 2017, 31, http://ftp .iza.org/dp10512.pdf.

115. Blau and Mackie, *Economic and Fiscal Consequences of Immigration,* 267. See also Giovanni Peri, "Do Immigrant Workers Depress the Wages of Native Workers?" *IZA World of Labor* 42 (May 2014), https://wol.iza.org/ uploads/articles/42/pdfs/do-immigrant-workers-depress-the-wages-of-native -workers.pdf?v=1.

116. Blau and Mackie, *Economic and Fiscal Consequences of Immigration,* 267.

117. Leeson and Gochenour, "Economic Effects of International Labor Mobility," 19, emphasis in original.

countries poor. What makes this rather prejudiced argument all the more jarring is the fact that it has virtually no supporting evidence. Unfortunately, very little empirical research has been conducted exploring the impact of immigrants on cultural, political, and economic institutions *at all*. However, the research that is available should calm fears and actually provide reasons for optimism. For example, there is no association between growth of total-factor productivity (TFP) in rich countries and the ratio of migrants from low-income countries, indicating that migrants do not "contaminate" their new homes with the low productivity of their source countries.[118]

The Canada-based Fraser Institute publishes its oft-cited *Economic Freedom of the World* report annually. Its indicator—known as the Economic Freedom of the World (EFW) Index—defines economic freedom based on five major areas: (1) size of the government, (2) legal system and the security of property rights, (3) stability of the currency, (4) freedom to trade internationally, and (5) regulation of labor, credit, and business. According to the institute's most recent report (which looks at data from 2015), countries with more economic freedom had considerably higher per-capita incomes and economic growth.[119] Relying on this index, a 2015 study found that a larger immigration population marginally increases the economic freedom of the host country's institutions. No negative impacts on economic freedom were found.[120] Several authors from this study looked at Israel during the 1990s as a natural experiment in mass migration. During the 1990s, Israel's population grew by 20 percent due to immigrants from the former Soviet Union. Yet, instead of experiencing decline, Israel shot up "from 15% below the global average [in economic freedom] to 12% above it and improv[ed] its

118. Michael A. Clemens and Lant Pritchett, "The New Economic Case for Migration Restrictions: An Assessment," IZA Discussion Paper No. 9730, February 2016, 31–34, http://ftp.iza.org/dp9730.pdf. While migrants from low-income countries may not be associated with TFP, a 2017 World Bank survey of the literature found that, "on balance, *total* immigrant effects on labor productivity are statistically insignificant to positive" with "statistically significant positive effects" for TFP. Sharmila Devadas, *Threat or Help? The Effects of Unskilled Immigrant Workers on National Productivity Growth,* World Bank Research and Policy Briefs, no. 6, March 2017, 2, emphasis added.

119. James Gwartney, Robert A. Lawson, and Joshua C. Hall, eds., *Economic Freedom of the World: 2017 Annual Report* (Fraser Institute, 2017), https://www.fraserinstitute.org/studies/economic-freedom-of-the-world-2017-annual-report.

120. J. R. Clark and others, "Does Immigration Impact Institutions?" *Public Choice* 163, no. 3 (June 2015): 321–35.

ranking among countries by 47 places."[121] Similarly, a 2017 study found that higher diversity—measured by levels of ethnolinguistic and cultural fractionalization—predicts higher levels of economic freedom.[122] While this particular study mainly discusses development economics, the correlation between high diversity and high economic freedom is an important aspect of the immigration debate. Barring members of different ethnolinguistic groups from entering the country may actually be holding back economic development.

How well are immigrants integrating into their new home countries? According to a 2015 analysis by the National Academy of Sciences, "current immigrants and their descendants are integrating into U.S. society" in a variety of ways, including through educational attainment, employment and earnings, residential dispersion, and even English proficiency.[123] In fact, the NAS reports that language integration "is happening as rapidly or faster now than it did for the earlier waves of mainly European immigrants in the 20th century."[124] Economist Jacob Vigdor argues that "newly arrived immigrants are better assimilated along multiple dimensions than their predecessors—even before accounting for the fact that immigrants are always least assimilated when they first arrive in the United States."[125] A 2017 survey of around fifteen hundred Muslims throughout Germany, Austria, Switzerland, France, and the UK also found that integration has been quite successful.[126] For

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121. Benjamin Powell, J. R. Clark, and Alex Nowrasteh, "Does Mass Immigration Destroy Institutions? 1990s Israel as a Natural Experiment," *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization* 141 (2017): 88.

122. Indra de Soysa and Krishna Chaitanya Vadlamannati, "Does Social Diversity Impede Sound Economic Management? An Empirical Analysis, 1980–2012," *Social Science Research* 62 (February 2017): 272–90. Cultural heterogeneity has also been found to have positive impacts on long-term economic growth. See Vincenzo Bove and Leandro Elia, "Migration, Diversity, and Economic Growth," *World Development* 89 (January 2017): 227–39.

123. Mary C. Waters and Marisa Gerstein Pineau, eds., *The Integration of Immigrants into American Society* (Washington, DC: National Academies Press, 2015), 3.

124. Waters and Pineau, *Integration of Immigrants into American Society,* 6.

125. Jacob Vigdor, "The Civic and Cultural Assimilation of Immigrants to the United States," in Powell, *Economics of Immigration,* 71.

126. Yasemin El-Menouar, *Muslims in Europe: Integrated but Not Accepted?* (Gütersloh, Ger.: Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2017), https://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/en/publications/publication/did/results-and-country-profiles-muslims-in-europe/.

example, about 75 percent of German-born Muslims report German as their first language, even though only 20 percent of Muslim immigrants report similarly. "The trend that language skills improve with each successive generation is equally apparent in France, the United Kingdom, Austria and Switzerland."[127] The survey also found that "a large majority of the Muslims living in the countries studied have (very) frequent contact with non-Muslims in their leisure time": 87 percent of Swiss Muslims, 78 percent of German Muslims and French Muslims, 68 percent of those in the United Kingdom, and 62 percent of those in Austria.[128] Ironically, a 2015 OECD study found that challenges to integration "do not increase with the share of immigrants in the population. . . . If anything, countries that are home to high proportions of immigrants tend to have better integration outcomes."[129]

In short, worries that foreigners will undermine the culture and institutions of host countries are misplaced. Immigrants tend to assimilate rather well and often improve the economic freedom within countries.

Fiscal Burden and Welfare Cost

Many worry that an influx of low-skill, low-education workers would inflate the welfare state and drain the fiscal budget. Admittedly, accurately assessing the fiscal impact of immigration is difficult, since multiple factors have to be taken into account. "For instance," according to policy analyst Alex Nowrasteh, "a low-skilled immigrant might not pay income tax, but his or her employer will likely make a higher profit and pay additional taxes as a result of hiring the worker. If those effects are not included, then the benefits will be underestimated."[130] Or consider economist Jacob Vigdor's estimate that each new immigrant adds 11.6 cents to the value of the average home in their community, "boosting the National US taxable housing value by an estimated $3.7 trillion."[131] There is also the issue of whether to measure the impact

127. El-Menouar, *Muslims in Europe,* 5.

128. El-Menouar, *Muslims in Europe,* 6.

129. OECD/European Union, *Indicators of Immigrant Integration 2015: Settling In* (Paris: OECD Publishing, 2015), 11, http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/Indicators-of-Immigrant-Integration-2015.pdf.

130. Alex Nowrasteh, citing Vigdor in "The Fiscal Impact of Immigration," in Powell, *Economics of Immigration,* 42.

131. Nowrasteh, "Fiscal Impact of Immigration," 43; Jacob Vigdor, *Immigration and the Revival of American Cities: From Preserving Manufacturing Jobs to*

of first-generation immigrants *only* or to include their descendants. As one study explains, "In forward-looking projections, the logic for including second generation effects is straightforward: Even if children of immigrants are native-born citizens, the costs and benefits that they generate would not have been realized without the initial addition to the population of the immigrant parent(s). . . . Costs associated with educating the children of immigrants that accrue during the analysis period are included in the fiscal estimate; however, a good case can be made for treating these expenditures as an investment, due to the strongly positive association between level of education and eventual contributions to tax revenues."[132] After all these factors are considered, what does the literature show? A 2017 literature review by the National Academy of Sciences finds that the "fiscal impacts of immigrants are generally positive at the federal level and negative at the state and local levels" because state and local governments are the main providers of education benefits. The authors of the review are also quick to point out, "The net fiscal impact for *any* U.S. resident, *immigrant or native-born,* is negative. When fiscal sustainability is assumed to result in future spending cuts and tax increases, immigrants are more valuable than native-born Americans (that is, their net fiscal impact is greater in a positive direction)."[133]

These findings echo those of Nowrasteh's review of the literature. According to Nowrasteh, between 1950 and 2000, "immigration grew the US economy and produced more net tax revenue. . . . The low-skilled first generation consumed more welfare than they paid in taxes, but their descendants more than compensated for that initial deficit by producing a more positive dependency ratio for entitlement programs, leading to a slightly positive contribution to the federal budget in the long run."[134] While many economic models "find that immigrants slightly diminish net tax revenue for state and local governments," they increase the federal net tax revenue by more than the state and local

Strengthening the Housing Market (New York: Partnership for a New American Economy and Americas Society/Council of the Americas, 2013), 11–12.

132. Blau and Mackie, *Economic and Fiscal Consequences of Immigration,* 356–57.

133. Blau and Mackie, *Economic and Fiscal Consequences of Immigration,* 461, emphasis added.

134. Nowrasteh, "Fiscal Impact of Immigration," 57.

decrease.[135] Furthermore, "there is little evidence that migrants choose their state destination based on the generosity of the welfare system. . . . New immigrants are mainly choosing to reside in states with low levels of social welfare spending and growing economies and are moving away from states with high levels of social welfare spending and low economic growth."[136] Nonetheless, even if welfare spending did increase due to immigration (evidence suggests quite the opposite),[137] this would be an argument for increasing restrictions on *welfare, not* immigration.[138]

Overall, as Nowrasteh concludes, "The economic benefits of immigration are unambiguous and large, but the fiscal effects are dependent upon the specifics of government policy over a long time period, which means that the net fiscal impact of immigration could be negative while the economic benefit is simultaneously positive. Looking at the results of all of these studies, the fiscal impacts of immigration are mostly positive, but they are all relatively small."[139]

Terrorism and Crime

In the post-9/11 world, concerns over terrorism have reshaped immigration policy and transformed it into a matter of national security.[140] Given the fact that all nineteen terrorists involved in the 9/11 attacks were foreign nationals who entered the country via legal means, fears of an equally devastating attack based on similar circumstances are

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135. Nowrasteh, "Fiscal Impact of Immigration," 57.

136. Nowrasteh, "Fiscal Impact of Immigration," 45.

137. See Alberto Alesina and Edward L. Glaeser, *Fighting Poverty in the US and Europe: A World of Difference* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); Maureen A. Eger, "Even in Sweden: The Effect of Immigration on Support for Welfare State Spending," *European Sociological Review* 26, no. 2 (2010): 203–17; Stuart N. Soroka and others, "Migration and Welfare State Spending," *European Political Science Review* 8, no. 2 (2016): 173–94; Clark and others, "Does Immigration Impact Institutions?"; and Marco Tabellini, "Gifts of the Immigrants, Woes of the Natives."

138. Alex Nowrasteh and Sophie Cole, "Building a Wall around the Welfare State, Instead of the Country," Cato Policy Analysis No. 732, July 25, 2013, https://object.cato.org/sites/cato.org/files/pubs/pdf/pa732_web_1.pdf.

139. Nowrasteh, "Fiscal Impact of Immigration," 63.

140. See Muzaffar Chishti and Claire Bergeron, "Post-9/11 Policies Dramatically Alter the U.S. Immigration Landscape," *Migration Policy Institute,* September 8, 2011, http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/post-911-policies -dramatically-alter-us-immigration-landscape.

wholly understandable. But what is the actual risk? How likely is it that an American citizen will be murdered by a foreign-born terrorist? Alex Nowrasteh has crunched the numbers and finds that between 1975 through the end of 2015, the chance of an American dying in a terrorist attack committed by a foreigner on US soil was 1 in 3,609,709 per year. This includes those who perished in the 9/11 terrorist attacks. The chance of an American dying in a terrorist attack perpetuated by a refugee was 1 in 3,638,587,094 per year, while dying in an attack by an illegal immigrant was 1 in 10,915,761,281 per year.[141] These chances are infinitesimally small. As others have cheekily pointed out, these data demonstrate that an American is more likely to meet her demise by a falling vending machine, a lightning strike, or her clothes melting or igniting.[142] Furthermore, a 2017 analysis of 20 OECD countries and 187 countries of origin between 1980 and 2010 found that while a larger number of foreigners in a country does increase the probability of a terrorist attack, it is no bigger than the effect a larger domestic population has on domestic terror. "Overall," the authors write, "we thus conclude that migrants are not more likely to become terrorists compared to the nationals of the country they live in."[143] The researchers also find that "introducing strict laws that regulate the integration and rights of migrants does not seem to be effective in preventing terror attacks from foreign-born residents. . . . To the contrary, repressions of migrants already living in the country alienate substantial shares of the population, which overall increases rather than reduces the risk of terror."[144]

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141. Alex Nowrasteh, "Terrorism and Immigration: A Risk Analysis," Cato Policy Analysis No. 798, September 13, 2016, 5, https://object.cato.org/sites/cato .org/files/pubs/pdf/pa798_2.pdf.

142. Lauren Leatherby, "Trump Clampdown: Four Charts on the US Refugee Program," *Financial Times,* January 27, 2017, https://www.ft.com/content/ a8798b58-e347-11e6-8405-9e5580d6e5fb; Zack Beauchamp, "You're More Likely to Be Killed by Your Own Clothes Than by an Immigrant Terrorist," *Vox,* January 28, 2017, https://www.vox.com/2016/9/13/12901950/terrorism-immigrants -clothes. See also Micah Zenko, "America Is a Safe Place," *Politics, Power, and Preventive Action* (blog), February 24, 2012, http://blogs.cfr.org/zenko/2012/02/24/ america-is-a-safe-place/.

143. Axel Dreher, Martin Gassebner, and Paul Schaudt, "The Effect of Migration on Terror—Made at Home or Imported from Abroad?" CESifo Working Paper 6441, April 2017, 30, https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract _id=2976273.

144. Dreher, Gassebner, and Schaudt, "Effect of Migration on Terror," 26.

What about crime rates? A 2015 literature review by the National Academy of Sciences divided the issue into two questions: (1) Are immigrants more likely to commit crimes than the native born? and (2) Do immigrants adversely affect the overall crime rate? The review found that immigrants in the United States "are in fact much *less likely* to commit crimes than natives, and the presence of large numbers of immigrants seems to *lower* the crimes rates."[145] Multiple studies demonstrate that "young native-born men are much more likely to commit crimes than comparable foreign-born men."[146] Unfortunately, this anticrime advantage tends to wane in subsequent generations. As the children of immigrants assimilate into American culture, their crime rates begin to catch up with their native-born peers. Numerous studies over the last twenty years have also found that there tends to be an inverse relationship between immigration and crime rates. In fact, "these studies . . . found that the crime drop observed between 1990 and 2000 can partially be explained by increases in immigration."[147]

Conclusion

"Literally *millions* of lives are affected in a serious and long-term manner by immigration restrictions," writes philosopher Michael Huemer. "Were these restrictions lifted, millions of people would see greatly expanded opportunities and would take the chance to drastically alter their lives for the better. This makes immigration law a strong candidate for the most harmful body of law in America today. In view of this, it is particularly troubling that these restrictions appear to have so little justification."[148] This overview of the economic literature demonstrates that liberalized immigration could be (and has been) one of the most

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145. Waters and Pineau, *Integration of Immigrants into American Society,* 327, emphasis in original.

146. Waters and Pineau, *Integration of Immigrants into American Society,* 328–29.

147. Waters and Pineau, *Integration of Immigrants into American Society,* 330. See also Ruben G. Rumbaut, "Appendix D: Undocumented Immigration and Rates of Crime and Imprisonment: Popular Myths and Empirical Realities," in *The Role of Local Police: Striking a Balance between Immigration Enforcement and Civil Liberties*, ed. Mary Malina (Washington, DC: Police Foundation, 2009).

148. Michael Huemer, "Is There a Right to Immigrate?" *Social Theory and Practice* 26, no. 3 (2010): 461.

effective antipoverty programs around. Moreover, empirical analysis demonstrates that the fears surrounding immigration are often misplaced. Official statements from the LDS Church have made it clear that its leadership supports humane, inclusive immigration policies, reminding members and the world that "how we treat each other as children of God" is a "bedrock moral issue."[149] This bedrock moral issue is further supported by the scriptural responsibility toward the poor and "the stranger." Members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints place special emphasis on sustaining our leaders and lifting up the poor and needy. In the case of immigration, we can seek to do both by welcoming migrants with open arms and advocating for far less restrictive immigration policies.

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149. "Immigration: Church Issues New Statement," *Newsroom—The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* June 10, 2011, http://www.mormonnews room.org/article/immigration-church-issues-new-statement.
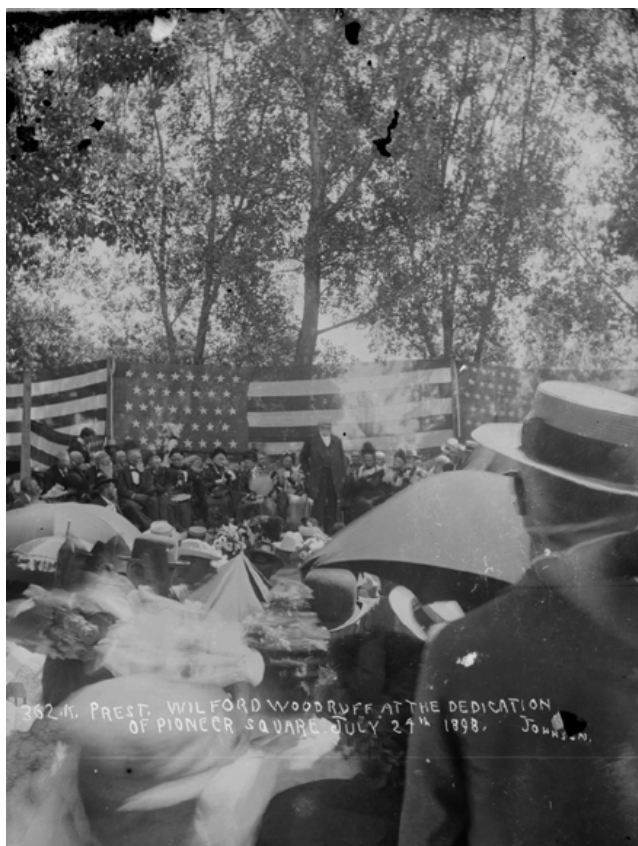
Figure 1. Wilford Woodruff speaking at the dedication ceremony of Pioneer Square in Salt Lake City, Utah, on Monday, July 25, 1898. Charles E. Johnson, photographer, PH 9612, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City. Johnson wrote on the glass-plate negative, "362.K. Prest. Wilford Woodruff at the Dedication of Pioneer Square. July 24th 1898. Johnson." Johnson incorrectly dated the event on the plate; the dedication was held July 25, 1898.

Woodruff stands in front of the guests seated upon a temporary platform to address those who had gathered for the special occasion. *To his left:* Zina D. H. Young, Emmeline B. Wells, and Mayor John Clark. Those on the stand were shaded by towering trees, while those in the crowd used hats, umbrellas, parasols, and horse buggies with tops to protect themselves from the sunlight. As a backdrop for the ceremony, there were "massive stretches of the stars and stripes." At this time, the United States was in the midst of the Spanish-American War. "Dedication of Pioneer Square," *Salt Lake Herald*, July 26, 1898, 5.

Photographs of the Dedication of Pioneer Square in Salt Lake City, July 25, 1898

Richard Neitzel Holzapfel and Ronald L. Fox

In July 1898, the Spanish-American War was raging and the people of the United States were remembering the *Maine,*[1] a US ship that sank after an explosion in the Havana Harbor on February 15, 1898.[2] Nevertheless, the upcoming fifty-first anniversary of the 1847 arrival of the Mormon pioneers in Utah was on the minds of Salt Lake City officials. This anniversary was celebrated off and on beginning in 1849; in the 1897 jubilee year, just a year earlier, the community had "pulled out all the stops."[3] As city officials considered what might be done in 1898, they focused their attention on a piece of ground not far from the City

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1. The First Presidency invited Church members through a letter published in local newspapers in the Mormon core area to hold memorial services "in honor of the brave men who lost their lives in the Maine disaster." See, for example, "Maine Martyr Memorial Day," *Lehi Banner,* July 19, 1898, 1. Additionally, in an unprecedented move, participants attending the memorial in the Salt Lake City Tabernacle were invited to donate to a fund to erect a national monument through a collection taken up during the Sunday, July 24, gathering—LDS tradition doesn't include passing a plate to collect funds in a Sunday meeting.

2. The specific story of Utah's involvement in the Spanish-American War is found in A. Prentiss, ed., *The History of the Utah Volunteers in the Spanish-American War and in the Philippines Islands* ([Salt Lake City]: W. F. Ford, 1900); and the Church's involvement is found in James Mangum, "The Spanish-American and Philippine Wars," in *Nineteenth-Century Saints at War,* ed. Robert C. Freedman (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 2006), 155–93.

3. Steven L. Olsen, "Pioneer Day," in *Utah History Encyclopedia,* ed. Allan Kent Powell (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 424.

and County Building.[4] The council minutes for Tuesday evening, July 12, 1898, report, "Councilman [John] Siddoway[5] moved that a special committee of five be appointed by the Chair to take charge of dedicating the Pioneer Park Jul 25, next." [6] The *Salt Lake Tribune* provided a fuller and more detailed account of the meeting than is found in the council minutes. The report reads, "A matter that caused more talk than anything else" was the "motion that Pioneer square be dedicated with appropriate ceremonies on July 25th."[7]

Pioneer Square is known today as Pioneer Park—a ten-acre site where the Latter-day Saints built their first fort in August 1847.[8] Identified as the "Plymouth rock" for the Utah commonwealth,[9] Pioneer Park is located between 300 and 400 South and 300 and 400 West in Salt Lake City.[10] The old fort was ordered to be torn down by April 1, 1851. By April 11, 1851, "Nathaniel H. Felt and Joseph Cain were authorized to fence and improve the Old Fort Square."[11] The *Salt Lake Herald* emphasized in July 1898 that "the historic ground which has heretofore been given over to profane uses and more than once proposed to be given for a railroad depot, was formally and appropriately set apart for the permanent use and benefit of the public."[12] Later events blocked the park's development until 1903. The *Deseret Evening News* reported on July 24, 1903, "For the second time within the past five years historical Pioneer square was today set apart as a public park and thrown open to the public as a place of recreation for the citizens. . . . Unlike the dedication of

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4. The City-County Building is located on "Washington Square," between State Street and 200 East, and 400 South and 500 South in Salt Lake City.

5. John Siddoway (1838–1902) was an LDS English convert, Mormon pioneer, politician, and father of Robert H. Siddoway, who sang at the Pioneer Park dedication ceremony. See "Died," *Deseret Evening News,* June 26, 1902, 3.

6. Salt Lake City Council Minutes, July 12, 1898, Book U 1898, 248, Utah State Archives and Recorders Service, Salt Lake City.

7. "Council to Dedicate," *Salt Lake Tribune,* July 13, 1898, 6.

8. Also identified as Dobie Square and Old Fort Square in the nineteenth century. See Will Bagley, ed., *The Pioneer Camp of the Saints: The 1846 and 1847 Mormon Trail Journals of Thomas Bullock* (Spokane, Wash.: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1997), 247 n. 28.

9. "Pioneer Day Gift," *Deseret Evening News,* July 25, 1898.

10. The first Salt Lake City park, Liberty Park, was dedicated in 1882. Today the Salt Lake City park system contains 126 parks, containing nearly one thousand acres. "Parks—Salt Lake City Parks," http://www.slcgov.com/cityparks.

11. "A Record of the City Council of the Great Salt Lake City, Deseret," January 11, 1851, 12–13, Salt Lake City Offices, Salt Lake City.

12. "Dedication of Pioneer Square," *Salt Lake Herald,* July 26, 1898, 5.

the park on July 25, 1898, there were no special dedicatory ceremonies today." The paper reported that between 1898 and 1903, "several times has the square been granted to railroad corporations to be used a depot site. . . . [However,] about two months ago an ordinance was passed by the city council again dedicating the square as a public park and setting today as the date for it to be thrown open."[13] With this final push, Pioneer Park became one of Salt Lake City's permanent public parks.

A. Russell Mortensen, former director of the Utah Historical Society, identified the importance of the site in an interview with the *Salt Lake Tribune*: "Here's where it all began. The first settlement, the first houses, the first government, the first division of the city into its ecclesiastical wards, the reorganization of the First Presidency of the LDS Church, and a host of other firsts took place right here, not on the Temple Block, not on the old Eighth Ward Square, not on the old Union Square, but right here on the old Pioneer Square."[14]

The site's historical significance was further recognized in 1974 when the park was listed on the National Register of Historic Places, the US federal government's official list of districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects deemed worthy of preservation for their historical significance.[15]

During the July 12, 1898, city council meeting, Mayor John Clark,[16] who had been nominated to serve as chair of the committee, "suggested the committee could get along very well without him . . . [as] he thought no formal dedication of that character would be necessary or appropriate."[17] Nevertheless, the city council passed the amendment placing Clark in charge of the event with eleven members voting in favor, two voting against, and

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13. "Celebration of Pioneer Day," *Deseret Evening News,* July 24, 1903, 1.

14. As cited in Julie Osborne, "From Pioneer Fort to Pioneer Park," *Beehive History* 22 (1996): 19.

15. The date is identified as 1972 in published and online sources. However, the National Parks Service's NP Gallery Digital Asset Management System indicates the application was made in December 1972 and received on February 21, 1973, and registration was confirmed on October 15, 1974. See https://np gallery.nps.gov/AssetDetail/NRIS/74001938.

16. John Clark (1834–1908) served as the mayor of Salt Lake City from 1898 to 1899. Edward H. Anderson, "Events and Comments," *Improvement Era* 11, no. 8 (June 1908): 643.

17. "Council to Dedicate," *Salt Lake Tribune,* July 13, 1898, 6. The committee consisted of John Siddoway, F. S. Fernstrom, E. H. Callister, Robert Patrick, and A. A. Robertson. See also *R. L. Polk & Co. Salt Lake City Directory 1898* (Salt Lake City: R. L. Polk and Company Publishers, 1898), 43; and "The New City Officers," *Salt Lake Herald,* December 26, 1897, 32.

with two abstaining.[18] The city council also approved a budget of "$50 or so much thereof as may be necessary to cover the expenses of the celebration."[19] Two days later, on Thursday, July 14, 1898, the citizens of Salt Lake City, like the rest of the nation, celebrated the news of the surrender of Santiago de Cuba, a major Spanish stronghold in the southeastern area of the island of Cuba, with "screeching whistles and clanging bells."[20]

The *Salt Lake Tribune* reported the following day, "The Council committees met last night and tried to transact some business, but the celebrations down town proved too enticing, and the meeting broke up early."[21] However, the Pioneer Square dedication special committee did release a brief notice about the upcoming celebration, which reads, "The special committee appointed to arrange a programme for the Pioneer square dedication held a short session. It was decided to meet again at the close of next Tuesday night's Council meeting, and perfect plans for the celebration."[22] The dedication committee met again, as planned, on Thursday evening, July 21, 1898, to finalize the preparations for the ceremony to be held on Monday, July 25, 1898.[23]

The committee invited "as many of the pioneers as could be reached . . . and many are expected to be on hand, as well as the general public."[24] The announcement concluded, "The committee hopes to make the ceremonies very interesting and well worth a trip to the square."[25]

The *Salt Lake Herald* announced a few days later, in its Sunday, July 24, 1898, edition, "In this city the [Twenty-fourth] will be fittingly commemorated by dedicating Pioneer square, the piece of land where the pioneers camped 50 years ago, as a public park. The ceremonies attending this dedication will take place tomorrow (the 25th), instead of today, today being the Sabbath."[26] As noted above, the dedication ceremony was held on Monday, July 25, 1898.[27] Monday was, as Arthur Winter reported in his

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18. Salt Lake City Council Minutes, July 12, 1898, 248.

19. "Council to Dedicate," *Salt Lake Tribune,* July 13, 1898, 6.

20. "Salt Lake Enthusiasm," *Salt Lake Tribune,* July 15, 1898, 5.

21. "Salt Lake Enthusiasm," 5.

22. "Salt Lake Enthusiasm," 5.

23. "Pioneer Square Dedication," *Salt Lake Tribune,* July 22, 1898, 8. The report indicated Brigham Young Jr. would offer the prayer of dedication. However, George Q. Cannon offered the prayer.

24. "Pioneer Square Dedication," 8.

25. "Pioneer Square Dedication," 8.

26. "The Twenty-Fourth," *Salt Lake Herald,* July 24, 1898, 4.

27. Sunday was still considered a day reserved for specific kinds of activities in much of the United States in the late 1890s. See Craig Harline, *Sunday:*

personal journal, "a legal holiday."[28] He also noted that it had been a "very warm" day.[29] Another Salt Lake City resident, Mary L. Morris,[30] recorded it was "very hot."[31] The *Salt Lake Tribune* provided detailed information about the temperature: "July 25, 1898. Temperature 6 a.m., 74 deg.; . . . average for the day, 82 deg. Maximum 90 deg."[32]

The celebration began at ten o'clock in the morning with dignitaries and honored guests seated on "a large improvised, [American] flag-covered stand on the eastside part of the block"[33] (fig. 1). The *Salt Lake Tribune* provided a more precise location for the temporary platform: "a short distance below the intersection of Third [later Fourth] South and Second [later Third] West streets."[34] Patriotism was a theme in decorating, celebrating, and interpreting the event.[35] The *Salt Lake Herald*, for example, noted in its story headlines, "Dedication of Pioneer Square. Appropriate Exercises Mark the Observance of the Twenty-fourth. . . . A Patriotic and Inspiring Scene There Yesterday."[36] Reverend T. C. Iliff[37] of the Methodist Episcopal Church included a reference to this in

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A History of the First Day from Babylonia to the Super Bowl (New York: Double-day, 2007), 286, 313.

28. Arthur Winter, Journal, July 25, 1898, 219, Arthur Winter Collection, 1883–1940, MS 9641, Church History Library. Arthur Winter (1864–1940) was an LDS English convert, local Church leader, and reporter/stenographer in the First Presidency's office at the time of the dedication in 1898.

29. Winter, Journal, July 25, 1898, 219.

30. Mary L. Morris (1835–1919) was an LDS English convert, Mormon pioneer, prodigious writer, ward Primary president, stake Primary presidency member, mother of an Apostle (George Q. Morris), and grandmother of another Apostle (Marvin J. Ashton). See Melissa Lambert Milewski, ed., *Before the Manifesto: The Life Writings of Mary Lois Walker Morris* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2007), 1–48.

31. Mary L. Morris, Daybook, February 26, 1898–November 4, 1898, day 24, July 25, 1898, 110, MS A-20, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City.

32. "Meteorological Record," *Salt Lake Tribune,* July 26, 1898, 8.

33. Journal History of the Church, July 25, 1898, 1, CR 100 137, Church History Library.

34. "Pioneer Park Ceremonies," *Salt Lake Tribune,* July 26, 1898, 5.

35. An article published in a local newspaper connected the sacrifice of the early Mormon pioneers with the "sailors murdered" in the USS *Maine* sinking, who, "too, were pioneers." See "Pioneer Day," *Deseret News Weekly,* July 30, 1898, 200.

36. "Dedication of Pioneer Square," 5.

37. Thomas Corwin Iliff (1846–1919), was the superintendent of the Methodist Church Mission in the Rocky Mountains and an influential critic of the Church. See James David Gillilan, *Thomas Corwin Iliff: Apostle of Home*

his prayer at the beginning of the ceremony: "the soulful music reminds us of home, our country and God."[38]

LDS leaders had been concerned as war clouds gathered on the horizon, and a few of them opposed Church members' direct participation in the upcoming conflict. However, as the US Congress declared war on Spain in support of the Cuban War of Independence, LDS president Wilford Woodruff[39] believed "Utah should stand by the government in the present crisis and that our young men should be ready to serve their country when called upon."[40] In his personal diary, Woodruff noted, "I expressed my feelings in regard to Bro. B. Youngs[41] remarks at the Tabernacle yesterday as being unwise, as we are now a State & must take part either in peace or war and requested John Q Cannon to write a piece for publication in the Deseret News expressing my feelings, which he did."[42]

LDS historian Matthew Grow argues, "Embrace of American patriotism—evident in the enthusiastic participation in military service by Latter-day Saints, beginning in the Spanish-American War and

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Missions in the Rocky Mountains (New York: Methodist Book Concern, ca. 1919), 21–26.

38. "Dedication of Pioneer Square," 5.

39. Wilford Woodruff (1807–1898) was the President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints at the time of the dedication in 1898. He was a member and captain of ten in Brigham Young's 1847 Pioneer Vanguard Company. See Thomas G. Alexander, *Things in Heaven and Earth: The Life and Times of Wilford Woodruff, a Mormon Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1991).

40. As cited in Alexander, *Things in Heaven and Earth*, 321.

41. Brigham Young Jr. (1836–1903) was a senior Apostle in 1898 and outspoken critic of the forthcoming conflict with Spain until the First Presidency decided to support the US government's efforts to recruit LDS men to serve in the military. See, for example, Brigham Young Jr., in *Sixty-Eighth Annual Conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1898), 27. Later, on April 24, 1898, Young spoke in the Tabernacle and invited those attending to show their patriotism in ways other than sacrificing their children and suggested they might want to raise money to help finance the war instead of sending their sons into battle. He also was concerned about tropical disease the soldiers would encounter in Cuba and predicted these diseases would have a more devastating impact upon the soldiers than the war itself. See Mangum, "Spanish-American and Philippine Wars," 163.

42. Wilford Woodruff, Journal, April 25, 1898, as cited in Wilford Woodruff, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833–1898, Typescript,* ed. Scott G. Kenney, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983–84), 9:546. The article "No Disloyalty Here" was published in the *Deseret Evening News,* April 25, 1898, 4.

continuing throughout the twentieth century—also became a key component of identity for Saints in the United States."[43] Thomas G. Alexander, Woodruff's biographer, opined, "In order to prove Latter-day Saint patriotism, [Woodruff] proposed to offer the ultimate sacrifice—the blood of Mormon youth—to the nation."[44] Another Mormon historian, D. Michael Quinn, argues this decision to support the war signaled the end of Latter-day Saint "selective pacifism."[45] Not surprisingly, given this larger context of the nation at war and the Saints' desire to demonstrate their loyalty to the United States, especially after gaining statehood in 1896, the dedication ceremony was imbued with American symbols such as several large American flags as a backdrop to the celebration.

The special guests seated on the stand included President Woodruff, President George Q. Cannon,[46] Congressman William H. King,[47] Judge C. C. Goodwin,[48] Judge George W. Bartch,[49] Zina D. H. Young,[50]

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43. Matthew J. Grow, "The Modern Mormon Church," in *The Oxford Handbook of Mormonism,* ed. Terryl L. Givens and Philip L. Barlow (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 57.

44. As cited in Alexander, *Things in Heaven and Earth,* 321.

45. D. Michael Quinn, "The Mormon Church and the Spanish-American War: An End to Selective Pacifism," *Pacific Historical Review* 43, no. 3 (August 1974): 342–66.

46. George Q. Cannon (1827–1901) was serving as the First Counselor in the Church's First Presidency at the time of the dedication in 1898. Davis Bitton, *George Q. Cannon: A Biography* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1999), 459–60.

47. William Henry King (1863–1949) was serving in the US House of Representatives. See Andrew R. Dodge and Betty K. Koed, eds., *Biographical Dictionary of the United States Congress, 1774–2005* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 2005), 1387.

48. Charles Carroll Goodwin (1832–1917) was elected as one of the first district judges in Nevada following statehood in 1864. He was the editor-in-chief of the *Salt Lake Tribune* at the time of the dedication in 1898. See "Judge Goodwin Called by Death in Utah," *Mariposa (California) Gazette,* September 1, 1917, 2.

49. George W. Bartch (1849–1927) was serving on the Utah Supreme Court at the time of the dedication in 1898 and was one of the principal founders of the Republican Party in Utah. See "In Memorium, Honorable George W. Bartch," P0254n016, Alta Club Photograph Collection, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City.

50. Zina Diantha Huntington Young (1821–1901) was serving as the third general president of the Relief Society of the Church at the time of the dedication in 1898. She arrived in Utah in September 1848 with more than one thousand other pioneers in the Brigham Young Company. Martha Sonntag Bradley and Mary Brown Firmage Woodward, *Four Zinas: A Story of Mothers*

Emmeline B. Wells,[51] Reverend T. C. Iliff, William C. A. Smoot,[52] and "other prominent citizens and representatives of pioneer times."[53]

The city council placed a "large number of chairs" in front, facing the platform.[54] Two local newspapers provided line-drawing illustrations of the participants, including Woodruff, Cannon, Goodwin, King, Iliff, and Clark.[55] The *Salt Lake Tribune* observed, "The attendance was large, and upon the platform and out in the throng in front many gray-haired men and women could be seen who had lived in Utah for a half century."[56] The *Salt Lake Herald* estimated the crowd to have numbered "5,000 people."[57] The ceremony attracted attention from people all over Salt Lake City, but some of those attending lived in the neighborhood. Mary L. Morris recorded in her daybook, "Today, our neighborhood Block was dedicated by the first Presidency and City officials as Pioneer Park. Mayor John Clark opening address. Prest. Willford Woodruff Pioneer address. And George Q. Cannon dedicatory prayer."[58]

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and *Daughters on the Mormon Frontier* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2000), xxv, 143–69, 318–32.

51. Emmeline B. Wells (1828–1921) was a Church leader, women's rights advocate, and editor of the *Woman's Exponent,* a semimonthly periodical established in 1872 for Latter-day Saint women. She arrived in Utah in 1848. See Carol Cornwall Madsen, *Emmeline B. Wells: An Intimate History* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2017).

52. William Cochrane Adkinson Smoot (1828–1920) was a member of Brigham Young's 1847 Pioneer Vanguard Company. He was nineteen years old when he entered the valley in July 1847. His reminiscence, published in 1907, indicates he was the last person in the original company to enter the valley on July 24, 1847. See "W. C. A. Smoot Last Man into Valley," Journal History of the Church, July 24, 1907, 26. He was the last survivor of the original 143 adult male pioneers and also outlived the three women and one of the two children. See Bagley, *Pioneer Camp,* 346.

53. Journal History of the Church, July 25, 1898, 1; "Pioneer Park Ceremonies," 5.

54. "Pioneer Park Ceremonies," 5.

55. "Pioneer Park Ceremonies," 5; "Dedication of Pioneer Square," 5. One of the illustrations shows Mayor Clark holding sheets of papers, suggesting he and perhaps other speakers had prepared speeches.

56. "Pioneer Park Ceremonies," 5.

57. "Dedication of Pioneer Square," 5. The *Deseret News* reported two thousand participants. See "Pioneer Park Dedicated," *Deseret Evening News,* July 25, 1898, 1.

58. Morris, Daybook, July 25, 1898, 111–12.

Woodruff, Cannon, Young, Smoot, and Wells represented the Latter-day Saint community. Clark, King, Goodwin, and Bartch represented local and state government officers. Additionally, Smoot and Woodruff specifically represented the 143 men, three women, and two children of the original Pioneer Vanguard Company who entered the valley in July 1847.[59] The *Salt Lake Tribune* observed, "Out of the 148 who entered the valley on July 24, 1847, only two were present—Wilford Woodruff, the aged president of the Mormon church, and W. C. A. Smoot of Provo."[60] An advance party entered the valley on July 22, followed by others from Brigham Young's Vanguard Company during the next two days. Young[61] himself arrived on July 24. Smoot made his way into the valley before the end of the day and was the "the last man to come in."[62] Within a month of their arrival to the Salt Lake Valley, the pioneers had planted eighty-four acres of beans, buckwheat, corn, potatoes, and turnips; surveyed a town site and laid out streets running east and west, north and south; prepared an irrigation system; harvested 125 bushels of salt; reserved several ten-acre blocks for special uses, including one for a temple and one, Pioneer Park, for a fort large enough to accommodate about 106 families.[63]

The participants in the ceremonies were split along a religious divide, with the two sides, Latter-day Saints and non-Latter-day Saints, often at conflict with each other within the state. Reverend Iliff and Judge Goodwin were influential antagonists in the political, economic, and religious battles being played out in Utah. They took the conflict to the nation during this period as vocal critics of the Church and its leaders. For example, less than two months after the dedication ceremonies in July 1898, LDS leader B. H. Roberts[64] won the Democratic Party's nomination for a US congressional seat. Opposition to Roberts's nomination increased

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59. Although Smoot had originally been assigned to the seventh company of ten, with James Case as captain, he had become a member of the first company of ten, with Woodruff as captain. See Harold Schindler, "Young Chooses Leaders and Divides Camp into Teams for Trip Out West," *Salt Lake Tribune,* April 16, 1997, A-2.

60. "Pioneer Park Ceremonies," 5.

61. Brigham Young (1801–1877) was the senior LDS Apostle and de facto leader of the Church.

62. "W. C. A. Smoot Last Man into Valley," 26.

63. See Bagley, *Pioneer Camp,* 236.

64. Brigham Henry Roberts (1857–1933) was an English convert, Church leader, historian, author, and politician. See Truman G. Madsen, *Defender of the Faith: The B. H. Roberts Story* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980).

when he was elected to the 56th Congress in November.[65] Iliff and other Salt Lake City ministers immediately "formally requested that Roberts be refused his seat in Congress."[66] Iliff and Goodwin produced some of the most vitriolic attacks on the Church and its leaders during this period. Iliff was famous for his later talk "Mormonism, a Menace to the Nation," which he delivered coast to coast.[67] On the Church's side, in addition to Church leaders, Latter-day Saints in the ceremonies included Mayor Clark and Congressman King. Despite the past and current battles in Utah, the ceremony was amiable—focusing on the sacrifice and dedication of the original pioneers and those that followed them in building communities in Utah.

Reverend Iliff set the tone, as the *Salt Lake Tribune* reported, in his opening prayer by asking "God to bless the pioneers and especially President Woodruff, his aged servant, who had passed the four score years and ten."[68] Both newspapers, the *Deseret Evening News* and the *Salt Lake Tribune*, who each represented one of the two groups, published glowing reports of the dedication services as noted in the quotes found in this article. The *Salt Lake Herald* highlighted Congressman King's statement: "Today, regardless of faith, we meet to testify to the virtues, to the integrity, to the sublime heroic faith of the fathers of this commonwealth. Mormon and non-believer, Gentile and Jew, Methodist and Presbyterian, all meet unitedly upon this platform."[69]

The Church Historian's Office journal provides a brief outline of the program with some additional insight to the weather: "July 25, 1898. General holiday. Hot day. Thunder and showers about daybreak. At 10 a.m. Dedicatory Services at Pioneer Square, 6th ward. Mayor Clark presiding. Dr. Iliff prayed. Mayor Clark read history of Square. Prest. W. Woodruff, Judge [ ], King, and Judge C. C. Goodwin spoke. G. Q. Cannon made dedicatory prayer."[70] Professor Anton Pedersen directed the Knights of

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65. Madsen, *Defender of the Faith,* 243–66. Eventually, Roberts lost his prolonged battle to keep his seat.

66. Madsen, *Defender of the Faith,* 244.

67. The talk is recorded in Gillilan, *Thomas Corwin Iliff,* 73–96. For anti-Mormonism in another context, see Patrick Mason, *The Mormon Menace: Violence and Anti-Mormonism in the Postbellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

68. "Pioneer Park Ceremonies," 5.

69. "Dedication of Pioneer Square," 8.

70. Church Historian Journal, in Historical Department Office Journal, July 26, 1898, CR 100 A, Church History Library. The brackets are in the original. William H. King was a congressman, not a judge.

Pythias Band in a number of tunes.[71] As noted above, the opening prayer was then offered by Reverend Iliff. He prayed that it would "become a resting spot for the weary, even as it had been used by the pioneers"[72]— an interesting note, given the current usage of the park as a gathering place for the homeless. This was followed by a male quartet: Joseph Poll,[73] Robert H. Siddoway,[74] Victor Christopherson,[75] and Thomas G. Gill,[76] all Latter-day Saints.[77] The quartet sang "My Country, 'Tis of Thee," a song that served as one of the de facto national anthems of the United States before the "The Star-Spangled Banner" was adopted as the official US anthem in 1931.[78] Again, the theme of patriotism was evoked as the quartet sang "in a manner that rekindled the patriotic impulses of the large audience."[79]

Mayor Clark addressed the company by giving a detailed history of the events of 1847 and 1848. In conclusion he said, "I therefore congratulate you, my friends and fellow citizens, on this joyful event, and hope that this piece of public property will be made a beautiful and pleasant retreat where you and your children may enjoy the fresh air, the beautiful foliage and the lovely flowers which bloom and shed their fragrance

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71. "Dedication of Pioneer Square," 5. Anton Pedersen (1856–1913) was a Norwegian LDS convert who played a significant role in developing Utah's music culture. "Anton Pedersen's Useful Life Ended," *Salt Lake Herald,* May 19, 1913, 1. The Knights of Pythias is a fraternal organization founded in Washington, DC, on February 19, 1864. See James R. Carnahan, *Pythian Knighthood: Its History and Literature* (Cincinnati: Pettibone Manufacturing, Fraternity Publishers, 1888), 119.

72. "Dedication of Pioneer Square," 5.

73. Joseph Poll (1868–1942). See "Funerals: Poll," *Salt Lake Tribune,* March 16, 1942, 14.

74. Robert Hadderick Siddoway (1869–1950) was the son of Salt Lake City councilman John Siddoway. See "Certificate of Death Utah," State File no. 50-181016, May 31, 1950, Utah Death and Burials, 1888–1946, Family History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.

75. Victor Christopherson (1879–1958). See "Intermountain Obituaries: Victor Christopherson," *Salt Lake Tribune,* November 2, 1958, C-12.

76. Thomas G. Gill (1868–1943). See "Death Claims Founder of Sign Agency," *Salt Lake Tribune,* May 28, 1943, 28.

77. These four men remained friends throughout their lives and in one case served as honorary pallbearers for a fellow musician in 1940. See "Last Tributes Paid to Civic Leader," *Salt Lake Tribune,* September 30, 1940, 18.

78. "Dedication of Pioneer Square," 5; Louis L. Snyder, *Encyclopedia of Nationalism* (New York: Paragon House, 1990), 13.

79. "Dedication of Pioneer Square," 5.

on this hallowed spot. . . . Hail to the Pioneers of '47, joy and peace to their posterity and to all the dwellers in the pleasant vales of Utah!"[80]

President Woodruff was then introduced as the next speaker and as he "approached the front of the platform, he was greeted with cheers from the throng of people before him."[81] Woodruff, like the speakers before him, told the story of the first pioneers from his perspective. The Journal History noted, "The venerable Pioneer President created considerable merriment in his narration of early incidents connected with the settlement of Salt Lake Valley."[82] This moment, as Woodruff addressed those who had gathered to witnesses the dedication, was captured in a remarkable and historic outdoor photograph taken by Charles Ellis Johnson, a well-known Salt Lake photographer.[83]

The photographs featured in figures 1 and 3 are generated from Johnson's stereo glass-plate negatives (figs. 2, 4). Many well-known nineteenth-century Mormon photographs published in articles and books are actually only one of two images taken from a stereo-view negative.

> Stereographs . . . are a format and not a technical process. . . . Regardless of the process used, stereographs were formed of two images placed side by side. These were most commonly produced with cameras that had two lenses side by side, 2½″ apart, so that the two exposures were made simultaneously. The lenses were spaced to approximate the view a person would have, with each eye receiving a slightly different image. When properly viewed, stereographs give a remarkable sense of three dimensions. Card stereographs were viewed on a stereoscope, the most popular being a hand-held model developed by Oliver Wendell Holmes in 1861.[84]

As noted, Johnson had become well known for his portrait photographs taken in the controlled environment of his modern studio, so this outdoor scene is particularly remarkable.[85]

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80. "Dedication of Pioneer Square," 5.

81. "Dedication of Pioneer Square," 5.

82. Journal History of the Church, July 25, 1898, 2.

83. See Nelson B. Wadsworth, *Set in Stone, Fixed in Glass: The Great Mormon Temple and Its Photographers* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), 274.

84. Mary Lynn Ritzenthaler, Gerald J. Munoff, and Margery S. Long, *Archives and Manuscripts: Administration of Photographic Collections* (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 1984), 42.

85. Johnson's studio was located at 56 S. West Temple Street. See *Polk & Co. Salt Lake City Directory 1898*, 890.

FIGURE 2. Stereo glass plate of Wilford Woodruff addressing a crowd during the dedication of Pioneer Square in Salt Lake City, Utah, on July 25, 1898. Charles E. Johnson, photographer (PH 9612, 12.5 cm × 16.1 cm), Charles E. Johnson glass-plate negative collection, circa 1890 to 1898, Church History Library. A notation on the glass-plate negative states on the lower right, "362.K. Prest. Wilford Woodruff at the Dedication of Pioneer Square. July 24th 1898. Johnson." Johnson incorrectly dated the event on the glass plate negative as July 24, 1898; the dedication was held July 25, 1898.

The stereo glass-plate negatives (figs. 2, 4, and 5) were discovered in 2013 among a large collection of 624 glass-plate negatives taken by Johnson between 1892 and 1912.[86] The date of the event is routinely incorrectly identified as July 24, 1898, in published and online sources, including the application to place the park on the National Register of Historic Places. Interestingly, Johnson himself incorrectly identified the date on the glass-plate negatives as July 24, 1898 (see figs. 1, 2, 4, and 5).

Emmeline B. Wells recorded in her diary on Monday, July 25, 1898, "The pioneer square where the [forts] formerly stood was today publically

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86. The collection is now preserved in the Church History Library in Salt Lake City. The story on the discovery of the glass-plate negative collection was published in Emilee Bench, "New View of the Pioneers," *Deseret News,* July 23, 2013, 4, which gives an incorrect date for the event and incorrectly identifies Woodruff as the one who dedicated the park.

dedicated for a public park."[87] She continued, "Prest. Woodruff who is ninety one years old was present and spoke so everyone around him and all the people could hear him."[88] A local reporter provided a synopsis of Woodruff's address, "It was fifty-one years ago yesterday, a little before 11 o'clock a. m., that he drove President Young in his carriage on to the spot where the Knutsford hotel[89] now stands. On his arrival in the valley, the speaker had, he said, one bushel and half of potatoes in his possession. He had covenanted with the Lord that he would neither eat nor drink until they were planted, and he kept his promise."[90] Woodruff added, "Others of the pioneers also had potatoes with them. They, too, promptly attended to the work of planting." The crowd responded with laughter when Woodruff noted, "And they were planted in the earth, not in the moon (dark or light) as brother Orson Pratt objected to that."[91] The *Deseret Evening News* reported that following Woodruff's talk a quartet sang, "When the Swallows Homeward Fly."[92]

Utah Congressman King, who was identified as the "main speaker" at the dedication, followed President Woodruff with a speech.[93] He noted, "Nothing which we can say upon this occasion will more fully dedicate this spot. The act of consecration occurred 51 years ago, when the pioneers ended their memorable and perilous journey, and determined that here a city should be builded."[94]

The closing address was made by Judge Goodwin. In his final comments, he invited the crowd to consider what they could do to honor the pioneers: "Today as we read the shining list of their names . . . as we meet to rededicate this spot made sacred by their first consecration of it; we can render to their memories no higher honor, we can do nothing higher for ourselves, than to resolve to adopt the course which they

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87. Emmeline B. Wells, Journal, July 25, 1898, [238], Emmeline B. Wells Collection, MS 510, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

88. Wells, Journal, July 25, 1898.

89. The Knutsford Hotel, built in 1891, was located on the northeast corner of State Street and 300 South (Broadway) in Salt Lake City at the site where the pioneers planted their first crops. See "Who Plowed the First Furrow?" *Latter-Day Saints' Millennial Star* 56, no. 9 (February 26, 1894): 134.

90. "Pioneer Park Dedicated," 1.

91. "Pioneer Park Dedicated," 1.

92. "Pioneer Park Dedicated," 1.

93. "Pioneer Park Today," *Salt Lake Tribune,* July 25, 1898, 8.

94. "Dedication of Pioneer Square," 5.

adopted—to perform each our daily duties, under such lights as may be given us, and to leave the rest to God."[95] His remarks were followed by the dedicatory prayer, offered by George Q. Cannon. The *Salt Lake Tribune* reported that Cannon "thanked God for all the blessings that had come to Utah through the labors of the pioneers, and hoped that the historic spot of ground which had been dedicated to the public as a park would be improved and beautified to the end that all who entered it might reflect upon the past."[96] "At high noon," the *Salt Lake Herald* reported, "the Pythian band played a patriotic piece" and on the suggestion of one of the city councilmen, "three cheers were given in honor of the pioneers, and in appreciation cheers from the pioneers present went up for the city council, which had by ordinance set apart the square for the intended park."[97] At this point, "the ceremonies were then declared at an end."[98]

Interestingly, Cannon failed to mention the event in his journal.[99] Woodruff's journal noted, "Mon July 25ᵗʰ This is observed as a General holaday. I staid at home."[100] This entry is in the handwriting of L. John Nuttall, Woodruff's secretary.[101] Nuttall helped Woodruff update his journals, sometimes lapsing as long as four weeks, during this period and, apparently, in the process, the event was forgotten.

Among the recently discovered glass-plate negatives is another view taken on July 25, 1898, at the dedication of Pioneer Square, a stereo view of a group of young girls with the crowd and stand behind them (fig. 3). Although it is impossible to know exactly when on that day the photograph of the young girls was taken without additional primary

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95. "Pioneer Park Ceremonies," 5.

96. "Pioneer Park Ceremonies," 5.

97. "Dedication of Pioneer Square," 8.

98. "Dedication of Pioneer Square," 8.

99. George Q. Cannon, Journal, July 25, 1898, Church History Library; we acknowledge the assistance of Keith Erekson in verifying this information.

100. Woodruff, Journal, July 25, 1898, as cited in Woodruff, *Journal*, 9:556.

101. On L. John Nuttall (1834–1902), see Jedediah S. Rogers, ed., *In the President's Office: The Diaries of L. John Nuttall, 1879–1892* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2007). We appreciate the assistance of Brandon Metcalf, a Church History Library staff member, an expert on calligraphy of nineteenth-century Church leaders and their clerks, who reviewed Woodruff's journal entry for July 25, 1898, and confirmed that Nuttall had written it. He wrote, "That entry was written by clerk L. John Nuttall, as were all entries in that journal volume, except for those on pages 62–63, which are in Woodruff's handwriting." Quoted in Ed Riding, personal communication to Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, February 9, 2018.

FIGURE 3. Group of girls at the dedication of Pioneer Square in Salt Lake City, Utah, on Monday, July 25, 1898. Charles E. Johnson, photographer, PH 9612, Church History Library.

source information, it seems reasonable to assume, since the carriages and crowd of people are stationary in the background, it was taken before the program began. If it had been taken after the program ended, there likely would have been more movement as people left the ceremony.

On the following day, July 26, 1898, the *Salt Lake Tribune* suggested that "when the weather cools at the beginning of September, a benefit performance be advertised for the purpose of giving an entertainment, the proceeds of which to be devoted to fencing Pioneer park, trimming the trees, leveling and seeding the ground, laying out walks, etc."[102]

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102. "Improve Pioneer Square," *Salt Lake Tribune,* July 26, 1898, 4.

Figure 4. Stereo-view glass plates of girls at the dedication of Pioneer Square, July 25, 1898. Charles E. Johnson, photographer, PH 9612, Church History Library. These plates are mounted separately; the plate on the left is 12 × 8 cm, and the plate on the right is 12 × 8.1 cm. Written on the glass plate on the lower right side is "363K Group of Girls at the dedication of Pioneer Square. Johnson." Johnson misdated the image on the glass-plate negative as July 24, 1898.
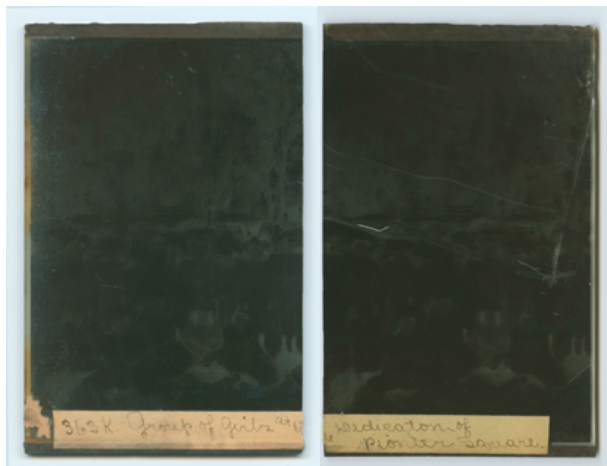

Figure 5. Reverse side of stereo-view glass plates of girls at the dedication of Pioneer Square, July 25, 1898. Charles E. Johnson, photographer, PH 9612, Church History Library. The plate on the left is 12 × 8.1 cm, the plate on the right 12 × 8 cm. Johnson wrote on a piece of tape placed on the bottom of the glass plate, "363K Group of Girls at the dedication of Pioneer Square."

Eventually, city officials again turned their attention to the site, and in 1912 a large playground and swimming pool opened to the public.[103]

The two stereo views of the Pioneer Square dedication are important sources, augmenting the written primary sources of this historic event. Additionally, Johnson's photograph of Wilford Woodruff preserves the last known photograph of the Church president in a public setting.[104] Woodruff departed Salt Lake City in a small company of friends and associates nineteen days later on August 13, 1898, to visit San Francisco, California. Unfortunately, he died there on September 2, 1898.[105]

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103. W. Randall Dixon, personal communication to Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, February 12, 2018.

104. Woodruff participated in several other public gatherings following the Pioneer Park dedication. However, no photographs of these events are known to exist. See Woodruff, Journal, July 27, 1898 (Stake Presidents and Bishopric Day at Saltair); August 1, 1898 (Salt Lake Stake Relief Society Day at Saltair); August 27, 1898 (at the Bohemian Club, San Francisco, California); and August 28, 1898 (at the San Francisco Branch's Sunday meetings), in Woodruff, *Journal,* 9:556–60.

105. Alexander, *Things in Heaven and Earth,* 330.

The Work of Their Hands

Taylor Cozzens

When I turned eighteen, I took a job as a laborer for a construction company that was building dormitories on a university campus in High Point, North Carolina. It was a new world for me, one of mud, concrete, and rebar. The Lulls, excavators, and flatbeds crawled around the job site, engines roaring, back-up beepers blaring. Meanwhile, the chop saws competed with the quickie saws to see which could scream the loudest as they sliced through wood, metal, and concrete. I soon came to know the tingling in the fingers after using a Sawzall and the smell of hot metal after using a grinder. I became more than familiar with brooms and shovels and with the aches that come from lifting and carrying for hours on end. Blowing my nose yielded black and brown contents, and the Port-a-John disposal tanker was always a welcome site. Perhaps the most defining trait of this new world was the workers: the hardy, dexterous, Spanish-speaking workers.

On my first day, I watched a concrete crew tie rebar for one of the walls. Lined shoulder to shoulder, with spring-loaded pliers in both hands, they reached for the spool of wire on their tool belts, then tied the wire around the intersection of vertical and horizontal rebar in a way that reminded me of tying a shoe. The pliers in their hands were a blur. Once the joint was tied, they cut the end of the wire that ran back to the spool, followed by the slack in the two loose ends of the wire knot. Snip, snip, snip. On to the next joint. They talked in rapid Spanish as they worked. For the top sections of the wall, they used scaffolding. When they finished, a 3-D lattice of rebar would be ready for forms to be put up around it and concrete to be poured. In time, the wall would help support a

brand new, four-story dorm. Some of the workers wore bandanas under their hard hats that draped down and covered the backs of their necks. They seemed perfectly at home working in the sun.

The Latino crews were a jovial bunch. Some sang; many joked. They were always kind to me. Even with a language barrier, those with whom I worked would loan me tools and offer me *taquitos, Gansitos,*[1] and cans of Coke. I wondered sometimes how men could be so cheerful when they worked for relatively low wages with limited opportunity for advancement and when they worked through agencies that not only subtracted taxes from their checks but also a percentage for themselves. Yet there the men were, working and laughing and working some more. If every workplace in the country had employees like my construction coworkers, US GDP would probably double.

Occasionally, safety inspectors sporting sunglasses and glossy new hard hats would visit the job site. Word of their presence would spread, and everyone would observe the letter of the OSHA law for an hour or so. Nobody wanted a fine. Yet it occurred to me a few years later that most of these workers had no health insurance, nor did they have any alternative work options if they were injured. I'm sure this reality kept them safer than any rule Uncle Sam could come up with.

I soon left for college in Utah, where I decided to study history, but the following summer found me back on the same job site in High Point, North Carolina. Work now was on the inside of the building, and the company was racing to finish the dormitories before the coming fall, when the first students would move in. All the Latino crews—duct workers, drywallers, painters, and others—were equal to the task. The dorms were finished. The students moved in, and the workers moved on to other jobs. I left for a Spanish-speaking mission to East Los Angeles, California, not to return to construction for several years. When I did, however, I ended up at the same university in High Point. This time, the construction company was building apartment complexes, and again, I worked among the Latinos. Now, though, I could understand them, and I appreciated their work ethic and good cheer all the more. Amusingly, I also realized that many of their words did not exactly come from the dictionary of the *Real Academia Española,* but rather were part of a

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1. Gansito is a Mexican brand of individually wrapped processed pastries, comparable to Twinkies.

linguistic twilight zone that included verbs such as *framear, chirroquear, finishiar, paypear,* and *chalklaynear.*[2]

Around this time, I graduated with a history degree. My studies culminated with a research project on agricultural labor in California. In a variety of books, I had seen pictures of Latino field workers beneath the California sun, immigrants who, under other circumstances, could very well have been my construction workmates—Virgilio, Erasmo, or Faustino. Over the last century, such workers became the backbone of California's immense agricultural industry. They picked peas and peaches, topped sugar beets, thinned lettuce, planted onions, capped cantaloupe and watermelon, cut broccoli, threshed beans, cut and pitted apricots, and worked as seasonal laborers in a number of other crops. The lush fields and orchards were the work of their hands. Such work required incredible stamina. It was physically taxing and usually involved moving from town to town, living in camps, and making only enough to survive.

I studied one part of farm-labor history in particular: a tool known as the short-handled hoe. During the mid-twentieth century, many California growers began requiring their field workers to use hoes with eight-to-eighteen-inch handles to thin and weed row crops. The growers said it was necessary for precision. The tool required workers to bend at almost a ninety-degree angle as they worked. Such stoop labor, over time, led to arthritis, torn or over-stretched ligaments, ruptured discs, and, in short, forty-year-old workers who had eighty-year-old backs.

Research had taken me to Salinas, California, and to the office of a small legal firm called the California Rural Legal Assistance. In the early 1970s, this firm, on behalf of field workers, petitioned the California Industrial Safety Board to outlaw the short hoe from the fields. As I studied its records, I saw the debate that had ensued over the importance of workers' health versus the financial considerations of California agribusiness. Convincing a state government that had long favored agribusiness of the need to reduce stoop labor took several years, but eventually, in 1975, the workers succeeded in banning the short hoe.

As fate would have it, I was accepted into a graduate program in Monterey, California, a town adjacent to Salinas. In fact, during my first

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2. These verbs come directly from English (respectively, to frame, to sheetrock, to finish, to install pipes, and to mark with a chalk line), and they have simply been adapted to Spanish grammar and phonetics. Border Spanish, or Spanglish, is common in construction, as in other settings in the United States.

year of the program, I drove to Salinas twice a week for a part-time job. As I drove those seventeen miles, I would look out over the long fields and watch the crews work. Many wore sweatshirts with their hoods fastened tightly, even in the heat. Happily, they were not using the short hoe. Furthermore, a trailer with Port-a-Johns and a water tank was kept close to the crew, a service not usually provided prior to the 1970s. Despite these improvements, the field work still obviously required working in the sun with a lot of repetitive stooping and lifting. But, as in construction, the Latino crews seemed equal to the task, and the crops flourished as a result.

Over the last few years, I have reflected on the importance of work and on the role of Latino workers in the United States. "Who can find a virtuous woman?" wrote the author of Proverbs—and I would add "virtuous man"—for "[their] price is far above rubies." These virtuous individuals are they that "[work] willingly with [their] hands" (Prov. 31:10, 12).

Elder Maxwell often taught that even if work, including manual work, were not an economic necessity, it would be a spiritual necessity.[3] It humbles us and prepares us to receive spiritual things. Similarly, some of my own family members have always said that a man can get nearer to God on the end of a shovel than on the front pew of a chapel. Before his ministry began, Jesus was a carpenter. Peter was a fisherman; Joseph Smith, a farmer; President Monson, a printer. If work is so important, perhaps those that work the hardest are most worthy of emulation. Indeed, when figuring their worth, the Lord spoke of rubies, not hourly wages. Yet, all too often, society's attitude toward agricultural or construction workers, or toward the work itself, more closely matches that of a few of my fellow white laborers in construction who, though they did not work half as hard as the Latinos, liked to linger in the Port-a-Johns, writing racial slurs on the walls in permanent marker.

Through Isaiah the prophet, the Lord shared many things about the members of the house of Israel in the Millennium. Among them, he taught: "And they shall build houses, and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards, and eat the fruit of them. They shall not build, and another inhabit; they shall not plant, and another eat: for . . . mine

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3. Neal A. Maxwell, "Put Your Shoulder to the Wheel," *Ensign* 28 (May 1998): 38; see also Neal A. Maxwell, "Sharing Insights from My Life," BYU Devotional Address, Provo, Utah, January 12, 1999, https://speeches.byu.edu/talks/neal-a -maxwell_sharing-insights-life/.

elect shall long enjoy the work of their hands" (Isa. 65:21–22). Latinos in the United States and Latin Americans abroad have European and indigenous origins.[4] The indigenous side can be traced back, in part, to the Lamanites, the children of Lehi, a descendent of Israel. Who, then, really are the workers in the fields and on the job sites? As much as anyone, they are "the seed of the blessed of the Lord, and their offspring with them" (Isa. 65:23). Perhaps one day, instead of the fully furnished, private-room apartments for privileged university students, they will build comfortable homes for themselves and their families. Perhaps instead of harvesting the fields and watching the truckloads of California produce be shipped away, they will have their own lands and farm their own food.

I do not know how Isaiah's prophecy will be fulfilled, yet I am grateful for the Latino population that has been grafted into the US society and economy. Perhaps this grafting has even preserved them, like the grafted branches in Zenos's allegory (see Jacob 5: 6–8). Moreover, I hope I may follow their example of work and thereby prepare for the day when "the wolf and lamb shall feed together" and when we as one people "shall not hurt nor destroy [nor denigrate] in all my holy mountain, saith the Lord" (Isa. 65:25).

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This essay by Taylor Cozzens won third place in the 2017 Richard H. Cracroft Personal Essay Contest.

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4. In Brazil, the Caribbean, and other regions, many also have African heritage.

Figure 1. The Pioneer Jubilee parade on July 21, 1897, in Salt Lake City, included veterans of 1856–1860 handcart companies pulling carts. This parade celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the arrival of Brigham Young's company in the valley. Used by permission, Utah State Historical Society.

Handcart Trekking

From Commemorative Reenactment to Modern Phenomenon

Melvin L. Bashore

From an early date, Mormons have remembered and celebrated their history with jubilees, commemorative celebrations, pageants, markers, and reenactments. Only two years after the first Mormons arrived in the Salt Lake Valley, several thousand Church members celebrated the event with the first Mormon Pioneer Day on July 24, 1849. There was a procession, speeches, songs, prayers, and a bounteous feast reminiscent of the Pilgrims' first Thanksgiving.[1] By the second half of the nineteenth century, the Pioneer Day celebration had been firmly established throughout the Mormon corridor.

Why do we, as Mormons, memorialize our history so much? Why are we so interested in pageants and reenactments? Why do we choose to remember our past in these different ways? While these celebrations are interesting to examine intrinsically, they also reveal as much about the participants as they do the events and histories being memorialized.

This article reviews the history of handcarts in reenactments, both as part of Pioneer Day activities and the recent growth of treks as multi-day youth activities, as a step toward understanding what handcart history means to Mormonism. Historical reenactments in general can be traced as far back as the early Roman period and the Middle Ages,[2] and

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1. Journal History of the Church, July 24, 1849, 1–8, Church History Library, Salt Lake City, https://dcms.lds.org/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE282783.

2. For example, many Roman *naumachia,* naval combats performed in an arena, were reenactments of battles.

Melvin L. Bashore

In 1975, when I first began working in the Church Historical Department, I was tasked with the job of creating finding aids and indexes to help researchers looking for accounts of pioneer journeys by ship and on land. Today these accounts are fully text-searchable in two databases: Mormon Migration (https://mormonmigration.lib.byu.edu/) and Mormon Pioneer Overland Travel (https://history.lds.org/overlandtravel/).

Although I don't have any Mormon pioneer ancestors, my great-grandmother's family stopped in Salt Lake City briefly to get supplies on their way to California in 1864. Compared with the richness of the Mormon immigration accounts, I know precious little about her journey. The Mormon accounts are fascinating. I began writing articles about different aspects of Mormon Trail history. In the beginning, I consciously avoided writing about handcart history because I thought that topic had been overworked.

But it may have been a handcart trek that I went on in 1997 that changed my thinking about handcart history. The Church had just purchased the Sun Ranch and opened up Martin's Cove to public visitation. A relative, Brent Bills, lived in Lander, Wyoming. He was storing some Amish-built handcarts in his barn that were going to be used at the visitors' center in Martin's Cove. He invited us and other family members to push a couple of those handcarts up over Rocky Ridge to Rock Creek Hollow. I had previously gone out exploring on the Mormon Trail with LaMar Berrett, Roy Tea, and others. I had walked in the ruts, smelled the sagebrush, and fallen in love with those places in Wyoming that many consider to be barren and bleak. But something different happened to me when I pushed a handcart up Rocky Ridge. Even though I don't have any handcart pioneer ancestors, something about what they had done pierced my heart that day. That family handcart trek changed a part of me, just like it seems to do for many of our Mormon youth.

the modern popularity of reenactments is widespread. Living history demonstrations, mountain man rendezvous, and Civil War reenactments are just parts of this modern phenomenon. Handcart treks are a modern Mormon equivalent of these reenactments.

In his study of the nineteenth-century Pioneer Day observance, Steve Olsen observes that "community celebrations provide one of the most insightful and concise windows into the soul of a people."[3] His observations, though centered on the role of Pioneer Day, also apply to handcart treks and what they reveal about the Mormon identity. First, handcart treks show how Mormons feel "about themselves as a religious and social group."[4] Many trek participants have written about their experiences in online blogs. Kristen Duke, living in Austin, Texas, for example, wrote about her experience on a trek undertaken in central Texas in 2015. She is a descendant of Rebecca Burdick Winters, an 1852 pioneer who died of cholera while trekking across the plains and whose grave was marked with an engraved wagon wheel in Nebraska. All participants were asked to walk in memory of an ancestor or pioneer, and Kristen dedicated her trek journey to Rebecca. Recognizing her story might be read by those not of her faith and uninformed about its history, she explained that modern handcart treks harked back to the Mormon pioneers, who traveled across the country to escape persecution and settle in a place where they could worship freely. She said, "We tried to put ourselves in their places as much as possible. To remember how they suffered so much for their faith, but still experienced joy in the journey."[5]

Steve Olsen's second observation is that Pioneer Day (and, correspondingly, handcart treks) "reinforced the nature and meaning of Mormon social organization and cohesion."[6] Handcart treks are organized similarly to the old pioneer companies' structure, with captains, assistants, commissaries, etc. The young people are organized into small family groups with married couples, called "Ma's" and "Pa's," taking

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3. Steven L. Olsen, "Celebrating Cultural Identity: Pioneer Day in Nineteenth-Century Mormonism," *BYU Studies* 36, no. 1 (1996–97): 161.

4. Olsen, "Celebrating Cultural Identity," 161.

5. Kristen Duke, "Mormon Pioneer Handcart Trek," *Capturing Joy* (blog), June 29, 2015, https://www.kristendukephotography.com/mormon-pioneer -handcart-trek/.

6. Olsen, "Celebrating Cultural Identity," 161.

the lead.[7] And Olsen's final observation is that pioneer commemorations help "create and preserve a strong consciousness of the Mormon past."[8] Marco Dal Zotto, the leader of a 2011 Mormon handcart trek in Milan, Italy, said, "In the end, our young people developed a lot of respect for early Mormon pioneers and for the things that they went through."[9]

Each year, thousands of youth participate in organized Mormon handcart treks around the world. In Wyoming in 2010, over fourteen thousand trekkers participated in 183 treks, conducted at the historic trail sites Martin's Cove, Sixth Crossing, and Rock Creek Hollow.[10] Thousands of others have participated in treks at Church-owned farm and ranch properties located in Utah, Washington, Florida, California, Oklahoma, and Argentina.[11] Although handcart treks are not a required activity in the Church's youth program, treks have been organized in such far-flung locales as Taiwan, Alaska, and Chile. In 2015, in response to the growing number of treks around the world, the Church issued a thirty-two-page handbook to help wards and stakes conduct successful, safe handcart trek reenactments.[12] Who could have foreseen the phenomenal popularity of handcart treks today?

The Earliest Pioneer Day Reenactments: Wagons and Handcarts

In Mormon history, the fascination with handcarts as a two-wheeled moving van to transport one's possessions extends back to as early as the Saints' exodus from Nauvoo, Illinois. In 1846, one woman, who was part of a non-Mormon, California-bound company that passed

7. *Handcart Trek Reenactments: Guidelines for Leaders* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2015), 6, https://www.lds.org/youth/activities/bc/pdfs/stake/Handcart-Trek-Guidelines-June-2015.pdf?lang=eng.

8. Olsen, "Celebrating Cultural Identity," 161.

9. Quoted in Peggy Fletcher Stack, "Mormons around the Globe Re-enact Pioneer Trek," *Salt Lake Tribune*, August 10, 2012.

10. Historic Sites Files—Wyoming, Historic Sites Division, Church History Library.

11. For trek locations currently operated under Church guidance, see "Trek Locations," The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, accessed February 14, 2018, https://www.lds.org/locations/treks/list-of-treks?lang=eng.

12. *Handcart Trek Reenactments: Guidelines for Leaders*, https://www.lds.org/youth/activities/bc/pdfs/stake/Handcart-Trek-Guidelines-June-2015.pdf?lang=eng.

the Mormon outcasts moving west, noted with amazement that some were pushing their loads in wheelbarrows: "This is an actual fact," she wrote, "some trundled wheelbarrows before them, containing all of their worldly possessions."[13] When Mormons first started using handcarts to cross the plains in 1856, the carts attracted attention and interest. "It was certainly the most novel and interesting sight I have seen for many a day," reported an observer in the *Nashville Daily News*.[14]

While the handcarts were an attraction for many because of their novelty, for Mormons the carts were infused with conflicting emotions. During Brigham Young's lifetime, there was a reluctance to speak freely about the handcarts because so many handcart travelers had died along the way.[15] Even before the last handcart and wagon companies had reached the Salt Lake Valley in 1856, Brigham Young lashed out at those who blamed him for the poor management of that season's emigration. At the Sabbath meeting in the Old Tabernacle on November 2, 1856, Heber C. Kimball said, "There is a spirit of murmuring among the people, and the fault is laid upon br. Brigham."[16] In that same meeting, Brigham Young spoke frankly on who he thought shouldered blame for the disaster. "There is not the least shadow of reason for casting such censure upon me," he said. "I never thought of my being accused of advising or having any thing to do with so late a start." He severely reprimanded Franklin D. Richards and Daniel Spencer for not holding the late companies back. "If, while at the Missouri river, they had received a hint from any person on this earth, or if even a bird had chirped it in the ears of brs. Richards and Spencer," scolded Brigham Young, "[they] would have stopped those men, women and children there until another year."[17]

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13. Margaret M. Hecox, *California Caravan: The 1846 Overland Trail Memoir of Margaret M. Hecox*, ed. Richard Dillon (San Jose, Calif.: Harlan-Young Press, 1966), 24.

14. "The Massacre on the Plains," *Nashville Daily News*, November 25, 1857.

15. In my years of research in Mormon pioneer documents, I have found very few critical comments about the handcart calamity uttered by faithful Church members. People were loath to speak about the handcart experiment, which resulted in disaster in 1856.

16. Heber C. Kimball, "Remarks," November 2, 1856, *Deseret News*, November 12, 1856, 282.

17. Brigham Young, "Remarks," November 2, 1856, *Deseret News*, November 12, 1856, 283.

President Young was deeply hurt that some were blaming him for the deaths of so many. Perhaps because of this, people avoided speaking or writing about the 1856 handcart tragedy until after Brigham Young's death. Apparently, the only person who wrote anything about the handcart tragedy before Brigham Young's death was John Chislett. He had been a subcaptain in the Willie handcart company but apostatized from the Church about 1864. His account of the handcart journey was published in 1873 in T. B. H. Stenhouse's anti-Mormon book, *The Rocky Mountain Saints*.[18] The memory of the late-season disaster in 1856 was too fresh and too suffused with thoughts that the human suffering may have been brought on by mismanagement and poor judgment. But sentiments about the handcarts evolved with the passage of time. After Brigham Young died, people began to talk and write more openly about their experiences traveling in handcart companies. The accomplishments they achieved in their hard journey began to be admired and, in time, celebrated. Handcart pioneers began to be singled out and honored in parades and community celebrations.

By the time of the 1897 Pioneer Jubilee, the public sensed more than ever before that they were fast losing the pioneer generation, their human touchstone to the great overland migration and to the settlement of Utah. Although the celebration focused on the surviving pioneers from 1847, the later handcart companies of the pioneer story were also recognized in the festivities. J. T. Harwood designed an enameled steel souvenir cup for the event that featured a handcart train along the rim's border and other iconic emblems such as the state flower and the beehive.[19] One of the highlights of the four-day celebration was a wagon train reenactment of the 1847 pioneer entrance into the valley out of Emigration Canyon. In the parade that passed through Salt Lake City, a "hand-cart brigade" was included in the line of march behind Utah's first stagecoach (figs. 1, 2).[20]

A few decades later, after the turn of the century, the Handcart Veterans Association and the Daughters of Utah Handcart Pioneers were organized.[21] Trekking the Mormon Trail on foot was a popular LDS Boy

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18. T. B. H. Stenhouse, *The Rocky Mountain Saints* (New York: Appleton, 1873), 311–32.

19. "The Pioneer Jubilee," *Salt Lake Herald,* February 11, 1897, 6.

20. "Programme for Today," *Salt Lake Herald,* July 21, 1897, 2; "Utah's Growth Illustrated," *Salt Lake Tribune,* July 22, 1897, 9.

21. The Handcart Veterans Association was formed in 1906 to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of handcart immigration. It was active until about 1914,

FIGURE 2. Pioneer Jubilee parade in Salt Lake City on July 21, 1897, celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the arrival of the first pioneer company in the Salt Lake Valley. Veterans of handcart companies pulled handcarts. Photo is one half of a stereograph taken by the Keystone View Company. Courtesy Church History Library.

Scout activity from just before World War I into the 1950s.[22] Confined principally to troops along the Wasatch Front, the treks would generally

holding periodic gatherings and reunions. For a published report of its first reunion, see "Grizzled Veterans Talk of the Past," *Salt Lake Tribune,* October 5, 1906, 10. At a Handcart Veterans Association reunion in 1910, it was proposed that a women's auxiliary organization called the Daughters of Handcart Veterans be formed. The women's group, called the Daughters of Utah Handcart Pioneers, was organized on April 14, 1910, with fifty charter members. This organization evolved into what is today the Daughters of Utah Pioneers. "Handcart Veterans Unite to Strengthen Old Bonds," *Salt Lake Herald-Republican,* April 6, 1910, 1, 7; "Lapish, Hannah Settle," in Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia: A Compilation of Biographical Sketches of Prominent Men and Women in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1901–36), 2:527.

22. For example, see "Boy Scouts Travel over Pioneer Trail," *Salt Lake Tribune,* July 22, 1912, 12; and "Youths to Hike from Henefer," *Ogden Standard Examiner,* December 15, 1947, 5.

FIGURE 3. A group of reenactors stand by an original pioneer wagon, circa 1900–1925. Although this vehicle is not a typical handcart, it has two wheels like a handcart. Church History Library.

FIGURE 4. A group of reenactors pull a handcart, circa 1900–1925. The woman on the right (with an arrow pointing to her) is a daughter of Hannah Crossley Winn, who was in the Martin Handcart Company. Church History Library.

FIGURE 5. A group of people gather around an original handcart. There are five original pioneers in the photo: three standing on the far right and two seated to right and left of the handcart. The photo was taken in Woodland, Utah, circa 1920. Church History Library.

FIGURE 6. An undated photo may show a reenactment or a re-creation for publicity or illustration. Photo circa 1900–1925. Church History Library.

FIGURE 7. In the early 1900s, a reenactment of the pioneer experience included this group of descendants of Archer Walters. Church History Library.

involve hiking, biking, or even snowshoeing the last thirty-six miles of the Mormon Trail, from Henefer, Utah, over Big and Little Mountains, and down through Emigration Canyon. While photos from the Church History Library (figs. 3–7) show pioneer and handcart reenactments by adults and children circa 1900 to 1925, my research turned up no commentary about these events or activities. Figure 7 shows a family reenacting the handcart trek of their ancestor Archer Walters; the sign on the wagon reads, "Handcart Pioneers 1856–60, Family of Archer Walters, As they left Iowa June 7th, 1856, Children Walked 1200 Miles."

In 1947, an auto-tour trek was one of the highly publicized events of Utah's Pioneer Centennial Celebration. In this one-hundredth anniversary reenactment of the pioneer trek, 148 people in 72 automobiles caravanned from Nauvoo to Salt Lake City. They drew national attention as they replicated the pioneer trek in cars affixed with canvas tops to look like covered wagons.[23]

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23. D. James Cannon, ed., *Centennial Caravan: Story of the 1947 Centennial Reenactment of the Original Mormon Trek from Nauvoo, Illinois, to Salt Lake Valley, July 14 to 22, 1947* (n.p.: Sons of Utah Pioneers, 1948).

Handcarts in Reenactments, 1960s and 1970s

In 1966, seventy-two Boy Scouts from Phoenix, Arizona, made carts and brought them to Utah to reenact a handcart trek on the last thirty-six miles of the original Mormon trail, from Henefer to Salt Lake City (figs. 8–12). Their adventure had been in planning and preparation for a year. Wayne Green, the stake Young Men's president, came up with the idea for the outing. He said, "It just sounded like an adventuresome, fun thing to do and at the same time, the opportunity to teach a little church history."[24] They transported eleven homemade carts and traveled by bus and car from Arizona. Their carts used fifty-four-inch metal wheels scavenged from old hay wagons. It took two days to drive from Arizona to Henefer. Andrew McInnes drove a two-seated pickup truck, carrying five boys and some handcarts. He kept a journal of the trip and handcart trek.[25] After stopping to camp that night in Zion National Park, they reached Henefer the next day, Sunday, at 6:00 pm and drove from there to East Canyon Reservoir, where they camped.

After breakfast the next morning, they broke camp and returned to Henefer. They signed their names in a logbook at a small log house before setting out to start pushing their carts. They were able to travel in old trail ruts for a short distance but had to move onto the highway because the old trail was so badly washed out. Their first camp was in a large meadow just east of the East Canyon Reservoir. The next day's trek took them south up East Canyon to Little Emigration Canyon, where they had to clear a path to enable the carts to get through on the way up to Big Mountain. "Going is rough, axmen ahead of carts cutting trees, and removing brush," wrote McInnes, "also removing large rocks from the trail." McInnes wrote, "We were told we are the first handcart co. to pass this way since the Saints passed this way so long ago!"[26] That expression indicates the sense of history they were experiencing.

David Koutz, a fifteen-year-old scout from the Phoenix Nineteenth Ward, served as scribe for the group. Going up Big Mountain taxed their

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24. Wayne Green, recorded telephone conversation with the author, April 7, 2012.

25. Andrew McInnes, Journal of the Handcart Trip, June 11, 1966, copy sent to author by Dennis Schaub, and subsequently donated to Church History Library. Delbert Dennis Schaub, Phoenix Tenth Ward Handcart Trek Records, 1966, MS 25641, Church History Library.

26. McInnes, Journal, June 14, 1966. This group may not have been the first reenactors since the 1850s.

Figures 8–12. In 1966, Boy Scouts from Phoenix, Arizona, brought handcarts to trek the original Mormon trail leading into Salt Lake City. They posed with a monument along the way. They used the original trail as much as possible but sometimes had to use the highway. Courtesy Dennis Schaub; photos in Church History Library.

carts. "One axle broke and had to be left until we could fix it," the young scribe wrote. "Another axle bent and had to be straightened. One wheel went flat when it landed on a rock . . . and at evening camp we heated it and pounded it out."[27] They used aspen branches to make a very hot fire. "When the coals were red hot," wrote McInnes, "we placed the damaged wheel in the coals and when the metal was just right, we straightened the wheel with a single bit ax, and then tempered it with cold water."

They had to lower their carts with chains and ropes much of the way down the steep western slope of Big Mountain, not unlike the handcart pioneers in the 1850s. "The going [is] extremely rough," McInnes wrote. "We had to cut our way through a thorn thicket, one cart tipped over . . . the footing very bad to say the least."[28]

That night they held a testimony meeting in their camp at the place marked as the Last Creek Camp, the same place where the main group of Brigham Young's Vanguard Company had camped on July 21, 1847. "How I wish all of the loved ones of these young men and their leaders could have heard the beautiful, humble testimonies given this night," wished McInnes.[29]

Although footsore and tired, they set off early the next morning, finishing the final five-mile leg, all downhill, on a paved road. As they exited Emigration Canyon, they saw the This Is the Place Monument. "Monument in sight," McInnes wrote, "we can see the reception party from SLC. TV cameras as we push to meet them." They enjoyed a big party in Salt Lake City that night, all the trekkers receiving pins upon which was written, "I have walked the Pioneer Trail."[30]

Two years later, forty-four teenage LDS girls in the Campcrafter program from East Long Beach Stake in California traveled by bus to take a handcart trek over the same stretch of trail taken by the young men from Phoenix. The handcarts they brought, made by one of the men in the stake, were disassembled for the trip and reassembled in Utah. Each of the girls made her own pioneer clothing and soap and baked bread

27. "Some Push, Some Pull," *Church News,* published by *Deseret News,* July 2, 1966, 9.

28. McInnes, Journal, June 15, 1966.

29. McInnes, Journal, June 15, 1966.

30. McInnes, Journal, June 16, 1966. See also "Phoenix Scouts Pull Carts on Mormon Trail," *Salt Lake Tribune,* June 17, 1966, B-9. This story was also reported in "Arizona Scouts Trek Up Mormon Trail," *Arizona Republic,* June 17, 1966, C-4.

over a campfire. Some of the girls even made their own sleeping bags out of water-repellant nylon with Dacron filler. They had to fulfill numerous requirements beforehand: earn a physical fitness award, hike twenty-five miles, complete a one-mile run, pass a written exam on handcart history, and write two book reports. Apostle Mark E. Petersen and Seventy S. Dilworth Young visited their camp on a Sunday rest stop.[31]

I interviewed three people who participated in that trek over forty years ago—two leaders and the camp scribe. Marlene Bellamy, a public school P. E. teacher, was the energetic stake leader who got the idea for the trek after reading about the last forty miles of the original trail leading to the valley in a small booklet. She thought, "Well, gee, why can't girls do this?"[32] She had not heard about the feat of the Arizona scouts two years before. Elaine Moniz Peters, the camp historian, wrote, "We left Long Beach by Greyhound bus with forty girls from our Campcrafter Program, ages twelve to eighteen, six handcarts, two fathers and three Camp Directors and a Unit Leader per handcart. We arrived in Henefer where the weather on our first day was 104 degrees."[33] Thelma Tolhurst, a nurse, was tasked with making sure the girls were in good health and fit to do the activity. The girls fared well on the trek, no more than minor blisters and sunburns spoiling their fun. "They were elated and proud of themselves," Tolhurst remembered.[34] One of the fun memories happened near the end of the journey as the group neared the mouth of Emigration Canyon. Bellamy recalled, "These college guys went by in a convertible and screamed at us, 'Hey! You're too late. They've already settled the Valley.'"[35]

It was almost another ten years before the next handcart trek on the old pioneer trail was held. In 1976, 107 young men and women in the Salt Lake Emigration Stake pulled carts for three days over the Mormon Trail from Henefer to Salt Lake. Girls sewed their pioneer dresses, and both boys and girls made dried fruit that they packed for trail lunches. They were organized into ten companies with ten young people and

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31. "Some Must Push . . . Some Must Pull," *Church News*, June 29, 1968, 8–9, 14.

32. Marlene Bellamy, recorded telephone conversation with author, April 20, 2012.

33. Elaine Moniz Peters, email note to author, April 21, 2012.

34. Thelma Tolhurst, recorded telephone conversation with author, April 6, 2012.

35. Bellamy, recorded telephone conversation, April 20, 2012.

an appointed youth captain in each company. Enid Greene, who later served in the US House of Representatives, was a teenager on that trek. She learned lessons in teamwork. "We've had some hard times getting places, but we've helped each other," she said. "We've also discovered a few of our limitations."[36] At the camp spots, they enjoyed a variety of entertainment. The first night, three mountain men regaled them with stories of life in the wilderness. They let some of the youth shoot their muzzle-loading rifles. On the second night, James Arrington, arriving in a buckboard, performed his one-man show *Here's Brother Brigham.* At the final camp, the youth engaged in a square dance followed by a testimony meeting. While the evenings were filled with fun and entertainment, during the day the youth were challenged by the hard work of pulling heavily laden carts. Teenager John Stevens had reason to think about his handcart pioneer ancestors. "I pulled that handcart and thought, 'Wow! This is hard work. . . .' I pulled it for only one hour and was exhausted," he said. "My great-grandmother pulled one for three months."[37] It was these kinds of hard experiences that gave young people a real, if brief, connection with their pioneer heritage and an appreciation for the personal sacrifices each made to make the journey to Zion. Nine years later, the Emigration Stake organized another handcart trek on the same stretch of historic trail and with the help of some of the same trek leaders.[38]

These two handcart-trekking events in the 1960s and several in the 1970s—including an energetic 270-mile handcart trek in England and a large Boy Scout trek in Virginia—were the genesis of what would turn into almost a rite of passage for Mormon youth. Although I unfortunately unearthed little about the England trek,[39] details about the Virginia trek were written up in the *Church News.* Nearly four hundred Boy Scouts from the Capitol and Potomac regions of the Church camped for five days at a US Army installation at Fort Belvoir, Virginia, in August 1979. Leaders planned events that would tie Scouting skills to the Church's pioneer heritage. Harking back to the times of persecution

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36. "In Footsteps of Pioneers," *Church News,* July 24, 1976, 13.
37. "In Footsteps of Pioneers," 13.
38. "Trek along Original Trail Gives Taste of Pioneer Trial," *Church News,* July 21, 1985, 8, 10.
39. The 270-mile handcart trek in England is mentioned only in passing in "Lamanite Way of Worship Sparked His Interest," *Church News,* February 19, 1977, 6.

in early Church history, leaders staged a dramatic attack on the boy's campsite by an angry "mob." The boys were forced to flee into the dark night with just what they could hurriedly gather together and throw into thirty homemade handcarts. During the rout, the carts had difficulty holding up as they were pushed over rough terrain. Several axles were bent and wheels fell off as the scouts hastily fled from the mob over muddy ground. "If we ever have to evacuate again," trek director Corbett Aamadt said, "I hope the handcarts will be in better shape." After their exciting night, they did what they could to repair broken carts and pushed ahead on a one-day trek simulating the pioneer handcart journey across the plains. With temperatures soaring near one hundred degrees Fahrenheit, the ground quickly dried out. They crossed a ravine on a monkey bridge built by the scouts, lowered their carts by rope over a cliff, and at one point were attacked by "Indians" who overturned their carts and mortally wounded their guide.[40] When the day ended, the boys were tired. A young scout from a Washington, DC, ward said, "I'm sure glad we don't have to pull these handcarts for four months. It's hard enough making this one-day trek!"[41]

One other handcart trek in the 1970s that deserves notice was a one-day, four-hour handcart trek in which over four hundred students from Brigham Young University participated. The students made their own carts and traveled over a ten-mile course in late March 1974 in southern Utah County near the town of Goshen. Steve Shallenberger, the student chairman of the activity, said, "I'm dead tired, and we only went ten miles."[42] The terrain was rough and taxed the hastily made carts, many of which rolled on bicycle wheels.

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40. Though Indian raids have sometimes been reenacted in handcart treks, the extent of the raids have been somewhat exaggerated. Pioneers during the westward migration rarely experienced difficulties with the Indians, and many encounters were friendly. When there was an occasional raid, the greatest loss the pioneers usually suffered was the theft of some of their cattle. It was largely after the pioneers settled in Utah Territory that tensions grew between the Saints and Indians and resulted in episodes of violence. "Life on the Trail," Heritage Gateways: Official Sesquicentennial K–12 Education Project, Utah Education Network, accessed February 14, 2018, http://heritage.uen.org/resources/Wc85c7aa9c851.shtml.

41. "Pioneer Trail Comes to Life for Virginia Boys," *Church News*, August 18, 1979, 6–7.

42. "Students Re-Enact Cart Trek," *Provo Daily Herald,* April 1, 1974, 4.

Survival Courses and Treks in the 1970s

In the mid-1970s, a handcart trekking program for LDS youth conference groups began being offered at BYU, sponsored by the Special Courses and Conferences Department. Doug Cloward, a professor in the Department of Youth Leadership, developed and administered the program. It drew upon elements in the curriculum of a thirty-day survival course offered to BYU students majoring in youth leadership. In 1974–75, Cloward and his colleague Stephen R. Covey pared down the thirty-day survival course into, first, a ten-day, then a five-day, course called Survival Adventure, which was offered in the summer to LDS youth groups. In 1975, the San Bernardino Stake in California participated in the survival program for their youth conference activity. Leaders from that stake wanted to return to BYU for their youth conference the next year, but only on condition that a different kind of program could be offered. "They concluded that it would be difficult to go back to that kind of, what they described, as a babysitting and games kind of a program," said Cloward. "They wanted something that was a powerful, impactful experience for their youth and asked me if there wasn't some other kind of program we might conduct that they could bring their stake to again."[43]

This led Cloward to develop the pioneer handcart trek program. It was conducted under Cloward's direction for three summers from 1976 through 1978. The first BYU-sponsored pioneer trek program was launched for the youth of the San Bernardino Stake in 1976. It was conducted on Boulder Mountain in southern Utah. Upon arrival, the youth were divided into "family" groups, separated, as far as possible, from any of their other ward members or friends. Isolating the youth from their former acquaintances was meant to offer the individuals, according to Cloward, an "opportunity for a new identity and expectations."[44] As the program matured, a credit course was offered in the university Youth Leadership Department to train BYU students to serve as the staff members for the treks. The treks were staffed by forty-five to sixty-five students, and their pay was based on experience and position of responsibility. Each family group had a male and a female BYU student leader assigned to them, called "Pa" and "Ma."

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43. Doug Cloward, interview with author, April 29, 2016.
44. Cloward, interview with author, April 29, 2016.

After the "family" groups were established, staff members then went through the students' gear bags, weeding out all candy, gum, soda pop, radios, and other distracting materials. In the first years of the program, the youth wore pioneer clothing. "We wanted it to be as basic as possible," said Cloward. The youth were to bring a sleeping bag, ground cloth, their journal, scriptures, and a camera. Utensils, food, handcarts, and safety supplies were all provided by the BYU course. Cloward described the program's general routine:

> The first part of the program was a full day of strenuous pulling of the carts. We'd usually go from about 1:00 o'clock in the afternoon when we got to the location we were beginning the trek from until about midnight. That night, with a warm cup of broth, a hard biscuit or hard roll, a piece of jerky as a reward at the end of that long, hard day. The process of going without food, while not fasting per se, was a part of the designed difficulty of the program. It wasn't an ice cream party. It was to be difficult and challenging. The second day of that pioneer trek process was a long pull that ended up in what we called a base camp location. Typically the distance on that first day pull was in the neighborhood of fifteen to twenty miles. Then the next day, somewhere in the neighborhood of ten to fifteen miles to the base camp. Once arriving at the base camp, we got involved with the young people in doing pioneer skills, washing clothes with a scrub board, a metal washtub, activities of cooking, pioneer skills, setting up shelters, those kind of things. Following those activities, we had, the next day, a day of thanksgiving essentially. We brought in live turkeys, and we had the young people participate in what we called a turkey hunt. Those activities were both fun, challenging as they caught their turkey, and then butchered the turkey, and learned how to cook the turkey in steam pits. Also how to bake bread in the Dutch ovens and various kinds of desserts. So it was an in-camp camp skills and pioneering skills day. That was followed by a Sunday of morning worship with girls and guys separated, then come together for a Sunday School program usually conducted by the adults who were there with the youth. That Sunday School program concluded about noon or a little after. And then the youth went from there into assigned solo locations where staff members placed the students at a significant enough distance where they wouldn't be bothered or hear any of the other students. They were to spend that time with their scriptures and their journals reflecting on their experiences and feelings and writing those in their journals, reading their scriptures until about dusk, when the staff members then gathered them back up from that solo experience, and returned to the campfire program for a meal together and a

testimony meeting that often went late into the evening. The following morning, they would pull their handcarts approximately five miles to a location where they were met by the bus and the carts were disassembled and moved to prepare for the next week's group coming in.[45]

While today's handcart trek reenactments are focused on the handcart pioneers, that was not the central focus of the BYU treks. They used LeRoy and Ann Hafen's *Handcarts to Zion* as a resource for evening campfire stories, but other than that, handcart history was a minor aspect of the program.[46] "The overall focus of the trek, initially, was not focused on connecting directly to specific pioneer ancestors," explained Cloward, "but rather it was the vehicle or mechanism to provide hard experiences that required dependence upon each other: pulling the carts, preparing the food, gathering the firewood. And sharing the skills in connection with this community building, and self-reflection opportunities for those who participated in the program."[47] The BYU trek program simply used the handcarts as a tool in an activity that tested and challenged the youth:

> We were truly looking for ways to provide the kind of things we had found in the survival program, which, when you take the handcarts away, the bonnets, and the dresses, and the skills, all of that away, it was essentially an opportunity for young people to do something very, very challenging. Something where they had to depend on one another and where they have the real gratification of doing something on their own. It was the value-forming process. It is my impression that that, in large measure, is part of what we're here on earth to do, to go through this difficult sojourn in the carnal, sensual, devilish kind of world and learn from our experience. And learn to choose the right path. I think the wilderness trek, the survival program, and certainly the handcart trek provided a mechanism, a framework, for those kinds of experiences and perhaps a different flavor with the handcarts, but under the same focus of providing difficulty, reflection, and determination of how people would live their lives.[48]

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45. Cloward, interview with author, April 29, 2016.

46. LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion* (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark, 1960).

47. Cloward, interview with author, April 29, 2016.

48. Cloward, interview with author, April 29, 2016.

Upon Cloward's departure from BYU in 1979, BYU initially thought it would get out of the handcart trek business. No handcart trek outings were offered in 1979. But upon reconsideration, the university restarted the program. Kevin Henson was hired to direct it. He ran the program in summer 1980, then, as he wrote, "passed it off to others."[49]

From the mid-1970s until the early 1990s, BYU sponsored youth handcart treks and offered for-credit coursework that incorporated instruction on conducting handcart treks. In 1981–82, BYU offered a pioneer handcart trek for youth through its Conferences and Workshops department.[50] There was a lapse of a few years until 1989, when again a pioneer trek was offered as a part of the Church Educational System's Continuing Education Youth and Family Program.[51] In 1992, the pioneer trek was discontinued, while more popular programs like Especially for Youth and Wilderness Trek continued to be offered.[52] For a decade beginning in 1981, the Department of Recreation Management and Youth Leadership offered a one-credit course titled Agency Skills Training that included a pioneer trek.[53]

In the mid-1970s and for a few years thereafter, Ricks College (now BYU–Idaho) conducted handcart treks as part of the curriculum in their outdoor recreation program.[54] Students at Ricks College could earn five hours of college credit for the pioneer skills they acquired as they pushed handcarts on a ninety-eight-mile stretch from Rexburg, Idaho, into Montana. Although the route mostly followed Jeep trails, the terrain included desert, timber country, stream and river crossings, and mountains. Prior to embarking on the trek, the students spent five days in instruction and physical preparation. They were taught outdoor cooking, made their own soap and candles, dried fruit, and slaughtered cattle to make jerky.

I interviewed two of the men who started that program: Ed Malstrom, a psychology professor, who had the idea for the program, and geology

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49. Kevin Henson, email message to author, July 21, 2012.

50. Brigham Young University, *Winter 1981 Class Schedule*, 42.

51. Brigham Young University, *1988–89 General Catalogue*, 260.

52. According to an employee in the Priesthood Department, the BYU treks stopped "when BYU was asked to discontinue them." Dale R. McClellan, email message to author, July 6, 2012.

53. Brigham Young University, *General Catalog of Courses 1981–82*, 260.

54. "Students to Relive Handcart Journey," *Church News,* July 16, 1977, 12.

professor Glenn Embree, who offered it as a summer program in 1979. The students learned survival skills, Church history, geology, and human relations in an outdoor setting. About three-fourths of the participants were young women. "Some of them were pretty prim and proper when they started," Embree recalled. "By the time they got done, they knew how to rough it." For instance, one hot day after pulling their carts, they halted at some small lakes to camp. "Everybody put their bathing suits on and dove in with bottles of shampoo and soap and were having a good time," Embree said. "One of the gals climbed out onto the bank and looked down and she said, 'Ed. What's this?' He said, 'That's just a leech.' He picked that off her leg. They all gathered around to look at it and we thought, 'Boy! They'll come unglued.' They examined it carefully and all dove back in the water and finished their bath."[55] The young women displayed spunk and an inquisitive disposition in learning new things. They brought along several crates of live chickens to slaughter for food. Ed Malstrom remembered, "There were a couple of girls that were just horrified of the idea of having to cut a head off and actually clean a chicken. Then one of them found eggs in the chicken. That really piqued their curiosity, and they went through the chickens and had a whole series of eggs—a whole developmental sequence of egg production. They were proud of that."[56]

As the group neared the end of that 1979 trek, they were pushing their carts on a short stretch of paved road through a small community of homes near Island Park Reservoir. As Glenn Embree recalled, "As we got a little further down the road, all of a sudden this great commotion went off. Yelling and screaming behind me." They were ambushed by whooping little boys in Indian costumes who had hidden themselves in bushes beside the road. On the way, they had been passed by a mother driving a station wagon full of young Mormon boys. Having just had a lesson in Sunday School on the handcarts, the boys were excited to insert themselves into the activity. In Embree's memory, "It was one of the neat, spontaneous moments of the trip."[57]

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55. Glenn F. Embree, recorded telephone conversation with author, April 20, 2012.

56. Ed Malstrom, recorded telephone conversation with author, May 3, 2012.

57. Embree, recorded telephone conversation, April 20, 2012.

**Handcart Treks in the 1980s and 1990s and
the 1997 Pioneer Sesquicentennial Reenactment**

The courses and treks offered at Ricks College and BYU may have provided the training and impetus for locally organized handcart treks that were conducted in the 1980s and early 1990s in such far-flung locations as Alaska, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Washington, Ohio, Vermont, Tennessee, Alberta (Canada), England, and California. One place where handcart treks were conducted periodically on historic trails was in Wyoming. The youth in the Riverton Wyoming Stake held handcart treks over segments of a historic trail in 1980, 1988, 1992, and 1996.[58]

In 1987, the Taber Alberta Stake conducted a two-day handcart trek, pulling carts that they had assembled to their base camp, where they enjoyed various activities. Kevin Livingstone remembered, "The first few miles weren't bad; then we began to get hungry and tired. A couple of miles later we considered rebellion."[59] Their experience was briefly written up in the *New Era* magazine. Church publications in the 1980s and early 1990s periodically reported on these youth handcart treks. Articles frequently mentioned that although the treks were challenging for the youth (for example, it rained during the Alberta trek in 1987), they enjoyed treks immensely and found that trekking provided a testimony-growing experience.

In 1996, the Iowa Pioneer Mormon Trails Association led a wagon and handcart trek—celebrating the sesquicentennial anniversary of the pioneers' journey—that traipsed across the route of the original trail in Iowa. One hundred people traveled in seventeen wagons and about fifteen handcarts. Utah rancher Montell Seeley was the principal leader of the handcart contingent. It was their plan to complete the remainder of the trek to Salt Lake City in 1997.[60] NFL quarterback Steve Young, a descendant of Brigham Young, was a participant in the trek.[61] This Iowa trek was the spark that initiated the big wagon and handcart celebratory trek the next year.

In 1997, the Church celebrated the 150th anniversary of the pioneers, which was called the Mormon Pioneer Trail Sesquicentennial Celebration. Although not sponsored by the Church, a wagon train

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58. Riverton Wyoming Stake, *Remember* (n.p., 1997), 209.
59. Kevin Livingstone, "Pioneer Trek," *New Era* 17 (October 1987): 41.
60. "Wagon Train Leaves," *Burlington Hawk Eye*, June 18, 1996, 1A, 8A.
61. "Young Joins Re-enactment," *Ottumwa Courier*, July 15, 1996, 8.

reenactment of the one-thousand-mile Mormon pioneer journey from Winter Quarters, Nebraska, to Salt Lake City received widespread national and international media coverage. Several handcarts accompanied the wagon train.

The Boom in Treks from 1998 to 2018

While there is clear value in giving Mormon youth a small taste of pioneer life, the extraordinary Churchwide expansion of these activities since the 1997 sesquicentennial is not easily explained. These reenactments have moved beyond the borders of the United States into countries that have no historical connection to the Mormon pioneer settlement of Utah. In fact, handcart trek reenactments are conducted in countries where the Church has only just taken root. For instance, a handcart trek in Mongolia in 2012 was initiated by an American senior missionary couple. Gary and Martha Hunt, serving in the Mongolia Ulaanbaatar Mission, thought "it would be a great experience for the youth."[62] The *Handbook for Trek Leaders*, the Church's first trekking manual, states that the purpose of these treks is "to provide spiritual opportunities . . . where youth can gain a deeper appreciation of the principles of faith, obedience, and sacrifice."[63] Given their expense and large time commitment, parents and leaders must be observing some measure of personal growth in their youth to warrant the continuance of these trek activities.

Over time, elements of the trek have become somewhat standardized. Stakes generally plan on sponsoring a trek once every four years (fig. 13). The treks take a lot of planning, preparation, and funding. One of the largest expenses for stakes, costing thousands of dollars, has been transportation. To reduce costs, stakes have tried to find places closer to home to hold treks. It is an expensive proposition to travel to the Church's historic sites in Wyoming to push handcarts on historic trail segments. For stakes on the Wasatch Front, the Church-owned Deseret Land and Livestock property west of Evanston, Wyoming, has become a

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62. "Modern-day Mongolian Pioneers Re-enact Trek," *Church News*, July 7, 2012, 8–9.

63. *Mormon Handcart Treks: Handbook for Trek Leaders* ([Salt Lake City]: Farmland Reserve, Inc., The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, May 2010), 2.

Figure 13. Members of the West Jordan River Oaks Utah Stake on a handcart trek reenactment at the Deseret Land and Livestock site in 2014. Photo by Jackie Stringham.

more affordable option.[64] Another option for the Wasatch Front stakes is the Mosida Handcart Trek Site on Church-owned land in Elberta in Utah County, Utah.

One feature often included in handcart treks has gone through a process of refinement and change. Since the beginning of modern handcart trekking, what is called the "women's pull" has been an integral part of most treks. In this activity, young women pull the handcarts up a steep incline without the help of the young men, who stand quietly to the side (figs. 14–15). For many youth, this has been the most difficult, yet moving, part of a trek experience.

A women's pull activity was a part of a handcart trek conducted by the Schaumburg Illinois Stake for 130 teenagers in mid-June 1997. The youth pushed handcarts for a couple of days across prairie land in eastern Iowa, just west of Nauvoo, with the permission of private

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64. The Centerville North Stake was the first to conduct a handcart trek on the Deseret Land and Livestock ranch in 1990. Deseret Land and Livestock, *Trek Mission History,* 2011, MS 29195, Church History Library.

landowners. On the second day of the trek, the boys were "asked to form the Mormon Battalion and go with Colonel Thomas Kane to the southwest as soldiers for the U. S. Government in the Mexican War." The boys left the girls and went off to do a service project for the landowner whose property they were trekking on. "The girls forged ahead and pushed the handcarts alone," a news report of the activity stated. "At first they claimed they didn't need the boys, . . . but after a couple of hours of forests and hills and crossing the 10-foot-wide Sugar Creek alone, they let out a cheer when the boys returned."[65]

The Church has mostly been successful in eradicating the idea that the Mormon Battalion (1846–47) took place during the handcart years (1856–60), but a few stakes persist in employing the battalion to construct a reason for why the boys can't help the girls push the carts. The Church's 2015 Trek Guidelines instruct, "Symbolizing the absence of the young men by calling them to serve in the Mormon Battalion is

FIGURE 14. Young Women of the Riverdale Utah Stake participate in a women's pull in July 2014 at the Deseret Land and Livestock site near Evanston, Wyoming. Photo by Norman Baker.

65. "Schaumburg Youth Re-create Historic Mormon Journey," *Arlington Heights Daily Herald,* August 2, 1997, sec. 5, 4.

FIGURE 15. Young women and adult leaders of the West Jordan River Oaks Utah Stake reenact a women's pull in 2014. Photo by Jackie Stringham.

historically inaccurate and is therefore inappropriate." The guidelines offer a different option: "Before the women's pull, leaders could establish a historical context by explaining that many women handcart pioneers pulled handcarts without the assistance of men, sometimes due to the death or illness of their husbands and sons."[66]

Despite their popularity, handcart treks continue to draw critical commentary in the blogosphere.[67] In some of those posts, treks have

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66. *Handcart Trek Reenactments: Guidelines for Leaders,* 13, 14.

67. Angela C., "The Women's Pull," *By Common Consent,* June 9, 2015, https://bycommonconsent.com/2015/06/09/the-womens-pull/; Abe, "Mormon Youth Treks Are Lame," *The Blog O'Cheese,* April 6, 2008, http://theblogo cheese.blogspot.com/2008/04/mormon-youth-treks-are-lame.html; Jonathan Green, "Don't Hate Me Just Because My Trek Was Awesome," *Times and Seasons,* January 9, 2014, http://www.timesandseasons.org/harchive/2014/01/dont -hate-me-just-because-my-trek-was-awesome/; Tona H., "Youth Trek, Public History, and Becoming 'Pioneer Children' in the Digital Age," *Juvenile Instructor,* August 7, 2013, http://juvenileinstructor.org/trek-public-history-digital -age/; R. Bell, "Manufacturing the Spirit," *Millennial Star,* July 27, 2005, http:// www.millennialstar.org/manufacturing-the-spirit/.

come under wide and general criticism for being contrived, manufacturing overtly emotional settings, producing short-term testimonies, and enforcing sexist perceptions. For instance, one woman had little good to recall about her trek experience in 2004. Regarding the women's pull, she said, "Most of the guys that talked about it after made it all about them and how it made them feel more obligated to protect and provide because of how pathetic we looked, apparently. I remember being annoyed because the boys in my 'family' hardly pulled at all anyway." She said, "I didn't hear a word about how the women's pull made anyone more appreciative of the strength that women have." Another woman who went on a trek in 1998 said, "The women's trek [pull] was awkward. Guys standing watching us. . . . Not one word was said about how we were able to do it and we were strong—just a lot of guys feeling helpless because they could have done it easier and faster and that made them emotional because it's their job to protect and provide and take care of families."[68] While the women's pull and the whole trek experience didn't resonate for these two women and many others, for many youth, treks have been a spiritually profound and testimony-nurturing experience.[69] If leaders, parents, and youth didn't find value in handcart treks, such events would have faded away years ago.

While the Church has emphasized making adequate preparations for health and safety issues, tragic events have happened on treks. The death of a twenty-nine-year-old mother of two in June 2016, serving with her husband as a "Ma" and "Pa" in a youth handcart trek in Oklahoma, raised questions about the overall safety of handcart treks. The report of this death in the *Deseret News* prompted several readers to question the continuance of the handcart program in the Church. A reader from Mapleton, Utah, asked, "Is this a wake-up call for re-evaluation of the use of handcart treks in the church?" Another reader from Salmon, Idaho, stated that handcart treks are a "part of the Mormon culture that needs to go away."[70] Concerned with the "needless risk" posed by these handcart treks, a *Salt Lake Tribune* reader urged Church leaders

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68. Kerj and Kristine A., "The Women's Pull, Comments," *By Common Consent,* June 9, 2015.

69. John L. Hart, "Life Changing—Youth Handcart Treks," *Church News,* July 29, 2006, 6–7.

70. "Mormon Youth Leader Dies on Trek Outing in Oklahoma," *Deseret News,* June 21, 2016, http://www.deseretnews.com/article/865656625/Mormon -youth-leader-dies-on-trek-outing-in-Oklahoma.html?pg=all. See also "Woman

to discontinue the reenactments.[71] While these comments call for the wholesale elimination of the handcart program, others have voiced concern about various parts of the handcart trek program. Though the death of this leader increased the volume of voices urging Church leaders to resolve questionable features and to reexamine the viability of the whole handcart trek program, it is hard to imagine that the program will be curtailed. Certainly there will be more emphasis placed on safety.

Conclusion: The Value of Treks

While youth handcart treks gained in popularity during the 1980s and early 1990s, several factors combined to launch the Churchwide explosion of interest in youth handcart treks in the late 1990s. The handcart treks sponsored by BYU and Ricks College in the 1970s and 1980s developed a pool of people who had the experience and training to conduct local treks. The Church's lease of the Martin's Cove property adjacent to the Sun Ranch and subsequent building of a trek center made it possible for stake youth groups to hold treks without having to build their own carts. And the widespread publicity attending the cross-country wagon and handcart trek during the Mormon Pioneer Trail Sesquicentennial Celebration in 1997 may have sparked local Church leaders to think about holding treks for their youth. Articles about treks featured in the *New Era* and *Church News* and the recounting of pioneer stories in general conference helped to popularize youth handcart treks. All of these factors combined to make handcart treks widespread in the Church.

For the past two decades, the handcart trek has developed into an institutionalized component of the Church's youth program. In order to understand why these treks matter so much, we must turn to the voices of the participants. Despite the high cost of time and money, so many participants, both young and old, overwhelmingly see great redeeming value in holding treks. Rebecca Ehlert, a teen who went on a four-day trek with the East Millcreek Utah North Stake in 2010, said, "I absolutely loved it, and in a spiritual sense it was very rewarding to me. . . . The whole experience is so humbling for what the Saints then went

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Dies from 'Severe Heatstroke' on LDS Pioneer Trek," *Salt Lake Tribune,* June 28, 2016, A-10.

71. Ben Leimbach, "Time to End Pioneer Re-enactment Treks," *Salt Lake Tribune,* June 26, 2016, O-2.

through."[72] A teenage girl from Utah shared her thoughts about going on a trek with her ward at Martin's Cove in 2013 in a touching thirty-minute video documentary:

> It was really good, and I was able to feel the spirit. Some kind of crazy things happened along the way. Our tent broke in half. People lost shoes and just things like that. I don't know. It was just a really good experience to have, even though sometimes I was just like, I don't want to go any more. I was like *so* done. I want my bed. I want my TV. I was *done*. But I learned that just by pressing forward, that's just how the pioneers did it; we just had to keep going.[73]

As Church leaders and parents hear these kind of remarks, observe behavioral changes, and witness the beginnings of religious spirituality in their youth, they see real value and importance in these youth handcart treks. That is the driving force for the continuance of the handcart trek program.

The youth handcart trek program in the Church has continued to grow beyond all expectations. Where once the handcart was a novelty in the Mormon past, its meaning has evolved over time within the Mormon community. In the 1850s, it was a temporary expedient in Mormon emigration. After the end of the pioneer period and continuing to the present, the handcart now stands as a symbol—possibly today's key symbol—in community celebrations to honor the Mormon past. Today it also serves another purpose. Parents and leaders employ handcart treks as a means of helping their children connect with and "appreciate some of the hardships of the early Church pioneers."[74] But more than that, they hope and pray that their children will, by dint of pushing a two-wheeled cart, gain some measure of personal spiritual growth.

Melvin L. Bashore recently retired as a curator of historic sites with the LDS Church Historical Department. He received his BFA in modern painting from the University of Utah, his MEd from University of Missouri–St. Louis, and his MLS in library science from BYU. He worked for the Church Historical

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72. Quoted in "Participants Know Popular Treks Are a Far Cry from the Handcart Pioneers' Sufferings," *Deseret News,* July 23, 2010.

73. Jeff Lundgren, "Mormon Pioneer Trek Documentary," July 12, 2013, video, 28:20, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=14Fe4x7kRr8.

74. *Mormon Handcart Treks*, 2.

Department for thirty-eight years and conceived and developed the Mormon Pioneer Overland Travel database (http://history.lds.org/overlandtravels/). In 2010, he received a Distinguished Service Award from the Oregon-California Trails Association for his work on this project. He has been researching trail mortality for more than a decade. He has also published numerous articles in wide-ranging historical journals. His recent publications include "'The Bloodiest Drama Ever Perpetrated on American Soil': Staging the Mountain Meadows Massacre for Entertainment," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 80 (summer 2012): 258–71, and "Quitting Coffee and Tea: Marketing Alternative Hot Drinks to Mormons," *Journal of Mormon History* 42, no. 1 (2016): 73–104.

Approaching Completion:
The Book of Mormon Critical Text Project

A Review of Royal Skousen's *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon* and *The History of the Text of the Book of Mormon: Grammatical Variation*

Grant Hardy

Analysis of Textual Variants

In 2005, I wrote a very enthusiastic review of Royal Skousen's *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon, Part One: 1 Nephi 1–2 Nephi 10,* the first part of volume 4 of his Book of Mormon Critical Text Project.[1] It seemed to herald the beginning of a new approach to Book of Mormon studies, one marked by an unprecedented level of detail, rigor, and professionalism. Today, a dozen years later, I think my initial excitement was fully justified. Skousen completed his *Analysis of Textual Variants* in six parts—each a large quarto-size book, published one per year, and together totaling 4,060 pages—in 2009, the same year that Yale University Press published his *The Book of Mormon: The Earliest Text,* a scholarly reconstruction of the text as first dictated by Joseph Smith, based on evidence from the original and printer's manuscripts, as well as early printed editions.[2] Since that monumental achievement, his work on the Critical Text Project has continued apace, with the first two parts of volume 3: *The History of the Text of the Book of Mormon* (two large books on grammatical variation) appearing in 2016 and a second edition of the six parts of the *Analysis of Textual Variants* published last year, this time with 4,105 pages.[3]

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1. Grant Hardy, "Scholarship for the Ages," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 15, no. 1 (2006): 43–53, 71.

2. Royal Skousen, ed., *The Book of Mormon: The Earliest Text* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

3. Royal Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon*, 2d ed., 6 parts (Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies;

It happens with some regularity that academic books start with a strong opening chapter and then diminish in care and thoughtfulness as they come to a conclusion a couple hundred pages later. Initial chapters always get the lion's share of an author's attention, and it is difficult to sustain that same degree of effort. Even scholars get tired and distracted at times. By contrast, throughout the six parts of his *Analysis of Textual Variants,* Skousen has been able to fulfill the vision he had for the series from the beginning. I have read through all four thousand pages twice now, and I am continually impressed by the consistency of his high standards from first to last. The worth of this series for scholars, translators, commentators, teachers, and ordinary readers cannot be overstated.

The methodology of *Analysis of Textual Variants* (henceforth ATV) can be summarized fairly concisely. Skousen has carefully considered every phrase, word, and punctuation mark in the Book of Mormon as they appeared in the original manuscript (of which 28 percent is extant), the printer's manuscript (nearly all intact), and the twenty most significant editions in both the LDS and RLDS (or Community of Christ) traditions. He has tracked every change and parsed every sentence. Wherever there are variants or grammatical difficulties, he has attempted to determine the most probable earliest reading by analyzing handwriting, spelling, scribal or typesetters' habits, patterns of usage, biblical parallels, and similar examples from the history of the English language. Then he determines which variant is most likely to have been the original reading, or when none of the extant variants

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Provo, Utah: BYU Studies, 2017); Royal Skousen, *The History of the Text of the Book of Mormon: Grammatical Variation*, 2 parts (Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies; Provo, Utah: BYU Studies, 2016). The overall organization of the Book of Mormon Critical Text Project is as follows, with each part consisting of a separate quarto-size book published by the Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies:

Volume 1. *The Original Manuscript of the Book of Mormon: Typographical Facsimile of the Extant Text* (2001).

Volume 2. *The Printer's Manuscript of the Book of Mormon: Typographical Facsimile of the Entire Text*, *in Two Parts* (2001).

Volume 3. *The History of the Text of the Book of Mormon,* in seven parts (2016–).

Volume 4. *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon,* in six parts (2004–9; 2d ed., 2017).

Volume 5. *A Complete Electronic Collation of the Book of Mormon* (forthcoming).

are viable, he suggests a conjectural emendation, that is, a reading that has never appeared in any manuscript or printed edition. Conjectural emendations have been made by various scribes, typesetters, and editors throughout the history of the text, so this is nothing new.[4] Two quick examples, from the first and last chapters of the Book of Mormon, may help illustrate the sorts of arguments that Skousen makes (readers are free to dip anywhere into the text themselves with a few computer keystrokes; all six parts from the first edition of ATV are available in their entirety online).[5]

In the printer's manuscript and 1830 edition, 1 Nephi 1:3 reads, "and I know that the record which I make to be true" (the original manuscript is not extant for this verse). This was changed by Joseph Smith for the second edition (1837) to "and I know that the record which I make is true." The editing came about because the earlier reading awkwardly mixed the subordinate conjunction *that* with the infinitive phrase *to be.* Another way for Joseph to have corrected the grammar would have been to delete the *that* so that it read like 3 Nephi 5:18: "and I know the record which I make to be a just and a true record." In fact, he made this correction at Moroni 4:1 for the 1837 edition. The question, then, is whether the *that* might have been accidentally added to 1 Nephi 1:3 either in transcribing the original dictation or in copying from the original to the printer's manuscript. Skousen goes through the entire text looking for instances where scribes might have accidentally added or deleted the subordinate conjunction *that* after the verb *know* and finds no examples of additions and only five deletions. So, for the earliest text of the Book of Mormon, he counts 307 instances of a clause with *that* after the verb *know* (including the five mistakes) and 12 instances of clauses without *that* after the same verb (with no known errors) (1:57–58). Fortunately, after each entry in ATV he provides a quick summary, which in this case reads:

Summary: The original text in 1 Nephi 1:3 probably read according to the earliest textual sources ("I know that the record which I make to be true") because a similar yet even more awkward construction originally occurred in Moroni 4:1 ("we know that the matter to be true"); if

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4. See Royal Skousen, "Conjectural Emendation in the Book of Mormon," *FARMS Review* 18, no. 1 (2006): 187–231.

5. The full text of ATV, first edition, is available at the Interpreter Foundation, http://interpreterfoundation.org/books/volume-4-of-the-critical-text-of-the-book-of-mormon-analysis-of-textual-variants-of-the-book-of-mormon/.

1 Nephi 1:3 is to be revised, the *that* should be deleted in order to agree with the usage in 3 Nephi 5:18 ("I know the record which I make to be a just and a true record"). (1:58–59)

The second example occurs at Moroni 10:33, where the current text reads: "that ye become holy, without spot." Skousen notes that the comma was added in 1920 and wonders whether Joseph's original dictation might have been "wholly without spot," which would have sounded identical to the scribe taking dictation. (Skousen also names a student of his who suggested this possibility in 1991.) He notes that either reading makes sense in context and then looks for other *without* phrases in the Book of Mormon used adverbially or adjectivally and whether or not they are conjoined with the word *and,* since another possibility is that the original manuscript (no longer extant for these verses) may have read "holy and without spot." He also cites 16 instances from the King James Bible of adjectives conjoined with a *without* phrase, including two that are particularly close: Ephesians 1:4 reads "holy and without blame," and Ephesians 5:27 has "holy and without blemish." He finds yet another precedent in "pure and without spot" from the Anglican *Book of Common Prayer.* Skousen observes that although there are adverbial uses of *wholly* elsewhere in the Book of Mormon, there are none that modify a prepositional phrase, and there is no evidence for scribes ever having mixed up *holy* and *wholly* in their copying (6:4100–04). After three and a half pages of detailed arguments, he concludes:

> **Summary:** Maintain the current reading Moroni 10:33: "that ye become holy / without spot"; this reading is found in all the extant sources; *wholly* is somewhat less appropriate than the current *holy*; an *and* between *holy* and *without spot* would be more consistent with other Book of Mormon usage as well as with two quotes in the King James Bible from the epistle to the Ephesians, but it is not necessary, providing that the comma from the 1920 LDS edition is maintained. (6:4104)

After a couple of hundred pages or so, readers can get a feel for the way Skousen argues about textual matters. Characteristically, his approach is comprehensive (in that he discusses every important variant), precise (in his abundant citations of evidence and examples), transparent (so that readers can follow his reasoning as he weighs alternatives; he also gives credit to everyone who has made suggestions), conservative (meaning that he generally follows the earliest reading unless it is both seriously problematic and there is a plausible way to explain how an error arose from a possible variant or emendation), and faithful (in

that he treats the Book of Mormon as a sacred text in which every word is potentially significant). Through the course of the six parts, Skousen analyzes 5,280 cases of variation (or potential variation) and then renders a judgment for each case. The results of those thousands of decisions constitute his reconstruction of the earliest text, which was published by Yale in 2009.

In working through ATV, I have found relatively little to disagree with, and even where there may be differences of opinion, the debate will generally be conducted on Skousen's terms, given the thoroughness of his analysis. Because he has tried to examine every issue from multiple perspectives, those who disagree will often simply assign different weight to the evidence he has adduced. To take one particularly disputed example, Skousen has suggested that the phrase "pleasing bar of God" at Jacob 6:13 and Moroni 10:34 should be emended to "pleading bar of God"—an expression for which he identifies very limited archaic legal usage. He asserts that "the word *pleasing* does not really work as a descriptive adjective for 'the bar of God.' For the righteous, it may well be pleasing, but not for the wicked." He notes that the phrase "bar of God," which occurs nine other times in the text, always has either a negative or a neutral connotation, and further suggests that Oliver Cowdery may have mistakenly written "pleasing bar" because he was unfamiliar with "pleading bar"; indeed Skousen offers several similar examples from Cowdery's transcribing (2:1087–92).[6]

Skousen makes a strong case, and I am convinced that "pleading bar" is a genuine possibility, but in the spirit of his usual conservativism, I do not regard the earliest reading as so problematic that it absolutely requires emendation. For my part, I would take up his observation that the judgment bar may be "pleasing" to some and not others and offer the parallel example of the "pleasing word of God," an expression that Jacob uses three times. Jacob describes God's word as something that both "healeth the wounded soul" (Jacob 2:8) and comes down with such "strictness" that "many hearts died, pierced with deep wounds" (2:35), yet Jacob is comfortable applying the adjective "pleasing" to it.[7] I would also point to Mormon 9:13, which states that at the resurrection, all people "shall

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6. More extensive arguments are found in Skousen, "Conjectural Emendation," 201–14.

7. Similarly, at 2 Nephi 9:46 Jacob describes the final judgment as a "glorious day," even though the righteous and the wicked will face very different outcomes at that time.

come forth, both small and great, and all shall stand before his bar, being redeemed and loosed from this eternal band of death, which death is a temporal death." It seems that finding oneself at the bar of God, in a state of having been redeemed from "the eternal band of death," might be a pleasing circumstance regardless of what may follow. Or perhaps the judgment bar may be pleasing to God, rather than to humans, in that it allows him to manifest the full range of his justice and mercy. In any case, I do not find "pleasing bar of God" to be an impossible or incomprehensible construction.

Another point of mild disagreement comes right at the beginning of the second edition of ATV, where a reader wrote to Skousen wondering if Nephi's self-description as one who had been "born of goodly parents" might be a mistake for "born of godly parents" (full disclosure: I was that reader). Skousen examines the evidence for and against the proposed emendation. On the one hand, "goodly" does not exactly mean "good" (I would note that Webster's 1828 *American Dictionary of the English Language* gives three definitions: "being of a handsome form; beautiful; graceful," "pleasant; agreeable; desirable," and "bulky; swelling"—none of which obviously apply to Lehi and Sariah), and a search of *Early English Books Online* yields no instances of "goodly parents," but 1,185 occurrences of "godly parents," including forty passages with "born of godly parents," some of which date back to the seventeenth century. On the other hand, *goodly* more or less works (Skousen states that "the *Oxford English Dictionary* provides evidence that one archaic meaning for *goodly* was, in fact, 'good'"), and there are no examples of scribes ever mixing up *god* and *good*, so in the end he rejects the proposed emendation.[8] I agree with Skousen's final judgment—I do not think the evidence is strong enough to justify changing the received text— though I might quibble with some of his reasoning. The OED (which is ultimately more useful than Webster) never actually offers "good" as a definition for *goodly*, but it does list "virtuous," "excellent," and "fine" as archaic usages, so good enough. However, Skousen goes on to cite Hugh Nibley's suggestion that "goodly" in 1 Nephi 1:1 actually meant "wealthy" or "of elevated social status" (1:55). Since these definitions appear idiosyncratic to Nibley, with no precedents in the English language listed in the OED, I would rule them out of bounds. And I would similarly disagree with Skousen's insistence that the education provided to Nephi by

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8. Skousen, *Analysis of Textual Variants,* 2d ed., 1:55–56.

his "goodly parents" was secular rather than religious (the latter would better fit precedents for "godly parents"), since that distinction strikes me as anachronistic with regard to ancient literacy, especially when the only text Nephi ever cites is the brass plates, whose Egyptian script (Mosiah 1:4) he could read thanks to "the learning of [his] father," which included "the language of the Egyptians" (1 Ne. 1:1–2).

It is easy to see how such discussions, concerning numerous variants for every chapter in the Book of Mormon, might run to several thousand pages. Yet there are only a handful of instances, out of over five thousand, in which I would question Skousen's textual judgments (conjectural emendations are always the hardest calls). Nevertheless, the way he has organized his arguments in ATV invites readers to think along with him, and indeed several people—often ordinary Latter-day Saints rather than scholars—have suggested emendations that were plausible enough to warrant a write-up in either the first or second edition of ATV (Skousen is uncommonly generous in acknowledging the contributions of others to his project). Still, one difficulty, to my mind, inherent in the way that Skousen has structured his Critical Text Project, is that the final product of his research, his *Book of Mormon: The Earliest Text,* is presented without apparatus, that is, as a single running text without footnotes.[9] This means he had to make a binary, yes-or-no decision for every alternative he considered. In other critical editions, important alternatives and variant readings are listed at the bottom of each page, and in the United Bible Societies' *Greek New Testament*, the adopted readings are ranked A, B, C, or D, with "A" meaning that the text is virtually certain and "D" indicating that editors were almost evenly divided over which variant to adopt. With a similar apparatus, "born of godly parents" would not be adopted in the text proper but would appear in a footnote as a "possible" reading that is at least worth considering. (Would any early readers of the Book of Mormon have seen "goodly parents" as a mistake? Or a pun on a familiar phrase?) The combination of ATV with the *Earliest Text* allows Skousen to present much more textual analysis than would ever be possible in a critical edition, but a person would have to read through ATV to know which of Skousen's textual choices were based on a clear preponderance of the evidence

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9. He does, however, provide an appendix listing the 719 variants he considered most significant, with a simple indication of which ones he accepted for the *Earliest Text.*

and which he struggled over, acknowledging that a particular variant was quite possible, perhaps even probable, but nevertheless maintaining the reading of the earliest extant source because it worked well enough.

So, enjoying the fruits of Skousen's labors, as presented in the *Earliest Text,* is no substitute for joining him on his journey of textual analysis, through the four thousand pages of ATV. I realize that grappling with the details of textual criticism and linguistic analysis may not be for everyone, but I would highly recommend the exercise for three reasons. First, there is pleasure in watching a dedicated, talented scholar at work, who loves the Book of Mormon as much as anyone has ever loved any book. When one compares the attention lavished by generations of scholars on the Greek and Roman classics, on the Hebrew Bible and the Talmud, the New Testament and the Qur'an, or even some of the great works of English literature, the care that Latter-day Saints have given to their signature scripture—even though we believe that it is a revelation and a gift from God—has been rather pitiful. In my opinion, Royal Skousen's devoted attention to the text itself outweighs the contributions of Nibley and nearly everyone else who has published on the Book of Mormon (including many fine LDS scholars whom I know and admire).

Second, every few chapters there are remarkable, subtle insights that shed light on the Book of Mormon as a work of history, theology, and literature. For instance, at 1 Nephi 2:6, in a discussion of whether a word should be *tent* or *tents,* Skousen observes that a leader's "tent" is always in the singular in the Book of Mormon, except in four cases, where the text uses the name of a general to stand for his entire army, as at Alma 51:32: "and *Amalickiah* did pitch *his tents* in the borders on the beach" (1:77–78; Skousen is great at noticing patterns, as well as exceptions to patterns). For Mosiah 26:9, in an account of how young disruptive unbelievers were brought before Alma as the high priest, the original text read, "Alma *did know* concerning them, *for* there were many witnesses," and later was changed, through a complicated sequence, to "Alma *did not know* concerning them, *but* there were many witnesses." Alma's greater familiarity with the problem, according to the original text, makes his later discovery that his own son was involved all the more poignant (3:1536–37). Skousen also suggests emending Alma 1:24 from "their names were blotted out that they were *remembered* no more among the people of God" to ". . . they were *numbered* no more among the people of God." In this way, the verse becomes consistent

with four similar passages elsewhere in the Book of Mormon, but just as important is the implication that leaving the church does not necessarily mean being forgotten by its members (3:1643). In his discussion of whether 3 Nephi 19:24–25 should read "Jesus *beheld* them" (from the printer's manuscript) or "Jesus *blessed* them" (from the 1830 edition), Skousen, taking up a suggestion from David Calabro, notes the close connection between verses 24–25 and the famous priestly blessing of Numbers 6:22–27 (6:3574–76). Such examples of notable insights could be multiplied at great length.[10]

Third, through his ATV, Skousen can teach us how to read scripture both critically and faithfully. As we follow along, we can see what it means to imagine how a single word or punctuation mark might alter our understanding of a verse, or how a particular expression might fit into its narrative context or patterns of the text as a whole, or the importance of making sure that every word and verb form is accounted for in our interpretations. His extensive analysis may leave little unsaid with regard to textual matters, yet there is so much more that could be noticed and said about the Book of Mormon and its sacred message, if only we were reading more slowly and carefully. And as I mentioned earlier, because the entirety of the first edition of ATV is available online, this sort of intellectual and spiritual exercise is readily available to anyone with an internet connection. Skousen's ATV is a treasure of inestimable value for anyone who loves the Book of Mormon.

I have spent a fair amount of time on ATV because I am not aware of many reviews of the entire series since its completion in 2009. The question may be asked, however, whether a second edition is warranted just eight years later. As Skousen worked on parts 1–5 of the first edition, he noticed places where corrections or additions were needed and consequently included a lengthy section of supplementary notes at the end of part 6. Those have all been incorporated into the text of the second edition at the appropriate locations. He has also revised sixty of his original write-ups and added thirty-seven more that are entirely new. Most of the latter are suggestions from readers for changes to the text, and, following his customary conservatism, he has accepted less than

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10. Perhaps the best introduction to ATV is Skousen's article "Some Textual Changes for a Scholarly Study of the Book of Mormon," *BYU Studies* 51, no. 4 (2012): 99–117, in which he provides thirty examples of the kinds of changes he suggests for the current text, with both justifications and implications.

a quarter of them.[11] (One of the most notable is a revision to 1 Nephi 19:20–21, which Skousen was persuaded to accept even though it meant giving up his previous interpretation of the passage as a Hebraistic conditional clause. It is always impressive when scholars are able to change their minds based on new arguments or when LDS scholars are willing to set aside possible examples of ancient Hebraisms in the Book of Mormon.) In the newest edition, Skousen has also been able to integrate his sequential textual analysis more closely with recent printings of the *Earliest Text* and with the grammatical analysis in the first two parts of volume 3, *The History of the Text: Grammatical Variation.* Furthermore, a second edition offered an opportunity to proof and correct the entire series, and I understand that he was particularly concerned about inaccuracies in the transcription of the 1907 vest pocket edition of the Book of Mormon used in his computerized collation.[12] In truth, however, readers will not notice much of a difference. Most of the changes are relatively minor, and the second edition is less than fifty pages longer than the first (out of some 4,100 pages). Yet Skousen is creating a corpus of textual analysis that will last for many generations to come, and I imagine that he is eager to get a final form into print. The second edition of ATV may be an exercise in perfectionism, but perfectionism in the service of scholarship, particularly when the subject is sacred scripture, is not a weakness.[13] Scholars will certainly want to use the newer edition right away; I fully expect that at some point it too will be made available online for all interested readers.

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11. For readers using the first edition who are curious about where these new entries occur, they can be found at 1 Ne. 1:1, 8:31, 19:20–21; 2 Ne. 8:4, 9:30, 24:2, 25:3, 29:7, 29:9; Jacob 5:8, 7:19; Mosiah 7:18, 15:6–7, 15:11, 18:12, 21:23; Alma 1:15, 1:29, 13:12, 30:44–45, 34:30, 52:27, 56:27–28; Hel. 6:13, 12:2; 3 Ne. 21:8, 21:29; 4 Ne. title, 1:49; Morm. 5:20, 8:8, 9:11; Ether 3:2, 3:28, 12:7–8; and Moro. 3:1, 10:1–2. Unfortunately, the new entries are missing the concluding "summary" statements that were so useful in the first edition.

12. Royal Skousen, "Celebrating the New Edition of Royal Skousen's *Analysis of Textual Variants*" (lecture, Provo, Utah, April 12, 2017), http://interpre terfoundation.org/video-presentation-celebrating-the-new-edition-of-royal -skousens-analysis-of-textual-variants/. The discussion of the 1907 edition begins at about 24:30.

13. It is worth noting that the precision of the content is matched by the precision of the typesetting, done by Jonathan Saltzman. This is a massive, detailed, complicated undertaking for any printer, yet the design is consistently easy to use and pleasing to the eye, and the editing is extraordinarily exact. I have found only one typographical error in thousands of pages.

Grammatical Variation

One might think that establishing the earliest text of the Book of Mormon, in conjunction with a thorough analysis of textual variants, might be achievement enough for one scholarly career, but Skousen is continuing to move forward with volume 3 of the Critical Text Project: *The History of the Text.* This volume will comprise seven parts (again, each part is a folio-size book), as follows:

> Parts 1–2: *Grammatical Variation*
>
> Parts 3–4: *The Nature of the Original Language*
>
> Part 5: *Quotations from the King James Bible;* and *Spelling in the Manuscripts and Editions*
>
> Part 6: *The Transmission of the Text*
>
> Part 7: *Book of Mormon Textual Criticism*

The first two parts, *Grammatical Variation,* were published in 2016, and they are nothing short of astonishing. The level of detail and precision is a wonder to behold.

Skousen uses the term "grammatical variation" to refer to all the changes in the text over time that affected its grammar, which include several thousand minor adjustments made to its wording as copyists, typesetters, and editors attempted to bring the language of the Book of Mormon into conformance with contemporary standard English. This survey comes directly out of his electronic collation of the two Book of Mormon manuscripts and twenty significant published editions (which will eventually be published as volume 5 of the Critical Text Project); he keyed in brief notations for each of the grammatical variants he encountered, thus making it possible to run a program that could identify every instance of, say, changes to generic pronouns from singular to plural, or vice versa, to make them consistent within a single passage. In ATV, he usually dealt with these sorts of changes the first time they occurred and then promised that full discussions and complete lists of every instance in the text would be forthcoming in *Grammatical Variation.* This is exactly what he has produced, and the results are fascinating because one of the things believers and outsiders alike can agree upon is that the original language of the Book of Mormon was odd.

Linguists sometimes speak of "idiolects," that is, each individual's unique usage of grammar and vocabulary, in contrast with "dialects," which are shared by many people in a specific social class or region. The original text of the Book of Mormon might be thought of as having an

idiolect, since its patterns of usage are quite distinct from other books of the time (even those few that deliberately adopted archaic, King James–like diction), and there is some question as to how the language of the text relates to Joseph Smith's idiolect or to the dialectal usages that he might have grown up with in rural, nineteenth-century Vermont and New York. The first edition was full of constructions that struck many readers as ungrammatical. This was seen as something of an embarrassment, and for the second edition of 1837 Joseph himself undertook the most comprehensive revision of grammar in the history of the text. Skousen, however, is interested in the earliest version, as it was first dictated. His goal has not been to correct or explain, but rather to identify and categorize its grammatical features with as much rigor and precision as possible. This is very much a linguist's view of the Book of Mormon, and where ATV is fairly accessible to most educated readers, *Grammatical Variation* is much more specialized.

The two parts consist of sixty-eight sections, in alphabetical order, each devoted to a specific grammatical feature such as adverbs, conjoined verb phrases, displaced prepositional phrases, inflectional endings, modal verbs, past participles, pronominal determiners, split infinitives, subject-verb inversions, subjunctives, and subordinate conjunctions. (Be forewarned, Skousen writes lucidly and provides copious examples, but the linguistic terminology comes fast and furiously.) There are also sections devoted to linguistically significant words and phrases, including *behold, blessed,* the corrective *or,* the *do*-auxiliary, *had ought, in the which, much* versus *many, that, thereof, thou, which,* and *whosoever.* Over the course of nearly thirteen hundred pages, he identifies hundreds of distinct grammatical patterns, with tens of thousands of examples. The various topics are derived from editorial changes over the years, so they focus on areas in which the Book of Mormon idiolect differs from standard English, but *Grammatical Variation* includes so many topics that it provides something close to a systematic, descriptive grammar of the original text.

Readers can get a sense of what Skousen has done by turning to the section on *come to pass*, one of the most notorious features of Book of Mormon language. He notes that there are 1,494 instances of "come to pass" in the earliest text, including 47 occurrences that were deleted by Joseph Smith for the 1837 edition, which is interesting in itself. Yet twenty-six pages of detailed analysis follow. He observes that in 1,463 cases, the form is an initial expletive *it* followed by an extraposed clause (indicated by the letter "S"), and then he starts to categorize and

count—all the while providing examples. There are 1,004 occurrences of "come to pass + that S" and only two without *that.* He counts the number of times an adverbial phrase comes between *that* and S (with details about various types of adverbial phrases), the times when there is no *that* before the adverbial phrase, and the times when *that* appears both before and after the adverbial phrase. He further reproduces all 30 instances in the Book of Mormon in which the clause that follows "come to pass" is never completed (sometimes the topic shifts, but more often the thought is picked up by another "come to pass" statement in resumptive repetition) (1:149–56).

After his syntactic analysis comes a comprehensive enumeration of inflectional variation ("came to pass" vs. "did come to pass" vs. "shall come to pass," and so forth) and then a comparison of "come to pass" in the King James Bible, broken down into the same syntactic categories with over one hundred biblical examples. (It turns out that the majority of occurrences in the Bible are of the "adverb that S" form, in contrast with the Book of Mormon's predominant "that S" construction.) There is a discussion of "come to pass" usage in other early English Bibles, followed by a full accounting of every instance in which Joseph Smith deleted the phrase. Finally, in an uncharacteristic moment of lightheartedness, Skousen runs the numbers to test Mark Twain's quip that without "it came to pass," the Book of Mormon "would have been only a pamphlet." In fact, Skousen surmises, the deletion of every instance of the phrase would have reduced the 1830 edition by just fifteen pages (1:157–75).

This example is fairly typical for the sixty-eight entries in *Grammatical Variation.* There is always a thorough review of Book of Mormon usage and a full accounting of all the subsequent editing of the text, which is then often followed by comparisons to usage in the King James Bible and Early Modern English (hereafter EModE), that is, the English language from about 1500 to 1700.[14] The value of the first comparative mode is obvious—whether Joseph received inspiration that he then articulated to his scribes in his own words, or whether he read aloud

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14. Standard EModE handbooks include Manfred Görlach, *Introduction to Early Modern English* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), with numerous sample texts; Charles Barber, *Early Modern English,* rev. ed. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997); and Roger Lass, ed., *The Cambridge History of the English Language: Volume III: 1476–1776* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

a preexisting translation that he saw in the seer stone (the translation hypothesis that Skousen thinks best fits the evidence), whoever was ultimately responsible for the wording of the Book of Mormon was imitating the general style of the King James Bible and even incorporated several of its chapters nearly word for word.[15] Joseph was well acquainted with that seventeenth-century translation, as were the earliest readers of the Book of Mormon, who immediately recognized its scriptural ambitions. Consequently, it is helpful to note not only where the Bible and the Book of Mormon use similar expressions and constructions, but also where they differ. Part of the meaning of the Mormon scripture is conveyed in how it adapts and responds to the Old and New Testaments.

The utility of comparing Book of Mormon usage with EModE is less obvious. Several years ago, Skousen noticed a handful of Book of Mormon passages in which specific words made more sense if they were interpreted using definitions from EModE that were obsolete by Joseph Smith's era.[16] It was a curious finding. More recently, he has observed that many of the grammatical constructions that were considered nonstandard in Joseph's day have parallels in EModE. In some ways, this is not surprising. English grammar in the Early Modern Period was more diverse and less regularized than it was in the nineteenth century, and there are large databases of thousands of texts and hundreds of millions of words that are instantly searchable. Consequently, a good number of modern grammatical errors, such as those I see regularly in student papers, will yield hits in EModE. For instance, the earliest text of the Book of Mormon included a number of double negatives, a linguistic phenomenon that was common enough in Joseph's day to raise the ire of prescriptive grammarians. Multiple negation (the term that Skousen prefers) was much more acceptable in EModE, and there are many, many examples to be found, even in formal writing. This does not mean that people who used double negatives in nineteenth-century

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15. On evidence for Joseph reading the original text to his scribes through the use of a seer stone, see Royal Skousen, "Translating the Book of Mormon: Evidence from the Original Manuscript," in *Book of Mormon Authorship Revisited: The Evidence for Ancient Origins,* ed. Noel B. Reynolds (Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1997), 61–93. I myself have been persuaded by his arguments on this matter, though questions regarding miracles will always remain open.

16. See, for example, his "The Archaic Vocabulary of the Book of Mormon," *Insights* 25, no. 5 (2005): 2–6; and *Earliest Text,* xxxvii–xxxix.

America (or even today) had a sophisticated knowledge or even a familiarity with EModE grammar, yet patterns of usage can be interesting, especially since, as Skousen has shown, the original text of the Book of Mormon was often rather consistent in its nonstandard grammatical constructions—most of which were edited out of later editions. Comparisons with EModE can sometimes help us make sense of nonstandard Book of Mormon grammar, and cases where we find nonbiblical constructions in the Book of Mormon that were rare in the nineteenth century but common in the seventeenth, or vice versa, might tell us something about the nature of the translation.

Skousen handles the description of Book of Mormon grammar and the history of its subsequent editing magnificently, and probably definitively. The observations on comparisons with the Bible and EModE, however, are not as systematic or as clear as they could be—sometimes they are buried under mountains of examples—and I regularly found myself wishing for the sort of concise summaries that were so prominent in ATV. A quick synopsis of discussions from *Grammatical Variation,* based on the earliest text of the Book of Mormon, might include the following (if I have understood Skousen correctly):

Adverbs without the -*ly* ending: This adverbial form is common in both the Book of Mormon (BofM) and EModE (1:111–19).

As . . . therefore: Though this construction appears 20 times in the BofM, it is uncommon in EModE (Skousen offers only a single example) (1:123–28).

Conjunctive repetition: The BofM follows usage in the King James Version (KJV) rather than the underlying Hebrew or Greek (1:196–228).

***Do*-auxiliary:** The *do*-auxiliary (e.g., "did go" rather than "went") is much more common in the BofM than in the KJV, with rates comparable to English texts in the late 1500s (1:252–267).[17]

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17. Skousen refers readers to Stanford Carmack's article "The Implications of Past-Tense Syntax in the Book of Mormon," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 14 (2015): 119–86. Carmack's approach is much more apologetic than Skousen's (as was appropriate for the venue), and he wants to argue that this feature of the Book of Mormon is strong evidence that Joseph Smith could not have written the text himself. It seems to me, however, that Carmack does not give adequate consideration to alternative hypotheses: for instance, Joseph may have picked up the *do*-auxiliary from the King James Bible and then overused it in

For to: Meaning "in order to," *for to* appears 15 times in the BofM, as well as various times in the Bible and EModE, but it was recognized as an improper dialectic usage in nineteenth-century New York (1:310–13).[18]

Had ought: This verb appears 29 times in the BofM; there is strong evidence for its dialectic usage in nineteenth-century New York and weak evidence in EModE (Skousen identifies just two examples) (1:351–60).

Hebraisms: Skousen deals with only those that involve BofM editing and offers a characteristically measured assessment, differentiating strong evidence for some non-KJV Hebraisms (for example, "if . . . and" constructions) from more ambiguous examples (1:361–408).

Inflectional endings: Nearly all the nonstandard, nonbiblical inflectional endings in the BofM (basically, the *-eth* and *-est* verb forms) can be found in EModE (1:455–97).

Negation: Negation (especially double negatives) is avoided in the KJV but present in both the BofM and EModE (1:558–88).

Past tense: As in several other entries, Skousen separates out major verbs, including "to do," for which there are EModE precedents for most BofM nonstandard usages except for "this he done," which appears 6 times in the earliest text (2:629–41).

Pronominal determiners: For example, "in them days" appears twice in the BofM and was considered an improper dialectic usage in the nineteenth century; however, pronominal determiners can be found in formal writing in EModE (2:700–67).

Resumptive repetition: The frequent occurrence of this construction in the BofM seems nearly unique, since it very rarely appears in the KJV (2:807–53).

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an idiosyncratic way, just as he may have done with "it came to pass," "yea," and "behold," and that his quasi-archaic usage coincidentally happened to mirror rates from a particular half-century of EModE.

18. To his credit, although Skousen seems committed to the archaic nature of the language of the Book of Mormon, he nevertheless looks for evidence of nineteenth-century dialectic usages, including in prescriptive grammars of Joseph's day such as Samuel Kirkham's *English Grammar in Familiar Lectures*, which was used by Joseph and other members of the Kirtland School of the Prophets in 1835–36 (*Grammatical Variation*, 311, 352).

Shew: *Shew* occurs 159 times in the BofM, along with 8 instances of *show,* while the KJV only has *shew;* the BofM preference for *shew* over *show* best matches English usage from around 1580, while its preference for *shewn* over *shewed* better fits usage in the 1700s (2:854–60).

Subject-verb agreement: Standard forms predominate in the BofM, but there are still numerous instances of disagreement, particularly in the third person, which can often be matched by examples from EModE (2:880–915).

Subjunctive: Instances of the subjunctive in the BofM usually follow KJV usage (2:945–1017).

Thereof: Though *thereof* is frequent in both the KJV and the BofM, in the Bible the word always means "of it" and never "of them" or "of him," as occasionally happens in the BofM and EModE (2:1138–43).

Thou: Unlike the KJV, which maintains a distinction between *thou/thee* and *ye/you* forms depending on whether the referent is singular or plural, the BofM frequently mixes them, sometimes even within the same passage;[19] in addition, "the use of the *th-* pronouns to refer to small groups of individuals . . . may be unique to the Book of Mormon text" (2:1177).

Toward: The BofM strongly prefers *towards* over *toward,* even though the former never appears in the KJV (2:1180–87).

This, of course, is a very inadequate summary, though it offers a sampling of the observations scattered throughout the two parts of *Grammatical Variation.* I hope that parts 3 and 4 of volume 3, titled *The Nature of the Original Language,* will include not only a systematic review of the ways in which the grammar of the Book of Mormon resembles that of the King James Bible and nonbiblical EModE, but also, just as importantly, where there are significant differences. The structure of *Grammatical Variation,* which starts with the Book of Mormon text and then looks for parallels with the Bible and EModE, guarantees that similarities are highlighted; I would be interested in the explicit identification of

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19. Linguists generally don't put much stock in "proper" versus "improper" grammar, but this is one aspect of the Book of Mormon translation that is deficient in comparison to the King James Bible. It would have been very helpful to modern readers and translators to know in every instance whether the people being spoken to were singular or plural.

characteristic features of EModE that are *not* replicated in the Mormon scripture (such as the frequent use of the demonstrative pronoun *yon/ yonder*). Already I have seen online discussions in which Latter-day Saints excitedly assert that the Book of Mormon is an EModE text (and thus could not have been written by Joseph Smith), as if it were lifted straight from the seventeenth century. This does not seem right to me. It may share some syntactic patterns, and there are a few words that make more sense if they are read with obsolete meanings, but most people would have little trouble differentiating a passage from the Book of Mormon with one from a book actually written in the Early Modern Period. It seems more likely that the language of the Book of Mormon is something of a hybrid, combining linguistic features of modern English and EModE (however one might explain that), while at the same time incorporating hundreds of distinct phrases from both the Old and New Testaments, starting with 1 Nephi (however one might explain that), and also bringing in nonbiblical expressions that were commonly used in the nineteenth century (however one might explain that).[20] A comprehensive survey of the last two components are beyond the scope of Skousen's Critical Text Project, yet they are nevertheless integral to the language of the Book of Mormon, along with whatever elements of grammar and phrasing may be original with, or unique to, the new scripture.

This brings us to the two essays at the beginning of *Grammatical Variation.* The first, "Editing the Nonstandard Grammar in the Book of Mormon," by Skousen, examines Joseph Smith's editing for the 1837

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20. Examples of the latter, through the first sixty-five pages of the 1830 edition, would include "first parents," "condescension of God," "temporally and spiritually," "day(s) of probation," "final state," "watery grave," "God of nature," "working(s) in/of the Spirit," "land of liberty," "cold and silent grave," "infinite goodness," "instrument in the hands of God," "fall of man," "sacrifice for sin," "miserable forever," and "Great Mediator." In recent lectures, Skousen has appeared eager to find examples of such phrases in EModE, and indeed most of these do occur as early as the seventeenth century, yet the fact that they were widely familiar in Joseph Smith's time is not an inconsequential aspect of the language of the Book of Mormon and how it would have been understood and received by its first readers. A text that was revealed by God in 1829 in a fairly exact form could just as easily have included contemporary phrases as well as archaic, nonstandard syntax from several centuries earlier. See Royal Skousen and Stan Carmack, "Editing Out the 'Bad Grammar' in the Book of Mormon" (lecture, Provo, Utah, April 6, 2016), transcript available at http://interpreterfoun dation.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/grammatical-variation.pdf; see 11–13.

edition and is everything one might wish—it is clear, concise, and thorough, as it makes some important observations about Joseph's methods and results. The second essay, "The Nature of the Nonstandard English in the Book of Mormon," by Skousen's collaborator for this volume, Stanford Carmack, seems a little out of place. Carmack is a talented linguist and an indefatigable researcher; indeed, his contributions are acknowledged by Skousen throughout the two parts of *Grammatical Variation.* Yet the tone of his essay, adapted from an article previously published in the *Interpreter,*[21] is more apologetic than is typical for Skousen's work. There is certainly a time and a place for apologetics, and Carmack is a thoughtful practitioner of the genre, but this essay fits awkwardly into the Critical Text Project, which has generally been evenhanded in its presentation of alternative points of view and its assessment of evidence.[22] Carmack confidently asserts that "the quality of English in the book is excellent and even sophisticated" (1:46)—something that is not obvious even to those who have read through *Grammatical Variation*—and he seems to go beyond the evidence when he claims that "the language of the Book of Mormon is typical Early Modern English in nearly all instances" (1:47), or even that "it is, in large part, an Early Modern English text" (1:48). His quick presentation of two dozen items of similarity might strike some as cherry-picking, in contrast to the methodical, comprehensive analysis of Book of Mormon grammar that follows (though at one point he does acknowledge that "the Book of Mormon functions like an early 19th-century text in its preference for *have*" [1:73]). Carmack's essay is provocative and significant, and it works well enough at the beginning of *Grammatical Variation* as an attention-grabbing opener, a reminder that long-held assumptions may not be adequate, and as a preview of coming attractions, but I am looking forward to a more nuanced, balanced, and detailed overview in the next two parts of volume 3.

As a book reviewer, it is my job to point out both strengths and weakness, but I don't want the latter to detract from my overall assessment of the work. There has never been anything like *Grammatical Variation* in the history of Mormonism. Through an enormous expenditure of

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21. See Stanford Carmack, "A Look at Some 'Nonstandard' Book of Mormon Grammar," *Interpreter* 11 (2014): 209–62.

22. My use of the term "apologetic" is not meant to be disparaging. My own scholarly work on the Book of Mormon often has an apologetic bent to it.

time and effort, and painstakingly written to exacting standards, Skousen has produced a full, nonjudgmental, descriptive grammar of the Book of Mormon, making it one of the most thoroughly linguistically analyzed books in the world. In reaching for comparisons, most of what comes to mind are groundbreaking works of grammatical scholarship from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—volumes such as Wilhelm Gesenius's Old Testament–based *Hebrew Grammar* (1813, in German), William Wright's *A Grammar of the Arabic Language,* which gives considerable attention to the Qur'an (1862), D. B. Monro's *A Grammar of the Homeric Dialect* (1882), Friedrich Blass's *Grammar of New Testament Greek* (1896, in German), Henry St. John Thackeray's *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek* (1909), A. A. Macdonell's *Vedic Grammar* (1910), and much more recently, N. F. Blake's three-hundred-page *A Grammar of Shakespeare's Language* (2002). Not surprisingly, the works of literature thought worthy of comprehensive grammatical analysis are generally sacred texts, and it is striking to see the Book of Mormon in that company. There are enough Christians, Muslims, and Hindus that sooner or later someone would have produced a modern, descriptive grammar of their scripture. I'm not sure this is the case for Mormonism. It is always good for Latter-day Saints to remember that we are a tiny minority religion on the world stage, and if it weren't for Royal Skousen—the right person, at the right time, with the right temperament—I'm not sure that something like *Grammatical Variation* would have ever come about.

This is even more true for the Critical Text Project as a whole. When completed, this multidecade, multivolume endeavor will offer valuable data for trying to understand the nature of the Book of Mormon as a translation, but for the most part Skousen has wisely refrained from explanations and speculations about what Joseph Smith (or God) could or could not have done, or whether or not the text had divine origins.[23]

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23. Ironically, a First Presidency letter reprinted in the April 1993 *Ensign* and later incorporated into *Handbook 2* (at 21.1.8) discouraged contemporary English versions of the Book of Mormon with the observation that "when a sacred text is translated into another language or rewritten into more familiar language, there are substantial risks that this process may introduce doctrinal errors or obscure evidence of its ancient origin." As Skousen has definitively demonstrated, our current official English edition is itself a modern rewriting of the text, and any serious investigation of the origins of the Book of Mormon has to start with his *Earliest Text.*

What I want from the Critical Text Project is the earliest text (as reconstructed through textual scholarship), a full accounting of later editing, a descriptive grammar for the earliest version, and a history of the process by which the book came into being—the sorts of things that all readers, regardless of religious commitment, can agree upon. Anything more would be a task for theology as well as philology. (How could it be otherwise for a text that claims to have been translated by a miracle?)

Other than Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery, who are in a class unto themselves, Royal Skousen has done more to establish, correct, and elucidate the text of the Book of Mormon than anyone else in the history of the Church, including the first typesetter, John Gilbert; later editors such as Orson Pratt or James E. Talmage; and any number of commentators. The Critical Text Project is truly a labor of love and devotion, a monumental achievement for which Skousen deserves whatever is the Mormon equivalent of the Presidential Medal of Freedom (a profile in the *Ensign*? effusive praise from the pulpit at general conference? an honorary degree from BYU?). But the best tribute of all would be to have some of the findings from his scholarship incorporated into the next official edition of the Book of Mormon, where they could bless the lives of generations to come. I like to think that Moroni himself is looking forward to meeting Royal "before the pleasing [pleading?] bar of the great Jehovah" (Moro. 10:34).

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My Son's Guitar Class

is tucked above a carpet store
on a busy street with no parking
so that I come in panting

with the smell of traffic in my clothes,
tight-necked from the argument in the car
because this boy won't be hurried.

But, settled on a bench in the back, I
watch him bend to his patterning. Soon
the walls disappear into feathered strummings

that eddy around my ankles, pile gauzy in corners
like cottonwood. I wish I could tuck
a gentle tendril against my wrist

to pull from my sleeve and wave, a white flag,
whenever I feel my jaw clench
at this boy. He arches his neck

over the trailing crochet of music,
gazing off at something
beyond us both.

—Darlene Young

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

A Plain and Precious Part Restored

An Essay Based on Matthew W. Bates's *The Birth of the Trinity: Jesus, God, and Spirit in New Testament and Early Christian Interpretations of the Old Testament*

Paul Y. Hoskisson

Once every ten or twenty years, it seems, a book happens on the scene that promises to dislodge a long-held and often beloved paradigm. It is not that the old paradigm is necessarily abandoned, but rather it makes room for a different, equally valid one. The subtitle of *The Birth of the Trinity*[1] announced such a shift and to my utmost delight delivered on that promise.

Matthew W. Bates is a contemporary Christian theologian who does not shy away from letting his belief in God, the mission of Jesus Christ, and the Bible as the inspired word of God shine through the technical and academic language in this monograph. Bates openly proclaims, "I write as a confessing Christian, who as a trained scholar of Second Temple Judaism and Christian origins, has chafed at the frustrating, artificial divide between biblical studies and theology" (9).[2] That this monograph is a fine example of faith-filled academic writing is reason enough for me to recommend it.

This essay, rather than giving a systematic summary or critique in the manner usually found in book reviews, explains Bates's novel yet ancient exegetical approach in *The Birth of the Trinity* and then applies that exegesis to Psalm 110:1–4 to gain insights of particular relevance

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1. Matthew W. Bates, *The Birth of the Trinity: Jesus, God, and Spirit in New Testament and Early Christian Interpretations of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

2. All page numbers in this review refer to the pages numbers in the Kindle edition of this book.

to Latter-day Saints. Though not a traditional academic review, I hope this essay will still entice the reader to personally engage with Bates's monograph.

Before proceeding, I offer a caveat. Unlike Bates, I am not "a trained scholar" in "Second Temple Judaism and Christian origins." Many of Bates's arguments are based on his close readings of the Christian Fathers, the Septuagint (the Greek version of the Old Testament that was used by the earliest Christians), the Greek New Testament itself, and even the Greek language. Though I cannot comment on the aptness of his readings of these Greek texts, I do read the Hebrew Bible through the lens of the Restoration and have always had an interest in Christian theology. Based on Bates's book, this essay will express the views of one who loves the subject matter at hand but is not a professional Christian theologian.

Part of the charm of Bates's writing is that his academic discussion does not mask his commitment as an evangelical Christian. Bates thus assumes the reader is familiar with standard, traditional Christian beliefs. As such, his short definition of the doctrine of the Trinity may not be sufficient for those schooled in traditional Christian theology, but it is sufficient for the purposes of his book and also for this essay. In fact, Bates confesses, "I find myself even more warmly affirming the Trinitarian dogma as traditionally described in the Niceno-Constantinopolitan creedal synthesis: there is one God who subsists as three distinct persons—uncaused Father, eternally begotten Son, and sent-forth Spirit" (11).[3]

Though this simple statement summarizes volumes of theological treatises about traditional Christian understandings of the Godhead, it belies the wide diversity of opinions on the topic found in the earliest sources of the first centuries of Christianity. It also does not address more recent discussions among Christian theologians and scholars.[4]

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3. The doctrine of the Trinity holds that the Godhead consists of three distinct persons, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, who share the same essence—in Greek this is called being *homoousios.* Latter-day Saints would most likely contend that the Father and Son are *homoiousios,* that is, they share a like essence.

4. For an LDS perspective on traditional Christian understandings of the Trinity and the more recent discussions among contemporary Christians on the topic, I highly recommend Daniel Peterson's "Notes on Mormonism and the Trinity," in *To Seek the Law of the Lord: Essays in Honor of John W. Welch,* ed. Paul Y. Hoskisson and Daniel C. Peterson (Orem, Utah: Interpreter Foundation, 2017), 267–315.

Bates's basic argument consists of two parts: First, the early Christians, particularly in the second century, more than a hundred years before the First Council of Nicaea, read the Old Testament, at least in part, prosopologically (defined below). And second, this type of exegesis of the Old Testament provided substance for the development of the doctrine of the Trinity. His second thesis treats the emergent development of the Trinity, which for an LDS audience will probably be interesting to only those few who enjoy learning about the early history of traditional Christian theology.

I begin by briefly discussing the second thesis of this book, the birth of the Trinity. After that short excursus, I will then discuss his first and, for Latter-day Saints, much more interesting thesis, namely, that a prosopological reading of the Old Testament led early Christians to find three distinct persons in the Godhead. Through such a reading, Latter-day Saints will find a surprising amount of validation for their own long-held belief in the continuity of the theology of the Old Testament with the Christianity of the New Testament.

Early Development of the Trinity

Contrary to many standard explanations of the origin of the doctrine of the Trinity, Bates asserts, "The doctrine of the Trinity did not emerge as a late philosophical imposition predicated on Hellenistic assumptions" (3). In other words, the concept of the Trinity did not have its beginnings in any of the classical philosophical schools of the early Christian era. This is not to say that Greek ideas did not taint early Christian theology.[5] Rather, according to Bates, the origin of the doctrine of the Trinity took place before the influence of the different Greek schools began to creep into Christian expressions of faith and doctrine. When viewed from this perspective, Bates claims that "what emerges is not a philosophically defined Godhead internally differentiated by procession or subordination, such as is portrayed by scholarly models dependent on the late patristic era, but rather a Father, Son, and Spirit who are characterized by relentless affection and concern for one another" (7). There is no hint here of an emotionless, inexorable, and immutable God, an observation that is more fully developed in Bates's discussion of early Christian prosopological reading of the Old Testament.

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5. Edwin Hatch demonstrated this point many years ago in his still useful book *The Influence of Greek Ideas on Christianity* (New York: Harper and Row, 1966).

Early Christian Prosopological Reading of the Old Testament

Bates claims that what he calls "prosopological exegesis" is not new. He describes this exegetical methodology, providing Christian and non-Christian examples from antiquity.[6] Essentially, this methodology presupposes that many ancient texts, not just the Old Testament, contain conversations between different persons, *prosopon* in Greek—thus *prosopological*. When understood in this manner, some Old Testament passages read more like lines from a play, with different actors playing various parts.

Prosopological exegesis is not to be confused with reading the Old Testament typologically. For example, typologically 2 Samuel 7:14 has been read by Christians to mean that David is a type of the Messiah, or Christ: just as God "will be [David's] father, and [David] shall be [God's] son," so shall the Messiah be God's Son and God will be His Father. Indeed, Christians, including Latter-day Saints, often see in the Old Testament many types of Christ. And Latter-day Saints may often be more eager than most Christians to see types of Christ everywhere, an approach that the Book of Mormon wholly and explicitly endorses. For example, Alma 33:19 says that "behold a type [of Christ] was raised up in the wilderness," and Alma 25:15 declares that "the law of Moses was a type of his [Christ's] coming." Reading the Old Testament typologically is certainly valid, productive, and rewarding.

However, a prosopological reading of 2 Samuel 7:14 brings to the fore a different perspective. Bates would see in this passage God speaking to David about the Messiah, who would be a descendent of David. In Bates's own words:

> When reading 2 Samuel 7:14–16 prosopologically, I would construct the following eisegesis: God spoke through the Holy Spirit to David, saying that He, God, would be father to the Messiah, and the Messiah would be His son. If guilt be upon the Messiah because of Sin, God would chasten the Messiah through mortals and through the beatings of the children of men. But God's mercy shall not depart away from the Messiah, as I took *it* from Saul, whom I, God, put away before thee. And the house of the Messiah and the kingdom shall be established for ever before the Messiah; His throne shall be established for ever.

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6. If this were a traditional scholarly book review, I might take exception to his use of *exegesis* to describe the prosopological approach. In my mind, *eisegesis,* a reading that imposes meaning into the text (a term he does use occasionally), would be a more accurate term for his approach rather than *exegesis,* a reading that draws meaning out of the text. But I will adhere to his terminology.

In this reading, David is not a type of the Messiah, but rather, David is the recipient of a revelation concerning who the Messiah will be.

Applying this prosopological methodology to 1 Chronicles 17:13–14 (the parallel passage to 2 Samuel 7:14), I would read the passage similarly: "I [God the Father] will be the Messiah's Father, and the Messiah shall be my Son: and I will not take my mercy away from the Messiah, as I took *it* from Saul that was before thee, David: But I will settle the Messiah in mine house and in my kingdom for ever: and the throne of the Messiah shall be established for evermore." In this reading, God, as *prosopon*, speaks to David, the audience, about the Messiah, God's Son.

As evidence that this is how at least some early Christians read the Old Testament, Bates points to Hebrews 1:5. This passage paraphrases the verses in Samuel and Chronicles and applies them to Christ: "For unto which of the angels said he at any time, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee? And again, I will be to him a Father, and he shall be to me a Son?" For Bates, such New Testament passages illustrate that through the Holy Spirit the Father revealed to David who the Messiah is, namely, God's son. And thus, the three persons of the Godhead—Father, Son, and Holy Ghost—appear for New Testament Christians in the script of the Old Testament.

Bates's conclusion that Psalm 2:6–7 contains a reference to the Godhead will resonate with Latter-day Saints. Bates, in discussing this passage, quotes from the Greek version of Psalms, but for my purposes I quote the King James translation: "Yet have I set my king upon my holy hill of Zion. I will declare the decree: the Lord hath said unto me, Thou *art* my Son; this day have I begotten thee." Biblical scholars generally agree that these words were probably spoken as part of a coronation ceremony for King David. Believing Christians additionally read this passage as suggesting that David somehow represents, or is a type of, the Messiah. Read typologically, Jehovah is speaking to King David as a type of the Messiah.

Bates departs from this traditional typological Christian reading by applying a prosopological reading, which shifts who is speaking to whom and the setting in which the speech was delivered. Bates observes, "With respect to the enthronement, the earliest church, at least to the degree it reveals its interpretative posture, consistently attests that these words were spoken between the Father and the Son in the time before time began," meaning before the creation of the world (79). To restate Bates's conclusion in my own words and in LDS terms: God the Father, before the creation of time—that is, before the earth was created—declared

that His Son had been enthroned as king on His "holy hill of Zion."[7] As surprising as this may seem, given that pre-Creation accounts are practically nonexistent in traditional Christian understanding, it is clear in this prosopological exegesis that before the act of Creation that begins the book of Genesis, God the Father had chosen Christ, His Son, to be king in Zion. Thus, through an early Christian exegesis, Bates broaches anew the idea of a preexistent[8] Christ.

If, based on their prosopological reading of the Old Testament, Bates sees the early Christians as believing that Christ was chosen and enthroned before the earth and time were created, then it should come as no surprise that Bates takes the next step and asserts that Christ was also identified by these same Christians as the God of the Old Testament. As Bates states, "Moreover, it is very clear that often this conflation of Jesus and Yahweh via Old Testament citation is quite intentional in the early church, which is very suggestive as many others agree, for how New Testament and other early Christian authors invite us to conceptualize the relationship between the Father and the Son. It would seem that the Evangelists and other Christians felt quite comfortable conflating Jesus and Yahweh via Old Testament citation, both here and elsewhere, as if Jesus is coterminous with Yahweh" (91). It would be premature at this point for LDS readers to see this as a validation of their beliefs, as I will demonstrate shortly.

Though Bates's monograph cites other examples of this fresh, contemporary, yet genuinely ancient, approach to reading the Old Testament, it is time to turn to an LDS application of prosopological exegesis. Before doing so, however, LDS readers need to understand how the titles *Elohim* and *Jehovah* are used in the Hebrew Old Testament.[9]

Usage of *Elohim* and *Jehovah*

Today, Latter-day Saints use the title *Elohim* to designate God the Father and the term *Jehovah* to denote Christ the Son. As I have written elsewhere, these contemporary understandings are not consistently reflected

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7. "Holy hill of Zion" is no doubt an allusion to the temple in Zion.

8. I deliberately use the older terms *preexistence* and *preexistent* found in earlier LDS literature rather than the currently more fashionable terms *premortality* and *premortal* because *preexistence* etymologically means "before-placement." It is a more precise and descriptive term of humans' first estate because it means "before being placed on the earth." Bates would probably not be comfortable with a premortal existence for humans, but he certainly accepts it for Christ.

9. The title *Elohim* does not appear in the King James Bible. The Hebrew term *yhwh* is rendered in the King James Bible as "Jehovah" only four times.

in nineteenth-century LDS literature.[10] A quick reading of D&C 109 will confirm the seeming inconsistent usage of terms referring to members of the Godhead. Though *Elohim* and *Jehovah* do appear in some mid-nineteenth-century LDS literature to refer to God the Father and God the Son, respectively, the terms were not applied systematically or consistently until near the end of the century. Today's contemporary LDS definitions were solidified in the 1912 and 1916 First Presidency statements that appeared in Church publications.[11] A key factor in developing a more precise LDS usage of these terms was the construction and dedication of temples in the second half of the nineteenth century, thereby expanding the availability of temple ordinances, which specifically refer to God the Father as *Elohim* and Jesus Christ as *Jehovah*.

The variable usage of *Elohim* and *Jehovah* in nineteenth-century LDS literature closely mirrors how the Hebrew forms of these terms are used in the Hebrew Bible. In the Hebrew Bible specifically, and in the Christian literature of the nineteenth century generally, ʾĕlôhîm (the Hebrew behind *Elohim*) and yhwh (the Hebrew behind *Jehovah*) were used interchangeably for the traditional (monotheistic) God of the Old Testament.

In the Hebrew Bible, ʾĕlôhîm is a generic term for divinity and is employed for a multitude of purposes. The term appears about 2,250 times in the Hebrew Bible,[12] but it is never transliterated as *Elohim* in the King James Bible; it is always translated.[13] Additionally, though the term ʾĕlôhîm takes the form of a plural, masculine noun, it is used in the Hebrew text with both plural and singular verbs and with both singular and plural attributives. While used to denote the God of Israel, it is also used to

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10. See Paul Y. Hoskisson, "Usage of the Title *Elohim*," *Religious Educator* 14, no. 1 (2013):109–27 (slightly revised reprint of "Usage of the Title *Elohim* in the Hebrew Bible and Early Latter-day Saint Literature," in *Bountiful Harvest: Essays in Honor of S. Kent Brown*, ed. Andrew Skinner, Morgan Davis, and Carl Griffin [Provo, Utah: Neal A. Maxwell Institute for Religious Scholarship, 2011], 113–35), wherein I trace the path that led to and confirmed the 1916 First Presidency statement that began to solidify in LDS literature and in the popular mind the usage of *Elohim* and *Jehovah* as we now employ the terms.

11. For the history of this development, see "Usage of the Title." For the definitive statement dated June 30, 1916, see "The Father and the Son: A Doctrinal Exposition by the First Presidency and the Twelve," *Improvement Era* 19 (August 1916): 934. See also "Only One God to Worship," *Improvement Era* 15 (April 1912): 483–85.

12. See the entry for אלוה in *Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament,* ed. Ludwig Koehler, Walter Baumgartner, and Johann Jakob Stamm (Leiden: Brill, 2001), hereafter cited as *HALOT*.

13. Nor does *Elohim* occur in any of the LDS standard scriptures.

designate both singular and plural non-Israelite gods. It is even used once for a non-Israelite female deity.[14] Additionally, it is used as an adjective to describe something as godly and as an abstract for godliness.[15]

The title *yhwh* (often called the *tetragrammaton,* meaning "of four letters"), on the other hand, never designates any deity other than the God of Israel. It occurs over six thousand times in the Hebrew Bible but is transliterated in the King James Bible as *Jehovah* only four times.[16] Normally, *yhwh* is rendered in the King James Bible as "Lord" or as "God," with the first letter capitalized and the rest of the word in small caps. Of particular interest is the Hebrew combination *yhwh ʾĕlôhîm* (*Jehovah Elohim*), usually translated in the King James Bible as "Lord God" (see Genesis 2:4, for example) to designate the God who created the world and who is the God of Israel.[17] To summarize, in the Hebrew Bible neither *yhwh* nor *ʾĕlôhîm* denote with any consistency the Son or the Father, respectively. To simplify the matter, *yhwh* and *ʾĕlôhîm* are titles with often disputed etymologies and denotations.

This variable usage of *Elohim* and *Jehovah* (at least when compared with contemporary LDS usage) also appears in the Book of Mormon. If we compare a few Book of Mormon passages from the brass plates (that is, the Old Testament that Lehi brought to the New World from Jerusalem) with the Hebrew text of those same biblical passages, we can discern the same pattern that exists in the Hebrew Bible. Simply put, in a few cases where the Hebrew text has *yhwh* (*Jehovah*), the Book of Mormon has *Father.* For example, Isaiah 52:8–9 in the King James translation reads, "Thy watchmen shall lift up the voice; with the voice together shall they sing: for they shall see eye to eye, when the Lord shall bring again Zion. Break forth into joy, sing together, ye waste places of Jerusalem: for the Lord hath comforted his people, he hath redeemed Jerusalem." In

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14. The Hebrew behind 1 Kings 11:5, "Ashtoreth the goddess of the Zidonians," is "Ashtoreth, *ʾĕlôhîm* of the Zidonians."

15. See "Usage of the Title" for the details. For an excellent discussion of the use of Late Bronze Age and Iron Age Semitic plurals for abstract nouns and adjectives, especially in Hebrew, with an emphasis on *ʾĕlôhîm,* see Joel S. Burnett, *A Reassessment of Biblical Elohim* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2001), 1–53.

16. Once in Exodus 6:3, once in Psalm 83:18, and twice—in Isaiah 12:2 and 26:4, respectively—in an attempt to render the Hebrew words *yāh yhwh* as the English noun chain "Lord JEHOVAH."

17. Reading *yhwh* as a Hebrew *hiphil* causative of the verb "to be," the combination *yhwh ʾĕlôhîm* can be translated as "he causes the gods to be."

each instance where the King James has "Lᴏʀᴅ," the Hebrew text has *yhwh* (*Jehovah*). Based on current LDS parlance, we would be tempted to read *Jehovah* as "the Son." However, when this Isaiah passage is paraphrased by Christ in 3 Nephi 20:33–34, it is not "the Lᴏʀᴅ" (*Jehovah,* "the Son") acting to redeem Israel, but "the Father": "Then will the Father gather them together again, and give unto them Jerusalem for the land of their inheritance. Then shall they break forth into joy—Sing together, ye waste places of Jerusalem; for the Father hath comforted his people, he hath redeemed Jerusalem."

Some may object, arguing that *Father* in this passage is a title that denotes Christ the Son, as it does in Mosiah 15:3 and in other passages in the Book of Mormon.[18] However, as Steven L. Olsen has stated, the overwhelming majority of the appearances of *Father* in the Book of Mormon refer to God the Father (nearly two hundred times) and only occasionally to God the Son (less than two dozen times).[19]

Not to belabor the point too heavily, I offer only one more example of the Hebrew title *yhwh* (*Jehovah*) being replaced in the Book of Mormon by "the Father." Micah 5:10 reads in the King James translation, "And it shall come to pass in that day, saith the Lᴏʀᴅ [*yhwh*], that I will cut off thy horses out of the midst of thee, and I will destroy thy chariots." In the Book of Mormon, when Christ quotes this Micah passage for the Nephites in 3 Nephi 21:14, "the Lᴏʀᴅ" is replaced with "the Father": "for it shall come to pass in that day, saith the Father, that I will cut off thy horses out of the midst of thee, and I will destroy thy chariots."[20]

The usage of *yhwh* and *ʾĕlôhîm* in the Hebrew Bible, along with Book of Mormon rendering of Old Testament passages, demonstrates that the terms *Jehovah* and *Elohim* are not uniformly consonant with current LDS usage. For LDS readers, knowledge of this Old Testament usage helps open up new insights on the Old Testament, especially when conducting a prosopological exegesis, à la Bates.

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18. See Paul Y. Hoskisson, "The Fatherhood of Christ and the Atonement," *Religious Educator* 1 (Spring 2000): 71–80.

19. Steven L. Olsen, "The Covenant of Christ's Gospel in the Book of Mormon," in *To Seek the Law of the Lord: Essays in Honor of John W. Welch,* ed. Paul Y. Hoskisson and Daniel C. Peterson (Orem, Utah: Interpreter Foundation, 2017), 229.

20. Here again, the case could be made that "the Father" is a title for "the Son," as in Mormon 5:17: "they had Christ for their shepherd; yea, they were led even by God the Father." But even the wording here in Mormon 5:17 seems to support my thesis that the Old Testament terms for deity are used inconsistently.

A Prosopological Reading of Psalm 110:1–4

The inconsistent usage of the terms for deity brings me to the crux of this review essay on *The Birth of the Trinity*—an LDS prosopological reading of Psalm 110:1–4. (I freely admit that my LDS take is dependent in many aspects on Bates's own exegesis of this psalm.) I will begin first with a short discussion of why Christ quoted Psalm 110:1 to the Pharisees in Matthew 22, why they could not answer his questions, and how Christ was trying to instruct them. I will then draw additional LDS meanings from this psalm, meanings that are dependent on the prosopological exegesis.

In Matthew 22:42–46, the Savior attempted to teach the Pharisees about the Messiah by posing them a question, based on Psalm 110:1, one which "no man was able to answer." The King James translation reads:

> What think ye of Christ? whose son is he?
> They say unto him, The Son of David.
> He saith unto them, How then doth David in spirit call him Lord, saying,
> The LORD said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool?
> If David then call him Lord, how is he his son?
> And no man was able to answer him a word.

The Pharisees could not directly answer Christ because their faulty conception of who the Messiah would be did not allow them to frame an acceptable answer. The Hebrew of Psalm 110:1 reads literally, "*Yhwh* said to my lord, 'Sit at my right until I have made your enemies your footstool.'" The Pharisees believed that the Messiah would be a descendent of David, as they admit in Matthew 22:43. In an attempt to teach them more about the Messiah, Christ then asked them, How it is possible that David referred to his descendent, the Messiah, as "my lord," when it is customary that the son (read "descendant") call his father (read "ancestor") "my lord"? In other words, Christ asked the Pharisees why David would refer to his descendent, the Messiah, as "my lord."

The point Christ was trying to make with this group of Pharisees was that when David called the Messiah "my lord," David was tacitly admitting that his offspring would be superior to himself. That is, the Messiah would be more than just a biological descendent of David; in some fashion, the Messiah, as the son of David, would eclipse his father, David. For the Messiah to be greater than the archetypal Israelite king, the Pharisees involved would have been forced to confess that the Messiah must be more than a mere mortal. Because the Pharisees did not believe

the Messiah to come would be divine, this would have been more than they could admit, at least publically. In posing the question, Christ was attempting to teach the Pharisees an even deeper doctrine concerning the Messiah than whose son He was. In fact, the Pharisees might have refused to answer Christ because they would have been familiar with the content of the next three verses, Psalm 110:2–4.

Just what Christ wanted to teach the Pharisees and what they would not articulate can be illustrated through an LDS prosopological exegesis of Psalm 110:1–4. The key element is only found in the Greek rendering of this psalm, the translation of the Hebrew text into Greek that was made between 300 and 200 BC. (The King James translation is based on the Hebrew text, commonly called the Masoretic text, which dates from several centuries after the birth of Christ.) The difference between the earlier Greek text, commonly called the Septuagint, and the later Masoretic Hebrew text results in a different tenor and meaning of the psalm and explains, at least partially, why the Pharisees found it difficult to answer Christ.[21] When the Greek New Testament quotes from the Old Testament, it generally quotes from the Greek text (the Septuagint)[22] and not from the Hebrew (Masoretic) version. Therefore, I will quote from a translation (provided by a friend and colleague) of the Greek text of Psalm 110:1–4 (Psalm 109:1–4 of the Septuagint):

1. A Psalm of David. The Lord said to my lord, "Sit on my right until I make your enemies your footstool for your feet."

2. The Lord will send forth a rod of your power from Zion and (say) "Rule in the midst of your enemies."

3. With you is rule on the day of your power amongst the splendors of the holy ones. From the womb, before the morning star, I begot you.

4. The Lord swore and will not change his mind, "You are a priest forever according to the order of Melchizedek."[23]

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21. It would appear that Psalm 110 is not found among the Dead Sea Scrolls.

22. When Matthew 27:46 quotes Christ's anguished words on the cross, "Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani," the language is an Aramaic version of Psalm 22:1. It is possible that the Greek New Testament preserves the Aramaic words rather than the Greek of the Septuagint because Christ on the cross actually spoke the words in Aramaic rather than in Hebrew or Greek.

23. I am indebted to Lincoln Blummel of Brigham Young University, who sent me this excellent translation in a private email on May 22, 2017.

By slightly restructuring these verses to facilitate a prosopological reading, which focuses on the dialogue of individuals, and by substituting a few of the Hebrew terms for the Greek nouns (appearing in square brackets), the following reading is possible:

> A Psalm of David:
>
> 1. Yahweh [the God of Israel] said to [David's] lord [the Messiah],
>   "Sit at my right hand until I make your enemies your footstool for your feet.
>
> 2. Yahweh will send from Zion the staff of your power,
>   Rule in the midst of your enemies!
>
> 3. With you is dominion[24] on the day of your power amongst the splendors of holiness.
>   From the womb, before the morning star, I begot you."
>
> 4. Yahweh [the God of Israel] has sworn and will not change his mind:
>   "You are a priest forever according to the order of Melchizedek."[25]

In this prosopological reading, David is reporting the speech that Jehovah, the God of Israel, gave to the Messiah, David's lord. If I resist the tendency as a Latter-day Saint to interpret the title *yhwh* (*Jehovah*) as "Son" and accept instead the Hebrew Old Testament usage of *yhwh* as referring on occasion to God the Father, an interesting additional reading emerges. In the following I emphasize an LDS eisegesis by liberally paraphrasing and augmenting the Greek version of this text:

> A Psalm of David:
>
> 1. God the Father said to the Messiah,
>   "Sit at my right hand [in the place of honor] until I subdue your enemies under your feet.[26]

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24. The term *dominion* is translated from the Greek word ἡ ἀρχὴ, which usually means *the rule*. However, the word in the Masoretic text is נדבת, the construct state of the noun נדבה, which denotes a "freewill offering." (For example in Numbers 15:3, נדבה is rendered "freewill offering" in the King James translation.) When this Hebrew term is used in place of the Greek term, Psalm 110:3a could be translated, "With you is a freewill offering on the day of your power amongst the splendors of holiness."

25. An equally interesting translation of verse 4—"The Lord has sworn and will not relent, 'You are a priest forever, a rightful king by My decree'"—can be found in *The Jewish Study Bible,* ed. Adele Berlin and Marc Zvi Brettler, Jewish Publication Society Tanakh Translation (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

26. See also the reading in Hebrews 1:13: "Sit on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool."

2. I God will bring forth from Zion the scepter of your power.
   Rule in the midst of your enemies!

3. You will also have the power to rule in the courts of holiness on high.
   Before [you were in] the womb, before even the morning star [was created], I begot you."

4. God has sworn and will not change his mind,
   "You, O Messiah, are a priest forever according to the order of Melchizedek."

For Psalm 110:1–4, the most important divergence in the Greek text from the King James translation, and thus also a significant variation from the reading of the Hebrew text, is in verse 3:

> From the womb of the morning: thou hast the dew of thy youth. (KJV/Masoretic)

> Before the womb, before even the morning star, I begot you. (Greek/Septuagint)

The main divergence between the King James/Masoretic reading and the Greek/Septuagint reading in the second half of verse three depends on the voweling of the final word, *yldtyk*, in the unpointed Hebrew text.[27] Depending on the vowels that are supplied when reading the text, this word can be read in at least two different ways. The voweling of the Masoretic text creates the reading *yaldûteykā*, which means, "thy youth," and thus the King James translation, "thou hast the dew of thy youth," which does not make a great deal of sense in English.[28] However, as Bates points out, the Greek translation of Psalm 110:3 reads quite differently: it is as if

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27. The "unpointed" text refers the pre-Masoretic text that did not include any vowels (except for occasional *matres lectionis*). In fact, most West Semitic language texts consist of only consonants. The reader is supposed to supply the vowels while reading. This is usually not a problem for native speakers because they know what the words are. Around AD 600 a Jewish group, called the Masoretes, began "vowel pointing" the Hebrew text—a process of indicating the vowels as they were pronounced at that time—thus preserving the correct sounds for their posterity. The result was the Masoretic text (containing both consonants and vowels), the standard Hebrew version of the Old Testament.

28. As Margaret Barker states, "the Hebrew of v. 3 is impossible." Margaret Barker, *The Great High Priest: The Temple Roots of Christian Liturgy* (New York: T&T Clark, 2003), 127. *The Jewish Study Bible,* in a footnote to this verse, states, "Meaning of the Heb[rew] uncertain."

the Hebrew vorlage used when translating into Greek had been voweled *yĕlidtîkā,* meaning "I begot you."[29]

Reading this psalm in the Greek text suggests that the Pharisees were reluctant to answer Jesus because they were aware of the "I begot you" in the Greek translation, which obviously elevates the Messiah, son of David, to the Son of God, a status several magnitudes above His illustrious forefather. If the Pharisees had been expecting a mere mortal messiah to deliver them from foreign political domination, it would have been practically unthinkable to believe that the Son of the God of Israel had come but had not freed them from Roman bondage. And if the divine Messiah had not come to deliver them from political bondage, from what would He deliver them? They probably were not expecting an other-worldly emancipation.

Two astonishing ideas that emerge from this reading strike me as a Latter-day Saint. First, as Bates suggests, the Messiah, Christ, was begotten, not created (79).[30] This interpretation more than suggests an ontological relationship between the Father and the Son. That is, Christ is literally the Son of the Father. For Latter-day Saints, this is not a new idea, but finding this idea so unequivocally stated in the Old Testament is new, at least to me.

The second point to be gleaned from a prosopological exegesis of Psalm 110 is that the Messiah was begotten before the creation of this world, thus more precisely identifying when the "begetting" took place. This point applies not only here but also in Psalm 2:7 (and thus in Hebrews 1:5). There can be no question that in this prosopological reading, the Son of God became the Messiah before the beginning of the Creation narrative in Genesis 1 and was at that time, before mortal time was created, given the title *Melchizedek,* as verse 4 states.

The idea that Christ was begotten in an existence before this world was created is also not a new concept for Latter-day Saints, since the notion appears in Restoration scripture, particularly the book of Abraham. But this is the first time I have seen the Old Testament Psalms as a

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29. The translation from Hebrew into Greek was completed in Egypt long before the birth of Christ, and therefore could not have been corrupted by Christian machinations. Note also that such a Hebrew vorlage would not have been voweled; the (pre-Christian) Jewish translators knew what the vowels should be and chose the correct Greek translation.

30. This, by the way, is exactly what the Nicean Creed declares, though the creed fudges on what that means by adding (in Bates's words) "eternally begotten" (11).

source for corroborating this doctrine. Additionally, this prosopological reading reveals that Psalm 110:1–4 is the only passage in LDS scripture that clearly states that *Melchizedek* is first and foremost Christ's title that God the Father bestowed on Him in the preexistence. In Hebrew, the title *Melchizedek* means "King of Righteousness,"[31] an appropriate title for the Son of God and analogous to one of the titles for the Son found in Malachi 4:2: "Sun of Righteousness."[32]

This understanding also undoes a Gordian knot that has interested me for years, namely, why the higher priesthood appeared to be named after a mortal—the man named Melchizedek in Genesis 14:18–20. The Doctrine and Covenants declares that the high priesthood is called the Melchizedek Priesthood "out of respect or reverence to the name of the Supreme Being," that is "to avoid the too frequent repetition of his name, they, the church, in ancient days, called that priesthood after Melchizedek, or the Melchizedek Priesthood" (D&C 107:4; see also verses 18, 73, and 76). Without the information contained in Psalm 110:1–4, it is easy to see why many Latter-day Saints assume that the higher priesthood is named after the mortal to whom Abraham paid tithes, though no scripture explicitly states that. In fact, Doctrine and Covenants 124 hints that the higher priesthood was not named after a mortal when it states that the higher priesthood "is after the order of Melchizedek, which is after the order of mine Only Begotten Son" (D&C 124:123).

Melchizedek, the pre-Mosaic prophet, likely received his name in accordance with a fairly common naming practice in Hebrew, in which an individual was given as a personal name one of the titles of the God whom they (or their parents) reverenced—in this case a title belonging to the Son of God.[33] Therefore, the higher priesthood is not named after the mortal to whom Abraham paid tithes. Rather, both the mortal and

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31. It is possible that the name can be translated "my king is righteousness," if the Hebrew *hiriq* is read as the first-person possessive pronoun. In my view, however, the *hiriq* is more likely to be a *hiriq compagines,* which is a helping vowel and therefore serves no grammatical function. Thus, I translate the name as it is translated in Hebrews 7:2, as "King of Righteousness."

32. When Malachi 4:2 is quoted in the Book of Mormon, the title appears as "Son of Righteousness" (see 3 Ne. 25:2), suggesting that *Righteousness* is a title of God the Father, making *Son of Righteousness* a title of God the Son.

33. Most personal names in the Old Testament are theophoric, that is, they contain the name or title of deity as part of the name. For example, *Joshua* comes from the Hebrew personal name meaning "Jehovah is help." See *HALOT,*

the higher priesthood bear one of Christ's titles, Melchizedek. Indeed, what could be a better name for the higher priesthood, which is the authority to act in the name Christ, than one of His titles?

In sum, an LDS prosopological exegesis of Psalm 110:1–4 yields several insights that corroborate Restoration ideas and contributes to a better understanding of Restoration scripture. Most importantly, that Christ was begotten in the premortal realms is clear. As expressed in a statement by the First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve in 1916, "Jesus Christ is the Son of Elohim both as spiritual and bodily offspring; that is to say, Elohim is literally the Father of the spirit of Jesus Christ and also of the body in which Jesus Christ performed His mission in the flesh." Furthermore, "God the Eternal Father, whom we designate by the exalted name-title 'Elohim,' is the literal Parent of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, and of the spirits of the human race. Elohim is the Father in every sense in which Jesus Christ is so designated."[34]

Additionally, Psalm 110:1–4 proclaims that God the Father begat Christ before the world was created; that God gave the Messiah, Christ, the scepter of Zion before the earth existed; that Christ would subdue all enemies under His feet; that Christ will be given authority to reign in the eternal worlds; and that one of the titles bestowed on Him in the preexistence was "Melchizedek," meaning "King of Righteousness." Thus, the priesthood authority to perform ordinances in His name carries one of His titles, Melchizedek.

I conclude this essay with Bates's own words: "At this time prosopological exegesis remains largely unknown, even in circles traversed by seasoned biblical scholars and theologians. . . . To the best of my knowledge no one has ever systematically explored Trinitarian inner dynamics or Christology in the New Testament and second-century Christianity from this angle. Accordingly, [the approach I suggest in] this book seeks to provide a panoramic view of the relationship between Father, Son, and Spirit as it was conceptualized through a specific mode of interpreting Old Testament dialogues in the earliest church" (2). If prosopological exegesis promises to be a fruitful approach for a traditional Christian reading of the Old Testament, then I can only hope that LDS scholars will find such an exegesis (or eisegesis) an even more productive approach for understanding the Old Testament. Which

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s.v. "Joshua." Besides being common in Hebrew, names in the ancient Near East in general are overwhelmingly theophoric.

    34. "Father and the Son," 934–35.

leads me to one final thought: As prosopological exegesis promises to become another tool in our LDS toolbox, and as we continue to employ all the tools at hand, it is easy to see that the dispensation in which we live, the dispensation of the fullness of times, will "bring to light the things that have been revealed in all former dispensations."[35] Perhaps when we stand back and gaze at such larger pictures from our present perspective, we will joyfully exclaim, "There is [in the Restoration] no new thing under the sun" (Eccl. 1:9) that was not already available in Old Testament times.

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35. B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Century One,* 6 vols. (Provo, Utah: Corporation of the President, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1965), 2:92. See also page 364: "It is called the Dispensation of the Fulness of Times. Into it flow all the former dispensations; in it are revealed all knowledge of the principles to be believed, and the ordinances to be obeyed; all keys of authority and all powers held by former prophets and men of God."

John G. Turner. *The Mormon Jesus: A Biography.*
Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016.

Reviewed by Andrew C. Reed

Many scholars within Mormon studies and interested readers are well aware of John Turner's significant contribution to the history of Mormonism through his biography of Brigham Young (Harvard University Press, 2012), which received high praise. Turner's more recent work follows a similar style and performs equally well in exploring a topic of considerable interest within Mormon studies. In *The Mormon Jesus,* Turner argues for a more carefully constructed understanding of the Jesus within whom Mormons place tremendous faith and trust and for whom they exhibit great love. Cleverly titled *The Mormon Jesus: A Biography*, Turner is less interested in writing a biography of Jesus within Mormonism than he seems to be in writing about the culturally constructed notions of who Jesus is to Latter-day Saints. His thesis, which emerges clearly throughout the book is that there is "a history of change and variety over the course of the church's nearly two-hundred-year history" (5). The book brings very little new historical data to the game, but therein lies its beauty. While Turner takes on many ideas and subjects that have long remained on the outskirts of traditional histories written by Latter-day Saint scholars, he bursts through the old arguments with entirely novel (and perfectly plausible) explanations.

Mormon Jesus provides a thematic structure for Turner's examination of the changing course of Mormon thought on the central figure of Latter-day Saint belief. The first part of the book traces Joseph Smith's encounter with Jesus in the Book of Mormon, the Joseph Smith Translation of the Bible, and his teachings designed to help followers experience the embodied Jesus. The early chapters focus on the life and teachings of Joseph Smith and show the developmental nature of Joseph the Prophet and his growth into that role. After Turner situates Joseph firmly within the Latter-day Saint narrative, the author explains the varied course

of development, debate, and alteration of Church "doctrine" about Jesus. Within the second part of *Mormon Jesus* (chapters 4–9), the book becomes less about Joseph Smith's particular teachings and more about the Latter-day Saint experience after the Prophet's death. Thus, readers encounter rich discussions about Jehovah and Jesus, the voice and apparatus of revelation among Latter-day Saint prophets, the justification of plural marriage, and discussions of whiteness.

Turner argues for a stronger affinity and place of belonging for Latter-day Saints among American Christianity. Most often, the author has in mind Protestant Christianity—this makes good sense in the earliest part of the book and within early Mormon history. In each chapter, Turner places Mormonism within the broad American Christian setting, and more often than not the point is to show where Latter-day Saints were not entirely out of context in the religious landscape. This approach is a refreshing alternative to other books that argue for a unique form of belief among Latter-day Saints (both by scholars inside of Mormonism and those outside). Some scholars have argued that Mormonism belongs outside the bounds of historical Christianity. Turner suggests the opposite. For the author, there has always been a Mormon reliance on Protestantism in both doctrine and practice. However, Turner willingly admits that at times Latter-day Saints pushed the boundaries beyond where others may have gone. To see Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, and their successors as part of, and often in line with, mainline Protestant and evangelical movements lessens the stigma that Latter-day Saints worship an entirely different Jesus.

Some readers may get frustrated with *Mormon Jesus* for a couple of reasons. First, it is difficult to anticipate where the next turn will take them. Turner moves so quickly from one idea to the next that significant information gets glossed over in such rapid fashion that it leaves the reader wanting more discussion before moving on. For example, within just three pages, the author introduces William Miller (a millenarian), the idea of a New Jerusalem, and Orson Hyde's journey to Palestine, all while he situates Smith within the broader American Protestant landscape (130–32). The approach taken in *Mormon Jesus* is chaotic and winding, allowing only very brief stops to catch one's breath before plowing into another barrage of ideas that need careful unpacking. However, this approach is not all bad, and it does not undermine the significance of the volume. For those who immerse themselves in the highly technical, methodical, and all-encompassing nature of the Joseph Smith Papers volumes, *Mormon Jesus* opens up new interpretive lenses without laboriously

calculating every point. The flow of the book is quick, unpredictable, and thought provoking.

The second way in which this book may annoy readers is perhaps more problematic than the first. Before I wage the following criticism, it might be best to commend Turner's book as a prime example of what a university press monograph ought to do—present clear ideas that do not get lost for the trees. Some readers, however, will expect more of his historiography. While Turner is capable as a historian, his historiographical prowess occasionally falls short of his own high expectations. Frequently, the book leaves the reader to wonder about the sources and the apparent lack of context for the myriad figures who show up on the pages of *Mormon Jesus*. For example, many believing Mormon readers will demand a more robust discussion of Denver Snuffer and his efforts to draw away some from the Church (83–84). At the same time, there are statements that pass over recent critical scholarship that might prevent Turner from appearing to lack awareness of more nuanced scholarly debates, were these statements more carefully composed. For example, Turner suggests that Joseph Smith produced his biblical translation "without scholarly resources" (49). This point does not account for the recent work of scholars who are finding greater evidence for the existence of external factors (sources) for some of Joseph's translation of the biblical text. Such evidence does not declare for or against the miracle of the Joseph Smith Translation, but presents possible approaches for understanding how the text came into existence. In other places, Turner moves rapidly over some points that perhaps might benefit from a stronger pause to clarify, explaining the context behind statements or ideas that some readers unfamiliar with Latter-day Saint theology or history might not understand. These are minor points that at least for this reader did not undermine the significance of the book, but others might want more careful source criticism along the way.

Turner seems to recognize his limitations and leaves to others the more focused studies that drill down further into the gritty details. His use of secondary sources is generally strong; for example, his chapter on Mormon millennialism (chapter 5, "I Come Quickly") employs Grant Underwood's *The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism* (University of Illinois Press, 1993) wisely and then moves quickly on to make his own point that is more sweeping and painted in broad strokes. All this makes for an enjoyable and challenging read that will challenge scholars to think differently about discussions of "doctrine" and "theology" for some time.

Readers will find Turner's *Mormon Jesus* enticing in part because it does not force them to traipse through every detail of early Mormon history, since he leaves much of the technical work to others who want to pore over documents and minutiae. Instead, Turner's is a wonderful effort at the history of ideas and one that will stand the test of time as an interpretive work of Mormon thought on the nature, role, and atonement of Jesus Christ.

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John Gee. *An Introduction to the Book of Abraham.*
Salt Lake City: BYU Religious Studies Center, 2017.

Reviewed by Adam Oliver Stokes

John Gee's long-awaited work on the book of Abraham provides the reader with a plethora of information regarding an important and sacred work within the Mormon scriptural canon. From the offset, Gee emphasizes that his purpose is to "make reliable information about the book of Abraham accessible to the general reader" (ix), and he is largely successful in doing this. My treatment of Gee's work here consists of three parts. First, I will provide an overview and evaluation of the content of *An Introduction to the Book of Abraham.* In the second part, I will offer some suggestions for improvement. Finally, I will mention the implications of Gee's work for the reception of the book of Abraham in other Latter-day Saint traditions, with particular focus on my own denomination: the Community of Christ—formerly known as the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (RLDS).

Gee's treatment of the book of Abraham represents a significant departure from previous studies of the book, including Gee's own work in the past. LDS scholarship has previously gone in two directions, focusing either on the historical context of the book or on its theological content, but Gee's work here addresses both of these issues in a single volume. His examination of the context in which the book of Abraham arose as well as its unique theological contributions represent LDS scholarship at its finest. As one familiar with the content of the book of Abraham but largely unacquainted with its historical background, I learned many things about the work that I suspect will be new even to those who have read it for many years.

Gee provides historical information on the ancient owners of the papyri from which the book of Abraham was translated. He identifies the owners as high-ranking Egyptian clergy, which, he argues, serves to strengthen the historicity of the text (a controversial subject as even Gee

admits). He also notes other evidence for the historicity of the book of Abraham, ranging from parallels with other ancient Near Eastern biographies (for example, the autobiography of Idrimi, who lived a century and a half after Abraham) to the evidence for human sacrifice among the ancient Egyptians—an activity that is noted in the book of Abraham but that Egyptology and Near Eastern studies have largely ignored.

Though Gee employs Egyptian and Hebrew philology when necessary, he does so in such a way that does not confuse or overwhelm those unfamiliar with these languages and that is relevant to those, particularly within faith communities, who engage with the Abraham story. For example, he provides background material for the story in which Abraham claims that Sarah is his sister (found in Gen. 20:2–16 and Abr. 2:22–25), noting that the "Egyptian word for sister (*sone*) means both *sister* and *wife*" (102). Most helpful are the annotated bibliographies provided at the end of each chapter in which the reader can find additional information on the topics Gee addresses. This material could have been inserted into the text of these chapters, but in doing so Gee might have easily overwhelmed the nonacademic reader.

I would now like to provide some of my own suggestions regarding some specific issues addressed by Gee. While he indeed does an excellent job of making philological material accessible to the reader, I thought that there were ways he could have improved his use of the philology. This critique applies most notably to his discussion of the Creation narrative in chapters 4 and 5 of the book of Abraham. For those familiar with this section, it provides an account of the Creation similar to the Priestly version, the notable difference being that multiple gods are mentioned in the book of Abraham instead of one. Gee correctly notes that "the notion of multiple gods is not completely foreign to the biblical account" and that the Hebrew "term translated as 'God' is *ʾelohîm,* which has the form of a grammatical plural" (130). I would have appreciated Gee expanding on his explanation here given its significance for those both within the larger Mormon tradition (for example, the Community of Christ) and within anti-Mormon circles who assert that LDS Mormonism incorrectly advocates for polytheism.

In most places in the Hebrew Bible where the term *elohim* is used to refer to the Hebrew God, the definite article (*he*) is placed before it so that the reader knows that the term refers to one particular deity (*ha-elohim* = the god). In Genesis 1, however, the term *elohim* lacks the definite article and as such can indeed be translated to the text that appears in the book of Abraham, namely, "gods." Had Gee chosen to

explain the use of *elohim* in more detail, he would have strengthened his argument about the theological correctness of the Abraham Creation account considerably.

Another suggestion regards Gee's treatment of the subject of race in the book of Abraham. He correctly notes that "some claim that the Book of Abraham is used primarily to sanction racial bigotry" (163), a notion that anti-Mormon writers indeed often point out in their literature. He then goes on to state that the "Book of Abraham does not discuss race and curses no one with slavery" (164). While the latter point is correct, the former is not. The Egyptians in Abraham are linked not only to Ham but also to the Canaanites (Abr. 1:21), who are explicitly mentioned as being black in Joseph Smith's translation of the Bible (Moses 7:22; JST Gen. 7:29).

Gee does acknowledge that racist interpretations of Abraham start to appear in LDS literature around 1895 (164). With that said, I believe that by dismissing the notion of race in the book, he misses the opportunity to push back on racist interpretations. While the statement that Pharaoh was cursed "as pertaining to the Priesthood" is well known among LDS readers of the text, along with its consequences and connections to the ban on priesthood ordination for men of African descent, I would have welcomed a discussion of the very positive references to the black Egyptians/Canaanites contained in the book of Abraham, such as the statement on Pharaoh being blessed with wisdom and the depiction of the Hamite women as pious martyrs, killed for their devotion to the true God (Abr. 1:26, 11).

I want to close by mentioning my own personal experience with the book of Abraham and offer one last suggestion for Gee to expand on the excellent work he has done here. Though I identify as a member of the Community of Christ, my initial interactions with Mormonism were largely, if not exclusively, with LDS Mormons for whom the book of Abraham is scripture. The first copy of the Book of Mormon I ever owned was the 1981 triple combination, which also contained the LDS Doctrine and Covenants and the Pearl of Great Price, the last of which includes the book of Abraham. Hence, in my own devotionals, I read the book of Abraham in the same manner that I read the Book of Mormon and believed it had the authority of a sacred text. It was not until I became involved in the Community of Christ that I learned that the book of Abraham was the one text from the LDS canon not considered scripture by the RLDS church.

I mention this because I strongly believe that those of us in the RLDS tradition could learn much from the book of Abraham, and I must

admit that I was somewhat disappointed that Gee does not touch on the status of the text in other LDS traditions in his treatment of the book's interpretive history. This is not to say that I ever see the Community of Christ accepting the book of Abraham as scripture, but members should nonetheless be exposed to it as part of the corpus of writings attributed to Joseph Smith. Indeed, there is much overlap between the content found in the book of Abraham and the stories of Abraham found in the Joseph Smith Translation of the Bible, which is considered sacred scripture by the RLDS church.

In spite of this omission, as someone who has always viewed the book of Abraham with fondness, I am very grateful to Gee for this work. It was truly a spiritual experience to absorb the information and insights provided by Gee while at the same time reading the book of Abraham in my now old LDS triple combination. Gee has certainly succeeded in his goal of making the material in Abraham available and comprehensible to readers. His work is a great contribution not only to the field of LDS studies, but also to biblical and Near Eastern studies more generally. He is to be deeply commended for his efforts here.

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Naftali S. Cohn. *The Memory of the Temple
and the Making of the Rabbis.*
Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013.

Reviewed by Avram R. Shannon

As John Lundquist already pointed out years ago, ancient temples served as "the central, organizing, unifying institution in ancient Near Eastern society."[1] For many of the monarchies that populated the ancient Near East and the empires that dominated later antiquity, the temple undergirded and supported the kingship in its political as well as religious roles. This system worked very well when the groups in power controlled the temple and were able to use its authority to support their own rule and authority. However, because temples can be destroyed or sidelined in the vagaries of war and the development of societies, groups are not always able to maintain a direct connection between their authority and the temple. But in the midst of such changes to cultures and societies, it is still possible for a group to support and maintain its authority by appealing to the temple, even if that temple no longer stands.

Such is the argument of Naftali Cohn's *The Memory of the Temple and the Making of the Rabbis.* In this carefully researched and well-argued book, Cohn addresses the concern the Mishnah—the second-century-CE collation of Jewish law—had for the administration and organization of the Jerusalem Temple. This interest existed in spite of the fact that at the point when the Mishnah was codified, the temple had been destroyed for over a hundred years. Yet the Mishnah contains detailed narratives describing the sacrifices at the Jerusalem Temple, discussions of temple-focused practices such as the swearing of vows and the eating of sanctified food, and even criticisms of the priests who

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1. John M. Lundquist, "What Is a Temple? A Preliminary Typology," in *Temples of the Ancient World: Ritual and Symbolism,* ed. Donald W. Parry (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1994), 94.

were responsible for maintaining and running the temple.[2] This speci-ficity naturally leads to the question, What is the purpose of promul-gating something as a foundational religious text when it points to a defunct institution? Cohn argues that the rabbinic sages used narratives about the Jerusalem Temple to establish themselves as ritual experts. Since the temple was the central ancient Jewish institution, by establish-ing themselves as experts over the rituals associated with it, the ancient sages were able to extend their influence to all aspects of Jewish life (15). This move was especially important because the ancient rabbinic sages were embedded in a Roman empire where non-Jewish authorities held all practical powers. In addition, the sages of the Mishnah were not yet in control of even Jewish society. Their detailed narratives of the temple helped provide a rationale for their claims to authority.

The first chapter of *The Memory of the Temple* connects the Mishnaic sages to jurists under Roman law, asserting that the rabbis co-opted the cultural and legal notion of serving as jurists from the dominant Roman culture (36–37). This lays the groundwork for a discussion in chapter 2 on the Mishnaic presentation of the Great Court, often called the Sanhedrin. Cohn argues that the sages of the Mishnah presented the Great Court as the ultimate arbiter of Jewish ritual matters, an argument that allows the sages, by connecting themselves to the Great Court, to claim that privilege for themselves. In chapters 3 and 4, Cohn discusses some of the specific techniques deployed by the sages to construct their identity through an appeal to the temple. Chapter 3 deals with detailed ritual narratives, while chapter 4 shows how the rabbinic sages' recon-struction of the sacred space of the temple placed the institution firmly in their hands. Chapter 5 is one of the most useful for a Latter-day Saint audience because it shows the power the temple continued to exert not just in a rabbinic environment, but also in the wider Jewish discourse, as well as in Roman and Christian thought. The book finishes with a conclusion and two appendices in which Cohn lists the various ritual narratives he sees in the Mishnah.

Although Cohn's book is focused on the Mishnah, and therefore on the often nitty-gritty legal aspects of rabbinic Judaism, his argument has

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2. This has already been noticed in the late Jacob Neusner's "Map without Territory: Mishnah's System of Sacrifice and Sanctuary," *History of Religions* 19, no. 2 (November 1979): 103–27; and in Jonathan Klawans, *Purity, Sacrifice, and the Temple: Symbolism and Supercessionism in the Study of Ancient Judaism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

interesting implications for Latter-day Saint students of temples in both their own and others' traditions. In fact, the process of constructing authority and identity through the temple, which is laid out so well by Cohn, is suggestive of the power and authority that the temple can have. Even in a post-temple world, the rabbinic sages appealed to the authority of the temple to legitimate their own religious experience. The experience and practice of the sages, as laid out by Cohn, is something that can shed light on other religious groups, ancient and modern, and the authority that the temple can have within religious discourse. Historian of religion Bruce Lincoln has written on the ways ideas and discourse are "deployed" in supporting constructions of society.[3] Ritual discourse, like that employed in a temple context, is just one way to present ideological and theological notions.[4] This type of discourse is significant for Latter-day Saints, for whom the temple's ancient appeal is retained, something that puts the Saints in continuity with much of the ancient world.

This regard for the temple is something that marks Latter-day Saints as different from both mainstream Christianity and the Christians who lived immediately after Jesus. In many ways, the early Christians were not quite sure what to do with the presence, or lack, of a temple, something that Cohn addresses in the fifth chapter of his book. Hugh Nibley already made this observation in his seminal article "Christian Envy of the Temple," in which he explains that the Church Fathers were aware that the temple was a vital part of how God dealt with his people in times past and had different responses to the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple.[5] Cohn notes, however, "Among early Christians, Temple discourse was

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3. Bruce Lincoln, *Discourse and the Construction of Society: Comparative Studies of Myth, Ritual, and Classification,* 2d ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 1–6.

4. For an example of how both immanence and the distance of God was ritually presented in the Jerusalem Temple, see Avram R. Shannon, "'Come Near unto Me': Guarded Space and Its Mediators in the Jerusalem Temple," in *Ascending the Mountain of the Lord: Temple, Praise, and Worship in the Old Testament,* forty-second annual Sidney B. Sperry Symposium, ed. David R. Seely, Jeffrey R. Chadwick, and Matthew J. Grey (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2013), 66–84.

5. This article was first published in the second and third numbers of the *Jewish Quarterly Review* 50 (October 1959): 97–123; (January 1960): 229–40. It was subsequently republished in *Mormonism and Early Christianity,* The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley, vol. 4 (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1987), 391–434. As an anecdotal aside, this article is the Nibley article I most often find cited in the field of Jewish Studies.

widespread and meaningful" (102). In light of the observations brought to the fore by Cohn, especially the observation that a temple does not have to actually be present for an individual or group to take something of its authority, it is not surprising that there is a strong response from Christians to the temple, even if that response is somewhat mixed.

According to the Gospels of Mark and Matthew, one of the accusations leveled against Jesus was that he said, "I am able to destroy the temple of God, and to build it in three days" (Matt. 26:61). Jesus also prophesied that not one stone of the temple would stand on top of another (Mark 13:2; Matt. 24:2). These prophecies recorded in the New Testament suggest that Jesus's earliest followers were aware that he said things that could be interpreted as attacks on the temple. The Gospel of Matthew, which of all the Gospels is in many ways most concerned with the Jerusalem Temple, records Jesus stating that he is greater than the temple (Matt. 12:6). Christine Shepardson notes that the "early Christian authors predictably and consistently interpreted the destruction [of the temple] as evidence of God's rejection of the Jews and of the rituals of Temple sacrifice."[6] But there is also the notion that for the earliest Christians, Jesus was at the center, replacing, in some ways, the temple, though still closely associated with it (102–5). Rejection and supersessionism is by no means the whole story.

The New Testament Pauline corpus presents a good example of this. In 1 Corinthians 3:16–17, Paul tells the Corinthian Saints that *they* are the temple of God. Even as Paul is moving away from the temple, he does so by underscoring its importance. A similar move, along with the associated underscoring of importance, is present in the noncanonical Epistle of Barnabas, especially in chapters 6 and 7.[7]

The authors of the Book of Mormon also hint at the authority derived from the temple. The clearest example of this is Nephi, who builds a temple as part of the legitimization of his royal authority. In spite of his misgivings (see 2 Ne. 5:18), Nephi functions in many ways as an ancient king, performing functions such as fighting wars for his people. In fact, in many ways 1 Nephi functions as a royal apology. (The word *apology*

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6. Christine Shepardson, "Paschal Politics: Deploying the Temple's Destruction against Fourth-Century Judaizers," *Vigiliae Christianae* 62, no. 3 (2008): 238.

7. See William H. Shea, "The Sabbath in the Epistle of Barnabas," *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 4, no. 2 (1966): 149–75. Shea suggests that the author of the epistle is essentially anti-Jewish and supersessionist but also notes the centrality of the temple and the covenant to the epistle's theology.

here indicates explanation rather than an expression of regret.) Some ancient kings deployed this type of text to explain why they became king instead of the expected heir. Scholars have seen a royal apology in parts of the David story because the text explores why David was chosen as king. The explanation given is David's covenant loyalty to God.[8] Nephi's presentation of himself in the Book of Mormon seems to create a similar argument.[9]

Nephi says that although he was unwilling to serve his people as a king, he "did for them according to that which was in [his] power" (2 Ne. 5:18). One service Nephi provides for his people is building a temple: "And I, Nephi, did build a temple; and I did construct it after the manner of the temple of Solomon save it were not built of so many precious things; for they were not to be found upon the land, wherefore, it could not be built like unto Solomon's temple. But the manner of the construction was like unto the temple of Solomon; and the workmanship thereof was exceedingly fine" (2 Ne. 5:16). Nephi builds a temple and does so in a manner similar to that of the temple in Jerusalem. Nephi takes it one step further by having his people not only construct a temple, but also construct it like Solomon's temple. Solomon's temple and his interactions with it serve as a model for how the Nephite civilization mapped the relationship between the king and the temple. The authority of the king among the Nephites connects closely to the temple.

In the Book of Mormon, King Benjamin delivers his famous speech at the temple in Zarahemla (Mosiah 2:1). The connection between king

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8. P. Kyle McCarter, "The Apology of David," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 99, no. 4 (December 1980): 489–504.

9. See the preliminary discussion in Noel B. Reynolds, "Nephi's Political Testament," in *Rediscovering the Book of Mormon,* ed. John L. Sorenson and Melvin J. Thorne (Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1991), 220–29. For further discussions on kingship in the Book of Mormon, see Taylor Halverson, "Deuteronomy 17:14–20 as Criteria for Book of Mormon Kingship," *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 24 (2017): 1–10; Noel B. Reynolds, "Nephite Kingship Reconsidered," in *Mormons, Scriptures, and the Ancient World,* ed. Davis Bitton (Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1998), 151–89; Richard L. Bushman, "The Book of Mormon and the American Revolution," in *Book of Mormon Authorship: New Light on Ancient Origins,* ed. Noel B. Reynolds (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1982), 189–211; and Gregory Steven Dundas, "Kingship, Democracy, and the Message of the Book of Mormon," *BYU Studies* 56, no. 2 (2017): 7–58.

and temple is perhaps even more significant in the story of the Nephite colony who returned to the land of Nephi with Zeniff. The land of Nephi is where Nephi went after the break between the Nephites and the Lamanites (2 Ne. 5:5–8), and it is also where Nephi built the temple mentioned above. The area was, therefore, a powerful symbol of Nephi's "reign and ministry" (see the subtitle to 1 Nephi). Lamanites eventually took up residence in the land of Nephi, and although the Book of Mormon text does not say so explicitly, it seems likely that at least part of the "good" among the Lamanites that Zeniff saw was the temple (Mosiah 9:1). Even Zeniff's son Noah, the archetypical wicked king in the Book of Mormon (see Mosiah 29:18) is closely (and positively) associated with the temple. In Mosiah 11:10, Noah "caused that his workmen should work all manner of fine work within the walls of the temple, of fine wood, and of copper, and of brass." Even though this is part of the long litany of Noah's crimes, it shows that, at least externally, Noah was very concerned with the temple, presumably because it served as a buttress to his kingship. It is certain that the temple priesthood was a vital component of Noah's power structure (see Mosiah 11:11; 12:17–32).

Cohn's book points to one of the important functions of temples: supporting and legitimating the various rulers and groups associated with them. This feature is underscored in the approach taken toward the Jerusalem Temple in the Mishnah, which explains the detailed collection of temple laws and temple concerns in a post-temple context. This was part of a project to legitimate the sages' authority as they explained themselves to their Jewish coreligionists in the broader Roman world.

For Latter-day Saint readers, this book provides useful tools for thinking about other temple narratives. The authors of the New Testament (and related early Christian literature) also lived in an environment where the temple provided authority, although they present a more ambiguous picture of the temple that was likely rooted in their more ambiguous position on the Law of Moses, with its attendant ritual considerations. In the Book of Mormon, the temple was closely associated with kingship, and important prophetic sermons in the Book of Mormon happened at temples, culminating in Jesus Christ's visitation to the Nephites in 3 Nephi. For Latter-day Saints, the temple and its rituals connect the ordinary and the heavenly realms. As modern readers of scripture, this connection gives context to the various discussions on the temple. Because temples are part of the ordinary religious experience of Latter-day Saints, thinking about use of temples in discourse can help Latter-day Saints not only connect to the divine, but also navigate

the relationship between the temple and its ordinances and the everyday organized Church.

With *The Memory of the Temple and the Making of the Rabbis,* Naftali Cohn has written a book that adds much to our understanding of the earliest stages of the rabbinic movement and its connection to the temple, which had defined Judaism and the covenant people for a millennium. Outside of the world of Jewish studies, Cohn's book provides a methodological framework for discussing the role that the temple and its institutions play in a wide variety of religious discourses, including Latter-day Saint discourse about scriptures and temple rituals. Cohn's book is a must-read for anyone interested in the formation of the rabbinic movement and in religious identity formation. It is also a valuable read for those interested in how the temple fits into a broader religious discourse. The reader should note that *The Memory of the Temple* contains some very specific and technical argumentation, but its broader point can be of real use for those interested in temple studies broadly.

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Carol Cornwall Madsen. *Emmeline B. Wells:*
An Intimate History.
Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2017.

Reviewed by Cherry Silver

Carol Madsen's biography of Emmeline B. Wells published by the University of Utah Press in 2017 is aptly titled *An Intimate Biography.* Madsen depicts the private life of a scrappy thinker and doer, an editor, suffragist, club woman, and Relief Society leader. Emmeline Wells stood less than five feet tall and operated with limited financial resources as a single woman supporting herself during the last thirty years of her life, yet she exerted a major influence in her Intermountain West community because of her expansive intellect and compelling personality. She had a remarkable memory for people, literature, and facts. She seemed to know the community elites and ordinary folks alike. While editing the *Woman's Exponent* for thirty-five years, she kept her office open to local people and travelers, becoming an informal bureau of information. She maintained a heroic work schedule, writing late into the night after meeting people and press deadlines through the day. She balanced devotion with a healthy skepticism that life would ever be easy for her. She often felt ill or lonely, sorrowing over her losses privately in her diaries but declaring continual faith that she was guided by the Lord and was a woman of destiny. In the final decade of her long life, Emmeline was called to lead the Relief Society as its fifth general president and was the last women's leader to have known Joseph Smith in Nauvoo (3–6, 69–73, 446).

Since writing her master's thesis on the *Woman's Exponent* and doctoral dissertation, titled "Emmeline B. Wells: A Mormon Woman in Victorian America," Carol Cornwall Madsen has proved a singular force, spending forty years researching and analyzing Emmeline B. Wells and her era. A graduate of the University of Utah, Carol worked with the research team at the Church Historian's Office under Leonard

Arrington. She helped organize the Utah Women's History Associa-
tion and the BYU Women's Conference. She is professor emerita from
Brigham Young University, where she taught women's history, and a past
research professor for the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Church
History. She served a term as president of the Mormon History Associa-
tion, president of the Utah Women's History Association, and vice-chair
of the Board of Utah State History. She has written dozens of scholarly
articles and is a frequent lecturer on Wells and her contemporaries.

In 2006, Carol Madsen published *An Advocate for Women,* the his-
tory of Wells's public life, through BYU Studies in cooperation with
Deseret Book. That volume offers keen insights into women's rights
issues and political outreach from 1870 to 1920. It reveals the dynamic
interplay between church and state and Mormons and non-Mormons,
highlights the cooperation between local activists and national leaders
in the women's movement, and paints a portrait of courage for those
bringing Utah's voice to the national stage. *An Intimate History* is the
companion volume to the 2006 biography.

Emmeline Blanche Woodward Harris Whitney Wells was nearly
fifty years old when she began editing and running organizations. Carol
Madsen details Wells's early experiences, accounts for her creative
ambitions and religious faith, and explains her multifaceted family life
through all of her ninety-three years. Some of the notable observations
from Madsen include the following:

> From a child of obscure New England beginnings, she drew herself
> upward to become a woman of ambition, ability, and achievement. (xii)
>
> She happily, consistently, and determinedly acknowledged that she
> was progressive in her thinking and actions. She favored equal rights
> for women and believed that when Joseph Smith "turned the key" to
> women through the organization of the Relief Society, he opened long-
> closed doors for them and the possibility of untold opportunities. For
> Emmeline, this symbolic gesture was a talisman for the future. (xii–xiii)
>
> She was a bridge builder, reaching beyond Mormon borders to make
> connections with both local and national individuals not of her faith
> while never pretending to be anything but a loyal Mormon. (xiii)
>
> Her long life could be seen as triumph against the reverses that might
> have felled her along the way. She never underplayed her losses or disap-
> pointments, but neither did she allow them to stifle her spirit or under-
> mine her commitments. Only halfway through her long life, she had
> already found the strength that would take her all the way. "I have risen
> triumphant," she exclaimed to her diary. (xiv)

Emmeline Wells aspired to be a poet and did publish one volume in 1896, *Musings and Memories.* She is more widely identified as an editorialist who covered current events as "Aunt Em," remembering with nostalgia her early New England life, and as "Blanche Beechwood," speaking out for social reform (4, 134). She wrote her fictional autobiography, *Hepzibah,* published in installments in 1889 and 1890 (3). In addition, she gathered the biographies of contemporary Mormon women and wrote many herself for the *Juvenile Instructor* and *Young Woman's Journal,* as well as for the *Woman's Exponent.* "Emmeline frequently used Brigham Young's directive to publish these histories as a selling point for her paper," writes Madsen (289).

Aside from her public writings, Wells was an avid journal keeper, creating an extensive, invaluable record of her life and and community. As to her diaries, forty-seven of which survive, Madsen explains, "Her diary was almost her alter ego, the self she could not display to others. Only that silent companion could absorb the superfluity of emotions she so willingly unleashed. One might even read her diaries as the 'romance' she felt her life to be, with her exaggerated expressions, self-analysis, and lengthy soliloquies, while the world saw only an efficient and capable woman, up to every task put before her" (287).

While the details of Emmeline's life and work are themselves engaging, Carol Madsen offers word pictures of the fantastical Emmeline— here as an elderly Relief Society leader:

> In appearance, as well as personality, Emmeline could not be ignored. She presented an antiquated picture that became ever more singular and part of her charm as fashions changed after the turn of the century. No sycophant of fads, she maintained her nineteenth-century appearance until she died: long dresses topped by chiffon scarves and softly colored batiste furbelows, a pocket watch attached to a gold chain hanging from her neck, and a purse, or "satchel," as she called it, which contained her diary, among other articles, always on her arm. But it was the essence of her presence that commanded attention, evoking an immediate impression that here was a woman whose intelligence and bearing belied the delicate image she presented at first meeting. (422)

Madsen also helpfully places her in context with contemporaries like Eliza R. Snow, twenty-five years her senior, with whom she traveled and met with on committees,

> Yet she never felt personally close to Eliza. She admired and respected her for her many gifts and dedication to the church, but they differed in personality and in their views of the world outside the boundaries

of Mormondom. Whereas Eliza was insular in her feelings, seeing the world outside the church as a misguided and evil Babylon that Mormons had gratefully escaped, Emmeline looked outward, hoping to make friends beyond the Mormon circle, gleaning from them all that could broaden her own worldview and enhance her understanding of the world in which the church functioned. She was in every sense a bridge builder. (156)

Insights from rare documents enrich the telling of Emmeline's story. Carol Madsen interviewed great-grandchildren in Idaho, Utah, and other states. While traveling East to explore the roots of her subject, she made acquaintance with the descendants of neighbors and relatives in Massachusetts, where Emmeline grew up. Upon meeting Carolyn Chouinard in New Salem, for instance, Madsen obtained photos of the Woodward homestead in Petersham and the New Salem Academy, where Wells attended school. She herself photographed Moose Horn Creek, where Emmeline was baptized in 1842. This biography also features private letters relating to the migration and death of her mother, Diadama Hare Woodward, as the last Saints moved from Nauvoo to Iowa in the fall of 1846 (81–83).

Madsen explores events that are often questioned, such as why Emmeline agreed to be sealed to Newel K. Whitney only four months after her young husband James left her. What did she understand in early 1845 about plural marriage (55–57)? Seven years later as a young widow, she proposed marriage to Daniel H. Wells (105–8). Though some have speculated that he built her a separate house because there was antagonism among the sister wives, Madsen presents evidence that their relationship was amicable (110). She offers explanations but exercises restraint in exploring the tragedy around the Louie Wells–John Q. Cannon–Annie Wells triangle of 1886 and 1887 (255). She reasons through Emmeline's tricky relationship with Susa Young Gates, a strong personality in public and Church affairs, who envied Wells's managing of the *Woman's Exponent*. Susa traveled with Emmeline, consulted on projects, accepted a post on her general board, and wrote glowing tributes but often criticized her decisions and methods (285, 398, 468–71).

Readers will engage well with this detailed study of a major personality and her society. The chronology flows logically, the narrative is compelling, and the personalities are strongly drawn. Chapter endings provide teasers to draw us into the next set of Wells's adventures and challenges. With footnotes at the bottom of each page, it is easy to explore the scholarship underlying the narrative. The bibliography

is comprehensive, current, and conveniently divided into manuscript, periodical, and other sources. The indexing is thorough, and a genealogy list briefly explains relationships to ancestors, siblings, sister wives, and descendants. I have read closely and found only minor editing slips in identifying a photo or listing a granddaughter's death date, but the scholarly strength of the volume is reassuring.

Not just facts and events but inventive analysis and finely expressed characterization make this five-hundred-page biography a volume to esteem. Every chapter, every page invites the reader into the thinking and the social world of Emmeline and her contemporaries. Without adopting an assertive feminist polemic, the narrator champions women's lived experience. This era of female writers and defenders of the faith, of innovators and preservers of tradition, and of socially alert women in times of transition will undoubtedly be better understood and valued because of Carol Madsen's notable achievement.

Cherry B. Silver is an independent researcher in Mormon women's history who has been helping edit the Emmeline B. Wells diaries for publication. She has degrees in English and has taught in colleges in California, Washington, and Utah. She also served on the Relief Society general board during the Elaine L. Jack administration.

Patrick Q. Mason, ed., *Directions for Mormon Studies in the Twenty-First Century* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2016)

At its heart, *Directions for Mormon Studies in the Twenty-First Century* is a celebration of religious studies in general and of Mormon studies in particular. The book presents twelve provocative essays written by scholars from multiple disciplines and various parts of the world. The essays are divided into five parts, each part focusing on either a topic or a methodology.

Though the book does present some new research, its value lies in the authors' insights, which form a cohesive argument in favor of propagating and deepening Mormon studies. Each of the essays introduces a problem that exists either in Mormon studies or in the Mormon world, argues that further research is needed to solve the problem, and presents a small example of what that research can look like.

Part 1 shows how scholars can use political and sociological theory—particularly progressivism and studies of ethnicity—to better understand the Church and its members. Part 2 delves into Africa and Japan, suggests a deeper study of world cultures as they relate to Mormonism, and calls for a reevaluation of what many Mormons consider "gospel culture." Part 3 encourages scholars to move beyond the study of race relations between white Mormons and their nonwhite neighbors and to consider nonwhite perspectives and experiences within Mormonism. Part 5 similarly urges scholars to examine nontraditional Mormon memoirs to get a fuller picture of the Mormon experience and considers the role and significance of record keeping in the Church.

While the other parts of the book encourage certain methodologies merely by extension, part 4 focuses explicitly on methodology. The essays in this part— written by an economist, two sociologists, and a historian, respectively—demonstrate the extent to which Mormon studies could benefit from expanding beyond the discipline of history.

Reading *Directions* will help new Mormon studies scholars who want to better grasp the field as they prepare to contribute to it. The book will also be helpful to LDS individuals who are not scholars but who would like an introduction to Mormon scholarship and issues facing the Mormon world.

The editor of *Directions,* Patrick Q. Mason, is the Howard W. Hunter Chair of Mormon Studies and associate professor of religion at Claremont Graduate University.

—Isabella Markert

Craig James Ostler, Michael Hubbard MacKay, and Barbara Morgan Gardner, eds., *Foundations of the Restoration: Fulfillment of the Covenant Purposes* (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2016)

This volume is a collection of fifteen papers presented at the forty-fifth annual Sidney B. Sperry Symposium, held in October 2016. The title and subject matter of the symposium were drawn from the LDS Institute course titled "Foundations of the Restoration," which explores the events surrounding the founding of the Church and early Mormonism. The editors, Craig James Ostler, Michael Hubbard MacKay, and Barbara Morgan Gardner, are all members of BYU's Church History and Doctrine Department.

The volume covers a variety of topics, including the Sabbath day, eternal marriage, conceptions of Zion, consecration, Hyrum Smith's Liberty Jail letters,

William W. Phelps's contributions to understanding Church history, the First Vision, the Articles of Faith, Joseph Smith's translation of the Bible, the evaluation of doctrine, the development of LDS temples and temple ordinances, and the sustaining of Church leaders as seers, revelators, and prophets.

A helpful contribution found in the volume is an essay by Alexander L. Baugh, an expert on the Mormon experience in Missouri, that explores the Adam-ondi-Ahman revelation, found in Doctrine and Covenants 116 (157–88). World religion professor Andrew C. Reed examines early Mormon interests in Judaism in another essay (225–44), and Anthony R. Sweat, Michael Hubbard MacKay, and Gerrit J. Dirkmaat—assistant professors of Church history and doctrine at BYU—provide a helpful model for evaluating and classifying LDS doctrine (23–44). The symposium's keynote address, by LDS scholar Robert L. Millet, is the first selection featured in the volume and is a clear, beautiful, and inspiring discussion of Joseph Smith's role in the Restoration of the gospel (1–22).

Created with Church curriculum in mind, this volume is directly for "teachers and students as they study and teach key events and doctrines of the Restoration" (vii). However, any who wish to deepen their study and understanding of the Restoration will find this collection valuable.

—Richard Neitzel Holzapfel

J. Spencer Fluhman and Brent L. Top, eds., *Let Us Reason Together: Essays in Honor of the Life's Work of Robert L. Millet* (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 2016)

Let Us Reason Together is a Festschrift honoring the work of Robert L. Millet, a renowned scholar and former dean of Religious Education at Brigham Young University. The volume covers a variety of disciplines and subjects, representative of the breadth of Millet's corpus, which comprises over sixty publications on a variety of topics. *Let Us Reason Together* is likewise broad in its coverage, though its title and articles particularly highlight one of Millet's most notable accomplishments: his work reaching out to members of Christian traditions outside his own LDS faith. This is noticeable in the fact that some of the articles in the book were written by adherents of other faiths, including Cory B. Willson and Richard J. Mauw. Millet's interfaith work is also highlighted by the strong thread of comparative Christianity found throughout the articles.

The book is divided into three sections, each emphasizing a main theme in Millet's writings: doctrine, scriptures, and Christianity. The essays in the section on doctrine delve into deep doctrine for a brief moment but never stray too far from discussions of core LDS beliefs. The section on scriptures analyzes a range of topics, from a single scriptural word to a collection of scriptures. The last section comprises mostly essays on comparative Christianity.

Among its contents, *Let Us Reason Together* features an analysis from Shon D. Hopkin of grace in relation to the degrees of heavenly glory (329–56) as well as fine observations from Daniel K Judd on Martin Luther's history (311–28). Mauw's essay diplomatically discusses differing theological views on the nature of God (231–38), and a deep consideration of the LDS concept of intelligences is offered by Camille Fronk Olson (4–9). An article by Dennis L. Okholm considers how to define Christianity, troubles the traditional models of defining a religion as Christian, and suggests a new way of determining

whether or not a sect is part of Christianity (357–70). Other offerings in the book include an essay from Richard E. Bennett on the importance of historicity in religion (81–94) and an analysis from John W. Welch of one of Jesus's lesser-studied parables (97–116). The volume also features works from a number of other contributors, including Brian D. Birch, Craig L. Blomberg, Richard O. Cowan, Larry E. Dahl, Megan Hansen, J. B. Haws, Paul Y. Hoskisson, Kerry Muhlestein, Lloyd D. Newell, Dana M. Pike, Andrew C. Skinner, Stephen O. Smoot, and Brent L. Top.

Let Us Reason Together is particularly useful for Christians desiring to understand LDS beliefs and for Latter-day Saints who want to improve their ability to converse with other Christians. With its comparative analyses, interfaith explanations, kind critiques, diverse viewpoints, and questions, this collection of articles not only honors Millet's legacy, but also contributes to discussions on a variety of religious, doctrinal, and interfaith topics. Its messages invite readers to join the conversation as fellow Christians, rather than as members of competing theological camps.

—Austin A. Tracy

William P. MacKinnon, ed., *At Sword's Point, Part 1: A Documentary History of the Utah War to 1858,* and *Part 2: A Documentary History of the Utah War, 1858–1859,* vols. 10 and 11 of *Kingdom in the West: The Mormons and the American Frontier,* ed. Will Bagley and David L. Bigler (Norman, Okla.: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2008, 2016)

Using six decades of research, historian William MacKinnon has created a masterful two-volume documentary history of the Utah War. In creating this helpful collection, he did not reprint documents that were overly long or readily available from other sources. The two volumes tell "the story of the Utah War's origins, prosecution, and impact" and highlight "a crucial crisis in the history of the Mormon people" (part 1, 12).

In part 1, MacKinnon describes "an escalating series of incidents" involving "virtually every aspect of federal-Mormon interface: the quality of mail service; the jurisdiction of county, territorial, and federal courts; the evenhandedness of criminal justice; [and] Indian relations" (part 1, 43). He identifies the territorial resolution of January 6, 1857, as a pivotal moment; the resolution declared, "We will not tamely submit to being abused by the Government Officials, here in this Territory; they shall not come here to corrupt our community, set at defiance our laws, trample upon the rights of the people, [and] stir up the Indians" (part 1, 71). Secretary of the Interior Jacob Thompson called the resolution "a declaration of war" (part 1, 102).

In part 2, MacKinnon documents Kit Carson's claims that Mormons tried to persuade Colorado Utes to join forces with them; the US Army's exploration to see if the Colorado River could become a supply route; and Brigham Young's proposal for a "Standing Army of Israel" (part 2, 67). MacKinnon discusses US senator Sam Houston's support of the Mormons and Utah Territory Supreme Court chief justice Delana R. Eckels's attempts to "poke the bee hive" by prosecuting polygamy (part 2, 385). The book offers ample evidence that the territorial governor Alfred Cumming was more articulate and politically adept than earlier historians have given him credit for. The illuminating analysis of the Utah War in the "Conclusions" section is alone worth the price of the volume.

Although some readers may quibble with the books' interpretations, MacKinnon has performed a remarkable feat in finding and reproducing these vital documents. These books will appeal to readers who are interested in learning about Mormon history, the Utah War, Manifest Destiny, and the colonization of the American West.

—Devan Jensen

Matthew J. Grow and R. Eric Smith, eds., *The Council of Fifty: What the Records Reveal about Mormon History* (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2017)

The announcement in September 2013 that the LDS Church would be publishing a transcript of the Council of Fifty minutes came as welcome news to the Mormon scholarly community. Previously considered confidential and kept in the First Presidency's vault, the record had been unavailable for reading and research for 160 years. This secrecy had two consequences: debate and speculation among the scholarly community about the record's contents, and complete ignorance of the council among most average Church members. But at long last, the transcript was published in 2016 as the sole volume in the Administrative Records series of the Joseph Smith Papers: *The Joseph Smith Papers, Administrative Records: Council of Fifty Minutes, March 1844–January 1846,* ed. Matthew J. Grow and others (Salt Lake City: The Church Historian's Press).

While the publication is a welcome and valuable addition to the corpus of publically available documents on Church history, it is likely difficult for most readers to comb through the eight-hundred-page tome (complete with over one thousand footnotes) and glean what is new and important in the record. The solution? A compilation of fifteen essays, written by historians for a broad audience, on the new insights found in the Council of Fifty minutes.

The Council of Fifty: What the Records Reveal about Mormon History begins with an introduction briefly outlining the history of the council and explaining the decision to publish the record and make it available to the public for the first time. The fifteen articles that follow cover a variety of topics that touch on the nature of the council and how it functioned, as well as its objectives and influence in the Mormon community. Some of the topics covered include Joseph Smith's campaign for the US presidency, the concept of "theodemocracy," religious liberty, significant statements made by Church leaders in council meetings, and what the minutes reveal about Brigham Young's leadership style and personality. The volume also discusses the council's constitution, record-keeping practices, mission to reach out to American Indians, efforts to complete the Nauvoo House, and role in preparing for the Saint's westward migration.

Both of the editors for the volume currently work in the LDS Church History Department. Matthew J. Grow is the director of publications in the department and a general editor for the Joseph Smith Papers, and R. Eric Smith is the editorial manager for the Joseph Smith Papers Project. Both were heavily involved in the publication of the full transcript of the Council of Fifty minutes. Several of the other contributors to the volume are also historians with the Joseph Smith Papers Project, and others are scholars in Mormon studies from several different universities and organizations.

Clocking in at just two hundred pages, this book is an accessible introduction to a record and an organization

that has long been shrouded in mystery and speculation. At the end of the introduction, the editors state they "hope that this collection of essays both increases public knowledge about the Council of Fifty and spurs further scholarship" (xv). Meant to be a starting point for future discussion, this compilation will be helpful to any reader or scholar interested in learning about the Council of Fifty or wishing to enhance their study of the complete council minutes.

—Alison Palmer

Jennifer Reeder and Kate Holbrook, eds., *At the Pulpit: 185 Years of Discourses by Latter-day Saint Women* (Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, 2017)

At the Pulpit joins other notable recent books on Latter-day Saint women such as *The First Fifty Years of Relief Society, The Witness of Women,* the books in the *Women of Faith* series, and the long-running series of books from the BYU Women's Conference. Each of these seeks to bring the records of female Saints out of relative obscurity. Editors Jennifer Reeder and Kate Holbrook help move this effort forward in *At the Pulpit,* which presents fifty-four discourses of fifty-one women in full and takes the reader from 1830 up to the present.

Many of the discourses included here were previously hard to find, such as several early talks recorded in journals and minutes. The editors cast their net widely and included a song, a discussion group, and speeches outside of general Relief Society meetings and general conferences. The women featured include a few from places outside the United States, namely, Germany, Russia, South Africa, Mexico, and Kenya. Each of the discourses is introduced by a brief biography and description of the talk's original setting.

It is inspiring to not only read the women's words but to also realize and recognize the contributions their words have made in the growth of the restored Church. The messages of these women teach readers to look to God, develop Christlike characteristics, and understand and appreciate the depth of the gospel. In one discourse, Drusilla Hendricks tells of her husband becoming paralyzed in the violent encounters in Missouri and of facing the decision of her son to join the Mormon Battalion (51–54). Francine R. Bennion delves deeply into the theology of suffering and individuals' role in their relationship with God, leading to wholeness (212–31). And Julie Beck sees priesthood quorums and Relief Society groups as instrumental in creating a kingdom of God on earth (295–307).

The book also reminds Latter-day Saints that Church structure was not always like it is now. For example, in the 1970s and '80s Elaine A. Cannon advocated for a magazine dedicated to the youth of the Church, for Sunday religious instruction for young sisters in addition to Sunday School, and for a general women's meeting (204–11).

An index helps users find discourses on topics, making it easy to use the book in talks and lessons. An appendix collects the names of all the women who have spoken in general conferences and leadership meetings associated with general conferences. The list begins with Lucy Mack Smith, who spoke at a general Church session in 1845; the next women to speak in a general session were Louise Y. Robison, Ruth May Fox, and Mary Anderson, who spoke over eighty years later in the October 1929 general conference. The book fills in this gap, featuring at least one discourse from every decade since 1830.

The Church Historian's Press has published the entire volume free online

at https://www.churchhistorianspress
.org/at-the-pulpit. The website also
offers a handy chronology that places
the discourses in the context of women's
events in Church history, such as the
switch from the *Woman's Exponent* to
the *Relief Society Magazine* in 1915.

Giving helpful visibility to the proj-
ect, in 2018 the Church is running in the
Ensign and *Liahona* a series of excerpts
from *At the Pulpit* and titled the series
by that name, directly linking it to the
book. The February magazines invite
readers to "take a behind-the-scenes
look at the creation of the book upon
which the magazine series is based"
and gives a URL (3). The URL leads
to the digital-only article "Meeting the
Women behind the Pulpit," which is
also listed in the online table of contents
of the magazines. This short article tells
the stories behind two of the featured
speakers in *At the Pulpit,* and Reeder
and Holbrook conclude, "We witnessed
how God teaches us through the records
that our fellow Latter-day Saints left
behind. Coming to know the authors of
these discourses enriched our own abil-
ity to meet life's challenges as we work
to do our part in building God's king-
dom." May this mission be carried on to
future publications featuring the voices
of women as they preach and testify
about the gospel of Jesus Christ.

—Jennifer Hurlbut
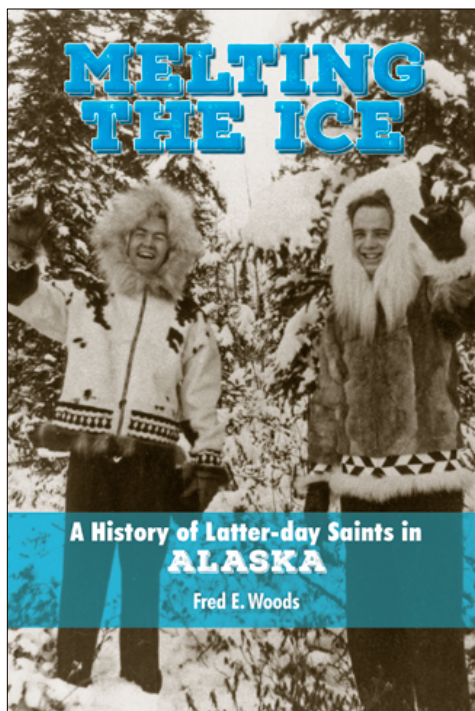
MELTING
THE ICE

A History of Latter-day Saints in
ALASKA

Fred E. Woods

Notwithstanding the frigid circumstances, a genuine warmth emanates from the Alaskan Saints. The match that lit this internal flame was the restored gospel of Jesus Christ, first striking the Alaskan borders at the turn of the twentieth century. The Latter-day Saints have subtly shaped Alaskan society, although composing less than 5 percent of the state's population. Their influence on Alaskan communities can be seen through their family values, humanitarian service, community projects, and family history centers. This book tells the story of the rise and influence of Latter-day Saints as they joined hands on their journey of "melting the ice."

"Alaska has one of the highest per capita populations of Latter-day Saints of any state in the nation, yet no scholarly history has been written about the LDS Church in the Last Frontier. Until now. Fred Woods's *Melting the Ice* is an engrossing read about how many dedicated individuals have contributed to the social and spiritual development of Alaska."
—Ross A. Coen, Editor, *Alaska History*