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From the Editor

John W. Welch



Hello again, dear reader. I can't thank you enough for your regular interest in this journal, now in its fifty-ninth year of publication. I trust that you will find the contents of this issue to be every bit as valuable and as fascinating as usual. On these pages, solid traditional interests blend productively with latest developments and our most up-to-date needs.

One of the most dramatic changes introduced recently into the everyday vocabulary of members of the Church has been the shift away from perceiving ourselves as teachers and moving toward reconceiving ourselves as ministers. Although true teaching has always been personal and focused on the one, the idea of teaching sometimes can be reduced to just the delivery of information, which can take on a somewhat mechanical character or impersonal tone. The word *minister*, however, carries with it a sense of sensitive, heartfelt service.

All of this got me wondering what ministering might have to do with our intellectual gifts in general and with this issue of *BYU Studies Quarterly* in particular. And I think the answer is, a lot. Without exception, the following pages are written in a ministering mode—of ministers, by ministers, and for those to whom they minister.

Frederick G. Williams recently retired from BYU as a professor of Portuguese literature and history after a lifetime of devoted ministering in both the U.S. and Brazil. He always speaks professionally and personally. As a loving minister, he embraces the abounding beauty of other vibrant cultures. He sensitively surveys the history of Portugal's rise and fall as a world power, whose maritime empire at one time reached

into Africa, Persia, Arabia, India, China, Japan, and South America. The story of how Portugal lost much of its empire to Britain, France, and Holland is a cautionary tale told with dignity and admiration.

Jennifer Champoux tells of Mary and Martha, whose ministering qualities are artistically shared with viewers worldwide in Latter-day Saint works of art. Champoux elegantly analyzes these portrayals, encouraging us to take a deeper look at these women and the different forms ministering can take.

A trustworthy minister stands in awe of the handling of consecrated offerings. David Smith offers a rare insider's view of the history of the Council on the Disposition of the Tithes. An essential part of being a minister is the dutiful discharge of responsibilities, with all due care and obedience. The handling of sacred tithing by this little-known council serves well as a model for councils of ministers at all levels of ecclesiastical administration.

A ministering mind remembers and celebrates noble people. The photographic essay by Richard Holzapfel and Ronald Fox ministers as it keeps alive the spirit of December 1905, when the Latter-day Saints commemorated the one hundredth anniversary of Joseph Smith's birth with a granite memorial in Vermont and also with Churchwide rejoicings centered at the Salt Lake Tabernacle on Temple Square. A few people alive at that time could still remember how the Prophet had lovingly ministered to them.

And ministering minds must be mindful. Drawing upon decades of ministering, especially to students on hot archaeological digs and in dusty library stacks, Jeffrey R. Chadwick meticulously combines historical, calendrical, archaeological, and scriptural evidence to construct a model supporting the idea that Lehi departed Jerusalem in 605 B.C., exactly six hundred years prior to the birth of the Savior. Several researchers have tried to explain the discrepancies between Lehi's six-hundred-year prophecy and the often-assumed date of the first year of Zedekiah's reign. Chadwick strives here to reconcile all the available information to show that the plain wording in the Book of Mormon is accurate.

With all of this in mind, may these pages minister to you. These ministering authors do not just talk the talk, or study the studies. They reflect the light and appropriately apply their learning, hoping that you, as ministering readers, will be alert and open to ways in which this new information might be useful in strengthening and encouraging sisters and brothers, neighbors and friends. May this help us to mind our Father's business and to attend to our sacred duties as his witnesses and servants at all times and in all places.



The Family of Lehi about 600 Years before Christ by Kelly Hale. Courtesy BYU Jerusalem Center for Near Eastern Studies.

Dating the Departure of Lehi from Jerusalem

Jeffrey R. Chadwick

Most Latter-day Saints would agree that the prophet Lehi and his family left their home in Jerusalem and departed into the wilderness in the year 600 BC. This is largely due to the presence of an asterisk in 1 Nephi 2:4, present in every official edition of the Book of Mormon from 1920 to 2012, which alerts readers to a “600 BC” chronological notation at the bottom of the page. However, a number of studies over the last forty years have suggested that 600 BC cannot have been the correct date of Lehi’s departure, preferring later dates anywhere from 597 to 587 BC. But these suggestions, as well as the 600 BC notation itself, are all chronologically too late to accommodate the complicated contextual factors present in the text of First Nephi. This study will propose an earlier date for the event, within a quite narrow window of time. In what may come as a surprise to many readers, I suggest that Lehi’s departure from Jerusalem occurred sometime in November 605 BC. This dating, I argue, makes the best sense of two principal data points: (1) the birth of Jesus in late 5 BC and the death of King Herod in the early spring of 4 BC and (2) the prophecy that Jesus would be born six hundred years from the time of Lehi’s departure from Jerusalem.

As I write and refine this study, I find myself in “the land of Jerusalem,” at Brigham Young University’s Jerusalem Center for Near Eastern Studies, with its valuable library of rigorous sources, in my thirty-fifth year of professional research and archaeological work here. Knowing this land and its history is vital in attempting a study such as this. And, as is the case in any study of ancient society and chronology, a great deal of data must be introduced from various sources and fields to address

all of the issues that arise from a text as complicated as that of 1 Nephi. The 605 BC proposal has previously been only briefly outlined in footnotes and endnotes of a few of my academic articles.¹ This is the first time this particular proposal has been thoroughly explained and supported with contextual references from Nephi's text as well as historical, archaeological, and geographical information from the Land of Israel and the ancient Near East. At the outset, it will be important to review a sampling of other approaches to dating Lehi's departure, both by professional scholars and other interested commentators, and to demonstrate why those approaches do not satisfy the contextual demands of the Book of Mormon. Although it may appear, at times, that I am hopping around between different and unrelated subjects, by the end of this study all of the evidence will combine to support the proposed dating of Lehi's departure in late 605 BC.

The 600 BC Notation—a Modern Addition

Beginning with the 2013 English edition of the Book of Mormon, all date notations were moved from the bottom of every right-hand page (except for the book of Ether) to the end of each chapter heading. A distinct, and I believe quite significant, change was made in 1 Nephi 2: the bottom-of-page note "600 BC" was moved to the chapter heading and revised to "About 600 BC." This slight equivocation—from exactly 600 BC to "about" 600 BC—invites us to inquire where the dating schema originated and why it merited change. A brief explanation of the origin of the "600 BC" notation seems warranted. That notation, and all the other chronological notations found at the bottoms of the pages in the pre-2013 authorized editions of the Book of Mormon, were the contribution of Elder James E. Talmage, who was charged in his day to prepare a new 1920 edition of the Book of Mormon, having "double column pages, with chapter headings, chronological data, revised footnote references, pronouncing vocabulary, and index."² Elder Talmage

1. See Jeffrey R. Chadwick, "Has the Seal of Mulek Been Found?" *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 12, no. 2 (2003): 117–18 n. 24; Jeffrey R. Chadwick, "An Archaeologist's View," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 15, no. 2 (2006): 123 n. 7; and Jeffrey R. Chadwick, "Dating the Death of Jesus Christ," *BYU Studies Quarterly* 54, no. 4 (2015): 147–48 n. 46.

2. "Authorized" editions here refers to those editions authorized and published by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints since 1920, including the extensively reworked 1981 edition, copyrighted by successive Presidents of

settled upon the year 600 BC as the zero-date in his chronology of Book of Mormon events. This was due primarily to three factors: (1) his determination that Jesus had been born in April of the year 1 BC, published in his 1915 book, *Jesus the Christ*;³ (2) the prophecy of Lehi that the Messiah would be raised up “600 years from the time that (Lehi) left Jerusalem” (1 Ne. 10:4), which was periodically repeated by Nephi (see 1 Ne. 19:8; 2 Ne. 25:19); and (3) the ultimate report of the sign of Jesus’s birth six hundred years after Lehi’s departure (see 3 Ne. 1:1, 9–19). The 600-year span and 1 BC date for Jesus’s birth seem to have been the only factors Elder Talmage worked with—neither biblical Israelite-Judahite history nor the Babylonian chronology appear to have been considered.⁴ Events that occurred prior to Lehi’s departure, including a reference to “the first year of the reign of Zedekiah, king of Judah” (1 Ne. 1:4), were simply notated at the bottom of the page as dating to “about 600 BC.”

The Reign of Zedekiah and the 600-Year Prophecy/Count

For half a century following the appearance of the 1920 edition of the Book of Mormon, no one in the LDS academic world questioned Elder Talmage’s 600 BC departure date. Indeed, Sidney B. Sperry, one of the most respected LDS scholars of that era, basically concurred with it in a published pamphlet titled *Book of Mormon Chronology*, although he refined the actual departure date to 601 BC, which he identified as

the Church above the title Trustee-in-Trust, by the Corporation of the President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, or by its successor designation, Intellectual Reserve. The quotation here is from the copyright page of the 1920 edition.

3. See James E. Talmage, *Jesus the Christ: A Study of the Messiah and His Mission according to Holy Scriptures Both Ancient and Modern* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1915), 102–4.

4. The reference by Mormon to the first year of the reign of Mosiah II “about four hundred and seventy-six years from the time that Lehi left Jerusalem” (Mosiah 6:4) presents what has been regarded by some as a possible imprecision in the 600-year count. It does not seem to have been a factor in Elder Talmage’s calculations. In the present study, I suggest that it is not an imprecision at all, but an indication that Mormon was placing responsibility for the dating on his source material from the large plates of Nephi and not stating that he certified the dating himself. He made a similar disclaimer in 3 Nephi 8:2. For the purposes of the present study, however, it is of note that Mormon made no equivocal remark in 3 Nephi 1:1, where he stated that “it was six hundred years from the time that Lehi left Jerusalem.”

Zedekiah's first regnal year.⁵ But beginning in the 1980s, the 600 BC departure date began to be seriously challenged, primarily for historical reasons. The most prominent chronological marker in Nephi's record, which also appears in the contemporary Hebrew Bible text and can be cross-checked in the Babylonian Chronicle, is represented by the phrase "it came to pass in the first year of the reign of Zedekiah, king of Judah" (1 Ne. 1:4; see also 2 Kgs. 24:17–18). It is a historical certainty, now accepted by a complete consensus of biblical and historical scholarship, that Zedekiah was elevated to the throne of Judah by the Babylonian monarch Nebuchadnezzar in the spring of the year 597 BC.⁶ Thus, Zedekiah's first regnal year is calculated by scholars from the month of *Aviv* in the spring of 597 BC to the spring of 596 BC. In the text of 1 Nephi, "the first year of the reign of Zedekiah" (1 Ne. 1:4) is mentioned prior to Lehi's departure from Jerusalem (1 Ne. 2:4), although the amount of time between the two markers is not elaborated. Taken at face value, this would indicate that Zedekiah's first regnal year was three years later than 600 BC and would mean that the absolute earliest Lehi could have left Jerusalem was 597 BC, if not somewhat later.

This complicates the traditional Book of Mormon chronology because of the 600-year prophecy and year count for the birth of Christ after Lehi's exodus. Six hundred years can simply not be squeezed into the period from 597 BC to 1 BC. Additionally, the modern consensus of New Testament scholarship agrees that Jesus could not have been born later than the early winter of 5/4 BC.⁷ The reason for this is that Herod the Great is considered with historical certainty to have died in April of 4 BC, and the New Testament positively asserts that Herod was alive when Jesus was born and did not die until sometime thereafter

5. Sidney B. Sperry, *Book of Mormon Chronology: The Dating of Book of Mormon People and Events* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1970), 2.

6. See Yohanan Aharoni and others, *The Carta Bible Atlas* (Jerusalem: Carta, 2011), 128. See also Anson F. Rainey and R. Steven Notley, *The Sacred Bridge: Carta's Atlas of the Biblical World* (Jerusalem: Carta, 2006), 264; and John Bright, *A History of Israel*, 3d ed. (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1981), 327.

7. For my discussion of this consensus, see Jeffrey R. Chadwick, "Dating the Birth of Jesus Christ," in *BYU Studies* 49, no. 4 (2010): 11–13; see also Thomas A. Wayment, "The Birth and Death Dates of Jesus Christ," in *The Life and Teachings of Jesus Christ: From Bethlehem through the Sermon on the Mount*, ed. Richard Neitzel Holzapfel and Thomas A. Wayment (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2005), 385–86.

(see Matt. 2:1–20). It becomes necessary, then, to reconcile the 600-year prophecy/count with the period from 597/6 BC to 5/4 BC, a span of only 592 years. How is this to be done?

PART I

Modern Approaches to the 600-Year Prophecy/Count

Before I present the 605 BC model, I will survey existing approaches to this conundrum. Of several possibilities, three samples of modern studies attempting to deal with the above-noted historical considerations will suffice here to show the main ways in which this dating challenge has been approached since the 1980s. The first example is an approach taken by John L. Sorenson, a respected BYU professor of anthropology, in his 1985 book, *An Ancient American Setting for the Book of Mormon*. Sorenson proposed that the Mayan 360-day count known as a *tun* should be considered as the “year” that accumulated in the 600-year prophecy/count. The 360-day *tun* was a component of a complex Mesoamerican chronological system known to archaeologists as the Long Count, which had developed among the Maya by the first century BC as a parallel to their older chronological system, known to archaeologists as the Calendar Round.⁸ Both systems were quite complicated and did not accommodate the four annual seasons, the two equinox days, or the two solstice days of the 365¼-day tropical solar year that we now commonly utilize. The *tun* of the Long Count was not aligned to any of the twelve lunar months of the Hebrew Bible calendar in use for the law of Moses or with the biblical seven-day week, which was unknown in the Mayan system. These issues notwithstanding, Sorenson suggested the following: “‘600 years’ by the Maya *tun* method of calculating time would turn out 8.64 years shorter than ‘600 years’ in today’s conventional sense. If we mark off 600 *tun* years from Zedekiah’s first year, 597–596 BC, 216,000 days brings us into the year overlapping 5–4 BC, an acceptable date for Christ’s birth.”⁹ Sorenson’s approach, and his

8. For a succinct description of the Mayan calendar and chronological system, see Robert J. Sharer and Loa P. Traxler, *The Ancient Maya*, 6th ed. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2006), 102–15; see also Michael D. Coe and Stephen Houston, *The Maya*, 9th ed. (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2015), 63–68, 259–62.

9. John L. Sorenson, *An Ancient American Setting for the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1985), 273. See also Jay Huber’s 1982 FARMS preliminary

597 BC departure date for Lehi, have become popular among contemporary Book of Mormon commentators who are convinced (as am I) that ancient Mesoamerica and the Late Preclassic Maya society were the venue of the Nephite narrative.

A quite different approach to the 600-year issue was suggested in a speculative essay by Randall P. Spackman that appeared in the *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* in 1998.¹⁰ Spackman suggested that the Nephites had adopted a strictly lunar calendar of 354 days, divided into 12 lunar months of 29 to 30 days each, which did not adjust to the tropical 365¼-day year in the way that the biblical Judahite calendar did. He notes that the account written by Amaleki in Omni 1:21 mentions “the space of nine moons” and speculates from this that the Nephites did not intercalate lunar months to the solar year. His explanation for the 600-year prophecy/count was that it lasted 7,200 lunar months. And rather than place Lehi’s departure close to the first year of Zedekiah’s reign in 597/6 BC, Spackman theorized it was nine years later, in 588/7 BC, a year prior to the 586 BC destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians. He chose this date because of two Book of Mormon passages: 2 Nephi 25:10, which he read to mean that Jerusalem was destroyed directly after Lehi departed; and 1 Nephi 7:14, which mentions that the prophet Jeremiah had been cast into prison. Spackman identified this imprisonment as the one reported in Jeremiah 37:15 (a connection also suggested in footnote *d* to 1 Nephi 7:14), which occurred during the 588/7 siege of Jerusalem. Finally, counting forward 7,200 lunar months from 588/7 BC, Spackman placed the birth of Jesus in the spring of 5 BC. In practical terms, the time span he advocated for the 600-year prophecy/count would equal about 583 regular tropical solar years.

report “Lehi’s 600-Year Prophecy and the Birth of Christ,” <https://publications.mi.byu.edu/publications/PreliminaryReports/Set%203/Prelim%20Rep/Huber,%20Lehis%20600%20Year%20Prophecy%20and%20the%20Birth%20of%20Christ,%201982.pdf>.

10. Randall P. Spackman, “The Jewish/Nephite Lunar Calendar,” *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 7, no. 1 (1998): 48–59. This work is referred to herein as an essay because it is not a scholarly or academic article in any sense. It does not cite or utilize outside scholarly works or references to support the theories it presents. Its four endnotes refer only to Bible and Book of Mormon passages. See also his 1993 FARMS Preliminary Report offprint: Randall P. Spackman, “Introduction to Book of Mormon Chronology: The Principal Prophecies, Calendars, and Dates,” a longer compilation with a lengthy bibliography but very few internal reference citations.

A third study on the departure date of Lehi from Jerusalem, quite thoughtful and thorough in its approach, was published in 2001 by two respected BYU professors of ancient scripture, S. Kent Brown and David Rolph Seely. Titled “Jeremiah’s Imprisonment and the Date of Lehi’s Departure,”¹¹ Brown and Seely’s academic article in *The Religious Educator* reviewed the model proposed by Spackman and discussed several of its weaknesses. In particular, Brown and Seely dealt with the confinement of Jeremiah alluded to in 1 Nephi 7:14 and Spackman’s acceptance of the Jeremiah 37:15 event of 588 BC as the imprisonment to which Nephi referred. They point to two earlier confinements of Jeremiah, one in Jeremiah 36:5, dating to 605 BC, when the prophet was arrested and jailed; and one in Jeremiah 20:2, dating to 601 BC, when the prophet was put into stocks for a day and night. They suggest one of these events was more likely the confinement spoken of by Nephi. Brown and Seely discuss a number of issues in significant detail that serve to refute the departure-date model in the Spackman essay and conclude that Lehi’s departure most likely occurred sometime shortly after 597 BC, which they accept as the beginning of Zedekiah’s first regnal year. Ultimately, they do not offer a specific date or year for Lehi’s departure. As for the 600-year prophecy/count, they note that the period between 597 BC and 5 or 4 BC allows for a passage of only 592 or 593 years and admit that this “remains an issue that has not been solved.”¹²

The Law of Moses and the Lunar-Solar Year

In order to evaluate the models of Sorenson, Spackman, and Brown and Seely above, and as a necessary prelude to introducing the 605 BC model for Lehi’s departure, it is important to understand the calendar requirements of the law of Moses. The law of Moses, as recorded in the Hebrew Bible (Old Testament), was strictly and legally observed in Judah prior to Lehi’s departure. It was also observed by the Nephites and even some Lamanites (see for example 2 Ne. 5:10; 25:24; Jacob 4:5; Jarom 1:5; Mosiah 2:2; 16:14; Alma 25:15; 30:3; Hel. 13:1; 3 Ne. 1:24–25) for the 634 years between Lehi’s departure (see 1 Ne. 2:4) and the visit of the risen Christ to Nephite Bountiful (see 3 Ne. 11–28). The ancient law of Moses calendar, derived from the early Hebrew Bible writings, which were upon the plates of brass possessed by Lehi (see 1 Ne. 5:10–13), consisted of twelve

11. S. Kent Brown and David Rolph Seely, “Jeremiah’s Imprisonment and the Date of Lehi’s Departure,” *Religious Educator* 2, no. 1 (2001): 15–32.

12. Brown and Seely, “Jeremiah’s Imprisonment,” 16.

lunar months of 29 to 30 days each. The actual period of lunation is 29.53 days (or 29 days, 12 hours, and 44 minutes), so lunar months alternated between 29 and 30 days each and commenced with the observation of the new moon. Key ordinances of the law of Moses were connected to the monthly new-moon cycle. For example, with each new moon, on the first day of each month, the law of Moses required a sacrifice to be made by the priests at the Tabernacle (later the Temple) of two bullocks, one ram, and seven lambs (see Num. 28:11). This was part of an elaborate system of offerings that mandated sacrifices on a daily basis (Num. 28:3–4) and a weekly Sabbath basis (Num. 28:9–10). Sacrifices were also required on the yearly festival holidays, including Passover, in the first month of spring (Num. 28:16–25); the early summer day of first fruits, also known as the Feast of Weeks (Num. 28:26–27; Deut. 16:10); the day of trumpeting on the first day of the seventh month, at the onset of autumn (Num. 29:1–2); the tenth day of the seventh month, known also as Yom Kippur or Day of Atonement (Num. 29:7–8; Lev. 23:27); and on the fifteenth day of the seventh month at the autumn Feast of Tabernacles (Num. 29:12–13; Lev. 23:34–36). That this complex calendar of sacrifices on Sabbaths, festivals, and the monthly new moons was in place in Judah well before Lehi's day is manifest in a passage in Isaiah, dating to 700 BC, in which God condemns those Israelites whose oblations on the new moons, Sabbaths, and other occasions were deemed vain (Isa. 1:13).

However, this twelve-month lunar count notwithstanding, the law of Moses also specifically stipulated that the Passover festival must take place in the spring season, which marked the first month of the year. Indeed, the name of the first month, *Aviv* ("Abib" in the KJV), was also the Hebrew term for spring (see Ex. 12:2; 13:4; 23:15). Spring was understood as commencing with the vernal equinox, around March 20, whether in the hot tropical climate of Egypt or the more moderate Mediterranean climate of Canaan. The Israelite-Judahite year of the Hebrew Bible, during the time of the Tabernacle of Moses and the Temple of Solomon, was counted from spring to spring.¹³ And Passover absolutely had to be

13. While the Israelite-Judahite calendar year ran from spring to spring in the time of Solomon's Temple (the First Temple Period), the situation became more complex after the Jews returned from Babylonian captivity. By the time of Christ (late in the Second Temple Period), the Jewish year was counted in two different but complementary ways—the old Israelite way, in which the first month of the year was considered the first spring month, and the adopted Syrian method, in which the first autumn month was the first month of the yearly count. Passover continued to be celebrated in the spring, of course, and

celebrated in the first vernal month, after the onset of spring (on the first full moon in the four weeks after the March equinox).

But as already noted, twelve strictly lunar months add up to a period only 354 days long, some eleven days shorter than the tropical solar year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days. If adjustments had not been made by the Israelites of Judah, the fifteenth day of the first lunar month, which was to be Passover, would fall back in the seasonal cycle by eleven days each year, quickly putting Passover back into late winter, then midwinter, then early winter, then late autumn, and so on. A strictly lunar calendar year could not keep Passover in its commanded spring season. The Israelites of Judah realized this very early in their history and devised a way to keep Passover from falling back out of spring and into winter. They added an extra month—a thirteenth leap month—into their year every two to three years as needed, in order to keep the month of *Aviv* in the tropical spring season where it belonged. So, for example, if Passover, on the 15th of *Aviv*, were to fall one year on a day we would know as March 28, in order to prevent it from falling back to March 17 the following year, the priests in Judah would proclaim an extra month of *Adar* (their twelfth month) the following winter, which would then push *Aviv* back into spring and the 15th of *Aviv* that year to the date we know as April 17. This would allow a couple of more normal years to pass before the 15th of *Aviv* again fell far enough back to require another addition of a leap month. The thirteenth leap-month addition was apparently inserted by ad hoc observation every two to three years for centuries prior to Christ, and even during his era, but was ultimately fixed in a seventeen-year repeating cycle by Jewish sages in the fourth century AD.¹⁴

the Feast of Tabernacles in the autumn, but the first day of the Israelite seventh month (the day of blowing trumpets) became known as *Rosh HaShanah* (the head of the year) due to the Syrian calendar's regard of the initial autumn month as the first month of the year. The Jewish year was counted from the first autumn month at the time of Jesus and the first century AD Jewish sages and has continued so from then until the present time. See Jeffrey R. Chadwick, "Dating the Death of Jesus Christ," *BYU Studies Quarterly* 54, no. 4 (2015): 137–38, 137 n. 8.

14. For a brief treatment of the Jewish calendar intercalation, see Chadwick, "Dating the Death of Jesus Christ," 144–45, and for a very detailed description, see Sacha Stern, *Calendar and Community: A History of the Jewish Calendar, Second Century BCE–Tenth Century CE* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 47–98, 175.

This method of adjusting the lunar-month year count of 354 days to the tropical solar year count of 365¼ days is called intercalation. The Israelite-Judahite intercalated calendar of lunar months in a solar-year system is also known as the lunar-solar year. The Judahite lunar-solar year kept Passover and the other law of Moses festivals in the seasons to which the scriptural commands had initially assigned them. Observance of the law of Moses absolutely required the lunar-solar year arrangement, in which the tropical solar year of 365¼ days was the year that accumulated over time and history. To put it simply, in the long run, when added up over time, law of Moses years were the same length as our normal years.

The point of this rather long but necessary explanation is that the Nephites, who were observing the law of Moses, would have had to utilize the Judahite lunar-solar calendar system that was systemic in the law of Moses. And we have it on good authority that the Nephites were very particular about observing the law of Moses, from its Sabbath days to its prescribed sacrifices (see 2 Ne. 5:10, 16; 25:24–25; Jacob 4:5; Jarom 1:5; Mosiah 2:3; Alma 25:15; 30:3; Hel. 13:1; 3 Ne. 1:24–25). That the Nephites were counting their months according to the new moons seems evident from Amaleki's reference to the passing of "nine moons" (Omni 1:21). But that they were keeping their lunar months intercalated to the tropical solar year is self-evident from Mormon's inclusion of the point that "they were strict in observing the ordinances of God, according to the law of Moses, for they were taught to keep the law of Moses" (Alma 30:3). To strictly observe those ordinances required the festivals and their sacrifices to occur in their scripturally mandated months and seasons. And although Mormon, who lived centuries after the law of Moses was discontinued among his people, had no personal acquaintance with its ordinances or festivals, the records from which he drew also recalled times when "the Lamanites did observe strictly to keep the commandments of God, according to the law of Moses" (Hel. 13:1).

Mormon never named any of the Mosaic festivals in his record (he may not have known the names), but his limited description of the gathering in Mosiah 2 was very likely reporting a Passover festival, at which King Benjamin announced the ascent of his son Mosiah to the throne as the new Nephite king—an event logically performed at the beginning of the year, when biblical regnal years were considered to commence. Indications that the event was a Passover festival include that the population gathered at the central temple (Mosiah 2:1), per Deuteronomic standard (see Deut. 16:16); that the people gathered as families for the event (Mosiah 2:5); and particularly that they brought their own animals for

sacrifice (Mosiah 2:3), a feature specific only to the Passover festival (Ex. 12:3). The other Mosaic law festivals did not require individuals or families to perform individual sacrifices or to provide sacrificial animals.¹⁵

The only secure reference to the Nephite calendar month supplied in Mormon's entire narrative occurs in 3 Nephi 8:5.¹⁶ The passage refers to the day on which the storms and signs marking the day of Jesus's death occurred and specifies that it was in the first Nephite month. In a previous study, I have given what I consider strong evidence that Jesus most likely died at Jerusalem at Passover during the first week of April in AD 30.¹⁷ This indicates the Nephite "first month" was an early spring month, exactly as the law of Moses lunar-solar calendar requires.¹⁸

15. Some have suggested that the Mosiah 2 event was a Feast of Tabernacles (Sukkot festival), based on the description of families staying in tents and other parallels to Israelite festival activities in the fall holy season around the Day of Atonement. See John A. Tvedtnes, "King Benjamin and the Feast of Tabernacles," in *By Study and Also by Faith: Essays in Honor of Hugh W. Nibley*, vol. 2, ed. John M. Lundquist and Stephen D. Ricks (Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1990), 197–237; and Terrence L. Szink and John W. Welch, "King Benjamin's Speech in the Context of Ancient Israelite Festivals," in *King Benjamin's Speech: "That Ye May Learn Wisdom,"* ed. John W. Welch and Stephen D. Ricks (Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1998), 147–223. While this may be correct, the Sukkot festival did not necessarily require individual or family animal sacrifices, nor did it even accommodate them in any numbers. The families staying in tents in Mosiah 2 is also consistent with a Passover festival, since on that occasion, too, Israelites were to gather from everywhere to stay at the site of the central temple and celebrate the festival in family units—in Judah that would have been at Jerusalem, but in Nephite King Benjamin's setting it would have been at Zarahemla.

16. It could be argued that there are actually two such references, if one includes the allusion to the "ending of the thirty and fourth year" in 3 Nephi 10:18, when Nephi gave his report of the ministry of the resurrected Jesus Christ, who appeared to the Nephites in Bountiful. It might be that almost an entire year had passed between the time of Jesus's death and his first appearance to the Nephites. The inference, then, would be that both the ending of the Nephite year and the beginning of the Nephite year occurred in early spring, again suggesting that the first Nephite month was an early spring month, since they had begun counting their years from the date of the sign of his birth (3 Ne. 2:4–8).

17. See Chadwick, "Dating the Death of Jesus Christ," 184–88.

18. With regard to the Nephite "first month," I have suggested, in another study, that Mormon's caveat about the possibility of mistake in the date reported in 3 Nephi 8:1–5 may represent an error of ten days and that the "fourth day of

Why the Lunar Year and the *Tun* as a Year Simply Don't Work

With the above in mind, it should be clear why the proposition that the Nephites were counting Mayan *tuns* as their years cannot be correct. And it should also be clear that the Nephites were not using a strictly lunar calendar year. The law of Moses, with its annual festival ordinances that demanded an intercalated lunar-solar year, simply could not have been observed with strictness or accuracy under a system of 360-day Mayan *tuns* or 354-day lunar years. The first annual month, when Passover was held, would fall from spring back into winter within just six years under a *tun* count and would not cycle back to spring again for another six decades. In the case of strictly lunar years, the first month would cycle back into winter in just three lunar years, not returning to spring for another thirty years. The Nephites, strict observers of the law of Moses, would not have conducted the sacred festivals outside their scripturally mandated seasons. Their Passover had to have been in their first month, and it had to have been in the spring, every single year. So they could not have been using *tuns* as their years, nor were they counting strictly lunar years.

Another important indicator that the Nephites were counting real tropical solar years in an intercalated lunar-solar calendar is found in the 3 Nephi narrative. There we learn that a full thirty-three years passed between the time of the signs of Jesus's birth and time of the signs of his death (see 3 Ne. 8:2–4). In the New Testament setting, the date for the birth of Jesus could not have been later than the early winter of 5/4 BC, and the best possible date for his death was in the early spring of AD 30.¹⁹ This means that Jesus's life span was most likely a period of thirty-three full tropical solar years and three or four months. If the Nephites had been counting *tuns* as years in the 3 Nephi narrative, and that 360-day count were multiplied by thirty-three, the period between the signs of Jesus's birth and death would have been 165 days shorter than in the tropical solar year count, amounting to a little less than thirty-two real tropical solar years and seven months, some seven or eight months shy of what the New Testament context demands. And if

the month" may really have been the fourteenth day of the first month—the biblically noted day of the eve of Passover, on which Jesus is known to have been crucified at Jerusalem. See Chadwick, "Dating the Death of Jesus Christ," 185–88.

19. For full details, see Chadwick, "Dating the Birth of Jesus Christ" and "Dating the Death of Jesus Christ."

the span between those signs were counted in strictly lunar years, the period between the signs of birth and death would be 363 days shorter than a tropical solar count, amounting to only thirty-two tropical solar years—some fifteen months shy of what the New Testament context describes. It must also be clear from this data that the Nephites could not have been using *tuns* or a lunar-year calendar in counting the total of years described in 3 Nephi.

To support his lunar-year theory, Spackman suggested that the Nephites were not concerned about keeping Passover and the other Mosaic law festivals in their scripturally mandated seasons, theorizing that they would not have felt those seasons were applicable in the climate of Mesoamerica. He proposed that the Nephites abandoned any effort to retain Passover in the tropical solar year spring season, or the Feast of Tabernacles in the tropical solar year autumn.²⁰ But there is not a shred of evidence in the Book of Mormon to support this idea, and it cannot be squared with the report that the Nephites “were strict in observing the ordinances of God, according to the law of Moses” (Alma 30:3). The lunar-year theory must be rejected.

All of the above is critical to understanding the length of time described by the Book of Mormon’s 600-year count that originated with Lehi’s prophecy in 1 Nephi 10:4. Those 600 years can only have reference to real, full years of 365¼ days each, accumulated in the lunar-solar year count, which, over time, exactly matches the count of tropical solar years. Neither the 592 real years suggested by Sorenson nor the 583 real years of Spackman’s scheme will suffice as the 600 real years between Lehi’s departure and the birth of Jesus, demanded by the prophecy/count references in the 1, 2, and 3 Nephi narratives.

A final fact to keep in mind is that Lehi’s original 600-year prophecy was given in the valley of Lemuel, on the extreme north Arabian shore of the Red Sea, a decidedly ancient Near Eastern venue, not an ancient Mesoamerican one. Lehi could not possibly have known about the Mayan *tun* when he uttered that prophecy, nor could Nephi in his repetitions of the prophecy. Indeed, the Mayan Long Count, with its *tun* component, is not even known to have existed in 600 BC (its earliest attestation is to the late first century BC).²¹ And there was simply never a time when the Israelites of the Hebrew Bible operated on a strictly lunar calendar. Neither the *tun* nor the strictly lunar count can be reconciled

20. Spackman, “Jewish/Nephite Lunar Calendar,” 52–54.

21. See Coe and Houston, *Maya*, 67.

to the context of Lehi's original 600-year prophecy or Nephi's repetitions of it.

Counting back 600 real years from the most likely date for Jesus's birth, which was in early winter of 5/4 BC (essentially December of 5 BC), would mathematically place the departure of Lehi in the year 605 BC. And, to be even more precise, it would suggest Lehi departed in or just prior to early winter, between mid-November and December of 605 BC. This is the proposition of the present study. But, again, how can a departure in 605 BC be reconciled with Nephi's own reference to the "first year of the reign of Zedekiah" (1 Ne. 1:4) if Zedekiah did not begin his reign until 597 BC?

PART II

King Josiah's Death and His Sons as Successors

In order to answer this question, we must know something of the reign of Josiah, king of Judah, and have an understanding of events in the decade following his death. King Josiah was killed in battle with the Egyptians at Megiddo in 609 BC (2 Kgs. 23:29–30), a few years prior to Lehi's departure from Jerusalem.

Josiah had become king of Judah by consensus of "the people of the land" in 640 BC, at eight years of age, after the assassination of his father, Amon (2 Kgs. 21:23–22:1). At that time, the small kingdom had been a controlled vassal of the Assyrian empire for six decades, since the disastrous attack of Sennacherib on Judah in 701 BC (see 2 Kgs. 18–19). Judah was essentially run by Josiah's handlers until he was grown, but by age twenty he was in control of the royal agenda. About that time, in 628 BC, the death of the Assyrian emperor Ashurbanipal marked the beginning of the final disintegration of the once great empire.

As the Assyrians withdrew from the Mediterranean region, Josiah's army regained control over all of Judah's former territory, expelling the occupying Philistines. His forces then moved north to annex the province of Samaria by 625 BC. Moving farther north, his armies annexed to Judah the Megiddo region, including the Jezreel Valley and the Galilee, all part of the former Assyrian province of *Magiddu*.²² The territories Josiah appropriated had been portions of the former northern

22. Aharoni and others, *Carta Bible Atlas*, 126, map 175.

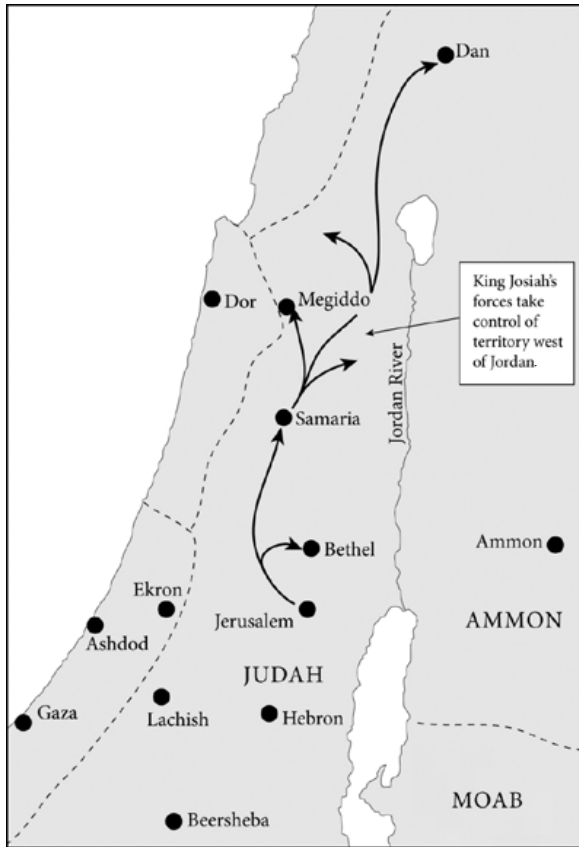


FIGURE 1. Josiah's expansion of Judah northward into former Assyrian provinces of Samaria and Megiddo, c. 625 BC. Map by the author.

kingdom of Israel until the Assyrians had conquered it and deported away its Israelite population between 732 and 721 BC. Josiah's annexations after 628 BC extended his kingdom's borders to the ancient boundaries controlled by Solomon—from Dan to Beersheba (1 Kgs. 4:25). This expanded Judah became the most prominent polity in the region for the next two decades.

In 622 BC, Josiah had the temple of Solomon repaired (2 Kgs. 22:3–6). This resulted in the discovery of a scriptural record in the temple (2 Kgs. 22:8), which led to the subsequent composition of the biblical books of the law of Moses (Genesis–Deuteronomy) and of six centuries of Israelite and Judahite history (Joshua 1–2 Kings 23), known to biblical

scholars as the Deuteronomic History.²³ As a result, Judah had its first functional scripture compilation, still the major component of our current Hebrew Bible (Old Testament). Josiah also reinstituted the Passover festival (2 Kgs. 23:21–23), which had not been performed for decades, since King Hezekiah's time (see 2 Chr. 30). All of these events and the expansion of Judah's territory, economy, and prominence were the context of Lehi's life in Jerusalem. When Josiah was killed in 609 BC, Lehi was perhaps around forty years old.²⁴

Josiah and his kingdom were implicit allies of the Neo-Babylonian kingdom of the Chaldeans, ruled by king Nabopolassar. This relationship was a renewal of the ties that had existed between Judah and Babylon in the days of Josiah's great-grandfather Hezekiah (see 2 Kgs. 20:12–13). When the Babylonian armies, led by Nabopolassar's son Nebuchadnezzar, destroyed the Assyrian capital at Nineveh in 612 BC, Chaldean Babylon began to emerge as a new and expanding empire in the ancient Near East. The Egyptian king Necho II, wishing to forestall Babylonian expansion, marched to Carchemish in Syria to attempt the recapture of Haran.²⁵ Proceeding north through Philistia, Necho needed to pass by Megiddo and through the Galilee to confront the Babylonians in Syria. Josiah was unwilling to allow the Egyptians to pass through his territory to fight his own ally, leading to the battle between the Egyptians and Judah at Megiddo in which Josiah was killed by an archer (2 Chr. 35:23–24). His death was a national catastrophe for Judah.

The account in 2 Kings, paralleled in 2 Chronicles, reports that “the people of the land took Jehoahaz the son of Josiah, and anointed him, and made him king in his father's stead” (2 Kgs. 23:30; 2 Chr. 36:1). It seems clear from these passages that Jehoahaz, though at twenty-three years of age not Josiah's oldest son at the time, was the royally designated and publicly acknowledged heir to the throne. Josiah's popularity had

23. The Deuteronomic History (beginning with Deuteronomy, followed by the history in Joshua, Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel, and 1 and 2 Kings), was composed around 620 BC from a variety of earlier-written sources, including royal chronicles, but was an essentially new work. For a complete description of the process, see Richard Elliott Friedman, *Who Wrote the Bible?* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1989), 101–35.

24. For background on Lehi's life in Jerusalem, see Jeffrey R. Chadwick, “Lehi's House at Jerusalem and the Land of His Inheritance,” in *Glimpses of Lehi's Jerusalem*, ed. John W. Welch, David Rolph Seely, and Jo Ann H. Seely (Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 2004), 81–130.

25. Aharoni and others, *Carta Bible Atlas*, 127, map 176.

been such that “the people of the land” would likely not have supported a successor who was not his explicit choice. Jehoahaz’s mother, Josiah’s wife Hamutal, seems to have been the queen mother and was the daughter of the priestly scion Jeremiah of Libnah (2 Kgs. 23:31), all important facts to keep in mind.²⁶ However, Necho’s Egyptian forces, having defeated the Judahite army, occupied Judah and removed Jehoahaz from the throne after only three months. Late in 609 BC, Necho installed another, older son of Josiah, Eliakim, as king of Judah, who used his other Israelite-Judahite name, Jehoiakim, as his throne name. Jehoahaz was taken prisoner to Egypt, where he perished (2 Kgs. 23:34–35).

Jehoiakim, twenty-five years old when he began to reign, was the son of another of Josiah’s wives, Zebudah (2 Kgs. 23:36), who was not the publicly recognized queen mother in the context of 2 Kings 23. Jehoia-kim would likely never have become king if the Egyptians had not taken control of Judah in 609 BC. He operated as a loyal vassal of Egypt for the five years that Judah was under Egyptian domination, from 609 to mid-604 BC.²⁷ He was condemned (routinely) by the Deuteronomic historian (2 Kgs. 23:36–24:5) and also fiercely denounced by Jeremiah the prophet. Jeremiah mourned that Jehoahaz was taken away (see Jer. 22:10–11, where Jehoahaz’s alternative name, Shallum, is used) and ranted against Jehoiakim, accusing him of many religious and public wrongdoings and predicting his ignoble death and burial (see Jer. 22:12–19).

26. It is difficult to imagine what Jehoahaz might have done in just three months to merit the formulaic condemnation “he did . . . evil in the sight of the LORD” (2 Kgs. 23:32)—there is no parallel condemnation in the Chronicles account (2 Chr. 36:1–3). He was clearly the designate successor of his father, Josiah, whom the people supported and of whom the Deuteronomic historian spoke positively. The Deuteronomic History up to the point of 2 Kings 23:25 (Deuteronomy–2 Kings) is theoretically attributed to a writer or writers around 620 BC in Jerusalem known as Dtr1. The text from the account of the death of Josiah, 2 Kings 23:26 through 2 Kings 25, is attributed to a writer or writers known as Dtr2 (which may have been the same person or persons as Dtr1) writing outside Judah sometime after the 586 BC destruction of Jerusalem. With this in mind, it may be that all four kings of Judah after Josiah’s death were described differently, and routinely condemned, from the distant perspective of Dtr2, and that Jehoahaz was not really guilty of any serious religious transgression in the three months he was on the throne. See the discussion on Dtr1 and Dtr2 by Friedman, *Who Wrote the Bible*, 111–49.

27. On this period as one of Egyptian domination of Judah as a vassal state, see Rainey and Notley, *Sacred Bridge*, 260. They round out the period as simply 609–605 BC.

It is likely that those who regarded Jeremiah's prophetic calling felt the same way about Jehoiakim—that his kingship was essentially illegitimate. There is no indication in the reports of either 2 Kings or its later parallel, 2 Chronicles, that Jehoiakim was supported or recognized as king by “the people of the land” in the way that Josiah and Jehoahaz had been. In his first five years, he was, by any standard, an Egyptian puppet.

The First Year of the Reign of Zedekiah

It is here, in the overall discussion, that I may now introduce the first chronological marker in the proposal for Lehi's departure from Jerusalem in late 605 B.C. This marker is that “the first year of the reign of Zedekiah” spoken of by Nephi (1 Ne. 1:4), when many prophets spoke out, must actually have been the first year of Jehoiakim's reign, which started in late 609 B.C., after Josiah's death and the Egyptian deposing of Jehoahaz. In the way regnal years of Jehoiakim are expressed in the book of Jeremiah, this first year would have been 608/7 (counted from the new-year mark in spring of 608 to spring of 607).²⁸ Zedekiah, whose other name is given as Mattaniah (only in 2 Kings 24:17), was the younger brother of Jehoahaz and the son of the queen mother, Hamutal (2 Kgs. 24:18), and thus theoretically next in line to Josiah's throne after Jehoahaz's demise. Why the Egyptians did not install him as their puppet, but instead chose his much older half-brother Jehoiakim, is not clear. It may have been because Zedekiah was only eight years old in

28. A brief explanation of how the calendar references in Jeremiah work is in order. Jeremiah's calendar references are keyed to the lunar-solar year beginning in spring, with the month of *Aviv* (also known as *Nisan*) as the first month. This is clear from references such as Jeremiah 36:22, where the ninth month is said to be in winter. With regard to the years of Jehoiakim's reign, which did not begin until late 609 B.C., his first full regnal year was counted in Jeremiah from spring of 608 to spring of 607 B.C. The full table proceeds as follows: first year = 608/7, second year = 607/6, third year = 606/5, fourth year = 605/4, fifth year = 604/3, and so on. Some scholars hold that chronological references in the 1 and 2 Kings accounts should be understood as the year beginning in autumn, as contrasted to the references in Jeremiah, which would count Jehoiakim's first year as beginning in autumn of 609. See E. R. Thiele, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker, 1983), cited in Rainey and Notley, *Sacred Bridge*, 260. This is not a settled issue. But since 2 Kings makes no specific references to individual years in Jehoiakim's reign, Jeremiah is the primary source for understanding chronologically tagged events during Jehoiakim's administration.

609 BC, or it may have been because they reasoned that Jehoiakim, who otherwise had no claim to the throne, would be a more reliable collaborator than the child Zedekiah, who would have to be mentored by the same court officials and priests who had supported Necho's foes Josiah and Jehoahaz. Whatever the reason, Zedekiah's young age would not have been a deterrent to "the people of the land" of Judah in recognizing him as the rightful king, since his own father, Josiah, had also taken the throne at only age eight (2 Kgs. 22:1). The proposal here is that men in Judah like Lehi and Nephi, who were allies of Jeremiah the prophet and who would have deeply resented the Egyptians for killing King Josiah, would also have regarded the Egyptian puppet Jehoiakim as illegitimate or, at best, an undesired co-regent,²⁹ and would have actually recognized young Zedekiah as the rightful monarch from the point in late 609 BC when it was clear that Jehoahaz would never return. I suggest that from 609 to mid-604 BC, the entire duration of Egyptian domination of Judah, people like Lehi would have regarded Zedekiah as the legitimate and legal royal heir. Thus, Nephi's reference to "the first year of the reign of Zedekiah" could very well have been regarded by them as beginning in the same year as the death of Josiah—609 BC.

Of course, normative historical understanding recognizes that Jehoiakim reigned eleven years, from 609 to 598 BC. For five years of that reign, he was a puppet of the Egyptians (late 609 to mid-604 BC), and something over six years of his reign were under Babylonian dominion (mid-604 to late 598 BC). It would have been during Jehoiakim's administration that Lehi and his family departed for the wilderness in late 605 BC. A brief description of Jehoiakim's time on the throne must be considered before further making the case for the date of Lehi's departure.

The Egyptians had failed in their 609 BC attempt to move east from Carchemish and the Euphrates to recapture Harran from the Babylonians. This made their hostile occupation of Judah all the more important—it was planned to be a buffer zone between Egypt and any further Babylonian advance in Egypt's direction. But this worked for only five years. In September of 605 BC, Nebuchadnezzar succeeded his father,

29. It seems clear from the harsh comments in Jeremiah 22:1–19 that the prophet regarded Jehoiakim's position as king to be conditional, and only tenable if Jehoiakim and those of his court would abide by the prophet's call to righteousness, otherwise warning that Jehoiakim's "house shall become a desolation" (Jer. 22:5).



FIGURE 2. A BYU Jerusalem Center student, Sally Patterson, excavating an ancient altar at Ekron (Tel Miqne) in debris from the 604 BC Babylonian destruction of the Philistine city. Photo by the author.

Nabopolassar, as king of the Chaldean-Babylonian realm and immediately set out to expand his empire to the Mediterranean, successfully conquering Carchemish from the combined Egyptian and Syrian forces there and triumphantly entering Syria by the beginning of autumn (see the allusion in Jeremiah 46:1–2).³⁰ In the following year, 604 BC, Nebuchadnezzar’s armies marched farther south, through Syria into Philistia, Judah’s neighbor on the coastal plain.³¹ That summer, Ekron was attacked and destroyed, and by December of that year, Ashkelon was totally destroyed. The last Philistine inhabitants of these cities were deported and became lost to history. Archaeological excavations

at both ancient sites, Ashkelon and Ekron,³² uncovered vast evidence of the total destruction of the two cities by the Babylonians.³³ The conquest

30. For a detailed account of the events of 605 BC, see Rainey and Notley, *Sacred Bridge*, 262.

31. See the Babylonian Chronicle (5:15–20) and commentary on Ashkelon in Rainey and Notley, *Sacred Bridge*, 262–63. See also Aharoni and others, *Carta Bible Atlas*, 127, map 177.

32. The Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon, directed by Lawrence Stager and Daniel Master, excavated at Ashkelon between 1984 and 2016. See “The Leon Levy Expedition,” The Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon, The Leon Levy Foundation, digashkelon.com/expedition. The Tel Miqne–Ekron Archaeological Expedition, directed by Seymour Gitin and Trude Dothan, excavated at the site of ancient Ekron from 1981 to 1996. See “Tel Miqne-Ekron Excavation and Publication Project,” W. F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research, www.aiar.org/miqne-ekron/. Both sites are in Israel.

33. It is of note that 160 students from the Brigham Young University Jerusalem Center excavated the Babylonian destruction level at Ekron (Field II) in the spring of 1994, led by the author of this article and Jerusalem Center director S. Kent Brown, under the supervision of Seymour Gitin, director of the Tel

of the Philistine coastal plain, and particularly the absolute devastation of nearby Ekron, must have shocked and stunned Jehoiakim and the people of the kingdom of Judah that summer. Ekron was located twenty-five miles directly west of Jerusalem, on the ancient border of Judah and Philistia.³⁴ The siege of Ashkelon in December brought such fear to Judah and Jerusalem that a fast was proclaimed that month (Jer. 36:9).

With the destruction of Ashkelon and the subsequent capture of Gaza, the Babylonians had pushed the Egyptians entirely away from Judah and out of Philistia, south to the traditional Egyptian border at the “river of Egypt” (el-Arish) in the northern Sinai Peninsula. Egyptian forces would not expand north out of Sinai into the area of Judah with any success for another three hundred years. By the end of 604 BC, Judah and Jerusalem were under the control of Babylon.

King Jehoiakim was compelled to declare loyalty and allegiance to Babylon even as the autumn of 604 BC began. This appears in the 2 Kings report where “Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came up, and Jehoiakim became his servant three years: then he turned and rebelled against him” (2 Kgs. 24:1). The account does not detail Jehoiakim’s administration under Babylonian control but skips immediately to his rebellion against that control in 601 BC. In that year, the Babylonians sought to overwhelm the Egyptians in a battle in northern Sinai. The battle ended in a draw, with major losses on both sides.³⁵ Nebuchadnezzar withdrew from Sinai and returned home to Babylon to regroup his military. The Egyptians did not venture beyond their own borders again (see 2 Kgs. 24:7), but Jehoiakim apparently thought it was a good time to break from his forced commitment to Babylon and throw his loyalty back to Egypt. It was a disastrous move. Nebuchadnezzar did not bring his entire army to the region the next year but did send some Chaldean forces that joined with his vassal allies from Ammon, Moab,

Miqne-Ekron expedition. The students became eyewitnesses to the totality of the Babylonian destruction of Ekron. The author was a member of the supervisory staff at the Ekron expedition for three years, conducting excavations in two different areas there.

34. On the Babylonian conquest of Philistia, and specifically on Ekron being “completely destroyed” in 604 BC, see Seymour Gitin, “Philistines in the Books of Kings,” in *The Books of Kings: Sources, Composition, Historiography, and Reception*, ed. Andre Lemaire, Baruch Halpern; assoc. ed. Matthew J. Adams (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 345–46.

35. On the 601 BC battle, see the Babylonian Chronicle passage (5:5–7) and commentary in Rainey and Notley, *Sacred Bridge*, 263.

and probably Edom³⁶ to launch destructive attacks against Judah (2 Kgs. 24:2).³⁷ These operations would have affected outlying regions, with the Chaldeans likely striking in Judah's west, from the coastal plain, Ammon raiding into northern areas such as Benjamin and the Jericho plain, and Moab and Edom besieging and terrorizing the Negev and shutting off the south and the *Arava* route to the Red Sea. By 600 BC, Judah was under siege from a series of sustained attacks that shut off its borders in all directions. No one was coming to or going from Jerusalem to the Red Sea or anywhere else in 600 BC.

Nebuchadnezzar took his revitalized army west again in 599 BC but did not enter Judah that year. Instead, the Babylonians battled and neutralized the Arabs of the Kedar region, south and east of Edom, cutting off caravan and trade access to Egypt from Arabia.³⁸ Having secured that flank, Nebuchadnezzar's formidable forces entered Judah for battle in late 598 BC. They moved straight to Jerusalem, encircling and laying siege to the city. It is at this point that the 2 Kings account records Jehoiakim's death (2 Kgs. 24:5–6), without comment as to cause—some authorities suggest he was assassinated.³⁹ His eighteen-year-old son, Jehoiachin, took the throne for three months (2 Kgs. 24:8). As had been the case for his father, the record again does not say that “the people of the land” chose

36. Particularly if *Aram* (אַרַם), which the KJV renders “Syrians,” is an error and *Edom* (עֲדוֹם) was intended—if *Edom* were spelled defectively (not incorrectly), the two terms could appear very similar in the paleo-Hebrew script of the period, since the letters *d* and *r* were so similar. That Edom was involved here is suggested by Aharoni and others, *Carta Bible Atlas*, 128.

37. On the 600 BC military actions against Judah, see Rainey and Notley, *Sacred Bridge*, 263.

38. See the Babylonian Chronicle (5:9–10) and discussion in Rainey and Notley, *Sacred Bridge*, 263. Compare also the prophecy against Kedar (understood as north Arabia) in Jeremiah 49:28–33; note that the Hazor of this oracle was likely a location in north Arabia and not the Israelite Hazor north of the Sea of Galilee.

39. On the assassination of Jehoiakim see, for example, Bright, *History of Israel*, 327; and Rainey and Notley, *Sacred Bridge*, 264. The report in 2 Chronicles 36:6 that he was taken prisoner to Babylon is regarded as a manuscript error. *Genesis Rabbah* 94:9, admittedly a very late source, offers another possibility—that Nebuchadnezzar demanded that the council of Jerusalem surrender Jehoiakim or the entire nation would be destroyed. Citing the case of Sheba, the son of Bichri, as precedent, the council turned Jehoiakim over, and he was taken to Babylon. *Midrash Rabbah*, ed. and trans. H. Freedman and Maurice Simon (London: Soncino, 1939), 2:879.

him as they had Josiah and Jehoahaz (compare 2 Kgs. 21:24) . In March of 597 BC, young Jehoiachin surrendered to Nebuchadnezzar's forces, and Jerusalem was captured (2 Kgs. 24:10–12). The city was not destroyed, as the cities of the neighboring Philistines had been, perhaps because Judah had been a Babylonian ally until Josiah's death or perhaps because it surrendered so quickly. But for the first time in four hundred years, since the reign of King David himself, Jerusalem had fallen!⁴⁰

As the spring of 597 BC began, the Babylonians marched into the city, putting it under martial law. They entered the temple of Solomon, looting it of precious items, cutting apart its golden vessels, and taking them as payment (Jehoiakim had not sent tribute in over three years). They also looted the larger royal palace complex, King Solomon's palace, that lay just south of the temple, along with the royal treasury (2 Kgs. 24:13). The total value of the booty surely reached the equivalent of many millions of dollars by today's standards. But an even more traumatic punishment was meted out by the occupying forces—thousands of the elite people of Jerusalem and Judah were rounded up and deported, marched away to Babylon under guard of the Chaldean forces. These thousands of deportees included the teenage king Jehoiachin himself, his mother (Jehoiakim's wife), the other royal wives (of both Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin), and many other princes and women of the extended royal family (2 Kgs. 24:14–15), including young Daniel and his friends (see Dan. 1:1–7).⁴¹

40. Jerusalem had been threatened and had capitulated in earlier episodes but had never been forcefully conquered or occupied and looted by an enemy. Those occasions included the rebellion of Absalom (2 Sam. 15–16), the invasion of Shishak (1 Kgs. 14:25–27), the invasion of Hazael the Syrian (2 Kgs. 12:17–18), the conspiracy of Rezin of Syria and Pekah of Israel (2 Kgs. 16:5), and the attack of Sennacherib and the Assyrians on Judah and their short siege of Jerusalem (2 Kgs. 18:13–19:36).

41. The reference to “the third year of Jehoiakim” in Daniel 1:1 cannot have reference to 606 BC, as popularly suggested in outdated Bible dictionaries, since Nebuchadnezzar had not entered the region so early. It refers, instead, to the same chronology as employed in 2 Kings 24:1, pointing to 601 BC, the third year of Jehoiakim's reign under Babylonian rule, the same year that Jehoiakim rebelled against Nebuchadnezzar. The account in 2 Kings 24 compresses into one short description all the events from Jehoiakim's third year under Babylonian rule down to the 597 BC siege and surrender of Jerusalem. The compressed summary in 2 Kings 24 is the source of the impression in Daniel 1:1 that Nebuchadnezzar's siege was in Jehoiakim's third year, when actually another three years passed before the Babylonians commenced the siege. The looting and deportation mentioned in Daniel 1:2–3 are the same events as those in

Along with the royal family, palace officers and staff and the military officers of Judah were also deported. Ten thousand captives were reportedly taken away; all of the builders, manufacturers, and metalworkers of Judah were taken away: “all the craftsmen and smiths: none remained, save the poorest sort of the people of the land” (2 Kgs. 24:14). The number of craftsmen and smiths taken was reported as a thousand (2 Kgs. 24:16; see also Jer. 24:1; 29:2). This is a particularly important fact when considered together with the likelihood that Lehi was a metalsmith. Several indicators in the text of 1 Nephi suggest that both Lehi and Nephi were expert metal craftsmen, working in gold, silver, bronze, and iron.⁴² Had Lehi and his family been in Jerusalem in 598 BC, they would very likely have been deported away to Babylon in the aftermath of the 597 surrender of the city. But they had departed seven years earlier.

It was only after the fall and looting of Jerusalem and the deportation of ten thousand people that Zedekiah, by then twenty-one years of age, was appointed by Nebuchadnezzar as king of Judah in March of 597 BC. Why he was chosen instead of a nonroyal governor to be the Babylonian puppet on Judah’s throne is unclear. Eleven years later, when the Babylonians would again capture Jerusalem in 586 BC (and then destroy it), a nonroyal governor named Gedaliah would be appointed (2 Kgs. 25:2–22). But in 597 Nebuchadnezzar may have been attempting to restore the Babylonian alliance with Judah’s throne that had existed when Josiah was king a dozen years earlier. Zedekiah was the son of Josiah and of

2 Kings 24:13–15. The notion that young Daniel grew up with and was friends with Nephi, suggested in certain popular LDS novels and commentaries, is picturesque but untenable. Nephi was as much as fifteen years older than Daniel. Nephi was in his mid-to-late teens when he departed Jerusalem in 605 BC and could not logically have socialized with Daniel, who was still a young boy at the time of his deportation in 597 BC. Further, there was no Babylonian deportation of Judahites in 606 BC, and Daniel was not “carried captive 606 BC,” contrary to the notation in the Bible Chronology section of the LDS Bible Dictionary. A short encyclopedia entry on Daniel, which was prepared in 1990 by the author of the present article, erroneously states that Daniel was deported in 606 BC. See Jeffrey R. Chadwick, “Daniel, Prophecies of,” in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 355. The author has long since disavowed that incorrect statement and model of events. Daniel was deported in 597 BC.

42. See the extensive treatment of indicators that Lehi and Nephi were metalsmiths in Chadwick, “Lehi’s House at Jerusalem,” 113–17. See also John A. Tvedtnes, “Was Lehi a Caravaneer?” in *The Most Correct Book: Insights from a Book of Mormon Scholar* (Salt Lake City: Cornerstone, 1999), 94–97.

the legitimate queen-mother, Hamutal, and was thus the heir of Josiah recognized by “the people of the land.” Nebuchadnezzar may have been attempting to establish a new beginning with the throne of Judah, having purged Jerusalem of all the court and officers of the corrupt king Jehoiakim. Zedekiah’s given name, Mattaniah, is reported in the 2 Kings narrative (2 Kgs. 24:17), but it was the young prince’s royal name that Nebuchadnezzar used to establish him as king.⁴³

Zedekiah ruled in Jerusalem for eleven years as a puppet ally of Babylon (2 Kgs. 24:18). But other than his eventual rebellion against Nebuchadnezzar and the siege and destruction of Jerusalem that occurred at the end of his administration (2 Kgs. 25:1–10), the contemporary history of the Deuteronomist reports no accomplishments of Judah’s final, failed monarch.

43. Why Mattaniah/Zedekiah had two names in the 2 Kings narrative is not entirely clear. The same is true for Eliakim/Jehoiakim (2 Kgs. 23:34). This was not a practice seen in the installation of previous kings of Judah or Israel. In the case of Eliakim/Jehoiakim, the dual name was assigned by Pharaoh Necho. It may be that Necho employed the Egyptian custom of royals having two names, a personal name and a royal name (also known as the *nomen* and the *prenomen*), in order to “Egyptianize” Judah’s palace. If this is the case, it is likely that both of Josiah’s surviving sons, Jehoiakim and Zedekiah, were given the dual names. And if so, the royal name Zedekiah would already have been well known in Jerusalem by the time the Babylonians took over, and in appointing Mattaniah with the name Zedekiah, the Babylonians would have signaled that the replacement was to be regarded as a legitimate king. Indeed, the names Jehoiakim and Zedekiah are unlikely to have been the inventions of either Necho or Nebuchadnezzar. The name Jehoiakim, used for Eliakim by Pharaoh Necho, was a *Yahu*-theophoric name. The text only says Necho “turned his name to Jehoiakim.” The name Jehoiakim may have been a second name already given to him prior to Josiah’s death. Other previous Judahite kings were known by two different Israelite/Judahite names (notably Uzziah/Azariah in Amos 1:1; Isa. 6:1; 2 Kings 15:1–3, 13, where the two names are not derivative but have different meanings). So also was Mattaniah/Zedekiah. Both Jehoiakim and Zedekiah were Israelite theophoric names, that is, names with a god-element in them—both the “jeho” and the “iah” particles were *Yahu* elements from the divine name *Yahuweh* (Jehovah), the God of Israel. The Babylonian practice, on the other hand, was usually to give new names with Babylonian theophoric elements (such as Daniel’s new name, Belteshazzar; see Dan. 1:7). Like the name Jehoiakim, the royal name Zedekiah is more likely to have actually originated in Judah, even as early as Josiah’s reign itself, rather than to have been devised by Nebuchadnezzar after the Babylonian capture of Jerusalem. This makes the appearance of the name in 1 Nephi 1:4 entirely plausible in a 609–605 BC setting.

The Prophetic and Political Conversation in First Nephi

Clues to discerning the date of Lehi's departure from Jerusalem are found in the prophetic and political conversation within the 1 Nephi narrative. Lehi and his prophet contemporaries were bold in their message that Jerusalem would be destroyed by the Babylonians and that "many should be carried away captive into Babylon" (1 Ne. 1:13). Yet when confronted with these warnings, Lehi was mocked by the populace (see 1 Ne. 1:19). Indeed, Laman and Lemuel, like the rest of the population of Judah, did *not* believe "that Jerusalem, that great city, could be destroyed" (1 Ne. 2:13) and regarded Lehi's warnings as "foolish imaginations" (1 Ne. 2:11). Such attitudes would hardly have been possible in 597 BC, or in any subsequent year, after Jerusalem had been successfully besieged by the Babylonians, had surrendered, and had begun to see the deportation of ten thousand Judahites. And even though the capital had not been destroyed that year, the Babylonian capacity to both conquer and decimate large cities had been well understood in Judah since 604 BC, when their close neighbor Ekron, a large and prosperous fortified city with a temple comparable to Solomon's, had been utterly demolished by Nebuchadnezzar's forces. The attitudes depicted in the political conversation of Laman and Lemuel, and indeed in the reactions of Judahites in general, toward the warnings of Lehi and the other prophets, make better sense in the period prior to the summer of 604 BC—prior to the time that Babylon beligerently entered the area and wreaked havoc on Philistia. No citizen of Judah in 597 BC or any time later would have mocked the notion that Jerusalem could be destroyed and its inhabitants deported. The city, successfully besieged, would certainly have been razed had Jehoiachin not surrendered. And the warning that "many should be carried away captive into Babylon" (1 Ne. 1:13) would have seemed odd and redundant in 597 BC after ten thousand of Judah had already been deported—like an exhortation to close the barn door after the horses were already gone. Such oracles, and the reactions to them recorded by Nephi, seem at home only in the period 609 to 605 BC, prior to the arrival of the Babylonians in the region and prior to their domination of Judah that began in 604 BC. The political conversation of Laman and Lemuel, which was "like unto the Jews who were at Jerusalem" (1 Ne. 2:13), in response to the prophetic conversation of Lehi and his many fellow prophets (1 Ne. 1:4), points to a departure date for Lehi no later than 605 BC.

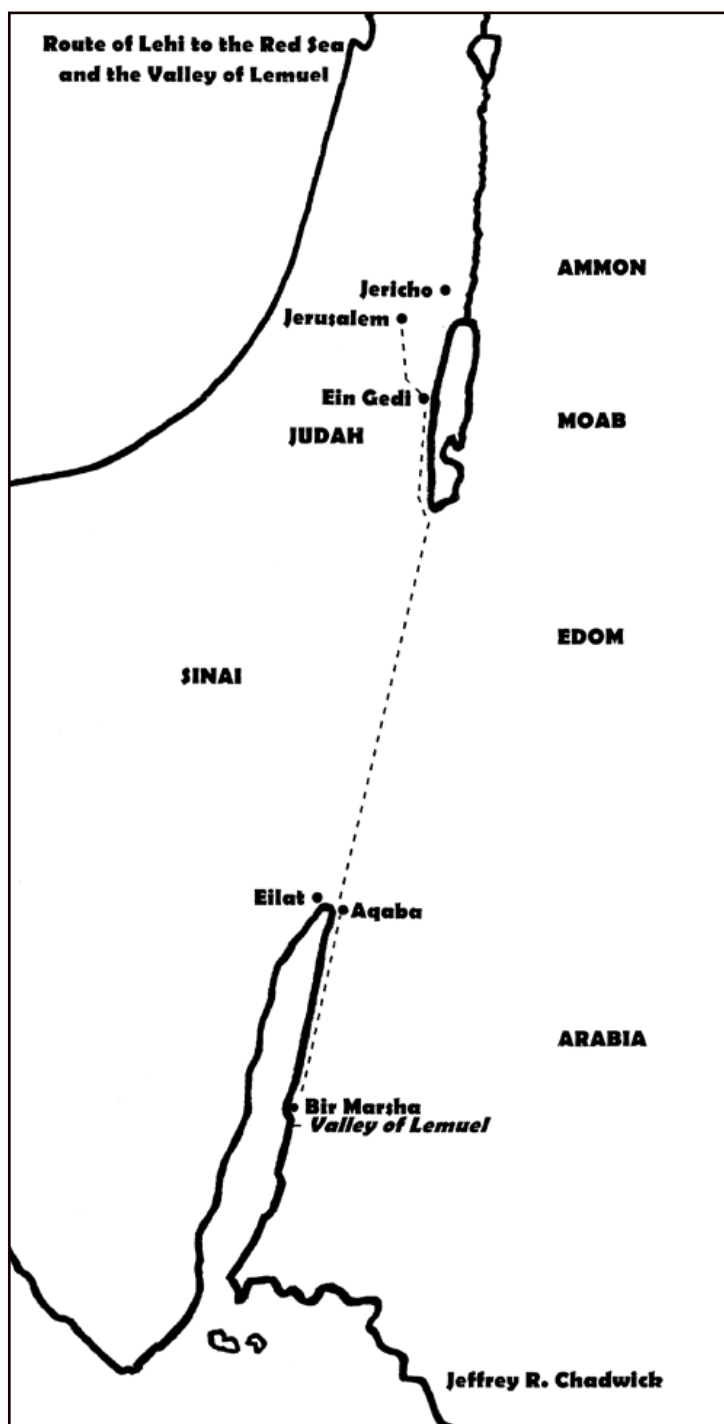


FIGURE 3. Route of Lehi to the Red Sea and the valley of Lemuel. Map by the author.

Down by the Borders of the Red Sea

Another factor that points to Lehi's departure prior to the arrival of the Babylonians in 604 BC is his travel route to the Red Sea. It has been demonstrated with near certainty that Lehi's trail from Jerusalem passed along the western shore of the Dead Sea and thence southward through the *Arava* desert valley to the Gulf of Aqaba (see fig. 3).⁴⁴ The distance from Jerusalem to that Red Sea gulf is some two hundred miles and would have taken ten days to traverse. In the text of 1 Nephi, this leg of the trip is sparingly described with the sentence "And he came down by the borders near the shore of the Red Sea" (1 Ne. 2:5).

After arriving at the Red Sea and passing by the Edomite shoreline settlement at Elath (*Tell el-Kheleifeh*, near modern Eilat), Lehi's party traveled another three days⁴⁵ down the Arabian shoreline, "in the borders which are *nearer* the Red Sea," that is, another fifty to sixty miles along the beach, finally arriving at the desert *wadi* that Lehi called the "valley of Lemuel" (1 Ne. 2:5–6, *italics added*).⁴⁶

Ammon and Moab were hostile neighbors to Judah even during Josiah's reign and remained so after his death. At no time after 609 BC was passage through their territory safe for travelers from Judah. There

44. For a detailed discussion of possibilities offered by various researchers for Lehi's route to the Red Sea and valley of Lemuel, see Chadwick, "Archaeologist's View," 70–73.

45. The heading to the book of 1 Nephi contains an error in understanding the events and context of Lehi's departure into the wilderness. The heading simply states, "He taketh three days' journey into the wilderness with his family." This is an incorrect description of Lehi's travel in 1 Nephi 2:4–6, which notes (1) his departure into the wilderness, (2) his arrival at the Red Sea, and (3) his continued journey of three more days until arrival at the valley of Lemuel, a 250-mile journey that would have taken thirteen days—two weeks minus one Sabbath spent resting. Nephi would surely not have made such a mistake as the "three days' journey" error if he had written that heading. The heading was almost certainly the work of Mormon, as seen from the third-person voice, which he only changed to first person in the last line, prior to the first sentence of Nephi's account. Mormon composed the heading to 1 Nephi as a bridge from his own account when including the small plates of Nephi with his own collection of plates—the plates of Mormon (see W of M 1:6). But Mormon's "three days' journey" error is quite forgivable, inasmuch as he was personally unfamiliar with the physical context and details of Lehi's travel.

46. For a thorough discussion of proposals for the location of the valley of Lemuel, see Jeffrey R. Chadwick, "The Wrong Place for Lehi's Trail and the Valley of Lemuel," *The FARMS Review* 17, no. 2 (2005): 197–215.

is no indication, however, that Edom was hostile toward Judah until the arrival of the Babylonians into the region. There are no biblical or other historical references that mention a hostile attitude of Edom vis-à-vis Judah prior to 604 BC. That silence is probably to be understood as an absence of hostility, since hostile acts were wont to be reported. During Josiah's rather strong reign, but also during the early years of Jehoiakim's rule from 609 to 605, when Egypt exercised hegemony in the region, Edom likely tolerated Judahite access to and activity in the northeast Sinai and *Arava* areas as far south as the Gulf of Aqaba. For Lehi and his party, traveling in this area prior to 604 BC does not seem to have been a great risk. But with the arrival of Nebuchadnezzar's forces and the retreat of Pharaoh Necho's army to west of el-Arish (the "river of Egypt") in northern Sinai, Edom's relationship to Judah became dictated by the Babylonians. Probably as early as 600 BC, they were involved in military attacks against Judah, as mentioned above, and certainly by late 598 they were actively attacking Judah from the south.⁴⁷ The Edomites continued to attack Judah periodically under Babylonian direction and were remembered in the Bible as traitorous collaborators of the Babylonians in the destruction of Judah from 588 to 586 BC (compare Lam. 4:21–22; Ps. 137:7–9).

The travel of Lehi and his party through the *Arava*, essentially controlled by Edom, seems unlikely after 604 BC and is essentially unthinkable from 600 BC onward. The 1 Nephi narrative mentions Lehi's original journey to the Red Sea, but also two subsequent round-trips from the valley of Lemuel back to Jerusalem (1 Ne. 3–4, 7). In none of these episodes is any hint of danger from hostile parties along the route. This leads to the conclusion that the travel must have been prior to Edomite collaboration with Babylon, probably occurring prior to 600 BC, and most likely prior to 604 BC.

The Land of His Inheritance

Indicators in the Book of Mormon text, including Lehi's heritage in the tribe of Manasseh (see Alma 10:3), most likely indicate that the "land of his inheritance" (1 Ne. 2:4; 3:16) was located in the former northern kingdom of Israel, which had become known as Samaria and was inhabited by non-Israelite peoples brought to the area from Mesopotamia and Arabia around 720 BC. As mentioned above, Judah had controlled

47. See Aharoni and others, *Carta Bible Atlas*, 128.

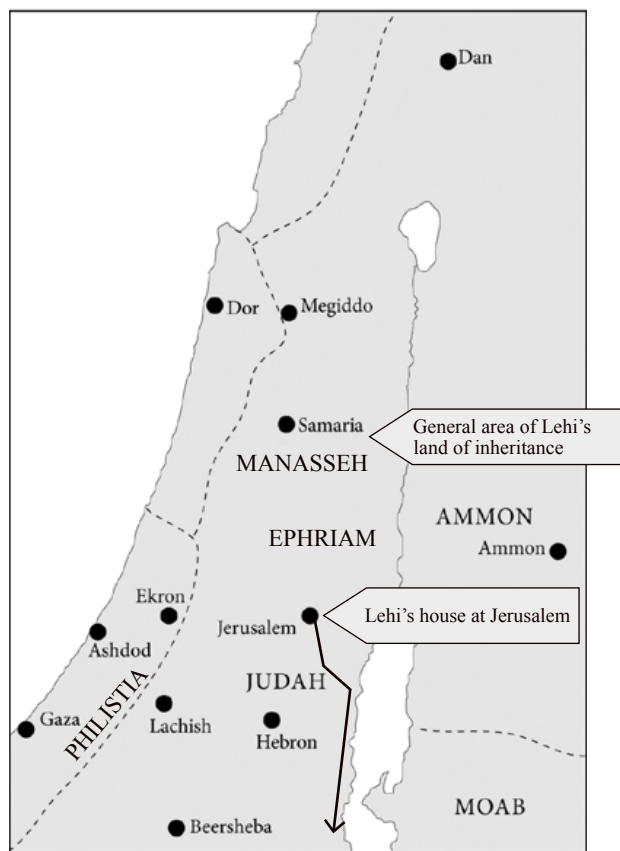


FIGURE 4. Lehi's properties in Judah-controlled territory. Map by the author.

Samaria since around 625 BC, when Josiah imposed his control over the territory and annexed it, thus giving people like Lehi and others of northern heritage access to ancestral lands in Ephraim and western Manasseh.⁴⁸ Though Lehi had lived in the city of Jerusalem his entire life (see 1 Ne. 1:4), it was only after Josiah's annexation of Samaria to Judah that Lehi could have had free access to lands he had inherited from his northern kingdom Manassehite forebears.⁴⁹

48. For a detailed study of this issue, see Chadwick, "Lehi's House at Jerusalem," 81–113.

49. With regard to Lehi's residence at Jerusalem and the location of his land of inheritance, it must be noted that the archaeological site known as *Khirbet Beit Lei* (or *Beyt Loya*) in the modern state of Israel could not have been in any

For a twenty-year period, from 625 to 605 BC, Lehi would have had access to his inherited land in Manasseh, although he did not reside there—he probably leased it to Samaritans who had lived there since the Assyrian period. Egypt seems to have accommodated Judah's control of Samaria after 609 BC, continuing it under their own hegemony, since that territory was vital in using Judah as an expanded buffer zone against Babylonian advancement southward, toward Egypt. Hints that Samaria was still open to Judahite travel early in Jehoiaquim's reign are found in Jeremiah.⁵⁰ Lehi hid his supplies of gold and silver at his land of inheritance prior to leaving Jerusalem for the Red Sea, as a precaution against Jerusalem being destroyed (see 1 Ne. 3:16–17), and Nephi and his brothers went to the area to retrieve the treasures (1 Ne. 3:22). In this travel lies another clue as to the dating of Lehi's departure from Jerusalem. Judahite access to Samaria was curtailed and restricted after the Babylonian occupation of the region in the summer of 604 BC. Babylon viewed Judah suspiciously and reduced Jehoiaquim's influence to only the traditional borders of Judah. At what point this took place is not clear, but it was probably as early as autumn of 604 BC. Samaria was certainly cut off from Judahite access by 598 BC, when Nebuchadnezzar invaded Judah and besieged Jerusalem—the invasion route from the coast to Mizpah on Judah's northern border effectively severed any Judahite route northward.⁵¹ This means that probably from 604 BC onward, and certainly from 598 BC onward, no access to Lehi's land of inheritance in the western Manasseh area of Samaria would have been possible from Jerusalem, either for Lehi to leave his gold and silver there or for his sons to retrieve it. In other words, after twenty-one-year-old

way associated with the narrative in 1 Nephi. The so-called “Lehi Cave” and propositions about a “City of Lehi” or “Beit Lehi” in the fertile *Shfelah* area southwest of Jerusalem are entirely spurious. See Jeffrey R. Chadwick, “Khirbet Beit Lei and the Book of Mormon: An Archaeologist's Evaluation,” *Religious Educator* 10, no. 3 (2009), 17–48.

50. These hints are found in Jeremiah 26:1–9, where the prophet predicts that the Jerusalem temple would become like Shiloh, which had been destroyed centuries earlier. Shiloh was located in Samaria, and the inference is that Judahites could still pass by and behold its ruins. A passage in Judges 21:19, whose composition is dated to the Deuteronomist writing around 620 BC, during Josiah's reign, precisely locates Shiloh (for the late seventh-century BC audience who would not know its exact location but could pass by and view it) north of Bethel and south of Lebonah on the road to Shechem in central Samaria.

51. See the mapped invasion route, severing Samaria from Judah, in Barry J. Beitzel, *The Moody Atlas of Bible Lands* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1985), 143.

Zedekiah's ascent to the throne in 597 BC, travel to the land of inheritance could not have occurred. Only in the period before the summer of 604 BC would those travels have been entirely possible, supporting the conclusion that an earlier "first year of the reign of Zedekiah" (609/8 BC) was being referred to by Nephi, with Lehi's departure from Jerusalem in late 605 BC.

There Came Many Prophets, Prophesying unto the People

A noted trend in 1 Nephi 1:4 is that in Zedekiah's first regnal year, "there came many prophets, prophesying unto the people that they must repent, or the great city Jerusalem must be destroyed." As the chapter proceeds, Lehi becomes one of those prophets. If the proposal is correct that 609 (or 608/7) BC was "the first year of the reign of Zedekiah" to which Nephi referred, is there evidence of such prophetic activity during that period? The answer is a definite affirmative. Jeremiah 25, reporting the prophet's declarations from "the fourth year of Jehoiakim," relates that Jeremiah himself had been prophesying for twenty-three years, since "the thirteenth year of Josiah" (628/7 BC) to the day of his speech in 605/4,⁵² but that the people had "not hearkened" (Jer. 25:1–3). He then noted that "the LORD hath sent unto you all his servants the prophets, rising early and sending them; but ye have not hearkened" (Jer. 25:4). In other words, in addition to Jeremiah's mission, which seems to have been a lonely one for many years while Josiah was alive, God had recently sent more prophets to carry the same repentance message as Jeremiah. A similar reference is found in Jeremiah 35:15, also set in Jehoiakim's reign, where the prophet quotes God as saying, "I have sent also unto you all my servants the prophets, rising up early and sending *them*, saying, Return ye now every man from his evil way." These two

52. The KJV reading of Jeremiah 25:3 mistakenly gives the impression that Jeremiah had prophesied from the thirteenth to the twenty-third year of Josiah, but it is an erroneous and confusing rendition of the Hebrew original. Bright's modern English version of the passage more correctly reads, "From the thirteenth year of Josiah ben Amon, king of Judah, until today—now all of twenty-three years—the word of the Lord has come to me." See John Bright, *Jeremiah*, The Anchor Bible, vol. 21, 2d ed., ed. William Foxwell Albright and David Noel Freedman (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1981), 156. See also E. W. Nicholson, *The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah: Chapters 1–25*, The Cambridge Bible Commentary on the New English Bible, ed. P. R. Ackroyd, A. R. C. Leaney, and J. W. Packer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 208–10.

passages substantiate that during Jehoiakim's years, from the beginning of his administration in 609 BC, a significant number of prophets had been active in Jerusalem, just as 1 Nephi 1:4 indicates.

That Lehi was one of these seems certain. He likely prophesied from the suggested "first year of the reign of Zedekiah" (608/7 BC) until he left Jerusalem late in 605 BC, a ministry of some four years, during which time he was opposed and his life was endangered (1 Ne. 1:19–20). The dangers Lehi faced may have been similar to the opposition Jeremiah encountered when he prophesied early in Jehoiakim's reign (c. 608 BC), predicting that Jerusalem would be destroyed and become as desolate as Shiloh (Jer. 26:1–6). Jeremiah was taken by an angry mob to the "princes" (Hebrew *sarim*, or royal court officials) with the demand that he be executed (Jer. 26:7–11). Jeremiah made his defense to the royal officials, after which the officials explained to the crowd that he had not committed an offense worthy of arrest or execution (Jer. 26:12–19). Jeremiah was ultimately protected from mortal harm (Jer. 26:24), although he suffered significant hardship for his prophesying. But another instance of a prophet who predicted doom for Jerusalem did not end as well. King Jehoiakim sought to have a prophet named Urijah arrested for warnings similar to Jeremiah's. Urijah fled to Egypt but was hunted down by Jehoiakim's agents and returned to Judah for execution (Jer. 26:20–23). Fortunately for Lehi, his lot seems to have been more like that of Jeremiah, escaping harm because of "the tender mercies of the Lord" (1 Ne. 1:20). But Nephi specifically notes that certain of Jerusalem's population became so angry with Lehi because of his prophecies that "they also sought his life" (1 Ne. 1:20). Lehi ultimately escaped the fate of Urijah by departing Jerusalem near the end of 605 BC, never to return.

Jeremiah's Imprisonment in 605 BC

Understanding that travel both to the Red Sea and to Samaria would have been restricted for Judahites after mid-604 BC, and having considered both the political and prophetic conversation in 1 Nephi, which reflects the security situation after the spring of 604 BC, it seems clear that any departure date later than winter of 605/4 BC would not fit the situations described in the 1 Nephi narrative. We will now turn our attention to the chronological marker that was considered in the earlier studies of Spackman and also Brown and Seely. During the return from their second journey back to Jerusalem, Nephi exclaimed to his brothers, "and Jeremiah have they cast into prison" (1 Ne. 7:14). When was this imprisonment?

Repeating my earlier summary, the three times Jeremiah is known to have been confined are 588 BC (Jer. 37:15), during the Babylonian siege of Jerusalem; 601 BC (Jer. 20:2), when he was put into stocks for a day and a night; and late 605 BC (Jer. 36:5), after the first composition of his prophecies. Of these three, clearly 587 BC and 601 BC must be ruled out, since both occur well after Babylon had dominated and occupied Judah, after which the account of Lehi's departure does not make sense. Only the late-605 BC confinement falls prior to the Babylonian entry into the region.

Jeremiah 36 begins with the account of the first writing of Jeremiah's prophecies, accomplished "in the fourth year of Jehoiakim" (605/4 BC), apparently prior to the prophet's arrest and confinement (Jer. 36:1-4). We may conveniently refer to this book (or "roll"—actually a scroll) as *Proto-Jeremiah*, since it did not include all of the material in our present book of Jeremiah, but rather only those early oracles that he had spoken down to 605 BC. For the writing task, Jeremiah employed the faithful service of his scribe, Baruch, the son of Neriah. Just when in Jehoiakim's fourth year the prophecies of Proto-Jeremiah were written down is unclear, but subsequent events later that year suggest the writing occurred in the first half of the year, between spring and autumn of 605 BC. (This is a key issue to which we shall return later in this study.)

Sometime after the writing of the Proto-Jeremiah scroll, the prophet was arrested. The conversation beginning in Jeremiah 36:5 is a separate event from the account of the writing of the scroll in verses 1-4, but it is still to be placed in Jehoiakim's fourth year, later in 605 BC.⁵³ Jeremiah directed Baruch to take the scroll and read it to the public in the temple of Solomon upon a fasting day (Jer. 36:6).⁵⁴ Jeremiah's reason for not

53. See footnote 28 herein for the brief explanation of how calendar references in Jeremiah work.

54. Which fasting day Jeremiah intended is not clear from the context of the passage. The Hebrew text reads *byom tzom* (בְּיוֹם צוֹם), which, without vowel points, could either mean "a fasting day" or "the fasting day," depending on the pronunciation. The KJV renders it "the fasting day" (Jer. 36:6), which would be vocalized *ba-yom tzom*; however, the received Hebrew text has vowel points under the *b* that vocalize it as *bē-yom tzom*, or "a fasting day." It is tempting to think that Jeremiah was directing Baruch to read the scroll on *the* fasting day of Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement (see Lev. 23:27-28)—fasting may already have been a practice on this day in Josiah's time. But it is also possible that Jeremiah was directing Baruch to read the scroll on any set fast day in the future, as practical, which would seem to be what he did in waiting until the proclaimed fast of the ninth month of Jehoiakim's fourth year (Jer. 36:9-10).

reading the scroll publicly himself was “I *am* shut up; I cannot go into the house of the LORD” (Jer. 36:5). The term “shut up” is given a translation from the Hebrew in footnote 5a of the LDS edition of the KJV—“**HEB** under arrest, or in confinement.” This is a quite accurate rendition of the actual Hebrew term, which is *atzur* (עֶצֶר). Some commentaries interpret the term, in this passage alone, to mean that Jeremiah was merely restricted from entering the temple of Solomon.⁵⁵ But in two other passages where the Hebrew term *atzur* occurs (Jer. 33:1 and 39:15), it clearly indicates arrested confinement in prison, so the use of the term in Jeremiah 36 must be assumed to also mean arrested confinement. The passage seems clearly to be telling us that Jeremiah was imprisoned sometime in the second half of Jehoiakim’s fourth year—in other words, between autumn of 605 BC and spring of 604 BC—the median point for this is late 605 BC.

Baruch eventually read the scroll in the temple (see Jer. 36:9–10), but for reasons that are not clear, it seems that an entire year passed before he carried out the task, reading the scroll publicly on a special fast day proclaimed “in the fifth year of Jehoiakim . . . in the ninth month” (Jer. 36:9). That was in the year 604 BC, in the Hebrew month we now call *Kislev*, which occurs late in November to late December in our own calendar. And by that time, Jeremiah was apparently no longer confined. This is evident in the account of Jehoiakim’s destruction of Jeremiah’s scroll, set “in the ninth month” (Jer. 36:22), when “the king sat in the winter house” with “a fire on the hearth burning before him” (Jer. 36:22). Having burned Jeremiah’s scroll, the king commanded his officers “to take Baruch the scribe and Jeremiah the prophet: but the LORD hid them” (Jer. 36:26). Some of the royal advisors, secretly supportive of Jeremiah, had warned Baruch, “Go, hide thee, thou and Jeremiah; and let no man know where ye be” (Jer. 36:19). This episode indicates that the prophet was no longer in prison by late 604 BC. Just when Jeremiah was released from his late 605 BC imprisonment of Jeremiah 36:5 is not clear, but that he was free already by late 604 BC is an important indicator. It means that Nephi’s exclamation about Jeremiah being in prison must have occurred before late 604 BC, and surely earlier than the Babylonian arrival in the summer of that year. I suggest Nephi uttered the sentence around early March of 604 BC and will now explain why.

55. See, for example, Bright, *Jeremiah*, 179.

In a Valley by the Side of a River of Water

While Lehi's departure from Jerusalem must then have occurred before the mid-604 BC Babylonian takeover of Judah, and indeed some months before that arrival, the specific date of late 605 BC (November or December), which I propose for Lehi's departure, rests on two issues. The first, as reported above, is that Jeremiah was not imprisoned prior to mid-605 BC or thereabouts, and he must have been imprisoned either prior to or during Lehi's time in the valley of Lemuel in order for Nephi's declaration about the imprisonment to fit historical context.

The other issue is simple—it is weather. And seasonal weather at that—namely, the winter rains. Lehi must have left just at the beginning of the rainy season in Israel and in the Red Sea coastal region south of Eilat and Aqaba. The reason is that water was running in the river that Lehi called Laman, in the valley he called Lemuel (see 1 Ne. 2:6–10; and fig. 3). Of that river, Lehi exclaimed to his son, “O that thou mightest be like unto this river, continually running into the fountain of all righteousness” (1 Ne. 2:9). Commentaries on this passage often suggest that the river by which Lehi camped in the desert valley of Lemuel was a perennial stream, flowing all year long, based on Lehi's words “continually running.” But this is hardly likely, for two reasons: (1) there are very few perennial streams that run into the Red Sea's Gulf of Aqaba from the desert *wadis* on its eastern coast, and (2) due to the scarcity of fresh water in that region, any stream that was perennial would have been well settled, long prior to Lehi's arrival, with a population that would surely have challenged Lehi's attempt to reside there, however temporarily. Water is life in the desert, and constant water supplies have always been jealously possessed. Armed conflict has generally been the only way one party has ever moved into or displaced someone from a consistently fresh water source. To suppose that Lehi and his family simply arrived at a perennial stream and made camp there, without anyone else around to be mentioned or to oppose the newcomers, is to fundamentally misunderstand the deserts of the ancient Near East.

But for Lehi to locate himself in a desert valley (a *wadi*) that was running a winter *seasonal* flow of water, which would last just a few months, is a quite plausible scenario. The rainy season, from November to March, and particularly the winter months of December to February, bring much-needed water not only to the land of Israel but also to the northernmost Red Sea region, on both sides of the Gulf of Aqaba. (Though I do not travel on the Arabian side of the gulf, south of the Jordanian border, I regularly travel in its twin region on the Egyptian/

Sinai Peninsula side and am personally acquainted with the hydrological situation there in winter.) Life in the valley of Lemuel would have been impossible from May through October, when there is no water running in the *wadis*, and even in November and April the situation would be tenuous. But December through March is when water does run, consistently, in some of those otherwise dry riverbeds, and flash floods are common when the rains fall heavily. In any case, Lehi and family would have had water in their river only from about late November through early April.

Here a quote from an earlier study is in order, proposing the possible timing of Lehi's stay in the valley of Lemuel:

When Lehi likened the valley's river to his son Laman, he used the words "continually running" (1 Ne. 2:9) rather than "continually flowing." A wadi's streambed may run all the way to the sea whether water happens to be flowing in it or not. And while I have no doubt that water was flowing in the streambed when Lehi made his exclamation (which was probably in late November, at the outset of the rainy season), that does not mean water had to be flowing in that same streambed six months later. The streambed itself would have been a continually running course to the ocean for the wadi's water, whether seasonal or perennial.

Winter rains begin in the Sinai and Gulf of Aqaba region as early as November and continue as late as April. In any given year some seasonal streams in the region's wadis could flow as long as five months. All of the travel and events narrated while Lehi's family was at the Valley of Lemuel, from the arrival in 1 Nephi 2 to the departure in 1 Nephi 16, can be easily accommodated in a 19-week period—just over four months. This would include two weeks of initial camp setup; two weeks to travel back to Jerusalem to visit Laban; one week to go to the land of inheritance to obtain gold and silver and then return to Jerusalem in the attempt to buy the plates of brass; one week to be robbed by Laban, to be chased into the wilderness, and to return to Jerusalem to finally take the plates; two weeks for the return trip to the Valley of Lemuel; two weeks for Lehi to study the plates of brass; two weeks for a second return to Jerusalem to visit Ishmael; one week to convince and prepare his family to depart Jerusalem; two weeks again to return to the Valley of Lemuel; one week in which Lehi experienced his vision and related it to his family; one week in which Nephi experienced the same vision and taught his brothers; one week to prepare for and perform marriages of Lehi's sons to Ishmael's daughters; and one week to break camp and depart the Valley of Lemuel for good. If Lehi's initial departure from Jerusalem had been sometime in November, they could have departed

the Valley of Lemuel in late March or early April. Winter rains would have provided a small but steady flow of water in the stream (“river Laman”) during that entire time.⁵⁶

In this scenario, the second return trip from Jerusalem would have occurred in late February or early March, when Nephi would have made his statement about Jeremiah’s imprisonment (1 Ne. 7:14).

It would also seem that there was at least one flash flood in the valley of Lemuel that winter and that graphic images from the frightful event found their way into Lehi’s dream of the “river of water.” Nephi spoke of the “filthiness of the water” and the river as an “awful gulf” (1 Ne. 15:26–28) strong enough that “many were drowned in the depths of the fountain” (1 Ne. 8:32).

The time span needed for all events recorded in the valley of Lemuel, together with the timing of the rainy season necessary for Lehi’s family to have lived in the desert valley, all point to mid-November for their initial departure from Jerusalem, with an arrival at the valley two weeks later. That departure could not have been in November of 604 BC, after the Babylonian arrival in Judah, nor could it have been in November of 606 BC, well prior to Jeremiah’s arrest. It could have been only in November of 605 BC, when all factors are considered.

The Plates of Brass

A final issue related to the dating of Lehi’s departure from Jerusalem is the content of the plates of brass that Nephi obtained from Laban. This content, as described by Nephi, can be argued to have existed in Jerusalem by the late 605 BC date proposed here for Lehi’s departure.

Nephi describes the plates of brass as containing the following writings: “the five books of Moses, . . . and also a record of the Jews from the beginning, even down to the commencement of the reign of Zedekiah, king of Judah; And also the prophecies of the holy prophets, from the beginning even down to the commencement of the reign of Zedekiah; and also many prophecies . . . spoken by the mouth of Jeremiah” (1 Ne. 5:11–13). Consider briefly each of the categories Nephi described:

A. “The five books of Moses” are universally understood to refer to Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. Commonly called the Torah in Jewish conversation, or simply the Law, the compilation begins precisely as described by Nephi, with “an account of the creation

56. Chadwick, “Archaeologist’s View,” 72–73.

of the world, and also of Adam and Eve, who were our first parents” (1 Ne. 5:11). Most orthodox and conservative scholarship agrees that these works existed, more or less in the form we still have, by the end of the reign of Josiah (609 BC). Some scholars suggest, however, that the books did not take their current form until after the Babylonian captivity had commenced (post-586 BC) or even until the return to Zion and the early Second Temple Period (post-537 BC). However, even this scholarship notes five general literary sources for the Torah, which existed with certainty by the time of Josiah’s death, and which all contained the Moses narrative—four of the sources existed one to three centuries prior to Lehi’s time.⁵⁷

B. “A record of the Jews from the beginning . . . [to] the reign of Zedekiah” is easily recognizable by biblical scholars as referring to the Deuteronomistic History, which actually begins with the Torah book of Deuteronomy itself (a “second telling” of the Moses and Exodus story) but essentially includes the historic/prophetic books of Joshua, Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel, and 1 and 2 Kings. These six books (plus Deuteronomy) indeed describe the Judahite nation from its Israelite beginnings with the prophet Moses, through the Israelites’ entry into Canaan with Joshua, and through the nation’s history as led initially by the judges and afterward by the kings of Israel and Judah. The seven books are academically recognized as the unified product of either (a) a small school of biblical writers living in the late seventh century BC, or (b) a single individual living in that same period.⁵⁸ These

57. The Torah is posited by some modern scholarship to be an editorial abridgment and combination of five probable sources, some dating back as far, perhaps, as the ninth to twelfth centuries BC. For an extensive description of these, see Friedman, *Who Wrote the Bible*, 50–116. Briefly, four of these sources are referred to as J, E, P, and D, and a fifth I personally call M. (A redactor-editor often posited by scholars is also sometimes referred to as R.) J is an early Judahite version of the creation, the patriarchal narratives, and the Exodus account, utilizing the divine name *Jehovah*; E is an early Israelite, or northern kingdom, account of the same narrative components as found in J but frequently employing the divine term *Elohim*; P is a collection of narratives and ritual instructions compiled by Aaronic priests over Judah’s history and set down by a writer or writers simply labeled P (for priests); D is the Deuteronomistic account found in the book of the same name; and the fifth category consists of remarkable writings (such as Genesis 1) which some attribute to P, but others consider ancient and unique—the category has no letter tag, but for ease in explanation I refer to it as M (for Moses).

58. Friedman proposes that this individual was Jeremiah’s scribe, Baruch, the son of Neriah, but that the main impetus and inspiration for the Deuteronomistic History was Jeremiah himself—see Friedman, *Who Wrote the Bible*,

books were in existence prior to Josiah's death in 609 BC. In the case of 2 Kings, the account ran to 2 Kings 23:25, summarizing Josiah's reign up to his death—that is, “down to the commencement of the reign of Zedekiah” (proposed here as the year 609 BC).

C. “The prophecies of the holy prophets” would include prophetic books known and in circulation prior to 609 BC, the chief of which was the book of Isaiah—the eighth century BC prophet of Judah who is most quoted in the Book of Mormon.⁵⁹ Also generally regarded to have been in circulation since the eighth century BC were the writings of Amos and Micah, and it is supposed that Hosea and Nahum were also in circulation around Josiah's time. Many of the prophetic books found in our Bible today had not been written by 609 BC and would not have been on the plates of brass.⁶⁰ Thus the plates of brass were a compilation much smaller than the Old Testament we use today.

D. “Many prophecies . . . of Jeremiah” can refer only to the scroll of Proto-Jeremiah that was written down in 605 BC, as described above. It would have contained only the oracles of Jeremiah up to that year, so it was not the complete book of Jeremiah we now have in our Old Testament, but it would nonetheless have contained Jeremiah's many earlier prophecies.

These four categories of biblical writings (three of which are widely presumed by modern scholarship to have existed by 609 BC, and the fourth was composed in mid-605 BC) precisely match the description Nephi gave of the content of the plates of brass. That all of this material, much of it only recently written when Lehi began his ministry, was in place and available for engraving on the plates of brass before the proposed departure date of Lehi in November of 605 BC, is a significant

147–49. For this, and a detailed explanation of the authorship and composition of Joshua to 2 Kings, see Friedman, *Who Wrote the Bible*, 117–49.

59. For a succinct treatment on the authorship of Isaiah—models of multiple authorship versus the model of single authorship, see Jeffrey R. Chadwick, “The Great Jerusalem Temple Prophecy,” in *Ascending the Mountain of the Lord*, ed. David R. Seely, Jeffrey R. Chadwick, and Matthew J. Grey (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2013), 369–71.

60. Old Testament books that could not have been on the plates of brass were composed after 600 BC and include Ezekiel, Daniel, Joel, Obadiah, Habakkuk, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, 1 and 2 Chronicles, Lamentations, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, many of the Psalms and Proverbs, and probably books like Job, Ruth, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon.

factor to consider. There remain just four things to be said about this subject, two about the biblical writings themselves and two specifically about the plates of brass.

1. Traditional students of the Bible, Latter-day Saints and others, are sometimes unenthusiastic about the notion the Deuteronomistic History (which I'll call DH hereafter). Traditionally, many have thought Moses authored Deuteronomy (and the other Torah books), Joshua authored Joshua, a judge authored Judges, Samuel wrote the books of Samuel, and so forth. That one small scribal school, or even just one or two men, would have authored the whole six-book (actually seven-book) history, late in the seventh century BC, during the reign of Josiah, is hard for some lay persons to swallow. It is important, though, in this regard, to remember that the proposition of a DH presupposes that the scribal school or authors were working with several ancient sources—histories or prophetic collections that were already centuries old by Josiah's time. Two of these are specifically named in several places within the DH—these are the chronicles of the kings of Israel and the chronicles of the kings of Judah, which were the official court records of the northern and southern kingdoms (not to be confused with our present books of 1 and 2 Chronicles). Other works, such as the book of Jashar and various other prophetic books not now found in our Old Testament, were also among the older sources used by the writer(s) of the DH. To put this into terms a Latter-day Saint will appreciate, the DH writer (like Friedman, I think it was one person, not a school) was a lot like Mormon. Mormon took centuries-old royal records (the large plates of Nephi) and abridged them into a single narrative, interweaving material from other sources, such as the teachings of the Nephite prophets. The DH writer (who, I think, like Friedman, was Jeremiah, assisted by his scribe Baruch, the son of Neriah) was a prophetic individual who created the DH in much the same way Mormon and Moroni wrote the Book of Mormon.

2. Traditional Bible students are likewise often bothered by the notion that Moses did not write the five books of Moses as we now have them and that they were instead the edited fusion of four or five earlier sources. But again, this is not unlike the Book of Mormon, in the specific case of the book of Ether. The account on the plates of Ether predated Mormon and Moroni by centuries. And Ether did not write the book of Ether as we have it in our present Book of Mormon—Moroni wrote the lion's share of it, heavily editing and abridging what Ether had originally written on his plates. So, really, the book of Ether was

written largely by a much later author, not by Ether himself, although his much earlier plates were the source material. And, by the same token, the books of Moses were written largely by later editors, not by Moses, although some very early sources were used in the composition, some of which were quite likely original to Moses himself. Again, the oldest books of the Bible were composed in much the same way parts of the Book of Mormon were composed.

3. The plates of brass—with the books of Moses, the DH, several prophetic books, and Jeremiah's early prophecies engraved upon them—were different in two ways from other compilations of the same writings that would have existed in Jerusalem in 605 BC. One, obviously, was that they were inscribed upon metal plates, rather than on leather or papyrus. But the other was that they were written in Egyptian—both Egyptian language and hieroglyphs. (It is specified in Mosiah 1:4 that Lehi could read the plates of brass only because he knew the language of the Egyptians.) Since the originals of the biblical books had been composed in Hebrew, the natural question is Why were the books translated into Egyptian and written onto the plates of brass in Egyptian script? The probable answer to this lies in the fact that Egypt had occupied and controlled Judah beginning in 609 BC and still controlled Judah as late as 605 BC, when Proto-Jeremiah was written down, the last material added to the plates of brass. That the Egyptian leadership would desire, and even demand, that Judah's law, history, and scriptures be translated into Egyptian and written down, so Pharaoh Necho's government could read and know all about the society they controlled, seems quite a natural conclusion.⁶¹ In this regard, the commonly held idea that the plates of brass were a very old record that had been in Laban's family's possession for generations would not be accurate.⁶² The plates of brass seem to have been created, and the scriptures on them inscribed in Egyptian, in just the four years prior to Lehi's departure from Jerusalem.

61. A historical parallel to this would be the directive of Hellenistic pharaoh Ptolemy II (Philadelphus Soter) to have the Jewish scriptures translated from Hebrew into Greek during the third century BC, a version now known as the Septuagint (LXX).

62. That the plates of brass included "a genealogy of [Lehi's] forefathers" in addition to "the record of the Jews" does not actually indicate that the record was a very old one. The text of 1 Nephi 5:16 does not demand this. Rather, the genealogy of Lehi's and Laban's forefathers would simply refer to family information on the tribe of Manasseh found in both Numbers 1–2 and 26.

4. Finally, it seems that Lehi knew of the existence of the plates of brass independent of the dream he had in which he was commanded to send his sons to retrieve them (see 1 Ne. 3:2–3). In fact, it is possible that he had been involved in the actual production of those plates. This is not to say he was involved in engraving them, although that too is possible. He knew of their general content (see 1 Ne. 3:3) but also had to study them to learn and digest that content (see 1 Ne. 5:10–11). But Lehi was certainly expert in metalsmithing, and specifically in the making of metal plates upon which histories could be engraved. This is clear because Nephi had the same technical skills—making plates of metal and engraving upon them (see 1 Ne. 9:2–5; 17:9–16; 2 Ne. 5:12–15, 29–33).⁶³ Smithing metal tools and plates is not a hobby someone just picks up; it is a technical profession, and in Lehi’s day it was the ultimate “high tech.” Not many people in Jerusalem could have made metal plates. That a set of brass plates was created and engraved with scripture and historical records in the years just prior to Lehi’s departure suggests that he would possibly have had a hand in their production.

CONCLUSION

It is at last time to bring all of the diverse and complicated data together to support this study’s proposition for the date of Lehi’s departure from Jerusalem. The following summary statements, drawn from the several different discussions offered earlier in this study, will combine to suggest, in my best professional opinion, that Lehi departed from Jerusalem in late 605 BC, specifically around mid-November of that year:

1. Lehi’s departure could not have occurred as late as 588 BC, as proposed in the essay by Spackman, since the geographical-political and security situations in that period do not match the clues given in the text of 1 Nephi, and there is no real way of counting 600 years between that date and Jesus’s birth late in 5 BC.

2. Lehi’s departure could not have occurred in 600 BC, as proposed by Elder Talmage, nor in the years immediately following 597 BC, as proposed by several modern commentators, for the very same geographical-political and security reasons as stated in item 1 above.

3. A quite plausible case can be made that the Judahite populace of Jerusalem (“the people of the land”) regarded eight-year-old Zedekiah as the legitimate heir to the throne of Judah after his brother Jehohaz was

63. See note 42 herein.

deposed in 609 BC and that 608/7 BC (utilizing Jeremiah's method) was considered the first year of Zedekiah's reign by such people at the time.

4. After Babylon invaded the coastal plain of Philistia in the summer of 604 BC, destroying Ekron and Ashkelon, it dominated Judah and absorbed it into its empire. Judah was a Babylonian vassal from autumn 604 BC onward.

5. The political and prophetic conversation in the 1 Nephi account, in which Laman and Lemuel insist Jerusalem is not threatened, does not fit the period after 597 BC at all and fits only the period prior to the summer of 604 BC.

6. The route through Edom to the Red Sea (Gulf of Eilat/Aqaba) was open to safe Judahite travel during the reign of Josiah and also during the Egyptian-dominated reign of Jehoiakim, until 604 BC, but became unsafe for Judahite travel thereafter due to Edomite collaboration with the Babylonian empire after Nebuchadnezzar's 604 BC conquest of the region.

7. Judahite travel into Samaria and even Judahite claims to ancestral northern kingdom properties were a safe reality during the reign of Josiah and remained so under the Egyptian-dominated reign of Jehoiakim, but they became untenable after the 604 BC Babylonian conquest of the region.

8. In light of item 5 above, the only arrest and confinement date for Jeremiah the prophet that fits the narrative clues in 1 Nephi, and especially the declaration in 1 Nephi 7:14, was the prophet's arrest in 605 BC.

9. Camping in a desert valley on the Gulf of Aqaba shore, next to a "river of water" that actually flowed a water stream, would be possible only during the period from November to March or early April.

10. The scriptural and historical content on the plates of brass obtained from Laban matches what is known of Judahite scripture content by the year 605 BC.

Two or three of these items alone would not seem to be enough to propose an exact date for Lehi's departure with any certainty. But all ten together, as thoroughly discussed above in this study, combine to support with fair confidence the dating of the departure of Lehi to late 605 BC. And this, of course, puts that departure a full and exact 600 regular tropical solar years prior to the birth of Jesus Christ in late 5 BC. Some uncertainties may still exist, given the incomplete nature of the surviving records and archaeological findings to date. Future work may yield new findings that will allow improvements or require adjustments in this chronological reconstruction of these events that occurred more than 2,600 years ago. But for the present, the composite of all available

data supports this historical sequence better than any other proposed alternative.

So, Lehi departed Jerusalem in late 605 BC, most likely in November. More important than this conclusion, however, is the further confidence I am happy to share, as a Latter-day Saint of faith, as a professional archaeologist and researcher in the history and culture of the ancient Near East, and as a veteran of some thirty-five years of research and study “on the ground” there, that the 1 Nephi narrative is both spiritually true and factually and contextually reliable. I sincerely hope the data presented in this study will serve to enhance the reader’s understanding of that narrative, as well as his or her appreciation of all that the Book of Mormon attempts to teach us.

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FIGURE 1. Salt Lake Tabernacle, December 1905, photographer unknown (PH 91 8.1, 15 cm × 10 cm, contact print), Church History Library. The Latter-day Saints celebrated the one hundredth anniversary of Joseph Smith's birth in December 1905. Joseph F. Smith, the Prophet's nephew and sixth President of the Church, dedicated a granite memorial at Joseph Smith's birthplace in Sharon, Windsor County, Vermont, on December 23, 1905. On the following day, twenty thousand Latter-day Saints gathered in the historic Salt Lake Tabernacle in two meetings to remember the Prophet. This photograph highlights a view of the interior of the Tabernacle, decorated for the centennial celebration of the Prophet's birth. The bright light in the ceiling comes from the skylight.

Photographs of the Interior of the Salt Lake Tabernacle, December 1905

Richard Neitzel Holzapfel and Ronald L. Fox

The United States government's war on The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints came to a sudden end with the issuance of the Manifesto in 1890.¹ The cessation of the conflict produced a period of goodwill between Latter-day Saints and their neighbors in Utah and with politicians in Washington, D.C. However, the fragile truce began to show cracks in 1896 when Utah achieved statehood, and by 1900, with the election of B. H. Roberts² to the U.S. Congress, the final vestiges of the armistice had all but disappeared. Four years later, in 1904, with the election of LDS Apostle Reed Smoot³ to the U.S. Senate, the conflict widened and deepened.

In 1905, the year after Reed Smoot won the senatorial election, he was battling to retain his seat in the U.S. Senate.⁴ This investigation in

1. On the complexities of the 1890s for the Church and the U.S. government, see Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890–1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 3–15.

2. Brigham Henry Roberts (1857–1933) was a prolific writer, active in Utah politics supporting the Democratic Party, and a member of the Council of the Seventy from 1888 until his death in 1933.

3. Reed Smoot (1862–1941) was a prominent businessman, member of the Utah state legislature, U.S. senator from 1903 to 1933, and a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles from 1900 until the time of his death in 1941. See Milton R. Merrill, *Reed Smoot: Apostle in Politics* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1990).

4. Finally, on February 20, 1907, a motion to remove Smoot from the U.S. Senate was defeated.

Washington, D.C., really focused on LDS beliefs, practices, and history.⁵ Never before had the Church been so thoroughly investigated by an official federal government body and criticized and lampooned in public lectures, newspaper articles, editorials, and political cartoons.⁶

During the year, Reverend T. C. Iliff, superintendent of the Methodist Church Mission in the Rocky Mountains and a major leader in the effort to remove Senator Smoot, delivered his lecture “Mormonism, a Menace to the Nation” to packed venues across the country.⁷ The widespread attention his lectures received often elicited editorial rebuttals in the Church’s newspaper, the *Deseret Evening News*.⁸ During 1905, two Utah newspapers, the *Salt Lake Tribune* and *Goodwin’s Weekly*, continued their unrelenting attacks on the Church and its leaders, especially Joseph F. Smith, the sixth president of the Church.⁹ By October 1905, two LDS Apostles, John W. Taylor¹⁰ and Matthias F. Cowley,¹¹ were forced to resign from the Quorum of the Twelve in the wake of the Smoot hearings.¹²

5. 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).

6. See Gary L. Bunker and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Graphic Image, 1834–1914: Cartoons, Caricatures, and Illustrations* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983), 57–70.

7. See James David Gillilan, *Thomas Corwin Iliff: Apostle of Home Missions in the Rocky Mountains* (New York: Methodist Book Concern, 1919), 73–96.

8. For example, see “Conflicting Rumors,” *Deseret Evening News*, December 30, 1905, 4.

9. See, for example, “Why Reed Smoot Will Be Kicked from Senate,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 21, 1905, 1; and “The Infamy of the Things,” *Goodwin’s Weekly*, December 9, 1905, 2.

10. John Whittaker Taylor (1858–1916) was the son of the third president of the Church, John Taylor (1808–1887), and a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles until he resigned in 1905. See 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: Andrew Jenson History, 1901–36), 1:151–56.

11. Matthias F. Cowley (1858–1940) was a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles until he resigned in 1905. He was the father of LDS Apostle Matthew Cowley (1897–1953) and FBI agent Samuel P. Cowley (1899–1934). See Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:168–72.

12. See Victor W. Jorgensen and B. Carmon Hardy, “The Taylor-Cowley Affair and the Watershed of Mormon History,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 48 (January 1980): 4–36.

The Commemoration in Sharon, Vermont

During this challenging year, Joseph F. Smith¹³ turned his attention to the upcoming one hundredth anniversary of Joseph Smith's birth in December 1905. Church leaders commissioned the production of a commemorative bronze medallion by the "well known painter and sculptor" Mahonri M. Young.¹⁴ A description of the medallion was published in the *Deseret Evening News*: "The medal shows on its face a bust portrait of the prophet, with the date of his birth, and the date of its hundredth anniversary. On the obverse side is a sketch of the monument erected this year on the site of his birthplace, of the house in which he was born and an inscription explaining the nature of the occasion which the medal commemorates."¹⁵

Earlier in the year, Church leaders had also authorized Junius F. Wells¹⁶ to locate and purchase the site of Joseph Smith's birth in Sharon, Windsor County, Vermont, with plans to erect a monument in the Prophet's honor.

By May 1905, Wells had purchased the site and "submitted a design proposal to erect a monument and memorial in time to celebrate the centennial of Joseph Smith's birth in December."¹⁷ The plans for the monument

13. The First Presidency consisted of Joseph F. Smith as president with John R. Winder (1821–1910) and Anthon H. Lund (1844–1921) as counselors.

14. "Will Honor the Prophet Joseph," *Deseret Evening News*, December 13, 1905, 1. Mahonri Mackintosh Young (1877–1957) was the grandson of Brigham Young and a well-known and celebrated American sculptor and artist who created the This Is the Place Monument and Seagull Monument in Salt Lake City. See Norma S. Davis, *A Song of Joys: The Biography of Mahonri Mackintosh Young, Sculptor, Painter, Etcher* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Museum of Art, 1999).

15. "Will Honor the Prophet Joseph," *Deseret Evening News*, December 13, 1905, 1.

16. Junius Free Wells (1854–1930) was the first head of the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association (YMMIA) and the chief organizer of the LDS Church's efforts to build a number of historical monuments in the early 1900s. See Paul Thomas Smith, "Junius F. Wells," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 4:1560–61.

17. Keith A. Erikson, "Memories, Monuments, and Mormonism: The Birthplace of Joseph Smith in Vermont," in *Born in the U.S.A.: Birth, Commemoration, and American Public Memory*, ed. Seth C. Bruggeman (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2012), 135.

were published in a lengthy essay by Wells in the *Deseret Evening News* in July 1905.¹⁸

Not surprisingly, given the explosive atmosphere at the time, the public announcement that the Church would erect a monument in Vermont generated negative attention.¹⁹ For example, Fredrick M. Smith,²⁰ counselor in the First Presidency of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints and grandson of the Prophet Joseph Smith, declared his opposition in an “Open Letter to All People,” published in the *Salt Lake Tribune* in July 1905.²¹ Additionally, a few individuals in Vermont voiced concern. However, most residents, including businessmen and political leaders, supported the efforts to erect the monument and welcomed Church leaders who arrived in December 1905 to dedicate it.²²

Wells sent President Smith a telegram in early December “convey[ing] the information that the erection of a monument of Joseph Smith, the Prophet, at his birthplace in Sharon, Windsor County, Vermont, was then completed without serious accident to men or material, and that the surmounting monolith is said to be the largest polished granite shaft in America.”²³

As the date of the centennial approached, the Church’s First Presidency invited a select group of Church leaders and prominent LDS families to attend the special dedication services in Vermont.²⁴ Orson F.

18. Junius F. Wells, “The Birthplace of Joseph Smith the Prophet,” *Deseret Evening News*, July 1, 1905, 13–14.

19. The 50-foot-tall (15 meters) monument weighed approximately 100 short (American) tons (91 metric tons). Quarried in Barre, Vermont, the 40-short-ton (36 metric tons) shaft of the monument is 38.5 feet (11.7 meters) long—one foot for each year of the Prophet’s life. See *Proceedings at the Dedication of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument* (Salt Lake City: Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1905), 26.

20. Fredrick M. Smith (1874–1946) was the son of Joseph Smith III and president of the RLDS Church from 1915 until his death in 1946. See Paul M. Edwards, *The Chief: An Administrative Biography of Fred M. Smith* (Independence: Herald House, 1988).

21. See, for example, Frederick M. Smith, “Open Letter to All People,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 1, 1905, 3 (letter dated June 30, 1905).

22. Erikson, “Memories, Monuments, and Mormonism,” 139–44.

23. “Monument Is Now Completed,” *Deseret Evening News*, December 9, 1905, 1.

24. First Presidency, “First Presidency Invitation to Dedication of Joseph Smith Monument, 1905,” CR 1 141, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus

Whitney²⁵ noted in his journal, “Monday December 18, 1905. President Joseph F. Smith and a party left today in a special car for Vermont to be present at the unveiling of the monument erected in honor of the martyred Prophet at his birth place—Sharon. I was invited to go, but did not have the money—\$130.—to pay the expenses of the trip. . . . [Joseph F. Smith] left it to me to decide saying he did not wish to work up hardship on any one. I therefore thanked him and remained at home.”²⁶

Joseph F. Smith’s party arrived in Vermont on Friday, December 22, 1905, to participate in the unveiling and dedication of the monument on the following day, Saturday, December 23, 1905.²⁷ Images of the trip and dedication ceremony have been widely published and are preserved in several photographic collections in the Church History Library.²⁸ Figure 2 is one such photo.

This was not the first year Joseph F. Smith had promoted the observance of the Prophet’s birthday among the Latter-day Saints.²⁹ However, because of the historic nature of the centennial, the First Presidency

Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City; the invitation was also published in the *Deseret Evening News*, December 21, 1905, 1.

25. Orson Ferguson Whitney (1855–1931) was the city editor of the *Deseret News*, member of the editorial department for the *Millennial Star* in England, Salt Lake City treasurer, professor at Brigham Young College in Logan, state legislator, bishop of the Salt Lake City Eighteenth Ward, and a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, beginning in 1907. See “President Smith Goes to Vermont,” *Deseret Evening News*, December 18, 1905, 1.

26. Orson F. Whitney, Diary, December 18, 1905, 175, Orson F. Whitney Diaries, 1877–1931, MSS 188, Special Collections and Archives, Merrill-Cazier Library, Utah State University, Logan, Utah.

27. The broader context of this story is outlined in several important articles by Keith A. Erikson. See Keith A. Erikson, “The Joseph Smith Memorial Monument and Royalton’s ‘Mormon Affair’: Religion, Community, Memory, and Politics in Progressive Vermont,” *Vermont History* 73 (Summer 2005): 30–68; and Keith A. Erikson, “‘Out of the Mists of Memory’: Remembering Joseph Smith in Vermont,” *Journal of Mormon History* 73 (Summer/Fall 2005): 117–51.

28. See Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, T. Jeffrey Cottle, and Ted D. Stoddard, *Church History in Black and White: George Edward Anderson’s Photographic Mission to Latter-day Saint Historical Sites* (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1995), 202–8; and Richard Neitzel Holzapfel and Paul H. Peterson, “New Photographs of Joseph F. Smith’s Centennial Memorial Trip to Vermont, 1905,” *BYU Studies* 39, no. 4 (2000): 107–14.

29. Beginning in 1894, Joseph F. Smith “called for wider celebrations of his uncle’s birth. . . . In 1901, [Joseph F. Smith] became president of the Church and directed local congregations to hold commemorative services on the Sunday



FIGURE 2. Joseph Smith's birthplace, Sharon, Vermont. In commemoration of the Prophet's one hundredth birthday on December 23, 1905, President Joseph F. Smith traveled to the Solomon Mack farm to dedicate the Joseph Smith Memorial Cottage (*left*) and a granite monument (*right*). WLC Litho. Courtesy Larry C. Porter.

underscored the importance of the celebration this particular year by inviting all Church members to participate in special services to honor the Prophet throughout the Church on Sunday, December 24, 1905.

The official announcement stated, "Memorial services will be held on Sunday, the twenty-fourth of December, in all the Assemblies of the Latter Day Saints throughout the world. You are cordially invited to attend these services wherever most convenient to join in honoring the memory of one who was honored of God and is beloved by his people."³⁰

Commemorations in Utah outside Salt Lake Valley

Most LDS congregations and communities complied with the request and gathered on Sunday, December 24, to celebrate the birth of the

nearest Joseph Smith's birth each December." See Erikson, "Memories, Monuments, and Mormonism," 134.

30. "First Presidency Invitation," *Deseret Evening News*, December 21, 1905, 1.

Prophet. An exception was Vernon, Tooele County, Utah, where “the Sunday school celebrated Joseph Smith’s birthday” on December 23, 1905.³¹ In many instances, these celebrations included Christmas music and readings as a way to transition into the celebration of Christmas on Monday, December 25—the traditional day Christians celebrate the birth of Jesus Christ. In Provo, Utah County, Utah, local stake president David John³² noted, “Services were held throughout the Church in [commemoration] of the birth of the prophet Joseph Smith, the 100 years of his birth. Elder Ulboud and sister Alice Reynolds, spoke in the Utah Stake tabernacle.”³³

Another report from Utah County noted, “The Springville four wards honored the Prophet Joseph Smith’s birthday in a fitting manner in the Sunday schools and in general and ward meetings, all exercises being appropriate for the occasion. Acquaintances of the Prophet addressed each meeting, relating many reminiscences. William Mendenhall, Milan Packard, James Oakley, O. B. Huntington, Harriett Hunting, Polly Smith, William Lowrey, Sidney Dibble, Daniel Bagley, Nephi Packard and George B. Matson, citizens of Springville, were all acquainted with the great latter-day Prophet.”³⁴

Church leaders in Logan, Cache County, Utah, announced, “The public has a most cordial invitation to be present and strangers have a particular invitation” to join the Saints in the Logan Tabernacle to celebrate the special occasion.³⁵ Lucy Walker Smith,³⁶ the “only surviving

31. “Vernon,” *Deseret Evening News*, December 30, 1905, 9.

32. David John (1833–1908) was an influential businessman, politician, and religious leader in Utah County, where he served as counselor and later president of the Utah [Provo] Stake between 1877 and 1908. See Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:488–90.

33. David John, Journal, December 24, 1905, MSS 21, 19th Century Western & Mormon Manuscripts, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

34. “Springville Honors Prophet’s Birthday,” *Deseret Evening News*, December 28, 1905, 9.

35. “Tomorrow Afternoon,” *Logan Republican*, December 23, 1905, 1.

36. Lucy Walker (1826–1910) was an early LDS convert who was sealed to Joseph Smith on May 1, 1843, in Nauvoo, Hancock County, Illinois. See Lucy Walker Kimball, “A Brief Biographical Sketch of the Life and Labors of Lucy Walker Kimball Smith,” Church History Library, as quoted in Lyman Omer Littlefield, *Reminiscences of Latter-day Saints: Giving an Account of Much Individual Suffering Endured for Religious Conscience* (Logan, Utah: Utah Journal Co., 1888), 46.

wife of the Prophet Joseph,” and Melvin J. Ballard,³⁷ a prominent Church leader, spoke on Sunday, December 24.³⁸

The Saints in Lehi, Utah County, gathered on “Sunday afternoon at 2 p.m.” in “the new Tabernacle in honor of the 100th anniversary of the birth of the Prophet Joseph Smith. A few of those who knew the Prophet were present and spoke and the remainder of the time was occupied by Elder Mathonihah Thomas of Salt Lake City, who spoke of the relationship of God to the people on this earth, etc. Those of Lehi’s citizens who knew the Prophet Joseph are: M. B. Bushman, Mrs. Steward, Mrs. Sarah Rhodes, Luke Titcomb, Hiland D. Wilcox, Mr. Zina Willis, Peter Lot, Mrs. Elisabeth Jacobs, Mrs. Emma Woodhouse.”³⁹

“A splendid program” was held at Caineville, Wayne County, Utah, “under the auspices of the Mutual Improvement associations.”⁴⁰ Another program was held without much formality in Cedar City, Iron County, Utah, as reported in the local newspaper: “Sunday services, both of the Sunday school and afternoon session, were carried on extemporaneously in commemoration of the one hundredth birthday of the Prophet Joseph Smith. A number of young women were called to speak.”⁴¹

The Sunday Schools of the two Manti wards in San Pete County, Utah, “held special exercises last Sunday morning in honor of the Prophet Joseph Smith’s one hundredth birthday. In the afternoon memorial services were held in the tabernacle. William D. Livingston, Daniel Henrie and George Hoggan spoke of the prophet and his work. The following brethren and sisters who have seen the Prophet Joseph were present: William Johnston, Horace Thornton, Daniel Henrie, George A. Rush, George Coleman, Azriah Smith, William A. Cox Sr., Frederick W. Cox, Walter Stevens, Adelia Squires, and Adaline Buchanan.”⁴²

The “old acquaintances” of the Prophet Joseph Smith in Santaquin, Utah County, Utah, testified to the “grand character of Prophet Joseph” in a meeting “well attended in this ward, the meetinghouse being filled.” Among those in attendance who knew the Prophet were “Ann Clemons

37. Melvin J. Ballard (1873–1939) was a missionary and mission president before serving in the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles from 1919 until his death in 1939. See Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:419–20.

38. “Tomorrow Afternoon,” *Logan Republican*, December 23, 1905, 1.

39. “Memorial Services,” *Deseret Evening News*, December 30, 1905, 9.

40. “Caineville,” *Deseret Evening News*, December 30, 1905, 9.

41. “Kanarra,” *Iron County Record*, December 29, 1905, 1.

42. “Manti Anniversary Services,” *Deseret Evening News*, December 28, 1905, 9.

and Elizabeth Wall,” who “addressed the congregation for a short time. . . . Sister Roxena Carter, another acquaintance of the Prophet residing in this ward, was unable through sickness to attend meeting, but wrote her testimony, and it was read to the assembly.”⁴³

Commemoration at the Salt Lake City Tabernacle

In Salt Lake City, where the largest LDS community existed, the four Salt Lake stakes combined their efforts to host as many as twenty thousand Saints in the Salt Lake Tabernacle during two sessions honoring the Prophet. Known as the “New Tabernacle” or “Great Tabernacle” during the nineteenth century, the Salt Lake Tabernacle, along with the Salt Lake Temple, had become by 1905 two of the most recognized buildings of the Church and in the American West.⁴⁴ During its history, the Tabernacle was the site of many gatherings, meetings, and special events.⁴⁵ In 1905, the Ensign Stake president, Richard W. Young,⁴⁶ was appointed the chairman of the program committee. Several other committees were organized to assist with the celebration. Of particular interest was the sixteen-member decoration subcommittee, who were responsible to prepare the interior of the historic building for the event.⁴⁷

43. “Santaquin. Memorial Services,” *Deseret Evening News*, December 27, 1905, 3.

44. See Elwin C. Robison with W. Randall Dixon, *Gathering as One: The History of the Mormon Tabernacle in Salt Lake City* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 2014), 25, 257–58; see also Richard Neitzel Holzapfel and Ronald L. Fox, “An Edward Martin Photograph of the Construction of the Great Tabernacle,” *BYU Studies Quarterly* 56, no. 3 (2017): 2–11.

45. See, for example, Ronald W. Walker, Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, and James S. Lambert, “Salt Lake Tabernacle Interior Photograph: Sabbath School Union Jubilee, July 1875,” *BYU Studies* 42, no. 2 (2003): 65–74.

46. Richard W. Young (1858–1919) was the grandson of Brigham Young, a West Point graduate, a military officer, and a lawyer, and had been chosen as the president of the Ensign Stake on April 1, 1904, when the stake was created. See *Brigadier General Richard W. Young: Biographical Sketch, Funeral Ceremonies, Resolutions of Respect* (Salt Lake City: n.p., 1920); and Andrew Jenson, “Supplement to Church Chronology 1899–1905,” 19, in *Church Chronology* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1914).

47. Committee members were Dryden R. Coombs, A. Mervin Woolley, Julian F. Smith, Haven Eardley, Archie B. Kessler, Alfred C. Rees, Dorothy Bowman, Florence Ashton, Johnage H. Glenn, Chas. P. Margetts, Lillian McLachlan, Joseph V. Smith, Etta F. Toronto, Margaret C. Hull, Clara Holmes, and Lela Timpson. See *Program Commemorating the One Hundredth Anniversary of the*

On December 13, 1905, the *Deseret Evening News* published a general invitation for the members of the four local Salt Lake City stakes to attend the gatherings: “The tabernacle services will be held both in the morning and in the afternoon, and at the morning service the Sunday schools of the four stakes of the city will be participants, while the general stake authorities will have charge of the afternoon service.”⁴⁸

A printed invitation, dated December 10, 1905, was prepared bidding all those who lived within the four stakes who knew the Prophet Joseph Smith in life to attend.⁴⁹ To ensure no one was missed, Arthur W. Brown,⁵⁰ chairman of the invitation committee, prepared another announcement that was published in the *Deseret Evening News* on December 21, 1905: “Every effort has been made to invite members of the Church residing in the Liberty, Pioneer, Salt Lake and Ensign stakes, who were personally acquainted with the Prophet Joseph Smith, to attend the services to be held in his honor in the Tabernacle Sunday morning and afternoon next. Such brethren and sisters will be considered the guests of honor upon those occasions, and in case any have been overlooked, it is most earnestly desired that they will be at the east entrance of the Temple grounds before 10 o’clock, where they will be received by the invitation committee and escorted to seats reserved for them.”⁵¹

The agenda for the commemoration services was published on Wednesday, December 20, 1905, in the *Deseret Evening News*.⁵² On the following day, Thursday, December 21, 1905, the *Deseret Evening News* reported, “Altogether it will present a picture such as has never before been seen in it.”⁵³ This was highlighted in the Saturday, December 23,

Birth of the Prophet Joseph Smith (Salt Lake City: n.p., 1905), copy in Church History Library.

48. “Will Honor the Prophet Joseph,” *Deseret Evening News*, December 13, 1905, 1.

49. “Invitation to Centennial Anniversary Service,” Church History Library, <https://history.lds.org/exhibit/historic-sites/vermont/joseph-smith-birthplace/birthplace?lang=eng#mv13>.

50. Arthur W. Brown (1863–1922) was involved in various callings, including ward and Ensign Stake Sunday School programs in Salt Lake City, and should not be confused with the Spanish-American war veteran from Utah by the same name or the non-LDS Utah senator Arthur Brown, who was killed by his mistress in 1906. See “Active Mormon Church Worker Answers Call,” FamilySearch, <https://www.familysearch.org/photos/artifacts/12832035?p=13635744>.

51. “To Those Who Knew Him,” *Deseret Evening News*, December 21, 1905, 1.

52. “In Honor of Joseph Smith,” *Deseret Evening News*, December 20, 1905, 2.

53. “A Great Celebration,” *Deseret Evening News*, December 21, 1905, 1.

1905, edition of the *Deseret Evening News* when it announced on its front page in large type size, “Tabernacle Transformed.”⁵⁴ According to this report, it took “an army of decorators” several days to prepare the building for the two meetings.⁵⁵ The story added, “The affair will be the most pretentious natal celebration in the annals of the Church.”⁵⁶ On the day following the services, the *Salt Lake Tribune* basically mimicked the earlier prediction when it reported that the celebration had been “of the most pretentious character.”⁵⁷

Documenting the Tabernacle Celebration Decorations

Several copies of photographs taken at this time of the interior of the Tabernacle are found in two separate library collections, “Joseph Smith Memorial dedication trip 1905 December” (PH 91, figures 1, 4) and “Joseph F. Smith centennial photograph album” (PH 8029, figure 3) in the Church History Library, and another is in private possession (figure 6). These views are an important source to reconstruct the physical setting of the services held in the Salt Lake Tabernacle on Sunday, December 24, 1905.

The *Deseret Evening News* and the *Salt Lake Tribune* provided word pictures describing the interior of the Tabernacle. Combined with the black-and-white photographs, these descriptions allow us to see in our minds the decorations as they were seen by those who participated in the two special memorial services on Sunday, December 24, 1905. The *Deseret Evening News* reported, “The decorations are elaborate, yet simple.”⁵⁸

Dominating the scene, as can be seen in the accompanying photographs of the Tabernacle, was a large portrait of the Prophet by noted LDS artist Lee Greene Richards.⁵⁹ The *Deseret Evening News* description added, “High up on the organ front is a large crayon picture of the Prophet . . . with appropriate frame, and great festoons of national

54. “Prophet’s Birth 100 Years Ago,” *Deseret Evening News*, December 23, 1905, 1.

55. “Prophet’s Birth,” *Deseret Evening News*, December 23, 1905, 1.

56. “Prophet’s Birth,” *Deseret Evening News*, December 23, 1905, 1.

57. “Saints Observe Smith’s Birthday,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 25, 1905, 1.

58. “Prophet’s Birth,” *Deseret Evening News*, December 23, 1905, 1.

59. Levi Greene Richards (1878–1950), known as Lee, was a well-known Utah portrait artist. See Barbara Boyer Ostler, *Lee Greene Richards, 1878–1950* (Salt Lake City: Utah Museum of Fine Arts, University of Utah, 1994). Richards’s illustration of the Prophet has not been located in any Church repository and is probably no longer extant.

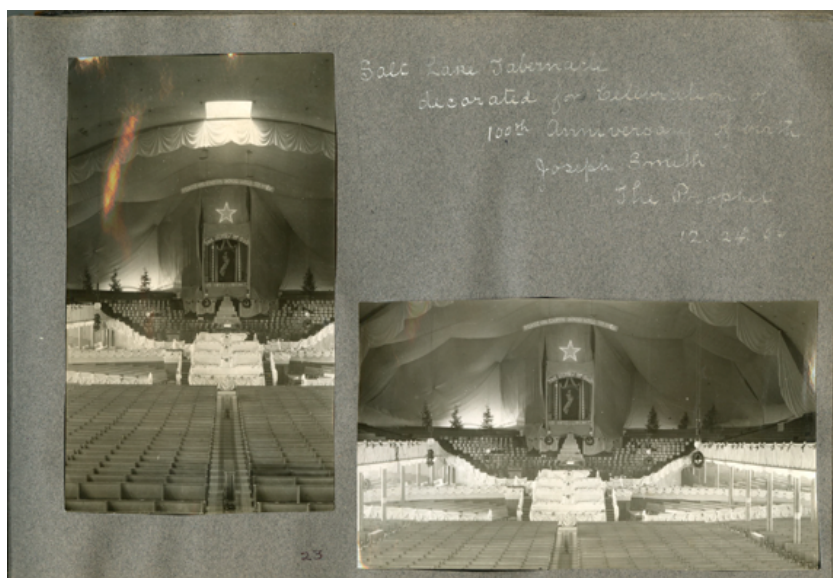


FIGURE 3. A page from Joseph F. Smith's photo album of the dedication of the Joseph Smith Monument, 1905, Joseph F. Smith Centennial Photograph Album (PH 8029, Album page size 25.5 cm \times 17.5 cm; photographic images 14.2 cm \times 8.4 cm and 14.4 cm \times 8.2 cm, contact prints), Church History Library. This page contains two interior views of the Salt Lake Tabernacle taken in December 1905. Similar views are found in another Church History collection, Joseph Smith Memorial Dedication Trip 1905 December (PH 91 8.1, 8.2, 8.3).

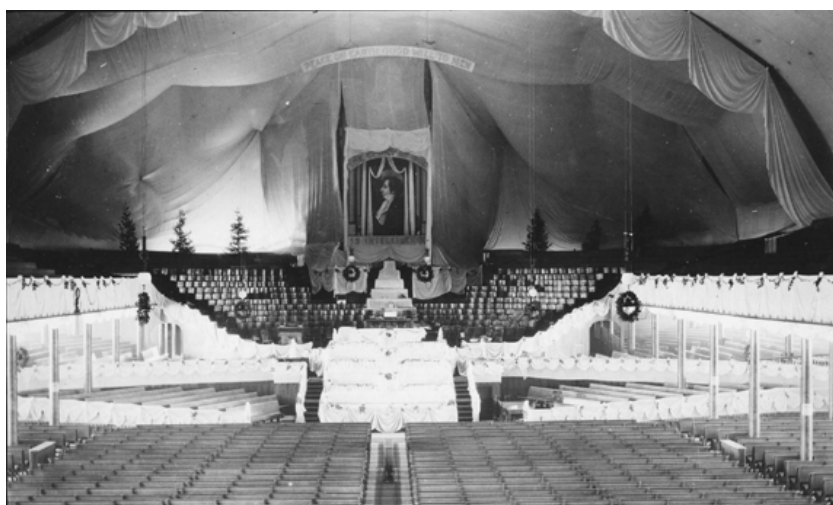


FIGURE 4. Expanded interior view of the Salt Lake Tabernacle, looking west, decorated for the centennial celebration of the birth of the Prophet Joseph Smith, 1905 (PH 91 8.2, 15 cm \times 10 cm, contact print), Church History Library. In this photo, the star over the portrait is in place but is not illuminated.

colors running toward the choir seats on either sides. The ceiling of the west end of the building has been covered with a great canopy of sky blue bunting from which sparkle and glitter countless gold and silver stars.”⁶⁰ The *Deseret Evening News* reporter added, “A wealth of white bunting, palms, potted plants, holly and Christmas trees, bells and other holiday effects, adorn the great auditorium which is sure to prove a most pleasing surprise to those who will be present.”⁶¹

The *Deseret Evening News* also noted that electric lights would illuminate some special features in the front of the Tabernacle. “On the right side of the organ at the given signal, will appear a representation of the Star of Bethlehem. The effect, it is believed, will be wonderful. Then there are prominently placed, electrically illumined creations of ‘Peace on Earth and Good Will towards Men’ and ‘The Glory of God Is Intelligence,’ the latter one of the Prophet Joseph’s sayings.”⁶²

The *Salt Lake Tribune* also highlighted the following aspect of the decorations in its report the day after the services on Monday, December 25, 1905:

The organ front was beautifully draped with light blue and on the ceiling of the west end of the building, immediately over the choir and the speakers’ stand, was spread a canopy of the same material studded



FIGURE 5. Detail of figure 6, interior of the Salt Lake Tabernacle, highlighting the illuminated electrical lights of the “Star of Bethlehem” and the scriptural phrases “Peace on Earth Good Will To Men” and “The Glory of God Is Intelligence.” In private possession (see fig. 6).

60. “Prophet’s Birth,” *Deseret Evening News*, December 23, 1905, 1.

61. “Prophet’s Birth,” *Deseret Evening News*, December 23, 1905, 1.

62. “Prophet’s Birth,” *Deseret Evening News*, December 23, 1905, 1.



FIGURE 6. Interior view of the Salt Lake Tabernacle looking west, decorated for the centennial celebration of the birth of the Prophet Joseph Smith (6.1 cm × 4.2 cm, contact print), 1905, in private possession.

with silver stars which dazzled in the everchanging light, and on the right of the organ was a large electric star, emblematic of the star of Bethlehem. On the front of the organ, electrically illuminated, were the words, 'The Glory of God Is Intelligence,' the Sunday-School motto, and high up, suspended from the ceiling, was emblazoned the sentiment of the season, 'Peace on Earth, Good Will to Men.' Festoons decked with evergreens and holly were swung around the choir and speakers' stand, and the front of the entire gallery was draped with white, this being the prevailing color. From the arc lights hung large wreaths. In the center of each were large red Christmas bells, and the effect produced was a particularly brilliant one."⁶³

The Sunday meetings held in the Tabernacle were highlighted in local newspaper articles and in personal journals of some of those participating. The first meeting, as noted earlier, was hosted by the four Salt Lake City Stake Sunday School organizations at 10:30 a.m., with Charles H. Felt presiding.⁶⁴ Some ten thousand people gathered on the occasion; the majority

63. "Saints Observe Smith's Birthday," *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 25, 1905, 1.

64. Charles H. Felt (1860–1929) was, at the time, the superintendent of the Salt Lake Stake Sunday Schools. See *Program Commemorating the One Hundredth Anniversary*, [2].

were Sunday School children.⁶⁵ The children were seated by stake with the Pioneer Stake Sunday school children seated on the south side of the auditorium; the Salt Lake Stake children on the north side of the auditorium; the Ensign Stake children in the north gallery of the Tabernacle; and the Liberty Stake children in the south gallery of the Tabernacle. On the speakers' stand were seated the four stake presidencies. To the right of them were seated members of the four stake Sunday School boards.

The program included prayers, Christmas hymns, special musical numbers, recitations, and talks, including one by James E. Talmage⁶⁶ entitled, "A Word to the Children."⁶⁷

Talmage recorded in his journal:

December 24; This sabbath had been set apart by the Church authorities for special services in commemoration of the birth of the prophet Joseph Smith. Yesterday was the exact centenary of his birth. A large party, consisting of the general authorities of the church and others gathered at Sharon, Windsor County, Vermont, yesterday and dedicated the monument just reared on the site of the house in which the first prophet of the last dispensation was born. Today's exercises in Salt Lake City comprised general services in the tabernacle during the forenoon under Sunday School auspices; public service in the tabernacle during the afternoon; and ward services in the local meeting houses at night. I had a small part in the forenoon proceedings.⁶⁸

The Sunday afternoon session was held at 2:00 p.m. "under the auspices of the Liberty, Pioneer, Ensign, and Salt Lake stake presidencies" with President John R. Winder of the First Presidency of the Church presiding.⁶⁹ This meeting also attracted ten thousand participants.⁷⁰ Two speakers were originally planned for this gathering, as noted in the

65. "Saints Observe Smith's Birthday," *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 25, 1905, 1.

66. James E. Talmage (1862–1933) was an educator, author, and member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles from 1911 until his death in 1933. See John R. Talmage, *The Talmage Story: Life of James E. Talmage—Educator, Scientist, Apostle* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1972).

67. *Program Commemorating the One Hundredth Anniversary*, [3]. Talmage also delivered the Christmas message in the Tabernacle on the following day, December 25. See "Great Prophet of Galilee," *Deseret Evening News*, December 25, 1905, 1.

68. James E. Talmage, Journal, December 24, 1905, 86, MSS 229, 19th Century Western & Mormon Manuscripts.

69. *Program Commemorating the One Hundredth Anniversary*, [4].

70. "Saints Observe Smith's Birthday," *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 25, 1905, 1.

printed program, but because of a last-minute conflict, B. H. Roberts was unable to attend. This left Orson F. Whitney, the second speaker, to take the entire time—an hour and half in which he focused on “the history of Joseph Smith.”⁷¹

Not all those who wished to attend the centennial celebration in the Tabernacle were able to do so. For example, Maria H. Burton⁷² noted sadly, “Mr Burton had a bad night. not able to attend the Celebration of the 100 Anniversary of the Prophet Joseph Smith. We were both disappointed his cold is very tight he is very hoarse Willard called to see him Lew and Theresa called in the evening moved the bed into sitting room again it is so cold in parlor.”⁷³

Newspaper reports, published on Christmas Day, December 25, 1905, provided an overview of the meetings. The *Deseret Evening News*, for example, observed, “A scene strikingly magnificent was that which presented itself at the Tabernacle yesterday morning. . . . The building had been beautifully decorated in white, which, intermingled with holly, palms, and potted plants, made an excellent foreground for a dually descriptive scene of the birth of the Savior and the Prophet Joseph Smith.”⁷⁴

As noted in an earlier report on Saturday, December 23, lights illuminated special features in the Tabernacle during the services. “The former [the scene commemorating the birth of Christ] was made the more striking through the representation of the Star of Bethlehem, while around it myriads of stars of lesser magnitude shone out bright, shedding their rays on the very memorable angelic sentiment, ‘Peace on earth, good will to men.’ The front of the great organ was covered with a life-like bust of the Prophet Joseph, with a framework of white crepe, and above and below it the words, ‘The Glory of God Is Intelligence.’”⁷⁵

Nevertheless, what impressed the *Deseret Evening News* reporter was not the physical decoration but the presence of the Sunday School

71. “Able Address by Bishop Whitney,” *Deseret Evening News*, December 25, 1905, 2.

72. Maria Haven Burton (1826–1920) was an 1848 Mormon pioneer, the wife of Robert Taylor Burton (1821–1901), a member of the Presiding Bishopric of the Church from 1874 to 1907. See “Widow of Gen. Burton Dies at Advanced Age,” *Deseret Evening News*, March 31, 1920, 2:1.

73. Maria H. Burton, Journal, December 24, 1905, MS 6329, Maria H. Burton Diaries, 1875–1919, Church History Library.

74. “Children Honor Prophet Joseph,” *Deseret Evening News*, December 25, 1905, 5.

75. “Children Honor Prophet Joseph,” *Deseret Evening News*, December 25, 1905, 5.

children. "But these scenes were purely incidental to the making of the picture which was presented, for above and beyond it all was that of thousands of bright, smiling faces no less than 8,000 Sunday school children."⁷⁶

The *Salt Lake Tribune* also highlighted the presence of children in its report of the celebrations: "The school children again raised their voices in song, 'Far, Far Away on Judea's Plains,' the sweet, fresh voices blending in beautiful harmony."⁷⁷

An interesting part of the program was the presence of nearly eighty "greyed hair veterans," individuals who "were acquainted with the Prophet Joseph Smith" during his life.

The respected guests were seated on the right side of the stand in a special place of honor and were asked to stand during the program.⁷⁸ The *Salt Lake Tribune* claimed, "With the exception of those who were too old and infirm, all those now in Salt Lake who were assembled with the prophet were present."⁷⁹

Given the hostile environment of the time, it may not be surprising that James E. Talmage and Orson F. Whitney took the opportunity to make sure no one could claim that the celebration of Joseph Smith's birth on the eve of Christmas was in any way an attempt to equate the mortal prophet with the divine Son of God.⁸⁰ Whitney, for example, emphasized, "I wish to make it plain at the outset that we do not wish to insinuate any parallel between them. We do not worship Joseph Smith; we do worship Jesus Christ. He to us is the God of Heaven manifest in the flesh, the soul begotten, the Savior of the world. But we revere the memory of the prophet who was chosen by Jesus Christ to come as his forerunner in the last days, and to institute a work, a marvelous work,

76. "Children Honor Prophet Joseph," *Deseret Evening News*, December 25, 1905, 5.

77. "Saints Observe Smith's Birthday," *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 25, 1905, 1.

78. John W. Rigdon (1820–1912) was the son of Sidney (1793–1876) and Phoebe Rigdon (1800–1888) and was rebaptized in 1904. "John W. Rigdon Dies at an Advance Age," *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 7, 1912, 32. During the centennial celebration, Rigdon fainted and was carried out of the building but recovered. See "Children Honor Prophet Joseph," *Deseret Evening News*, December 25, 1905, 5.

79. "Saints Observe Smith's Birthday," *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 25, 1905, 1.

80. An editorial in the *Salt Lake Tribune* in November 1905 argued that the Church was "not the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, but the Church of Joseph F. Smith" because of the honor and respect given to current presidents. See "Not Jesus, but Joseph," *Salt Lake Tribune*, November 26, 1905, 4.

that is to prepare the world for the second and glorified coming of the Son of God.”⁸¹

Despite the challenges the Church experienced in 1905, an editorial published in the *Deseret Evening News* at the end of the year stated, “To the Latter-day Saints it is a source of great satisfaction to know that the work of the Lord is continually growing throughout the world. . . . At home the Saints have been greatly blessed in their Sabbath meetings, their quorum meetings, and their conference. . . . These last gatherings especially have been more numerously attended than ever in the history of the Church. . . . The faith of the Latter-day Saints who endeavor to live in the light of the Gospel of the Redeemer, is growing stronger, and their testimony is becoming ever more firmly established.”⁸² In conclusion, the editorial declared that the “raising and dedication of a monument to the memory of the Prophet Joseph Smith on the spot where he was born, is one of the memorable events of the year.”⁸³

Added to the commemoration held in South Royalton, Windsor County, Vermont, and the multiple memorial services held in the many congregations of the Saints throughout the world was the grand celebration in the Salt Lake City Tabernacle, witnessed by some twenty thousand people. The historic photographs presented here help us reconstruct what it would have been like to attend the centennial celebration on Sunday, December 24, 1905, and preserve the efforts of the Saints to honor their founding prophet.

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81. “Saints Observe Smith’s Birthday,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 25, 1905, 1.

82. “Retrospective,” *Deseret Evening News*, December 30, 1905, 4.

83. “Retrospective,” *Deseret Evening News*, December 30, 1905, 4.

Wise or Foolish

Women in Mormon Biblical Narrative Art

Jennifer Champoux

Visual imagery is an inescapable element of religion. Even those groups that generally avoid figural imagery, such as those in Judaism and Islam, have visual objects with religious significance.¹ In fact, as David Morgan, professor of religious studies and art history at Duke University, has argued, it is often the religions that avoid figurative imagery that end up with the richest material culture.² To some extent, this is true for Mormonism. Although Mormons believe art can beautify a space, visual art is not tied to actual ritual practice. Chapels, for example, where the sacrament ordinance is performed, are built with plain walls and simple lines and typically have no paintings or sculptures. Yet, outside chapels, Mormons enjoy a vast culture of art, which includes traditional visual arts, texts, music, finely constructed temples, clothing, historical sites, and even personal devotional objects. For Mormons, these material items facilitate personal introspection, help mediate with the divine, and bring the believer closer to God.

In part because visual culture is inescapable, it not only accompanies religious practice in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, but also has the power to shape belief, influencing the way Mormons tell scriptural stories and understand doctrinal lessons. As Herman du

1. David Morgan, *The Sacred Gaze: Religious Visual Culture in Theory and Practice* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 117; David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 54.

2. Morgan, *Sacred Gaze*, 64.

Toit, former head of museum research at Brigham Young University's Museum of Art has written, "Art has the capacity to create new meaning in the mind of the viewer, often by nondiscursive means."³ This is especially true of images widespread in LDS culture of scriptural or historical figures. These images are frequently created in a style of detailed realism and, from the viewpoint of a typical Mormon gaze, are considered inspired and even historically accurate.⁴ For example, Noel A. Carmack has explained how LDS images of Christ became homogenized in the twentieth century and argued that the realistic style preferred by the Church is the result of its "literal approach to the scriptures, along with a belief in the historicity of Jesus' life and ministry."⁵ In other words, a literal interpretation of the scriptures has led to literal interpretations of religious art and vice versa. Laura Allred Hurtado, curator at the Church History Museum, also spoke to this LDS preference for realism when she explained that a New Testament film by the Church visually recreated the scene depicted in Carl Bloch's painting *Christ Healing the Sick at Bethesda* (1882–83), which is widespread in Mormon visual culture, because using an already familiar image of Christ lent authenticity to the film.⁶ Further demonstrating the power of images on LDS belief, BYU professor Anthony Sweat described an experiment he conducts with students, which reveals that they overwhelmingly visualize the Book of Mormon character Abinadi as looking and acting exactly as he does in Arnold Friberg's painting *Abinadi before King Noah* (c. 1952–55), which is the most common depiction of Abinadi in Church materials,

3. Herman du Toit, "Preface," in *Art and Spirituality: The Visual Culture of Christian Faith*, ed. Herman du Toit and Doris R. Dant (Provo, Utah: BYU Studies, 2008), xii.

4. For purposes of this paper, "institutional" narrative art, or art that is considered widespread in the LDS Church, will be defined as images commissioned by the Church, owned by the Church History Museum, appearing in the LDS Media Library (including the Gospel Art Kit), sold as reproductions on the LDS.org store, and/or sold as reproductions at the Church History Museum store. The images from these sources are ones most commonly encountered today in Church-produced scriptures, manuals, printed materials, websites, and buildings (including meetinghouses, temples, visitors' centers, and the Salt Lake City Conference Center).

5. Noel A. Carmack, "Images of Christ in Latter-day Saint Visual Culture, 1900–1999," *BYU Studies* 39, no. 3 (2000): 66.

6. Laura Allred Hurtado, "Abstractions, Shadows, and Images of Christ," *Juvenile Instructor* (blog), September 18, 2013, <http://juvenileinstructor.org/abstractions-shadows-and-images-of-christ/>.

including some copies of the Book of Mormon.⁷ Sweat clarifies that neither the artists nor the Church are necessarily trying to privilege their own interpretation through art, but visual art does face certain limitations and tensions in its ability to communicate both ideas and historical fact.⁸ For example, Barry Laga addresses the complicated relationship in Mormonism between the realistic style of its institutional visual art and the theological belief in individual, unseen spiritual revelation, arguing that highly realistic portrayals of human encounters with the divine “shape our perception and define the experience itself,” sometimes privileging external sensory, rational experience over intangible, spiritual knowledge.⁹

Images that are seen as officially endorsed by the LDS Church can affect the way members interpret scriptural stories or historical Church events, sometimes even constraining Church members’ understanding, especially in cases of stories that have multiple valid interpretations. LDS depictions of biblical women, for example, often portray them as simplified, didactic figures. This essay examines the limited instances of groups of women portrayed in common LDS biblical narrative art to highlight the challenges and implications of how art is created for and viewed by general LDS audiences and to reveal how these canonized portrayals of biblical women have largely adhered to traditional Christian interpretations and artistic styles rather than to a uniquely Mormon understanding of scriptural stories.

To begin, it is useful to consider the ways in which men and women are portrayed in the narrative art of the Church. There are, for instance, many groups, large and small, of biblical men: *Moses Calls Aaron to the Ministry* (1967) by Harry Anderson, *Jacob Blessing His Sons (Jacob Blessing Joseph)* (1967) by Harry Anderson, *Jesus Washing the Apostles’ Feet (Jesus Washing the Feet of the Apostles)* (c. 1983) by Del Parson, and *In Remembrance of Me* (1997) by Walter Rane, to name a few. Even images

7. Quoted in Kimberly Winston, “Mormon ‘Gospel Art’: Kitsch or Classic?” *Religion News Service*, March 17, 2016, <http://religionnews.com/2016/03/17/mormons-kitsch-art-classic/>.

8. Anthony Sweat, “By the Gift and Power of Art,” in *From Darkness unto Light: Joseph Smith’s Translation and Publication of the Book of Mormon*, ed. Michael Hubbard MacKay and Gerrit J. Dirkmaat (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2015), 237.

9. Barry Laga, “Making the Absent Visible: The Real, Ideal, and the Abstract in Mormon Art,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 40 (Summer 2007): 51–52, 61–63.

of the Sermon on the Mount feature mostly men, with a few women scattered among them. Although Jesus often stands separate from the other figures in these images, the men almost universally appear united as a group, without any clear division between them. In contrast, the few women who do appear in institutional LDS biblical narrative art—apart from Eve and Mary (mother of Jesus), who are both typically shown in family groups—are solitary and heroic figures: for example, *Rebekah at the Well* (1995) by Michael Deas, *Hannah Presenting Her Son Samuel to Eli* (date unknown) by Robert T. Barrett, *Esther (Queen Esther)* (1939) by Minerva Teichert, and *Living Water (Christ and the Samaritan Woman)* (2001) by Simon Dewey.

The only two cases in which we see groups of biblical women in LDS art are depictions of (1) the parable of the ten virgins and (2) Christ's visit to Mary and Martha. Through the use of symbolic and formal elements, standard Mormon depictions of these two scenes sharply divide the women into two types, reducing both stories to a dialectic of wise, heroic women versus lost, distracted women. The images of Mary and Martha, in particular, follow a standard pre-Mormon Christian interpretation that prioritizes the passive reception of wisdom—symbolized by Mary sitting with Christ—over other, more active tasks or approaches—symbolized by Martha bustling about the kitchen. There are, however, certain intriguing exceptions to these patterns in nonofficial LDS art, particularly Minerva Teichert's *Christ in the Home of Mary and Martha* (1935). Works such as these, as well as the interpretations proffered by various Church leaders, indicate there are multiple ways to interpret the story of Jesus in the home of Mary and Martha and illustrate some of the challenges in creating and reading LDS narrative art.

The Parable of the Ten Virgins

In the LDS Media Library, the only depiction of Christ's parable of the ten virgins is Walter Rane's *Five of Them Were Wise* (1999; fig. 1). This painting was part of a series of religious works commissioned by the Church, and the Church History Museum, in Salt Lake City, owns it.¹⁰ The scriptural passage that inspired this painting is fairly straightforward, and its exegesis by LDS leaders is consistent. The story is found in Matthew 25:

10. The painting has been widely disseminated through LDS Media Library and sales on LDS.org and in Church History Museum stores.



FIGURE 1. Walter Rane, *Five of Them Were Wise*, 1999, oil on panel, 30" × 52". Courtesy of Church History Museum, Salt Lake City. In this painting, the women are separated into two groups by a central void. The five wise virgins are bathed in light and form a strong pyramidal shape, while the five foolish virgins are in shadow and lack organization.

Then shall the kingdom of heaven be likened unto ten virgins, which took their lamps, and went forth to meet the bridegroom. And five of them were wise, and five were foolish. They that were foolish took their lamps, and took no oil with them: But the wise took oil in their vessels with their lamps. While the bridegroom tarried, they all slumbered and slept. And at midnight there was a cry made, Behold, the bridegroom cometh; go ye out to meet him. Then all those virgins arose, and trimmed their lamps. And the foolish said unto the wise, Give us of your oil; for our lamps are gone out. But the wise answered, saying, Not so; lest there be not enough for us and you: but go ye rather to them that sell, and buy for yourselves. And while they went to buy, the bridegroom came; and they that were ready went in with him to the marriage: and the door was shut. Afterward came also the other virgins, saying, Lord, Lord, open to us. But he answered and said, Verily I say unto you, I know you not. Watch therefore, for ye know neither the day nor the hour wherein the Son of man cometh. (Matthew 25:1–13)

In Mormon discourse, this parable is most often explained in terms of spiritual preparation, with an emphasis on being in a state of constant readiness to meet the Lord. For example, in 2012, Apostle David A.

Bednar expounded on the wise and foolish virgins, emphasizing the concepts of “consistent obedience,” “diligent study and pondering,” and the “individual responsibility to keep our lamp of testimony burning and to obtain an ample supply of the oil of conversion.”¹¹

The caption on the original painting, currently located in the LDS Conference Center, also conforms to this understanding. Written by Church History Museum curators, the caption reads, “The Parable of the Ten Virgins is about those who have already accepted the invitation to follow the bridegroom—Christ. To have accepted the invitation is not enough; they must be in a constant state of preparation and readiness. Walter Rane has painted a classic representation of the substance of the scriptural passage. (Matthew 25).”

Rane’s placement of figures, use of formal elements, and realistic style all work together to reinforce the consensus interpretation of wise versus foolish. The entire group of ten virgins creates an implied triangle, yet if we look closer, the subgrouping of wise virgins creates another, tighter triangle, giving it visual and symbolic strength, while the subgrouping of foolish virgins is in disarray, symbolizing their waywardness from the righteous path. The lines of outstretched hands and crouching figures, with a small central void separating the two groups, keeps the viewer’s eye moving circularly around the image and across each figure, making it a dynamic and active scene. Each woman is responsible for her own oil (spiritual strength), and those with lighted lamps must move on or be left behind by the bridegroom (Christ). The foolish virgins are shown in a panic as they realize that, as Bednar said, “no last-minute flurry of preparation is possible.”¹² Some beg their wise sisters for help they cannot give. One falls dejectedly to the ground. Another wanders off alone in a futile search.

A prominent feature of this painting is the contrast between light and dark. The five wise virgins are bathed in light from their oil lamps. The symbolism of wisdom here is clear. A lighted candle has long symbolized illumination, especially of the mind or spirit, and often represents faith in art.¹³ The women with lit lamps had presumably worked righteously to prepare, collecting their oil, for the coming of the bridegroom,

11. David A. Bednar, “Converted unto the Lord,” *Ensign* 42 (November 2012): 109.

12. Bednar, “Converted unto the Lord,” 109.

13. James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*, 2d ed. (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 2008), 59.

an interpretation that is even more pronounced when considering some European traditions in which a candle or lantern symbolizes not only wisdom but also the diligent study and effort put forth to acquire wisdom.¹⁴ The five foolish virgins, on the other hand, are in shadow, beneath a dark sky with an ominous cloud.

The interpretation of this parable in both standard LDS teaching and this particular painting, then, is that the five wise virgins were good and faithful and the five foolish virgins made wrong choices. Fair enough. But what happens when artists use similar formal elements and a realistic style to give the same Mormon audience a visual interpretation of a scriptural story whose meaning is not as obviously straightforward and does not share the same consensus of meaning? The simplistic dichotomy of wise and foolish, for instance, also appears in visual portrayals of the story of Mary and Martha, largely because they feature similar formal elements. Supporting this interpretation, Mary and Martha have long been portrayed in non-Mormon Christian art and literature as being in competition with each other, with Mary emerging as the more righteous woman. However, a closer examination of the Mary and Martha story, its application by Church leaders, and its depictions in Mormon art reveals that such an interpretation—the interpretation seemingly favored in institutional LDS art—is only one of the many possible ways to read the text.

Traditional Mormon Portrayals of Jesus at the Home of Mary and Martha

Jesus's visit to Mary and Martha is recorded as an actual, historical event by the biblical evangelist Luke, which makes it fundamentally different from the parable of the ten virgins, which is, by definition, a fictitious, moralistic story. Mary and Martha, on the other hand, are real, complex people seen in a particular time and place.¹⁵ Let's begin with Luke 10:

Now it came to pass, as they went, that he entered into a certain village: and a certain woman named Martha received him into her house. And she had a sister called Mary, which also sat at Jesus' feet, and heard his word. But Martha was cumbered about much serving, and came to him,

14. A popular 1627 Dutch grammar book labels undisciplined students as "lanterns without light." Wayne Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth-Century Genre Painting* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2004), 122.

15. We might also keep in mind that Luke was not present at this scene and cobbled together this narrative about sixty years after the fact.

and said, Lord, dost thou not care that my sister hath left me to serve alone? bid her therefore that she help me. And Jesus answered and said unto her, Martha, Martha, thou art careful and troubled about many things: But one thing is needful: and Mary hath chosen that good part, which shall not be taken away from her. (Luke 10:38–42)

Ancient and medieval philosophers from Aristotle to Aquinas associated the *vita contemplativa* (contemplative or spiritual life) with a quiet, pure stillness focused on God or the universe. They saw it as the opposite of the less-desirable *vita activa* (active or temporal life), a mode of activity, noise, and worldly passion.¹⁶ Martha (*vita activa*) as foil to Mary (*vita contemplativa*) is replete in Western religious literature and art. The figure of Martha in art is, in fact, described as “the personification of the busy housekeeper, the active type, in contrast to her contemplative sister, Mary of Bethany.”¹⁷ Augustine in 400 CE famously described three kinds of life in *The City of God*: “The first, without being slothful, is still a life of leisure passed in the consideration of truth or the quest for it; the second is busily engaged in the world’s affairs; the third is a balanced combination of the other two.”¹⁸ Augustine influenced hundreds of years of Christian thinking that cast Mary as the more contemplative and therefore superior sister. In *The Trinity*, he described the glorious end of man in which Christ “will bring believers to the direct contemplation of God, in which all good actions have their end, and there is everlasting rest. . . . A sort of picture of what this joy will be like was sketched by Mary sitting at the Lord’s feet, intent upon his words; at rest.”¹⁹

An illustrative example of the traditional portrayal of Luke 10 is Johannes Vermeer’s *Christ in the House of Martha and Mary* (1654–56).²⁰

16. For an overview of the development of the terms *vita activa* and *vita contemplativa*, see Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 2d ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 7–21.

17. Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects*, 207.

18. Augustine, *The City of God*, trans. Henry Bettenson (London: Penguin Books, 1984), 847.

19. Augustine, *The Trinity*, ed. John E. Rotelle, trans. Edmund Hill (Brooklyn: New City Press, 1991), 83. Augustine’s intriguing use of words such as “picture” and “sketched” to talk about the written story of Mary is a reminder of the dynamic relationship between word and image in religious visual culture.

20. The original painting is at the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh. Image available at <https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/5539/christ-house-martha-and-mary>.

In this painting, the three figures form a pyramidal shape. Martha stands at the top, in motion, as she sets down a basket of food. Christ sits beside the table and points, for Martha's benefit, to Mary. Closely paralleling Augustine's description, Mary sits on a low stool, at Jesus's feet, in a statue-like pose of attentive listening. Adhering to this visual tradition, every institutional portrayal (and most noninstitutional Mormon art) visually gives Mary prominence and shows her being quiet and still as she accepts the teachings of the Savior, while Martha is full of movement, often obscured or in the background.

Yet the scriptural passage on which these images are based is somewhat ambiguous, seemingly open to multiple interpretations. On the one hand, it might be read as a rebuke by Jesus of Martha's choice to focus on temporal serving rather than spiritual learning. The majority of LDS Church leaders have embraced this understanding. As just one example, in a 2007 general conference talk, Elder Dallin H. Oaks said, "It was praiseworthy for Martha to be 'careful and troubled about many things,' . . . but learning the gospel from the Master Teacher was more 'needful.'"²¹ In the text, however, Jesus does not actually judge either woman. It was Martha who, by appealing to Jesus, judged Mary's form of discipleship as less worthy than her own.²² Neither choice was necessarily or categorically unworthy. A few LDS Church leaders have also embraced this understanding. For example, former Relief Society General President Bonnie D. Parkin said in 2003, "On this occasion, it seems to me that Mary expressed her love by hearing His word, while Martha expressed hers by serving Him. . . . I don't believe the Lord was saying there are Marthas and there are Marys."²³

LDS General Authority Gregory A. Schwitzer indicated that many Mormons have unfairly judged Martha's character because they have evaluated her based on only Luke 10 and not also on John 11.²⁴ There,

21. Dallin H. Oaks, "Good, Better, Best," *Ensign* 37 (November 2007): 104.

22. Chieko N. Okazaki, *What a Friend We Have in Jesus* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2008), 115–16; Catherine Corman Parry, "'Simon, I Have Something to Say unto Thee': Judgment and Condemnation in the Parables of Jesus," May 7, 1991, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, transcript, https://speeches.byu.edu/talks/catherine-corman-parry_simon-somewhat-say-unto-thee-judgment-condemnation-parable-jesus/.

23. Bonnie D. Parkin, "Choosing Charity: That Good Part," *Ensign* 33 (November 2003): 104.

24. Gregory A. Schwitzer, "Developing Good Judgment and Not Judging Others," *Ensign* 40 (May 2010): 103–4.

Martha displays extraordinary faith as she declares her belief that Jesus had the power not only to have saved her brother Lazarus but also to bring him back from the dead:

Now Jesus loved Martha, and her sister, and Lazarus. . . . Then Martha, as soon as she heard that Jesus was coming, went and met him: but Mary sat still in the house. Then said Martha unto Jesus, Lord, if thou hadst been here, my brother had not died. But I know, that even now, whatsoever thou wilt ask of God, God will give it thee. Jesus saith unto her, Thy brother shall rise again. Martha saith unto him, I know that he shall rise again in the resurrection at the last day. Jesus said unto her, I am the resurrection, and the life: he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live: And whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die. Believest thou this? She saith unto him, Yea, Lord: I believe that thou art the Christ, the Son of God, which should come into the world. (John 11:5, 20–27)

Mary also demonstrated great faith in Christ and is not always described so passively in the scriptures. In a later moment in the Gospel of John, we find Martha serving dinner again, but this time Mary is anointing Jesus with oil: “Then took Mary a pound of ointment of spike-nard, very costly, and anointed the feet of Jesus, and wiped his feet with her hair: and the house was filled with the odour of the ointment” (John 12:3). For some LDS leaders, such as former General Relief Society First Counselor Chieko Okazaki, this act was Mary’s way of offering her own witness of Jesus’s divinity, by proclaiming him the anointed, or “Christ.”²⁵

Generally, though, the exegesis favored by most Church leaders, as well as LDS narrative art, adheres to the traditional dichotomous interpretation that sees Martha as subordinate to Mary. For example, Rane’s painting of these New Testament sisters is titled *Mary Heard His Word* (2001; fig. 2). The title itself leaves Martha out altogether and sets the viewer up for a particular interpretation.²⁶ Mary is front and center, facing the viewer, her face bathed in the soft light of a lamp. Here, again, Rane uses the iconography of a burning lamp to indicate the wisdom found in Mary, but not in Martha, who is turned away from the light. Mary sits in a passive, receptive pose, her chin propped on clasped hands, while Christ speaks and gesticulates. Mary is clearly the central

25. Okazaki, *What a Friend*, 123.

26. Though this painting was not commissioned, it was presented to the Church History Museum Acquisition Committee for first consideration. It is in the Church History Museum collection, sold in its store, and also sold in the LDS.org store.



FIGURE 2. Walter Rane, *Mary Heard His Word*, 2001, oil on panel, 30" × 52". Courtesy of Church History Museum. Following a traditional Christian motif, this painting emphasizes a passively receptive Mary and places her busy sister, Martha, in the background.

figure in this painting, since even Christ's face is more obscured than hers. Martha, meanwhile, hunches over her bowls and pitchers in the dark kitchen in the back corner with her face—mostly covered by her headscarf—looking away from Christ.

Rane has another version of the scene, titled *Christ in the Home of Mary and Martha* (c. early 1990s), which is also available in official Church forums.²⁷ In this painting, Christ looks directly out at the viewer, appearing to be in the middle of discoursing, his face and white robes lit by natural light from an unseen window. Both women look toward Christ. Mary again faces the light, her body squared with the light source and her face turned toward Christ. Mary sits perfectly still, listening quietly with a thoughtful gesture of hand to chin. Her stillness

27. It is not owned by the Church History Museum but is sold in its store and also in the LDS.org store. Image available on the online Museum Store Art Catalog, <https://history.lds.org/exhibit/museum-art-catalog-topic?lang=eng#mv132>.

is in contrast to both Christ, who gestures as he talks, and Martha, who appears to be in midstep with her arms full of household supplies. Martha, in fact, seems pulled in two directions. Her body is turned away from the window and from Christ, and she appears to be headed toward a doorway leading out of the room. However, she glances back over her shoulder to Christ. Martha is separated from Christ and Mary through the use of formal elements such as light and darkness and the implied circular shape created by the figures of Christ and Mary. It's clear that Mary is put forward as the wiser sister.

A depiction of Mary and Martha familiar to most Mormons is Del Parson's *Christ with Mary and Martha* (fig. 3), commissioned by the Church's Curriculum Graphics Department in 1986.²⁸ In this portrayal, there is more unity among the three figures, whose placement forms a pyramidal shape. The natural light entering the windows reaches each figure equally. We see each person's face, and all three appear calm. Both Mary and Martha gaze quietly at the speaking, gesturing figure of Christ, but while Mary is kneeling with clasped hands at Christ's feet, Martha is standing and mixing a bowl of food. Although both women look intently at Christ, he looks back only at Mary, so here, still, Mary is privileged.

Another version of this scene that is included in the LDS Media Library is David Lindsley's *Christ in the Home of Mary and Martha*



FIGURE 3. Del Parson, *Christ with Mary and Martha*, 1986, oil on canvas, 30" × 20". Courtesy of Church History Museum. Although all three figures receive equal visual weight in this painting, Mary's position is still privileged and her quiet pose is contrasted with Martha's activity.

28. This information was supplied by Carrie Snow, manager of collections care at the Church History Museum, in an email message to the author on January 16, 2017. The painting is owned by the Church History Museum, sold in its store, sold in the LDS.org store, and included in the LDS Media Library.



FIGURE 4. Kathleen Peterson, *Mary and Martha with Jesus*, 2013, acrylic on panel, 24" × 24". Courtesy of Church History Museum. In this painting, both Mary and Martha appear to be listening to Jesus, although Martha is separated from the group and pushed to the background by a table. Mary is in a conventional passive pose.

(1994).²⁹ The composition is remarkably similar to Vermeer's, with its pyramidal shape and the way in which Christ reaches out to stop Martha as she bustles by, pointing with his other hand to the good example of the seated, quiet Mary at his feet. Once again, Mary is ranked above Martha in a traditional Christian visual motif.

Finally, the Church History Museum owns a 2013 painting by Kathleen Peterson, titled *Mary and Martha with Jesus* (fig. 4). Speaking of her

29. Although this work appears in the LDS Media Library, it is neither in the Church History Museum collection nor sold by the Church. Image available at <https://www.lds.org/media-library/images/jesus-mary-martha-396319>.

work, Peterson explained that “you can lovingly serve and listen, so I tried to make them [Mary and Martha] both equal in the way they were showing respect.”³⁰ In her painting, both sisters appear to be listening to Jesus, although Martha’s gaze is focused on her basket of food. Peterson leaves room for an interpretation that sees both women as worthy disciples. The image, however, adheres to the customary motifs of a pyramidal composition, Jesus and Mary looking at each other in the foreground, Mary sitting passively, and Martha actively placing a tray of food on the table. Moreover, Martha is physically separated from Jesus and Mary by the large table, and we only glimpse her from the shoulders up, whereas the full length of Mary’s body is depicted and is weighted equally with the figure of Jesus. At least in terms of composition, Mary is still the sister viewers are meant to focus on in this painting.

The institutional portrayals of Mary and Martha thus use formal elements to generally support the reading of wise versus foolish.³¹ And just as other realistic LDS narrative art has influenced the way Mormons visualize and think of the scriptural stories of Abinadi and Christ, these visual portrayals shape the way many Mormons think about the Mary and Martha story. LDS art favors a stark, dichotomous interpretation of the sisters, despite the fact that a more nuanced and ambiguous explanation of their story can be found in the biblical text and has been offered by some Church leaders.

A Counterexample

Created much earlier than the institutional art discussed thus far, Minerva Teichert’s painting *Jesus at the Home of Mary and Martha* (1935; fig. 5) is not in the official canon of LDS art,³² yet it offers a uniquely Mormon reading in its celebration of both Mary and Martha, its portrayal

30. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, “Exhibit Highlights Women in the Scriptures,” September 24, 2014, Newsroom, <https://www.mormonnewsroom.org/article/exhibit-highlights-women-scriptures>.

31. The Church History Museum owns two more paintings of Jesus in the home of Mary and Martha, one by LeConte Stewart and one by William Henry Margetson. They are not in the LDS Media Library or typically used in Church publications, so they are essentially unknown to the general Church audience. Both follow the traditional pattern of showing Mary as quiet and seated, while Martha is standing and holding a serving tray or basket. Images provided to author by Carrie Snow, email message to author, January 25, 2018.

32. The painting is not included in the LDS Media Library, the Church History Museum store, or the LDS.org store.



FIGURE 5. Minerva Teichert, *Jesus at the Home of Mary and Martha*, 1935, oil on canvas, 46" × 70". Courtesy of Brigham Young University Museum of Art, Provo, Utah. This painting offers a uniquely Mormon reading of the Mary-Martha story by giving equal visual emphasis to both sisters, celebrating active learning and choice, and highlighting written scripture.

of active learning, and its engagement with the written word. In analyzing her Book of Mormon paintings, John Welch and Doris Dant explain that Teichert “was a careful reader of the Book of Mormon text” and “captured both the indicative nuances and the full import of each story.”³³ Teichert brought this same attention to the text, characters, and Mormon belief in creating her painting of the biblical Mary and Martha. However, for a Mormon audience consistently confronted with images of Mary and Martha that largely follow the pre-Mormon Christian tradition, the layers of meaning in Teichert’s work are generally either overlooked or unreadable.

Teichert used formal elements and iconography to portray both Mary and Martha as wise disciples. The left side of the image, which

33. John W. Welch and Doris R. Dant, eds., *The Book of Mormon Paintings of Minerva Teichert* (Provo, Utah: BYU Studies; Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1997), 13.

features Christ and Mary, is bathed in natural light. Christ is also dressed in bright white robes while Mary is in bright red, emphasizing their two figures. On the right side, Martha is dressed in dark brown and placed more in shadow, although she does stand next to a bright fire. The three figures are given equal visual weight through a combination of placement, size, light, and color.³⁴ Furthermore, Christ's pointing hand guides the viewer's eye to the scriptures, then on to Mary, and then finally to Martha. There are two circular groups formed by the figures: (1) Christ and Mary, whose heads and bodies incline toward each other across the scroll, creating an implied circular shape, and (2) Christ, Mary, and Martha—Martha's head and body also incline toward the scroll, and the curving lines of the figures of Christ and Martha are repeated in the curving arch of the decorative frame painted around the image.³⁵ In other words, Martha is very much a part of the scene.

In *Images of Faith*, published by the Museum of Church History and Art,³⁶ the painting is described as follows: "In this domestic scene, Teichert captures the depth of Christ's compassion and empathy for the humble and honest. Many of Minerva Teichert's religious works feature women of the scriptures. Perhaps she felt keenly drawn to this particular domestic theme because it reflected a part of her own life—that of teaching the gospel to her family while creating her paintings in her home in Cokeville, Wyoming."³⁷ This description seems to recognize that Teichert's portrayal celebrates both women as an example of balancing the temporal and spiritual.

Teichert's stylistic execution is quite different from the institutional versions, which typically feature a highly realistic style, with crisp outlines, flat planes of color, tight brushstrokes, and fairly even lighting. Teichert employs a loose and sketchy style, with rough brushstrokes, hazy background details, and undefined facial features. Her beaux-arts training at

34. Tina M. Delis, "Minerva Teichert's *Jesus at the Home of Mary and Martha*: Reimagining an Ordinary Heroine" (master's thesis, George Mason University, 2015), 21–22.

35. [Amy Wilson], "Christ with Mary and Martha," Highlands Ranch Stake Center Art, accessed April 4, 2018, <http://highlandsranchstakecenterart.org/wordpress/art/minerva-teichert/christ-with-mary-and-martha-minerva-teichert/>.

36. This was an earlier name for the Church History Museum.

37. Richard G. Oman and Robert O. Davis, eds., *Images of Faith: Art of the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1995), 77.

the Art Institute of Chicago and the Art Students League of New York is apparent in the stage-like setting and painted frame. Her impressionistic style calls attention to the fact that this is one artist's interpretation, not a realistic or accurate reflection of an event. On the other hand, institutional LDS images of Mary and Martha encourage a more literal interpretation with their heavy reliance on standard Christian portrayals in terms of formal elements, iconography, and realistic style.³⁸

Though portrayals of Mary in LDS narrative art emphasize a passive or receptive, rather than an active, model of gaining wisdom, Teichert's Mary is a glaring exception. In this painting, Mary is not passively listening but actively reading the Hebrew text, with Christ guiding her learning rather than lecturing to her. For Teichert, apparently, "contemplative" does not mean passive or idle. In Mormon vernacular, we might understand what Mary is doing here as searching and pondering. She is actively learning the truth for herself.³⁹

Similarly, Teichert may have understood the characters of Mary and Martha as symbols of the dynamic tension between faith and work in seeking spiritual wisdom. In fact, images of Christ in the home of Mary and Martha were popular during the Counter-Reformation, especially in the early seventeenth century, for just this reason. These images reflected the Catholic Church's response to the Protestant emphasis on grace through faith alone. The Catholic Church wanted to reemphasize the essential role of works alongside faith, and Mary and Martha

38. The differences between Teichert's work and other paintings of Mary and Martha may have been intentional, but Teichert's painting may not have been well known to the artists who created the versions common in LDS culture. Although Teichert's paintings were popular at the time of their creation in the 1930s, her oeuvre started gaining critical attention only in the 1980s, generating an exhibition of her Book of Mormon paintings at the BYU Museum of Art in 1997 and then culminating in a large retrospective of her work at the BYU Museum of Art in 2007. See "Minerva Teichert: That He Who Runs May Read," Brigham Young University Museum of Art, accessed April 4, 2018, <http://moa.byu.edu/past-exhibitions-archive/past-exhibitions-1997/minerva-teichert-that-he-who-runs-may-read/>; and Richard G. Oman, "Minerva Teichert: Pageants in Paint, BYU Museum of Art Exhibit, July 27, 2007 to May 26, 2008," *BYU Studies* 47, no. 2 (2008): 190–91.

39. Teichert's portrayal of active learning is unique not just in the LDS figurative imagery of women, but also of men. In the LDS Media Library, there are many depictions of people being preached to, but the only painted portrayal of active learning is Dale Kilbourn's *Joseph Smith Seeks Wisdom in the Bible*.

conceptualized that duality.⁴⁰ This tension between faith and works was still an important and much-discussed question in Teichert's twentieth-century Mormonism.⁴¹ But Teichert seems to take this a step further by depicting in both women the Mormon emphasis on agency and activity. In Luke 10:42, Jesus says that Mary "hath chosen," and Teichert captures the performative quality of Mary exercising her agency and making a choice, rather than sitting passively.⁴²

Finally, in this painting, Teichert thematizes the interaction of sacred word and sacred image. Her inclusion of scriptural text is distinctive in paintings of Mary and Martha, both within the LDS tradition and the larger Christian tradition.⁴³ The faux-Hebrew text is emphasized by its central placement, bright color, Christ's pointing hand, and the gaze of the two women. Is Teichert encouraging the viewer to "read" her painting the way Mary reads the text? Is linking her image with the biblical text a way of asserting the historical authenticity of the scene? Is Teichert suggesting that the religious word has primacy over the visual image? Teichert likely intended a combination of these meanings. As Marian Wardle has demonstrated, Teichert's religious works invoke allusions to the religious pageants, parades, and tableaux that were popular in early twentieth-century America.⁴⁴ By staging the scene within a frame, as if it were a performance of the biblical text, as well as including actual

40. Thomas L. Glen, "Velázquez's *Kitchen Scene with Christ in the House of Martha and Mary*: An Image both 'Reflected' and to Be Reflected Upon," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 136.1578–79 (July–August 2000): 23. See also June Sturrock, "Martha and Mary Re-Imagined: A. S. Byatt and Others," *Christianity and Literature* 65 (September 2016): 473–89; and Michelle P. Brown, ed., *The Lion Companion to Christian Art* (Oxford: Lion, 2008), 286–87.

41. See Bruce C. Hafen, "Grace," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 2:560–63.

42. I'm grateful to Jenny Webb for this insight. Webb, email message to author, July 19, 2017.

43. There are a few exceptions, such as Jacob Jordaens's *Christ at the House of Martha and Mary of Bethany* (c. 1623), in which Mary does have a small open book, presumably the Hebrew Bible, on her lap, but she does not look at it and the text is not legible. The Dutch artist Cornelis Kruseman painted Mary holding a scroll with Hebrew figures in *Christ in the House of Mary and Martha* (1854). In recent years, two Mormon artists, Annette Everett and Angela Johnson, each produced large bronze sculptures of Mary and Martha, each one showing Mary holding a book or scroll.

44. Marian Wardle, *Minerva Teichert: Pageants in Paint* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Museum of Art, 2007), 94.

religious writings, Teichert adds a rich textuality to her painting. The scene itself is drawn from the New Testament, but the Hebrew scroll references the Old Testament. The sisters are simultaneously reading and performing sacred text.

Furthermore, Mary's and Martha's visual focus on the written scripture rather than on Christ himself may be an allusion to the identification of Christ as *logos*, or "the Word," in the Gospel of John (John 1:1). In this way, Teichert's Mary models the way followers of Christ in modern times can learn from him and of him, although they do not see him face to face. In fact, since neither Mary nor Martha appear to interact with Christ at all in Teichert's painting, it's possible to view the scene as a timeless portrayal of Christ's followers seeking wisdom, with the unseen Spirit of the Lord guiding them. Again, this puts an emphasis on the text and on personal scripture study, a topic that is widespread in Mormon teachings.

Mary and Martha in Contemporary Mormon Art

Mormon artists today continue to engage with the story of Mary and Martha from a variety of perspectives. For the most part, though, they continue to follow the conventional interpretation, employing neither a specifically Mormon reading nor any other substantively different interpretation of the story. For example, Jorge Cocco Santangelo uses a unique "sacrocubist" style but doesn't stray from traditional iconography and composition in his 2017 *Jesus, Martha and Mary* (fig. 6). The three figures form a triangle, around which lines, shapes, and the figures' gazes lead the viewer's eye. Mary sits at Jesus's feet in a pious pose with clasped hands. Martha prepares a meal on a table filled with kitchen tools and food. Jesus looks at Martha and, at the very center of the painting, points at himself, as if chastising Martha and directing her to look at him instead of the table.

At the Church History Museum's 10th International Art Competition, in 2015, two of the featured entries depicted Mary and Martha. In Emily McPhie's *Martha and Mary* (fig. 7), the sisters are featured without Jesus, making the piece less an illustration of scriptural narrative and more a meditation on a theme. Mary is the larger of the two figures and appears closer to the viewer. She also looks directly out at the viewer, and her body is squared to the front of the picture plane. Martha's hunched body is contorted, and her gaze is sideways and unfocused. These compositional elements are consistent with traditional portrayals that privilege Mary as the sister making a more desirable choice. In fact, the exhibition

FIGURE 6. Jorge Cocco Santangelo, *Jesus, Mary and Martha*, 2017, oil on board, 12" × 16", in private collection. Courtesy of the artist. As in traditional images of this story, Mary here appears passive while Martha appears active.



FIGURE 7. Emily McPhie, *Martha and Mary*, 2015, oil on panel, 24" × 42". Courtesy of the artist. In this work, the figure of Mary is emphasized through its larger size and bold, frontal gaze.





FIGURE 8. Katherine Marie Ricks, *Mary and Martha*, 2014, oil on panel, 24" × 30", private collection. Courtesy of the artist. Each figure in this painting holds an emblem and faces away from the other, seemingly suggesting a choice between the temporal and the spiritual.

text, which was based on the artist's statement, reads, "'Martha, Martha' is Jesus's gentle reprimand in Bethany—given not because Martha is doing something wrong as she busies herself with relieving temporal thirsts but rather because the Lord desires her to choose 'that good part' (Luke 10:41–42). Mary, who is portrayed with an outstretched hand, asks the Lord to fill her with eternal truth, spiritual nourishment, peace, joy, and everlasting life. We also must choose every day, between many worthy options, the things that matter most."⁴⁵

Mary and Martha (2014, fig. 8), Katherine Marie Ricks's entry in the museum's international art competition, is also more conceptual. Ricks portrays the women back-to-back, both standing straight with heads

45. Emily McPhie, "Martha and Mary," *10th International Art Competition: Tell Me the Stories of Jesus* (Salt Lake City: Church History Museum, 2015), <https://history.lds.org/exhibit/iac-2015-tell-me-the-stories-of-jesus?lang=eng#mv57>.

held high and looking ahead. Martha holds a mixing bowl, symbolizing her concern with temporal service, and Mary holds a white dove, symbolizing her concern with spiritual things. The two figures are balanced in terms of color, light, and size. A formal analysis, then, suggests that Ricks leaves room for an interpretation that celebrates both women equally, without judging one as making a better choice than another. However, her written statement about this painting encourages a more conventional privileging of Mary. She wrote, “Though Martha was busy with many needful things, Mary’s focus was on the MOST needful things. Her relationship with Christ was paramount. As I internalized this account, I thought of Mary and Martha less as two distinct people and more as two sides of the same person—two sides of myself—the side that reacts reflexively to urgent tasks, and the side that prioritizes the most important things. When I consider where my focus is each day, this account forces me to ask, ‘Am I choosing the good part.’”⁴⁶

Conclusions

This essay’s consideration of female groups in LDS biblical narrative art raises questions about the function and influence of art in Mormonism, particularly the didactic nature of such religious art and its reception by a Mormon audience. Institutional LDS images of Mary and Martha adhere to only one interpretation of the story and largely follow the earlier Christian tradition of seeing Mary as passive and heroic and Martha as active and foolish. The typical Mormon viewer, upon seeing these institutional, highly realistic images, may take them at face value and accept their interpretation as historical and doctrinal fact. That even independent contemporary Mormon artists largely continue to use similar iconography and formal elements in scenes of Mary and Martha is a testament to this influence. Teichert’s painting of the sisters, on the other hand, leaves the meaning open for interpretation and incorporates distinctive and particularly Mormon ideas about agency, personal study, the balance between faith and works, and the primacy of scripture.

Although most Mormons today study and teach from readily available scriptures and other texts produced by the Church, devotional art and, in a larger sense, all material culture in Mormonism still has the power to fundamentally alter and shape the way Mormons think about

46. Katherine Ricks, “Mary and Martha,” *Katherine Ricks: An Artist’s Sketchbook* (blog), April 25, 2014, <http://katherinericks.blogspot.com/2014/04/mary-and-martha.html>.

scripture stories and doctrinal beliefs. The portrayal of Martha as less wise than her sister Mary in LDS art is a case in point.

As Graham Howes, emeritus fellow of studies in social and political sciences at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, illustrates in *The Art of the Sacred*, factors such as the rise of Protestant iconoclasm, the mid-nineteenth-century movement toward abstraction, and postmodernism have all contributed to “a culture in which so many artists and their audiences are not interested in explicitly religious themes and there is no comprehensive religious tradition that the majority of people now inhabit and sustain.”⁴⁷ Mormons today, however, are distinctive in their unifying theology, unique visual symbolism, and desire for overtly religious art. Even though such art is not directly incorporated into Mormon sacraments, the same power that religious art has to elevate the senses and express the intangible also enables it to shape belief. As such, the methods and messages of LDS art merit closer study. Further analysis of Mormon visual culture can help contextualize LDS art and the ways it contributes to Mormon belief and practice and encourage the Mormon viewing audience to have a richer and more dynamic experience with religious art.

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47. Graham Howes, *The Art of the Sacred: An Introduction to the Aesthetics of Art and Belief* (New York: I. B. Tauris, 2007), 165.



FIGURE 1. The earliest surviving world map (c. 1502), by an anonymous Portuguese cartographer, that shows the explorations of Columbus to Central America and of Portuguese explorers Corte-Real to Newfoundland, Canada; Vasco da Gama to India; and Pedro Álvares Cabral to Brazil. The Tordesilha line is depicted, and the Portuguese flag is flown over Brazil; the

Atlantic archipelagos of Madeira and the Azores; North, West, and East Africa; Madagascar; the Middle East; India; Sri Lanka; Malaysia; Indonesia; and the Spice Islands, together with the names assigned to coastal fortifications. Courtesy Wikimedia Commons.

The Rise and Fall of Portugal's Maritime Empire, a Cautionary Tale?

Forgotten Pioneers of the Age of Expansion, Discoverers of Two-Thirds of the World for Europe, Ambassadors of the West, Interpreters of the East, Who for a Century and a Half Governed the Lands and Controlled the Riches Flowing into Europe from Africa, Persia, Arabia, India, Sri Lanka, China, Japan, Oceania, and Half of South America, Then Lost Much of Their Empire to Britain, France, and Holland; with Some Comments about Columbus and the Spread of Christianity

Frederick G. Williams

In the United States, we automatically think of England as the great maritime nation on whose overseas possessions the sun never set. We also identify Spain as a great maritime power, whose American colonies, especially Mexico and Peru, produced immense wealth for the kingdom. However, we forget, or more likely never knew (because we were never taught), that it was Portugal that invented the ship and developed the maritime technology that allowed for the first open-sea travel during the European Age of Exploration,¹ begun by Portugal in 1415 (fig. 1). It was Portugal that discovered more than two-thirds of the world for Europe. It was Portugal that established fortresses and warehouses, communities and cities, on every continent. It was Portugal, that in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and portions of the seventeenth centuries, controlled the European commerce of Africa, India, Arabia, China, Japan, Indonesia, Oceania, and half of South America.² And it was Portugal that first took the gospel of Jesus Christ to

1. Also known as the Age of Discovery.

2. Charles R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415–1825* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969), outlines Portugal's conquests during the Age of Exploration and her subsequent losses to Spain, Holland, France, and Great Britain, beginning in the seventeenth century.

Frederick G. Williams

For twenty-seven years, I was a professor of literature in Spanish and Portuguese at the University of California. In 1997, I joined the faculty of Brigham Young University, from which I retired at the beginning of 2018. I have lived in four Spanish-speaking countries (Argentina, Venezuela, Uruguay, Peru) and three Portuguese-speaking countries (Brazil, Portugal, and Mozambique) and have native proficiency in three languages. My father took his family with him



wherever he was called to live. He served as mission president for four years in Argentina and for four years in Uruguay-Paraguay. He worked for the State Department in Washington, D.C.; in Venezuela; and in Uruguay; and as manager of TAPSA Airline in Peru.

In this essay, I inform readers of the pioneering and unique role that Portugal played during the European Age of Discovery in (1) maritime technology, (2) map making, (3) commercial trade and political treaties, and (4) the introduction of Christianity on five continents. These accomplishments are rarely researched, however, for much of Catholic Portugal's control and influence in many lands was forcefully taken from them by England, Holland, and France in the seventeenth century.

Although not stated in the essay, there is an implied tie to the restored Church. Nephi's vision recorded in the Book of Mormon makes a clear reference to Columbus, who was a faithful Catholic, trained and prepared by the Portuguese and led by the Holy Ghost to discover the promised land inhabited by the children of Lehi, to whom the gospel of Jesus Christ would be reintroduced. It was the Portuguese and Spanish brothers (especially those of the Jesuit order) who introduced Christianity, at great personal peril, to Africa, America, India, Oceania, and Asia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

I also make clear that although Portugal was greatly blessed by the Lord, the riches she amassed led to wickedness and proved to be her downfall, a pattern that is repeated over and over in the Book of Mormon and throughout the history of all civilizations.

a majority of the peoples of the world through faithful, fearless, and dedicated brothers of the Roman Catholic Church.

How is it that we Americans are largely ignorant of Portugal's history-changing role on the world stage and in the spread of Christianity in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries and think only of England's power and world-changing role in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries?

Columbus

We also forget, or never knew, that Christopher Columbus (born in Genoa, c. 1451) lived in Portugal for ten years, starting in 1476, and then moved to Spain to pursue his dream of reaching India to share Christianity. His preparation came while living in Portugal, where he joined with his younger brother, Bartolomeu, who worked as a cartographer in Lisbon. In 1479, with the permission of Afonso V, King of Portugal, Columbus married Filipa Moniz Perestrelo, a Portuguese lady, the daughter of Isabel Moniz (whose uncle was archbishop of Lisbon) and of Bartolomeu Perestrelo, a Portuguese knight, who was governor of the island of Porto Santo, near Madeira, and a sea captain who had worked for Henry the Navigator, brother to King Edward of Portugal. Perestrelo had amassed a large collection of maps, charts, reports, and sea instruments, said to be the second largest collection after Henry the Navigator's. When Perestrelo died, the library went to his widow, Isabel Moniz Perestrelo, who later opened the treasure trove to her daughter and son-in-law. In 1480, Filipa bore a son she and her husband named Diogo. The marriage to Filipa gave Columbus Portuguese citizenship and access to the commercial shipping routes to Africa. He worked for the Portuguese crown and participated in several sailing expeditions down the western coast of Africa, with the goal of eventually rounding the continent at the Cape of Storms and then traveling east to India. When Portugal's bid to reach India by following that route failed in 1485, Columbus determined he could reach India by traveling west, an idea he is said to have obtained from the numerous charts, maps, and reports contained in his father-in-law's library.

How is it we are ignorant of Columbus's Portuguese training in preparation for his singular role in "discovering" America?

The Portuguese Seaborne Empire

When Portugal's King John I (the founder of the Avis Dynasty and father of Henry the Navigator) captured Ceuta, a Moorish stronghold on the

northern coast of Africa in 1415, he set in motion a policy of expansion for the tiny nation on the extreme western edge of Europe that would change the course of world history. The pre-Portuguese world was vastly different from the post-Portuguese world in which we live. With the taking of Ceuta, Portugal became the first European power to conquer territory outside of Europe since the days of ancient Rome. Portugal's exploits established the model that would be used by Spain, Holland, England, and France in later centuries.

Since Marco Polo's return from China in the twelfth century, Venice had enjoyed a virtual European monopoly on treasured goods from the East, such as silks and porcelain, and on the all-important spices, which not only enhanced the taste of food but also preserved it. Importation and transportation fees from the East, which were already high to begin with, were increased substantially by the fees affixed to the cost of their transportation and distribution throughout Europe. The Portuguese court believed that if Portugal could find a sea route to the East, they would effectively cut out all the Muslim and European middlemen and would then control the trade, and all the riches would accrue to them. In addition, Christians would be wresting control of the trade routes from Islam, and in that confrontation Portugal might well win converts to Christ.

There also existed the possibility of finding the legendary Prester John and his Christian kingdom (today's Ethiopia), which would greatly enhance the probability of success, for with his army's help, they could place Islam in a pincer hold. The fact that the Portuguese crown was willing to take a leading role in this undertaking meant that all the major institutions and resources of the country—including the nobles, the church, the merchant class, and the Portuguese Military Order of Christ (previously known as the Knights Templar), who had established their headquarters in Tomar, Portugal, and whose leader was Henry the Navigator—could be effectively mobilized for the enterprise.

Portuguese Maritime Technology

All that stood in the way to glory, riches, and converts to Christ was the development of a ship that could travel into the open sea—and, more importantly, back again—against the winds and currents. When Ceuta was captured in 1415, the ships of that day were Roman-type galleys, which meant that the fleet rowed across the Mediterranean Sea. After the rigors of rowing over and back across the open sea, the Portuguese were highly motivated to develop a ship that did not depend on human strength. It was an enterprise that parallels the U.S. space program in



FIGURE 2. Nau (carrack) Santa Catarina do Monte Sinai and other Portuguese ships, by artist Joachim Pantinir, circa 1540. A slightly larger Portuguese nau, Madre de Dios (Mae de Deus), was captured on her return from the East by a British fleet fitted out by Sir Walter Raleigh in 1592 near the Azores and taken to Dartmouth, England. It was three times the size of the largest British vessel. While at Dartmouth, the ship was subject to theft on an industrial scale before Walter Raleigh could establish order. The cargo, estimated at half a million pounds (nearly half the size of England's treasury), had an inventory taken, which included mahogany, silk, porcelain from China, and chests filled with jewels, pearls, and gold and silver coins. Queen Elizabeth took the lion's share of the treasure. Courtesy Wikimedia Commons.

many ways. In both cases, sending a ship out into an uncharted territory, although difficult, was not as difficult as bringing it back. Once that major technical problem was solved, both programs faced the dilemma of how to navigate in their new environments, since there would no longer be familiar landmarks. In both cases, the ships had to have the capacity to carry all necessary supplies, since one could not count on the possibility of replenishing stores in their respective unknown oceans. Another intriguing parallel between these two periods of exploration is found in the popular imaginations portraying what the creatures living in these new worlds might look like. The navigational school set up by Henry the Navigator at Sagres in the south of Portugal eventually produced the *caravel* (1441) and then the much larger ship, the *nau* (figs. 2, 3).

The most significant pre-Portuguese inventions, which date from approximately the middle of the thirteenth century, include the central rudder affixed to the sternpost of the keel, instead of the oar-like lateral rudder; this innovation is thought to have come from the



FIGURE 3. A Portuguese carrack in Nagasaki, Japan. Namban art attributed to Kanô Naizen, 1570–1616. The Portuguese merchants introduced the Arabian horse, fire-arms, and maritime technology. The Catholic priests introduced Christianity, western art, and western cuisine. Courtesy Wikimedia Commons.

Baltic Sea area and was known in the Iberian Peninsula as early as 1282. From China, via the Moors, came the compass and the portolan chart (derived from direct observation by means of the compass), which led to the possibility of plotting a course over a considerable expanse of sea, in contrast to coastal navigation; Italian seamen were using the charts by the early fourteenth century, with a compass rose and directional lines, or rhumbs. From Greece or Syria came the lateen, or triangular sail, which provided the ability to travel against the wind.

The numerous Portuguese contributions to maritime technology can be grouped into three major categories: the ships (caravel and nau); the new navigational techniques (astronavigation) that eliminated the need for coastal sailing with their landmarks; and the amassing of oceanographic information (winds, currents, meridians, and so forth), together with its preservation (cartography, maps, charts, chapbooks, and the like).

The first ship, the caravel, was a combination of the Mediterranean carrack and the Arabic dhow, with several refinements, inventions, and new combinations. It boasted a wide hull that displaced little water and had three masts hoisting triangular sails (lateens), which allowed greater mobility for tacking or zigzagging against the wind; the sail could form an angle of more than fifty degrees with the direction of the wind. In its smallest, earliest version, the caravel had the capacity to carry fifty tons and had a twenty-man crew. The later versions were so much larger that they were referred to as floating cities, with eight hundred to a thousand men on board. The legacy of fear engendered by a Portuguese warship, with its colors flying and ready to do battle, is seen in the name given to one of the most colorful and deadly of jellyfishes—the Portuguese man-of-war.

With each voyage taken, Portuguese maritime technology increased and was refined. With the full support of the royal House of Avis, which under King Manuel became the richest and most powerful kingdom in all Christendom,³ and with the blessing of the Roman Catholic Church, Portugal discovered two-thirds of the world for Europe and for nearly two centuries controlled the commerce (and also held sovereignty) over an immense area of the world. As noted above, this included Africa, Arabia, India, China, Indonesia, Japan, Oceania, and half of South America (fig. 4). The great Jesuit missionary and preacher Father António Vieira, SJ (Society of Jesus), observed, “Truly . . . God gave [my] countrymen a small land for their birthplace, but all the world to die in.”⁴

Never had there been such an empire. Lisbon became the new Venice and drew would-be profiteers from all over the earth. Portugal also became the ambassador of the West to the new lands and the interpreters of the new peoples for Europe. People and goods, as well as flora and fauna, were exchanged, and knowledge increased. The long-standing practice of enslaving people also became a global business. Transporting African slaves around the world as laborers was the underpinning of rapid economic growth that brought great riches but also tremendous grief and suffering to millions.

3. Rebecca D. Catz, “Portugal under Manuel I and John III,” introduction to *The Travels of Mendes Pinto*, ed. and trans. Rebecca D. Catz (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), xxi.

4. Edgar Prestage, foreword to *Portuguese Voyages, 1498–1663*, ed. Charles David Ley (London: J. M. Dent and Sons; New York: E. P. Dutton, 1947), v.



FIGURE 4. Portuguese merchants in Japan from a panel of the Kanô school, 1593–1600. The Portuguese are dressed in loose, baggy trousers, the type known as “bom-bachas” among the gauchos of South America. The Portuguese had been dressed like the Roman soldiers of old when they fought in India but were tormented by the mosquitos. The request for protective clothing produced the loose trousers used throughout their discoveries, becoming a mainstay in southern Brazil. Courtesy Wikimedia Commons.

Discoveries and the Treaty of Alcáçovas (1479)

The Portuguese developed and expanded their maritime technology and voyages of discovery over a period of nearly eighty years (1415–1492), virtually without competition from any other country. The technology they developed and the information they amassed were closely guarded secrets, but soon leaks began to spread to other nations about the incredible value of exploration. In the beginning, Spain was still involved in the type of warfare that merely exchanged real estate between European powers, so in the all-important Treaty of Alcáçovas, ratified by the Pope in 1479, Portugal agreed to give up its claim to the Canary Islands in exchange for any lands it might conquer outside of Europe. A line was

drawn running east and west through the Canaries. Everything south of that line and south of the Canary Islands would belong to Portugal if the country could conquer it. Anything north would belong to Spain on the same terms.⁵ Spain continued to fight for territory inside Europe, especially against the Muslim kingdoms that had been established in the Iberian Peninsula beginning in 711 AD. Portugal went on to discover and control the commerce of more than two-thirds of the world for Europe and to introduce the gospel of Jesus Christ to them.⁶

We must not forget that beginning with Martin Luther's publication of his "95 Theses" in 1517, the Protestant Reformation grew and soon divided Catholic Europe through the efforts of reformers like Martin Luther in Germany, John Calvin in France, and Henry VIII in England, who challenged papal authority and questioned the Catholic Church's ability to define Christian practice. The contest between Roman Catholicism and the Protestant Reformation was in the background of every religious, intellectual, political, and military decision made during the European Age of Discovery.

The Portuguese Sea Route to India around Africa

Having systematically sailed south along the west coast of Africa, Portugal was finally prepared to round the continent and sail northeast to India. The historic voyage was set for 1485. A party under Pero de Covilhã was dispatched to India by land. Bartolomeu Dias led the fleet that was to arrive by sea. Covilhã made it; Dias did not. His crew mutinied after rounding the Cape of Storms (later changed by the Portuguese to the Cape of Good Hope), thinking that worse conditions lay ahead, and he was forced to return to Lisbon.

5. Oliveira Marques writes, "When Columbus himself, returning from America after his first voyage (March 1493), called at Lisbon and paid a visit to the king, John reminded him that the newly discovered lands belonged to the Portuguese Crown, for they lay south of the Canary Islands (treaty of 1479–80). John II immediately dispatched an envoy to the Catholic kings, prepared a fleet under Francisco de Almeida to take possession of the new islands, and acted in bellicose fashion." A. H. de Oliveira Marques, *History of Portugal*, 2d ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 222.

6. Baily W. Diffie and George D. Winius include detailed maps with dates and names of the Portuguese explorers who made discoveries throughout the world in the sixteenth century, with special attention to Africa, India, and the Far East, in *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire, 1415–1580* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977), following page 192.

It was at this point that Columbus proposed to the king of Portugal that India could be reached easier and faster by sailing west. Portugal turned his proposal down (knowing that his calculations of the distance to India were significantly inaccurate), as did Spain and other European monarchies such as France and England. Nevertheless, Spain eventually became the second nation to fully enter into the Age of Discovery and take advantage of Portugal's vast store of knowledge, equipment, and experience. Spain did it by contracting Columbus to undertake the proposed voyage, a last-ditch effort to conceivably beat the Portuguese to India. Spain had just conquered Granada, the last remaining Moorish kingdom in the Iberian Peninsula. The year was 1492.

The Treaty of Tordesilhas (1494)

When Columbus returned from his first voyage to America with the claim that he had reached India, the Portuguese were crestfallen. They soon recovered from their disappointment, however, by pointing out to Spain that under the terms of the Treaty of Alcáçovas (1479) the lands belonged to Portugal since they were south of the line running east and west through the Canary Islands. To avoid war between the contending parties, the Pope ratified another agreement, the Treaty of Tordesilhas (1494), which established a new line of demarcation that clarified the previous treaty. Yes, all lands south of the Canaries would belong to Portugal, as long as they were east of a new line running north and south established by the Pope in the Treaty of Tordesilhas.

We sometimes forget that the goal was to reach India, which Portugal did in 1498 with Vasco da Gama's fleet. Spain claimed to have reached India with the first voyage of Columbus in 1492 (he died thinking he had), but in reality he had reached one of the islands in the Bahamas; he did not reach the continent of America until the third of his four voyages. When Vasco da Gama returned with proof that Portugal had reached the real India, Spain was troubled. The anxiousness of the Spanish crown to find something of value in their newfound lands, together with the hope of gaining converts to Christianity, was clearly motivated by the overriding desire to save face. For over twenty years, Spain had been eating crow in the Caribbean, while Portugal was amassing riches in India. But when Cortés found Aztec treasure in Mexico (1519) and Pizarro found Inca gold in Peru (1533), Spain could at last relax. It forgot about the competition with Portugal to reach India and its riches and made America the focus of its empire.

Besides the Portuguese-trained Columbus, Spain employed other Portuguese navigators, such as Fernão de Magalhães, or, in English, Magellan, whose fleet circumnavigated the world and brought the Philippines under Spanish control; João Cabrilho, who discovered California for Spain; João Dias de Solis, who discovered the River Plate between Uruguay and Argentina; and many more.

The Portuguese Overseas Empire

One difference between the explorations of the two Iberian powers was that Portugal interacted with ancient and highly civilized cultures and religions, such as Arabian Islam, Indian Hinduism, Chinese Buddhism, and Japanese Shintoism, whereas Spain did not. Another difference between the two powers was Portugal's policy of intermarriage, established by Afonso de Albuquerque, the governor of India. Any unmarried Portuguese in the service of the king was urged, often with a financial stipend, to marry a local girl and settle down, never to return to Portugal. Those unions increased and hastened understanding between the two cultures, and the offspring, who were able to speak both languages and act as interpreters, were always loyal to Portugal. It is popularly believed that the Portuguese invented three new races: *Mulatos* in Africa (African with European); *Eurasians* in the Orient (Asian with European); and *Mestiços* in Brazil (indigenous Brazilian with European). It is no wonder that the Portuguese communities throughout the world to this day are ethnically African, Indian, Chinese, and so forth, but their language, dress, religion, and culture is Portuguese.

Another result of the Portuguese voyages of discovery and conquest was that disparate branches of the human family were brought together for the first time. As a consequence of this interaction, and the primacy of Portuguese as the *lingua franca* in the colonized lands, there are many words found in the English language that came from or through Portuguese, such as *albacore*, *albatross*, *albino*, *cashew*, *caste*, *cobra*, *cockatiel*, *corral* (*kraal* in South Africa), *corn pone*, *cougar*, *cuspidor*, *dodo*, *emu*, *fetish*, *flamingo*, *jaguar*, *junk*, *launch*, *macaw*, *mandarin*, *marmalade*, *molasses*, *monsoon*, *pagoda*, *veranda*, *yam*, and *zebra*.

Securing the Empire

According to the renowned British historian Charles R. Boxer, the Portuguese empire was a "commercial and maritime empire cast in a military

and ecclesiastical mould.”⁷ Individuals served either the crown or the church. Portugal did not always attempt to conquer existing nations or peoples but strove only to maintain a commercial monopoly. To this end it first established naval supremacy in the Indian Ocean with three key strongholds: Goa (India), Hormuz (Iran), and Malacca (Malaysia). Once the Indian Ocean was secure from Muslim traders (it was virtually a Portuguese sea for over a century), Portugal established fortresses all around its perimeters from Africa to Asia, most of them still standing today. Serving as commercial ports, some fortresses were maintained with a Portuguese garrison; others were there by treaty or alliance with the existing chieftains or monarchs. In either case, Portuguese ships, with their superior maneuverability and cannons, policed the entire area. Wherever possible, the Portuguese preferred to establish themselves on the coastal islands. Some ports became Europeanized cities such as Ponta Delgada (São Miguel) and Angra do Heroísmo (Terceira), both in the Azores, a mid-Atlantic archipelago. Similarly, Europeanized cities were established in the African archipelagos of Cape Verde, São Tomé and Príncipe, as well as Porto Novo in Benin; Lagos in Nigeria; Luanda in Angola; Lourenço Marques in Mozambique; Calicut, Chaul, Goa, Mumbai, Daman, and Diu in India; Macao in China; Dili on the island of Timor in the Indonesia chain;



FIGURE 5. Stone “padrão” at Nazaré, Portugal, commemorating Vasco da Gama’s voyage to India. The kings of Portugal had their explorers place these markers everywhere they established themselves. Admiral Gama placed them in today’s South Africa, Mozambique, and India. One padrão was found one hundred miles up the Congo River, placed there by Diogo Cão. Another was found in Jakarta, Indonesia, placed there by Henrique Leme. Courtesy Wikimedia Commons.

preferred to establish themselves on the coastal islands. Some ports became Europeanized cities such as Ponta Delgada (São Miguel) and Angra do Heroísmo (Terceira), both in the Azores, a mid-Atlantic archipelago. Similarly, Europeanized cities were established in the African archipelagos of Cape Verde, São Tomé and Príncipe, as well as Porto Novo in Benin; Lagos in Nigeria; Luanda in Angola; Lourenço Marques in Mozambique; Calicut, Chaul, Goa, Mumbai, Daman, and Diu in India; Macao in China; Dili on the island of Timor in the Indonesia chain;

7. Charles R. Boxer, *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion, 1415–1825: A Succinct Survey* (Berkeley: University of California Press; Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1969), 18. See also Boxer, *Portuguese Seaborne Empire*.

Nagasaki in Japan; and Recife, Salvador, and São Paulo in Brazil.

Manueline Art: Preserving a Record of the Discoveries in Stone

Named in honor of King Manuel (1469–1521), Manueline art is an ornamental or decorative art applied to Gothic forms of architecture. Hence, it is basically a late Gothic style but incorporates a variety of substyles derived from numerous parts of the world, reflecting motifs from Portugal's overseas expansion. Chief among these are the Military Order of Christ blazon and maritime motifs such as rope, cork, knots, shells, seaweed, and naturalistic and exotic flora and fauna suggesting or representing that found in the newly discovered lands (fig. 6). Manueline art also incorporated the plateresque or silversmith style from Spain and Moorish



FIGURE 6. Manueline style window at Christ Convent in Tomar. Here the Knights Templar established their headquarters and changed their name to Military Order of Christ. This enormous window has all of the sea-going decorations of the Manueline style, including cork, coral, seaweed, and other motifs found in the newly discovered lands. Courtesy Joaquim Alves Gaspar, Wikimedia Commons.

revivals. Chief among the Manueline monuments are the cathedral and royal monastery of Jerónimos (fig. 7) and the tower of Belém in Lisbon; the monastery of Batalha, midway between Lisbon and Coimbra; the Church of São Julião at Setubal, and the Church of the Military Order of Christ at Tomar.⁸

Goa, India

By far the largest and most prosperous commercial and religious center anywhere in the Portuguese empire was Goa, on the coast of

8. Robert C. Smith, *The Art of Portugal, 1500–1800* (New York: Meredith Press, 1968), 22–56.



FIGURE 7. Manueline style Jerónimos monastery. Construction was begun by King Manuel on the site where Vasco da Gama departed Lisbon for India in 1497. This immense structure was spared destruction in the 1755 earthquake, because it was several miles outside of the city center.

Several kings and queens, including Manuel I, poet Luís de Camões, and explorer Vasco da Gama have their tombs here. Courtesy Joaquim Alves Gaspar, Wikimedia Commons.

central India. Blessed with a mild climate, lush vegetation, and expansive beaches, Goa proved to be a soothing balm for the weary Portuguese traveler after a long sea voyage. It was a balm, that is, until the monsoon season, with its constant heavy rains and flooding.

Goa became the center of Portuguese commerce overseas and attracted the most powerful merchants and commercial houses of the empire. Those who came built mansions for their families and constructed social halls for their entertainment. More than a few of the higher-class citizens also indulged themselves in various other pleasures to excess, giving Goa its legendary reputation for debauchery and low morals. In its heyday, it was said to be larger than Lisbon or London and was filled with treasures brought from all over Asia. These riches included warehouses filled with cinnamon, pepper, and a variety of spices brought from the Moluccas and other Spice Islands awaiting shipment to Lisbon. From India itself were mahogany, sandalwood, inlaid furniture, ginger, gold, pearls, and rubies awaiting shipment. From China came porcelain, wood-lacquered objects, silk, coral



FIGURE 8. Indo-Portuguese furniture inside Dr. José Rangel's baronial house in Goa. Dr. Rangel, a poet, journalist, and medical doctor, is seated on the right in a highly carved and polished Indo-Portuguese style chair next to the author of this essay. Every piece of furniture in his home, including the china closet filled with Chinese porcelain, was made in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century and belonged to his grandfather. Courtesy Frederick G. Williams.

jewelry, and tea (the word for tea in Portuguese is its Chinese name, *chá*). It is interesting to note that it was the Portuguese who introduced the custom of tea drinking in England, spurred by the example of Catherine of Braganza, Queen of England, Scotland, and Ireland, 1662–1705.

Indo-Portuguese Design. As Portuguese artists incorporated the baroque style into their churches in India, Indian artists introduced their own tradition of creating curves, concaves, grooves, and arabesques; together these artists originated the much sought-after Indo-Portuguese design. These two art forms easily blended together to create a new form of wood carving, which was highly prized (fig. 8). Soon chests, cabinets (which became known as china closets, used to display porcelain), pulpits, and assorted items of furniture filled the houses and adorned the churches both in India and in Portugal.

Government and Commercial Center. Goa was also the seat of power for the Portuguese government in the East. Here the viceroy and other high government officials lived. Here too was the most extensive repository of documents: reports on the peoples and their customs



FIGURE 9. Interior of Sé Cathedral with gilded altar. Goa became the headquarters for many Catholic orders. The rest of the city, with its palaces and mansions, fell into decay when the capital moved to Panjim due to repeated cholera epidemics, but some of the cathedrals and churches remain to this day. Courtesy Klaus Nahr, Wikimedia Commons.



FIGURE 10. Old Goa. Exterior of Basilica of Bom Jesus, the final resting place of St. Francis Xavier, “Apostle to India” and cofounder of the Jesuit Order. Courtesy Jyothish Kumar, Wikimedia Commons.

and accounts of the discoveries, military campaigns, sea battles, and shipwrecks. For the Portuguese commercial companies, as well as the administrative government representatives, Goa’s riches, natural beauty, and strategic location earned it the name “Pearl of the Orient.”

Religious Center. Goa also became known as “the Rome of the East” because soon the various religious orders, such as the Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians, established their Asian headquarters in Goa and from there began their proselytizing missions throughout Asia. The orders constructed schools, seminaries, orphanages, hospitals, convents, monasteries, churches, cathedrals, and basilicas (fig. 9) to train new priests and nuns to serve the needs of the populace, from the noble and great ones to the converted indigenous peoples and their families. One of the most beloved of all the early priests was Saint Francis Xavier, who dedicated his life to his new Christian charges. His tomb is in the Jesuit basilica in Goa (fig. 10), and Catholics from around India and the world regularly come to pay their respects.⁹

9. José Pereira, “Shrines and Mansions of Goa, Panorama of Indian Baroque,” in *Golden Goa* (Bombay: Marg Publication, 1980), 295.

Representative Authors:

Preserving a Record of the Cultural Encounters in Writing

Portugal produced a generation of writers that matched the greatness of the country's political, military, and maritime achievements. These writers include scientists such as Garcia Abraham da Orta (c. 1501–1568), who wrote *Colóquios dos simples e drogas e cousas medicinais da Índia* (*Colloquies on the Simple & Drugs of India*), and religious writers such as Samuel Usque (c. 1500–c. 1555), who wrote *Consolação às tribulações de Israel* (*Consolation for the Tribulations of Israel*), and Frei Tomé de Jesus (1529–1582), who wrote *Trabalhos de Jesus* (*The Sufferings of Jesus*).

There were numerous gifted historians to record the events, chief among them Fernão Lopes de Castanheda (1550–1559), who published in ten volumes his *História do descobrimento e conquista da Índia pelos Portugueses* (*The discovery and conquest of India by the Portuguese*); João de Barros (1496–1570), who wrote the first five volumes of *A conquista da Ásia* (*The conquest of Asia*); Diogo do Couto (1542–1616), who added nine volumes to Barros's history of the conquest of Asia; and Damião de Góis (1502–1574), who wrote *Crônica do Felicíssimo Rei Dom Manuel* (*Chronical of the Most Fortunate King Dom Manuel*).

Among the literary greats were poets Garcia de Resende (1470–1536), who wrote *Miscelânea* (*Miscellany*), a poetic rendering of the artistic and literary achievements of the European Renaissance; Sá de Miranda (1481–1558), who introduced Portuguese writers to the new Italian, or Renaissance, verse styles (especially the sonnet), which he brought back with him after living in Italy; and the epic poet and master sonneteer Luís Vaz de Camões (c. 1525–1580), whose epic poem *Os Lusíadas* (*The Lusiads*) gives an account of Portugal's historical achievements using Vasco da Gama's sea route to India as a framing story.

Playwrights included silversmith and prolific court dramatist Gil Vicente (c. 1465–c. 1537), who wrote the comic play *Auto da barca do inferno* (*The Ship of Hell*). King Manuel would often requisition plays from Vicente to entertain visiting dignitaries. These emissaries were also entertained by orations offered by black Christian nobles from Angola¹⁰

10. The Christian King of the Congo (with headquarters in today's Angola), Afonso I, sent his sons and other nobles to Lisbon for their education and indoctrination. One son became the first black bishop of Africa and was invited to the Council of Trent. By 1516, there were over one thousand students in the royal school, leading to a fully literate and Christianized noble class. Frederick G. Williams, ed. and trans., *Poets of Angola: A Bilingual Selection: Poetas*

(an important Portuguese ally) and by a menagerie of parading African animals (including elephants) and were regularly treated to highly prized little bags of sugar crystals. Another famous playwright was António Ferreira (1528–1569), who wrote the tragedy *Castro*, one of the most intriguing love stories of all time. It involves the lovely Galician Inés de Castro (1325–1355), whose courageous plea before Portuguese King Afonso IV (1291–1357) and her subsequent murder, together with a bizarre Gothic epilogue, have inspired poets, playwrights, and novelists from many lands.

Portugal's novelists were represented by three different authors, each with a popular and distinctive genre: the chivalric by Francisco de Moraes (c. 1500–1572), who wrote *Palmerim da Inglaterra* (*Palmerin of England*); the sentimental by Bernardim Ribeiro (1482–1552), who wrote *Menina e moça* (*Maiden and Modest*), and the pastoral by Jorge de Montemor (c. 1520–1561), who wrote *Diana*.

The major travel book of the period was written by Fernão Mendes Pinto (c. 1509–1583), who wrote the immensely popular *Peregrinação* (*The Travels of Fernão Mendes Pinto*), which was translated into a dozen languages and became a major bestseller in Europe. He also detailed the successful Christianizing efforts of the Jesuit order of priests, whom King John of Portugal had requested to spread the faith in his new Indian possessions. It is interesting to note that the first English translation of the *Peregrinação* (1663) deleted all of the Jesuit references. Especially prominent are the activities of Saint Francis Xavier (1505–1552), known as the “Apostle of the Indies,” who with Ignatius of Loyola had founded the order. Pinto, who in 1542 was the first European to arrive in Japan, helped finance the Jesuit mission there.

A new literary genre, shipwreck literature, was “invented” by Portugal and is represented in the collection titled *História trágico-marítima* (*Tragic History of the Sea*). The round-trip from Lisbon to Goa, called the *Carreira da Índia* (literally the “race to India”), could take up to two years. Portugal lost many, many ships laden with treasure from the Far East and India on their return trip to Lisbon, especially during the monsoon season, in the area of southern Africa where the Atlantic and Indian Oceans collide.

It has often been observed that the three major works of literary art to come out of the Portuguese Age of Expansion focus on different

de Angola, Uma selecção bilingue (Provo, Utah: BYU Studies; Lisbon: Instituto Camões; Luanda: União de Escritores Angolanos and Universidade Agostinho Neto, 2014), 25.

aspects of the same subject: Camões's epic speaks of triumph and glorification; Pinto's travel book satirizes the enterprise; and shipwreck literature speaks of the dark side of the adventure and what it cost in human misery.

The Overthrow of Much of Portugal's Maritime Empire by England, Holland, and France

The demise of the House of Avis came abruptly at the hands of the Muslims with the overwhelming military defeat suffered by young King Sebastian (1554–1578) and his forces at Alcácer Quibir (Morocco) in 1578; two years later, Sebastian's great uncle, King Cardinal Henrique, died. Having no issue, the old man left the throne vacant at his death. It was then that Philip II of Spain claimed the throne of Portugal on the basis of his Portuguese heritage: his mother was Cardinal Henrique's sister, his grandfather was King Manuel, and his wife was the daughter of John III. In addition to his royal blood ties, Philip promised the Cortes (Portuguese parliament) that he would pay the war debt and ransom the prisoners, that no Spaniard would govern in Portuguese territories, and that no Portuguese would fight in any purely Spanish conflicts. His offer was accepted, and thus began the sixty-year period of the union of the two crowns, the so-called Babylonian Captivity of Portugal.

For the most part, Philip lived up to all his promises, as did his son. It was only when his grandson Philip IV began to reign (1640) that the Portuguese nobles thought it best to restore their own monarchy. However, neither Spain nor its allies would recognize Portugal's independence until 1668; and neither would Spain's enemies: England, Holland, and France¹¹—and with very good reason. These three countries were only now getting deeply involved in the European Age of Discovery and Expansion. They found, however, that there were virtually no more lands left to discover (except the islands of the Pacific), and the only way they could expand would be by forcefully taking possession of the lands now under the control of Portugal and Spain. To do this, they needed to find a way to justify their actions. The solution was nothing less than

11. Although we speak of England as a Protestant nation, during the Age of Exploration there was always a strong Catholic presence, even some Catholic kings such as James II (1633–1701). And although we speak of France as a Catholic nation, there was also a sizable Protestant presence, especially among the nobles (such as John Calvin) collectively known as Huguenots, who were very active colonizing in Africa, India, the Caribbean, North and South America, and other areas claimed by Portugal and Spain.

a stroke of imperialistic genius called the Black Legend, the idea that everything Catholic or Iberian was of the devil. As such, northern Europeans would be doing a great service to humankind by liberating and taking possession of the lands held by Spain and Portugal.

We in America had our own version of the Black Legend; we called it Manifest Destiny. The United States, made of thirteen Atlantic-coast states, decided early on to spread all the way to the Pacific coast. A common attitude of that time is portrayed in the following queries and responses.

"Was that appropriate to do, seeing that the land belonged to Spain and then to Mexico?"

"Of course. Those people are Catholic, and Catholics are of the devil."

"But what about the Indians?"

"The only good Indian is a dead one."

The Protestant Reformation begun by Luther was a powerful incentive and justification for many battles, but it reached its climax in the Age of Exploration and continued throughout America's nation building in the eighteenth century.

By 1644, Holland, by force, had taken the Portuguese territories of Angola and São Tomé in Africa, Ceylon on the Indian subcontinent, Malaysia and Indonesia in the Indian Ocean, and the entire northeast of Brazil in South America. To the English, the Portuguese lost Hormuz in Arabia in 1622 and Bombay (India) and Tangier (Morocco) in 1665. Bombay was a forced dowry paid when Portuguese Catherine of Braganza became Queen of England. To the French, the Portuguese lost the northwestern coast of Africa (from Morocco to Senegal), portions of the central coast of Africa (including Ivory Coast, Benin, and French Guinea), portions of East Africa, and portions of Brazil (Niteroi, Guanabara, and São Luís, Maranhão, established by France in 1612 and named after the same French king for whom our Saint Louis is named). It is interesting to note that the capital city of Benin is still known by its Portuguese name, Porto Novo (new port), and the largest city in Nigeria is also still known by its Portuguese name, Lagos (lakes). Ceuta, which is surrounded by Morocco on three sides and the Mediterranean Sea on the fourth, is situated on the coast of North Africa; it and other Portuguese possessions in Africa were lost to Spain in the peace treaty of 1668. The Portuguese fortress is still standing, and Ceuta's city escutcheon is still the coat of arms of Portuguese King Manuel.

The Portuguese had successfully defended themselves against repeated attacks in Macao (China); Cape Verde (Africa); Goa, Daman, and Diu (India); Flores and Timor (Indonesia); Mazagão (Morocco), and even

Portuguese Lands Held for Over 100 Years, Then Lost to Other Countries, Listed by Century

Portuguese-Held Lands Lost in the Seventeenth Century

North Africa

Ceuta (in **Morocco**), won in 1415, lost in 1668 to Spain (held for 253 years)

Tangiers (in **Morocco**), won in 1471, lost in 1662 to England (held for 191 years)

West Coast of Africa

São Jorge da Mina (in **Ghana**), won in 1482, lost in 1637 to France & England (held for 155 years)

East Coast of Africa

Mombassa (in **Kenya**), won in 1505, lost in 1698 to Muslims (held for 193 years)

Zanzibar Island (in **Tanzania**), won in 1503, lost in 1698 to Muslims (held for 195 years)

Arabian Peninsula

Hormuz (in **Iran**), won in 1507, lost in 1622 to Muslims (held for 115 years)

Indian Subcontinent

Cochin (in **India**), won in 1500, lost in 1662 to Hindus (held for 162 years)

Bombay (in **India**), won in 1534, lost in 1665 to England (held for 131 years)

Colombo (in **Sri Lanka**), won in 1518, lost in 1658 to Holland (held for 140 years)

Southeast Asia

Malacca (in **Malaysia**), won in 1511, lost in 1641 to Holland (held for 130 years)

Portuguese-Held Lands Lost in the Eighteenth Century

West Coast of Africa

Fernando Pó Island (in **Guinea**), won in 1472, lost in 1778 to Spain (held for 306 years)

Ano Bom Island (in **Guinea**), won in 1472, lost in 1778 to Spain (held for 306 years)

North Africa

Mazagão/El-Jadida (in **Morocco**), won in 1514, lost in 1769 to Muslims (held for 255 years)

Indian Subcontinent

Bassein (in **India**), won in 1533, lost in 1739 to Maratha Hindus (held for 206 years)

Chaul (in **India**), won in 1520, lost in 1739 to Maratha Hindus (held for 219 years)

Portuguese-Held Lands Lost in the Nineteenth Century

South America

Brazil, won in 1500, lost in 1822 to independence (held for 322 years)

Maranhão (in **Brazil**), won in 1500; it was a separate Brazilian state 1621–1772, rejoined Brazil never again to be separated. Portugal defeated the French and the Dutch in Maranhão.

Indonesia

Solor Island (in **Indonesia**), won in 1521, lost in 1851 to Holland (held for 330 years)

Flores Island (in **Indonesia**), won in 1521, lost in 1851 to Holland (held for 330 years)

Portuguese-Held Lands Lost in the Twentieth Century

During the first seventy-five years of the twentieth century, the country of Portugal included its present territory on the European mainland, plus the Madeira Islands and the Azores Islands in the Atlantic Ocean, and the following eight overseas provinces (each with its own coinage): Angola, Cape Verde, the State of India, Guinea, Macau, Mozambique, São Tomé and Príncipe, and Timor.

Northwest Africa

S. J. Batista de Ajudá (in **Dahomey**), won in 1444, lost in 1961 to French Dahomey (held for 517 years). Upon independence, the name was changed to Benin.

Cape Verde, won in 1444, lost in 1975 to independence (held for 531 years)

São Tomé and Príncipe, won in 1472, lost in 1975 to independence (held for 503 years)

Guinea-Bissau, won in 1444, lost in 1975 to independence (held for 531 years)

Bolama (in **Guinea**), won in 1790, lost in 1975 to independence (held for 185 years)

Note: Great Britain wanted Bolama Island as part of her Sierra Leone colony.

The case went to international arbitration. President Ulysses S. Grant of the United States ruled in favor of Portugal in 1870.

Central West Africa

Angola, won in 1576, lost in 1975 to independence (held for 399 years)

Cabinda, won in 1576, lost in 1975 to independence (held for 399 years)

East Africa

Mozambique, won in 1507, lost in 1975 to independence (held for 468 years)

Note: Lourenço Marques (today's Maputo), the capital of Mozambique, and Delagoa Bay were claimed by Great Britain. The case went to international arbitration. President MacMahon of France ruled in favor of Portugal in 1875.

Sofala, won in 1505, lost in 1975 to independence (held for 470 years)

Indian Subcontinent

Goa (in **India**), won in 1510, lost in 1961 to India (held for 451 years)

Diu (in **India**), won in 1535, lost in 1961 to India (held for 420 years)

Daman (in **India**), won in 1538, lost in 1961 to India (held for 423 years)

Southeast Asia

Timor (in **Indonesia**), won in 1521, lost in 1976 to independence (held for 455 years)

Asia

Macau (in **China**), won in 1557, lost in 1999 to China (held for 442 years)

Lands Currently Portuguese

Portugal (in **Europe**), won independence from Leon in 1137

Madeira Islands, won in 1419, autonomous region since 1975

Azores Islands, won in 1427, autonomous region since 1975

Lisbon. But Portugal was forced to make an important decision between their Asian, African, and American colonies, for they could not defend all areas of their empire equally. They chose to defend Brazil. It was a fortuitous decision, since a great abundance of gold was discovered there in 1693, and Brazil, during the eighteenth century, provided 80 percent of the world's gold supply.

By the end of the seventeenth century, Portugal had lost most of its Asian Empire, although it did retain Goa, Daman, and Diu in India until December 1961; East Timor in Indonesia until 1975; and Macao in China until 1999. Portugal regained about a third of its African empire (Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, São Tomé and Príncipe, Angola, and Mozambique), which it retained until 1975, when these five colonies became independent countries. In 1769, Portugal had lost Mazagão in Morocco, whose entire population was transferred to the Amazonian territory of Amapá in Brazil. Portugal regained the northeast of Brazil from Holland in 1654. The last remnants of English, Dutch, and French designs on Brazil are the three Guianas (Guyana, Surinam, and French Guiana), the areas to which these powers were successfully driven.

Seventeenth-Century Writers and the Union of Spain and Portugal

During the Spanish Habsburg reign (1516–1700), which encompassed the sixty-year union of the crowns of Spain and Portugal (1580–1640), there were two extraordinary prose writers: the long-lived Jesuit priest and diplomat Father António Vieira (1608–1697), whose “Sermão pelo bom sucesso das armas de Portugal contra as de Holanda” (Sermon for the Success of the Arms of Portugal against Those of Holland) has long been recognized as one of the most remarkable sermons ever delivered from a Christian pulpit;¹² and the erudite man of letters Dom Francisco

12. The French cleric and historian Abbé Guillaume-Thomas Raynal is quoted as saying, “The 1640 sermon by Vieira against the Dutch in Bahia was the most vehement and extraordinary sermon ever heard from a Christian pulpit” (“O discurso mais vehemente e genial que se ouviu nunca em pulpito christão”). *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*, vol. 2 (Genève: J.-L. Pellet, 1780), 381, quoted in *Sermões, Obras completas do Padre António Vieira*, ed. Padre Gonçalo Alves (Porto: Chandron, 1980), 14:279, translation by the author. An analysis of the sermon by the author of this essay is titled “Putting God on Trial,” in *Sor Juana & Vieira, Trescientos Años Después*, ed. K. Josu Bijuesca, Pablo A. J. Brescia, and Alejandro Rivas (Santa Barbara: University of California, Santa Barbara, 1998), 17–36.

Manuel de Melo (1608–1666), who successfully orchestrated the wedding of Portuguese Princess Catherine of Braganza to Charles II of England.¹³

There were also two gifted poets: Soror Violante do Céu (1602–1693) and Gregório de Matos (1636–1696). Sister Violante do Céu (who entered a Dominican nunnery at age twenty-eight) witnessed and applauded the separation of Portugal from Spain in her poetry. Matos, a malcontent, criticized everyone and everything: the church, government, and all classes of people, from the rich and powerful to the lowly pauper, sparing no race or profession in between. This constant satirizing against the wickedness he saw earned him the nickname “Boca do Inferno” (Mouth of Hell).

What Contemporary Authors Believed: A Cautionary Tale?

In conclusion, I will give a brief summary of Portugal's world-changing achievements in the Age of Discovery. I will ask and give my answer to more queries, and, because I am a student of literature, I will end by quoting from renowned contemporary Portuguese writers: two poets, two historians, and one cleric, who corroborate the reason for the fall of the Portuguese empire.

Portugal, during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, gave the world its first panoramic and comprehensive view of itself. The country mapped its major geographical components, its oceans, continents, and islands. It studied and described its major civilizations, cultures, races, and tongues and introduced to them Western technology, products, customs, and the Christian religion. It began the exchange of flora and fauna among the continents and the systematic study and cataloguing of their varieties and uses. In sum, Portugal brought together the disparate branches of the human family and their cultures. This stunning achievement was accomplished a mere six hundred years ago. Knowledge of the world before the Portuguese Age of Discovery was limited

13. It is popularly believed that John IV, king of Portugal (1604–1656), wrote “Adeste Fidelis” (“O Come, All Ye Faithful”) for his daughter's introduction at the English court. John was a patron of music and the arts, and had one of the largest libraries in the world, which unfortunately was destroyed in the 1755 Lisbon earthquake. He was also a recognized composer of sophisticated music (for example, *Crux fidelis*) and of music books such as *Defense of Modern Music* (Lisbon, 1649). The tune name for “O Come, All Ye Faithful” is “Portuguese Hymn” in the current LDS hymnal, *Hymns of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (1985), 403. But it is attributed to John F. Wade (1711–1786), *Hymns*, no. 202.

and localized. After Portugal's groundbreaking explorations, the world became a global community.

Query: How is it that Americans are ignorant of Portugal's power, influence, and unique role on the world stage in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries and think only of England's power in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries?

Answer: America was founded by England, and Americans were taught only its Protestant history.

Query: How is it that we ignore Columbus's Portuguese training in preparation for his singular role in "discovering" America and beginning the spread of Christianity there?

Answer: Western North America was founded by Spain and then Mexico, and Americans have been taught only their histories, not the history of Portugal, who, as their competitor, was vastly more successful at exploration and conquest and at spreading the gospel.

Query: Why are Americans ignorant of the spread of Christianity by Portugal throughout the world—Africa, India, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, China, Japan, Oceania—and by Spain in the Americas and in the Philippines in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries?

Answer: Jesuit, Dominican, Franciscan, and Augustinian priests spread a Catholic gospel, and America was founded by Protestant Christians. The great missions that spread the Protestant gospel in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific Islands occurred primarily in the nineteenth century.

Query: How do Portugal's impressive accomplishments function as a cautionary tale?

Answer: They follow a pattern that has been repeated since the world began. A people are blessed by the Lord, grow rich and prideful, and then lose their standing and possessions. This tiny nation once governed much of the earth, but with their discoveries and spread of Christianity also came the exploitation of native peoples and greed, which changed the conduct of Portugal's citizenry from righteousness to pride and debauchery. Contemporary Portuguese authors chronicled this rise and fall.

Garcia de Resende (1470–1536) was a courtier who served three kings. His long life at court involved such positions as personal secretary to D. João II and scribe of the public treasury for D. João III. He wrote a long poem of 311 ten-line stanzas, entitled *Miscellany*, which chronicles the major events and changes that occurred in Portugal and Europe

during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. It is a personally witnessed poetic account of current events. In the poem, Garcia de Resende enumerates many of the artistic and literary achievements of the Renaissance; some of the probings in science and philosophy during the Age of Humanism; the retrenchment and reevaluation of religious doctrine and practices during the Reformation and Counter-Reformation; the restlessness, disease, and expansionism in the Age of Exploration; and the expulsion of the Jews and the persecution of the New Christians. In the selections that follow, we read of the threat occasioned by Luther and the Protestant Reformation, the introduction of African slaves into Portugal, the diaspora of Portuguese around the world, the incredibly vast number of goods entering the port of Lisbon, the great buildings and art objects that were made, and the changes in Portuguese society occasioned by the riches from the East. The English translation of the poem is my own.

With subtle guile and heresy
we saw false Luther in his prime
convert from throughout Germany
so many folks, this deed will be
the Empire's greatest force o'er time:
against our Faith he's always preaching,
the Pope blasphemes whenever teaching,
from Bishops, and from Cardinals true,
he's won hard battles, not a few
great men have joined his band, far-reaching.

We witnessed Lisbon flower and grow
with people, greatness, and in size,
'twas much ennobled with the show
of buildings, riches on the rise,
with arms, and power all in tow.
For port and commerce, ships at berth,
there is no equal on the earth;
they've fruits, and foods from every nation,
as for control, good regulation
they fail, what's more, there is a dearth.

And we saw many Portuguese
dispersed abroad to live, they sought
Brazil, the islands of the seas,
and India where they took their ease,

but human dignity forgot.
 And back at court we saw they'd brought
 great many captives by the lot,
 while numerous locals sailed away,
 if things continue on this way
 we'll be outnumbered, that's my thought.

Expenses so extremely high
 we've seen in married women, who
 will spend on silver, jewels and buy
 perfume, fringe decorations try,
 great tapestries, not one but two,
 grand dining on rich food, preserves,
 fine dresses, every lass deserves,
 and beds with frames, on which to lie;
 we saw some leather moons that sold
 for twenty coins of shiny gold.

Saw pride in simple folks turn bold,
 and vileness in the honorable,
 saw greed in priest and constable,
 and laxity among the old,
 saw states in chaos, damnable.
 Saw death move quickly on the best,
 their lives cut short and laid to rest,
 unknown diseases plagued the world,
 while weary people toiled and twirled,
 and few men lived their peaceful quest.

The games, the nausea, and the pleasure,
 the customs, laws, the dress and things,
 the virtues, knowledge, guile, and treasure,
 each good or evil choice we measure,
 are subject to the whims of Kings;
 and since they are by men adored,
 who're so inclined and in accord
 we see all men bow and obey,
 and laud what kings will do and say,
 for even though it's wrong, they're lord.¹⁴

14. Frederick G. Williams, ed. and trans., *Poets of Portugal: A Bilingual Selection of Poems from the Thirteenth through Twentieth Centuries; Poetas de Portugal, uma selecção bilingue de poemas do século XIII ao século XX*, with a foreword by Maria de Lourdes Belchior (Provo, Utah: BYU Studies; Lisbon: Instituto Camões, 2007), 101–5.

Fernão Mendes Pinto (1509–1583) was a Portuguese soldier, missionary, merchant, ambassador, and doctor who spent twenty-one years, from 1537 until 1558, traveling all over Portugal's Asian colonies, including India, Indonesia, Timor, Malacca, several of the Spice Islands, China, Vietnam, Korea, and Japan. In 1542, he was one of the first Portuguese to reach Japan and was a party to the introduction of firearms and gunpowder there. He suffered shipwreck, was often captured, made a slave, and sold. After his return to Portugal, he wrote of his travels in a book titled *Peregrinação*. In it, as described in the preface to the 1663 London edition, Pinto gives "a relation and description of most of the places [he visited]; their religion, laws, riches, customs, and government in the time of peace and war. Where he five times suffered shipwreck, was sixteen times sold, and thirteen times made a slave, written originally by himself in the Portugal tongue."¹⁵

So much of what Pinto described about those Eastern lands—their languages, religions, food, customs, flora and fauna, different cultures, kings and monuments, and the people's daily lives—was exotic and unfamiliar to Europeans, but they were eager to learn, and Pinto's book became a must-read bestseller, translated into many languages. It would be like someone today publishing a book on his or her travels to a distant solar system and describing the many civilizations the author encountered. We would hardly believe it.

But Pinto's book is more than an interesting autobiographical travel memoir. Besides consciously and repeatedly recognizing the Lord's protecting hand and giving thanks to God for his blessings of safety, he uses his narrative to attack Portugal's policies of exploitation through conquest and force and to satirize their arrogance in thinking their culture is superior to any other. In order to protect himself from any possible government retribution, Pinto uses a Forrest Gump-type narrator as a shield; he is a fictive author, with the same name, who is a little dim-witted and innocent and who merely repeats what others say about the Portuguese. For example, the Tartar king says, "The fact that

15. Ferdinand Mendez (Fernão Mendes) Pinto, *The Voyages and Adventures of Ferdinand Mendez Pinto*, trans. Henry Cogan (London: Henry Herringman, 1663), preface. I find it significant that all the references to the Catholics (especially Jesuit priests) were deleted, not only from the title but also from the book itself, making the first English version about one-third of the original. This is another example of the bias by Protestant countries against things Iberian or Catholic, the so-called Black Legend that holds everything Iberian or Catholic to be of the devil.

these people journey so far from home to conquer territory indicates clearly that there must be very little justice and a great deal of greed among them,” to which an old man replies, “It would certainly seem so, . . . for when men, by dint of industry and ingenuity, fly over all the waters in order to acquire possessions that God did not give them, it means either that there is such great poverty among them that it makes them completely forget their homeland, or that the vanity and blindness engendered in them by their greed are so great as to cause them to deny God and their fathers.”¹⁶

When the Nautaquin, prince of the Japanese Island of Tanishuma, asked three questions about Portugal, Pinto fudged a bit with his replies:

After these matters were settled, the *nautaquin* resumed his conversations with us. He asked us about many things, in great detail, and in our answers we were less concerned with the real truth than we were with trying to please him. But this was the case only in certain instances when it was necessary to help ourselves out with a few little falsehoods so as not to undo the high regard he had for this country of ours. The first was his telling us that the Chinese and the Ryukyu had told him that Portugal possessed more territory and wealth than the entire empire of China, which we granted him. The second was that they had also assured him that our king had subjugated most of the world by means of maritime conquests, which we also said was true. The third was that our king was so rich in gold and silver that he had more than two thousand storehouses filled from floor to ceiling. To this we replied that, as to the number of storehouses, we could not be sure, because the country and the kingdom in themselves were so vast and contained so many treasures and peoples that it was impossible for anyone to be able to tell him the exact number with any degree of certainty.¹⁷

Luís de Camões (c. 1525–1580) is the Shakespeare of Portugal, who wrote hundreds of sonnets and the national epic *The Lusiads* (1572). Although a brilliant writer—whose work Sir Richard Burton (nineteenth-century British military officer, explorer, diplomat, translator, geographer, linguist, and writer about the Mormons in Utah) translated into English and published in 1880, and whom he called “my poet”—Camões was nevertheless forced to make his life’s career that of a common soldier to the king and served for many years in Portugal’s overseas empire, including sojourns in Goa, Macao, and Mozambique.

16. Fernão Mendes Pinto, *The Travels of Mendes Pinto*, ed. and trans. Rebecca D. Catz (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 254.

17. Pinto, *Travels*, 276.

The Lusiads lauds Portugal's triumph overseas, with Vasco da Gama's trip to India and back as the framing story (1497–1498). But because Camões lived in the reality of the conquest, some sixty years after the initial voyage, and knew firsthand the cost in human misery to both the Portuguese and to the conquered peoples, he included a powerful warning lesson in the fourth canto that calls a spade a spade: that which was called *glory* and *fame* by the military recruiters was really *greed* and *vanity*. As to the so-called religious motive for the conquests, there was no reason to go halfway around the world to preach Christianity, when there were Muslims right next door.

At the departure of Vasco da Gama's fleet from Lisbon's harbor, the scene includes wives and mothers bemoaning the departure of their husbands and sons into uncharted waters. And most telling of all, the chastisement given by an old salt (obviously Camões's voice) warns the sailors that the overseas adventure will lead to adultery, the dissolution of family, and to a depopulation of the country, with no one "minding the store." A twentieth-century prose translation of the scene, by Professor William C. Atkinson of the University of Glasgow, reads as follows:

But there was one old man of venerable aspect among the others on the shore who fixed us with his gaze, shook his head three times disapprovingly and, raising his feeble voice so that from the ships we heard him clearly, drew out of an experienced heart these words of practical wisdom:

"Oh, the folly of it, this craving for power, this thirsting after the vanity we call fame, this fraudulent pleasure known as honour that thrives on popular esteem! When the vapid soul succumbs to its lure, what a price it exacts, and how justly, in perils, tempests, torments, death itself! It wrecks all peace of soul and body, leads men to forsake and betray their loved ones, subtly yet undeniably consumes estates, kingdoms, empires. Men call it illustrious, and noble, when it merits instead the obloquy of infamy; they call it fame, and sovereign glory, mere names with which the common people delude themselves in their ignorance.

"To what new disasters is it bent on leading this realm and its people? What perils and deaths has it in store for them, concealed under some fair-sounding name? What facile promises of gold-mines and kingdoms does it hold out to them, of fame and remembrance, of palms and trophies and victories? . . .

"Is not the Ishmaelite close at hand, with whom there will always be wars and to spare? If the faith of Christ be the motive, does not he profess the cursed creed of Mahomet? Has not he a thousand cities and territories beyond calculation, if instead lands and riches be the lure?

Or, if it be the praises that fall to the conqueror, is not he too a redoubtable antagonist?

“You allow the enemy to flourish at your gates while you go seek another at the other side of the world, at the price of depopulating and weakening this ancient kingdom and squandering its resources. You are lured by the perils of the uncertain and the unknown, to the end that fame may exalt and flatter you, proclaiming you with a wealth of titles lords of India, Persia, Arabia and Ethiopia.”¹⁸

Diogo do Couto (1542–1616) was a Portuguese historian who lived for many years in Goa, India, became the chief custodian of the Torre do Tombo (similar to the historical archives of the Library of Congress), and wrote, among other works, nine volumes of history, each entitled *Decada* and each covering a decade of activities by the Portuguese in the East. One chapter, published separately but slated for the eleventh *Decada* (a volume that was lost or stolen during his lifetime), described the shipwreck of the heavily laden ship *São Thomé* off the coast of today’s South Africa in the year 1589. Although he was not a passenger aboard that ship, he was very familiar with countless other ships sailing between Goa and Lisbon filled with valuable cargo in the hold and on each of the four decks.

The opulence of the Goa citizenry was nowhere better displayed than on the Rua Direita (Right Street). Each morning, every imaginable food, object, and service was sold or auctioned to the sedan-riding or strolling ladies and gentlemen. Diogo do Couto witnessed up close the arrogance and debauchery of the upper classes and was convinced that God would punish the Portuguese for their excesses and ill-gotten gains at the expense of the indigenous people. For him, each shipwreck was not only a sign of Portuguese greed but was also most certainly God’s punishment. Writing from the point of view of the survivors who witnessed the sinking of the ship *São Thomé*, Couto observed:

They were left astounded, like men in a dream, at thus seeing a great ship, in which they had so recently been voyaging, so heavily laden with riches and merchandise almost beyond computation, now devoured by the

18. Luis Vaz de Camões, *The Lusiads*, trans. William C. Atkinson (London: Penguin, 1952), 119–21. The titles to which Camões refers—“lords of India, Persia, Arabia and Ethiopia”—were the titles that King Manuel of Portugal used (1495–1521). Camões could get away with this attack on the king and the negative results of his overseas conquests because King Manuel had died by this time; it was an old man that spoke in the poem, and everyone knew that what he prophesied in 1497 had come true by the time *The Lusiads* was published in 1572.

waves and sunk under the water, heaping up riches in the depths of the sea from all those things which belonged to those in her and others in India, acquired by such means as God knows, for which reason he often permits as little enjoyment of them as he did of these. . . . Certainly the loss of this ship and the death of the people that had remained in her is a matter to be deeply pondered over, for in many ways it was very clearly a judgment of God.¹⁹

Four or five times a year, a fleet of Portuguese ships would make a round-trip voyage between Lisbon and Goa. The term used to describe this perilous journey was *Carreira da Índia* (race to India) that typically took a year and a half to complete, counting the stops and layovers due to monsoon conditions. If they left Lisbon before Easter, they could arrive in Goa in September or October. Once they had unloaded the inbound cargo, made the necessary ship repairs, replaced the store and crew, and loaded the outbound goods, they could leave Goa at Christmas and arrive in Lisbon in July.

But not all the ships returned to safe harbor. Between 1550 and 1650, the total number of lost ships is estimated at 130, or one and a third per year. In addition to the perils of rounding the Cape of Good Hope, where the Atlantic and Indian Oceans “collide,” forming perpetual storm conditions, the ships faced the challenges of overcrowding, inexperienced crewmen, and the imprecise science of navigation, plus the ever-present threat of enemies and pirates,²⁰ as well as the seasonal monsoon rains. But the greatest cause for shipwreck was the overloading of the ships on their return to Lisbon.²¹

19. Diogo do Couto, *Narrative of the Shipwreck of the Great Ship São Thomé in the Land of the Fumos, in the Year 1589, and of the Toil and Tribulation Undergone by Dom Paulo de Lima in the Regions of Kaffraria until His Death*, trans. Charles R. Boxer, in *The Tragic History of the Sea*, ed. and trans. Charles R. Boxer (Millwood, N.Y.: Kraus Reprint, 1986), 65.

20. The Portuguese used Cape Verde as a holding pen for their slaves. Competing English, Dutch, and French slavers quickly realized that it was much easier to attack Cape Verde, which listed 13,700 slaves in the 1550 census, rather than have to gather their own. One of the most famous assaults was carried out by England's Sir Francis Drake, who arrived in 1585 with 2,300 men in twenty-five ships. Frederick G. Williams, ed. and trans., *Poets of Cape Verde: A Bilingual Selection; Poetas de Cabo Verde, Uma selecção bilingue* (Provo, Utah: BYU Studies; Praia: Instituto da Biblioteca Nacional e do Livro; Lisbon: Instituto Camões, 2010), 21.

21. Boxer, *Tragic History of the Sea*, 25.

Father António Vieira (1608–1697) was a religious cleric, diplomat, politician, man of letters, polemist, orator, and linguist (he knew Latin, Portuguese, Spanish, Tupi-Guarani, and Italian fluently). He was also an opportunist, a pragmatist, and a lover of intrigue; he was ambitious and forceful, possessed a facility for speech and logic and an extraordinary memory. He was a formidable foe of those who crossed him, and his presence weighed heavily on the entire seventeenth century on both sides of the Atlantic. Pope Clement X (1670–1676) is credited with saying of him: “We should greatly praise and give thanks to God that this man is a Catholic; for if he were not, he could cause grave problems for the Church of God.”

In 1640, after a sixty-year union with Spain, Portugal separated and went its own way. In that same year, Father Vieira gave a most remarkable sermon in Salvador, Bahia, meant to buoy up the populace to stand firm against an imminent attack from Holland by land and by sea. It is called “Sermon for the Success of Portuguese Arms against Those of Holland,” but his words were directed at God, with whom he reasoned and argued to get him to change his mind and not punish the people for their wickedness by means of the Protestant Dutch. He used as precedence several of the biblical prophets who had done the same in earlier times, such as Moses when he addressed the destruction of Israel after the golden calf episode, or Joshua when faced with destruction by the Amorites.

Why did you send the Portuguese forth to discover these and other lands? Why did they sacrifice their lives and fortunes to bring Christianity to the heathen nations? If only to give it to another people it would have been better never to have sent us forth in the first place. As the prophet Joshua said, the leader of thy ancient covenant people Israel: “Dear God my Lord, what is this thing? Why didst thou send us forth across the River Jordan to possess this land if only to deliver it up unto the Amorites and destroy us? It had been better that we should never have crossed Jordan.”

But thou, o Lord, doth ordain and want it thus; do that which pleaseth thee. Deliver Brazil to the Dutch, deliver unto them the Indies, give them both Spains, . . . place in their hands the entire World; and to us, Portuguese and Spanish, forsake us, repudiate us, undo us, destroy us. But I only tell you and remind Your Majesty, Lord, that these same ones you hold in disfavor and cast out of your presence, I say, it may be that one day you may again want them, and will not have them.²²

22. *Histoire philosophique et politique*, 381, quoted in *Sermões, Obras completas do Padre António Vieira*, 14:279, translation by the author.

Final words

Portugal, like many civilizations in antiquity, sought to rule the world. But those ancient kings of Assyria, Persia, Egypt, Greece, and Rome, who rose in power and prestige and then fell to other nations, ruled over comparatively small territories. Portugal, on the other hand, had truly ruled over the "world." The difference between the localized conquests achieved by ancient kingdoms and the global conquests achieved by the Kingdom of Portugal was noted at the beginning of Camões's epic poem, *The Lusiads*. There the poet states that the ancient bards, like Homer and Vergil, who had lauded the glories of their respective nations' adventures and conquests, paled by comparison to what the Portuguese mariners had done.

This is the story of heroes who, leaving their native Portugal behind them, opened a way to Ceylon, and further, across seas no man had ever sailed before. They were men of no ordinary stature, equally at home in war and in dangers of every kind: they founded a new kingdom among distant peoples, and made it great. It is the story too of a line of kings who kept ever advancing the boundaries of faith and empire, spreading havoc among the infidels of Africa and Asia and achieving immortality through their illustrious exploits. If my inspiration but prove equal to the task, all men shall know of them.

Let us hear no more then of Ulysses and Aeneas and their long journeyings, no more of Alexander and Trajan and their famous victories. My theme is the daring and renown of the Portuguese, to whom Neptune and Mars alike give homage. The heroes and the poets of old have had their day; another and loftier conception of valour has arisen. . . .

There will be no pursuit here of mere national aggrandisement, no praising with false attributions, flights of fancy and feats of the imagination, as is the Muse's wont in other lands. The deeds I tell of are real, and far outstrip the fabled adventures of any Rodamonte, Ruggiero, or Orlando, even granting that Orlando did exist. In place of these you will meet a valiant Nuno Alvares, who did such notable service to his king and country, an Egas Moniz, a Fuas Roupinho, for whom alone I wish I had the lyre of Homer. The twelve knights Magriço led to England are more than a match for the paladins of France, the illustrious Vasco da Gama for Aeneas himself.²³

But with the sacrifice, service, and genuine love demonstrated by the faithful brothers of the church in spreading the gospel of Jesus Christ, and

23. Camões, *Lusiads*, 39–41.

with the kindnesses of true statesmen and the community-building of courageous ordinary men and women, came the exploitation and enslavement of native peoples. Riches spawned greed and debauchery in many, and not just among the lower classes, but also among the merchants and even among some of the noble and great ones. That iniquity, I believe—as many contemporary writers also believed, as shown earlier—brought the judgments of God down upon Portugal: the loss of many of their overseas lands to Britain, France, and Holland; the loss of much of their treasure in the depths of the sea; and the loss of more than a tenth of the population to disease, war, and shipwreck. It was widely believed at the time that the earthquake of 1755 was also God's judgment, which caused the death of many thousands of people and the destruction of the great city of Lisbon, wherein were located the nation's principal palaces, mansions, monuments, art collections, libraries, and churches. Is this not a cautionary tale, pregnant with lessons for today's society?

Frederick G. Williams, a grandson twice removed and namesake of the Prophet Joseph Smith's counselor in the First Presidency, received a BA in Hispanic civilization from Brigham Young University (1965) and an MA and PhD in Portuguese studies with a Spanish minor from the University of Wisconsin (1967, 1970).

For twenty-seven years, he was a professor of literature and cultural history written in Spanish and Portuguese at the University of California (UCLA and UCSB), chairman of the Department of Spanish and Portuguese for seven years (UCSB), director of the Jorge de Sena Center for Portuguese Studies for four years (UCSB), and for a year directed the University of California system-wide study center at the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro. He has published over fifty articles, most on Luso-Brazilian topics, and twenty-six volumes (with special emphasis on the nineteenth-century Brazilian poet Sousândrade and twentieth-century Portuguese poet Jorge de Sena).

Professor Williams joined the faculty of Brigham Young University in 1997. During his twenty years of teaching and researching at BYU, he has translated into English the major poets from all eight countries and two regions of the world whose official language is Portuguese (over a thousand poems) and published them in bilingual volumes through *BYU Studies*. These publications allow the English reader an opportunity to savor the beauty, richness, and diversity found in Portuguese poetry. Williams served as mission president in São Paulo with his wife, Carol (a professionally trained coloratura soprano who sang with the Mormon Tabernacle Choir for seven years). They also served as president and matron of the Recife Brazil Temple.

The Development of the Council on the Disposition of the Tithes

David W. Smith

On December 1, 2009, Presiding Bishop H. David Burton spoke to Brigham Young University students about the current opportunities and pressing challenges they would face throughout the world. He observed, “We all have to determine for ourselves if we—in mixed turbulent times like we are currently in—perceive the glass of water to be half full or half empty. I’m a half-full sort of guy. I propose that we are, indeed, living in the best of times.” He then shared one reason he was so full of optimism:

Let me give you a little perspective. Do you know what important event will transpire at Church headquarters this Friday promptly at 9:00 a.m.? This is a little piece of Church operational trivia that will likely not be on any of your final exams, but perhaps it should, because you may be affected by what is decided. One of the constitutional councils of the Church will convene under the direction of President Monson. The council is described in section 120 of the Doctrine and Covenants. It is called the Council on the Disposition of the Tithes.

Bishop Burton then proceeded to share insights from the council meeting that had occurred the previous year (2008) because he believed that if the students “could sit in on the council meeting, [they] would see and feel why it is exciting to be alive and be a participant in helping the gospel of Jesus Christ spread around the world.”¹

1. H. David Burton, “These Are the Times,” December 1, 2009, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, transcript, https://speeches.byu.edu/talks/h-david-burton_times-2/.

Just as knowing how the council operates now can engender hope for the future, looking at how the council developed can help us understand that God develops the Church over time. The history of the council's development demonstrates the living nature of revelation—the circumstances in which it is received, how it is implemented, and how adherence to it can take time to develop—as well as the increasing importance of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles in administering the Church's temporal affairs. Accordingly, this article provides a summary of the development of the council, focusing on its first establishment in 1838 and on its reestablishment in 1943. The establishment of the council in 1838 grew out of early efforts by Joseph Smith to systematize Church financial administration. After the Church's Missouri period, the council was discontinued and financial administration went through various phases of management. In the early 1940s, the First Presidency sought to better organize financial management in the Church, which led to the reestablishment of the council in 1943. The council has continued to develop since that time.²

CHURCH FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT UNDER JOSEPH SMITH

Financial Management in the Early Years of the Church

On February 4, 1831, as part of a revelation addressing temporal matters, the Lord issued a call for a bishop and named Edward Partridge to that office. Though this revelation introduced the office of bishop to the Church, it did not reveal the bishop's duties.³ The duties were instead revealed the next week as part of “the Law,” which was given as revelation when Joseph Smith met with twelve elders to receive divine instructions concerning the government of the Church. As part of this law, the Lord directed Church members to “consecrate all thy ~~property~~ properties that which thou hast unto me with a covenan[n]t and Deed which cannot be broken.” He assigned responsibility for handling what was consecrated

2. Because this article focuses on the group tasked with making decisions relating to Church finances, it will touch only incidentally on the principles and history of Church finances themselves.

3. See “Revelation, 4 February 1831 [D&C 41],” in *Documents, Volume 1: July 1828–June 1831*, ed. Michael Hubbard MacKay and others, The Joseph Smith Papers (Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, 2013), 241–45, <http://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-4-february-1831-dc-41/1#historical-intro>.

to Bishop Partridge and “two of the Elders such as he shall appoint & set apart for that purpose.”⁴

These two revelations instituted the first formal process for administering the Church’s finances and temporal affairs. At the time, the financial resources of the Church were based primarily in real estate and in-kind goods, and Partridge was assigned to apportion out those donated resources to both the poor in the Church and to the Church itself. He was instructed to work with two elders and counsel with others on how to distribute, or dispose of, the resources that had been donated. He immediately began fulfilling his responsibilities, and John Corrill and Isaac Morley were set apart to serve as his assistants, or counselors.⁵

Partridge moved to Missouri (also referred to as Zion) and continued serving as the only bishop in the Church until December 1831, when Newel K. Whitney was called to serve as a bishop in Kirtland, Ohio. Thereafter, Bishop Whitney supervised many of the temporal affairs of the Church in Kirtland and was directed to provide a report of these proceedings to Partridge, who exercised the same responsibility over the temporal affairs in Missouri.⁶ In the early years of the Church,

4. “Revelation, 9 February 1831 [D&C 42:1–72],” in MacKay and others, *Documents, Volume 1*, 245–56, <http://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-9-february-1831-dc-421-72/3#historical-intro>.

5. See Sherilyn Farnes, “A Bishop unto the Church: D&C 41, 42, 51, 54, 57,” in *Revelations in Context: Stories behind the Sections of the Doctrine and Covenants*, ed. Matthew MacBride and James Goldberg (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2016), 77–83, <https://history.lds.org/article/doctrine-and-covenants-edward-partridge?lang=eng>; and “Minutes, circa 3–4 June 1831,” in MacKay and others, *Documents, Volume 1*, 317–27, <http://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/minutes-circa-3-4-june-1831/2>.

6. See “Revelation, 4 December 1831–A [D&C 72:1–8],” in *Documents, Volume 2: July 1831–January 1833*, ed. Matthew C. Godfrey and others, The Joseph Smith Papers (Salt Lake City: Church Historian’s Press, 2013), 146–50, <http://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-4-december-1831-a-dc-721-8/1>. Because Whitney was directed to report his affairs to Partridge, it could be concluded that Partridge served as the first “Presiding Bishop” of the Church. Regarding the historical confusion over Partridge’s possible role as Presiding Bishop, J. Reuben Clark Jr. observed, “I think one of the things that has confused us on this question of Presiding Bishop is this: Brother Partridge as the first Bishop and as the Bishop in charge in Zion—that is to say, Jackson County, Missouri, speaking generally of Missouri—was given certain exceptional functions with reference to handling of the law of consecration,

these two bishops, along with their counselors, were the ones primarily responsible for handling consecrated properties and supervising temporal affairs.⁷

Though Partridge and Whitney handled day-to-day finances pertaining to the law of consecration, Joseph Smith retained ultimate responsibility for all financial matters and continued to direct all financial affairs, including introducing new management organizations. In late 1831, for example, he established a literary firm, led by several Church officials, to manage Church publication efforts and provide income to those involved.⁸ Then, in early 1832, the Lord instructed Joseph Smith to establish a more encompassing firm that would oversee all Church business endeavors.⁹ Subsequently, the newly established First Presidency (consisting of Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, and Jesse Gause),¹⁰ along with Newel Whitney, traveled to Missouri in the spring of 1832.

and they were apparently special delegations.” Remarks to the Twelve, April 8, 1943, 1, box 188, 3:13, J. Reuben Clark Jr. Papers, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter cited as JRC Papers). The term “Presiding Bishop” does not appear in historical documents until the April 1847 general conference. See *Journal History of the Church*, April 6, 1847, 1, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (chronology of typed entries and newspaper clippings, 1830–present), microfilm copy in Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah https://dcms.lds.org/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE292116.

7. See Dale Beecher, “The Office of Bishop,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 15 (Winter 1982): 103–15.

8. “Joseph Smith Documents Dating from July 1831 through January 1833,” in Godfrey and others, *Documents*, Volume 2, xxv; “Revelation, 12 November 1831 [D&C 70],” in Godfrey and others, *Documents*, Volume 2, 140–41, <http://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-12-november-1831-dc-70/1#historical-intro>.

9. “Revelation, 1 March 1832 [D&C 78],” in Godfrey and others, *Documents*, Volume 2, 197–200, <http://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-1-march-1832-dc-78/1#historical-intro>.

10. See “Note, 8 March 1832,” in Godfrey and others, *Documents*, Volume 2, 201–4, <http://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/note-8-march-1832/1#historical-intro>; for a brief history of the development of the First Presidency, see Mark L. Staker, “Sharing Authority: Developing the First Presidency in Ohio,” in *A Firm Foundation: Church Organization and Administration*, ed. David J. Whittaker and Arnold K. Garr (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2011), 115–38.

On April 26 and 27, they met with the bishopric in Zion and other Church leaders in Missouri and formally established the United Firm.¹¹

For two years, the members of the United Firm directed the Church's financial endeavors. Certain members continued to focus on publication efforts; the bishops and their agents continued to administer the storehouses, consecrated properties, and support for the poor; and the First Presidency continued to provide overall direction.¹² By 1834, however, the United Firm was facing serious challenges. The Church had lost the printing press and bishop's storehouse in Missouri in the summer of 1833, and many members of the firm had covetous attitudes. Because of the various difficulties, in April 1834, the Lord directed that the firm be divided into two separate entities: a firm for Ohio and a firm for Missouri. Though Church leaders took steps in that direction, shortly after the revelation was given, the United Firm ceased to operate entirely.¹³

Shortly before the United Firm was dissolved, Joseph Smith introduced standing councils to replace what up to that time had been ad-hoc councils that governed ecclesiastical matters in the Church. These standing

11. "Minutes, 26–27 April 1832," 24–25, in Godfrey and others, *Documents, Volume 2*, 229–33, <http://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/minutes-26-27-april-1832/1#historical-intro>; "Revelation, 26 April 1832 [D&C 82]," in Godfrey and others, *Documents, Volume 2*, 233–37, <http://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-26-april-1832-dc-82/1#historical-intro>.

12. See "Letter to Church Leaders in Jackson County, Missouri, 21 April 1833," 32–36, in *Documents, Volume 3: February 1833–March 1834*, ed. Gerrit J. Dirkmaat and others, *The Joseph Smith Papers* (Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, 2014), 64–70, <http://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/letter-to-church-leaders-in-jackson-county-missouri-21-april-1833/4>; "Letter to Edward Partridge, 2 May 1833," in Dirkmaat and others, *Documents, Volume 3*, 71–77, <http://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/letter-to-edward-partridge-2-may-1833/1>; and "Letter to Church Leaders in Jackson County, Missouri, 25 June 1833," in Dirkmaat and others, *Documents, Volume 3*, 147–58, <http://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/letter-to-church-leaders-in-jackson-county-missouri-25-june-1833/1>.

13. See "Revelation, 23 April 1834 [D&C 104]," in *Documents, Volume 4: April 1834–September 1835*, ed. Matthew C. Godfrey and others, *The Joseph Smith Papers* (Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, 2016), 19–22, <http://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-23-april-1834-dc-104/1#historical-intro>. For a detailed overview of the United Firm, see Max H Parkin, "Joseph Smith and the United Firm: The Growth and Decline of the Church's First Master Plan of Business and Finance, Ohio and Missouri, 1832–1834," *BYU Studies* 46, no. 3 (2007): 5–66.

councils—called high councils—each consisted of twelve high priests and three presidents. With Church headquarters in Ohio at the time, the high council in Kirtland became the leading council of the Church, with the First Presidency serving as its three presidents. Following this pattern, the Saints in Missouri also organized a high council with its own three presidents. These councils were established as the governing councils of the Church in their respective areas.¹⁴

Because of their ecclesiastical position over Church affairs, the high councils eventually took over responsibility for temporal affairs, acting under the direction of the councils' respective presidencies.¹⁵ The high council in Missouri (also called the high council in Zion) was to serve as a court of appeals for financial issues that could not be resolved by the bishopric in Zion. That high council also directed William W. Phelps to travel to Kirtland to help with Church printing endeavors.¹⁶ The Kirtland high council took over responsibility for the Church's efforts to publish the scriptures.¹⁷ On April 21, 1838, the high council in Zion, then presided over by Joseph Smith, made several resolutions on financial matters, including directing Edward Partridge on how to handle buying properties and building structures.¹⁸ As leaders of the high councils, the First Presidency and the Missouri presidency continued to direct all financial endeavors, taking actions such as instructing members to raise funds from Church branches, authorizing a weekly stipend to the Church's patriarch, and considering ways to relieve the Church of debt.¹⁹

14. For a brief history of the development of the high council system, see Joseph F. Darowski, "Seeking After the Ancient Order: Conferences and Councils in Early Church Governance, 1830–34," in Whittaker and Garr, *Firm Foundation*, 97–113.

15. For an overview on how high councils replaced the United Firm, see Parkin, "Joseph Smith and the United Firm," 33–34.

16. "Minutes and Discourse, circa 7 July 1834," in Godfrey and others, *Documents, Volume 4*, 74–76, <http://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/minutes-and-discourse-circa-7-july-1834/2#historical-intro>.

17. "Minutes, 24 September 1834," 74–76, in Godfrey and others, *Documents, Volume 4*, 171–76, <http://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/minutes-24-september-1834/1#historical-intro>.

18. "Minutes, 21 April 1838," in *Documents, Volume 6: February 1838–August 1839*, ed. Mark Ashurst-McGee and others, *The Joseph Smith Papers* (Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, 2017), 109–12.

19. See "Recommendation for Edward Partridge and Isaac Morley, 1 June 1835," in Godfrey and others, *Documents, Volume 4*, 322–25, <http://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/recommendation-for-edward-partridge>

The high councils became firmly implanted in the financial management of the Church, and as such, by the time the Saints were fleeing Kirtland and gathering to Missouri in 1838, the finances of the Church were being managed by the First Presidency, the high council in Zion, and the bishopric in Zion.

The 1838 Revelation and Later Financial Management

Shortly after Joseph's move to Missouri in the spring of 1838, the Lord commanded the Church to build a temple in Far West, without going into debt, and that the city of Far West be "built up spe[e]dily." This instruction came at a time when Church members were flocking to Missouri from many locations and the Church was engaged in various economic development projects.²⁰ In order to determine how to finance the temple and other economic needs, Joseph met with several Church leaders on Sunday morning, July 8, a day that period historian Alexander Baugh called "a day of revelation" because "the Prophet received five separate revelations—the most known to have been recorded on one single day."²¹

Two of the revelations concerned Church finances. Up to this point, the Saints had been instructed to consecrate all of their property to the Church. This effort was moderately successful at first, but, ultimately, unsuccessful business and banking ventures undertaken by Church

-and-isaac-morley-1-june-1835/1#historical-intro; "Minutes, 14 September 1835," in Godfrey and others, *Documents, Volume 4*, 412–15, <http://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/minutes-14-september-1835/1#historical-intro>; and "Minutes, 2 April 1836," in *Documents, Volume 5: October 1835–January 1838*, ed. Brent M. Rogers and others, *The Joseph Smith Papers* (Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, 2017), 222–24; see also "Journal, 1835–1836," April 2, 1836, in *Journals, Volume 1: 1832–1839*, ed. Dean C. Jesse, Mark Ashurst-McGee, and Richard L. Jensen, *The Joseph Smith Papers* (Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, 2008), 217–19, <http://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/journal-1835-1836/194>.

20. "Revelation, 26 April 1838 [D&C 115]," in Ashurst-McGee and others, *Documents, Volume 6*, 112–18, <http://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-26-april-1838-dc-115/1>; see also "Minutes, 21 April 1838," in Ashurst-McGee and others, *Documents, Volume 6*, 109–12.

21. Alexander L. Baugh, "Joseph Smith in Northern Missouri, 1838," in *Joseph Smith, the Prophet and Seer*, ed. Richard Neitzel Holzapfel and Kent P. Jackson (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2010), 310; see also Steven C. Harper, "The Tithing of My People: D&C 119, 120," in *Revelations in Context*, 250–55, <https://history.lds.org/article/the-tithing-of-my-people?lang=eng>.

leaders, as well as nationwide economic problems, failed to produce the necessary funding to carry out the various divinely mandated endeavors. In an effort to cover Church expenses, Edward Partridge, in consultation with his first counselor and the manager of the Missouri storehouse, had suggested in late 1837 that each household donate 2 percent of its net worth each year.²²

In order to determine exactly how much Church members should consecrate, during the July 8 meeting Joseph prayed, “O! Lord show unto thy servants how much thou requirest of the properties of thy people for a tithing?” The Lord’s response was that the Saints were to donate all surplus resources to the Church, and once that had been done, those Saints would then “pay one tenth of all their interest annually.”²³ Church leaders hoped that a natural result of this revelation would be that the Church would receive sufficient resources to undertake the temple project and other pending endeavors. (Unfortunately, though the initial response of Church members was encouraging, this attempt was ultimately unsuccessful.)²⁴

After answering Joseph’s question about how much Church members should consecrate, the Lord then gave another revelation “making known the disposition of the properties tithed, as named in the preceeding revelation— Verily thus saith the Lord, the time has now come that it shall be disposed of, by a council composed of the first Presidency of my Church and of the Bishop and his council and by <my> high council, and <by> mine own voice unto them saith the Lord, even so Amen.”²⁵ The inclusion of the three groups of officers—the First Presidency, the bishopric in Zion, and the high council in Zion²⁶—essentially ratified current practice, since these three groups were already handling the financial affairs of the Church.

In accordance with the revelation, on July 26 Joseph assembled the designated officers to discuss how to handle consecrated properties. Joseph Smith’s journal records that the council approved, among other matters, that the First Presidency “keep all their properties,” that the

22. See “Revelation, 8 July 1838—C [D&C 119],” in Ashurst-McGee and others, *Documents, Volume 6*, 183–87.

23. “Revelation, 8 July 1838—C [D&C 119],” 187–88. At this point in Church history, “tithes” or “tithing” referred to any amount of resources that were consecrated. Harper, “Tithing of My People,” 251.

24. See “Revelation, 8 July 1838—C [D&C 119],” 186–87.

25. “Revelation, 8 July 1838—D [D&C 120],” in Ashurst-McGee and others, *Documents, Volume 6*, 190.

26. See “Revelation, 8 July 1838—D [D&C 120],” 190.

First Presidency “shall be defrayed in traveling at any time or place,” and that land would be provided to members coming from Kirtland who had previously made donations to the Church.²⁷

A few months after this meeting, Joseph and other Church leaders were incarcerated and the Missouri Saints were forced to abandon Church and personal property and flee to Illinois. Upon arrival in Illinois and the release of Joseph, the Saints settled and reestablished themselves in Nauvoo. Joseph followed the same general course for managing finances as he did before 1838—he continued to lead the financial management, assisted by his counselors in the First Presidency, local bishops, and the Nauvoo high council.²⁸ Although he worked frequently with these other leaders, there does not appear to be a meeting in which the council dictated by the 1838 revelation ever formally met.²⁹

During the Nauvoo period, Joseph introduced an important change in financial administration: he began to give financial responsibilities to the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. First established in 1835, the Twelve’s primary mission had dealt with ecclesiastical matters, especially the preaching of the gospel (thus, the quorum was not involved at all when Joseph convened the first council in 1838), and the Twelve undertook several proselytizing missions at the beginning of their ministry, including a quorum-wide mission to England in 1839 and 1840.³⁰ After the Twelve returned in 1841, Joseph began to involve them in temporal matters. On August 16, 1841, Joseph announced at a Church conference that “the time had come when the twelve should be called upon to stand in their place next to the first presidency, and attend to the settling of emigrants and the business of the church at the stakes.”³¹ From that point forward, the Twelve were involved in the Church’s financial affairs.

27. “Minutes, 26 July 1838,” in Ashurst-McGee and others, *Documents*, Volume 6, 207–8.

28. Quinn, “Evolution of the Presiding Quorums,” 29–30; Robert Bruce Flanders, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975), 119–24.

29. Steven C. Harper and other staff members working on the Joseph Smith Papers Project indicated that they do not have any information about the council after the July 1838 meeting. Personal correspondence, March 13, 2017.

30. For an in-depth history of the development of the Quorum of the Twelve from 1835 to 1841, see Ronald K. Esplin, “The Emergence of Brigham Young and the Twelve to Mormon Leadership, 1830–1841” (PhD diss., Brigham Young University, 1981; Provo, Utah: BYU Studies, 2006).

31. “Conference Minutes,” *Times and Seasons* 2 (September 1, 1841): 521–22. See also Quinn, “Evolution of the Presiding Quorums,” 29–30.

FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT FROM BRIGHAM YOUNG TO JOSEPH F. SMITH

After the death of Joseph in 1844, the First Presidency was dissolved and the Quorum of the Twelve became the governing body of the Church. Working with the local bishops, the Twelve directed the financial and temporal affairs of the Church, including finishing the Nauvoo Temple and moving the Saints to Utah.³² By the time the Saints settled in Utah, the First Presidency had been reorganized, the Presiding Bishopric had been established as a presiding quorum of the Church, and Church finances were fairly stable. Tithing houses, where members donated their funds, were established throughout Utah. Most of those funds were remitted to the General Tithing Office in Salt Lake City, which operated under the direction of Brigham Young, who once commented, "It is my business to control the disbursements of the Tithing paid by the Saints."³³ He directed financial affairs throughout the Church, assisted by his counselors and the Presiding Bishopric, with occasional involvement from the Quorum of the Twelve.³⁴

Financial management deteriorated in the 1880s during John Taylor's presidency due to persecution by the federal government and Church

32. For example, see Joseph Smith Jr., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 2d ed., rev., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1971), 7:250–51, 358–59; see also "An Epistle of the Twelve," *Times and Seasons* 5 (August 1844): 618–20; and "An Epistle of the Twelve," *Times and Seasons* 6 (January 1845): 779–80.

33. Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1855–56), 8:170, as quoted in Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: Economic History of the Latter-Day Saints, 1830–1900* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), 141; see also 133–42.

34. In addition to Arrington's *Great Basin Kingdom*, for a brief summary of financial management from 1844 to the late 1800s, see Beecher, "Office of Bishop," 109–12. For an in-depth study of the relationship between the First Presidency and the Presiding Bishopric during Brigham Young's and John Taylor's presidencies, see Donald Gene Pace, "The LDS Presiding Bishopric, 1851–1888: An Administrative Study" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1978), 113–58. One reason the Twelve were not regularly involved in financial affairs was simply because they were rarely together in Salt Lake City due to their various mission and settlement assignments. When they were in Salt Lake, Brigham Young did involve them inasmuch as they were available. See Leonard J. Arrington and Ronald K. Esplin, "The Role of the Council of the Twelve during Brigham Young's Presidency of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," *Task Papers in LDS History*, no. 31 (Salt Lake City: Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1979), 38–40, 51–52, 55–57.

leaders' subsequent attempts to protect Church assets from seizure. Also during this time, many Church leaders went into hiding to avoid being arrested for practicing polygamy and the Presiding Bishopric was assigned to manage essentially all financial matters, a move that led to some disagreements among senior Church leaders regarding Church financial management.³⁵ As the polygamy crisis began to fade, Church Presidents Wilford Woodruff and Lorenzo Snow sought to stabilize Church finances and financial administration.³⁶ Under Lorenzo Snow, for example, several members of the Twelve were appointed to an auditing committee to help review the Church's general finances, and Lorenzo Snow appointed Rudger Clawson, the newest Apostle, to lead the endeavor.³⁷ Though the Quorum of the Twelve was involved in Church financial matters, the First Presidency and Presiding Bishopric continued to head up these matters and retained joint, final authority over all finances.³⁸ The disparity in responsibility among the groups is reflected in Heber J. Grant's recollection that, while serving as an Apostle, he remarked to Presiding Bishop William Preston, "I would like to be appointed an assistant to the Presiding Bishopric . . . [because] you have a barn full of horses and I cannot even go out and attend to some of the business of the Apostles without an order from you."³⁹

After Lorenzo Snow died, Church President Joseph F. Smith continued to give attention to Church finances (which included working closely with Presiding Bishop Charles Nibley),⁴⁰ and during his last

35. The decision was reversed a decade later. See Pace, "LDS Presiding Bishopric, 1851–1888," 148–56; and Journal History of the Church, April 2, 1896, 2–9, https://dcms.lds.org/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE369693; April 12, 1897, 2–3, https://dcms.lds.org/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE508289; December 15, 1897, 2, https://dcms.lds.org/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE449496.

36. See previous note and Thomas G. Alexander, "Church Administrative Change in the Progressive Period, 1898–1930," in Whittaker and Garr, *Firm Foundation*, 295–99.

37. For information about Clawson's work and changes to the Church's financial system, see Alexander, "Church Administrative Change," 296–97; and Boyd Payne, "Rudger Clawson's Report on LDS Church Finances at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," *Dialogue* 31 (Winter 1998): 165–79.

38. See Charles W. Nibley, "The 'Mormon' Finance System," *Improvement Era* 16 (July 1913): 942; and Payne, "Rudger Clawson's Report," 165–79.

39. Minutes of meeting, April 8, 1943, box 188, 3:17–18, JRC Papers.

40. See Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890–1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 100–101, 105. For a specific example of Joseph F. Smith on finances, see "Statement

general conference address in October 1918, President Smith referenced the spiritual and temporal welfare of the Saints, stating that he was “ever anxious for the progress of the work of the Lord, for the prosperity of the people of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints throughout the world. I am as anxious as I ever have been, and as earnest in my desires that Zion shall prosper.”⁴¹

About a month after the conference concluded, on November 1, 1918, he received an important revelation pertaining to Church finances. The revelation reads much like the revelations contained in the Doctrine and Covenants and addressed the financial administration of the Church:

Thus saith the Lord, I am well pleased with the records which are kept of the receipts and disbursements of the tithing and fast and free-will offerings and properties of my church. And I say unto you, that the time is now in accord with my word given to my servant Joseph Smith, Jr., in 1838, when the tithing and other funds and the properties of my church shall be disposed of and appropriated for the work of the ministry, and the building up and beautifying and the lengthening and strengthening of the stakes of Zion.

The presidency of my church, the council of the Twelve—and not at any time less than a majority—shall be a quorum and the presiding bishopric of my church shall be a council for this purpose. And they shall be agreed in their decisions, and shall hearken unto my voice in all things.

And the duties of the presiding bishopric, shall be in accordance with the promptings of my Spirit, and subject to the presidency of the church.⁴²

This revelation, which instructed President Smith to reestablish the Council on the Disposition of the Tithes, was a revision of the 1838 revelation in two important ways. First, the composition of the council was updated to reflect the current Church leadership structure. The 1838 revelation stated that the First Presidency was to meet with the bishopric and high council of Zion, who were what today would be considered local Church officers.⁴³ The 1918 revelation replaced the local high

by the First Presidency,” *81st Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1911), 130.

41. “President Joseph F. Smith,” *Eighty-Ninth Semi-annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1918), 2.

42. Revelation, November 1, 1918, to Joseph F. Smith, transcript, box 188, 3:34, JRC Papers.

43. There were two active high councils when the 1838 revelation was given, one in Far West and one in Adam-ondi-Ahman. (The high council in Kirtland seems to have effectively been dissolved amid the general migration from

council with the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, and the local bishopric with the Presiding Bishopric.⁴⁴ These changes reflected how the Church had evolved: In 1838, the Saints had been gathering to Zion (what was then Far West, Missouri), and they intended to continue with that gathering. Thus, the high council and bishopric of Zion were, essentially, “central” officers for the Church. Later, after the main body of the Saints had moved to Utah and colonized the American West, Church members were encouraged to remain in their homelands and build up Zion wherever they lived.⁴⁵ Therefore, there would be no central high council or bishopric presiding over an area to which members would be gathering. Rather, as general officers, the Quorum of the Twelve and the Presiding Bishopric would have jurisdiction over the whole Church.

Second, the 1918 revelation added an important stipulation on how the council was to be governed. In both 1838 and 1918, the Lord instructed the council to act according to his direction. Then in 1918 the Lord added another principle of governance: “And they shall be agreed in their decisions.” The importance of unity generally and in councils specifically had been part of instructions on governance since the Church’s establishment. For example, in instructions given in 1835, Joseph Smith reminded the presiding quorums that their decisions “must be by the unanimous voice of the same; that is, every member

Kirtland to Far West.) There were also three bishops in the Church: Edward Partridge (in Far West), Newel Whitney (en route from Kirtland to Missouri), and Vinson Knight (serving as acting bishop in Adam-ondi-Ahman until Whitney arrived). See “Ecclesiastical Organizational Charts,” The Joseph Smith Papers, <http://www.josephsmithpapers.org/back/ecclesiastical-organizational-charts-1830-1839>.

44. Just as with the 1838 revelation, this portion of the 1918 revelation seems to be simply a codification of then current understanding. Six years earlier, Joseph F. Smith had explained that “the Lord has revealed how this means [tithing] shall be cared for, and managed; namely, by the Presidency of the Church and the High Council of the Church; (that is, the Twelve Apostles), and the Presiding Bishopric of the Church.” “President Joseph F. Smith,” *Eighty-Second Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1912), 6. Since Joseph F. Smith received his revelation six years after this statement, it may be that the Church leaders had assumed that only general involvement by these three governing bodies in Church finances was necessary to fulfill the divine mandate, instead of a regularly constituted council that approved all financial matters.

45. For a summary of the gathering to Zion from Joseph Smith’s time to the early twentieth century, see David M. Morris, “The Rhetoric of the Gathering and Zion: Consistency through Change 1831–1920,” *International Journal of Mormon Studies* 1 (2008): 154–71.

in each quorum must be agreed to its decisions in order to make their decisions of the same power or validity one with the other.”⁴⁶ This added condition may have been poignant for Joseph F. Smith, who had witnessed stiff disagreements among senior Church leaders concerning Church financial affairs.⁴⁷

Three weeks after Joseph F. Smith’s death, his son Joseph Fielding Smith went through his father’s things and found the revelation in a coat pocket. Joseph Fielding then handed the revelation to Heber J. Grant, who had become President of the Church. There is currently no indication of President Grant acting on the revelation given to President Smith, and apparently the existence of the revelation was not shared with anyone else. What President Grant did with the original document is also unknown.⁴⁸ Although the revelation was apparently not submitted for approval to the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve, eventually this revelation was de facto accepted and implemented by a subsequent First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve.

REESTABLISHMENT OF THE COUNCIL ON THE DISPOSITION OF THE TITHES

After Joseph F. Smith’s death, Church President Heber J. Grant continued to work toward improving the management of Church finances.⁴⁹ This effort was advanced considerably when J. Reuben Clark Jr. was sustained as a counselor to President Grant in the First Presidency. In

46. Doctrine and Covenants (Kirtland, Ohio: F. G. Williams and Co., 1835), 84, in *Revelations and Translations, Volume 2: Published Revelations*, ed. Robin Scott Jensen, Richard E. Turley Jr., and Riley M. Lorimer, The Joseph Smith Papers (Salt Lake City: Church Historian’s Press, 2011), 395, <http://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/doctrine-and-covenants-1835/92>.

47. In addition to the sources listed in note 35, see Edward Leo Lyman, “Succession by Seniority: The Development of Procedural Precedents, in the LDS Church,” *Journal of Mormon History* 40 (Spring 2014):131–33.

48. During a meeting of the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve on April 8, 1943, Joseph Fielding Smith mentioned briefly that he had found the revelation and delivered it to President Grant. Until that meeting, J. Reuben Clark Jr., who was in the First Presidency, had no knowledge of the revelation. Later that day, Elder Smith gave a transcript of the revelation to President Clark and explained its provenance. See J. Reuben Clark Jr., Diary, April 8, 1943, addendum box 13, JRC Papers; also see Remarks to the Twelve, April 8, 1943, 21; and notations on Revelation, November 1, 1918, JRC Papers.

49. See Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition*, 119–20.

the late 1930s and early 1940s, President Clark tried to better organize financial management in the Church. He instituted the Churchwide welfare system in the mid to late 1930s,⁵⁰ and in 1939 he instituted a Churchwide budgetary system, which planned for expenditures in advance. Up to this time, Church expenditures had always been accounted for accurately and carefully, but no plan for spending had been followed; rather, the Church paid for needs as they came up. Now, to ensure stable finances moving forward, President Clark worked to have a budget set up each year that would cover the next year and thus ensure that the Church never spent more than what came in and had a sufficient cash reserve to cover contingencies.⁵¹

In early 1941, the First Presidency discussed the Church's financial management system and how Church finances could be better handled. To look for possible answers, President Clark undertook an in-depth study of Church financial management under Joseph Smith. He reviewed all the revelations in the Doctrine and Covenants, as well as information in B. H. Roberts's *History of the Church*. To better understand Church finances, he also consulted with financial secretaries in the office of the First Presidency. The reason for all this research, he later stated, was to ensure that any changes would be "in harmony with the revelations and with the historical situation of the financial operations of the Church."⁵²

During this period of study, the issue of financial management came up in a regular Thursday meeting of the First Presidency and the Twelve. As noted in President Clark's office diary, during the meeting of March 5, 1942, the Brethren "considered the question of P.B.O's [Presiding Bishopric Office's] control of financings and of the provisions of Sec. 120 D.C. [Doctrine and Covenants]."⁵³ President Clark and David O. McKay, Second

50. See D. Michael Quinn, *J. Reuben Clark: The Church Years* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1983), 251–71.

51. Presumably the budget was based on saved tithing funds and some estimated income for the coming year. For a summary of the budget initiative, see Quinn, *J. Reuben Clark: The Church Years*, 271–72.

52. See Remarks to the Twelve, April 8, 1943, 1–12. An outgrowth of his study was a pamphlet published by the *Church News*: J. Reuben Clark Jr., "The United Order and Law of Consecration as Set Out in the Revelations of the Lord." See also Quinn, *J. Reuben Clark: The Church Years*, 272–73, which states that President Grant brought up the financial management structure that had been in place for about sixty years, since the 1880s when the Presiding Bishopric had received control of Church finances during the polygamy raids.

53. Clark, Diary, March 8, 1942, addendum box 12, JRC Papers; typescript of entry in box 188, 3:1, JRC Papers.

Counselor in the First Presidency, discussed the matter a couple of days later. Then President Clark prepared a preliminary outline on how the financial management might be rearranged. In the outline he noted that, according to Doctrine and Covenants 120, the council on administering Church resources should consist of the First Presidency, the Quorum of the Twelve, and the Presiding Bishopric and that these three groups together form a council that “considers and passes upon [the] budget.”⁵⁴

The next year, President Clark prepared a proposal on behalf of the First Presidency about reorganizing the financial administration and introduced the proposal to the Quorum of the Twelve on April 8, 1943, during the regular Thursday meeting of the First Presidency and the Twelve. He began by explaining that the First Presidency had long felt that the “financial setup, the handling of our funds, might be brought more into harmony with the revelations than they are at present.” He reminded the Brethren of the March 1942 meeting, in which “there were feelings expressed that perhaps there might be some kind of readjustment that would bring [the Twelve] more closely into the financial operations of the Church than [they had] been in the past.”⁵⁵ He then reviewed the research he had conducted and what he had learned about the revelations and history of Church finances under Joseph Smith.

After this review, he explained the proposed reorganization. The first and most important change was the reestablishment of a council that followed the principles of Doctrine and Covenants 120. Speaking on behalf of the First Presidency regarding section 120, he explained, “Now we have felt, brethren, that there was nothing in the history of the Church against this commandment of the Lord of July 8, 183[8], and that indeed there was every reason why that should be regarded as still in force, and why we should proceed under that general plan. . . . We have felt that we should go back to this and that the disbursements of the tithing should be made by the First Presidency, the Council of the Twelve, and the Presiding Bishopric.”⁵⁶

A key part of the reestablishment of the full council was the formation of two subcommittees, the Committee on Budget and the Committee on Expenditures. The Committee on Budget would review requests

54. Clark, Diary, typescript of entry in box 188, 3:1, JRC Papers. President Clark excluded welfare resources from the council’s jurisdiction because the revelation used the term *tithing*, which he interpreted to mean as it was defined in 1943 (10 percent of income), not as it was defined in 1838 (all freewill offerings).

55. Remarks to the Twelve, April 8, 1943, 1.

56. Remarks to the Twelve, April 8, 1943, 12–13.

from various Church organizations and prepare a budget to be proposed to the full council. The Committee on Expenditures incorporated members of the Twelve into an already existing committee that consisted of the First Presidency and the Presiding Bishopric, which met every Tuesday morning “to authorize and supervise all expenditures under the approved budget.” In the Churchwide budget, there would be “a lump sum appropriation for new buildings; it will be for the Committee on Expenditures to determine which building shall be built, the kind of buildings to be built, and the cost.”⁵⁷ President Clark explained the importance of this committee and the effect of having members of the Twelve join it: “There would be some of you brethren designated to come and sit with us every Tuesday morning so that you would be concerned and consulted . . . regarding the budget and the amounts, and then you would also through your committee participate . . . in the allocation of these things. That is very important because that is where all your building is considered and your determinations are made as to whether you will build or not, how much you will expend on your building, the furnishings and the details that come in.”⁵⁸

The newly organized council, and the Committee on Expenditures in particular, highlighted the key difference in how Church financial matters would be handled going forward: representatives from the Twelve would now be fully involved in all financial decisions of the Church, and the overall finances would be governed by a body that included the full quorum. After a brief discussion, the Twelve heartily approved the proposal. George Albert Smith remarked, “I think the proposition now involves this body of men individually as nothing else has in a long time. We will be assuming a responsibility that we have been relieved of for a long time—I speak now of the Twelve. The Presidency have carried the burden and the Presiding Bishopric.”⁵⁹

With approval from the Twelve, all that was left was some fine-tuning and final First Presidency approval before the complete proposal could be presented to the three presiding quorums involved in the council. Presidents Clark and McKay continued to tweak the proposal, and on Wednesday, April 28, President Clark went to President Grant’s house to discuss the final proposal, which President Grant approved.⁶⁰

57. First Presidency Memorandum, May 7, 1943, 16, box 88, 3:91, JRC Papers.

58. Remarks to the Twelve, April 8, 1943, 15.

59. Remarks to the Twelve, April 8, 1943, 22.

60. Clark, Diary, April 15 and 28, 1943, addendum box 13.

On Thursday, April 29, the First Presidency, the Quorum of the Twelve, and the Presiding Bishopric met together to consider the proposal. President Clark introduced the proposed reorganization by summarizing some of the principles by which the First Presidency and Presiding Bishopric had operated in regard to Church finances, including ensuring that expenditures did not exceed income, setting a budget, accurately accounting for all expenditures, not using funds for personal aggrandizement, and keeping buildings and furnishings modest and not extravagant. He also explained three principles that would guide the direction of the new administrative approach: (1) any extra funds in each budget category at the end of the year would be forfeited; (2) amounts would not be shifted from one category to another to cover deficits; and (3) any increase to the amount allotted for a category would have to be approved by the full council. After a brief discussion, the council approved the proposal. President Clark then reviewed the budget that had been established for 1943, which the council ratified.⁶¹

And so the Council on the Disposition of the Tithes was reestablished as a governing council of the Church. Beginning on May 18, 1943, three members of the Twelve joined the First Presidency and Presiding Bishopric in their regular Tuesday meetings to review expenditures, thus implementing the Committee on Expenditures.⁶² In an effort by the First Presidency to follow the revelations given to Joseph Smith, the Quorum of the Twelve was brought fully into the administration of Church finances. President Clark announced the new financial management system in the October 1943 general conference.⁶³

On March 31, 1944, the Council on the Disposition of the Tithes met for the first time in over a century to officially consider and prospectively decide upon the management of Church finances. Members of the

61. See Remarks to Council, April 29, 1943, 1–14, box 188, 3:35–48, JRC Papers.

62. In his diary entry for Monday, May 17, Clark noted, “LeGrand Richards—Told him that tomorrow we would have three members of the Twelve with us; that [?] should be provided for them; that receipts [*sic*] would be reported to the First Presidency only; that Bro Evans would keep the minutes which we would have read at the beginning of each meeting; that P.B.O. might have copy of minutes.” Addendum box 13, JRC Papers. Clark’s office diary shows that up to August of 1943, each Tuesday at 10:00 a.m., the First Presidency had a meeting with the Presiding Bishopric. Beginning with the entries for August 17, 1943, the meeting’s name was changed to “Com. on Expenditures.” Clark, Diary, addendum box 13.

63. “President J. Reuben Clark, Jr.,” *One Hundred Fourteenth Semi-annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1943), 12 (cf. pp. 10–14).

council—the First Presidency, the Quorum of the Twelve, and the Presiding Bishopric—met in the board room of the Church Administration Building.⁶⁴ After some preliminary information was presented by other individuals, President Clark went through the Church's proposed budget for 1944. After some discussion about various budget items, the budget was unanimously approved.

At the end of the meeting, President George Albert Smith, then president of the Quorum of the Twelve, gave his feelings on the meeting: "I think it is very gratifying to be able to sit down as the Brethren do here, in a great organization such as we have, and find that the expense and income of the Church is being tabulated and if there is anything appropriated it is done in [a legal] way and passed on by men who have authority to do it." President Clark also commented that "so far as we know and see, we are making a real effort to bring it [financial management] within the revelation. That is the reason for this group." President McKay then expressed his feelings: "This is an historic meeting. This is the first time, I believe, so far as I know, that these men, designated by the revelation, [have met] and considered the expenditures of the Church."⁶⁵

The history of the council's reestablishment gives insight into the importance of Joseph Smith's revelation in developing the council and the importance President Clark placed on understanding the history of Church financial administration. The time from the 1838 revelation to Joseph Smith to when the council began operating on a regular basis was over one hundred years, demonstrating that sometimes fulfilling a revelation takes time. With the reestablishment, the First Presidency also fulfilled the objective set in the early 1940s of bringing the Twelve fully into the financial operations of the Church.

CONTINUED DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNCIL

The Council's Name

The name of the council would vary for many years, though the form remained constant: the name begins with the term *council* or *committee*, which is then followed by *expenditures* or *distribution* or *disposition*, and

64. Minutes of meeting, March 31, 1944, 1, box 188, vol. 3, loose-leaf papers, JRC Papers.

65. Minutes of meeting, March 31, 1944, 8. When the council met in April 1943, President Clark explained that the budget had already been set and was being followed; hence the council was ratifying an already implemented budget. This meeting in 1944 is presumably the first meeting when the council considered the budget before it was implemented.

then concludes with *tithes* or *tithing*. The presence or absence of the article *the* between key terms also varies. The minutes of the March 31, 1944, meeting used the term “Council on Expenditures of the Tithing,”⁶⁶ whereas a few days later in general conference, President Clark used the term “Council on the Distribution of the Tithes.”⁶⁷ And in the April 1949 conference, he called the council “Committee on Distribution of Tithing.”⁶⁸

Beginning with the April 1960 general conference, the key terms *council*, *disposition*, and *tithes* became fairly standard in both the Audit Committee Report⁶⁹ and in other addresses, and generally the only variation in the council’s name was the presence or absence of *the* at various points in the name. Since the April 1992 general conference, the Audit Committee Report has used “Council on the Disposition of the Tithes,” which is the version of the council’s name currently used in most public discourse and Church materials.⁷⁰

Meetings and Subcommittees

Since its establishment, the council has met annually to review and approve the budget for the next calendar year. In recent years, this meeting has been held on the first Friday in December.⁷¹ The two subcommittees

66. See minutes of meeting, March 31, 1944, 1.

67. “President J. Reuben Clark, Jr.,” *One Hundred Fourteenth Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1944), 19.

68. “President J. Reuben Clark, Jr.,” *One Hundred Nineteenth Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1949), 123.

69. For a discussion of the Church financial reports, see Samuel D. Brunson, “The Present, Past, and Future of LDS Financial Transparency,” *Dialogue* 48 (Spring 2015): 1–44.

70. Variations continued to appear even after the “standardizations” of 1960 and 1992. For examples, see “Symposium Focuses on the Missouri Experience,” *Ensign* 21 (May 1991): 108; LaRene Porter Gaunt, “Edward Hunter: Generous Pioneer, Presiding Bishop,” *Ensign* 34 (July 2004): 50; and “Doctrine and Covenants 117–20,” in *Doctrine and Covenants and Church History Study Guide for Home-Study Seminary Students* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2017), 471.

71. See Francis M. Gibbons, *Ezra Taft Benson: Statesman, Patriot, Prophet of God* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1996), 249; and Tad Walch, “Mormon Leader Shares Details on LDS Church Finances,” *Deseret News*, March 2, 2018, <https://www.deseretnews.com/article/865696504/Mormon-leader-shares-information-about-LDS-Church-finances.html>.

established under the council have regularly met as originally prescribed. References to the committees are scattered, often appearing in the annual Church finance or audit reports given each April general conference. References have also appeared in various conference talks. For example, in the October 1979 general conference, N. Eldon Tanner explained that the Expenditures Committee met weekly at 10:00 a.m. and that the committee consisted of the First Presidency, four members of the Twelve, and the Presiding Bishopric.⁷²

From 1981 to 1985, the annual Audit Committee Report used the term “Budget and Appropriations Committee,” possibly implying that the two subcommittees had been combined and that the Expenditures Committee had been renamed the Appropriations Committee. From 1986 to 2002 (the last year the committee was mentioned in the report), the report referred to the “Appropriations Committee,” and from 1992 to 2002, the report specifically identified the two subcommittees as separate entities. A 2011 Church publication used the term “Budget and Appropriations Committee,” possibly implying that the two subcommittees had again been combined.⁷³ In any case, all indications are that the Expenditures/Appropriations Committee continues to meet each week.

Establishing Policies

Though the extent to which the council (or the council’s subcommittees) establishes policies is difficult to determine based on publicly available documents, it is clear that these groups are involved in creating at least some financial policies for the Church. For example, the council approved a policy of no deficit spending (possibly after the 1950s and 1960s building expansion program that relied on deficit spending).⁷⁴

72. N. Eldon Tanner, “The Administration of the Church,” *Ensign* 5 (November 1979): 46.

73. *Facilities Management Guidelines for Meetinghouses and Other Church Property* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2011), 7, https://www.lds.org/bc/content/shared/content/english/pdf/language-materials/o8636_eng.pdf.

74. See Gordon B. Hinckley, “The Miracle Made Possible by Faith,” *Ensign* 7 (May 1984): 46–47. The extent to which the council itself influenced the deficit-spending program is unclear. Certainly individual members of the council would have been able to influence financial decisions generally. For example, see Gibbons, *Ezra Taft Benson*, 249. For details on the deficit-spending program and the people involved, see G. Homer Durham, *N. Eldon Tanner: His Life and*

And as it relates to finances, the Church Budget and Appropriations Committee approves standardized designs for Church meetinghouses.⁷⁵

Public References to the Council

After President Clark first announced the new program in the October 1943 general conference, he referred to the council three more times in conference as part of the annual financial report, explaining that the council was responsible for establishing the Church's budget.⁷⁶ After the April 1949 conference, the council was not mentioned for a decade. The next reference appeared in the April 1960 general conference, when the Church Auditing Department Report and the Church Finance Committee Report reminded Church members that the council was responsible for approving the Church's budget.⁷⁷ Since then, references to the council have been a standard part of the auditing or finance report given each April conference.

Other references to the council have occasionally been made by Church leaders. For example, in a 1980 general conference address on tithing, Spencer W. Kimball (then President of the Church) mentioned in passing that the council "meets regularly under the inspiration of the Lord to determine and approve the disbursement of the tithes of the Lord's church."⁷⁸ In 1986, Robert D. Hales (then the Presiding Bishop) mentioned that the Lord directs the council "in how to use the sacred tithes of the

Service (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1982), 208–9, 231–32; Gregory A. Prince and Wm. Robert Wright, *David O. McKay and the Rise of Modern Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2005), 209–26. Though Prince and Wright's account does not contain any reference to the council, based on the information presented, it is possible that the building program budget was a deficit-spending budget for at least a couple of years, a budget which the council would have approved as part of the annual budget approval process.

75. See *Facilities Management Guidelines*, 7.

76. See J. Rueben Clark, Jr., "Financial Statement," *One Hundred Sixteenth Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1946), 7; "President J. Reuben Clark, Jr.," *One Hundred Eighteenth Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1948), 116–17; "President J. Reuben Clark, Jr.," *One Hundred Nineteenth Annual Conference*, 123.

77. "Statistical Report—1959," *One Hundred Thirtieth Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1960), 92.

78. Spencer W. Kimball, "The Law of Tithing," *Ensign* 6 (November 1980): 78.

Saints.”⁷⁹ Perhaps the two addresses that have provided the most in-depth discussion of the council in public discourse have come from H. David Burton (a Presiding Bishop, who gave specific examples of decisions made in a council meeting) and David A. Bednar (of the Quorum of the Twelve, who explained basic operational principles of the council).⁸⁰

References to the council have also appeared in published works, such as the 1992 *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, which discussed both the general council and its two subcommittees. And Church manuals continue to reference the council, as do Church magazine articles.⁸¹

Applications of Doctrine and Covenants 120

Beginning with the April 1960 general conference, the annual reports from the finance or audit committees informed Church members that the Church’s budget was approved by the council. Beginning with the April 1989 general conference, the report specifically stated that the authorization of expenditures and composition of the council was conducted “as prescribed under revelation.” From 1989 to 1994, the relevant phrasing was similar to the following: “The expenditures of general Church funds for the year were authorized by the Council on the Disposition of Tithes, composed of the First Presidency, the Council of the Twelve, and the Presiding Bishopric, as prescribed under revelation of the Lord.”⁸² The *as*-clause at the end of the sentence is ambiguous as to whether the revelation referred to the authorizing of expenditures or to the composition

79. Robert D. Hales, “The Divine Law of Tithing,” *Ensign* 16 (December 1986): 18.

80. Burton, “These Are the Times”; David A. Bednar, “The Windows of Heaven,” *Ensign* 43 (November 2013): 17–20.

81. See Richard Edgley and Wilford G. Edling, “Finances of the Church,” in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 1:507–9. Some examples of references to the council in Church manuals include “Doctrine and Covenants 119–120,” in *Doctrine and Covenants and Church History Seminary Teacher Manual* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2013), 650; and “The Law of Tithing and the Law of the Fast,” in *Doctrine and Covenants and Church History: Gospel Doctrine Teacher’s Manual* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1999), 95. The latter is still used in gospel doctrine classes today. For examples of Church magazine references, see note 70.

82. Wilford G. Edling, “The Church Audit Committee Report,” *Ensign* 19 (May 1989): 18. This interpretation started under the administration of Wilford G. Edling, managing director of the Church Auditing Department, and continued partway through the administration of his successor, Ted E. Davis.

of the council. From 1995 to 2004, the report's phrasing assigned the revelation to the composition of the council: "Expenditures of Church funds for the year were authorized by the Council on the Disposition of the Tithes according to written policies. The Council is composed of the First Presidency, the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, and the Presiding Bishopric, as prescribed under revelation."⁸³

From 2005 to 2012, the report's phrasing reassigned the revelation from composition to authorization and included a citation to the revelation: "As prescribed by revelation in section 120 of the Doctrine and Covenants, the Council on the Disposition of the Tithes authorizes the expenditure of Church funds. This council is composed of the First Presidency, the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, and the Presiding Bishopric."⁸⁴ In 2013, the principles of authorization and composition were brought back together, with the report still referencing Doctrine and Covenants 120: "As directed by revelation in section 120 of the Doctrine and Covenants, the Council on the Disposition of the Tithes—composed of the First Presidency, the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, and the Presiding Bishopric—authorizes the expenditure of Church funds."⁸⁵

CONCLUSION

The history of how the Council on the Disposition of the Tithes developed demonstrates the dynamics of revelation and how it is implemented: The 1838 revelation established the council by essentially codifying then current practice; the revelation was re-revealed in 1918 with modifications; implementation of the revelation was delayed due to the death of the President of the Church; and in 1943, the council was reestablished, fulfilling both revelations. Additionally, the history of the council's development shows the increasing importance of the Quorum of the Twelve in the financial management of the Church. Members of

83. Ted E. Davis, "The Church Audit Committee Report," *Ensign* 25 (May 1995): 21. This transition occurred partway through the administration of Ted E. Davis, managing director of the Church Auditing Department, and continued throughout the administration of his successor, Wesley L. Jones.

84. Robert W. Cantwell, "Church Auditing Department Report, 2004," *Ensign* 35 (May 2005): 24. This interpretation was used during the administration of Robert W. Cantwell, managing director of the Church Auditing Department.

85. Kevin R. Jergensen, "Church Auditing Report, 2013," *Ensign* 44 (May 2014): 28. This interpretation started with the administration of Kevin R. Jergensen, managing director of the Church Auditing Department.

the Twelve were not involved at all when the council was first established in 1838 but slowly became more involved throughout the late-pioneer era and were fully integrated with the council's reestablishment in 1943. The council and its subcommittees continue to meet according to the pattern established in 1943.

Regarding his first participation in the council in December of 2004, Elder David A. Bednar of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles remarked:

I was impressed by the simplicity of the principles that guided our deliberations and decisions. . . . As the meeting progressed, I found myself wishing that all members of the Church could observe the simplicity, the clarity, the orderliness, the charity, and the power of the Lord's own way (see D&C 104:16) for conducting the temporal affairs of His Church. I have now participated in the Council on the Disposition of the Tithes for many years. My gratitude and reverence for the Lord's pattern has grown each year, and the lessons learned have become even more profound.⁸⁶

Just as understanding how the council operates now has inspired both Elder Bednar and Bishop Burton, knowing the history of the council's development helps us better appreciate the nature of revelation and its relationship to Church leaders, policies, and practices, as well as the care and attention given to the administration of the Church's temporal affairs.

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86. Bednar, "The Windows of Heaven," 19–20; see also Robert D. Hales, "Tithing: A Test of Faith with Eternal Blessings," *Ensign* 32 (November 2002): 28.

Mystery and Dance

Beneath the trees that reach above the autumn asphalt
the wind, like a holy Spirit, ties the tilting fallen leaves
to the movement of my hands.

My arms lift, and in a minor magic,
the leaves follow on their tender threads.

I turn as God must turn and turn,
with His arms, His palms, up—and down—and up again.
With hardly an audience to see the graceful bend of His back, His neck—
the sweep of His legs and the sway—

with the stars and their planets tied to His palms,
revolving as though of their own volition—.

—Daniel F. Teichert

This poem won first place in the 2018 Clinton F. Larson Poetry Contest.

Robin Scott Jensen, Robert J. Woodford, and
Steven C. Harper, eds. *Revelations and Translations,*
Volume 1: Manuscript Revelation Books.

The Joseph Smith Papers. Salt Lake City: The Church Historian's Press, 2011.

Robin Scott Jensen, Richard E. Turley Jr., and
Riley M. Lorimer, eds. *Revelations and Translations,*
Volume 2: Published Revelations.

The Joseph Smith Papers. Salt Lake City: The Church Historian's Press, 2011.

Reviewed by James B. Allen

While the two volumes of the Revelations and Translations series of the Joseph Smith Papers should intrigue anyone interested in Church history, those particularly interested in the textual history of the Doctrine and Covenants will find them an absolute treasure. Volume 1 consists of verbatim transcriptions of the manuscript books known as Revelation Book 1 and Revelation Book 2, which contain nearly all of Joseph Smith's revelations from July 1828 to November 25, 1834 (covering today's Doctrine and Covenants 3 through 106). Most of the revelations featured in volume 1 are the earliest extant copies, meaning they are the versions closest to the original transcriptions. Volume 2 reproduces all of the early published versions of the revelations, including those in the 1833 Book of Commandments (only partially complete because an anti-Mormon mob destroyed the Church's press in Missouri before the printing was finished), *The Evening and the Morning Star*, and the 1835 edition of the Doctrine and Covenants. Volume 2 also includes the new items that were added to the 1844 edition of the Doctrine and Covenants, as well as transcripts of the additional revelations that were intended to be printed in the Book of Commandments. The volume is the perfect companion to volume 1 because, as the editors observe, "together these two volumes provide the most important primary sources needed to study the revelation texts and their development during Joseph Smith's lifetime" (xx). These volumes make it possible to trace changes in the revelation texts, from their early transcriptions to their eventual publication.

However, as the editors of volume 2 point out, users of this volume should also consult the Documents series of the Joseph Smith Papers, where the earliest extant versions of the revelations are published and arranged in chronological order, with historical introductions for each revelation as well as important textual annotation not included in either of these two volumes.¹

In a way volume 1 is a redundancy, albeit a very welcome one. In 2009, the same editors published *Revelations and Transcriptions: Manuscript Revelation Books, Facsimile Edition*.² This remarkable, meticulously edited publication features full-page photographs of every page of Revelation Books 1 and 2, together with careful transcripts that preserve all the emendations and redactions made by several people, including Joseph Smith; the editors made an important and distinctive contribution by identifying, through color coding, who made each change. This was a tremendous undertaking since not all the handwriting in these documents is easily decipherable or even legible. Making judgments often depended upon familiarity with the usual characteristics of each scribe's handwriting. The editors recognize that making decisions of this sort is "an imperfect art more than a science,"³ but they must be lauded for their scrupulousness and very responsible conclusions.

However, the 2009 facsimile edition is a heavy, oversized volume, making it unwieldy to use for general study. *Revelations and Translations, Volume 1*, published in 2011, exactly duplicates the editorial methods and transcriptions of the previous publication, but since it does not include the facsimiles, it is smaller and much easier to navigate. Further, it contains the same introductory material, including an excellent essay on Joseph Smith as a translator, an introduction to the manuscript revelation books, a description of the editorial method

1. See my review of Michael Hubbard MacKay and others, eds., *Documents, Volume 1: July 1828–June 1831*, The Joseph Smith Papers (Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, 2013); Matthew C. Godfrey and others, eds., *Documents, Volume 2: July 1831–January 1833* (2013); and Gerrit J. Dirkmaat and others, eds., *Documents, Volume 3: February 1833–March 1834* (2014), in *BYU Studies Quarterly* 55, no. 3 (2016): 174–82.

2. Robin Scott Jensen, Robert J. Woodford, and Steven C. Harper, eds., *Revelations and Translations: Manuscript Revelation Books*, facsimile edition, The Joseph Smith Papers (Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, 2009). See my review in *BYU Studies Quarterly* 51, no. 2 (2012): 151–60.

3. Jensen and others, *Revelations and Translations: Manuscript Revelation Books*, facsimile edition, xxxi.

used, and source notes and historical introductions for both revelation books. All that is missing are the facsimiles. Especially worth noting is the explanation by the editors of their rigorous approach to editing: “The transcripts render every word letter-by-letter, as accurately as possible, preserving the exact text of the original manuscript books. This includes incomplete words, variant spellings of personal names, repeated words, and idiosyncratic grammatical constructions. The transcriptions also include both emendations made when the text was originally inscribed and redactions made later, including labeling and other archival marking” (1:xxxvi).

Another example of the interesting information found in the introductory material of volume 1 is a note on how the revelations were compiled for publication. As explained on pages xxxi–xxxii, in most cases a scribe committed the revelations to paper as Joseph Smith dictated them. Then someone copied them into the manuscript books, from which they were eventually typeset. However, at times the process was not that simple. The revelation now known as Doctrine and Covenants 86, for example, was dictated by Joseph Smith on December 6, 1832, and written down by Sidney Rigdon. A copy was made by Frederick G. Williams; Orson Hyde copied that copy; John Whitmer copied Hyde’s copy into Revelation Book 1, and from there it was edited for publication. Interestingly, another copy of that revelation was inscribed into Revelation Book 2 by Frederick G. Williams. The revelation did not appear in the 1833 Book of Commandments, but it was in the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants. At the beginning of the copy in Revelation Book 2, Joseph Smith wrote the words “To go into th[e] covenants,” meaning the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants (1:355–57).

Most of the revelations in volume 1 were published during Joseph Smith’s lifetime. Others were canonized later and included in later editions of the Doctrine and Covenants. Nine of the revelations in these manuscript revelation books have not been canonized by the Church and therefore are not included in the Doctrine and Covenants. One example is the revelation given sometime early in 1830 commanding Oliver Cowdery, Hiram Page, Josiah Stowell, and Joseph Knight to go to Canada to secure or sell (both words are used in the revelation) the Book of Mormon copyright (1:26–28).⁴

4. For more information on this revelation, see Stephen K. Ehat, “Securing’ the Prophet’s Copyright in the Book of Mormon: Historical and Legal

The introductory material in volume 2 includes an excellent essay titled “Joseph Smith–Era Publications of Revelations,” which provides important background information relating to the documents reproduced in the book. The editors also explain the need for publishing the revelations. Early in his ministry, they note, Joseph Smith was fairly accessible to his followers. He became less so, however, as the Church grew, and fewer members had regular contact with him and “therefore with the community-building, faith-affirming power of his revelations.” The editors continue, “Publication allowed more people to access and interpret the revelations—the element of the new religion that drove every aspect of its doctrine and practice” (xxv).

The first document in volume 2 is the Book of Commandments—images of the 160 printed pages of the 1833 publication are in the volume. This section is preceded by an important historical introduction. Although there is no textual annotation, in the left margin, beside the photograph of each page, the editors have placed line numbers in order to facilitate significant notations, including identification of the source text for each revelation and the reason why the editors believe it to be the source. We learn much about the textual history from these annotations. For example, the notation for chapter 2 (now Doctrine and Covenants 3) reads: “This version reflects editing marks made in Revelation Book 1, indicating that the latter was used as a source text for the former” (2:19). That same notation occurs with most of the revelations. However, the notation for the oft-quoted revelation in chapter 3 (now Doctrine and Covenants 4) reads: “Other than a correction of the date of this revelation, no editing marks corresponding to this version are found in the extant portion of Revelation Book 1. The source text for this version is unknown” (2:21). The notations for the next two revelations read: “The pages containing the text of this revelation are missing from Revelation Book 1. The source text for this version is unknown” (2:22, 26). Though certain pages are missing from the revelation book, by going to the Documents series of the Joseph Smith Papers, the textual historian finds the earliest extant, complete versions of these revelations: Doctrine and Covenants 4 is in a collection of Edward Partridge’s papers in the Church History Library,⁵ the text for Doctrine and Covenants 5

Context for the So-Called Canadian Copyright Revelation,” *BYU Studies* 50, no. 2 (2011): 4–70.

5. MacKay and others, *Documents, Volume 1*, 9–13.

is in the Newel K. Whitney Papers at BYU,⁶ and the Book of Commandments itself contains the earliest extant version of Doctrine and Covenants 6.⁷

The Book of Commandments is followed by a transcript of the “Proposed Sixth Gathering of the Book of Commandments.” This includes all the material the editors believe would have been included in the Book of Commandments if its printing had not been so precipitously interrupted (2:173). It begins with the last part of chapter 65 (now Doctrine and Covenants 64) and ends with chapter 77 (now Doctrine and Covenants 133). It also includes, at the end, “The Testimony of Witnesses,” over the names of eighteen of Joseph Smith’s associates (2:175–93). This testimony was published, without signatures, in the 1835 edition of the Doctrine and Covenants as “the written testimony of the Twelve” (2:566). It is published in the current (2013) edition of the Doctrine and Covenants as “Testimony of the Twelve Apostles to the Truth of the Book of Doctrine and Covenants,” followed by the names of those who were members of the Twelve at the time.

In connection with the story of the witnesses, the editors remind us of something very important with regard to the wording of the revelations: The language (the words, grammatical construction, and so on) was Joseph’s, not God’s, and we therefore should not expect to find language beyond what Joseph was capable of producing. The ideas and information were given by revelation and were often profound, but we should not be surprised that not all were literary masterpieces. A revelation given on November 1, 1831, as a preface to the Book of Commandments, said: “Behold, I am God and have spoken it; these commandments are of me, and were given unto my servants in their weakness, after the manner of their language, that they might come to understanding” (1:xxx; D&C 1:24). That revelation, presented to the elders attending a conference, initiated a discussion in which Joseph Smith asked the elders to sign a statement testifying that the revelations were of God. A number agreed, but by the next day, some had second thoughts because of imperfections in the language of the revelations. At that point another revelation chided them and reemphasized the fact that they should not expect literary perfection: “Your eyes have been upon my servant Joseph Smith, Jun., and his language you have known, and his imperfections you have known;

6. MacKay and others, *Documents*, Volume 1, 13–22.

7. MacKay and others, *Documents*, Volume 1, 34–37.

and you have sought in your hearts knowledge that you might express beyond his language” (1:xxx; D&C 67:5). The Lord then invited anyone who could make a revelation “like unto” any of those in the Book of Commandments to do so. If someone succeeded, they were “justified in saying that ye do not know that they are true,” but if they failed, then they must “bear record that they are true” (D&C 67:7–8). William McLellin took up the challenge and failed; he and others were then willing to sign the statement (1:xxx–xxxi). All this is important, it seems to me, on two counts: (1) it confirms the integrity of the statement and those who signed it; and (2) it reminds all of us that we should not stumble if we find wording in the Doctrine and Covenants that does not seem grammatically perfect or is in some way more awkward than we would like.

The next section of volume 2 reproduces in parallel columns the twenty-five revelations published in the Church’s first newspaper, *The Evening and the Morning Star*, 1832–33, alongside the same revelations that appeared in the paper’s reprinted version, *Evening and Morning Star*, 1835–36. Only one revelation initially published in the newspaper was not published in the reprint. The text of *The Evening and the Morning Star* appears in the left column, and that of the *Evening and Morning Star* appears in the right, making it easy to see the differences between the two versions, including changes made to the text and formatting, some of which are very interesting. For example, in June 1832, the document known as “The Articles and Covenants” was published in *The Evening and the Morning Star*, where it stated that an elder was “to administer the flesh and blood of Christ according to the Scriptures” (2:205). The version of the document printed in January 1835 in the *Evening and Morning Star* expands the duties of elders, calling for them “to administer the bread and wine—the emblems of the flesh and blood of Christ—and to confirm those who are baptized into the church by the laying on of hands for the baptism of fire and the Holy Ghost, according to the scriptures” (2:205).

This section is followed by a photographic reprint of the 1835 edition of the Doctrine and Covenants, with a very informative introduction that explains how that volume came to be and why the various sections are not arranged in chronological order. This publication consisted of two parts: The first, titled “Theology,” includes seven lectures on Church doctrine now known as the “Lectures on Faith.” The second part, called “Covenants and Commandments,” consists of the revelations. Hence the origin of the name: Doctrine (the “Lectures on Faith”) and Covenants

(the revelations). The “Lectures on Faith” were included in all later editions of the Doctrine and Covenants until 1921.

Following the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants is a selection of images from Oliver Cowdery’s copy of the Book of Commandments, which was used, in conjunction with other sources, in preparing the 1835 volume. This, along with the editors’ introduction, helps us understand something of the printing history of the Doctrine and Covenants. The next section of the book is a photographic reprint of the seven sections from the 1844 edition Doctrine and Covenants that were not in the 1835 edition. The addition of those seven sections is the only major difference between the two editions.

Supplementary material at the end of the book includes a chronology of the Church’s record keeping and publishing history for the years 1831–35 and 1844, followed by a directory that includes biographical sketches of those who in any way assisted in the printing of the various editions of the revelations.

Finally, an intriguing section in the back matter deals with the words in the 1835 and 1844 editions of the Doctrine and Covenants that were substitutions for certain names, places, or other words that the editors wanted to shield from an antagonistic public. A chart lists all the substitute words and the names they stood for. For example, in several section headings, *Joseph Smith* was substituted with the name *Enoch*, and in the text of three sections, *Joseph Smith* was substituted with *Gazelem*. In the text of section 75 of the 1835 edition (now Doctrine and Covenants 78), in addition to the use of *Gazelem* for *Joseph Smith*, *Ahashdah* stood in for *Newel K. Whitney*, *Pelegoram* for *Oliver Cowdery*, and *order* for *firm*. This latter term references the United Firm, which the revelation commanded these three men to establish. Six revelations in the 1835 edition and another two in the 1844 edition contained such substitutions (2:710–11).⁸

All of this information presents the textual sleuth with opportunities for some interesting exercises in tracing the textual history of Joseph Smith’s revelations. One such possible exercise will be given here as a brief example of what can be discovered in volumes 1 and 2 of *Revelations and Translations*.

8. For more information on this interesting issue, see David J. Whittaker, “Substituted Names in the Published Revelations of Joseph Smith,” *BYU Studies* 23, no. 1 (1983): 103–12.

Section 4 of the current Doctrine and Covenants features a revelation that is often applied to missionaries. The most recent heading for that section, in the 2013 edition, reads: “Revelation given through Joseph Smith the Prophet to his father, Joseph Smith Sr., at Harmony, Pennsylvania, February 1829.” On page 11 of volume 1, the version of the text in Revelation Book 1 begins in the handwriting of John Whitmer with “AD.” “Feb” was then inserted above the line in the handwriting of Sidney Rigdon, followed by the year, “1829,” in Whitmer’s hand, except that the number “9” was written over the number “8” by an unknown scribe. Then the text continues: “A Revelation to Joseph the Father of the Seer he desired to know what the Lord had for him to do & this is what he Received as follows.” (There is no period in the manuscript, but the word “Saying” appears in the next line.) It is not uncommon in our time to hear that this revelation was given in response to Joseph Sr.’s request, as suggested in the Revelation Book 1, but that explanation has not appeared in any of the later published versions of the revelation. By the time this introductory statement appeared as part of chapter 3 in the Book of Commandments, it read, “A Revelation given to Joseph, the father of Joseph, in Harmony, Pennsylvania, February, 1829, saying:” (2:21). When the revelation appeared in the 1835 edition of the Doctrine and Covenants, it had become section 31 and the introduction read simply: “Revelation to Joseph Smith, Sen., given February 1829” (2:468).

Turning to the content of the revelation itself, the current text reads:

1 Now behold, a marvelous work is about to come forth among the children of men.

2 Therefore, O ye that embark in the service of God, see that ye serve him with all your heart, might, mind and strength, that ye may stand blameless before God at the last day.

3 Therefore, if ye have desires to serve God ye are called to the work;

4 For behold the field is white already to harvest; and lo, he that thrusteth in his sickle with his might, the same layeth up in store that he perisheth not, but bringeth salvation to his soul;

5 And faith, hope, charity and love, with an eye single to the glory of God, qualify him for the work.

6 Remember faith, virtue, knowledge, temperance, patience, brotherly kindness, godliness, charity, humility, diligence.

7 Ask, and ye shall receive; knock, and it shall be opened unto you. Amen.

The text of the revelation as written in Revelation Book 1 begins as follows: “Saying, now Behold a Marvelous work is about to come forth

among the children of men therefore O ye that embark in the service of God see that ye Serve him with all your heart might mind & Strength that ye may stand blameless before God at the last day therefore if ye have desires to serve God ye are called to the . . .” (1:11–12). The transcript in volume 1 is then followed by a bracketed notation: “pages 3–10 missing.” That unfortunate omission may help explain why the source text for the printed versions of this revelation is unknown. The wording of the rest of the revelation as published in 1833 and 1835 is generally the same as that of the current edition of the Doctrine and Covenants, except for some differences in capitalization and punctuation, the division of the text into seven verses instead of the two, and the word “perisheth” in verse 4, which was “perish” in 1833 and 1835. In addition, verse 2 in the Book of Commandments, which parallels verses 6 and 7 in the current Doctrine and Covenants, reads a bit differently: “Remember temperance, patience, humility, diligence, &c., ask and ye shall receive, knock and it shall be opened unto you: Amen” (2:20). In the 1835 edition of the Doctrine and Covenants, the word “marvelous” is misspelled “marvellous,” the division of the verses is the same, and verse 2 reads like verses 6 and 7 in the current version, except for a dash that appears after “diligence” (2:468).

Continuing this exercise, pages 9–13 of volume 1 of the Documents series reveal more information about this revelation. Reproduced there is a transcript of a handwritten copy kept by Edward Partridge that may have been made in late 1830 or early 1831 and is the earliest extant version. The editors of that volume speculate that even though the revelation may not have inspired Joseph Smith Sr. to do missionary work, it may have prompted him to share with Oliver Cowdery a “sketch of the facts related to the plates” (11–13), which may have helped convince Cowdery to accept the call to assist Joseph Smith Jr. in translating the Book of Mormon.

A similar exercise could be done with all the revelations in these Joseph Smith Papers volumes, but it is important to note that, so far as this reviewer can determine, as corrections were made to the revelations in the manuscript books and then published, there were no important changes in meaning. For the most part, the changes made were small, such as changing “therefore remember and proclaim peace” (1:249) to “Therefore, renounce war and proclaim peace” in the text of what is now Doctrine and Covenants 98:16; and changing “1832” to “one thousand, eight hundred, and thirty two” (1:190) in what is now Doctrine and Covenants 76:11.

The textual critic may also find it interesting to trace the changes made to the headings of the revelations and the division of the text into verses. The text in Revelation Book 1 that is now section 55 of the Doctrine and Covenants was inscribed by John Whitmer. The heading reads: "Commandment June 14th 1831 A Revealtion to William [W.] Phelps & Joseph Coe their Calling &c—" Sometime later, William W. Phelps inserted seven numbers into the manuscript, indicating where verses should begin (1:119). When published in the Book of Commandments as chapter 57, the heading for this revelation read, "*A Revelation to William, given in Kirtland, Ohio, June, 1831,*" and the revelation was divided into eight verses instead of the seven indicated by Phelps (2:141–42). When published in the 1835 and 1844 editions of the Doctrine and Covenants, the heading read, "*Revelation to William W. Phelps, given June, 1831,*" and it was divided into only three verses (2:506).

To be complete, the textual historian may want to extend this exercise by looking at later editions of the Doctrine and Covenants. In 1921 the heading to section 55 read, "*Revelation given through Joseph Smith the Prophet, to William W. Phelps, at Kirtland, Ohio, June, 1831,*"⁹ and then was extended to include a brief statement about the setting of the revelation and a summary of its contents. In addition, the revelation was divided into six verses (a result of Orson Pratt's editing of the 1876 edition of the Doctrine and Covenants). The 1981 edition carried the same heading except that after the date the editors added a reference to the work traditionally referred to as *History of the Church*, "HC 1: 184–186," and added a new summary, separated from the heading by a line space. The current edition, updated in 2013 and found online at lds.org, has the same heading, except that the date is more specific: "June 14," instead of simply "June," and the summary is very slightly modified. These changes were made to reflect the latest research done by the Joseph Smith Papers team. Such exercises could go on ad infinitum, but hopefully enough has been said to illustrate what the avid pursuer of textual history might do with these remarkable volumes.

Finally, the magnificence of the whole Joseph Smith Papers Project was reemphasized to me as I took occasion again to look at the Joseph Smith Papers website (www.josephsmithpapers.org). All of the volumes

9. *The Doctrine and Covenants of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Containing Revelations Given to Joseph Smith, the Prophet, with Some Additions by His Successors in the Presidency of the Church* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1921), 86.

in the project are (or will be) available online, along with considerable other material, including a reproduction of the full 1844 edition of the Doctrine and Covenants (instead of only the eight sections reproduced in volume 2 of *Revelations and Translations*) and images of the entirety of Oliver Cowdery's copy of the Book of Commandments. If readers of this review do not have access to the volumes discussed here, they should go to the website, study the content there, and then spend many delightful hours discovering what else it has to offer.

James B. Allen was a teacher and administrator in the seminary and institute programs from 1954 to 1963, then joined the faculty of Brigham Young University. He was Assistant Church Historian, 1972–79, chair of the BYU History Department, 1981–87, and the Lemuel Hardison Redd Jr. Chair in Western American History, 1987–92. He retired in 1992. He has authored, coauthored, or coedited fourteen books or monographs and around ninety articles relating to Western American and LDS history. He is married to the former Renée Jones, and together they have five children, twenty-one grandchildren, and twenty-one great-grandchildren. They served a full-time Church Educational System mission at the Boston Institute of Religion, 1999–2000, and served as officiators in the Mount Timpanogos Utah Temple, 2004–13.

Nathan Thatcher. *Paco*.

New York: Mormon Artists Group, 2016.

Reviewed by Luke Howard

If pressed, I would say *Paco* is probably closer to biography than it is to any other literary genre, but this hybrid work is so much more than the life story of a composer. The author, Nathan Thatcher, has penned an extraordinary text—equal parts biography, travelogue, composition catalog, music history, and coming-of-age narrative of a young scholar—that synthesizes a firehose of information into a coherent and compelling story. Thatcher writes with the seasoned voice of an experienced scholar, delving into carefully crafted discussions of analysis, compositional technique, and the technology of music. These are topics that can frequently trip up even the best music writers when engaging a lay audience, but Thatcher manages to write without compromising, oversimplifying, or alienating. What makes this book even more extraordinary is that Thatcher wrote *Paco* while still an undergraduate composition major in the BYU School of Music. (He has since embarked on graduate study at the University of Michigan.)

This book details Thatcher's encounters with Francisco Estévez Diaz—known to his friends and associates simply as “Paco”—an LDS composer from Spain, who, though deeply connected with the European avant-garde music of the 1970s and '80s, disappeared from the international radar in the latter part of his career. Through the efforts of the Mormon Artists Group and its director, Glen Nelson, Thatcher was invited to skip school for a week and travel to Spain to meet Estévez (now retired); gather as much information as possible about his life, career, and music; collect copies of all his available scores; and organize all of this into an authoritative bio-catalog on the composer. Thatcher's principal credentials for this daunting task, he modestly admits, are that he is himself an LDS composer, he speaks “mission” Spanish, and he was too inexperienced to know how impossible this project was likely to

be (14). Thatcher was just young and naïve enough to give it a shot. The result is a triumph.

The account begins *in medias res*—with barely a day’s notice, Thatcher skips classes at BYU and hops on a plane to Spain to meet a composer he knows almost nothing about and whose music he has encountered only in small doses. Thatcher creates an engaging first-person narrative, a glimpse of his internal maelstrom of thoughts and emotions as he wonders how to proceed now that he has unquestionably bitten off more than he can chew. The disparate threads and mental trajectories, embellished with Thatcher’s gift for verbal imagery, careen almost uncontrollably, but they do eventually, and brilliantly, coalesce around the central figure of Paco. In the meantime, Thatcher’s own excitement and doubt propel the narrative forward.

This is a genius move on Thatcher’s part, as the reader comes to Paco’s music through exactly the same sequence of surprising fits and starts as the author does. Thatcher gradually pieces together fragments, snippets, and details into a larger mosaic of this remarkable musician. He could have digested the information and presented it as a polished, finished study, but instead he chose to take us on the rough journey with him, to enjoy the discovery together.

Throughout the work, we get a glimpse not only into the author’s sensitivity to music—essential for such a task—but also his awareness of environment and the other arts. His prose evokes the streets and architecture of Madrid—the smells, tastes, and landscapes. A visit to the Alhambra is not so much a side trip, wedged between meetings with Paco in his home, as a rich parallel to the experience of uncovering great beauty and devotion in Paco’s music. Thatcher writes about all the arts, not just music, from a place of respect, sensitivity, and knowledge.

Part 2 of this book is a synthesis and contextualization of the information gleaned during the author’s weeklong visit with Paco. Here Thatcher tackles the issue of what it means to be an “LDS composer” (rightly questioning the usefulness of that label), along with thoughts about what “Mormon music” might or could be. He cites the emergent scholarly interest regarding the place of music in LDS society (with so much more work to be done) and applies all of this to a crucial figure whose experiences both with the LDS Church and with musical composition have all happened completely outside the Mormon Corridor of the western United States. Before his visit to Spain, Thatcher—a Utah Mormon in only the best sense of that phrase—had never left the United States; Paco has never left Europe. We eventually see, along with

Thatcher, that Paco is a singular example of the diversity of artistic voice that is so essential to the liveliness of a global faith. Thatcher recognizes and relishes the expanded vistas of possibility that Paco represents, not just to LDS musicians but to the LDS faithful working in all areas of artistic expression.

The actual biography of Estévez comes in the third part, which outlines a life filled with extraordinary successes, disappointing setbacks (including religious persecution, death threats, cancer, and the theft of his computer), and the often challenging intersections of career and faith. Most noteworthy in this section is the composite image that emerges of a person dedicated primarily to faith and family, not to his career. Thatcher presents Paco as a composer once on the cusp of international fame who now happily sits on the stand as a counselor in a bishopric, conducts the ward choir, dines with his family on Sunday evenings, and has no regrets about his career. As Thatcher concludes, “To paint a true picture of Francisco Estévez, it is infinitely more important to illustrate his family than to listen to his music. . . . For Paco, music is a means to an end and the family perseveres through eternity” (96).

Estévez holds four university degrees from four different institutions in three countries. He has been awarded prestigious prizes in international competitions and worked alongside some of the most influential figures in late twentieth-century European music. He knew Benjamin Britten and worked with Olivier Messiaen but also collaborated with the pioneering *krautrock* ensemble Kraftwerk in the 1980s. (Thatcher notes that the Venn diagram of people who have worked with both Britten and Kraftwerk produces an extraordinarily select subset of people—probably just Paco!) This is clearly a composer who deserves greater attention and yet has not sought it.

The fourth and final part of the book is a discussion of Paco’s compositional style, along with contextual summaries of some of his most important works. Among these works is the massive, oratorio-like *El Sueño de Lehi* (Lehi’s Dream), Paco’s magnum opus, which he recreated from memory after the first version was entirely lost when his computer was stolen. This portion of the book is the most technical, but Thatcher avoids most of the jargon of musical analysis. Any readers who paid attention during their childhood piano lessons should be able to follow the analytical discussion without too much trouble.

A lengthy annotated appendix catalogs all of Paco’s known compositions, even the lost ones. Paco joined the LDS Church mid-career in 1983, and while there are some works that explicitly reference his

new faith, including *Testimonio* (1983), *Preludio a la Memoria del Ángel Moroni* (2000), and *Paisajes del Alma* (2009), the vast majority of his compositions, including the “religious” ones, remain relatively abstract in their conception. Paco does not compose for a Mormon audience; he simply allows his Mormon faith to inflect the music he composes for all audiences.

Thatcher’s book is a tremendous achievement in its own right, even before factoring in the youth and inexperience of the author. But the story remains incomplete, because this book, like Paco’s music, is also a means to an end. The real story of Paco’s music will reach its conclusion only when his compositions are better known among those who share his faith and when the recognition of a major musical talent that doesn’t sound or look like Wasatch Front Mormonism is regarded not just as an interesting anomaly but as the way things should be.

Luke Howard has served on the music history faculty of the BYU School of Music since 2002. A graduate of the Sydney Conservatorium of Music in his native Australia, he received an MA in music history from BYU and a PhD from the University of Michigan. He writes extensively on modernist and contemporary art music for major arts organizations around the world and sings with the Mormon Tabernacle Choir.

Laurel Thatcher Ulrich. *A House Full of Females: Plural Marriage and Women's Rights in Early Mormonism, 1835–1870.*

New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2017.

Reviewed by Lowell C. “Ben” Bennion

Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, a distinguished history professor emerita from Harvard University, has recently released a long-awaited and widely acclaimed work on women and plural marriage in early Mormonism, titled *A House Full of Females*. She has previously published four books related to Colonial and Revolutionary America, one of which, *A Midwife's Tale*, won both a Bancroft and a Pulitzer Prize the year after its publication in 1990. She describes *A House Full of Females*, which she began a decade ago, as “my first attempt to approach early Mormonism as a work of scholarship” (389). Given her relatively late entry into Mormon Studies, readers of *BYU Studies Quarterly* may not be familiar with Ulrich's work, unless they have already read the three very favorable reviews of her new book published in *BYU's* 2018 issue of *Mormon Studies Review* and her response to them.¹ Mine is another favorable review, which aims to highlight aspects of the book that *BYU Studies* readers will find most interesting and adds to the growing praise Ulrich is receiving for this masterful work.

Ulrich begins and ends her latest book with “An Indignation Meeting” held in the Old Tabernacle of Salt Lake City on January 13, 1870. Despite wintry weather, at least five thousand ladies gathered there to protest the Cullom Bill, which had been passed in the U.S. House of Representatives a week earlier and would outlaw Mormon plural marriages if the U.S. Senate also passed it. Less than two months later, Ulrich writes, “the *Deseret News* reported that Utah women had held [similar] mass meetings in fifty-eight towns, from Logan in the north to tiny

1. Ann M. Little, W. Paul Reeve, and Sarah Carter, “Review Panel: *A House Full of Females*,” with response by Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *Mormon Studies Review* 5 (2018): 16.

Pinto in the south, and that as many as twenty-five thousand women had attended” (382). What bearing such protests may have had on the bill’s failure to pass the Senate is unclear; but in February Utah’s all-male legislature and acting governor responded, as it were, by granting suffrage to the territory’s women. In 1870, these ladies exercised the right to vote for the first time anywhere in the United States, even ahead of the women in Wyoming who had received suffrage the year before. These “indignation meetings” revealed that at least many women of Mormonism were not the submissive victims that national media had painted them, but outspoken and proud supporters of both women’s rights and plural marriage. Ulrich seeks to understand this seeming contradiction—how so many Mormon women could “simultaneously support a national campaign for political and economic rights while defending marital practices that to most people seemed relentlessly patriarchal” (xiii). The end result, she admits, is “a complicated and many-faceted work” that “may not be an easy book to read.”²

In her introduction, Ulrich includes an unusual but revealing time line. It identifies her twenty primary sources, which range from diaries and letters to minutes (xxii). All of them date from the years 1825–70, reflecting her determination to make *A House Full of Females* “a source-centered work.”³ She refers to these sources as “the writings of ordinary people who between 1835 and 1870 translated the dissenting religions of Lancashire, upstate New York, and the Ohio Valley into Mormonism and carried its principles to the American West” (386–87). Fittingly, thirteen of the sources featured were written by women, all but one of whom (Caroline Crosby) became part of a plural family. But, ironically, the most important source, judging by how often Ulrich cites it, is the diary of LDS Apostle Wilford Woodruff. Indeed, that is where she found the catchy title of her book. His entry dated February 11, 1857, reads, “I attended the female relief society at the 14th ward,” where he and his bishop went to set apart his wife, Phebe, and her counselors as that ward’s Relief Society presidency. Woodruff then observed, “The house was full of females quilting sewing etc.” (336, vii).

From that Fourteenth Ward Relief Society, Ulrich took a once-torn 1857 album quilt (2, color insert 1) and designed a map that identifies the sixty-seven quilters, including Phebe Woodruff, three daughters, a sister, a niece, and three of Wilford’s plural wives (344–45). Ulrich

2. Little, Reeve, and Carter, “Review Panel: *A House Full of Females*,” 15.

3. Little, Reeve, and Carter, “Review Panel: *A House Full of Females*,” 15.

finds special meaning in other such material objects, like the *Weighing the Baby* painting on the book's cover, which depicts a plural family (xix; 4, color insert 2). She not only includes but also effectively uses some seventy such illustrations throughout the volume. Ulrich circles back to the quilt later, and she also rightly describes her book as "a kind of quilt, an attempt to find an underlying unity in a collection of fragments" (xx).

After the introduction, the first six chapters of the book follow Wilford Woodruff and his first wife, Phebe, through their 1834–46 migrations from New England to muddy Iowa. After most of the Apostles and a fair number of other members had already entered the "Celestial Law" of plural marriage, Woodruff finally added several young females to his family. Chapter 11 highlights his household as of 1853. By then he had "married seven women" and "fathered ten children," but "only three of those wives and four of those children were now with him" due to divorces and deaths (266). In most of the first ten chapters of the book, Ulrich also introduces and illuminates the tangled lives of her other main sources, notably Eliza R. Snow, Bathsheba Smith, Hosea Stout, Patty Sessions, and—perhaps most entangled—Sarah N. Kimball (see Time Line, xxii). Only in chapter 13 does Ulrich focus on a lesser known pioneer and one not tied to Salt Lake—namely, Caroline Crosby, who had a long "life of wandering"—over two decades she lived in thirty different dwellings (312).

My only suggestions for improvement to the book are minor. If Ulrich decides to publish a second edition, I hope she will identify all twenty-nine leaders of the 1870 Indignation Meeting and summarize each one's experience with the principle of plural marriage. I would also challenge her assertion that "by 1860 more than 40 percent of the territory's inhabitants—men, women, and children—lived in plural households" (xix). Her source for that figure based it on just two of Salt Lake City's twenty wards and the Millcreek Ward in Salt Lake County. Although the incidence of plural marriage probably peaked about then, the actual percentage for all of Utah may not have been that high. As a historical geographer, I wish Ulrich had calculated the incidence of polygamy as of 1870 for the two wards with which she closes her book.

The last two chapters bring readers to Salt Lake's Fourteenth and Fifteenth Ward Relief Societies and the symbolism of their finished quilts. Here Ulrich emphasizes the countless and often overlooked ways in which "Latter-day Saint women built the Church that claimed their loyalty. . . . Certainly, there could have been no such thing as plural marriage if hundreds of women had not accepted 'the principle' and

passed it on to new generations. Some did so because they believed plural marriage was a glorious doctrine, others out of a hope for future exaltation or because conforming seemed a lesser evil than abandoning their homes and faith” (387).

Despite the book’s many facets and complexities, including more than sixty pages of notes, anyone seriously interested in “Plural Marriage and Women’s Rights in Early Mormonism” should peruse it to determine how well Ulrich answers her overriding question. Those who read *A House Full of Females* will probably agree with me that Ulrich has produced another book most deserving of a prize.

Lowell C. “Ben” Bennion is a geography professor emeritus of Humboldt State University, Arcata, California, where he taught for thirty years. Well before moving back to his hometown of East Millcreek in Salt Lake County in 2000, he became involved in Mormon studies. Most indicative of his interest in Ulrich’s book is his “Plural Marriage” map-essay in Brandon S. Plewe, ed., *Mapping Mormonism: An Atlas of Latter-day Saint History*, 2d ed. (Provo, Utah: BYU Studies, 2014), 122–25. He also has authored an article on “Mapping the Extent of Plural Marriage in St. George, 1861–1880,” *BYU Studies* 51, no. 4 (2012): 27–68.

Gregory A. Prince. *Leonard Arrington and
the Writing of Mormon History.*

Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2016.

Reviewed by James B. Allen

In 1972 Leonard J. Arrington was appointed Church Historian, the only non-General Authority to hold that position since 1842. Earlier, Elder Howard W. Hunter, adviser to the Historical Department and the previous Church Historian, had told him that the Church needed a professionally trained historian and some new histories. The Church was mature enough, Elder Hunter said, that its history should be more open in its approach than it had been previously. He did not believe in suppressing information or hiding documents that were part of Church history and thought it was in the best interest of the Church to write honest, though discreet, history. Leonard considered this to be his charge. I felt deeply honored when he invited me to become one of his two Assistant Church Historians.

This was a heady time, sometimes dubbed the “Camelot” years because of the exciting new opportunities they presented for Church historians and the numerous books and articles that resulted. The Church Historian’s Office was reorganized so that Leonard became the head of the History Division. He soon gathered around him a group of young, professional historians and proceeded to do what he had been assigned to do. Their work, however, did not sit well with some who were fearful of what a more candid, open approach to history could do to the faith of the Saints, and “Camelot” ended after less than a decade. I experienced all the grand euphoria and deep disappointments of that “golden era” discussed by Gregory Prince in *Leonard Arrington and the Writing of Mormon History*. I was therefore anxious to read this book and am delighted to review it.

Those who pick up this book are in for a most interesting, though sometimes uncomfortable, read. Prince’s book is a stimulating, well-written, hard-hitting biography, based on primary sources (particularly the huge collection of Arrington papers housed at Utah State University),

all the available secondary sources, and a myriad of interviews with those who knew Leonard best. I use the term “hard-hitting” because Prince does not shy away from controversy. In fact, he embraces it, going into detail about many controversies, especially those caused by the Church bureaucracy or by a handful of General Authorities who, unlike Elder Hunter, were apprehensive of the new, more open approach to Church history. Prince makes it abundantly clear where he believes mistakes were made and wrongs committed. At the same time, though he admires Arrington, Prince is also willing to point out where he thinks Arrington made mistakes, both in his administrative work and in his writing.

In the first several chapters, Prince deals with Leonard’s early life; his graduate work at the University of North Carolina, where he completed a doctoral dissertation; his courtship and marriage; his time in the military; his move to Utah to teach at Utah State; his initial work in the Church archives, where he conducted research for his dissertation; and his return to North Carolina to complete his PhD.

The rest of the book deals with a wide variety of topics, in somewhat chronological order, that help explain the later life of Leonard Arrington, his pivotal role in the production of Mormon history, and the problems that confronted him. Here is a laundry list of some (not all) of the topics covered: how, with the mentoring of George Ellsworth, Leonard’s PhD dissertation in economics was transformed into an outstanding work of history, *Great Basin Kingdom*, “that marked a turning point in the telling of Mormon history” (59); the Church’s decision to professionalize and reorganize the Church Historian’s Office and appoint Leonard as Church Historian; the many great qualities that endeared Leonard to those who knew him; Leonard’s deep and genuine spirituality, including the stories of three grand epiphanies he experienced in the years before he became Church Historian; his appointment as Church Historian and the euphoria with which he approached the role; Leonard’s reaction to problems that arose as a result of Church bureaucracy (“rather than working in a conciliatory way with the bureaucrats above his pay grade, he adopted a confrontational posture that worked against him” [199]); the fate of the proposed sixteen-volume history of the Church; Arrington’s mentorship of young scholars and encouragement of other Mormon-oriented historians; his contributions to more fully recognizing the role of women in Church history; the History Division’s role in reversing the Church’s policy that women could not continue their Church employment after becoming mothers; the denial of priesthood to blacks and Leonard’s

frustration with that policy; the writing of *Brigham Young: American Moses*, including the various problems Prince sees in that biography; and Leonard Arrington's autobiography, *Adventures of a Church Historian*, which Leonard needlessly feared might bring reprisals. With nearly all of these and other events, there was disheartening controversy and conflict, but perhaps the most disheartening is the story, scattered through a few different chapters, of the efforts of Elder Ezra Taft Benson and a few others to stop the work of Arrington and his associates because of concerns about the kind of transparent, forthright history they were writing. This campaign ended with the eventual dissolution of the History Division at Church headquarters and its transfer to Brigham Young University.

Chapter 20, "Storm Clouds," focuses first on something that surprised and dismayed all of us in the Historian's Office: the controversy over *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, published by Deseret Book in 1976. This one-volume history, written by Glen M. Leonard and myself, was prepared after Leonard obtained approval from Elder Howard W. Hunter and members of the First Presidency to prepare two one-volume histories: one for publication by Deseret Book and the other to be published by a non-Mormon press. The latter, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints*, was authored by Leonard Arrington and Davis Bitton and published by Alfred A. Knopf in New York in 1979.

In *Story* we presented the history of the Church as accurately and faithfully as we could, taking into account the most responsible research and, where appropriate, providing the historical context in which major events took place. The book received numerous warm reviews from Mormons and non-Mormons alike. However, it was not long before the book came under fire. In telling the story, Prince is hard on certain "conservative senior apostles"—Elders Ezra Taft Benson, Mark E. Peterson, and Boyd K. Packer—who "did not take kindly to the notion of change—either real change in the Church or change in the way its story was told. Since this was the issue with them, it hardly mattered how devout they [the authors] were, or how carefully they had written their narrative of change" (277).

The book's most severe criticism is directed toward Elder Benson, and Prince goes into great detail explaining Benson's core beliefs about God's hand in the founding of America and the Church and his fear that discussing either of these in a historical context would lead readers to conclude that the key events and key principles of Church history were the result of circumstances rather than revelation. "Indeed," says

Prince, “he did not even need to read the book (and he later acknowledged that he had never read it) in order to have it in his crosshairs, for the real issue was not a book but a philosophy of historiography” (280). Prince refers to Elder Benson’s scathing critique, provided by one of his personal assistants, but says that the book’s so-called inaccuracies were not really the issue. “The real issue,” he says, “was that Benson was determined to terminate the History Division, and *Story* was simply the catalyst that initiated the process. While it took another six years for him and his allies to complete their work of disassembly, it was already ‘game over’” (284). The idea that Elder Benson was thinking of dismantling the History Division from such an early date is new to me, but, if true, it helps contextualize certain back-channel communications among employees working in the Church History Library and why Elder Benson once expressed to me his concern that the History Division was filled with “a bunch of liberals.”¹

Prince goes on to explain the various problems Leonard Arrington faced as concerns about what he considered honest and faith-building history continued to mount. Even though he hurt terribly inside, his public face was always optimistic, and he personally believed that an open, transparent history from faithful scholars would only help the Saints maintain their faith. This point is stressed throughout the book.

Prince discusses in some detail the appointment of Elder G. Homer Durham as managing director of the department, the change in direction that he instituted, his eventual replacement of Leonard as Church Historian, and the dismantling of the History Division when Leonard and most of his remaining staff were transferred to the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute of Church History at BYU. (By that time, I had resigned and returned to BYU full time.) Prince’s concluding paragraph in the chapter on “Disassembly” carries a tone of sadness that accurately reflects how everyone in the division felt at the time: “The era of Leonard Arrington and the History Division, an era that had begun with great promise and that produced unprecedented scholarship and

1. At one time, before *Story* was complete, I was assigned by Leonard to complete a series of oral-history interviews with Elder Benson, as part of a larger objective to gather oral histories of all the General Authorities. I conducted several sessions, and at the end, Elder Benson complimented me on the interviews, saying that at first he was apprehensive because he had heard that the History Division was filled with a “bunch of liberals,” and my treatment of him had been a pleasant surprise.

publications, ended with resounding silence, not even punctuated with formal closing. . . . A ten-year experiment in church-sponsored historical research had ended” (351).

A final chapter, “Legacy,” covers Leonard’s decline and death, then briefly discusses his legacy as a publisher, his marvelous collegiality, his indirect mentorship of a younger generation, the respect he gained from non-Mormon scholars, and his commitment to the pursuit of knowledge and telling the truth. This is followed by an epilogue that begins by characterizing Leonard as a “packrat” and then discusses his decision to leave his mountainous collection of papers to Utah State University. Even this action, however, created controversy, since the Church attempted unsuccessfully to claim a major portion of the papers. This vast collection, Prince concludes, is “without question, one of the most important archival sources on twentieth-century Mormonism” (464).

As well researched and well written as this book is, it is not without its problems. In a few places, it seems incomplete, and in others, the information seems wrong. With reference to *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, for example, I wish Prince had rounded out the story a bit further. Criticism of the work came from only three of the Twelve Apostles, and most of the General Authorities liked it. He might have emphasized that more fully, though he does note that President Spencer W. Kimball read it all the way through, liked it, and could not understand why others did not. Further, though Prince does report that the furor died down, he does not report that, in a sense, the book and the department were redeemed since Church-owned Deseret Book continued to advertise and sell the book despite the controversy. Elder Boyd K. Packer, who was on Deseret Book’s board and who is the focus of some of Prince’s criticism, also approved the publication of a second printing without any changes, and we were invited to produce a second edition, with no implication that we needed to change anything. I personally never felt that Elder Packer disapproved of the book as much as the other two Apostles, though he often expressed discomfort with what he saw as dangerous intellectual trends in our society, some of which could be reflected in academic approaches to Church history.

On another matter, I was surprised, and a bit bothered, by the implications in a paragraph on page 401 about the writing of *Brigham Young: American Moses*. Prince cites an outside source who says that doing this biography caused some conflict between Leonard and his staff, who felt they had put so much work into the research that they should have been listed as coauthors. Further, Prince states that Ronald Esplin’s doctoral

dissertation, “The Emergence of Brigham Young and the Twelve to Mormon Leadership,” was a “key component of the biography” (401). He also says that Jan Shipp pointed this out in her review published in the *Journal of American History*. Later, according to Prince’s 2009 interview with Shipp, she told him that Leonard was upset with her review but that it was an honest review and “what I did in that review was to say that a lot of it came straight out of Ron Esplin’s dissertation, which it did” (401).

This account is largely inaccurate and very misleading. Ronald Esplin, who joined Leonard’s staff very early, had spent many years working with Brigham Young’s papers and probably knew them better than anyone. Leonard drew on him and several other staff members as research assistants, and each of them, especially Ron, provided large amounts of material for him to draw on. However, I recently asked Ron about the report that the research assistants were upset that they had not been listed as coauthors. His answer was that this was not true. They all knew that it was Leonard’s book and that only his name would appear as author. “They were not bothered by this,” Ron said, “because they knew he had indeed written it and that he would acknowledge their contributions, which he did.”

The charge that Esplin’s dissertation was a “key component” of the book and that a lot of it “came straight out” of the dissertation implies that Leonard copied sections from what Esplin had written—a charge of plagiarism (though Prince stops short of actually using that word). All one has to do is compare Esplin’s dissertation with the first ninety-seven pages of *American Moses* (which covers the period dealt with by Esplin) to see that this argument is totally wrong. I spent a good part of a day doing just that. I found a few block quotes from primary sources, such as the *Journal of Discourses* or Brigham Young’s journal, that were used in both works, but material introducing and surrounding those quotations was not the same at all. Also, the approach, writing style, and in-chapter organization of the two are so completely different that there is no way anyone can reasonably say that Leonard lifted any of it from the dissertation, even though it was among the most important secondary sources drawn on for those chapters. However, all this may be moot because Prince’s report on what Jan Shipp said in her review is also misleading. In the review, she did not say that “a lot of it came straight out of Ron Esplin’s dissertation.” What she said was, “Because Arrington was able to use those sources [the material in the archives], because he could draw on the work of Ron Esplin and others, work

likewise based on primary sources, and because some of those materials may never again be available for study, this biography demands unusual consideration.”² That’s quite different from what she told Prince in 2009.

According to the title, this book is about the writing of Mormon history, but in a way it leaves Leonard short. Prince says little or nothing about most of Leonard’s books, passing them off collectively as of lesser quality, or about many of his articles. True, none of his books achieved the status of *Great Basin Kingdom*, and some were reviewed with less than stellar enthusiasm, but a book on Leonard Arrington and the writing of Mormon history should give more space to, or at least comment on, more than a small handful of his additional works. A comprehensive Arrington bibliography published by David J. Whittaker in 1999 (and listed in Prince’s bibliography) lists 66 books, monographs, and pamphlets; 247 articles in professional journals or chapters in books; and 68 articles in nonprofessional journals (mostly Church publications), in addition to numerous book reviews. Many of these were ghost written, and others were coauthored with the other author actually having done most of the work; they vary in quality, and some received poor reviews, but it is important to note that without Arrington’s entrepreneurship, they may never have been published at all.

Some of his works made substantial contributions. For example, in *Building the City of God: Community and Cooperation among the Mormons* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), Arrington joined with Dean L. May in resurrecting an important manuscript by Feramorz Y. Fox, adding material of their own, and working it into an important and well-reviewed book on Mormon cooperative programs in the nineteenth century, including a nice chapter on the welfare program from 1936 to 1975. One reviewer called the book “stunning,” “a model of microhistory,” and “a rich tapestry of economic and social experiment from the Kirtland days through the nineteenth century extended down to the modern LDS social system.”³ Prince mentions the book twice, not in terms of its substance, but only in connection with the fact that it was criticized by Elder Benson.

Finally, I believe that Prince gives short shrift to the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute at BYU. As he explains, Leonard was director of the institute from 1980 until his retirement, but he was there only one or two

2. Jan Shipps, Review of *Brigham Young: American Moses*, by Leonard J. Arrington, in *Journal of American History* 73 (June 1986): 190–91.

3. See review by J. R. T. Hughes in *BYU Studies* 27, no. 2 (1976): 246–49.

days a week, and during that time, production seemed to lag. There was hardly enough, Prince suggests, to justify the heavy expenditure needed to keep it open. He does not report that upon Leonard's retirement, Ronald Esplin became the director of the Smith Institute and remained in that position until the institute was dissolved in 2005 and Esplin and some of the staff were transferred back to the Church History Department in Salt Lake. What happened under the auspices of the institute during that time is more impressive, and more important, than Prince suggests.

A thirty-six-page bibliography of the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute, 1980–2005,⁴ which includes work by some people not part of the institute but who received fellowships or in some other way worked under the auspices of the institute, lists 65 books, 113 chapters in books, one monograph, 145 articles in professional journals, 102 articles in reference works, and 87 other articles. Several of these items, such as Arrington's *American Moses*, were begun prior to 1980 but were finished while their authors were working at the institute. Also, in 2005 the Women's History Initiative Team was founded at the institute, which went on to sponsor significant research and publication in women's history, seminars, and a class in women's history at BYU. Finally, and of special significance to what is happening today with the Church Historian's Press, the Joseph Smith Papers Project was begun under the direction of Ronald Esplin several years before he and other institute personnel were transferred back to Salt Lake City. The legacy of the institute is much more significant than Prince implies.

Despite such omissions, readers of *BYU Studies Quarterly* who love LDS history will find this book worth reading. It does, after all, tell the story of the latter twentieth century's preeminent Mormon historian, and tells it well. Major transitions are always difficult, and the importance of this book is that it preserves the story of how hard it really was to navigate the transition from the old to the new approach to writing history. Leonard was the symbol of the new, enthusiastically supported by President Harold B. Lee, Elder Howard W. Hunter, President Spencer W. Kimball, and many other General Authorities. Though they were good, well-meaning people, Elder Benson and those who continually fed him negative reports of what Leonard and his staff were doing were the old guard. The new and open approach to history threatened

4. In the author's possession.

their long-held conservative values because it implied changing fundamental principles, which was uncomfortable. Leonard and his crew were simply caught in the rapids between the old and new intellectual environment, and even though they did not make it through unscathed, they *did* make it through, and their hundreds of historical contributions helped lay the foundation for a marvelous new age of historical openness, symbolized today by the Joseph Smith Papers Project. For my own part, one of the reasons I have not publicly criticized those who attacked the new histories is that I recognize that they were well-intentioned, even if the approach they were defending was outdated.

James B. Allen was a teacher and administrator in the seminary and institute programs from 1954 to 1963, then joined the faculty of Brigham Young University. He was Assistant Church Historian, 1972–79, under Leonard J. Arrington; chair of the BYU History Department, 1981–87; and the Lemuel Hardison Redd Jr. Chair in Western American History, 1987–92. He retired in 1992. He has authored, coauthored, or coedited fourteen books or monographs and around ninety articles relating to Western American and LDS history.

Shinji Takagi. *The Trek East:
Mormonism Meets Japan, 1901–1968.*

Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2016.

Reviewed by Stephen J. Moody

Shinji Takagi's extremely detailed and thoroughly researched book *The Trek East* makes a significant contribution to understanding early LDS Church history in Japan. Although the book covers a period that has been extensively described in previous scholarship, Takagi does not present another historical narrative of key events but rather provides a rigorous study of the social influences that impacted those events. This analytical approach brings a layer of explanatory depth that has, until now, been absent in studies of Church history in Japan. The result is a product rich in insight into the ways religious, economic, and political environments in Japan shaped the unfolding story of the LDS Church in that country. Starting in the years leading up to the arrival of the first missionaries in 1901 and culminating when the Japan Mission was first divided in 1968, this book is an essential resource for those seeking a methodical and meticulous account of the failures and triumphs of the LDS Church as it struggled to establish itself in Japan. Moreover, given the author's commitment to interpreting events in their relevant social contexts, the book will also be of value to scholars of religious history in Japan generally.

Proceeding more or less chronologically, Takagi provides a collection of self-contained, empirically grounded essays. Apart from chapter 4, which outlines the broad religious and social context of Japan before the LDS Church arrived, each of the book's twelve chapters focuses on a particular major event or significant period in Japanese Church history. These events include the arrival of Heber J. Grant and his companions in Japan, the coverage of the LDS Church in prominent Japanese newspapers, the establishment of the first mission in Japan, the translation of the Book of Mormon into Japanese, the withdrawal of missionaries prior to a heightened period of Japanese nationalism, the Church's subsequent regrouping in Hawaii, the return of missionaries to Japan after

World War II, and the subsequent growth, which culminated in the first division of the Japan mission. Although each chapter provides key background information and recounts important events and timelines, the focus is on tackling the “whys” and “hows” of those events in light of broader happenings in Japanese society. The author accomplishes this both by gathering an impressively large set of secondary sources from English and Japanese scholarship and by drawing on his own primary research and sources, including interviews, historical documents (journals, newspapers, and so forth), and relevant quantitative data (for example, Church membership statistics). This methodology offers what Takagi calls a “macro” perspective (6), which focuses more on synthesizing and interpreting large volumes of carefully compiled information than on telling individual stories.

Throughout the book, Takagi views each event critically, considering the decision-making processes of key actors in the early Church who were working under constraints of limited information and resources. The approach is pedantically methodical, with every argument copiously annotated; the book has an encyclopedic flavor in its presentation of information, with a page count in excess of 550, over a fifth of which is entirely supplemental material. Referring to himself as an “accidental historian” (xiii), Takagi is an economist by profession. This is evident in the unique perspective he brings to the topic. For instance, he seeks to understand not just how the LDS Church sought to supply LDS teachings to the Japanese, but also the impacts of the “demand side” (87), or the extent to which the Japanese people were willing to receive those proselytizing efforts. At times the author’s economic background does result in a style that might be difficult for readers to follow without having an understanding of economic fundamentals. For instance, he refers to economic indicators such as Japan’s real GDP (203) without explaining its significance and later discusses notions of “structural” versus “temporary” influences (218), which draw from economic theory, in ways that are not transparent to the uninitiated. Yet it is precisely his use of economic reasoning to interpret his data that also gives the study its explanatory power and contributes new and unique understandings into why the early Church made certain decisions. This treatment renders the final product less suitable for those looking for a narrative on Japanese Church history, even as it is indispensable as a serious social, scientific investigation.

A central contribution of Takagi’s analytical approach is that it extracts from available information new and nuanced explanations of

events. For instance, the arrival of LDS missionaries in Japan received an unusually large amount of attention in the Japanese press. Though this has been well-documented, it has often been viewed as either a surprising sidenote or as evidence of early interest in Mormonism among the Japanese. Takagi's study dives deeper into this event, interpreting it in a larger social context involving major changes in the Japanese political landscape, shifting societal views on the practice of polygamy, and rivalry between major newspapers—none of which was directly related to the arrival of the LDS Church. These observations open up the possibility that the unprecedented coverage of the early LDS Church had less to do with a fascination with Mormonism, *per se*, and more to do with various political factions leveraging the arrival of LDS missionaries to facilitate their own internal debates. It is Takagi's unwavering adherence to his source material and his unique perspective in interpreting this material that brings such important insights to light.

However, while Takagi's analytical approach is the volume's greatest strength, it is also its primary weakness when the explanations become too speculative. Takagi's arguments are always well-supported, but they can, at times, be stated too definitively. For example, it is often claimed that the early LDS mission in Japan was closed in 1924 due to the heightened nationalist ideologies in Japan that created a hostile environment for foreigners and eventually plunged Japan into World War II—or that the mission was closed because of prophetic predictions of the coming of those events. Takagi declares this explanation to be a myth (242–43), instead attributing the closure of the mission to economic factors, the haphazard decision-making of Church leaders, and a failure to produce enough converts to justify the cost of maintaining a mission in Japan. His argument is compelling, to be sure, and raises important questions about the Church's withdrawal that have not been given sufficient attention or even acknowledged previously. Yet he also speculates that because the Church in Germany experienced growth in membership in the face of similar nationalistic tides, the Japanese mission would have remained open as well (245). While Takagi is right to challenge traditional explanations and raises issues that provide insightful nuances, this observation is probably not enough to declare competing views a total fiction.

Ultimately, Takagi has provided a scholarly investigation that is unrivaled in the volume of information it amasses and its faithful dedication to articulating and interpreting the details of its source material. Unique in perspective and approach, it is insightful and raises critical

questions that are vital for developing an accurate and thorough understanding of the events it explores. It is highly recommended to anyone seeking a thorough and detailed treatment of the early LDS Church in Japan. It would not be surprising if Takagi's work eventually becomes recognized as a definitive history of the events it covers.

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

LDS Church leaders were faced with a difficult task in the early years of settling in the Rocky Mountains. The Saints were troubled by the harsh climate, unpredictable relations with the native tribes, and the shadow of fear cast by the U.S. government. In their poverty, the bedraggled immigrants and refugees were not only admonished to continue missionary efforts and begin colonizing strategic locations but also called to build sacred temples in the wilderness. In an effort to simultaneously demonstrate internal solidarity and external economic stability and productivity, Brigham Young and his counselors published a series of fourteen “general epistles” from 1849 to 1856 (xiii).

Reid L. Neilson and Nathan N. Waite have compiled these fourteen documents, most of which were originally published in the *Deseret News*, into one volume. Neilson is Assistant Church Historian for the LDS Church, and Waite is an associate editorial manager for the Joseph Smith Papers Project. Neilson and Waite succinctly state the purpose of their work: “to make these General Epistles more accessible to our twenty-first century audience” (xiv).

To “make the past more accessible and friendly” (xviii), the editors begin *Settling the Valley, Proclaiming the Gospel* with sixty pages of historical background on the epistles themselves, including notes on the provenance, text, and context of each epistle. In the first chapter of the book, Neilson and Waite review the various pressures the Saints and their leaders experienced during this critical time and how the epistles addressed those issues. The next 216 pages are devoted to transcripts of

the epistles themselves. The editors enrich the proclamations with hundreds of footnotes, elaborating on the cultural and political nuances of the period and expanding on scriptural and biographical references.

The appendices begin with the December 1847 epistle from the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, which the editors felt was fitting to include because “it was written within months of the settlement of the Great Salt Lake Valley and sets the pattern for the General Epistles that would follow once the First Presidency was reorganized that same month” (xiii–xiv). The second appendix is a biographical register containing sixty pages of biographical information on individuals mentioned in the epistles, listed alphabetically by surname. Similarly, the editors offer a geographical register as the third appendix for readers to learn more about locations the First Presidency discusses in these proclamations. The final fifty pages are devoted to an extensive bibliography and index, bringing the total page count to 430.

Settling the Valley, Proclaiming the Gospel will be helpful for anyone studying Brigham Young, mid-nineteenth-century Church leadership, and pioneer life in antebellum Utah Territory. Though the epistles can be found separately in archives and some are available online, having them all in one place, footnoted and indexed, will be a welcome resource to any researcher of the era.

—Gerrit van Dyk

Patrick Q. Mason and John G. Turner, eds., *Out of Obscurity: Mormonism since 1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016)

Generally speaking, Latter-day Saint knowledge of Church history after 1847 is spotty at best. The reason for this

deficit is that most Church members read little LDS history beyond what they get once every four years in Gospel Doctrine class, and, until recently, the curriculum covered little after the Saints' arrival in the Salt Lake Valley. Twentieth-century history, in particular, is largely uncharted territory, especially the latter half of the century. A few historians and biographers have tried to correct this deficiency in the past decade or so. The latter portion of Matthew Bowman's *The Mormon People* comes to mind, as do David O. McKay and the Rise of Modern Mormonism, by Gregory A. Prince and Wm. Robert Wright; *Lengthen Your Stride: The Presidency of Spencer W. Kimball*, by Edward L. Kimball; the last two sections of *Mapping Mormonism: An Atlas of Latter-day Saint History*, published by BYU Studies; and a smattering of articles appearing in the *Journal of Mormon History* and other scholarly venues.

This means that the anthology *Out of Obscurity: Mormonism since 1945* should be of interest to many readers who are curious about this period of LDS history. As one of the editors, Patrick Mason, puts it in his introduction, "We need more robust, multifaceted, and analytical accounts of Mormonism in the period of its greatest growth, acceptance, and success as an increasingly global church" (5). This volume definitely succeeds in contributing to that goal. Divided loosely into four parts—"Internationalization," "Political Culture," "Gender," and "Religious Culture"—the book features essays by an impressive roster of scholars on an array of historical topics.

In part 1, Nathan B. Oman explores the international legal experience of the Church and what he calls a "Mormon theology of state." Taunalyne F. Rutherford then examines questions surrounding the Church's decision to expand into India.

Part 2, the longest in the anthology, includes essays by Patrick Mason on Ezra Taft Benson and modern conservatism; J. B. Haws on the presidential campaigns of George Romney and his son Mitt; James Dennis Lorusso on LDS media and the Mormon embrace of free enterprise; Max Perry Mueller on protests in and around Temple Square; and Neil J. Young on Mormon political involvement in issues surrounding same-sex marriage (primarily the ERA and Proposition 8).

In part 3, Amanda Hendrix-Komoto addresses modesty, sexuality, and race in the Mormon Pacific, with a specific focus on the Polynesian Cultural Center; Kate Holbrook looks at "Housework: The Problem That Does Have a Name"; Caroline Kline examines the softening and reimagining of Mormon male headship ideologies; and Kristine Haglund discusses the rise and popularity of the "Mormon Mommy Blogs."

Matthew Bowman begins part 4 with a look at the Evangelical counterculture movement and Mormon conservatism, followed by Rebecca de Schweinitz's essay on the Mormon effort in the 1960s and 1970s to hold onto the "Chosen Generation." Sara M. Patterson then discusses the sesquicentennial celebrations of the Mormon arrival in the Salt Lake Valley. The final essay in the book is by John Turner, who explores the interplay between the Church, its history, and religious authority, building around a statement by LeGrand Richards to Juanita Brooks: "All the truth does not always need to be told" (323).

There is no central theme to this volume. It is a true anthology, a collection of stand-alone essays on a diverse assortment of topics in LDS history that share one commonality: post-World War II Mormonism. For those who find their knowledge of LDS history in this period lacking, *Out of Obscurity* provides a

sometimes fascinating, though uneven, glimpse of the LDS experience since 1945.

—Roger Terry

Loren D. Marks and David C. Dollahite, *Religion and Families: An Introduction*, Textbooks in Family Studies Series (New York: Routledge, 2017)

Religion and Families is a new book offered by two BYU professors: Loren D. Marks and David C. Dollahite, who both work in the School of Family Life. The work is meant to be used as an undergraduate textbook and is part of a series offered by Routledge, Textbooks in Family Studies, whose purpose is to “pair leading scholars with core topics in the field of family studies that are surprisingly underrepresented” (xv). One of these “core topics” is religion. Indeed, in the preface, the authors assert that in all their years of teaching courses that touch on the connection between families and religion, they had yet to find an undergraduate textbook addressing the topic. This book fills in this gap and claims to be “the first multidisciplinary text to address the growing scholarly connection between religion and family life” (i).

The work comprises thirteen chapters that rely on evidence from several academic studies, including some of the authors’ previous research. The work also provides data from more recent research done by the authors—namely,

interviews with about two hundred families from varying religious backgrounds.

The book begins with a broad discussion of the definition of religion and why religion matters in families. The following chapters focus on religion’s influence in some of the particular aspects of family life, like marriage and parenting. The authors then draw largely on their personal interviews to discuss the role of religion in Muslim and Jewish families in the United States. The final chapters discuss religion and the processes of coping with stress and forgiving within families.

Because the book was designed to be a textbook, it is full of helpful study aides, including a glossary, summary sections, and review questions. Although the book states that it is intended to be used by students and teachers (mainly in the field of family studies and religion but also in psychology, sociology, human development, social work, pastoral counseling, and even philosophy), anyone who is interested in the relationship between religion and families—and Latter-day Saints certainly fit in this category—will find this book interesting. It is grounded in research and evidence, but unlike some other scholarly works, the text is refreshingly accessible. The authors reference their own personal experiences at times, which make the book not only informative but also enjoyable.

—Alison Palmer

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